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Nimíipuu/Nez Perce Persistence, Settler-Colonization, and the Political Economy of Public Memory: From Time Immemorial to the Future

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I was invited by co-author and principal investigator, Christopher Chase-Dunn, to incorporate some of my dissertation research into this encyclopedia entry because it could be used to make specific arguments. Chase-Dunn developed the idea that the Prophet Dance was a social movement, and I wrote an analysis based on my own dissertation research to demonstrate that this was the case. What appears in this dissertation is expanded and altered and I only include text written by me. Co-author Marilyn Grell-Brisk provided additional analysis, theory building, and editing.

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Nimíipuu/Nez Perce Persistence, Settler-Colonization, and the Political Economy of Public Memory: From Time Immemorial to the Future

by

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The sociology of empire tends to center how the material or cultural conditions of the West structure imperialism, anti-imperialist resistance, and the incorporation of "others" into capitalism. This focus, while generating valuable insights, tends to miss opportunities to understand the limits of Western power and how Indigenous Peoples have affected their own lives and colonial social systems. The Nimíipuu/Nez Perce are such a People who, despite settler-colonial genocide, forced assimilation, and capitalist exploitation, remain as a distinct cultural group who affect political economy from their ancestral landbase. How is this possible? Using comparative-historical sociology to analyze the public memory of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce history before and since U.S. colonization, I argue that the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce persist because of their history of affecting and adapting to social change "since a time immemorial." Triangulating geological, archeological, and ethnographic records with oral traditions and history, I describe the development of an Indigenous Peoples lifeworld that institutionalized robust and adaptive responses to social

and ecological changes on the Southern (Columbia) Plateau. The U.S. may have destroyed the Indigenous lifeworld of the Plateau, but its legacies live in the Peoples who practice their ancient lifeways that provide them with material and immaterial resources that capitalism cannot. I illustrate how Nimíipuu/Nez Perce have 1) used and adapted these ancient lifeways to survive settler-colonization, genocide, forced assimilation, and capitalist exploitation, and 2) how whiteness on the Plateau has responded to Nimíipuu/Nez Perce persistence and influence in political economy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1
THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

European empire building, colonization, and capitalist development in the Americas killed at least ninety percent of the original inhabitants (Koch et al. 2019; Thornton 1990). Disease caused most of this death (ibid.) and enabled much opportunity for the West to engage in genocide, war, slavery, and other brutal tactics to forcibly remove Indigenous Peoples from their homes, steal their land, usurp their political authority, and plunder their resources (Blackhawk 2006; Boyd and Gregory 2007; Deloria 1969; Dunbar-Ortiz 2014; Horne 2020; Madley 2015; Moses 2010; Ostler 2019; Reséndez 2016; Thornton 1990). Hegemonic discourse of "the West and the Rest" (S. Hall 2006; Robinson 2007; Said 1983) organizes this history as a set of justifications and false assumptions that Natives have a predisposition to extinction (Bruyneel 2021; Estes 2019; Lindqvist 1996; Norgaard 2019; Provost and Quintana n.d.; Taylor 2013), betraying the fact that about 476 million Indigenous People (i.e., approximately six percent of the human population) persist all over the world and practice most of humanity's cultural diversity (World Bank 2022; United Nations n.d.). Indigenous People continue to affect political economy at local, regional, and global levels (Albano, van Dongen, and Takeda 2015; Anaya 2004; Colombi and Brooks 2012; LaDuke 2016; Norgaard 2019; Simbulan 2016; Wilmer 1993), especially because they still own, occupy, or use one-quarter of the world's surface that is home to over three-quarters of Earth's remaining biodiversity (World Bank 2022). Nimíipuu/Nez

Perce[1] are such a People who, despite U.S. settler-colonization, genocide, forced assimilation, and capitalist exploitation, persist as a distinct cultural group that affect political economy from their ancestral land-base. How do we account for this persistence and influence?

Sociological research about empires offers some clues, especially relating to long-historical patterns (Cox 1959; Wallerstein 2007) and variations (Go 2008; Steinmetz 2005) of imperial outcomes (e.g., national independence) and processes (e.g., genocide) driven by the material or cultural conditions of the West. The focus on imperial power, however, tends to overestimate Western power and underestimate the importance of Indigenous Peoples in political economy and global social change (Fenelon and Hall 2008; Goh 2007). There are notable exceptions, such as research demonstrating the interactions between different colonial and Indigenous social systems to help explain postcolonial (under)development (Mahoney 2010; Rodney 1971, 2018) or the advancement of Western colonial ethnography and comparative social science (Goh 2007). Nevertheless, the sociology of empire typically begins at or since European colonization (e.g., 1492) in a "symbolic decapitation of history" (Zerubavel 1998: 319) that ignores the deep histories of Indigenous Peoples that buttress over 500 years of resistance to imperial and colonial rule. This analytical move also obscures "a key aspect of indigeneity," that Indigenous People

[1] Nimíipuu is pronounced "Nee-MEE-poo" and means "We, the People" or "the walking people." Nez Perce is pronounced "nez-purs," and is French for "pierced nose." It is an inaccurate description, but this is what Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery called the Nimíipuu and the name stuck. The Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho (the Tribe) is the remaining (albeit reconfigured) political authority of Nimíipuu, a multi-ethnic polity of semi-autonomous groups who coordinated economic, cultural, and social activity over a territory of about 13,000,000 acres on the Southern Plateau of the Pacific Northwest. The Nez Perce Reservation today is 750,000 acres in Idaho (www.nezperce.org).

"were there first" (Fenelon and T. Hall 2008: 1893). Thus, I "forget Columbus!" (King 2013: 1) and start the analysis from where Nimíipuu/Nez Perce begin their own history: from a "time immemorial,"[2] i.e., a time beyond memory.

The key argument I develop in this dissertation is that Nimíipuu/Nez Perce persist because of their history of adapting to social change since time immemorial. To theorize time immemorial and its interdisciplinary implications, I use comparative-historical sociology of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and U.S. publications written between 1805 and 2020 (n=210) about Nimíipuu/Nez Perce social worlds before and since U.S. colonization. These publications constitute an original archive that enables abductive coding, comparison, and narrative reconstruction to extend social theories and develop causal inferences (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Hunter 2013; Vaughan 2004). I extend sociological theories of empire building, memory, genocide, and racism by reconstructing a story about Nimíipuu/Nez Perce affecting social change since time immemorial. In doing so, I reveal a subtle and pervasive form of methodological nationalism in social science that I call *imperial chronology*. I define imperial chronology as a taken-for-granted overreliance on deeply symbolic timelines or events in Western imperial historiography that politically bind the temporal dimensions of research designs. I show in this dissertation that imperial chronology, at best, allows only incomplete explanations for Nimíipuu/Nez Perce persistence and influence, and, at worse, it perpetuates and reproduces U.S. colonial violence against Indigenous Peoples.

[2] Many of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce sources I use as data (see Appendix A) use the phrase "time immemorial." It is also a common phrase in Native American literature and Indigenous social movements. I did not come up with this term. Instead, I use it as the primary theme in this research as I highlight its variety of uses in Nimíipuu/Nez Perce publications.

The fundamental implication of my research is the need for social science to reconsider its dependency on imperial chronology. I also contribute to research demonstrating the need to listen to colonized people to better understand colonialism, capitalism, and the potential for us to build better social worlds (Cabral 2016; Fanon 2004; Du Bois 1998). Likewise, I add to literature demonstrating the need to support the self-determination of Indigenous Peoples, especially if we wish to survive current manifestations of Western imperialism and capitalism, such as climate change and nuclear proliferation (Colombi and Brooks 2012; Estes 2019; Harney 1995; Norgaard 2019). I now build a theoretical framework and define key terms through a review and reconstruction of the relevant literature in social science and critical Indigenous studies. I then provide a justification for my case selection by presenting the paradox of Indigenous persistence in global capitalism[3] as it relates to Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and articulate my research questions in more specific terms. I conclude this introductory chapter by providing a brief overview of each empirical chapter.

[3] Indigenous persistence is a paradox because hegemonic Western discourse falsely assumes that Indigenous People have a *pre*disposition towards extinction. For example, it is often assumed that genocide is what completely exterminated entire Peoples. However, examples of complete eradication from genocide are elusive (for an exception, see Holly's [2000] case study of the Beothuk of Newfoundland). For example, Thornton (1990) says several times that "many American Indian peoples became extinct," but he does not name any that went extinct because everyone was slaughtered in a genocide (as in state-sponsored or condoned mass killing and removals). It seems that this was almost always because of disease (also see Koch et al. 2019) and the aftermath of genocide. Where genocide occurred, it did not tend to kill everyone. People ran away, hid, and held culture underground, such as the Tasmanians (Taylor 2013) and the Arawak (Provost and Quintana n.d.), both previously considered "extinct." Of course, there are hundreds of cases of entire villages being destroyed but given that many Indigenous People lived in semi-autonomous groups, the complete eradication of a village is not necessarily the same thing as killing off an entire biological or cultural group of people. Survivors often fled and hid and became incorporated into other groups. It is hard to say if this qualifies or not as complete extermination. Sociology tends to treat "Any groups still 'outside the system'—the so-called 'ethnographic' reserves—are, at this point in history, insignificant" (Amin 1980: 12). Perhaps it because many in sociology believe it is "guarantee[d] that humanity's future will unfold [in cities]" (Massey 2002: 1) and that "the last hunter-gatherers will [soon] cease to exist" (ibid.).

Theoretical Framework Outline

In the next section, I build a theoretical framework to help explain how some Indigenous Peoples managed to survive Western colonization *and* continue affecting political economy from their ancestral land-base. At the heart of this theory construction is the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce claim that they have been in their homelands since a "time immemorial." This forces scrutiny of the temporal boundaries commonly used in theories about empire building, colonization, genocide, racism, memory, and time, revealing one way that social science is bound to global struggles over national origin stories and cultural meanings of "civilization" and "progress." In other words, imperial chronology[4] is not a legitimate convention grounded in careful scientific observation and analysis, but rather a political outcome of empire building that works to justify or deny historical and contemporary imperial violence. Taking the concept of "time immemorial" seriously reveals several opportunities for social science to stop reproducing this violence against Indigenous People. Fundamentally, it treats Indigenous history—from that which is beyond memory and to the future—as a force of world significance that exposes cracks and fissures in Western power structures.

[4] Imperial chronology seems to be a general invention of empire and it is not specific to the West. For example, Boone (2003: 209) argues that the "annals history" of the Aztec empire "was a historical genre developed or adopted by the Aztex-Mexica to tell the imperial story, to ground the imperium in the deep past, and to present its continuance as ongoing as long as the ribbon of time continued." This also provides avenues for folks to "embrace and emulate" the empire with a vocabulary of "'We are Aztecs, too'" (ibid.: 207). Thus, imperial chronology is a fundamental part of helping to change, create, and sustain the self and the other in imperial situations.

To this end, I first review the sociology of empire building and colonization that provide explanations for patterns and variations in the outcomes and processes of Western empire building. I contrast this to scholarship with Indigenous lifeworld studies to reveal the tendency of imperial chronology in social science narratives, analytical categories, and definitions. I also show that there is much overlap in certain world-systems models of long-term social change and critical Indigenous studies that theorize what life was like before white colonization. Moreover, the Indigenous lifeworld/world-system perspective provides a useful empirical model for reconstructing narratives about social worlds from a time beyond memory by triangulating oral histories and traditions with archeological and ethnographic records. This helps to shed imperial chronology from the analysis and to highlight the agency of Indigenous People, from before Western colonization to the ongoing genocides of 21st century North America and beyond.

Second, I look to the sociology and critical Indigenous studies of memory and time to deconstruct sociology as "a memory project" (Stoler and Strassler 2000: 7; also see Hung 2003) embedded in the discourse of the "West and the rest" (S. Hall 2006; Robinson 2007; Said 1983). This process renders both science and Indigenous Peoples as "timeless" objects (Bourdieu 1990: 81-5), for opposite reasons—Indigenous people are behind history or without history while science and civilization are out in front of or making history (Wolf 2010)—and in ways that tend to reproduce dominant narratives used to justify the violence of colonial society and deny the humanity of Indigenous People (Estes 2019). This is most salient in the reification of time categorization as a latent cause and consequence for human behavior—as in people of "*pre*-" modern times did pre-modern things, while people of

"modern" times do modern things. Not only does "time immemorial" challenge this static view of human behavior and global social change, but it also suggests that Indigenous People are here to stay and that their understandings of time and the universe—often branded as "ridiculous" by Western science (e.g., Hawking 2017: 1)—have much to teach the rest of us about how to live well on this earth.

Lastly, I review the sociology and critical Indigenous studies about genocide to argue that genocide is an essential tool of Western empires and their subsequent independent nation-states to develop, reproduce, spread, and reap the profits from racial capitalism (e.g., Horne 2020; Robinson 2000; D. Rodríguez 2015; Moses 2010; Trouillot 2015; Wolfe 2006). Furthermore, genocides create and transform social identities (ethnogenesis) as much as they destroy 'other' people. Genocides are a fundamental component of creating "whiteness," i.e., the ethnogenesis of pan-Europeanism, and maintaining its use as a social category of power and privilege (Cabral 2016; Césaire 1972; Du Bois 1998; Estes 2019; Fanon 2000, 2004; Lindqvist 1996; Robinson 2000; Weik 2014). Imperial chronology is an outcome, in part, of genocides in North America, and thus, helps perpetuate and reproduce whiteness. The Indigenous claim of "time immemorial," highlights the *weaknesses* of an identity/power category predicated on making home through defiling, violating, and destroying 'other' people and stealing their lands and resources. The principal weakness of whiteness is that it needs those it intends to destroy (Cabral 2016; Césaire 1972; Du Bois 1998; Fanon 2000, 2004; Robinson 2000). But while there is opportunity in this weakness, such as Indigenous People reasserting control over social or economic processes after colonial failures become too much to hide

(e.g., pollution) (Estes 2019; Harney 1995; Norgaard 2019), it also presents the terrifying prospect of a violent cycle with no end in sight (Cox 1945; Warren 2018).

Following the development of this theoretical framework, I reiterate the research puzzle and research questions and then provide a brief outline of the rest of the dissertation.

Patterns & Variation of Imperial Outcomes & Processes

Sociology is a distinct way of telling stories about human life that is largely caught in the epistemological trap of a "metropolitan-imperial standpoint" (Go 2017: 197) that privileges dominant U.S. understandings of human history and social problems by conflating methodological nationalism for scientific convention (Wimmer and Min 2006). As a corrective, some scholars of empire suggest that we recalibrate sociology by considering the imperial origins of our discipline, how this global history conditions what we (think we) know, and how our theories and findings fit into worldwide historical patterns of inequality and the power dynamics of empire building (Benton 2002; Go 2008, 2018; Greer 2018; Hung 2003; Merry 2000; V. Reyes 2019; Rodney 1971, 2018; Steinmetz 2013; Tamanoi 2003). In short, there is a need for us to globalize sociology and scholars of empire are doing some of that critical work. For example, research demonstrates that the "residues" of old imperial practices and institutional logics still dominate daily life in countries today (Centeno and Enriquez 2010; V. Reyes 2015, 2019) because empire building is the history of modern statecraft and international relations (Abernethy 2000). These residues, the particulars of which are informed by historical empire building at local,

regional, and global levels, help explain global patterns of inequality (Goldman 2005; Kentor and Boswell 2003; Mahoney 2010) and help us understand the different political, cultural, and economic choices that people make (or patterns that people follow) under different conditions (Du Bois 1915; Kohli 2004; Merry 2000; Patterson 2018; Robinson 2000). To demonstrate, it is first necessary to define empires and distinguish between colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism.

Empires are militarized political organizations whereby one state violently expands its territory by arrogating the sovereignty of conquered peoples and polities (Benton 2001; Centeno and Enriquez 2010; Go 2008; Rodney 2018; Steinmetz 2005, 2008). Go (2008) discusses colonialism and imperialism as the two overarching strategies for an empire to expand its territory and influence. The distinction is between the physical presence of an empire's representatives and agents (e.g., administrators, settlers, missionaries, and so-on) in an area to usurp sovereignty, i.e., colonialism. Imperialism, on the other hand, uses "indirect… methods" that do not require the physical presence of an empire's representatives, but nevertheless forms a "network of power" over a place once controlled politically by other people (Go 2008: 201). Thus, it is useful to see empires as falling on a continuum of more-or-less colonial or imperial (Steinmetz 2005) because most former colonies transformed into independent states after decolonization, yet they are still subject to some form of imperial control (Goldman 2005; Kentor and Boswell 2003). While there might be some disagreement about if we should use the word "imperial" to describe the U.S. or Western Europe today (e.g., Mann 2013), it is obvious that most major Western social institutions, from language to religion to military to economy and so-on, are

inseparable from their imperial histories (Du Bois 1915; Fynn-Paul 2009; Horne 2020; Merry 2000; Patterson 2018; Robinson 2000). Lastly, empire building is not capitalism. Rather, colonialism and imperialism are the primary historical means of Western empires to spread capitalism all over the world and reap its profits (Ince 2014; Rodney 2018). Capitalism, instead, is a mode of production dominated by private property ownership and the exploitation of wage labor (Marx 1978a).

Two leading approaches to the study of empires, world-systems (Cox 1959; Wallerstein 2007) and colonial fields (Go 2008; Steinmetz 2005), help explain the causes and consequences of empire building. World-systems scholars observe long-historical patterns in colonization and the rise and fall of western capitalist empires. For example, when empires are hegemonic (i.e., most powerful), colonization is less likely because they profit more from free trade in open markets, while declining or rising empires use colonization strategically to gain competitive advantage (Cox 1959; Wallerstein 2007). Colonial fields theory, instead, argue that hegemonic positions in the global political economy do not adequately explain the large variation observed in colonial processes and outcomes (Go 2008; Steinmetz 2008). Instead, scholars stress the form and content of colonial institutions, conflicts within and between institutions, and historical conditions that create or restrict opportunities for future empires (Go 2008, 2011; Steinmetz 2005, 2008).

Both approaches of studying empire tend to over-rely on another kind of "metropolitan-imperial standpoint" (Go 2017), what I call *imperial chronology*. For example, most analyses of empire start the story at or after an important colonial date, such

as 1492 C.E. Of course, this date is deeply symbolic and is almost synonymous with Christopher Columbus and the 'discovery' of a 'new world' (Carpio 2006; Mills 2016, 2020; Zerubavel 1998). At best, the taken-for-granted use of 1492 is arbitrary and constitutes a "symbolic decapitation of history" (Zerubavel 1998: 319) that inherently privileges the social worlds of those most powerful. In fact, this analytical move creates categories for what we consider important or irrelevant—such as how we generally think of the difference between western "history" and everyone else's "*pre*-history"—and obscure how we understand world history and social problems (Carpio 2006; Mills 2020; Zerubavel 1998).

There are notable exceptions to this trend, especially the world-systems approach that argues global capitalism is not the only world-system. Instead, humans have created many world-systems throughout history that organized the *social worlds* of people living in geographically bounded areas through networked social institutions of information, economy, and politics/military (Burch 2005; Chase-Dunn and T. Hall 1991, 1997; Chase-Dunn and Mann 1998; T. Hall 2013; Kea 2004; Peregrine and Feinman 1996). This view is more consistent with Indigenous perspectives that understand their own histories as complex, adaptive, and creating entire worlds of human organization and meaning making (Coté 2010; Deloria 2006; Dunbar-Ortiz 2014; Estes 2019; L. Reyes 2002). In fact, what world-systems scholars call networked social institutions, Indigenous scholars describe "lifeways"[5] or "ways of life" (Aikau et al. 2015; Blackhawk 2006; Coté 2010; Jacob 2014;

[5] Chase-Dunn and Mann's book, *The Wintu and Their Neighbors* (1998) uses the terms "social institutions" and "lifeways" interchangeably. I apply Bourdieu's (1990: 151-153, 210-215) understanding of social institution to mean patterned social behavior. This combination, triangulated with a serious reading of Indigenous social worlds before, during, and after European/American settler-colonization and genocide

Miller 2009; Norgaard 2019), or relationships that people develop, maintain, and adapt with each other, the landscape, and other lifeforms, providing the material and immaterial necessities of life. However, terms such as "pre-modern," "pre-historical," "pre-Columbian," "pre-capitalist," and the like are pervasive in world-systems research about Indigenous history and social structures before European colonization. This gives the impression, as Zerubavel (1998), Mills (2014, 2020), and Carpio (2006) suggest, that understanding Indigenous Peoples and their times are nevertheless on the "periphery" of the "core" historical narrative that is the global spread of capitalism.

Indigenous/Western interactions, from mutually beneficial trade, to genocides, and everything in between, are foundational to the form and content of the global capitalist world-system (Blackhawk 2006; Bruyneel 2021; Dunbar-Ortiz 2014; Estes 2019; Goh 2007; Horne 2020; Mahoney 2010; Merry 2000; Norgaard 2019; Patterson 2018; Perez 2011). Thus, critical Indigenous studies are indispensable to developing a theoretical framework and methodological design that does not arbitrarily relegate Indigenous Peoples to a dead past that was simply absorbed into the imperial chronology of "progress" and "civilization" (Bruyneel 2021; King 2005, 2013). Indigenous Peoples continue affecting change in political economy, at local, regional, and local levels (Colombi and Brooks 2012; Norgaard 2019; Wilmer 1993). For example, the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission, of which the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho is a member, help keep the international price of salmon down through their co-management of salmon fisheries

(e.g., Coté 2010; Estes 2019; Deloria 2006; Jacob 2014; Miller 2009; L. Reyes 2002), helps me illustrate the "mechanisms of persistence" (Patterson 2004) that can account for historical continuity and social change.

(Diver 2012). This is despite the settler-colonial imposition of a foreign capitalist cultural and political economy that built empires and nation-states by creating a "death world" (Estes 2019: 16) not just for Indigenous Peoples, but all life on earth. Simply put, "non-Indian society has created a monstrosity of a culture where people starve while the granaries are filled and the sun can never break through the smog" (Deloria 1972: 506). Indigenous Peoples, of course, had their own problems before western imperialism, including wars, slavery, and overusing resources (Estes 2019; Ruby and Brown 1993). Evidence also suggest that Indigenous Peoples were better off in terms of health, wealth, and general quality of life before European colonization (Coté 2010; Hunn and Selam 2001; Norgaard 2019) and often "unimpressed" (Thrush 2016: 55; also see Horne 2020: chapter 2) with the fruits of capitalism.[6]

Thus, "sociological and comparative studies of Western and non-Western civilizations that [are] grounded [in] detailed knowledge of the West but oversimplified… knowledge of the ['other' are] doomed to be heavily biased" (Hung 2003: 275) and incomplete. I suggest that one way to start correcting this shortfall in social science and humanities, is to start the hard work of understanding the histories of those who "were there first" (Fenelon and T. Hall 2008: 1893) as best as possible from their own viewpoints. This requires, at minimum, that we listen seriously to the claim from Indigenous Peoples that they have been here since a "time immemorial," that their lifeways have been developing and adapting for that long, and that this history informs how they dealt with western

[6] Coll Thrush (2016) describes several scenes of Indigenous travelers and diplomates in London and how they were utterly unimpressed with the general social structure, disgusted by the pollution and lack of hygiene, and found it unfathomable that grown men did not know how to hunt.

colonization and the imposition of racial-colonial capitalism (e.g., Coté 2010; Estes 2019; Norgaard 2019). As I show in the findings section, this analytical move provides additional explanations for how Indigenous Peoples can persist as distinct cultural groups who affect political economy in the face of explicit and implicit threats and damage to their lives, homes, and future. Furthermore, this move demonstrates how "settler memory" (Bruyneel 2021) works as a general feature of science that sets political standards for how we use and think about time in research. These standards "detemporalize" (Bourdieu 1990: 81-85) both science and Indigenous People in a way that fits neatly into the dominant discourse of "the West and the rest" (S. Hall 2006; Robinson 2007; Said 1983), and thus represent political struggles over national origin stories and meanings of civilization and progress.

Imperial Public Memory in Social Science

If sociology is a type of storytelling, then, like any other kind of story, it relies on memories produced, recorded, archived, released, and interpreted in a variety of sociopolitical contexts (Fuentes 2016; S. Hall 2006; Robinson 2007; Said 1983). The dominant sociopolitical context of the last 6,000 years of human history is empire building (Centeno and Enriquez 2010; Chase-Dunn and T. Hall 1997). About 500 years ago, western Europe became the geographic "core" from which states were launching efforts to build colonial-capitalist empires in "new worlds," especially through slavery and genocide, and in competition with one another (Fenelon 2016; Horne 2020; Robinson 2000). This imperial history was punctuated with World War I and II and the global institutionalization

of nation-states as the primary mode of human sociopolitical organization (Du Bois 1915; Moses 2010; Wimmer and Min 2006). Far from being divorced from this context, Western sociology is intimately involved with developing, justifying, and critiquing the content of Western imperial formations (Goh 2007; Malešević 2010; Manchanda 2018; Steinmetz 2013). Thus, we can talk about sociology as "a memory project" (Stoler and Strassler 2000: 7) that helps shape and perpetuate a dominant "discourse" of "the West and the Rest" (S. Hall 2006; Robinson 2007; Said 1983), and, in circular fashion, relies on this discourse for understanding human behavior (Hung 2003). To demonstrate, I will distinguish different types of human memory and discourse.

Memory exists at multiple levels (Assmann 2008; Casey 2004), such as individual memories that exist only inside the minds of individual people, or social memories shared only by people related (loosely defined) to one another, such as a family or business office. At the collective level, people share memories even though they might not necessarily know each other at all (Casey 2004). Memories are collective when people internalize events or processes of a "group's vision of its past by means of cognitive learning and emotional acts of identification and commemoration… [that] create the identity of a 'we'" (Assman 2008: 52). Public memories, on the other hand, are the most "exposed and vulnerable" because they are "out in the open… where discussion with others is possible" (Casey 2004: 25). Levels of exposure and vulnerability depend on a variety of factors that have to do with things such as power and resources.

Perhaps it is when specific public memories are backed up with certain levels of power and resources that they rise to the level of a "discourse," or, "a group of statements"

that fit together by implicating a relationship with all other statements, and thus, "provide a language for talking… [and knowing] about a topic" (S. Hall 2006: 165, building from Foucault and Said). Discourse, in other words, is the creation of "knowledge through language" that "shapes perceptions and practice" (S. Hall 2006: 165, 173) as outcomes of power relations (also see Hung 2003; Robinson 2007; Said 1983). Therefore, human discourses, and the memories that create and buttress them, are central features of political struggles (S. Hall 2006; Olick 1998; Robinson 2007; Said 1983; Tamanoi 2003; Tohe 2007; Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz 1991) because they are a specific type of immaterial resource that can both command and justify (re)distributions of material resources.

One dominant discourse today is the "West and the Rest" (S. Hall 2006; Hung 2003; Go 2018; Goh 2007). This discourse is a consequence of Western empire building that heavily relied on mass violence towards "others" to build and maintain their power and wealth (Fanon 2004; Fenelon 2016; Horne 2020; Moses 2010; Patterson 2018; Robinson 2000). As with other systems of power, discourses are thick with contradictions that revel some of the logic of their operation (Marx 1978b). The contradiction of interest here are the temporal dimensions, or the "chronopolitics" (Mills 2020), of Western origin stories of "progress" and "civilization" (S. Hall 2006; Mills 2016, 2020). For example, B.C. ("before Christ") and A.D. ("after the death of Christ") set the foundation of the secular Western calendar. Other terms, such as B.C.E. ("before current era") and C.E. ("current era") may remove explicit religious language, but do not change the religious point of origin that signals the beginning of something new, different, and more important (Mills 2020; Zerubavel 1998). Socially constructed time, like memories, privilege certain group by

helping justify and organize material and immaterial resource distributions (Adams 1998; Zerubavel 1982, 1987, 1998) and research shows how different cultural understandings of time betray the political uses and power dynamics embedded in social time (V. Reyes 2020).

For example, Stephen Hawking's best-selling book, *A Brief History of Time* (2017), introduces the physical study of space-time with a "ridiculous" story common to ancient worlds, including those of present-day China, India, and North America. The "ridiculous" story is about a turtle that holds the earth on its back. Another turtle holds the first turtle on its back, and, as it turns out, "it's turtles all the way down" (Hawking 2017: 8; but see King 2005 for a Native interpretation of this story). Hawking then mentions that physics and "fantastic new technologies" (read: science and progress) will continue to render most human understandings "ridiculous." In the next paragraph, we get reference to Western philosophy, democracy, *and* religion, "As long ago as $340_{B.C.}$ the Greek philosopher Aristotle" (ibid.: 9, my emphasis). Aristotle, of course, was thinking less "ridiculous" things than an infinite tower of turtles holding the earth. The story of "it's turtles all the way down" is a common example in physics courses about the problem of infinity, and a typical counterpoint is "the Jewish/Christian/Muslim tradition" of the universe born at some finite point in time (ibid.: 13). This tradition—and apparently not those 'other' traditions—is said to have a more accurate understanding of the universe, and thus time. For, apparently, it "was first pointed out by St. Augustine... [who] said that time was a property of the universe that God created," and thus, "the concept of time has no meaning before the beginning of the universe" (ibid.: 13). Physics calls this beginning the "Big

Bang," which is the center of Hawking's "quest" for a unified theory of the universe. To these ends, Hawking relies "on Darwin's [actually, Herbert Spencer's version of the] principle of natural selection" where the most fit develop a "pattern of behavior and though [that]... come to dominate. It has certainly been true in the past that what we call intelligence and scientific discovery have conveyed a survival advantage. It is not so clear that this is still the case: our scientific discoveries may well destroy us all, and even if they don't, a complete unified theory may not make much difference to our chances of survival" (ibid.: 18). Thus, a biological/scientific taxonomy is applied to time that simultaneously justifies and denies violence against Indigenous People—for "primitives" have no real conception of time according to the Western view, and thus, no real understanding of God or the universe. Thus, there is no history without Western "civilization" and "progress" (see Herbert Spencer 1898 for an influential example of this detemporalized science of progress; see Duster 2003 and Hanson and King 2013 for critical examinations of the application of Spencer's ideas).

What is most telling about Hawking's introduction to the social history of time, beyond that he explicitly relies on imperial chronology and an anti-Indigenous strawman argument to introduce his readers to the physical study of space-time, is that it reveals some common anxieties about the empty promises of Western civilization, such as its ability to deliver "progress." It also makes salient a central feature of Bruyneel's (2021), Estes's (2019), King's (2005), and Wolfe's (2006) argument about "settler memory": that settler-colonial states, although predicated on removing people physically and culturally from the land, must always *remember* "the Indians" that are essential to creating distinct national

identities separate from the original metropoles that birthed them. Moreover, it demonstrates Bourdieu's (1990: 81-85) warning about the tendency of science to "detemporalize" itself and its "object(s)" of study. Thus, even secular starting points, such as the Big Bang, still rely on the B.C/A.D. format and logic of the Christian calendar (Hawking 2017; but see Christian 2011). And, thus, science, like "the calendar substitutes a linear, homogeneous, continuous time for practical time, which is made up of islands of incommensurable duration, each with its own rhythm, a time that races or drags, depending on what one is doing" (Bourdieu 1990: 84). This tension between secular and religious temporal logics that both claim civilization and progress also reflect (and produce) competing versions of "White, racial time, [or] white chronopolitics" (Mills 2020: 312) that continue to structure how we understand history and the social world. For example, the Society for American Archaeology uses the categories of "historic" and "prehistoric" as the basic organizing tool at its annual conference meetings (Pauketat 2012), while the basic difference between sociology and anthropology centers on this distinction between so-called "modern" and "pre-modern" societies (Wolf 2010).

Almost all Western social science, including my research, rely on some form of this understanding of time to tell our stories. An unquestioning reliance on a deeply symbolic and political social construction might produce a type of *temporal nationalism* that obscures what we think we know about the social world. Hence the historical tendency to treat both "civilization" and Indigenous People as "timeless" (Mills 2014: 28-30; Wolf 2010: 5, 95). This occurs, in part, because colonial ethnography institutionalized the "racial-time narrative" that "morphed into the grand-narrative of Modernization" (Goh

2007: 137). Indigenous People are thought to be behind or "without history" while Western science and civilization are thought to be out in front of or making history (Wolf 2010). This view reproduces dominant narratives used to justify the violence of colonial society and deny the humanity of Indigenous People. This is most salient in the subtle reification of time as a latent cause and consequence for human behavior—as in people of "*pre*-" modern times did pre-modern things, while people of "modern" times do modern things. For example, it is common academic convention to *categorize people as of a certain time* as existing within some sort of "pre-historical," "pre-literate," "pre-contact," "pre-Columbian," or whatever "pre-" (insert allegorical Western reference era). "Historical" and "literate" privilege chirography and exclude different types of literacy, such as reading the landscape and its flora and fauna (Kimmerer 2015; Norgaard 2019), or forms of "protowriting," such as the quipu (knot-record) used by the Incas and other Andean cultures, which are not understood because of Western empire building. Catholic friars of the Spanish empire burned as many of the Maya and Aztec codices as they could find (Goodwin 2015) and this is just one of countless examples of Western empires destroying not just 'other' people, but their knowledge and understandings of the world (Grosfoguel 2013). I take the definition of history to mean what has happened, not what people have written about what happened (Christian 2011; Trouillot 2015; Lindqvist 1996).

This presents a "need for an oppositional racial chronopolitics, guided not by race as racism but race as a recognition of the racial structuring of the modern world and the concomitant need for corrective racial justice" (Mills 2020: 312). In the case of the U.S., *there was always already oppositional racial chronopolitics that trace histories to times*

immemorial and create visions of the future that are fundamentally different than the hegemonic white chronopolitics of the capitalist world-system (Coté 2010; Estes 2019; Fenelon and T. Hall 2008; King 2005, 2013; LaDuke 2017; Miller 2009; Norgaard 2019; Tohe 2007; Wilmer 1993). White chronopolitics are hegemonic and most research, even from Indigenous studies, rely on some sort of Western imperial chronology to tell a story, often starting the story at 1492 or some other similar imperial date (e.g., Perdue and Green 2010). But if the historical interactions between Indigenous Peoples and European colonizers in the western hemisphere are foundational to the form and content of the capitalist world-system, then certainly what happened before this imperial history is an important part of the story (Abu-Lughod 1989; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991; Kea 2004; Robinson 2000; Rodney 1971, 2018).

I argue that the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce claim of time immemorial helps enable their own social, cultural, political, and economic reproduction in the face of settler-colonization, genocide, and capitalist exploitation. Nez Perce history is so deep that it goes beyond memory, and this provides an exclusive archive of observations and knowledge about social and ecological patterns and changes in their homeland that is past the reach of what a settler-colonial capitalist society can understand and manipulate on its own. Holding certain lifeways in memory and practice only, i.e., staying "underground" (Nez Perce Tribe 2003: xi) by concealing lifeways from the view of white society and keeping them from being recorded in a Western medium, is one key strategy to keeping culture alive and adapting it to new conditions. Public confrontation is another strategy of persistence and time immemorial makes possible strategies and narratives that cut at "the heart of the

monster"[7] of white settler-colonial capitalism. Underground practices and open struggles are effective strategies of persistence because they provide opportunities for the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce to reproduce their lifeways by socializing their own children and teaching others how to live well in their homeland.[8] In other words, time immemorial is the historical, political, and moral legitimation of these social and collective behaviors that ground the People to specific landscapes and the relationships they create and maintain with all forms of life. Nimíipuu/Nez Perce uses of time beyond memory is a historical force that not only lays bare the hypocrisy of competing white U.S. origin stories that claim civilization, progress, justice, exceptionalism, and superiority (S. Hall 2006; Mills 2014, 2020; Robinson 2007), but also some of the political and moral dimensions of the uses of time in science and the humanities (Bourdieu 1990: 81-85; Carpio 2006; Mills 2016, 2020; Zerubavel 1982, 1987, 1998) by demonstrating that U.S. colonization is not the most important thing to happen to the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce.

[7] "The Heart of the Monster" (Landeen and Pinkham 1999: 51-52) is the Nimíipuu creation story that depicts the birth of a new human world through the death of the old animal world in an epic battle between Coyote and Monster. The new world was not inevitable. Rather, Monster was threatening to destroy all by swallowing up everything. Coyote relied on the ancient knowledge and wisdom of his home to slay the Monster. Monster swallowed Coyote, too, and then Coyote rescued the surviving animal people from inside the belly of the beast by finding at cutting away at Monster's heart with flint knives. All the knives broke in the process, but Coyote was able to tear out the heart and kill Monster. Coyote then created humans by tossing Monster's body parts around the landscape. Nimíipuu were made last by Coyote mixing the heart-blood of the Monster with the soil of the Kamiah valley. This suggests that Nimíipuu/Nez Perce survival is also not inevitable and certainly dependent upon the land and the relationships they actively create and maintain with all other life.

[8] Scholars of cultural continuity understand "social learning," defined as "the transmission of stable behavioral dispositions by teaching or imitation" (Patterson 2004: 80, quoting Boyd and Richerson [1988]), as a primary mechanism of persistence. Social learning is considered a source of "qualitative continuity," i.e., cultural persistence. "Structural continuity," on the other hand, is grounded in "systems of relations," such as class or gender relations (Patterson 2004: 82-3). There are also "event continuities," distinguished between recurring and unique events (ibid.: 90-91), and "commemorative continuities," or the selective memories that romanticize and "mythologiz[e] the past" (ibid.: 97). Time immemorial organizes each type of continuity and automatically puts into question imported white chronopolitics.

Chapter 3 details the ancient material conditions of those Nimíipuu/Nez Perce ancestors who have been here since a time immemorial by triangulating the archeological, geological, and oral historical records, up to just before the incorporation of the horse about 300 years ago. Chapter 4 extends the analysis to argue that the incorporation of the horse on the Plateau in general, and in Nimíipuu society specifically, was the result of internal sociopolitical processes that provided certain people, i.e., Prophets and Dreamers, opportunities to respond quickly and effectively to the pressures of European colonization hundreds of years before white colonizers started to appear in their home. This enables me to, in Chapter 5, detail the mechanisms of persistence for Nimíipuu/Nez Perce in their ancestral homeland despite genocidal attempts to remove them and their culture from the land by focusing on Nimíipuu/Nez Perce understandings of history. This sets up Chapter 6 for an analysis of what the political claim of "time immemorial" means for white people whose culture and political economy were meant to replace the "Indians." The central implication of this dissertation, then, is that imperial chronology, at best, allows only incomplete explanations for Nimíipuu/Nez Perce persistence and influence. At worse, it perpetuates and reproduces U.S. colonial violence, especially racism, against Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and their Indigenous neighbors by simultaneously justifying and denying genocide. To understand how this works, I now turn to a review of genocide as a central component of not just Western imperial and capitalist expansion, but the creation of imperial chronology and the category of "white" people.

Genocide, Ethnogenesis, & Origin Stories

At the heart of hegemonic North American origin story politics—i.e., the discourse of white chronopolitics—is the simultaneous public celebration and denial of the hundreds of genocides against "Indians"[9] that occurred on this continent (Bruyneel 2021; Estes 2019; Fenelon 2017; Norgaard 2019; Madley 2015; Moses 2010; Wolfe 2010). Genocide is officially a legal concept that delimits the "ultimate crime against humanity" by condemning specific "acts committed [during official war or peace time] with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group" (UN 2018). But while a legalistic view depicts genocide as an aberration to *our present time,* i.e., "modernity" (Bauman 1988; D. Rodríguez 2015; Trouillot 2015), many postcolonial/anticolonial theorists were unsurprised when Europe turned its racial violence inward (e.g., Césaire 1972 [1955]; Du Bois 2007 [1946]; Fanon 2000). My dissertation does not take the legal view. Instead, I understand genocide as an essential tool of Western empires and their subsequent independent nation-states to develop, reproduce, spread, and reap the profits from racial capitalism. Furthermore, genocides create and transform social identities (ethnogenesis) as much as they destroy 'other' people. Simply put, genocides are a fundamental component of creating "whiteness" as pan-Europeanism and maintaining its

[9] Here, the term "Indian" is used to describe genocide in accurate terms. The word "Indian" has a specific history in the U.S. and carries multiple meanings that are fluid and depend on the time of its utterance and the person who says or writes the word. When thinking about genocide in the U.S. case, it is important to remember that the government, likewise with its soldiers, missionaries, and other "civil servants" and "civilians"—as in the ambassadors, carriers, and protectors of "civilization"—do not target "Native Americans" or "Indigenous People," they target "Indians" (Wolfe 2006: 388; also see Fenelon 2017).

use as a social category of power and privilege (Césaire 1972; Du Bois 2007; Fanon 2000; Horne 2020; Lindqvist 1996; Robinson 2000; D. Rodríguez 2015; Trouillot 2015).

Cedric Robinson (2000: chapter 1) locates the origins of white racism in the violent and "tribal"/feudal relations that developed amongst Medieval Europeans after the collapse of the Roman Empire and fueled by the Crusades. Furthermore, the so-called "New World" became the primary incubator for pan-Europeanism as "white supremacy" and where "whiteness" finally transcend Christian religious allegiance[10] as the hegemonic justification for genocide and slavery in the 19th century through repeated alliances of European empires (on the international level) and their colonial-settlers (on the local level) vying (often unsuccessfully) to take the land from Natives and enslave Black[11] people (Horne 2020). The "logic of elimination" inherent in settler colonialism is that it "destroys to replace" (Wolfe 2006: 388). Thus, research demonstrating genocide as an old "political tool" (Kupter 1981) used primary to gain access to land, resources, and labor, which helped create the so-called "civilized" world is useful. Moreover, genocide is one of several principal activities that solidified the ethnogenesis[12] project of pan-Europeanism, i.e., whiteness, in the capitalist world-system (Fenelon 2016; Grosfoguel 2013; Horne 2020). In other words, engaging in genocide, like engaging in lynching, provided opportunities

[10] Christian and Islamic monotheism created cultural and imperial blocs that dictated, for the first time in human history, that followers of the faith could not enslave their own (i.e., Christians cannot own Christians and Muslims cannot own Muslims), thus areas outside these spheres became the places where slaves would start to come (Fynn-Paul 2009).

[11] After the collapse of the Roman Empire, the Christian church had become the only real repository of knowledge and it kept followers largely ignorant of other peoples around the world, except in certain descriptions of the devil that would appear as a "black Moore" or an "Ethiope" (Robinson 2000 [1983]: 3-4). However, it was in Protestant Reformation, the rise of Martin Luther, and Calvinist "*pre*destination" that allowed pan-Europeanism, and thus anti-Black and anti-Indigenous racism, to slowly emerge as "Manifest Destiny" in the 19th century (Horne 2020).

[12] That is, the "processes, transformations, causes, and politics of social identity making" (Weik 2014: 292).

for European settlers formerly considered non-white, such as the Irish, to become "white" (Horne 2020; also see Cox 1947; Ignatiev 1995; Warren and Twine 1997).

The extreme end of this logic of extermination is genocide (Wolfe 2006, 2010), and so each genocide in the U.S.A. is a case of a "racial project" (Omi and Winant 2014) of the highest order, making people white by first conceiving of others as "savage" and "Indian" and so-on, and then, by killing the 'other' through a variety of means, from all out warfare to forced assimilation projects. In this way, genocide is one of the most extreme forms of racism, i.e., "the state-sanctioned or extralegal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death" (Gilmore 2007: 28; also see Bowser 2017; Cox 1945; Du Bois 1915). Central to justifying this racism are the colonial-national origin stories. As the U.S. settler-colonial state expanded geographically it was simultaneously importing one or multiple "global" origin stories (e.g., civilization, democracy, religion, or science [recall how Hawking invoked all four in his discussion of the origins of the universe]) and creating new "local" origin stories (e.g., the Alamo, the Pilgrims, etc.). These origin stories emerge and compete as the state solidifies, and then maintains, its territorial claims through destroying Native Peoples, "in whole or in part" (United Nations 2018). One of the fundamental components of both global and local origin stories is the focus on what white people did "first," such as birthing a baby or opening a school in a colonial settlement (Norgaard 2019). This is consistent with the "logic of elimination" inherent in settler colonialism that "destroys to replace" (Wolfe 2006: 388; also see Estes 2019; Norgaard 2019; D. Rodríguez 2015). Thus, genocide, can be "hot" or "cold" in the sense that it can range from open mass murder to assimilation and relocation projects. It is

also important to note that genocides are not predicated on the "presence or absence of the formal apparatus of the state" (Wolfe 2010: 108), nor does the state have to actively endorse the killing, because frontier[13] murder in the U.S. constituted the state's

> "principal means of expansion. These have occurred 'behind the screen of the frontier, in the wake of which, once the dust has settled, the irregular acts that took place have been regularized and the boundaries of White settlement extended. Characteristically, officials express regret at the lawlessness of this process while resigning themselves to its inevitability'" (ibid.: 108, quoting his own 2006 article).

It is well established that there is a generalized desire among settler-colonial states in North America to eliminate all Indigenous People (Blackhawk 2006; Ostler 2019; Wolfe 2006, 2010), and that this desire is institutionalized at the highest levels of the federal government since its inception (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014; Estes 2019). Therefore, I consider all types of systematic violence against Indigenous Peoples in the U.S. as, by definition, genocidal. There need not be a paper trail[14] documenting the "intent" of state officials to

[13] I use the term "frontier" because it is the word most often used in my data to describe a historical geopolitical context in a specific geographic area where "different social systems—nonstate societies, state societies, [or] world-systems come into more-or-less sustained contact" (Hall 2009: 25; also see Ferguson and Whitehead 1992). However, because "frontier scholarship tends to have a one-sided, imperial focus," I also draw on the lessons of "borderland" research to emphasize the "contestation, negotiation, and meaning-making" processes among and between different groups and their "overlapping political, economic, and cultural networks within and around borderlands" (V. Reyes 2019: 194n11).

[14] In the case of Indigenous Peoples of the Coast, Southern Plateau, and Great Basin in Washington and Oregon Territories, there is, in fact, a paper trail that ranges from newspaper editorials with settlers saying, for example, "We trust they [the Yakama] will be rubbed out—blotted from existence as a tribe" (quoted in Cannell 2010: 100), to orders of U.S. government officials, such as Washington Territory Governor, Isaac Stevens, who ordered his volunteer militias to "strike the hostiles wherever he finds them... [and] to spare no exertion to reduce to unconditional submission any hostiles within reach" (quoted in Cannell 2010: 125). These "hostiles" were often women, children, and elders who were attacked while their male warriors were away hunting and fishing (ibid.: 125-6). In addition, there are many accounts of volunteers targeting women and children (ibid.) (McWhorter 2020, 1952; Slickpoo 1973), there is speculation that General Howard inflated his body count by killing women and children but reporting them as "warriors" (McWhorter 2020, 1952; Slickpoo 1973). My own reading of Howard (1881: 251) has him blaming his "Indian scouts" for murdering and scalping old people. There were also cases of public hangings to set "examples," mutilations and grave robbing, and destroying food, travel, and home supplies. Lastly, the Idaho Territory had a "private enterprise system of fighting Indians... [that] relied upon [scalp] bounty

eradicate a specific group, for all Indigenous People in the U.S. are generally targeted for elimination (Estes 2019, 2020; Jacob 2016; The Red Nation 2021). World-systems theory understands states (legitimated organized violence) as only one part of much larger geopolitical and economic forces, i.e., the interstate system. The political/military network is the interstate system—i.e., the sum of bonding alliances and conflicts between polities and settlements. Warfare is a critical component of this network that works to reorganize societies and their relations to one another by reproducing or changing exploitative relations of the core-periphery hierarchy (Chase-Dunn 1989: 159-160). Yet, world-systems theory generally does not consider genocide as a particular type of warfare that is essential for the development and spread of capitalism, as Grosfoguel (2013) and Fenelon (2016) argue. Part of the problem is that genocides in the U.S. were often not directed by the state, but by "volunteers" or others who wanted the lands and resources of the "Indians" and had no official affiliation with a regular army (Horne 2020; Wolfe 2010).

The overarching structure of settler-colonization guides the creation of genocide as structure, and until it reaches completion or is reversed, it is ongoing and its future in question (Wolfe 2010: 121; also see Estes 2019; Norgaard 2019). In this way, questions of Indigenous persistence in the U.S. are also questions of genocide that can help us not only understand the political economy of empire building and racism in the U.S., but how we might bring an end to genocide (Estes 2019; Norgaard 2019; Wolfe 2010). Imperial chronology is also present in genocide studies, where it is enough to simply say that "guns,

payments from $25.00 to $100 for men, women, and children" (Wells 1970: 198; also see Harney 1995: 105, 129).

germs, and steel" (read: superiority in genes, technology, and organization)—i.e., "modernity," were enough to destroy entire groups (e.g., Hinton 2010). This glosses over what Peoples had before their worlds were destroyed, in whole or in part, and thus dismisses so many of the cases where colonizers did not simply walk all over Indigenous People. For example, while Hinton (2010) does "recognize that 'savages,' colonial 'subjects,' and postcolonial 'sovereigns,' are not simply swept along by the modernity, but actively help form it" (447), there is no weight provided to the importance of Indigenous social worlds before European colonization (see concluding remarks, page 454, where the focus is the aftermath of such encounters) and how history might determine different outcomes. This is similar to some colonial-field theories that suggest that Indigenous resistance affected colonial policy only "indirectly," "insofar as it is noticed and interpreted by those in charge of the state, and not as a sheer material force" (Steinmetz 2002: 145-6).

Imperial chronology is an outcome, in part, of genocides in North America, and thus, helps perpetuate and reproduce whiteness. The Indigenous claim of time immemorial highlights the weaknesses of an identity/power category predicated on making home through defiling, violating, and destroying 'other' people and stealing their lands and resources. The principal weakness is that whiteness needs those it intends to destroy (Césaire 1972; Du Bois 1998; Fanon 2000). But while there is opportunity in this weakness, such as Indigenous People reasserting control over social or economic processes after colonial failures become too much to hide (e.g., pollution) (e.g., Norgaard 2019), it also presents the terrifying prospect of a violent cycle with no end in sight (Cox 1945; Warren 2018).

Case Selection & Dissertation Outline

Approximately 90 percent of all Indigenous Peoples living in the Americas were killed by Western exploration and colonization, mostly from disease, in the long sixteenth century (Horne 2020; Koch et al. 2019; Thornton 1990). On the Southern Plateau (aka Columbia Plateau or Columbia River Basin), some Indigenous Peoples, including Nimíipuu, lost up to half of their total population (meaning that some villages lost anywhere from 75 to 100 percent of their populations) from exposure to foreign pathogens, such as smallpox, before ever interacting with white people (Boyd 2021; Hunn and Selam 2001). The Nimíipuu/Nez Perce also survived genocide (Josephy 1997), missionization and boarding schools (Coleman 1987), reservation allotment (Tonkovich 2012), extreme capitalist exploitation (Colombi 2012b), the theft and desecration of the landscape (Colombi 2012a), and other ordinary forms of colonial violence (TallBear 2003). Figures 1.1 and 1.2 illustrate some of the consequences of this history. In other words, Nimíipuu are one of the few Indigenous Peoples to have written extensively about these experiences from their own distinct point of view.[15] More than that, Nimíipuu/Nez Perce have published an entire archive of books, articles, pamphlets, dissertations, magazines, and so on (see my methods chapter for more detail). This archive represents a long-standing tradition of "writing back" (Miller and Riding In 2011) against racist understandings of history and current events, and an active means of survival, resistance, and influence. Thus, this

[15] At the same time, the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce are not unique, for "Between 1772 and 1924 Indian authors published more than 6700 articles and books in English" [[Erwin 1996: 500]].

Nimíipuu/Nez Perce archive enables an in-depth case study of Indigenous persistence and influence in the face of colonization, genocide, and capitalist development.

The core argument of my dissertation is that Nimíipuu/Nez Perce persist because of their history of adapting to social change since time immemorial. To theorize time immemorial and its interdisciplinary implications, I use comparative-historical sociology to analyze and compare 210 Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and non-Nimíipuu/Nez publications written between 1805 and 2020 about Nimíipuu/Nez Perce social worlds before and since U.S. colonization. Drawing inspiration from historical ethnography, I created original archives[16] for abductive coding, comparison, and narrative reconstruction to extend social theories and develop causal inferences (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Hunter 2013). I extend sociological theories of empire building, memory, violence, and racism, and I advance critical Indigenous studies, by reconstructing a story about Nimíipuu/Nez Perce affecting social change since time immemorial. I discuss my data and methods in detail in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

I demonstrate the value of comparing Indigenous oral histories, traditions, and literary records, to what we think we know about Western empire building, colonization, genocide, and capitalist development. For example, I often use the Nimíipuu creation story, "The Heart of the Monster," and other oral traditions as both metaphor and lesson for survival, persistence, and influence. I elaborate this point especially in my first empirical chapter (chapter 3).

[16] This archive includes 103 original publications written by, for, and/or with Nimíipuu/Nez Perce, including, but not limited to, oral traditions, biographies, historical-fiction, dissertations in English, linguistics, and education, artwork anthology, journal articles, and history books. I am purchasing this "data" to donate to the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho when I complete my dissertation. For more information, see the next chapter about methods and data.

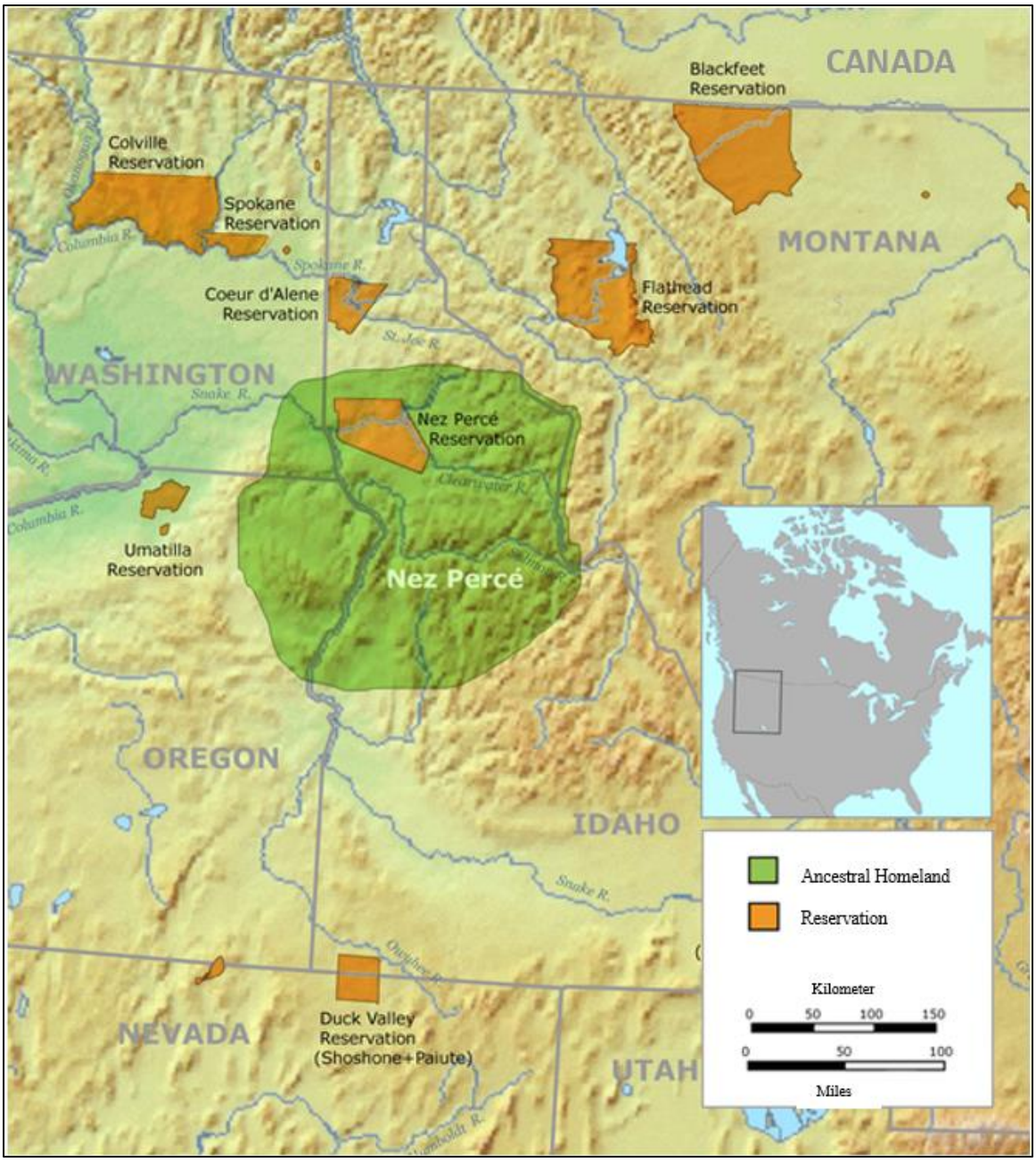

Figure 1.1: **Nimíipuu Ancestral Homeland and Current Reservation Boundaries of the Nez Perce and their Neighbors**
Shows Nez Perce ancestral territorial claims around 1700 C.E. and the current Reservation boundaries. Today, the Tribe owns approximately 12% of the land within their Reservation (Nez Perce Tribe 2003). Boundaries in map are approximate.
Image source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nezperce01.png>

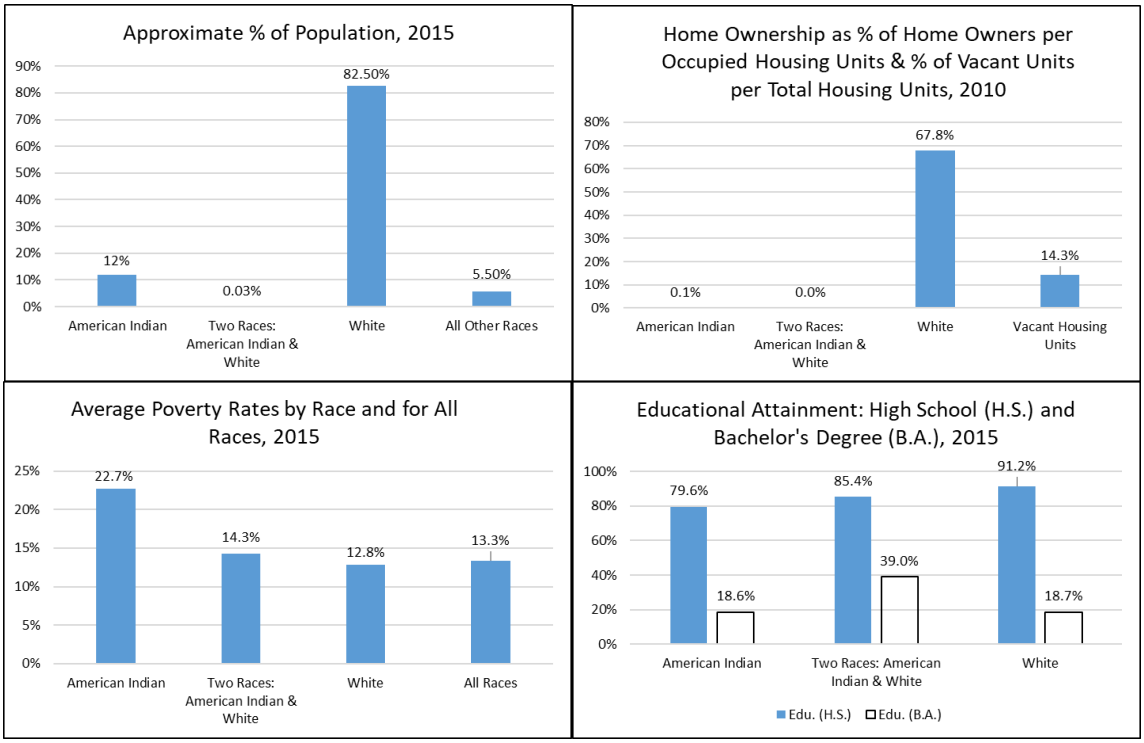

Figure 1.2: Basic Nez Perce Indian Reservation Demographics, 2015
Tables constitute a "best guess" and are constructed from data from the American Community Survey database <https://factfinder.census.gov/>. Note, in Approximate % of Population the very low self-reported number of two-race persons. The figure is probably much higher, but there is no way to tell as detailed statistical records of the reservation do not exist. Source for population, education, and poverty: American Fact Finder zip code search results of the 2015 American Community Survey, US Census for 83523, 83524, 83526, 83533, 83536, 83539, 83540, 83541, 83544, 83545, 83548, 83555. Source for home ownership: American Fact Finder zip code search results of the 2010 US Bureau of the Census Report for 83523, 83524, 83526, 83533, 83536, 83539, 83540, 83541, 83544, 83545, 83548, 83555.

Chapter 3 is titled, "The Development of an Indigenous Peoples Lifeworld: Legacies of Coyote," argues that the form and content of Nimíipuu social institutions and structural relations with their neighbors before U.S. colonization helps explain how they survived genocide and adapted to a colonial-capitalist political economy. I detail the ancient material conditions of those Nimíipuu/Nez Perce ancestors who've been here since a time beyond memory by triangulating the archeological, geological, and oral historical

records, up to just before the incorporation of the horse about 300 years ago—a critical decision that helped survival.

Chapter 4 extends the analysis to argue that the incorporation of the horse on the Plateau in general, and in Nimíipuu society specifically, was the result of internal sociopolitical processes that provided certain people, i.e., Prophets and Dreamers, opportunities to respond quickly and effectively to the pressures of European colonization hundreds of years before white colonizers started to appear in their home. As a result, Nimíipuu ascended to a core position on the Plateau prior to U.S. colonization and became powerful enough to negotiate the most favorable reservation terms compared with their less powerful neighbors. Nimíipuu also negotiated continued access to and use rights of resources in their "all usual and accustomed grounds," including land off their reservation, in the Treaties of 1855 and 1863. In 1877, some Nimíipuu went to war to, among other things, protect their rights to gather, hunt, and fish—causing a great deal of embarrassment for the U.S. Army who could only win battles when they targeted and murdered women, children, and elders. After the genocidal 1877 war, the U.S. and its settlers kept on with allotment policies, boarding schools, and other policies to attempt to eradicate Nez Perces.

The dispossession of land and life continues today, although some trends are now more mixed, such as population growth, winning landmark court cases, taking over control of salmon and steelhead fisheries, and getting and buying land back, open (public) cultural practice, among other things. For example, today, the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce population is roughly 3,500 people <https://nezperce.org/>, down from as high as 20,000 in the late 1700s (Wandschneider 2018: 533), but up from 1,400 in 1900 (Slickpoo 1973).

Furthermore, and especially after the "Second Nez Perce War" of 1979-1981, Nimíipuu/Nez Perce are reestablishing and reimagining themselves as primary caretakers of the land (Driver 2012). For example, the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho (the Tribe) now co-manage or fully control salmon and steelhead fisheries and acclimation sites in the State of Idaho (Evans and Pinkham 1999), they continue to receive and buy back ancestral land outside and inside their Reservation borders (Egan 1996), and they contribute millions of U.S. dollars and hundreds of jobs to the regional economy every year (A. Rodríguez 2011). As I demonstrate in chapter 4, one reason the Tribe persists and affect political economy is because they continue to use and adapt their ancient lifeways, or social institutions, of storytelling, husbandry, and community to new conditions since time immemorial.

Chapter 5, "The Political Economy of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce Public Memory: From Time Immemorial to the Future," takes a closer look at this pattern of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce reestablishing themselves as a political economic force on the Plateau. I argue that how Nimíipuu/Nez Perce practice their own ancient "lifeways," i.e., social institutions, of *storytelling*, *husbandry*, and *community*, and adapt them to new conditions since time immemorial, accounts for some of their persistence and influence in a foreign political economy from their ancestral land-base. This is because their lifeways provide material and immaterial resources that capitalism cannot. Specifically, *storytelling* provides people with ideas and knowledge that privilege the connections between all forms of life and the landscapes that make their home, *husbandry* offers sustainable and healthy modes of living without a profit motive, and *community* enables opportunities to practice extended kinship and egalitarianism.

In Chapter 6, "Whiteness & the Paradox of Resentment of Indigenous Persistence on the Columbia Plateau, U.S.A.," I find that whiteness creates a violent cycle of resentment of Indigenous persistence that corroborates the anticolonial thesis that "whiteness," i.e., pan-Europeanism, invented itself first by imaging "others" as "black" and "native" to justify the imperial exploits of capitalist empires (e.g., Cabral 2016; Césaire 1972; Du Bois 1998; Fanon 2004; Robinson 2000), much like self-described civilizations, i.e., empires and city states, imagined "barbarians" prior to aggression and exploitation (Jones 1971). I show that early Nimíipuu/Nez Perce observations of white people provides a powerful model of this cycle of whiteness that exposes the weak spots in pan-Europeanism as a source of power and privilege in capitalism. Nimíipuu/Nez Perce understandings of history caste whiteness as a reactionary, foreign object that 1) is in a hurry, 2) acts without thinking,[17] and 3) makes a mess. These patterns create a cycle that is held together by resentment of Indigenous persistence that results from Native peoples refusing to give up and go away (physically or culturally) (Estes 2019; King 2005, 2013Resentment of Indigenous persistence is often projection about the self-imposed lies and broken promises of manifest destiny and false sense of white entitlement to the land and resources. Thus, when white people equate Indigenous resource rights with "welfare" and labeling traditional husbandry methods as "savage," for example, signal its own

[17] The point is that settler-colonial social structure creates situations for people to get "caught up" or "swept away in the moment." In no way does this absolve folks from accountability for their actions. Most of the white violence that targets Indigenous People is intentional and planned with the explicit goal of removing people from their homes (Blackhawk 2006; Dunbar-Ortiz 2014; Estes 2019; Norgaard 2019). That whiteness acts without thinking is an observation of the irrationality of a particular type of settler-colonial social structure that justifies its own existence by the "progress" it makes with other people's homes and resources. This is similar to anomie (Durkheim 1897) in that the violence of settler-colonial social structure can produce a sense of normlessness and this affects human behavior.

weaknesses and insecurities, it also points to opportunities for the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce to reassert control over ancestral lands and resources and affect political economy.

My research advances comparative-historical sociological understandings of empire building, settler-colonization, genocide, political economy, memory, and racism; and contributes to critical Indigenous studies of oral and literary histories, survival, persistence, and influence, and comparative studies of Indigenous social worlds before and since Western colonization. Theoretically, I build on research that shows how centering Indigenous Peoples history and knowledge help us understand human resilience and persistence in the most violent situations (e.g., Coté 2010; Estes 2019; Jacob 2014; Miller and Riding In 2011; Norgaard 2019). For explaining patterns and variations in colonial outcomes and processes (Cox 1959; Go 2008; Steinmetz 2005; Wallerstein 2007), I demonstrate that imperial chronology is a violent form of methodological nationalism and allows, at best, incomplete explanations for Indigenous persistence and influence in global capitalism. Empirically, I contribute to research demonstrating that the knowledge and experiences of colonized people can create critical insights that help explain the mechanisms underlying Western colonialism, the limits of its power, and the potential for humans to build better social worlds (Cabral 2016; Du Bois 1998; Estes 2016; Fanon 2004). At the policy level, my research highlights the need to support Indigenous self-determination and for the rest of us to listen to Indigenous Peoples, especially if we wish to survive current manifestations of settler-colonialism, such as global climate change and nuclear proliferation (Colombi and Brooks 2012; Estes 2019; Harney 1995; Norgaard 2019).

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CHAPTER 2
DATA, METHODS, ETHICS, & POSITIONALITY, OR "HOW BEAVER BROUGHT FIRE TO THE PEOPLE"

Data & Methods

To theorize time immemorial and its interdisciplinary implications, I use comparative-historical sociology (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991; Chase-Dunn and Mann 1998; Hung 2003, 2017; Tilly 1994) to analyze and compare an original archive of 250 Indigenous and Western publications written between 1805 and 2020 about Nimíipuu/Nez Perce[18] social worlds before and since U.S. colonization. Drawing inspiration from historical ethnography, I created an original archive for abductive coding, comparison, and narrative reconstruction to extend social theories and develop causal inferences by recreating and comparing social worlds long past (for historical ethnography, see Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Hunter 2013; Vaughn 2004; for coding, see Altheide 1987; Charmaz 2004; Timmermans and Tavory 2012). Primary comparisons are internal, as in I compare

[18] The official categorization of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce is political and thus not always clear or accurate. Indeed, many Indigenous People of the Plateau trace their genealogies through several distinct Peoples or Tribes from the Plateau, the Plains, and elsewhere, often cutting across multiple geopolitical boundaries. Some have official membership (i.e., "enrollment") in one Tribe but live on a different reservation or no reservation at all. Others could be enrolled with one or more Tribes, but for a variety of reasons, choose not to enroll as a Tribal member. Furthermore, early colonial records often confused or gave no mind to important differences among and between Peoples, and archeological records are often unable to distinguish between different Peoples who were using the same or similar technologies. Thus, I rely on author self-identification and biographies to categorize the publications that make up the public memory archive (see Appendix A). For those identifying as Nez Perce and another Tribe(s), I categorize their work as belonging to the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce public memory archive, although their official tribal enrollment might be with another Tribe. For example, Phillip Cash Cash, describes himself as "a Cayuse/Nez Perce tribal member of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation in Oregon." Roberta Conner, likewise, is "Cayuse, Umatilla, and Nez Perce in heritage and member of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation." I provide the self-identification information in Appendix A if available.

what life was like for Nimíipuu before and since Western colonization. Secondary comparisons are between public memory of history from the view of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and the U.S. Comparisons of this sort enable the tracing of historical continuity and cultural persistence, enabling me to extend sociological theories of empire building, colonization, genocide, racism, memory, and time. I advance critical Indigenous studies by reconstructing a story about Nimíipuu/Nez Perce affecting social change since "time immemorial" And their hopes and plans for the future. This analytical move reveals a type of "methodological nationalism" (Wimmer and Minn 2006: 869) in social science and the humanities that I call *imperial chronology*. Imperial chronology is the taken-for-granted overreliance on deeply symbolic timelines or events in Western imperial historiography (e.g., 1492) that politically bind the temporal dimensions of research designs and obscure understandings of world histories and social problems. Research has already uncovered the geopolitical biases of methodological nationalism in sociology, such as the "metropolitan-imperial standpoint" (Go 2017: 197; also see Chase-Dunn and Mann 1998; Hung 2003; Wimmer and Minn 2006); but this is only the spatial half of the picture (Mills 2020). Imperial chronology makes salient the temporal half of this methodological nationalism by deconstructing how different understandings and uses of time not only create the foundations for certain social behaviors and collective actions, but for how scholars observe, analyze, and write about social life.

The plan to construct an original archive came in the summer of 2017 after I received permission from the Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee (NPTEC), the tribal government, to conduct research on their reservation (see Appendix C). This process was

eased because, although my family is not Nez Perce, I lived on the Nez Perce Reservation for nine years, attending grades 4-12 in the Kamiah school system. I have more to say about how my "outsider/insider" positionality as a non-Nez Perce, former resident of the Nez Perce Reservation, affects my research questions, theoretical framework, methodology, and plans for future research, in the next section. I mention it now, however, because I relied on my friends and family to help me navigate asking NPTEC for permission and for a place to stay during the summer. Receiving permission from NPTEC is not an endorsement of my research. I will send NPTEC and others living on or around the Reservation a copy of my dissertation upon its completion.

I meet with the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for the Nez Perce Tribe's Cultural Resource Program, Patrick "Pat" Baird, in Lapwai (pronounced "lap-way"), Idaho, and Pat walked me through the NPTEC research permission process. In addition, Pat warned me of the importance of vetting non-Native sources writing about the Nez Perce, especially in ethnography and archeology, and provided me with several citations of academics whose work is deeply appreciated by the Tribe, including Kenneth Ames, Alan Marshall, and Nicole Tonkovich. Pat also said I should talk with archivist Elizabeth "Beth" Eriddy at the archives at the Nez Perce National Historical Park in Lapwai, Idaho. When I met with Beth, she informed me that, while she was aware of some materials written by Nez Perce authors such as Allen Slickpoo, Sr., Horace Axtell, Archie Phinney, and others, the archives did not have most of them. However, Beth also said that local university/college libraries likely had at least some books by Nez Perce authors. (The archive at the Nez Perce National Historical Park does have some materials written by Nez

Perce authors, such as a 1990s tribal newspaper, *Tots Tatoken,* which may be read on sight, but most documents are written by non-Indigenous authors). I am deeply indebted to Beth and Pat for their time, consideration, and recommendations. It is because of my meetings with Beth and Pat that I decided to search online for a "fractured" (Blackwell 2011; Fuentes 2016) public record—i.e., a "public memory"—and to compile a reference list of Nez Perce sources that are easily accessible for anyone interested (Appendix A).

My constructed archive of Plateau public memory centers Nimíipuu/Nez Perce perspectives and is divided into two categories with samples of, 1) Nimíipuu/Nez Perce publications (n=105) (see Appendix A), and 2) popular ethnographic, historical, and biographical publications about Nimíipuu/Nez Perce from non-Indigenous sources (n=105) (see Appendix B). And while I include some publications from the Indigenous neighbors of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and I cite them in my reference pages, a systematic review of this literature is beyond the scope of the present study. Future research can search for and triangulate additional public memory archives about other Peoples of the Plateau and compare them with those of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce.

At the heart of my archive are 105 original documents published between 1855 and 2020 that capture various Nimíipuu/Nez Perce perspectives regarding their own history, current events, and future (see Appendix A). These 105 documents were published by Nimíipuu/Nez Perce tribal members, commissioned by the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho, or created in close collaboration[19] with the Tribe or tribal members. Some document bylines

[19] The Walla Walla Treaty Council of 1855 is the one exception. I include the treaty in the archive because, while it was not a collaboration it was a negotiation, and the meeting minutes provide original speeches and dialogue from Nez Perce leaders and their neighbors that are important components of public memory on the Plateau.

credit non-Nez Perce authors only, but they provide original interview transcriptions, essays, photographs, or other similar types of materials from Nimíipuu/Nez Perces that are important parts of the public memory. [20] All documents are written in English or in a mix of English and Ni·mi·pu·tímt[21] (the Nimíipuu language) and publicly available at the UCR library, through U.S. interlibrary loan services, or online. These publications include academic and general audience books, oral history and folklore anthologies, journal articles, Tribal newspapers, biographies, dissertations, and other media covering a wide range of topics and events.

Taken together, these 103 Nimíipuu/Nez Perce publications represent a distinct "public memory." This list is incomplete but represents the most complete reference list of Nimíipuu/Nez Perces publications written by, with, and for Nez Perces. Given a violent history of genocide and capitalist exploitation that created a "fractured history" (Blackwell 2011; Fuentes 2016), and because I understand each document created by the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce as an act of survival, resistance, and historical recovery (Miller and

[20] The official categorization of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce is political and thus not always clear or accurate. Indeed, many Indigenous People of the Plateau trace their genealogies through several distinct Peoples or Tribes from the Plateau, the Plains, and elsewhere, often cutting across multiple geopolitical boundaries. Some have official membership (i.e., "enrollment") in one Tribe but live on a different reservation or no reservation at all. Others could be enrolled with one or more Tribes, but for a variety of reasons, choose not to enroll as a Tribal member. Furthermore, early colonial records often confused or gave no mind to important differences among and between Peoples, and archeological records are often unable to distinguish between different Peoples who were using the same or similar technologies. In addition, because of the 1877 War, many Nez Perces live in Canada and Oklahoma. Thus, I rely on author self-identification and biographies to categorize the publications that make up the public memory archive (see Appendix A). For those identifying as Nez Perce and another Tribe(s), I categorize their work as belonging to the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce public memory archive, although their official tribal enrollment might be with another Tribe. For example, Phillip Cash Cash, describes himself as "a Cayuse/Nez Perce tribal member of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation in Oregon." Roberta Conner, likewise, is "Cayuse, Umatilla, and Nez Perce in heritage and member of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation." I provide the self-identification information in Appendix A if available.

[21] I do not italicize words from Indigenous languages because I do not view them as foreign words.

Riding In 2011), I selected documents on the grounds that they exist and that they discuss Nimíipuu/Nez Perce history or current events from a Nimíipuu/Nez Perce perspective. I exclude any documents published by Nimíipuu/Nez Perce authors that do not focus on Nimíipuu/Nez Perce history or experience, as well as documents housed exclusively in archives. In my empirical chapters, I use {curly brackets} to signify Nimíipuu/Nez Perce data in this dissertation. Each publication is fully cited and categorized in Appendix A.

There are several inherent biases of the Nez Perce source data. The first is that many tribal members that do publish are elected members of Tribal government or work for the Tribe in some other capacity. And while the Tribe is one of the largest employers in their reservation, most people, of course, are not elected members or employees of the Tribe. Thus, the view is slanted toward the "official" view of the Tribal government. There are some notable exceptions that provide a necessary counterbalance to this lopsidedness {e.g., Holt 2012a, 2014, 2016; Jones n.d.}, but it will take future research that uses interviews and participant observations to make up the difference, which is my plan for future research. Second, from the 103 Nimíipuu/Nez Perce documents, about 35% are solo-authored by women or co-authored with a woman as first author, and even less focus exclusively on Nimíipuu/Nez Perce women {James's 1996 ethnography is the major exception and an extremely valuable resource}. However, starting in the 1980s, but especially in the 2000s, women started to publish about as much as their male counterparts. For example, of the five dissertations in my Indigenous source list, three are women, and all were published no earlier than 2011. Nevertheless, my dissertation, to the best of my knowledge, is the first attempt to identify and synthesize all Nimíipuu/Nez Perce

publications available for the public to read. Future research can address how reflective this body of literature is of ordinary social life for Nez Perces living on the Plateau. However, the data are robust in that they contain a range of "traditionalist" and "modernist" Nez Perce views from authors as young as grade-school children {e.g., Carter 2017 [1911]} to elders who fought in World War II {e.g., Axtell 1997} and demonstrate a great diversity of ideas and lifeways among Nez Perces.

I also draw on one dozen publications from some of the Indigenous neighbors of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce, including the Confederated Tribes of the Yakama, Umatilla, and Colville, and others who do not have reservations, such as Palouse, Sin Aikst, and those who call themselves the Columbia River Indians. I distinctions between Nez Perce and other Plateau Peoples are blurry at best given they include histories stretching back thousands of years with complex family formations, alliances, and conflicts. I selected these documents on the basis that they exist, they discuss their Nimíipuu/Nez Perce neighbors, and they are easy to acquire (e.g., available for purchase online). These sources are identified in the empirical chapters by {{double curly brackets}}. However, because there was no systematic search for these sources, I include them in my reference pages instead of my methodological appendix. Future research will systematically search and categorize this literature and compare it with Nimíipuu/Nez Perce publications.

Data sources from the Indigenous neighbors of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce provide some interesting counterweights to the Nez Perce publications. For example, these publications include some of the oldest published books from Indigenous women in North America, such as Mourning Dove's *Cogewea, The Half-Blood* {{1981 [1927]}} and Sarah

Winnemucca Hopkins's *Life Among the Piutes: The Wrongs and Claims* {{1969 [1883]}}. In addition, and while most publications are from folks with some tribal government affiliation, the view of Nez Perce history is more critical and less romantic. Afterall, the reader might have noted the difference in wording between the Nez Perce *Tribe* and the *Confederated Tribes* of the Yakama, Umatilla, or Colville, whereas confederated tribes were forced by the U.S. government to share their reservations with several other distinct Peoples (sometimes with historical enemies), while the Nez Perce have their own reservation. (At the same time, the Nez Perce let many of their neighbors live on their reservation and plenty of Nez Perces went to live on other reservations). The reasons for this are described in chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation. Nevertheless, the most common way Indigenous People on the Plateau describe their Indigenous neighbors is as "relative," and even when political, economic, or cultural interests are at odds, they often (but not always) find common ground to work together.

In addition, I triangulate the above-mentioned Indigenous data with non-Nimíipuu/Nez Perce data (n=105) (see Appendix B). The non-Nimíipuu/Nez Perce data sources[22] are a sample of popular ethnographic, historical, and biographical records about Nimíipuu/Nez Perce that are important for white public memory on the Plateau. Research in geology and archeology are largely excluded in this public memory archive (Appendix B) because history, ethnography, and memoirs are much more popular. This is because white chronopolitics holds that what happened in the Western hemisphere before the arrival

[22] Some of these data sources come from Indigenous authors, such as Clifford Trafzer, who are not Nez Perce nor related to any Plateau People.

of Christopher Columbus in 1492 is unimportant (Carpio 2006; Mills 2014, 2020; Zerubavel 1998) and this is why most histories written about Indigenous People in the Americas begins at or after this symbolic date.[23] Some publications in my archive do site archeological studies, such as anthropologist Deward E. Walker Jr. and Christopher Miller, but these are exceptions to the rule. To make up this difference, I review the relevant geological and archeological research in Chapter 3 and include citations in the chapter reference list. In the public memory archive, some of the records include the "classic" documents produced by explorers, soldiers, missionaries, settlers, and others, such as those produced by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark [[Wheeler 2002a, 2002b]], while the rest are professional and amateur histories, ethnographies, and reports. Many of these documents focus on settler perspectives, experiences, and histories, but I include them if the Nez Perce are written as a significant, albeit sometimes brief, part of the story. Non-Nimíipuu/Nez Perce publications enable comparisons to and triangulations with Nimíipuu/Nez Perce sources to deconstruct variations and patterns in understandings and uses of history and time. This helps provide additional detail and perspective not just for a general historical narrative reconstruction about what happened and what different groups

[23] 1805 and the arrival of Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery is the most common starting point of Nez Perce history in most publications written by non-Nez Perce authors (United States Forest Service 2017). The U.S. Forest Service provides an incomplete list of books, dissertations, and theses about the Nez Perce that focus mostly on events sometime between 1805 and 1877 (ibid.). There are over 300 references on this list, and no more than 10 (as far as I can tell) were written by or in collaboration with Nimíipuu/Nez Perce. There are plenty of references to soldiers, missionaries, settlers, and white academics. Furthermore, when Nimíipuu authors such as Allen Slickpoo, Sr. or Archie Phinney, and their allies, such as Lucius Vergil McWhorter, do appear on the list, most of their work is omitted. Also, two works from Nez Perce authors Ron Oatman (1977) and Joseph Feathers (1970) are mostly inaccessible. Other prominent white academics, such as Deward Walker, Jr., are not listed at all. Walker is an ally of the Nez Perce {e.g., Aoki and Walker 1989; Slickpoo 1973} and has written some of the most important books and articles contributing to Plateau public memory {Walker 1985} [[Walker 1978, 1998, 2000]]. No archeological or geological research is on the U.S. Forest Service (2017) list.

think about what happened, but also specific insights into the construction, maintenance, and reproduction of whiteness on the Columbia Plateau.[24] Geology and archeology give the general context that allow for these comparisons and triangulations. 15% of the publications are solo-authored by women or co-authored with a woman as first author, including some of the earliest ethnographies conducted in the U.S. [[e.g., Gay 1981]], and the documents represent a wide range of topics and interests. I signify these data sources by using [[double brackets]] in the text. These data documents are listed in Appendix B.

Most Nimíipuu/Nez Perce publications are available through the UCR library, interlibrary loan, or for purchase. I decided to buy as many of these publications as possible. There are two reasons for this. The first reason is practical, while the second reason is ethical and a product of my positionality (discussed in the next section). The practical reason is that colonial history makes the documents published by Nimíipuu/Nez Perce harder to find and access than those produced by non-Nimíipuu/Nez Perce writers. Equal access to sources is important for immersing myself in the data. For example, "reflexive coding" for patterns and aberrations in my archive requires going back and forth and scaling up and down between multiple contexts and data points (Altheide 1987). Furthermore, my data analysis relied on abduction (Timmermans and Tavory 2012) to focus on the interplay between data, historical context, and theories, which refines the interpretation of observations and enables the extension of social theories. I engaged in careful, line-by-line, readings of each data source and then wrote memos to develop themes

[24] Most telling are the subtle differences and turns of phrase, such as white authors describing themselves as a "native of" the Pacific Northwest or using white "contact" as the primary starting point of the story.

for coding and narrative reconstruction (Charmaz 2004). I used Microsoft Excel to categorize data according to theme and I wrote memos after coding to reflect on my observations and how they relate to earlier observations and my theoretical framework (Altheide 1987; Charmaz 2004; Timmermans and Tavory 2012). Thus, the goal is to reconstruct narratives that will speak directly to theoretical and historical assumptions to complement, complicate, or contradict our understandings of the historical, cultural, and institutional processes, as well as future trajectories. While time immemorial and imperial chronology are consistent themes and codes throughout this research (see chapter 1), others are developed for specific empirical chapters, and I define them as they appear in the analysis. Lastly, this process also enabled me to reflect on my own positionality as a researcher who is a former resident of the Nez Perce Reservation, which has implications for each stage of the research, which is what I discuss next.

Insider/Outsider Positionality in a Colonial Context & Theories of the Self & 'Other'

As a non-Nez Perce, phenotypically white man, who grew up on the Nez Perce Reservation from between 1997 and 2006 and is now conducting sociological research, I occupy simultaneous "insider" and "outsider" social locations (Baca Zinn 1979; Mirandé 1985; Reyes 2018; Young 2004). These various social locations constitute my "positionality," and is an outcome of history and power relations (Hill Collins 1986, 1999). This fact necessitates a theory of the self that guides all stages of the research process, from conceptualization to reporting the results (Baca Zinn 1979; Contreras 2013; Oriola and

Haggerty 2012; Mirandé 1985; Reyes 2018; Rosaldo 1989; Villenas 1996; Young 2004). For just as there is no self without the other, there is no insider without the outsider. And, just like our selves emerge and change in the process of interacting with others, so too do our positions as insiders and outsiders as we interact with our research participants. Thus, researcher reflexivity, or "the process by which a researcher understands how personal experience shapes his or her ideas and the way he or she attributes meaning, interprets action, and conducts dialogues with informants" (Rios 2011: 170), is a necessary component of this research. When working with only documents as the research "informants," it is especially important to keep my positionality in mind when writing memos and coding as described in the previous section because it forces me to interrogate the choices that I make during the research process.

I grew up on the "up-river" (east side), as opposed to the "down-river" (west side),[25] part of the reservation in Kamiah (pronounced "KAM-ee-eye"), Idaho. Kamiah is a historical and ceremonial gathering place of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and is within a stone's throw of the spot where oral tradition says the People originated, at the Heart of the Monster. The town used to be a semi-permanent winter village where hemp rope was made, hence the name "Kamiah," which means "land of many rope litters." Today, the Heart of the Monster is today a popular tourist attraction and school field-trip destination and is

[25] I first understood the origins of this rivalry in sports competitions between Kamiah (up-river) and Lapwai (down-river), given this was where my focus was in high school. I came to understand that this division was also related to demographics and religion, whereas the up-river towns are majority white (Census Bureau) but considered more traditional and the down-river towns are majority Indigenous (Census Bureau) and Christian. I don't know if the religion part is true because there are no statistics to reference, but this is what I've been told by Nimiipuu/Nez Perce friends, and it is a fact that the physical location of where the Nimiipuu/Nez Perce come from according to oral tradition is in Kamiah and that the Tribal government headquarters is in Lapwai.

flanked by a variety of nearby churches. I moved away in 2006 for college, but I maintained many friendships from the Reservation, visiting often for holidays, and I even made my hometown the subject of my undergraduate thesis (Welch 2011).

I am using my experiences and connections to develop a research agenda. In this way, I am exploiting the fragmented and scattered public memory of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce for my own career. This brings me to the second reason for purchasing as much Nimíipuu/Nez Perce publications as possible: perhaps I can limit some of this exploitation by returning these works to the Tribe. I will donate all published Nez Perce "data" to the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho upon the completion of this dissertation. My hope is that the archive can serve as an easily accessible reference point for the Tribe and its members for whatever they might need. Furthermore, because the archive is incomplete, others can find and suggest publications to be added, and Nimíipuu/Nez Perces writing today and, in the future, can deposit their works to a living archive.

I feel a sense of responsibility to return this Nimíipuu/Nez Perce "data" to the Tribe because of everything I learned growing up on their reservation. My family and I are not Nez Perce, but neither are about 85% of the people living on the Reservation (Census Bureau 2015). However, my father, younger brother, and myself are blood member of the Cherokee Tribe of Northeast Alabama, and several of my Nez Perce friends have admitted that this helped them trust me early on despite my white skin. My family moving to the Nez Perce Reservation was my father's attempt at providing my brother and I an opportunity to develop connections with an Indigenous community and people, and at my high school graduation party, my father, brother, and I were unofficially adopted into the

Lookingglass Clan of the Nez Perce. I learned how to hunt and fish on Nez Perce lands and with my Nez Perce friends and family. And although I'm not very good as a hunter or angler, I spent countless hours doing both, as well as simply wandering in the forest and hills with my friends, family, and by myself, developing a deep connection to the landscape.

As phenotypically white man, I am only witness to some, and never the target of any of the anti-Indigenous violence common to the Nez Perce Indian Reservation (the "rez"). So, while my blood and extended family affiliations do give me privileged access to certain knowledge and experience on the rez (e.g., sharing campfire stories and fishing/hunting trips with certain Nez Perce families), I am seen by most people on and off the Reservation as a white man and this gives me access to a different set of privileges unavailable to folks who are visibly Indigenous. For these and other reasons, my work runs the risk of falling into a long line of research about the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce written by (mostly Anglo) outsiders that fail to center the ideas or experiences of the People (e.g., U.S. Forest Service 2017). Therefore, and because I believe in the CARE ethic principles of Indigenous research (Carroll et al. 2019) and that "decolonization is not a metaphor" (Tuck and Yang 2012), I strive to balance a variety of privileges in this research by producing scientifically rigorous work that is useful for the Tribe, returning my "data" as a full collection to the Tribe, and publishing only in journals with open access options so that this information is easily accessible to the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce.

Thus, I am attempting to use my privileged statuses, then, not to "speak for others" (Alcoff 1995), but to help bring awareness to a conversation that the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce

have been writing to share with the world, so that we might work together to build reciprocal relationships with each other, the landscape, and all living creatures. I story of "How Beaver Brought Fire to the People" {{Scheuerman et al. 2010: 53}} helps situate my sense of responsibility and position as an outsider who was given the honor of listening to late-night campfire stories (usually about sports or embarrassing events) and sharing other experiences with my Nimíipuu/Nez Perce friends and their relatives when I lived on their reservation.[26] It also reveals some of why I am more receptive to sociological research that is sensitive to long histories and the interrelation of human and non-human systems, and why I contextualize sociological theory with critical Indigenous studies. As Scheuerman and colleagues {{2010: 53-54}} conclude:

> "As Beaver shard fire with the People, our Native American co-teachers have shared their fire with us, and we and our students have benefited from reframing pervasive individualistic and materialistic Western values. In an emerging world best with environmental, social, and political challenges, lessons that affirm the values of cooperative problem-solving for sustainability and societal well-being represent instructional resources of incalculable worth."

This lesson is taught and practiced in many forms. As I will discuss in some detail in chapters 4-6, there is a long history of Nimíipuu/Nez Perces leaving home to gain new skills and/or to procure necessary material and immaterial resources for their families and communities to make use of back home. Since time immemorial, people are often away from home for years and some are never able to return. Yet the risk of never returning and

[26] The story goes that the Creator gave the Conifers the secret of fire, but they jealously guarded that gift for themselves. One winter, all the Animal People were at risk of freezing to death and so Coyote convened a meeting where Beaver volunteered to get fire from the Conifers. With cunning, patience, and speed, Beaver was able to capture some coals and escape. The trees chased after Beaver, changing the landscape, but Beaver was too determined to be caught and soon he was showing the rest of the Animal People how to make and use fire {{Scheuerman et al. 2010: 53}}.

the certainty of the heartbreak that comes with leaving and staying away from the home and people you love is driven by a sense of responsibility to use whatever skills and passions you happen to have as an individual member of a community and family. In Nimíipuu/Nez Perce literature (and in personal experience) many Nez Perce who (or whose children) leave compare themselves (their children) with the salmon who always return home. As Nez Perce tribal member Phil George tells in a bittersweet poem {quoted in Landeen and Pinkham 1999: 122, my emphasis}:

Like many Grandfathers before me
I spear Salmon, splashing, flapping,
These echoing waters no longer your home.
Up Celilo Falls you will dance no more.
Cleansed, Grandmother will weave
Willows into your needle-bone flesh.
Beside night fires you will roast—
Fat oozing, dripping, sizzling
Many people will not go hungry.
We fast. We sing. We feast.
May your spirit always live, my friend,
If even in the Moon of High waters
From saltwater you swim upstream to die
We remember: '*Return home to die.*'

My best friend's father has often told us that we are like salmon and regardless of where we go, one day we will return—and we better coach the Kamiah Kubs high school football team. And while I cannot promise to coach football, I have decided to produce dissertation research with the skills and passions I have developed since my time away from home.

I now turn to these lessons to scrutinize popular memory and construct a story of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce persistence and recovery since a time immemorial. I do this first in chapter 3 where I triangulate the geological, climatic, paleontological, archeological, ethnographic, and historical records with Nimíipuu/Nez Perce oral traditions and written

histories, to describe the lifeworld or world-system of Indigenous Peoples on the Plateau and how this history matters for how Nimíipuu/Nez Perce survived settler colonization, genocide, and capitalist development.

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CHAPTER 3
THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES LIFEWORLD: LEGACIES OF COYOTE

The argument of this empirical chapter is that the form and content (Simmel 1949) of Nimíipuu social institutions before U.S. colonization helps explain how they survived genocide and adapted to a colonial-capitalist political economy. The data reveal a complex of social institutions—patterned social interactions and behaviors (Bourdieu 1990)—operating and changing among Nimíipuu and with their neighbors. That is, the archeological record demonstrates the pulsations[27] of a world-system (Chase-Dunn and Lerro 2014; Chase-Dunn and Mann 1998), where since a time immemorial,[28] different

[27] World-system pulsations are understood as "periodic spatial expansion and contraction of interaction networks" (Chase-Dunn and Lerro 2014: 379). In stateless world-systems, pulsations typically occurred because of population growth that was followed by an out-migration of various clans in search of new territory, resources, and so on. Sometimes, "expansion waves were so large that they created systems larger than any that had existed before" (ibid.: 79). When expansions like this happen, it can often lead to (but not always) the development of more complex and hierarchical core/periphery relations within a world-system, or it can create a frontier/borderland. This is an essential feature of globalization. Pulsations can also lead to "deglobalization" (Chase-Dunn, Kim, and Alvarez 2020: n1).

[28] I choose to use time immemorial as my starting point instead of the common 11,700 $_{B.P.}$ (recently changed to 16,000 $_{B.P.}$ thanks to Davis et al. [2019] and will likely continue changing according to Steeves [2021]) to account for the world that existed before U.S. colonization. There are two simple reasons for this. First, time immemorial is the most common time reference for origination by Nimíipuu/Nez Perce in my archive. Second, the more that data accumulate, the more the archeological record gets pushed back (e.g., read in chronological order the works of Kenneth Ames to see how just one Plateau archeologist methodically pushed the temporal boundaries back through the course of his career). *Time immemorial is a more consistent time frame*. It is also more flexible, not just for analysis, but in common usage, for usually the point of a story is not exactly when something happened but why things matter. Furthermore, we have data, especially in geology and paleontology, about times beyond memory when the rocks formed and rivers flowed freely. Oral traditions demonstrate a deep knowledge about the landscape and the diversity of life that thrives (or not) in different places, taking note long before geologists about the geophysical distinctiveness of certain areas. Nimíipuu/Nez Perce oral traditions also show how life lives in relation to a diversity of ecosystems and other lifeforms created by forces far outside the control of any human being or group. If humans can learn to read the landscape and its patterns of life, then we can adapt and change. Nimíipuu/Nez Perce never stopped learning about, adapting to, and enhancing the rhythms of social life of their home. This history is written in not just academic books, but also in the landscape itself and how people practice their culture. To make good sense of this, I rely on the oral traditions, history, and folklore that discuss changes that humans endured and made (continue to make) to the landscape, with each other, and with other lifeforms since time immemorial. Much of this Indigenous knowledge and process was deliberately destroyed by U.S. settler colonization, genocide, and capitalist development. Nevertheless, the

Peoples of the Plateau rose, fell, and changed in relation to each other. These internal and international relations developed deep logics and patterns of communication, economic production and trade, and political/military alliances between and among Peoples, i.e., the networks of a lifeworld. When the U.S. started to colonize the Plateau, Nimíipuu enjoyed more power, wealth, and geostrategic advantage than most of their Plateau neighbors, and this helps to explain some of the behaviors of both colonizer and colonized as they negotiated each other's existence. I triangulate Nimíipuu/Nez Perce oral histories and traditions with, at first the geological and archeological records, and then the ethnographic and historical records, to describe the physical and cultural conditions of long-historical development and change on the Plateau.

I follow the world-systems model to think of Nimíipuu and their ancestors[29] as existing within a lifeworld of structured interactions with their culturally distinct neighbors (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991, 1997; Chase-Dunn and Mann 1998). I also expand this approach by following Indigenous sociology (Norgaard 2019; Steeves 2021) and critical Indigenous studies (Estes 2019; King 2005; Miller 2011; Nabokov 2002) by treating Indigenous understandings of history as no less valid to those of the Western academy. I take two steps to accomplish this. First, I contextualize a landscape dramatically transformed over 150 million years with geology and Nimíipuu stories that describe the

West is not all powerful, and enough remains of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and their history for not just me to tell the following story, but for them to continue affecting social life on the Plateau, the U.S.A. and beyond.

[29] Archeologist and ethnographers consider Nimíipuu the latest developmental phase and cultural iteration of specific groups of Peoples—i.e., territorial communities—whose actual names are unknown, but who are distinguished by differences in their archeological footprints. The common name for the most immediate ancestors of Nimíipuu is the Harder culture, where the incorporation of the horse around 1720/50 $_{C.E.}$ is what separates these two groups (Ames and Marshall 1980).

foundational geophysical features of a living landscape that provided everything that Nimíipuu would need to survive and thrive. Second, I make sense of, by inference and triangulation with oral history and traditions, the developments and changes of social patterns found in the archeological record on the Plateau. This process demonstrates that lifeworld pulsations caused phases of globalization and deglobalization and, in response, people institutionalized robust adaptive responses to social change. The most salient example of this is the incorporation of the horse on the Plateau and the subsequent ascension of the Nimíipuu as a core power of the Plateau in the century prior to U.S. colonization. To grasp the world historical significance of the Nimíipuu incorporation of the horse, I create a Nimíipuu-centric sketch of social institutions, including family, economy, politics, and religion (this follows, with modifications, the people-centric model for describing a world-system as developed by Chase-Dunn and Mann [1998]). This chapter provides the geophysical, political economic, and sociocultural context necessary to understand how a People can maintain their ancestral lifeways in extremely violent conditions and persist to continue affecting social change in their ancestral homeland and beyond.

Before this, I recount one version of the Nimíipuu creation story, commonly known in English as "The Heart of the Monster." I refer to this story and other oral traditions as both metaphor and lesson for survival, persistence, and influence. "The Heart of the Monster" depicts the birth of a new human world through the death of the old animal world in an epic battle between Coyote and Monster. The new world was not inevitable. Rather, Monster was threatening to destroy all by swallowing up everything. Coyote relied on the

ancient knowledge and wisdom of his home to slay the Monster. Monster swallowed Coyote, too, and then Coyote rescued the surviving animal people from inside the belly of the beast by finding at cutting away at Monster's heart with flint knives. All the knives broke in the process, but Coyote was able to tear out the heart and kill Monster. Coyote then created humans by tossing Monster's body parts around the landscape. Nimíipuu were made last by Coyote mixing the heart-blood of the Monster with the soil of the Kamiah valley. This suggests that Nimíipuu/Nez Perce survival is also not inevitable and certainly dependent upon the land and the relationships they actively create and maintain with all other life. The primary goal of this chapter, then, is to illustrate these relationships and account for their historical continuity.

In what follows is oral tradition first to set the stage for a basic geological description of the area. After demonstrating how these ancient stories contain knowledge of important geological, climatic, and ecological events and processes, I move to the archeological, ethnographic, and written historical records for a more textured description of a lifeworld (world-system) that developed from and adapted with a living landscape.

Geophysical Foundations & the World of the Animal People

"Coyote and the Monster of Kamiah" by Slickpoo[30] in his 1972 anthology of *Nez Perce Legends* is one of many renditions of the most popular Nimíipuu creation story. The more

[30] Allen P. Slickpoo Sr. (1929-2013) "served in elective offices of the Nez Perce tribal government for twenty-six years. He is recognized as an authority on Nez Perce tribal history and culture by his own people... He is currently employed as an ethnographer for the tribe. His prime interests are native American history and the preservation of traditional culture" (Hoxie 1996: 724, contributors' biography).

common title of this story is “The Heart of the Monster.” Other printed versions of this story can be found in Phinney {1969 [1934]: 18-29}, Landeen and Pinkham {1999: 51-52}, Pinkham and Evans {2013:3-8}, Crook and Wasson {2013: 49-55, 75-77}, and Walker and Matthews [[1998]], there are also several versions available online, and visitors to Heart of the Monster in Kamiah, Idaho, can read/listen to the story at a kiosk next to the geographic site of the Monster’s heart (see Figure 3.1). Reference is made to this story and other oral traditions in most of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce archive that I created, including official Tribal government publications, suggesting that this story is important, and that Nimíipuu/Nez Perce want to share it with others.

Slickpoo {1972: 201-206} ends his book of *Nez Perce Legends* with the story of “Coyote and the Monster of Kamiah.” This is because there exists a whole universe of stories about a much older world inhabited by “animal people” who work to determine what kind of relationships they might create with the humans when they arrive. Like other Indigenous creation stories, there are many versions of the story, but some elements always remain the same (T. King 2005).[31] To summarize the version from Slickpoo {1972: 201-206}, Coyote was destroying a waterfall to build a “fish ladder” at Celilo Falls when he was told of an enormous Monster that was swallowing all lifeforms. Coyote hurries to find this Monster but steps on and breaks the leg of Meadowlark, who tells Coyote how to slay

[31] This creation story is like other Native American oral traditions in that it includes the memories of a time when humans were the newcomers to a world already occupied by animal people (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984; King 2005). At the same time, there is great variation about how human people came to inhabit the Earth (ibid.). For example, the Yakama, neighbors of the Nez Perce living on the western side of the Plateau, have an origin story that starts this way: “In the beginning, our Creator spoke the word and this earth was created. He spoke the word again and all living things were put on the earth. And then He said the word and we, the (Indian) people, were created and planted here on this earth” {{Jacob 2013: 8}}.

the Monster in return for Coyote fixing her leg. Coyote proceeds to prepare himself for the fight, such as fastening himself to sacred mountains (e.g., the Seven Devil's), finds the Monster, and then Monster inhales and swallows Coyote. When Coyote gets inside the Monster, he is disappointed when he saw his animal relatives starving and panicked. Coyote feeds his starving animal relatives by cutting some fat and flesh from Monster's gut, and he scolds the panicked animals to the point of altering their appearance (e.g., stepping on Rattle Snake's head and making it flat). Fox, a friend of Coyote, was not panicked and helped Coyote who instructed the animal people to build a fire under the Monster's heart. Once the Monster started to feel pain from the fire Coyote began cutting away at the heart with stone knives. Coyote had five knives and all five broke, but Coyote was able to tear the heart loose with his hands and this killed the Monster. The animal people then all escaped from all the various openings to Monster's body and then Coyote had them help him carve up the body of Monster. Coyote then tossed each body part around to different parts of the country and where each part landed a People arose, including the Cayuse, Flathead, Coeur d'Alene, and Yakama. Coyote

> "used up the entire body of the Monster in this way. Then Fox came up to Coyote and said, "What is the meaning of this Coyote? You have used up the body of the Monster and given away lands, but have given yourself nothing for this area."
>
> 'Well,' snorted Coyote, '... I was so busy that I didn't think of it.' Then he turned to the people and said, 'Bring me some water with which to wash my hands.' He washed his hands and made the water bloody. Then with this bloody water, he threw drops over the land around him and said, 'You may be little people, but you will be powerful. You will be little because I did not give you enough of the Monster's body, *but you will be very brave and intelligent and will work hard*...' Thus the Nu-me-poo Nation was born..." {Slickpoo 1972: 201-206, my emphasis}.

According to Evans and Pinkham {2013: 3}, "[i]n all variations of the story, coyote acts as the creating agent by combining the heart-blook of a large monster with the soil of Kamiah valley." Furthermore, in all of the printed versions of this story that are publicly available, Coyote is always swallowed up by the monster; Coyote always interacts with the animal people inside the monster, and these interactions always leave a lasting mark; Coyote always kills the monster by cutting at his heart with five stone knives, and all or most of which always break; the Muskrat always loses the hair on his tail; Coyote always creates human beings by tossing the monster's body parts around the world; Coyote always makes the Nimíipuu last with the "heart-blood"; and the heart is always left behind in the same location that it can be found today in, Kamiah, Idaho (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1. The Heart of the Monster.
Image Source:
<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/73/HeartOfTheMonsterByPhilKonstantin.jpg>

What changes is up to the storyteller and the lessons the listener(s) needs at the time. For example, how many and what kind of interactions Coyote has with the animal

people inside the monster varies, likewise with which body parts make which people, if Coyote planned to be swallowed up or not, which mountains Coyote uses as anchors, the tools (in addition to the ever-present five stone knives) brought on the adventure, and other details can change. It is also important to note that this story is usually not told first, although sometimes it is.

Some of the more striking themes arise from the elements that stay constant and change. For example, the constant of Coyote using his knowledge of a world under threat to guide how he adapts to the Monster suggests value in ancestral tradition to survive new conditions. Taken along with the five flint knives that always break and the fact that the *Nimíipuu* were created last and with "heart-blood" instead of a whole body-part, suggests a lesson in persistence. After all, Coyote does say that, as a people, they "will work hard" {Slickpoo 1972: 205}. There is also a recurring joke about Muskrat who loses the hair on his tail by escaping out Monster's anus; probably in part because it is a good joke, but it also seems to suggest a strategy for persistence: humor, as suggested by Archie Phinney.

Archie Phinney, was a Nez Perce scholar that interviewed his mother (who did not speak any English) to record the first volume of *Nimíipuu*/Nez Perce legends and myths written by a Nez Perce, said that "Humor is undoubtedly the deepest most vivid element in this mythology, the element that animates all the pathos, all the commonplace and the tragic, the element most wasted by translation" {Phinney 1969 [1934]: IX}. After all, humor seems like one reasonable way to help cope with the birth of a new world brought about by the dramatic destruction of the old world and the death of a monster. Lastly, this and other stories do not feature an all-knowing god who creates people in their image as

we find in the Bible, for example. Instead, we have a series of characters with human-like and god-like qualities who make mistakes, achieve incredible feats, and feel (and react to) a whole range of emotion, all while trying to do their best to live well. Walker and Matthews [[1998: 9-42, 185-188]] provide an in-depth analysis of Nez Perce Coyote tales, including where Coyote faces off with monsters and find that there are two types of monster stories. There are "formulaic" stories that follow a familiar pattern of Coyote being foolishly killed by a monster, then Magpie revives Coyote, and then Coyote goes on to defeat the monster, accidentally making the world safer for the coming human people. The Heart of the Monster, on the other hand, is a "non-formulaic" story, where Coyote is a heroic figure who is aware that the Monster is dangerous and that he must defeat it to make the world safer for the coming human people.

The centrality of the landscape cannot be understated. For Nimíipuu/Nez Perce, this land is where they come from and any violent attempt to strip them of their land will be meet with resistance, down to the last stone flint. This connection to land is obvious in the oral legends and folklore, and some physical landmarks still exist (e.g., the Seven Devils) that bring the stories alive and help those who exist in the new world adapt by using lessons from the old.

Stories almost always reference physical landmarks or natural phenomena in *Nimíipuu*/Nez Perce country so that the human people can continue learning lessons from the mistakes and triumphs of the animal people. For example, the story of Yellowjacket and Ant tells of a friendship destroyed because of envy and jealousy, and now the two are forever locked in a basalt stone formation {Slickpoo 1972: 160-162}. Currently, Ant and

Yellowjacket overlook the junction of Highways 12 and 95 a few miles north by north-west of Lapwai, ID. Tribal elder, Andrew George (1905-1989), recounted, "I learned lots of things growing up about our history and Coyote stories—how the land was made and how salmon came to the rivers… *Our history is our stories, and you can see them in the rocks*" {Scheuerman and Trafzer 2015: 74, my emphasis}.

Some oral traditions do seem to identify and describe some of the major geological events that created and then transformed the rocks that created the geophysical foundations for animal and human people to thrive in good times and survive in bad conditions. I take some time to explain geophysical formations and the animals and plants that lived on these landscapes because "The land is the essential element linking early humans through and between places across time, and it is central to histories told through Indigenous oral traditions. Reconstructing Paleolithic landscapes links our minds, hearts, and vision to a place where ancestors walked, sang, danced, and created their lives" (Steeves 2021: 58).

About 150 million years before the present (B.P.), the subduction of Pacific Ocean tectonic plates crashed ancient islands into the North American continent and created the geologically distinct features of, first, the West Idaho Suture Zone[32], and then, the West

[32] A suture zone is "a linear *belt of intense deformation, where distinct terranes... with different plate tectonic, metamorphic, and paleogeographic histories join together*. [This provides] the *only record of deep oceanic crust* and of *ancient sea floor* processes for roughly the first 90% of Earth's history... The suture zone is often represented on the surface by an orogen or mountain range comprising intensely deformed rocks similar to that of shear zones, but it is distinct from shear zones in representing the sites of *former ocean basins* within the orogenic belts" (Chetty 2017: 16, my emphasis). Plate tectonics are sometimes used as a metaphor for colonialism in Native American studies, where European invasions of the Americas "was like the collision of two tectonic plates of Earth's surface breaking or shifting then colliding. Earth is alive and earthquakes and aftershocks are evidence of her search for balance and equilibrium. But the cumulative damage of earthquakes increases in logarithmic increments, not by simple multiplication" (Provost and Quintana n.d.: XVIII),

Idaho Shear Zone[33] (Braundy et al. 2016; Fleck and Criss 2004; Ma et al. 2017). This activity is what created the geophysical foundations of a landscape (e.g., such as the sacred Wallowa and Seven Devils Mountains and the Salmon and Clearwater Rivers) that was just starting to dramatically change. These geological features are major focal points of Nimíipuu and other Indigenous stories, traditions, histories, and folklore on the Plateau {Cash Cash 2018}. For example, between 17 and 6 million B.P., a series of volcanic rift eruptions and the Columbia River basalt flows filled the landscape to create the Plateau, which created an enormous lava flat that stretch from the Pacific Ocean at western Washington and Oregon all the way to the eastern side of the West Idaho Suture Zone at the Bitterroot Mountains (Cascades Volcano Observatory n.d.) (see figure 3.2). With this new basalt, an extremely porous rock that stores water as well as it traps heat, the stage was set for rich minerals to be deposited by the water, winds, and erosion.

Meanwhile, starting about 10 million B.P., the Salmon and Clearwater Rivers cut through the fresh basalt and created new canyons. Because of volcanic and tectonic activity, these rivers would, about 4 million years later, be filled in with new basalt and the Wallowa and Seven Devils Mountains, given that they are made of different rock from ocean islands, were uplifted by buoyancy (personal communication with Schmidt). According to Slickpoo, one of the mountain ranges Coyote ties himself to are the Seven Devils {also see Phinney 1969: 19n2}. In addition, the Monster has also been interpreted as a metaphor for the plutons (rock formed from magma that then displaces and morphs

[33] A shear zone is "the result of a huge volume of rock deformation due to intense regional stress" that create "distinct structure[s]" and considered some of the choicest places on earth to explore for minerals (Haldar 2018: 74).

with other rocks as it rises to the surface) from the basalt lava flows that filled the valleys {Phinney 1969: 19n4}. This is what created the Clearwater embayment (Camp 1981) that then produced the foundations for ideal fishing conditions for both animal and human people in the generations to come.

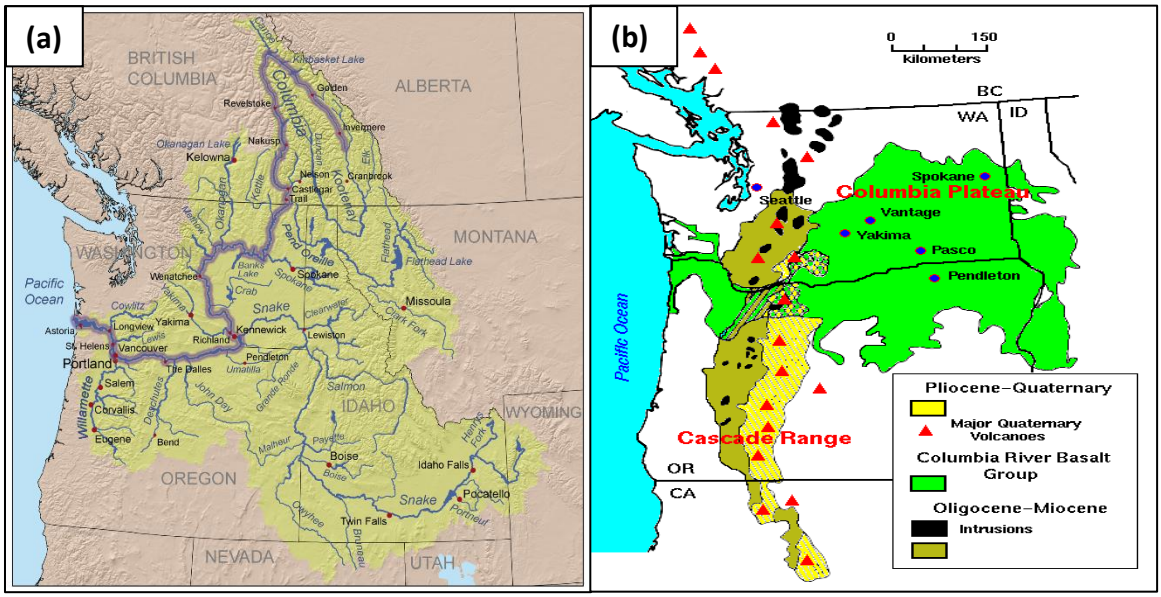

Figure 3.2: Columbia Plateau/River Basin
Image source for (a) Columbia River Basin:
<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e4/Columbiarivermap.png>
Image source for (b) the Columbia Plateau:
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PacificNW_volcanics.png>

While I am not suggesting that the story refers specifically to ocean islands crashing into a continent, or the volcanic activity that occurred before human beings walked the earth; the story, and others like it, certainly recognize the distinctiveness of such geological features and suggests, that these places and events as significant for cultural, economic, political, military, linguistic, dietary, and familial life {but see Cash Cash 2006, 2010a, 2010b, 2018; FiveCrows 2007; Hart 2018; Landeen and Pinkham 1999; Pinkham and Evans 2013; Scheuerman and Trafzer 2015; Slickpoo 1972, 1973, 1987; Weaskus 2011, 2014}. When taken together, we can also recognize a larger system of human activity of

which Nimíipuu were only a part {e.g., Conner and Lang 2006: 36}. And while it is beyond the scope of this study to detail every distinct human group, I can still sketch a Nimíipuu-centric picture of that system.

Between 2 and 3 million B.P., the Snake River cuts its northern canyon, filling the Snake River Plain and the Salmon and Clearwater Rivers. The Salmon and Clearwater Rivers, and certain parts of the northern Snake River, would become the primary fishing rivers for Nimíipuu and are tributaries of the massive Columbia River whose basin was finally carved from the basalt that created the Plateau during the last Ice Age that started about 2 million B.P. (Camp 1981; also, personal communication with Baker and Schmidt).

The Ice Age produced glaciers, averaging heights of about 2,000 feet, behaved like slow moving rivers with a weight and mass to leave deep impressions and move the earth around. These global conditions of cooling and drying around the end of the Pliocene to the end of the Pleistocene, i.e., about 2.5 million to 11,700 B.P.—enabled the growth of enormous grasslands and thus large migrations of mammals back and forth between Eastern and Western Hemispheres (Steeves 2021: 60). These conditions, with fluctuations, of course, were pristine for four-legged mammals, and then for human communities to develop and move about (ibid.: 64-5). The most likely dates for human migration by land before the common 11,000 B.P. is 33,000 to 26,500 B.P. when glaciers receded before the last round of the Wisconsin glaciation period that ended around 11,700 B.P. (ibid.: 65).

Mammals did a back-and-forth migration between West and East Hemispheres for millions of years, so it is not unreasonable to think that there might have been much earlier human migrations that followed well-traveled paths established by small to large

mammals, including horses, camels, and even rhinos (Steeves 2021: 65). In fact, horses were in the Western hemisphere first, about 50 million B.P. and then traveled east. Bison, on the other hand, traveled east to west. Two of the most recent mammal migrations occurred, first east to west between 195,000-135,000 B.P., and another west to east between 45,000-21,000 B.P. This last migration occurred "most likely by grazing their way across what we know today as the Bering land area" (ibid.: 69). Mammoth were also migratory animals and lived in Nimíipuu country in Idaho between 1.3 and 1.5 million B.P. According to Slickpoo {1973}, Nimíipuu and their ancestors have a long relationship with dogs that go back to a time immemorial, where dogs were used as pack animals and companions. The Nimíipuu word for horse, sí'k'em, translates to large dog {Phinney and Evans 2013: 14}.

Glaciers, especially those of the last glacial period of 115,000 and 11,700 B.P., experienced a series of advances and retreats from warming temperatures that not only moved sediment and debris from place to place, but gouged out and displaced entire chunks of earth to form features such as lakes, valleys, and so on. In addition, powerful winds picked up as glaciers retreated and blew glacial dust and silt to cap the basalt flats. Thus, the winds created a rich topsoil (loess), up to 150 feet deep in some places, resting on top of porous basalt that holds groundwater in aquifers hundreds of feet deep and provides springs that bubble up all over the Plateau (Camp 1981; personal communication with Baker and Schmidt). These soil deposits, along with the rivers and lakes, enabled the development of diverse complexes of human activity that depended on each other to make use of flora and fauna for foods, fibers, and so on, that support cultural, political, economic,

religious, and/or familial activity. These soils and aquifers are of vital importance for humans living on the Plateau.

The last Ice Age event was also the final cutting of the Columbia River Basin from the Plateau basalt between 16,000 and 13,000 B.P., in series of massive floods known as the Missoula Floods (DeGrey and Link 2005; personal communication with Baker and Schmidt). These floods were caused by rapidly melting glaciers that turned the rivers into massive lakes, cutting canyons and carrying debris throughout the Pacific Northwest and into the Pacific Ocean. The largest of these floods would likely have contained more water than Lake Erie and Lake Ontario combined and traveled at speeds between 30 and 50 miles an hour.

Until recently, the oldest known archeological site of human activity in the area dated just after the last Missoula Floods about 12,000 B.P. However, Nimíipuu and their neighbors report "no migration tradition which places them outside their current ancestral homelands; instead, [their] oral traditions contain imagery of mammoths, ice age phenomena, and ancient volcanic activity" {Cash Cash 2018: 217; also see Aoki 1988: 513-525; McWhorter 1952: 6; Slickpoo 1973: 5}.[34] Indeed, some of these stories about the end of the world of animal people might be reference to the Missoula Floods{{Wewa 2017: 11-12}}. The Missoula Floods likely wiped away most physical evidence of prior human

[34] The first professional ethnographer to study Nez Perces on their reservation, Alice Fletcher, sometime between 1889-1892, once commented that the

> "Large bones of extinct animals are found in the Nez Perce country. A mastodon tooth weighing twelve pounds was discovered there; such are said to belong to an earth spirit who is not good and kind. This spirit has been interpreted in modem times to be the Devil. In reply to the Christian teaching of the power of the Devil, the pagan Indian said: "How can that be? He is dead -- here are his bones!" (quoted in Sappington and Carley 1995: 26).

activity. Nonetheless, Davis and colleagues (2019) found evidence of human settlement dating about 16,000 B.P. More than 1,300 miles to the south, at the White Sands National Park in New Mexico, there are human footprints in the rocks that are dated between 23,000 and 21,000 B.P. (Bennett et al. 2021). These dates are controversial to some in the scientific community and will likely be debated for years because it throws speculation on general assumptions in archeology of global human migration and settlement patterns (Bennett et al. 2021; Davis et al. 2019; Steeves 2021). This helps corroborate Nimíipuu oral histories that demonstrate a deep knowledge and appreciation for a living landscape that is subject to dramatic change. This knowledge and appreciation, like the rock foundations, can and do shift, and are weathered by elements and time—but they nevertheless provide the footing to live in this place.

The landscape and its changes likewise provide the foundation for a belief system complex that understands all lifeforms as connected and bound to a living earth. This theme comes out in most stories published by the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce—especially in oral traditions—and is traced to a time immemorial. For instance, the Nimíipuu creation story quoted above, is told last in Slickpoo's {1972: 201-206} *Nez Perce Legends*. The preceding stories in Slickpoo {1972} are about the animal people who worked, mostly through trial and error, to create good relationships with each other and discovered how to live well on a living earth whose elements also have people-like qualities or are described as people. In fact, the first story, "Winter Battles Summer" {ibid.: 3-6}, describes "two wars fought every year, one in the spring when the southern lad wins over the northern lad, and in the autumn, when the Northerner wins and is master until the next spring" {6}. This suggests,

as do many of the other violent stories in Nimíipuu oral traditions, that creating, maintaining, changing, and adapting these relationships in an everchanging geophysical and geopolitical environment is struggle. Yet, as the Ni·mi·pu·tímt (Nez Perce language) word, wıts'à'sà tıto'qan, tells us, "'*To become a person,' means, 'to survive,' [or] 'to live*'" {Phinney 1969: 394n1, my emphasis}. And so, after being created by Coyote, human people need to watch over and care for animal people, and the landscape and plants that supports them, as means of discovering how to live because we eat the flesh of the animal people to survive.

> "*We will tell of a time when only animals were on this earth and no human beings. All the animals could talk among themselves and understood each other well… [W]hen the human beings came... all animals became mute*. They complained because we used them for food, so they said, 'If you use us for food we will not talk to you anymore. [And we will be difficult to catch and use]. *We were on this earth first, and now you have to make an agreement with us on how to live on this earth*.'… In exchange, the human beings would be separate from the animals but would watch over them because they could not speak for themselves among the human beings. *This was the agreement we had with all living things on this earth*. Offerings would be made for the sacrifice of life they would give for our benefit" {Pinkham 2006: 147-8, my emphasis}.

As I demonstrate in the next section, these relationships form the foundation for not just Nimíipuu social institutions, but an entire world-system of Indigenous Peoples on the Plateau that would emerge, develop, and change over tens of thousands of years. This Indigenous world-system[35], or lifeworld[36], was destroyed by the capitalist world-system,[37] just like the old animal world was destroyed by the Monster. This lifeworld history lives

[35] In sociological lingo (Chase-Dunn and Mann 1998)
[36] In Native studies terminology (Duran et al. 1998).
[37] Sometimes referred to as a "death world" (Estes 2019: 16; also see Deloria 1972; Horne 2020).

as a set of social institutions (Bourdieu 1990) that can enable surviving another set of changing conditions—that is, how "to become a person" {Phinney 1969: 394n1}. The following section triangulates my Nimíipuu/Nez Perce archive (Appendix A), research in archeology, and my non-Nimíipuu/Nez Perce archive (Appendix B) to describe the history of the Indigenous Peoples lifeworld of the Plateau. I pay special attention to changes in structural positioning of Nimíipuu ancestors within that system relative to their neighbors. This context, i.e., the general historical patterns of social life on the Plateau, is necessary to understand how and why Nimíipuu conformed to, deviated from, and sometimes set the standard for social patterns of the historical Indigenous Peoples lifeworld of the Plateau. This is important because, as the archeological, ethnographic, and oral historical records show, by the time Lewis and Clark and company crossed the Bitterroot Mountains, Nimíipuu were one of possibly several core powers of this Indigenous lifeworld. This structural positioning initially enabled Nimíipuu certain opportunities that set the stage for at least some of their ancient relationships to escape the bowels of a new Monster—in this case the U.S. government and its settlers—and continue providing life to the People.

Expansions & Contractions of Territorial Lifeworld Claims

In this section, I demonstrate that despite the "piecemeal nature of archaeological research on the Plateau" (Ames 2000: 6), there is enough to show that a "world-system,"

or Indigenous "lifeworld" emerged, grew, and changed.[38] These changes become more apparent and animated when read alongside Indigenous oral traditions [[e.g., Marshall 1999; Walker 1966a]] and shed new light on how we understand a critical episode in world-history: the U.S. colonization of the Pacific Northwest.[39] Prior to colonization, there was great diversity of Peoples living in what anthropologists and archeologists call that "Plateau culture area." There were large differences in power and wealth between Peoples and Nimíipuu became among the most powerful of these distinct Peoples, but this was not always the case. The earliest archeological evidence shows much more even distributions of wealth and power, likely because people were still adapting to the changes by the end of the last Ice Age and the destruction of the Missoula Floods.

U.S. academics researching Nimíipuu/Nez Perces typically refer to two common temporal scales but use only one in the research. There are different ways this happens. For example, it is common to note that Indigenous Peoples have stories that trace their origins to a time immemorial and then proceed to discuss, in greater detail, archeological or ethnographic records. From an archeological perspective, the timeline expands sometime between 10,000 and 16,000 B.P. (depending on which data is considered "valid," as I explain below), whereas the ethnographic record begins just over 200 years B.P. in 1805 C.E. with

[38] There is more data for later periods than earlier periods because over time there are more chances for the evidence of human settlement (e.g., pits for homes, fires, trash, etc.) to be exposed to the elements.
[39] Gerald Horne (2015) says the Louisiana Purchase resulted from the Haitian Revolution, i.e., France needed money after a slave rebellion convinced Napoleon to give up his plans for the Mississippi River Basin. This was a critical moment in U.S. history as it opened this part of the continent to colonization without contestation from the French empire, helped the British empire defeat Napoleon, and helped propel the U.S. towards hegemony in the mid-20th century. In other words, the U.S. was still a peripheral nation in the capitalist world-system but was starting to ascend when they meet Nimíipuu. U.S. movement in world-system hierarch is also an important part of the explanation for how the U.S. negotiated with different Peoples at different times and places.

Lewis and Clark.[40] Each of these timelines set different expectations and standards for research for each have different goals. Briefly mentioning the Indigenous timeline only and using the colonial timeline to set the general temporal boundary creates an epistemological hierarchy of categories. For example, much research presents academic understandings as having greater reliability and validity than Indigenous oral histories, be they folklore or family history or something in between. This is most obvious in the common academic convention where people of a certain time are classified as existing within some sort of "prehistorical," "preliterate," "precontact," "pre-Columbian," or whatever "pre-" (insert allegorical Western reference era). In fact, the Society for American Archaeology still uses the categories of "historic"[41] and "prehistoric" as the basic organizing tool at its annual conference meetings. This type of language use has comparable analytical effects in archeological research (see Pauketat 2012) as Zerubavel (1998) notes about sociology, Mills about philosophy and social science (2020), and Carpio (2006) describes about museum curation in the U.S. Similarly, sociology and anthropology are built around this distinction between so-called "modern" and "premodern" societies (Wolf 2010). These are,

[40] Many academics note, however, that Lewis and Clark, and other early explorers and traders, were not ethnographers, much less were they concerned with understanding Native peoples on their own terms. "Often enough the accounts are garbled and highly prejudiced" [[Pearsall 1949: 316]]. Nevertheless, it is said that "they have the virtue of being eyewitness accounts of a time when the Indians were still in their aboriginal state" [[ibid.]], and so entire volumes of literature are dedicated to reprinting and unpacking these garbled and prejudiced notes [[e.g., Burgunder and Oliphant 1926; Coonc 1917; Elliot 1907; Mulford 2014; Pearsall 1949; Wheeler 2002a, 2002b; Wyeth 2017]]. The ethnographic record in the Pacific Northwest starts with Canadian fur trader Alexander Mackenzie in 1793 [[Pearsall 1949: 317]].

[41] I take the definition of history to mean what has happened, not what people have written about what happened (Christian 2011; Trouillot 2015; Lindqvist 1996). There are, of course, real and important differences between societies that do and do not have chirography (Mullins, Whitehouse, and Atkinson 2013). Yet the differences are a consequence of writing and do not presuppose writing. In other words, it is typical for humans to invent writing when they face a particular set of problems, such as achieving group cooperation with increasing surplus (ibid.).

of course, false separations that is one part of an old and elaborate imperial trick—claiming that what used to exist has little to no value.

These kinds of conventions and separations on the Plateau are false. For example, the word "preliterate" often refers to a people without writing and usually synonymous with "prehistorical." And while folks living on the Plateau may not have had chirography, they did have, at minimum, two different kinds of "protowriting" in the form of rock art {Cash Cash 2018} (Boreson 1998) and "time-balls" {Conner and Lang 2006: 25; Scheuerman et al. 2010: 51}. A time-ball, or ititámat, is a cord or string, typically made with a local variety of hemp, containing knots, beads, shells, and possibly other items like bones and stones, which mark important events and experiences. Many of these time-balls, which were read to others by the owner, typically during the winter storytelling months, were buried with the owner upon their death, and thus unavailable. Cremation was also common on the Plateau at certain times. Western science has yet to invent the tools or respect necessary for making sense of this "protowriting," from Plateau time-balls to the quipu (knot-record) used by the Incas and other Andean cultures. Many of these things were also destroyed or stolen, either deliberately or otherwise, by colonization, genocide, and capitalist development. There are cases on the Plateau of white settlers killing "Indians," mutilating bodies, and looting corpses, where some families on the Plateau today keep and pass on these "trophies" as heirlooms [[e.g., Cannell 2010: 105; Coonc 1917: 17]]. Archeology also has a history of plundering Indigenous "artifacts" for the sake of "science," with little to no regard for the needs or wants of Indigenous communities from

which these artifacts come {e.g., Scheuerman and Trafzer 2015: 53-55, 57n10} [[Sprague 1974; Walker and Jones 2000]] (also see Colwell 2017).

Oral History, Archeology, & the Plateau Lifeworld of the Human People

In this section I build upon lost opportunities by triangulating Nimíipuu/Nez Perce writings with Western academic records and attempt to treat Indigenous and academic understandings of history as different parts of the same puzzle; both are incomplete, mostly for the same reasons, and represent different sides of the whole. Oral history is incomplete, for one, because of colonization and genocide, not to mention natural disasters like the Missoula Floods mentioned above. The academic record is incomplete for the same reasons, and maybe more so because of its historical tendency to dismiss or ignore Indigenous perspectives and understandings. Each record has something of value to offer this study, even if they are, at times, wildly different and contradictory. I draw on these contradictions as areas of further exploration and analysis. For example, the simple treatment of sources is telling, as Allen Slickpoo, Sr. {1973} pointed out in the first published Nez Perce history book from a Nez Perce author that:

> "We have no sympathy with those who have written derogatory books about us and have chosen to ignore most of them. They are not our friends.
>
> We have listed a bibliography of the written sources we have consulted, but we do not always cite them in footnotes. It is our culture and history and we do not have to prove it to anyone by footnoting" {Slickpoo 1973: viii}.

Archeology is coming around to recognize that "understanding the complexity of hunter-gatherer histories requires deep context and multiple scales, the full sweep of which may be revealed only through incorporation of indigenous knowledge" (Sassaman and Randall 2012: 24) [[also see Marshall 1999; Walker 1966; Walker and Jones 2000]]. And, as archaeologist do more to work *with* Indigenous communities, both help redefine what counts as "history" (Pauketat 2012). In doing so, the temporal scales of archeology are slowly receding like the glaciers that hid and destroyed physical evidence of ancient human activity. As more archeological data accumulate, and the more Tribes have a say where digs happen and how reports are written (Sprague 1974), a broader story of changes and adaptations starts to take form in Western scientific journals and books. This archeological record is important to consider as it, when read with Nimíipuu/Nez Perce sources, provides the necessary context to understand the more complete ethnographic and historical records discussed in the next chapter.

Recent archeological research (e.g., Ames 2012; Davis et al. 2019; Gilbert et al. 2008) is starting to catch up to the temporal bounds of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce understandings of their own history. Davis and colleagues (2019) recently published evidence of human habitation in traditional Nimíipuu territory dating about 16,000 $_{B.P.}$ This "ancient village site" (ibid.: 891) contains "cultural pit features" (892), charcoaled wood, the bones of "medium- to large-bodied mammals" (893), and "unfluted stemmed projectile point[s]" (891) (i.e., not Clovis points). This is a controversial finding in archeology and other social sciences because it directly refutes the conventional theory that humans first arrived on this continent via a "ice-free corridor" land bridge during the end of the last ice age about

12,000 B.P. For Davis et al., 16,000 B.P. suggest that humans first arrived in North America via a Pacific coastal route that combined boats and walking for travel, which is more consistent with earlier migration patterns of homo sapiens out of Africa and into the rest of the world (Steeves 2021). According to Davis et al. (2019), the projectile points are like those found on Japanese islands between 16,000 and 13,000 B.P., and thus suggests an earlier migratory phase out of Japan.

For Nimíipuu, the age of the village site is not at all controversial as the place is known as Nipéhe (ibid.: 891). What is controversial for some Nimíipuu, however, is the idea that folks migrated to this place from somewhere else.[42] One translation of the word Nimíipuu is "the walking people" {Aoki 1994: ix} but Nez Perces and other Sahaptin speakers of the Plateau "report no migration tradition which places them outside their current ancestral homelands" {Cash Cash 2018: 217}. In my reading of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce oral traditions, there are no stories about migrating to a foreign land, although there is a lot of walking and sometimes to places far away, but origin stories have the People created here in this place. [43]

These claims are not irreconcilable because the archeological evidence clearly demonstrates that in the sense of cultural development and change, *Nimíipuu are the outcome of at least four previous Peoples who experienced rise and decline over tens of thousands of years in this place* (Ames and Marshall 1980). There are likely earlier migratory ancestors (Steeves 2021), but if the archeological evidence can only speculate,

[42] At the same time, some Indigenous Peoples have migration stories as a central component of their origin stories, such as the Aztec, whose migration story about migrating from Aztlan justified their imperial reign (Pohl 2003).
[43] Genomic evidence will settle some of these debates.

and if Indigenous Peoples insist that they have been here since a time immemorial, then I will focus my attention here on the changes that I can triangulate in my archives. Furthermore, as more archeologists start working with Indigenous communities, including the accumulation of more data and reevaluation of old sites dismissed outright by the "Clovis police,"[44] it is likely that the chronology of human settlement in North America will continue to get pushed back (Steeves 2021). Until then, I find it useful to focus on the agreement in controversy. So, while there is disagreement about when or how folks arrived, there is consistency in the importance of mobility from both Indigenous oral traditions and the archeological record. There is also agreement among both that the original inhabitants of this continent hunted and were otherwise in the presence of ice age mammals. There is an emphasis on food and the politics of its procurement and distribution. And while neither archeology or oral traditions can tell us about the cultural content of food politics, the data can tell us about the form of social institutions that enabled travel and trade, alliances, warfare, and slavery.

Archeological evidence of human habitation on the Southern Plateau between 16,000 and 6,000 B.P.[45] are sparce and little understood (Ames 2012: 172-3). However, what we do know is that by at least 12,500 B.P. there were likely multiple cultural traditions—i.e., distinct peoples—and by 10,000 B.P. some canyon habitations appear in conjunction

[44] The so-called Clovis police are those archeologists who completely disregard any study claiming human activity in the Western Hemisphere older than 12,000 B.P. This dominant view, once considered radical in the early 20th century when archeology claimed "the Indians" lived here since about 3,000 B.P., is only recently challenged by new archeological finds yet consistently challenged by Indigenous Peoples of the western hemisphere with histories that stretch back to a time immemorial (Deloria 1997; Steeves 2021).
[45] Several hundred miles northwest on the Plateau in British Columbia, there are "Salmonid bones dating between 17,940 to 21,390 BP ... at Lake Kamloops" (Haggen et al. 2006: 4).

with a hunter-gather mode of production that becomes effective enough to support general population growth with low density (Ames 2000; Ames and Marshall 1980; Brown et al. 2019; Gilbert et al. 2008). The use of canyon habitations and first recorded population growth coincides with cool and moist conditions on the Plateau from about 10,600 to 9,700 B.P. (Huckleberry and Fadem 2006: 30). Another climatic shift around 9,000 B.P. to warm and dry conditions lasted until 6,700 B.P., and then cooled again around 3,000 B.P. These are dramatic changes, yet the canyons, especially in the lower Snake River and its tributaries, created "microenvironments" generally more stable than the rest of the Plateau that were "ideal locations for human occupation" (ibid.: 31; U.S. National Park Service 1972). These buffer zones enabled people to make adaptations to their foraging[46] and collecting[47] strategies as the availability of flora and fauna fluctuated more outside of the canyons with climatic changes. This is because "River canyons contained edible roots, fruiting shrubs, and anadromous fish, forming suitable residential bases for either 'tethered' mobile foragers or logistical collectors... [In fact,] *environmental factors may be less potent than human factors for changes in food resource abundance within the canyons of the Snake River*" (Huckleberry and Fadem 2006: 31, my emphasis).

Most archeological evidence for this time is classified as the "Windust" cultural group, and like Nimíipuu oral traditions suggest, they were very mobile and maintained deep ties to the Plateau, as the Marmes Rockshelter suggest (Ames 2000; Ames 2012;

[46] Foragers are those tending to gather food and supplies close to a settlement.
[47] Collectors are those who create specialized task groups to collect food and supplies in other locations. Here, horticulture is more likely to develop given the amount of time, energy, recourse allocation, and innovation required to travel long distances. In other words, there is incentive to developing ways of achieving higher yields.

Brown et al. 2019; Huckleberry and Fadem 2007). The Marmes Rockshelter was destroyed in 1969 by floodwaters from the Lower Monumental Dam on the Snake River in Washington State. This happened although archeologists were nowhere near finished excavating Marmes, much less that it is a sacred site to multiple Plateau Peoples whose ancestors used it for shelter, storage, and burials for at least 12,000 years. Marmes even held a 10,000-year-old cremation hearth.[48] There are unexplained gaps of use at Marmes that span several thousand years, followed by heavy re-use of the site (Huckleberry and Fadem 2007). Ames suggests that "Marmes might well be considered what Schlanger [1993] terms a 'persistent place' ... a place that, over the long-term, structures cultural landscapes through reuse, anchoring movement and social ties although its function and meaning might change through time" (Ames 2012: 173). Thus, population growth likely changed some and intensified other cultural and economic processes on the Plateau, such as a taste for roots and a religious milieux that held the land, especially certain geophysical features, as sacred and central to daily life—hence the diversity of "artifacts" in Marmes and its long cycles of use. The entire archeological record demonstrates "high levels of [local] mobility" with strong community ties are observed on the Plateau, combined with "long-term community or social group level ties to particular places or regions including burial localities and perhaps very favored residential locations" (Ames 2012: 175). This is

[48] A new "burial complex" emerged on the Plateau about 1,700 B.P. that remained "stable" until about 1700 C.E. where "marked" changes started to occur [[Walker 1969: 249, 252, drawing from Sprague's 1959 thesis and 1967 dissertation]]. It is unclear why the burial complex developed in the first place, but variation in burial practices increase dramatically between 1700-1800 C.E. and this suggest some sort of response to large scale socio-cultural change. Walker suggests that this is evidence of early Euro-American influence on Plateau life before direct, interpersonal interactions, such as the spread of horses and Indigenous-Christian travelers and prophets, for example. I will return to the importance of the prophets and horses the next chapter.

emblematic of core/periphery development,[49] where "the development of bounded territories and the enforcement of legitimate claims to resources by means of coercion—even if only yelling and stone throwing—represented an institutional response to a core/periphery differentiation in which some groups needed to protect their resources from other groups" (Chase-Dunn and Mann 1998: 67).

According to Ames and Marshall (1980) seminal article:

> "The available data indicate a generalized, broad spectrum adaptation on the southeastern plateau over the last 11,000 years: fishing, fowling, hunting, and gathering of both terrestrial and riverine resources. Some resources, such as elk, were continually exploited, while others were exploited with varying intensity. Bison, for example, are represented sporadically until 1500 BP when both the numbers and range of bison expand dramatically, only to decline and finally disappear after around 500 BP" (Ames and Marshall 1980: 40).

This includes cultural shifts from "Windust" (11,000 – 8,500 B.P) to "Cascade" (8,500-4,500 B.P.), from "Tucannon" (4,500-2,500 B.P.) to "Harder" (2,500-300 B.P.) and then to Nimíipuu (300 B.P. – present) (Ames and Marshall 1980; Ames et al. 2010). There are variations for the dates, depending on which study one refers, but those just listed are more-or-less standard. These cultural shifts are indicated by subtle or dramatic shifts in

[49] Core/periphery relations refers to the fact that, in any world-system, there are differences between polities and settlements and these differences shape social interactions and change. Hierarchical world-systems are those typified by core/periphery relations where the most powerful group(s) exploit or otherwise dominate less powerful polities and settlements. Differential world-systems, on the other hand, are characterized by core/periphery relations where there might be groups that are more powerful than others, but they do not exploit or dominate their neighbors. For more about core/periphery relations, see Chase-Dunn and T. Hall (1991, 1997), Chase-Dunn and Mann (1998), Jeske (1996), Kea (2006), and Peregrine and Feinman (1996).

The lifeworld of the Plateau is, at first, a differential world-system because, while some groups might have been more powerful than others (judging from, for example, population or territorial asset estimates), there is no evidence of group domination or exploitation. In fact, social relations remain more-or-less egalitarian within and between settlements and polities until about 3,500 B.P. and the development of slavery and horticulture (Marshall 1999; Prentiss et al. 2005; Ruby and Brown 1993), as discussed in greater detail below.

technology and population, and housing and subsistence patterns, resulting from responses to environment and/or human innovations that spurred social reproduction or change. For example, the primary differences between Windust and Cascade is population growth and slow transitions in certain technologies, such as pestles and mortars, and not "significant changes in subsistence or settlement patterns" (Ames and Marshall 1980: 42). This indicates that settlement patterns, at the level of community, i.e., political unit, as far back as the Windust period seem to have institutionalized patterns which indicate the existence of a world-system with developing differential core/periphery relations[50] (Ames 1991; Ames 2012; Ames and Marshall 1980; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991, 1997; Chase-Dunn and Mann 1998).

Settlement patterns reflect (but only to the extent that we can understand them) the territorial claims of people. Ames (2012) shows that by 6,000 B.P. (the middle of the second cultural phase as defined by archeologists), *settlement patterns among communities are more-or-less sedentary* in the sense that they are firmly established as territories where certain humans come to live and trade at certain times in the year for extended periods of time. This is confirmed in oral traditions that also seem to suggest that ancestors of Nimíipuu had original claim to the mountainous regions on the eastern side of the Plateau[51], especially around the Clearwater, Selway, and Salmon Rivers, and their forks, and then at some point pushed their community territorial claims westward {Baird et al. 2015: 69-76}. However, the smaller the unit of analysis, i.e., the household and then the individual, the

[50] There is also very old rock art on the Plateau (the oldest dated at about 7,200 B.P. in the Bernard Creek Rockshelter in Hells Canyon) with distinct styles developing and splitting off shortly thereafter that indicate cultural change and difference (Boreson 1998).
[51] The Heart of the Monster, for example, is located on eastern edge of the Plateau in Kamiah, Idaho.

higher degree of mobility, and the record shows individuals going to and from a variety of multi-ethnic communities to engage in a variety of activities specific to certain areas or regions.

The idea about territoriality and mobility are addressed extensively in both oral traditions, histories, and folklore, as well as most other publications from the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce, and these things are often discussed in this literature as traditional or ancient practices of freedom, individuality, and community. These are distinct from how we typically think about these words in English because, as demonstrated with the Nimíipuu practice of wéyekin (a tutelary spirit acquired on a vision quest), individuals in this ancient world were expected to discover their purpose as it related to some community, with full freedom to move to and from among established communities. Linguistic differences do reflect regional differences of a diverse ecosystems producing different foods, fibers, and other materials, that different communities were responsible for managing for the community and trading with other communities. Ancestors of the Nimíipuu were linguistically diverse set of established and semi-autonomous communities that allowed individuals and households to move between them. Individuals and households, i.e., kinship networks, thus bound the political units of communities that are responsible for certain resources (Ames 2012) {Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973}. How long ago these linguistic and cultural differences emerged or when wéyekin was institutionalized is unclear in the archeological record. What is clear, however, is that for tens of thousands of years, human specialization was occurring and adapting to a variety of conditions. This

specialization led to the waxing and waning of technological innovation and usage, including for foraging, collecting, hunting, food processing, and housing.

There was a general warming/drying period from 8,800 – 4,000/2,800 B.P., and with it came some noticeable changes in subsistence and settlement patterns that coincide with general population growth. This suggests that weather conditions were generally stable, and that people were learning how to more effectively and efficiently use resources and institutionalizing lifeways to secure their future reproduction. The most significant food sources during the Windust and Cascade phases seem to be roots, but a variety fish and mammalian game were also important. Up north in present day British Columbia, salmon fishing had started intensifying as early as 10,000 B.P. and affecting how their southern neighbors caught and managed fish (although cutoff is unclear) (Haggan et al. 2006). Furthermore, the bow and arrow emerge somewhere between 8,500 and 7,000 B.P. (Ames et al. 2010), where the atlatl is the older hunting instrument that uses dart projectile points as opposed to arrowheads. The atlatl, at first dominant, then used alongside the bow/arrow, increases its use in 3,000 B.P., only to decline and disappear at 1,000 B.P. and then reappear about 500 years ago. This demonstrates the application of different technologies under different conditions in specialized ways that compete for preeminence (Ames 2012; Brown, Gilmour, Solimano, and Ames 2019).

Recent research by (Brown et al.2019) pushed back the Windust period to about 13,500 B.P. by focusing on the Western stemmed (i.e., not Clovis) projectile points found on the Plateau. It is important to note that there is great variation of technology among Windust, but that this variation most likely reflects resource use rather than cultural

difference (ibid.: 489). That is not to suggest that Windust was a cultural monolith; it certainly was not. Available evidence and technologies to analyze that evidence does not enable us to determine or understand much about the cultural differences during this time (Ames 2012; Brown et al. 2019), but the general trend for stateless world-systems is to grow in complexity and diversity (Chase-Dunn and Lerro 2014). Most likely is that there were at least several distinct cultural groups interacting with each other, sharing the technologies of their day, and applying technologies in their appropriate ways (e.g., likely using atlatls in more open areas for larger mammals and using bows/arrows in more wooded areas for small and medium sized mammals or in situations where speed is more important than power). Furthermore, the Plateau Peoples were certainly interacting with Peoples of the Pacific Coast, at least for times between 10,800 and 4,500/4,00 B.P., because there is evidence at Marmes Rockshelter and other locations on the Lower Columbia River of traded obsidian, funerary ritual goods, and other "exotic" goods, such as whalebone clubs (Ames 1991: 940). Whether or not Coastal Peoples and Plateau Peoples were directly trading goods during this time is unclear, and while it seems unlikely, it would have been possible with canoe travel. If Plateau Peoples were traveling to the Coast, it would indicate a world-system that stretched from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast, and from the Great Basin up to the northern Columbia Plateau, as Ames (1991) once suggested. There is more evidence, however, to suggest that these goods traveled through intermediaries, such as Chinooks, who lived along a frontier between two world-systems of the Coast and the Plateau near the Cascade Mountains [[Ray 1937; Ruby and Brown 1993]]. Another geophysical feature that seemed to separate world-systems would be obsidian from the

Mazama deposits at the southwestern edge of the Plateau that traveled north and east. Furthermore, by at least 1000 C.E., another world-system of the Great Basin was solidified [[Miller 1985]]. Thus, Nimíipuu and their most recent ancestors were likely living between three frontiers.

These could be more recent changes because the available archeological evidence for this time does not let us determine which cultural groups were using which specific tools or collection of tools, for example. Nevertheless, there is already a general trend forming of long-distance interaction, the intensification of natural resource use, and more-or-less steady population growth. However, if those interactions became durable or not between these groups is undeterminable. Durable, i.e., long-lasting, and more-or-less predictable, interactions are what create and sustain world-system networks, so determining cut-off is important. If at the beginning it was one big world-system, then it seems likely that by the time Plateau Peoples began to develop semi-permanent villages about 4,500/4,000 B.P., durable interactions were no longer passing over the Cascade Mountains in any direction, except through intermediaries and maybe other isolated cases (e.g., travelers) [[Ray 1937; Ruby and Brown 1993]]. This could be a case of "deglobalization" (Chase-Dunn, Kim, and Alvarez 2020) that lead to greater complexity and diversity of cultural, social, political, and economic organization. On the Coast, slavery began to institutionalize around 3,500 B.P. and it produced wildly different cultural traits from the Plateau [[Ruby and Brown 1993]]. For example, affluent slave owners on the Coasts would flatten their own heads to distinguish themselves from the round-headed servile classes of their neighbors [[ibid.: 23]].

Resource abundance of the Coast provided little incentive for Coastal Peoples to travel east. Instead, they relied on the intermediary Chinooks to provide the majority of slaves through trade and raiding [[Ruby and Brown 1993: Chapter 1]] (Smith and Codding 2021). Perhaps there was at one point a single world-system in this part of the world, but as surpluses increased in both areas, they might have split into two distinct world-systems that interacted only on their frontier until their destruction by the capitalist world-system. The evidence suggests that by the time the U.S. began to colonize the Pacific Northwest, these were two distinct world-systems that interacted via trade goods on their frontier, such as with dentalium (a type of mollusk) shells going east and enslaved people going west and north [[Ruby and Brown 1993; Stern 1998]]. Lastly, given the importance of dentalium for the Plateau slave trade, it is interesting to note that while dentalium is present at some Nimíipuu archeological sites, it is not very widespread or old in comparison to other Plateau areas to the west and south, and seems to have been mostly used in burials (i.e., likely of religious significance) (Sprague 2004). Stern [[1998: 646]] says that "beyond The Dalles [Celilo Falls] dentalia were no longer a medium of exchange but were valued as articles of wealth and adornment." Slavery on the Plateau was also not very widespread compared to the Coast, although it was practiced to a limited extent[52] and is a theme in several ancient Nimíipuu oral histories and traditions {e.g., Phinney 1969: 381-408}. After

[52] The enslaved in this case were not chattel for hard labor, but rather war captives. War captives were most likely women and children because men who could be captured were probably killed instead. Also, before the horse, but even after the horse, enslaved people escaped often, especially if they were being held close to home. Hence the fact that the price of the enslaved at trade fairs was largely determined by their distance from home [[Ruby and Brown 1993]]. Because of this, it was most common for those enslaved to Nimíipuu ancestors to become absorbed into the group, mostly through marriage as a second or n^{th} wife {Slickpoo 1973: 48}.

the incorporation of the horse, slave raiding becomes an important source of wealth and prestige for Nimíipuu and a few of the neighbors [[Ruby and Brown 1993]]. Prior to the horse, enslaving people systematically for trade would take more time and energy than the payout, especially because they occupied the eastern edge of the Plateau. Instead, enslaving people would have been more opportunistic and the result of a war or battle.

On the Plateau, by no later than 4,000 B.P., *pithouses emerge and signal the development of semi-permanent winter village*. The most common housing arrangement before this was in canyons and in temporary shelters, such as windbreaks and huts (Ames 2000: 7). This might indicate increased levels of sedentism, at least at the level of the community (Ames 2012). Pithouses are structures built with wooden poles and covered with manufactured matts or processed animal hides on top of a shallow dug out pit in the earth. These structures were most common in winter villages and likely used for a variety of purposes, such as households, caches, or even a type of "community center" for cultural events and practice. Differences in pithouse size and the distribution of goods around pit sites (e.g., trash, pottery, etc.) within a single village is typically thought to indicate institutionalized hierarchy or inequality among dwellers.

It is important to note that along with the development of pithouses among Nimíipuu ancestors, bows and arrows became "ubiquitous" (Ames et al. 2010). In fact,

> "The widespread presence of arrows in the middle Holocene is contemporary with the appearance of houses, stable residential sites, and what appear to be tethered mobility patterns (Ames 1991; Chatters 1989), while the spike in the relative frequency of darts in the early Harder phase is contemporary with evidence of bison hunting on the Plateau" (Ames et al. 2010: 320).

Tethered mobility patterns in the sense that individuals and households migrate to and from different areas that are anchored to specific territorial communities (large settlements). Prior to this with the development of Cascade projectile points, humans were moving more towards the foraging end of the forager-collector spectrum (Ames et al. 2010). However, the new widespread use of bows and arrows around 4,000 B.P. possibly signals movement towards more sophisticated collecting strategies and hunting technology; and having consistent access to other reliable food sources, such as roots, would be important for this development.

Camas and other roots were a very important food source and trade good that was easily dried, stored, and cooked for a variety of meals and snacks. Evidence of camas and other roots go back to over 11,000 years ago (Ames 2000; Ames and Marshall 1980) {Slickpoo 1973} and remain an important source of sustenance for individuals, households, communities, and cultures of the Plateau. Camas cultivation and intensification are likely what helped sustain and grow populations, and by no later than 3,500 B.P. many groups (including the Tucannon ancestors of Nimíipuu), but not all, take to collecting (as opposed to foraging) strategies for subsistence all over the Plateau (Prentiss et al. 2005). This includes long distance travel that can take over one or two years to exploit and process resources and return for community use and trade {e.g., Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973}. These trips were aided with dogs as pack animals and could include going for hunts or going to root fields with relatives living on different parts of the Plateau. Ames (2012: 174) suggests that "the consistent use of such places [e.g., graves, village sites] over a long period might also suggests relatively stable territories and

some level of territorial affiliation during the Archaic on the Plateau [6000-1200 B.P.]". Furthermore, "individuals and local groups may have been mobile, while territorial groups (communities or those participating in the burial ritual) may have been spatially quite stable" (ibid.).

It is unclear when horticulture first developed on the Plateau, but the conditions were right by about 3,500 B.P. Sedentism was already in place before the development of horticulture. However, specialization and trade provided enough for people to have a relatively stable territory, with folks on different borders interacting with their neighbors. There was also a demographic shift with people concentrating in large village areas and relatively fewer in downriver areas (in the mountains and canyons), and evidence of increased economic trade, especially of camas products, and some prestige goods trading on the Plateau. Household units were also organized to exploit specific resources, allowing for trade and cooperation beyond temporary alliances (Prentiss et al. 2005: 71). This might have already been occurring, but the evidence at this point is now undeniable. Alliance building turns out to be a vital source of strength of not just Nimíipuu, but their neighbors as well, after the U.S. invades {e.g., Chief Joseph 1995 [1879]} (Balthaser 2020). By 3,500 B.P., "complex collectors" found on the northern and southern ends of the Plateau (Prentiss et al. 2005) and this coincides with the development of horticulture on the plateau as techniques and technologies were employed (e.g., digging sticks,[53] fire, storage, etc.) to

[53] Alan Marshall makes an interesting point about ethnocentrism in research when discussing the digging stick: "The gardens [observed by early U.S. settlers] were unusual [and continue to be for most contemporary academics] because Euro-Americans did not recognize the 'digging stick' as an agricultural tool, even though it was familiar to them in other contexts. The tuuk'es is clearly a dibble like those used by many other 'slash-and-burn' or 'milpas' agriculturalists. The European term for such agriculture is swidden" (Marshall 1999: 181).

increase yields. Salmon fishing was improving on the Fraser River on the northern end of the Plateau by this time but had yet to take off in a similar way in the eastern and southern parts of the Plateau.

Marshall [[1999]] provides the most detailed description of Nimíipuu horticulture (for a detailed discussion of "gardening" and other "complex management traditions" on the northern half of the Plateau, see Turner, Deur, and Lepofsky [2013]). Most scholars of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and their ancestors peg them as "hunter-gatherers." Yet,

> "Understanding the Nez Perce as horticulturalists explains many sociocultural practices that differed from those of more traditional foragers. These differences included (1) communal housing and food storage, (2) villages with 'men's houses' and perhaps 'women's houses,' (3) named, ranked leadership positions associated with recognized redistribution of resources, (4) massive raiding parties, and (5) encampments of more than 1,000 people from a variety of 'ethnic' groups.
>
> The last feature—the alliance of ethnic groups—suggests that the apparent cultural and social complexity of Nez Perce-speaking people was widespread. Indeed, all five of the features I have listed were found throughout the Plateau culture area. What is also important is that different ethnic groups stressed the control of different aspects of the environment" [[Marshall 1999: 182]].

The evidence for horticulture is that at least three staple roots—camas or qem'es (*Camassia quamash*), biscuitroot or qaamsit (*Lomatium kous*), and snowdrops or q'eq'iit (*Lomatium canbyi*)—were "replanted" annually [[Marshall 1999: 178]] and that fields were regularly "disturbed" with selective digging and fire [[ibid. 1999: 177-180]]. For example, the cultivation of camas including the practice of "at least some families [taking] only one 'sex' of 'roots,' so that about one-half of the mature bulbs were returned to the soil" [[ibid.: 178]]. This process, and the harvesting of roots, used a tuuk'es, or "digging stick" {also see James 1996: 11-13}. However, contrary to most early ethnographic

observations [[e.g., Spinden 1908]], the roots of camas "are so densely packed in preferred digging areas that taking them out one by one is impossible. Instead, large areas were loosened using the tuuk'es as a pry bar, then the chunks of the relatively soft, moist earth were broken up by hand and the 'roots' sorted" [[Marshall 1999: 178]]. Nimíipuu and their horticulturalist ancestors also used fire systematically to create and maintain fields of roots. Disturbing the soil and plants "increase[s] their net productivity" [[ibid.: 179]], and it is "explicitly stated [by Nez Perces practicing ancient techniques today] that these actions ensured a continued supply of [roots]" [[ibid.]]. Certain groups were responsible for certain resource patches along particular seasonal routes (starting at low elevations in spring and moving higher and higher until fall) where certain areas would have up to 1,000 people contributing to the harvest {{Hunn and Selam 2001: 127}}. Women were the primary horticulturalist, training daughters and granddaughters through demonstration, while men and boys tended to fish and/or hunt after helping erect gardening camps.

By 2,400 B.P. there was a large expansion of the "Plateau Interaction Sphere" (Prentiss et al. 2005: 75) in terms of increased economic trade and political alliances, maybe due to surpluses created by horticulture and increased efficiency in hunting and fishing. All of this coincides with dry conditions that last until 1,800 B.P., then the weather became increasingly wet until 1,100 B.P., then a drought hit between 900 and 600 B.P., and then it cooled off and became more wet about 500 B.P. (ibid.: 51). Between 2,300 and 1,800 B.P., there is evidence of population decline along river and root gathering areas that coincide with signs of increased violence and war that Prentiss and colleagues say were related to, in part, dry climate conditions that were decreasing food and fiber output and

forcing people to move into other territories (Prentiss et al. 2005: 70). These events overlap with an increased importance of large game and bows/arrows, and these are conditions that favor "village nucleation" (ibid.: 76) for protection and resource allocation. At the same time, the populations of neighbors on northern half of the Plateau (present day British Columbia) grow.

In the middle of this population decline on the Southern Plateau around 2,000 B.P., something very interesting happens. A major earthquake along the Salmon River suture zone creates new and ideal conditions for salmon runs into a major tributary of the Columbia River (Davis 2007). This even coincides with the development of the first winter villages along the lower Salmon River Canyon and the development of "corporate group households" (Prentiss et al. 2005: 84) in the more permanent villages with high concentrations of resources and the first signs of "institutionalized status inequality" (Prentiss et al. 2005: 56; but see Davis 2007). Salmon were certainly an important source of food prior to this, but certain groups appear to have been cut off from a nearby or reliable sources of salmon and likely had to trade for it and relied, instead, on other aquatic food sources, camas and other roots, and game. This earthquake changed the salmon situation and suddenly, for example, salmon bones appear in trash piles at village sites (Davis 2007). Furthermore, by 1,900 B.P. populations begin to generally increase, and evidence of storage becomes now widespread. Salmon fishing intensification is also obvious now with increasing use of more sophisticated technology (Ames 2000). Around 1,700-1,200 B.P., some populations decline as bows and arrows become even more widely established throughout the Plateau, and settlement increase their nucleation for defense (Prentiss et al.

2005). However, between 1,600 and 1,200 B.P., salmon populations rise in wetter interior conditions and the populations around the rivers and mountains rebound (ibid.). Around the same time the atlatl starts to decline in use, then seemingly disappears, and then reappears about 500 B.P., suggesting changes and adaptations to hunting strategies and patterns. However, salmon is what takes hold as the primary food source for the Plateau as a whole. This establishes more permanent trade as groups start to increase their specialization even more by focusing on resources within community territory and trading with folks who need their goods for items they might need.

Not long after salmon reach the eastern interior of the Plateau, around 1,450 B.P., multi-family "communal" houses begin developing along with the intensification of intragroup inequality, leading to a widespread complex collector system, and soon thereafter (1,100-1,000 B.P.) the general population peaks and then levels or declines. About 500 years later, i.e., 1500 current era (C.E.), the Plateau population declines due to spread of European diseases as well as declining salmon and camas numbers (Prentiss et al. 2005). This was the first of at least three epidemics of European colonial diseases that enveloped the Plateau before Indigenous Peoples even saw a white person. These events were devastating, in some cases killing more than half of entire villages. Understanding how each village connected to a broader community, with each dependent on the other for specific foods or fibers, the destruction of one village destabilizes life for people all around. This is a critical episode to understand because U.S. colonization started, Indigenous populations were already devastated from extreme loss of life and disturbances in subsistence and religious patters without a single shot fired. Without the "advantage" of

disease,[54] it might not have been possible for Europeans to colonize the Americas, and if it were possible, I doubt the territory of the U.S. would stretch from "sea to shining sea." But that counterfactual goes beyond the scope of this paper. What seems to have happened in the case of early colonial diseases on the Plateau is that it slowed down generally, and probably in some places completely stopped, a variety of developments towards increased technological and cultural innovations.

To summarize this section about the archeological record from 16,000+ to 300 B.P., the Nimíipuu and their ancestors have existed on the Southern Plateau since "time immemorial." Physical evidence of human settlement in the area dates back over 16,000 years (Davis et al. 2019) but oral history suggests that the Nimíipuu were here when the mastodon disappeared and that they survived the Missoula Floods at the end of the last Ice Age between 16,000 and 13,000 years ago {e.g., "How Coyote Created the Columbia River," in Landeen and Pinkham 1999: 13-4, or "Sea Monster," in Phinney 1969: 40-50}. Furthermore, as shown above, the chronologies developed by archeologists are in constant revision, often overlap and contradict each other, and are slowly being pushed back in time as new data accumulates and as more archeologists take seriously what Indigenous People have to say about their own histories. Observations at different times and places may be

[54] Koch et al. (2019) methodically demonstrate that disease killed over 90% of all Indigenous Peoples in the Western Hemisphere within the first 100 years of colonization (i.e., 1500-1600 C.E.). The height of the so-called "Indian Wars" in North America would not occur for more than another 250 years after this initial devastation. Thornton (1990) demonstrates a similar history of disease doing most of the heavy lifting for colonization. Therefore, it was not so much "guns, germs, and steel" (Diamond 2009), as it was, at first, germs, and then, a cultural willingness to engage in genocide with guns and steel (Fanon 2000; Lindqvist 1996; Trouillot 2015). In fact, steel did little to help the U.S. pursue the Nez Perce in 1877 {McWhorter 2020}. Instead, it was their willingness to target and murder women, children, and elders that led to the Nez Perce partial surrender {ibid.}.

sparce, it is nevertheless evident that the immediate ancestors of Nimíipuu, and Nimíipuu themselves, lived seasonally in semi-permanent villages in semi-autonomous "bands" organized around the husbandry of various resources (e.g., fish, roots, land mammals, hemp, etc.) and politics (e.g., hunting chiefs would become war chiefs during conflict, while food chiefs had much sway in times of peace) (Ames and Marshall 1980; Prentiss et al. 2005; Walker 1998). Historical homelands covered over 13 million acres of the Plateau with trade networks that stretched even further {Conner and Lang 2006: 32} [[Stern 1998: 642]].

The history of the Nimíipuu is one of adapting to and surviving climate change, population fluctuations, political economic transformations, invasion, and other structural and ecological shifts. Critical adaptations related to horticulture about 4,000 years ago, salmon fishing about 2,000 years ago contributed to the development of more complex and unequal settlements and polities—not just within the ancestral groups of the Nimíipuu but between them and their neighbors on the Plateau.

This is the archeological context for the discussion that follows, which brings in the U.S. ethnographic and historical records to triangulate further Nimíipuu/Nez Perce oral traditions and archeology for the last 100 years of Nimíipuu history before U.S. colonization and the incorporation of the horse, circa. 1700-1805 C.E. I focus on the incorporation of the horse, which was also a religious or social movement that was preparing for the coming of a new world and the death of the old (Chase-Dunn, Grell-Brisk, and Welch forthcoming). This story enables me to classify Nimíipuu as one of several core powers of an Indigenous Peoples lifeworld on the Columbia Plateau who were

accumulating wealth and preparing for the coming of a new world—foretold in new prophesy and ancient oral traditions alike—by breeding horses for diplomacy, trade, and war. These years are critical to understand the subsequent century as the U.S. colonizes what becomes known as the Pacific Northwest.

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CHAPTER 4
HORSES, PROPHETS, & THE AGE OF NEW MONSTERS: THE RISE OF NIMÍIPUU, THE FALL OF THE NEZ PERCE, & THE DEATH WORLD OF SETTLER-COLONIAL CAPITALISM

The goal of this chapter is to show how Nimíipuu/Nez Perce use and adapt their ancient lifeways to survive settler-colonization and genocide by comparing Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and non-Nimíipuu/Nez Perce understandings of Nimíipuu history before and since U.S. colonization. Central to this story is the incorporation of horse pastoralism on the Plateau in general, and in Nimíipuu society specifically about 100 years before the arrival of Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery in 1805/6 C.E. I find that incorporating the horse was the result of internal sociopolitical processes that provided certain people and groups—e.g., Dreamer Prophets—opportunities to respond quickly, and in some cases effectively, to the pressures of European colonization that had been building for hundreds of years before white colonizers started to appear in Nimíipuu country. In other words, the Prophecies were social movements (Chase-Dunn, Grell-Brisk and Welch forthcoming)—a term usually reserved to describe collective action in "modern" societies only—whose collective actions helped enhance certain processes already in place (e.g., wealth accumulation and international trade) and transform others (e.g., the development of a warrior society and heightened social status for male warriors) in ways that helped the Nez Perce survive the new monsters of settler-colonialism and capitalism. The issue is not if Western empire building via settler-colonization had influence. It certainly has and because settler-colonization is a social structure (Wolfe 2006) it now permeates almost every aspect of daily life—violating and attacking the integrity of anything considered "Indian"

(Dunbar-Ortiz 2014; Estes 2019; Norgaard 2019). The issue is that some things that the Nimíipuu and their ancestors created independently of the West have persisted, albeit mixed with and/or adapted to, dominant white culture. In other words, U.S. colonization is not the most important thing to happen to the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and we can gain a deeper appreciation for how the People persist by understanding their own history before Western empire building and comparing it to what has happened since settler-colonization.

Rise of Nimíipuu: Horses & Prophets

The Pueblo Revolt in 1680 C.E. was an Indigenous uprising in present-day New Mexico that drove out Spanish colonizers and kept them away for about one dozen years (Robins 2005; Wilcox 2009). About 400 Spanish colonizers were killed, another 2,000 were forced to leave the territory, and thousands of corralled horses were released into the wild. The horses split paths on the western and eastern sides of the Rocky Mountains as they traveled north. At some point between 1700 and 1720 C.E., horses arrived on, or were brought to,[55] the Plateau and horses were fully incorporated into Nimíipuu society within 20 or 30 years {Slickpoo 1973: 31}. This was an incredibly fast and dramatic change that continues to affect political economy on the Plateau.[56] Two important things likely

[55] Nimíipuu and their ancestors have a long history of trade with their neighbors to the south, such as the Lemi Shoshone, and perhaps even travelling sometimes as far south as Mexico. On these trips, Nimíipuu likely became aware of the Spanish and some of their techniques for breaking and breeding horses {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 16-19, 163}.

[56] For example, in the 1877 War, Nimíipuu command of the horse allowed them to defeat the U.S. Army in several battles, evade their attacks a half dozen times, and for some to escape capture after the surrender of Chief Joseph {McWhorter 2020} [[Howard 1881; Josephy 1997]]. This war is still used today as an example of how not to conduct counterinsurgency (Pfau 2007).

contributed to this. One, the Harder ancestors of the Nimíipuu were in good position to take advantage of the horse as they were already accustomed to traveling great distances, increasing their experiences in warfare and diplomacy, and status and hierarchy were institutionalized and solidifying with surpluses of roots and salmon. The second reason was the development of the Prophet Dance as a religious, political, and social movement that, in anticipation of new dangers in a changing world, encouraged the incorporation of the horse. In telling this story, I first highlight the structural position of Nimíipuu in relation to their neighbors as Nimíipuu sought to align themselves with some and go to war with others. Following this, I construct a narrative to show how the structural position of Nimíipuu helps explain some of the choices and outcomes of U.S. colonization in the coming centuries.

The horse arrived on the Southern Columbia Plateau likely just after a variety of other European trade goods (e.g., glass beads, metal tools, etc.) began to appear. As Ames and Marshall noted, "Nimipu is essentially historic Nez Perce, or Harder people with the horse" (1980: 38). In the early- to mid- 1700s, Nimíipuu were in formation until the full institutionalization of horse pastoralism. Horses did not disrupt or dramatically alter social life as much as it enhanced it {{Hunn and Selam 2001}}. Therefore, it is useful to briefly describe fundamental Nimíipuu social institutions at this time to show how life was enhanced and to what effect. For example, the horse displaced salmon as the main source of wealth, and likewise displaced dogs as primary pack animals.[57] Their social institutions,

[57] Dogs were likely a secondary source of wealth for Nimíipuu ancestors and other Peoples of the Plateau (A. Prentiss et al. 2021).

i.e., “lifeways,” also help explain how Nimíipuu were so quick to breed and use horses for packing, trade, and war. In fact, Nimíipuu were some of the first to incorporate horses into Plateau society, along with Cayuse, Yakama, and a few others. It is important to note that many Peoples of the Plateau did not take to the horse until much later (e.g., the mid-nineteenth century) for a variety of reasons. For some, especially those located around the most productive fishing holes of the Columbia River, the horse was not necessary for making a living and would likely have taken up too much space for those occupying a riverbank (horses need to graze, after all). For Nimíipuu who bordered the Bitterroot Mountains that separate the Plateau in the west from the Great Plains to the east, and the high desert areas of the Southern Plateau to the west and south, the horse was extremely advantageous for a People who were collecting foods and fibers at long distances and expected to return with bounty for sustenance and trade. Furthermore, Nimíipuu had already been expanding their territory east into the Great Plains for buffalo hunts (something some of their Plains neighbors, who were members of a different Indigenous lifeworld, likely considered trespassing), attempting to form alliances to secure these expeditions [[Miller 1985; Ray 1981]]. (Recall that buffalo were once present and hunted on the Plateau, and for thousands of years Plateau Peoples traveled with their dogs over the Bitterroot Mountains to hunt buffalo). With horses taking the place of dogs, trips that once took one to two years could be completed in six to twelve months. To the west and south, where the most productive Nimíipuu fisheries were, the horse enabled folks to carry food and materials back and forth between territorial communities.

Family, trade, politics, and religion were all interrelated on the Plateau. For instance, families were extended, and the grandparents of the villages were those most responsible for rearing children (showing them how to make and use tools, while telling them certain stories to make the lessons stick). Parents, on the other hand, were most responsible for providing material necessities (housing, food, clothing, etc.), while the community whip man was an elder and responsible for publicly disciplining children with a switch {James 1996; Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973, 1996; Thomas 1970}. Families were often multi-ethnic because it was common for people of one territorial community to marry someone of another. Incest and marriage to close family members (e.g., first and second cousins) was strictly taboo. If children were orphaned, they were taken in by another family and cared for by the community like any other—i.e., without stigma. Children, boys and girls alike, took their wéyekin to determine their powers and role in society after they reached a certain age. Powers were determined by a vision induced by a solitary journey to a certain spot of significance and wait without food or water {Slickpoo 1973}. Powers were identified by name and usually reference animals or elements (e.g., rabbits, lightening, etc.), but the Bear seems to be one of the most powerful of all spirit animals {Phinney 1969: 81n1, 180n1, 184n1}. In some cases, a person could obtain multiple powers, but whatever they were it was the responsibility of the individual to determine the best way to use the powers. In this way, wéyekin provided flexibility to stay or leave in an area and contributed to both a profound sense of individualism that is deeply tied to family and community.

Women had high status in both common family formation types: monogamous and polygynous. Monogamous relationships were most common, and women had full rights to divorce their husbands, although divorce was generally discouraged {Slickpoo 1973: 48}. A divorce was often signaled, in a quite public way, by the woman placing the man's moccasins outside the tulle hut or tipi, and she could keep everything still inside. In monogamous relationships, if a woman was widowed, she received her husband's belongings, was taken care of by the community, and had no obligation for or barriers to remarriage (excluding cultural traditions of mourning).

Families consisted mostly of bilateral formations, but some powerful male leaders/chiefs practiced non-sororal polygyny.[58] In addition, "[en]slave[d] women were sometimes taken as secondary wives of both middle and upper-class men" {Slickpoo 1973: 48}. On the surface, polygyny suggests the domination of women by men, but this does not seem to be the case for Nimíipuu {James 1996; Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973}.[59] Instead, male chiefs seem to have, in some critical cases at least, deferred to their wives in council. This is because these wives seemed to have been representatives or diplomats, in a sense, of their diverse communities and families of origin that were responsible for procuring and maintaining different resources that were pooled at winter villages and traded with neighbors. Thus, maintaining good relations with a variety of communities provided economic and other forms of security. This egalitarianism comes out in language, for example, as the term wits'u't "means a convenient attachment to a

[58] Sororal polygyny is where co-wives are sisters and is less conducive to building broad political alliances.
[59] See Lundeen (1996) for a comparative discussion of polygyny and the conditions that women have power.

family for the purpose of gaining subsistence. There are liberal ideas of hospitality and a person might, with propriety, make a permanent attachment of this kind by merely professing some degree of kinship. Nobody is ever turned out" {Phinney 1969: 156n1}.

Women's labor was, in general, more productive than men's, likely because hunting did not produce as much reliable food as did horticulture. Collecting and horticultural activities also produced fibers for hunting and fishing tools. And with a variety of cultivated plants—Marshall [[1999]] records 32 domesticated species found in the "unusual gardens" of Nimíipuu—most village diets consisted of 60 to 70 per cent plants, especially camas roots {James 1996} (Ames and Marshall 1980). Considering that "the Columbia Plateau fish consumption range was between 365 lbs and 800 lbs per capita with the annual average close to 583 lbs (725 gpd)" (Harper and Walker 2015: 232), Nimíipuu were eating even more camas and other plants. Women were also responsible for preparing the meats procured by men, and thus women were central to economic and cultural life. Women's central roles in economy and culture gave them heavy sway in politics, although men were the elected leaders of villages and communities {James 1996; Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973; Swayne 2003}. (Notice that there is never a single Nimíipuu leader). Often, the eldest son of a leader would be elected leader themselves, although there was no guarantee of this as the People had the right to competent leadership.

Familial responsibilities in husbandry developed recognizable differences in dialect and story production in relation to what families were doing (e.g., fishing, gardening camas, hunting buffalo, etc.) since activity depended on where people lived (fishing along the rivers, gardening on the prairies and forest edges, deer and elk hunting in the mountains,

buffalo hunting on the plains, etc.). What polygyny accomplished was to break down, to some extent, regional differences through marriage, trade, and the pooling of resources. For example,

> "Up-river and Down-river, you would call the division between the Nez Perce Tribe… *They were distinguished through their language*… The *Down-river people were mostly fish people*… The *Up-river people were mostly buffalo people…* A few Down-river Indians went [to buffalo country]; for example, *Looking Glass came from Asotin, but he married an Up-river Indian woman, so they were familiar with going to the buffalo country.* The Up-river Indian would go there and stay maybe a year or more. They'd dry the buffalo meat, ... hides, ... and *there was an exchange between the Up-river and Down-river Indians on both the foods, their salmon and the buffalo*… Sometimes they had a rivalry… The people themselves made this division… Coyote stories are either he is going up the river to the buffalo country or he is going down the river... *It depended upon ... where there was food"* {James 1996: 9-10, quoting an 81-year-old woman, my emphasis}.

Thus, both types of family formation constituted the basic political, economic, and cultural unit of society and the bonds between families created broad alliances that provided things like food and protection. In this way, the stage was set for the horse to enhance political alliances and conflicts, where certain families of certain communities would control unequal equine stocks. For horses were to become the primary source of wealth and this solidified certain territorial arrangement, expanded some, and threw into question others. For example, one of the most dramatic changes on the Plateau that accompanied horses was the institutionalization of the Nimíipuu language as the primary language of trade on the Plateau, and some of their closest allies, the Cayuse, for example, more-or-less adopted the Nimíipuu language {Cash Cash 2018} [[Stern 1998]].

Trade and husbandry, at the local level, were regulated by family obligations and responsibilities to the landscape and their people. Families would live together with other

families to create semi-autonomous “bands” or groups that moved across the land seasonally to tend gardens, gather, process supplies, fish, and hunt, with certain bands responsible for a few of the whole. Locally, bands would gather in semi-permanent winter villages to pool resources, tell stories, make repairs, engage in ceremony, and so on. In the early 1700s there developed some very large winter villages, i.e., maybe “more than 1,000 people from a variety of ‘ethnic groups’” [[Marshall 1999: 182]], at Alpowai and Hatwai that were historically initiated by root cultivation [[Marshall 1999]] (but read with Ames and Marshall 1980; Ames 2000; Brown et al. 2019; Davis 2007). Coyote stories and other stories developed in conjunction with the activity and place {James 1996; Slickpoo 1972; Phinney 1969} [[Walker and Matthews 1998]].

At the international level, Nimíipuu ancestors were trading with their neighbors for valuable bulk and prestige goods. There were trade sites all over the Plateau with the most famous being Celilo Falls on the Columbia River {Connor and Lang 2006; Landeen and Pinkham 1999; Nez Perce Tribe 2003; Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973} [[Ruby and Brown 1993; Stern 1998; Walker 1998]]. At Celilo and the height of trade season in summer there were camps on both sides of the river stretching for several miles in each direction. Traders and travelers to the site would have been welcomed first by the thick smell of salmon and smoke and the buzzing noise of human activity {Pinkham 2007; Slickpoo 1973} [[Miller 1985]]. The horse enhanced this trade fair as it allowed for more goods and more people to travel. Peoples all the way from Northwest Canada to Northern California gathered to trade, where Peoples with territorial claims on the Columbia River created the anchors of this activity as they could maintain more permanent villages (Fisher

2010). The gatherings at Celilo Falls brought together Peoples not just from the same world-system, but at least three world-systems consistently. One of the Columbia Plateau, one of the Pacific Coast, and one of the Great Basin [[Ray 1937; Miller 1985]]. Everything from salmon (and its processed derivatives, such as pemmican) and camas to dentalium shells and enslaved people were traded. Prior to the horse, slavery was not widespread, but it did occur on occasion and was usually the outcome of war where captives were enslaved for a time and then integrated into a Plateau society [[Ruby and Brown 1993]] {Slickpoo 1973}. Horses made it feasible to engage in raiding for people to trade at Celilo Falls as humans and horses became some of the most sought-after trade items. Nimíipuu became central players in this expanded slave trade as both perpetrators and victims of raids, setting of a cycle of vengeance, especially with their neighbors on the Snake River in the Great Basin, known today as Shoshone and Bannock, and the Blackfeet on the Plains [[Ruby and Brown 1993]] {Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973}.

Prior to the horse, the fruits of husbandry traveled by foot, dog, and canoe. Communities depended on one another to complete trades because some had access to resources that others did not and vice versa. This required reciprocal relationships, not only among communities that were dialectally, linguistically, and ethnically diverse, but with the resources managed, harvested, and used. For example, Nimíipuu and others developed the practice of letting salmon run for about two weeks after they first arrive in the rivers. A series of ceremonies would commence and upon completion, nets and other tools are dipped into the water. This ensured that salmon would continue to run in the rivers as certain number are required to make to their spawning areas. This also provided plenty of

food for people and animals down river, including enemies {Nez Perce Tribe 2003}. In addition, fires used to manage gardens and wild food patches cleared brush to create or maintain paths for travel and trade [[Marshall 1999]]. This also kept the development of overgrowth that produces the type of devastating wildfires we are now familiar with in the 21st century but that were rare when North America was occupied solely by its Indigenous inhabitants (Boyd 1999; Norgaard 2019). At any rate, these kinds of activities produced deep relationships with the lifeforms that provide sustenance, as observed in oral traditions and histories.

The relationships developed in husbandry likewise contain a deep knowledge of the ecosystem and lifeforms of the Plateau that are passed on through social learning (socialization). *Socialization is the primary mechanism that accounts for persistence if a community and family can raise their children, there is opportunity for social reproduction* (Patterson 2004). To help maintain and enhance these relationships they were made sacred or spiritual, hence the specific Coyote stories, the wéyekin, and the individual choosing of a community/family for which one has responsibility. Certain medicines, for example, were found only in certain areas and it was believed that sharing the knowledge of these plants and tonics reduced their power {James 1996}. This provided some level of prestige among healers as they possessed special skills and knowledge not endowed to others, as observed with sweat bath practices [[Walker 1966]]. With the arrival of the horse, certain spiritual and religious leaders were well positioned to rise to prominence.

Politics were guided by family, trade, and religious obligations. Territorial communities were not under the leadership of a single person or group, but rather a

conglomerate of leaders representing their own group or village. Winter villages were the most permanent and largest and usually located along rivers where the weather is mild. These villages were the most diverse as they hosted families that frequented a variety of resource patches across the Plateau and Plains. Here, and in conjunction with religious ceremonies and practices that lasted all winter, village councils were held among the various leaders wintering together {Slickpoo 1973} [[Miller 1985]]. As spring approached, families departed to different semi-permanent village sites at gardening and gathering patches, especially camas fields. Those too old or unwell to make the trip stayed at the winter village along with several able-bodied care takers (Fisher 2010). As spring turned to summer, families and individuals would move to other villages or camps to fish and process salmon. Spring and summer surplus foods and craft items were then taken to trade fairs and sites, while food stocks were packed and stored for use in the winter. Summer fishing villages and spring camas villages were the next largest type that hosted a diversity of people and families.

Nimíipuu sources emphasize the idea that their society had "freedom of religion" long before the U.S. existed {Axtell and Aragon 1997; James 1996; Landeen and Pinkham 1999; Nez Perce Tribe 2003; Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973, 1987; Thomas 1970}. This corresponds with the freedom of movement enjoyed by families and individuals from resource collection site to the next and the choice of winter village. This is, in part, b132or132132tithe powers from the wéyekin would be matched with the groups and communities that needed them. On the other hand, guardian spirits could change or abandon the human (e.g., if the human abused or took for granted the power of their spirit),

while others can be obtained later in life through experience (e.g., battle). Thus, some decided to frequent the same places year end and year out while others seemed more inclined to mix up where (and thus, with whom) they settled.

Political leadership had to always consider shifting linguistic and ethnic demographics at a local, regional, and international levels to maintain control over territory and provide resources for both those living in the immediate group and for the broader community. Over time this pattern solidified and produced what some call a "tribal consciousness" {Slickpoo 1973} among the different Peoples of the Plateau [[Miller 1985]]. When exactly this occurred is hard to tell, especially when considering the high levels of intergroup marriage. For Slickpoo, it was after the Nimíipuu incorporated the horse. For Miller [[1985]], it was about 400 years earlier around 1300 C.E. as territorial units had more-or-less established mobility and trade patterns. Ames (2012: 175) has this process completed around 1,000 C.E., singled by the full replacement of pithouses by long houses and tulle mate lodges, which were more flexible than pithouses and could accommodate more political centralization because it is easier to get more people to move together. Villages were the dominant political unit and the winter villages that first developed with pithouses around 4,000 B.P. provided time and space for broad scale political and religious conversation and ritual {Pinkham and Evans 2013}.

Continued dialogue helps sustains territorial claims, which Ames (2012) shows solidified on the Plateau at least 6,000 years ago. This extraordinarily complex political economy of coordinated, task-oriented groups was much more than how People managed to survive and make a living in a harsh, diverse, and constantly changing environment. It

was an entire religion where every practice and belief was part of a larger cosmos that operated in cycles connecting all lifeforms {Cash Cash 2018; Slickpoo 1973; Pinkham and Evans 2013} [[Miller 1985]]. Medicine men[60] were often, but not always, village leaders, and that winter village dances and rituals were central to not just cultural and social life, but also political economy. For example, the most important dances were the wéyekin dances, where it was announced to the village which guardian spirit child obtained on their vision quest. Miller [[1985]] synthesizes the ethnohistorical evidence and writes that

> "Winter dances were held everywhere on the Plateau by both Salish and Sahaptin [speaking] peoples. Most often, after one village in a given area held a dance, a nearby village would hold one, then another village, and then another. This resulted in a succession of spirit dances lasting up to two months. Some families would travel from link to link in the ceremonial chain for that entire period, returning home only when their enthusiasm waned" [[Miller 1985: 17]].

There were other ceremonies and dances as well, such as gift giving and feasting. This activity was essential to (re)producing identity at the individual and group levels, as well as demonstrated to others the bounties or needs of different groups wintering together. Religious activity and belief were very flexible and adaptive and held Plateau social, political, cultural, and economic life together {Cash Cash 2018; Nez Perce Tribe 2003; Slickpoo 1973} [[Miller 1985]]. Summarizing what anthropology calls the "winter dance complex,"

> "By demanding a careful balance of assertiveness, ethics, and extreme adaptability, this system accommodated the individual to his or her place in the concentric rings of relationships that held the social cosmos together. That, in turn, permitted the unusual degree of intergroup cooperation that made the exploitation of a changeable habitat efficient and highly

[60] Nimíipuu also had medicine women who were important agents in spiritual, cultural, and social life {e.g., James 1996: 143-149, 150-151, 163; Pinkham and Evans 2013: 66}, but only men were elected chief.

> rewarding. Furthermore, by tying status and identity to the shifting economic and spiritual needs of the intersecting groups, this system made the emergence of permanent social classes and resulting conflicts of interest virtually impossible. Finally, and perhaps most important, this system, in conjunction with the powers and warnings provided by the guardian spirits and the knowledge stored in their encyclopedic repository of folklore, gave the Plateau people an unusual resiliency in the face of crisis" [[Miller 1985: 21]].

Since Miller wrote this, more archeological evidence now suggests that inequality existed among People of the eastern and southeastern Plateau at least 2,000 years ago resulting from the intensification of salmon fishing (Davis 2007), and inequality was certainly present elsewhere on the Plateau at least 3,500 years ago from "complex collecting" and fishing intensification (Prentiss et al. 2005). Horticulture, too, likely developed or solidified some inequality among task-groups. However, Miler's analysis still holds as the key phrase is "emergence of *permanent* social classes" [[Miller 1985: 21, my emphasis]]. Not every year was a good year for salmon fishing, although increasing technological sophistication and the management of rivers (e.g., the creation of acclimation sites with rocks and fallen logs in spawning areas) helped people cope with low runs when they happened. Religious practices and rituals, including obligations to spirit guardians, of course, guided these adaptive strategies. It is also clear in the oral traditions and history that salmon are of the utmost importance, and so cultural inequality or hierarchy could still exist among groups, but it was very flexible and did not lead to anyone going without more than others of a community (recall how able-bodied people stay with the old and infirm at winter villages when everyone else leaves after the snow melts). When times were good and bad, religious practice was central and used to make adaptations or intensifications, which likely then found their way into religious practice. Thus, those who commanded the

knowledge of the spirit world also had command of the human world and were in a primary position to lead their people when the horse arrived.

Miller [[1985]] would disagree, as he has the Prophets emerging after a volcano erupts sometime between 1770-1800 C.E. Their ascendency, according to Miller, was due to the disruptions from recent climate changes, horses, diseases, and guns that created a generalized crisis on the Plateau. This is an interesting reading considering the general theme of renewal cycles in oral traditions, not to mention the Heart of the Monster's overriding theme of the birth of a new world from the death of the old. Prophecies also seem to be as old as time immemorial and not simply a "modern" development responding to the combination of climatic disturbances and the encroachment of Western empires and their trade goods. There is evidence from other Plateau groups to suggest that prophecies have circulated the Plateau for at least five hundred years [[Ruby and Brown 1989: 5]]. In fact, "Dreams, visions, and associated tutelary spirit beliefs are probably the most ancient and fundamental forms of religious belief and practice in the Plateau" [[Walker and Schuster 1998: 499]]. Walker [[1969]] also understands the Prophet Dance as "inspired by indirect, protohistoric influences stemming from Euroamericans" [[Walker 1969: 245]].

Nimíipuu sources place the Prophets at the center of horse pastoralism {e.g., Pinkham and Evans 2013: 20-21}. This seems more likely, especially given Miller's [[1985]] and Slickpoo's {1973} synthesis of religious life and its centrality on the Plateau bIe the horse. The archeological, ethnographic, and oral historical records show that it is more likely that certain existing religious elements of the Plateau took to the horse as an opportunity to increase the strength and prestige of their people. In doing so, Prophets

became a driving force for negotiating, first for status among their Indigenous neighbors, and second with the invading U.S. A central theme of the Prophecies was that new men from across the sea in the direction of the rising sun would bring lots of changes, some good and some bad, and this lead to preparations for the destruction of the old world and the coming of a new world {Conner and Lang 2006: 26; Evans and Pinkham 2013: 29-31; James 1996: 151-152; Minthorn 2006: 73-73; Pinkham 2006: 140} [[also see Ruby and Brown 1989]]. For instance, "one vision said that men would come out of the ocean. Then when the first white men appeared, some had blue eyes and it was assumed that their eyes were blue (like fish) because they came from the ocean" {Conner and Lang 2006: 26}. Furthermore, "According to Harry Wheeler (d. 1918), a veteran of the War of 1877 and noted Nez Perce tribal historian and storyteller, the Nez Perce word we ya oo yit means 'the coming.' Soyapo is the name the Nez Perce adopted for white people, but its origin is a description of those who came across the Atlantic Ocean to our Island—the Americas" {Pinkham 2006: 140}. Other prophecies told of the coming of new men with teachings of heaven, "and this is why it was so readily acceptable for Nez Perce to accept the Judeo-Christian faith. They had the whole concept before" {James 1999: 151; also see Thomas 1970: 67}. The horse was one of the first signs of the prophecies coming to life.

Foreign diseases arrived with horses, and this devastated certain Plateau communities (circa. 1700-1720 C.E.), especially along the Columbia River, but it seems that many of Nimíipuu ancestors and some of their geographically close neighbors were spared or suffered only few loses on this first round of European plague [[Miller 1985]]. *Nimíipuu and some of their closest neighboring allies, such as Cayuse, were among the first on the*

Plateau to incorporate the horse. As a result, Nimíipuu experienced upward mobility relative to their neighbors of the Columbia Plateau. The basic evidence is that the Nimíipuu language became the dominant tongue for trade and diplomacy throughout the Plateau by no later than the mid-eighteenth century [[Stern 1998]] (Trafzer 1987). At the same time, one of the largest trade fairs of Indigenous Peoples in North America, Celilo Falls (now under the dam waters of The Dalles) exploded with activity [[Ruby and Brown 1993; Stern 1998]]. Well-loved trade items saw their volumes increase (e.g., salmon camas products), while previously tangential and prestigious goods (e.g., enslaved people, dentalium, buffalo hides, etc.) became more central at Celilo. When U.S. colonization started the following century,

> "Some observers, such as Agent Robert Newell, considered river residents '*quite poor and full of conceit*.' Compared to the Nez Perces and Cayuses in particular, Columbia River Sahaptins and Upper Chinookans owned few horses and therefore lacked the principal source of wealth that whites recognized among Indians. Instead of hunting buffalo, they stayed near their fishing stations and subsisted mainly on salmon, which most Americans still [at the time of these observations in the mid-1800s] regarded as a food of last resort" (Fisher 2010: 39, my emphasis).

Of course, salmon was the principal protein of the Plateau and so these river dwellers were certainly not "poor." Nevertheless, horses did become the primary source of wealth on the Plateau, and this tipped the scales of power in favor of those who quickly incorporated them into their daily lives {Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973} {{Hunn and Selam 2001}}.

Horses are a highly visible source of wealth that reproduce themselves at a rate relative to how many horses are in a herd. Greater visibility and numbers also required more care and resources; but they also created an economy of raiding for horses to increase

wealth and honor. The care of horses on the Plateau is sometimes discussed in academic publications as requiring the cultural development of property "ownership" [[e.g., Miller 1985]]. However, while the horse did create some dramatic changes in the cultural content of Nimíipuu society, the horse only enhanced and did not fundamentally change the overall form of Nimíipuu lifeways {{Hunn and Selam 2001}}. That there were already ideas and practices of ownership on the Plateau is indicated by the existence of slavery for thousands of years prior to the horse and that slavery[61] only intensified after the horse {Phinney 1969; Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973} [[Arneson 1980; Ruby and Brown 1993]]. Furthermore, certain groups had very specific territorial claims maintained by perennial work tending horticultural fields of camas root, biscuitroot, and snowdrops [[Marshall 1999: 180, 181, 186n24]]. Thus, both men and women had access to, albeit different, types of property and ownership rights. In addition, there were a variety of ways to enhance social prestige through the acquisition of property, including material goods but also songs, names, stories, or other forms of knowledge or powers that would enhance, for example, fishing, hunting, or finding plants for medicine, and many of these things could be inherited with direction from both the former owner and community traditions {James 1996} [[Arneson 1980]]. U.S. academics typically interpret inheritance practices as a patriarchal system [[e.g., Arneson 1980 draws exclusively from non-Indigenous sources and thus finds that inheritance favors men]], while Indigenous writers of the Plateau emphasize that female widows were never left wanting (in a material sense) after the death of a husband

[61] The type of slavery practiced on the Plateau [[Ruby and Brown 1993]] and the Coast (Patterson 2018) was different from chattel slavery practiced, for example, in the U.S. antebellum South. Nevertheless, on the Plateau, most enslaved people were traded for other commodities at trade fairs, especially Celilo Falls, and taken further west and north.

{James 1996; Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973}. "*Women who were widows had a horse*… They commanded a lot of property and a great deal of respect because of it. They were head of their own household, and they managed fairly well… Many women became" widows of wars they…survived" {James 1996: 100, my emphasis}. Furthermore, while individuals had ownership, i.e., responsibility for, certain things, such as horses, there was a general expectation that horses were shared with those in need. In other words, what some might describe as an ownership ethos, others might talk about the continuation of deep responsibilities to community. Owners of any form of wealth were expected to share their surpluses with people if they wanted to maintain high social status and prestige. There were also consequences if someone abused the gift of another, say, they lost or did not properly care for the horse(s) {Pinkham and Evans 2013}. At around the same time that horses became the dominant form of wealth (approximately 1750 C.E.), so did the rise of a warrior society {Slickpoo 1973} [[Josephy 2007]]. How did this happen so quickly?

Spier [[1935]] contended that the original Prophet Dance was not caused by the disruption of Indigenous societies with the arrival of the Europeans, but rather emerged in response to internal Indigenous political processes. This controversial claim spurred a lively debate that remains unresolved[62] because the evidence suggests a mix of internal

[62] Lanoue (1992) summarizes this unresolved debate this way: "Aberle argues that the Prophet Dance cults could have been caused by cultural deprivations associated with indirect contact with Whites. Spier, Suttles and Herskovits disagree and maintain that although the Prophet Dance later added elements intended to deal cultural distress the cult was not itself caused by contact-induced stress. Walker suggests that indirect contact played a role in Plateau culture, as shown in late pre-contact era changes in burial customs. Even if the Prophet Dance is aboriginal as Spier claims, Walker suggests that it is linked to the disruptive effect of Indian-White contact. Disruption is in part caused by the desire to acquire White goods; hence, it contains some cargo cult elements. Miller, on the other hand, argues that the Plateau Prophet cult arose from a concatenation of several centuries of cooler weather (which played additional pressures on scarcer resources) and waves of social dislocation due to the eastern fur trade (which introduced the horse, guns and disease and pushed eastern peoples on to the Plains, who in turn placed military pressure on the

processes and external pressures. The following example triangulates indigenous oral history with the archaeological and ethnographic evidence to support the hypothesis that *Prophets led certain settlements and polities on the Columbia Plateau to incorporate horse pastoralism in their attempt to develop an inter-polity confederacy to prepare for the coming of Europeans*.

By 1700 C.E., or 105 years before Lewis and Clark and the so-called "Corps of Discovery" penetrated the Pacific Northwest, Indigenous Peoples on the Plateau had already experienced, and adapted to, a long series of sociocultural and ecological changes and developments including the invention of horticulture [[Marshall 1999]], the solidification of a specialized salmon culture [[Davis 2007]], and rapid population growth [[Prentiss et al. 2005]]. The horse also arrived on the Columbia Plateau around this time (circa. 1700-1730). By 1750 many settlements and polities were breeding horses for war and to replace dogs as pack animals to enable longer and more frequent trips to the Plains for Bison hunting {McWhorter 1952; Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973} {{Hunn and Selam 2001}} [[Miller 1985; Ray 1981]]. In fact, the horse "did not radically change Plateau life so much as it accelerated existing patterns by enhancing… mobility" {{Hunn and Selam 1990: 24}} and "wealth" {{ibid. 26}}. Thus, while there was great change in cultural content on the Plateau lifeworld (e.g., new trade items and forms of wealth), it was supporting the expansion and augmentation of the form of structural relations (Simmel 1949). The ease and speed that Columbia Plateau Indigenous Peoples adopted the horse

Plateau). In his view, the Prophet Dance is a re-alignment of the ideological world in light of the newly emerged militarism and political alliances which eroded traditional village autonomy. Elsewhere, I have argued that the Plateau Prophet Dance was tied to the village and political organization of Plateau peoples" (Lanoue 1992: 136n55).

and then started breeding them for war and trade suggests powerful sociopolitical organization and pressure. It also suggests that they had clear goals in mind, such as protecting productive resource patches and increasing their access to other resources, for there was much work to do to survive the coming new world. According to some Nez Perce oral traditions, the Dreamer Prophets enabled the smooth incorporation of the horse, i.e., the development of horse pastoralism, the expansion of hunting territory, the intensification of diplomacy and war with neighbors, and increased mobility (recall that more mobile and flexible housing [e.g., long houses] took hold on the Plateau several hundred years prior to the horse).

The Prophet Imatsinpun is credited for receiving the ceremonies necessary for the breeding of the Appaloosa war horse in a dream {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 19-21}. The legend of Imatsinpunn as told by Oliver Frank[63] (1906-1992) is printed in Pinkham and Evans {2013: 19-21}. There ceremonies did not take at first, but the people were persistent and eventually on the upper Palouse an Appaloosa colt was born and "This was the beginning of a special horse of the Nez Perces, a horse to match their mountainous homeland, a horse with an eye like a brother. I have spoken" {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 20-21}. Imatsinpun was alive sometime in the mid-eighteenth century and he is also a mentioned in oral traditions as a notable prophet, warrior, and horseman with special powers to keep himself and his comrades alive in battle {McWhorter 1952: 11}. Although

[63] Oliver Frank was born and raised on the Nez Perce Reservation, and lived in the Kamiah, Lewiston, and Lapwai areas. Frank worked at the Hanford nuclear site during World War II and served two years on NPTEC. Frank moved to Los Angeles where he lived and worked for 25 years before returning to Idaho. While in L.A., Frank "was an American Indian representative to the mayor of Los Angeles and the first Indian to serve on the board of directors of the Economic Youth Opportunity Agency in Los Angeles" (Lewiston Morning Tribune 2013).

the weather became colder and less conductive to horticulture after 1730 [[Miller 1985]], the horse enabled certain Plateau Peoples between 1750 and 1770 to develop surpluses unknown to their ancestors until the first smallpox epidemic struck and devastated the population {{Hunn and Selam 1990: 26-32}}. Diseases, horses, and new trade items seemed to have confirmed prophecies, not created them. The Dreamers were already preparing for the coming of a new world, but it was around this time (1770 C.E.) that the Prophet Dance likely became a "revitalization movement" (Champagne 1983, 1985, 1988; Thornton 1981, 1985, 1993) because formal inter-polity confederacies or leagues began to develop that were led by the Dreamer Prophets [[Miller 1985: Chapter 3; Ray 1981]].

Confederacies or leagues on the Plateau were attempts to transcend long-established and multi-ethnic community territorial claims. However, horses seemed to have mostly increased and intensified conflict between neighbors [[Miller 1985]], especially because raiding groups to enslave women and children became economically rewarding [[Ruby and Brown 1993]]. Enslaved people on the Plateau after the horse were most likely to be traded to the west or north at Celilo Falls. Prior to the horse, travel by foot to wide ranging resource patches made it "difficult to capture, control and maintain captives" [[Ruby and Brown 1993: 223]]. Thus, instead of dramatically changing old social structure as Miller [[1985]] suggests, "Plateau raiders for generations had taken captives in aquatic [i.e., by canoe] and pedestrian raids. It was only the scope, not the pattern of conflict that changed with the acquisition and use of horses during their buffalo-hunting era (c. 1780-1870)" [[Ruby and Brown 1993: 226]]. Nimíipuu oral traditions contain stories of enslavement and the revenge cycles that ensue. One story where the characters travel by

foot and canoe (i.e., not by horse), “Wild Goat a Woman Carried Away” {Phinney 1969: 381-408}. Wild Goat enslave a woman to comfort him and to harvest grass under the supervision of his sisters. The woman’s husband comes to rescue her, and he not only kills the goat, but he also mutilates and exhibits the body and then tosses the foe’s head into a river. After the woman was rescued by her husband, he abandoned her because she gave birth to the child of her former captor. She finds her own way, however long and arduous the journey, locating a community that was protected by Coyote and where she could raise her baby and start a new life. In a climate of intensified wars and slave raids, but also sub-par climate for horticulture, alliance building was of utmost importance.

Prophets all over the Plateau were attempting to build alliances, but many of these attempts ended in prolonged wars with revenge cycles. For example, around 1750 Te-wel-ka (Shoshone, Bannock, or Paiute) entered Nez Perce territory to raid villages and a series of raids/counterraids ensued {Slickpoo 1973}. Likewise with the Blackfeet on the Plains to the east, who had acquired guns several generations before Plateau Peoples. Nimíipuu also extended or deepened their buffalo expeditions and slave raiding, hence their alliances with Flathead, Cayuse, Coeur d’Alene, Umatilla, Kutenai, Pend d’Oreille, Spokane, Kalispel, and Walla Walla {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 111} [[Miller 1985: 38]]. However, this did not constitute a broad-scale alliance with some form of centralized command to marshal resources. In the end, there was not enough time to develop a broad alliance between the incorporation of the horse and the arrival of Lewis and Clark, especially because there was another round of plague around 1800 that, again, killed up to half of

populations and sometimes wiped-out whole villages [[Boyd and Gregory 2007; Miller 1985]].

A crisis was brewing, and if the Nimíipuu were unable to achieve the creation of an international confederacy, there were able to centralize their own territorial communities through the ascension of warriors into primary leadership roles [[Josephy 1997, 2007; Miller 1985]]. This created more flexibility in geopolitics by enhancing "the pattern of mutual cooperation and co-participation in ceremonial and economic activities" [[Miller 1985: 40]]. Thus, while a large scale, inter-polity alliance did not manifest, many local alliances did and, with the rise of the warrior class, Nimíipuu leaders did obtain more power to mobilize people of increasingly diverse communities. However, as we will see, communities retained their individuality and would, depending on the circumstances, decide to follow or not the leadership of certain chiefs. (This is a tendency that continues today and will be explored in the following chapters). Many Dreamers engaged in the 1877 war with the U.S. government and its "volunteers" {McWhorter 1952, 2020} although white people exaggerated their influence [[e.g., Howard 1881]][64], while other Indigenous communities, however unhappy, conceded to settle on a new reservation.

Miller [[1985]] has the Prophecy born on the Plateau near the end of the 18th century (between 1770 and 1800) with the "dry snow" from a volcano [[42-3]], suffered heavily by the Spokane. For Miller, this is the straw that breaks the proverbial camel's back and enabled the rise of Prophecy. However, *Nimíipuu oral traditions have Prophets at the*

[64] For example, some prominent Prophets, such as Skolaskin, refused to participate in the war, telling Chief Joseph that "God made the world for us to live on, not to fight or sell" [[Ruby and Brown 1989: 163]].

center of developing horse pastoralism {Pinkham and Evans 2013}. In other words, Prophets were central social actors of Plateau life by as early as 1700-1720 C.E. and no later than 1750 C.E., and likely responding to their contemporary spiritual and medicine leaders. Thus, if it was 1700-1720 then the Prophets helped solidify territorial claims to create Nimíipuu from the previous Harder cultural configuration and generated a new form of wealth that likewise enhanced other social processes (e.g., hunting, communication, horticulture, etc.). If it was around 1750, then Prophets would have been saving graces who were able to buffer folks from bad weather by enhancing other facets of social life with the horse. If this is the case, then what Miller characterizes as a complete crisis of social life was possibly more of an extremely dramatic period of social and ecological change that People adapted to via social enhancement, intensification, and modification. In other words, instead of the horse "acculturating" the Nimíipuu [[Walker 1969]] to Euro-American society, Nimíipuu incorporated the horse to make it their own by breeding one of the best war horses in human history, the appaloosa. Thus, I do not believe that the Prophets were born after the volcano (likely Mt. St. Helens). Instead, the evidence suggests that the volcano may have solidified the social standing of some Prophets and helped them lay claim to power at home while simultaneously pushing further east into the Plains in search for food, resources, and allies. Thus, I agree with Guy Lanoue when he says that

> "…groups who possess a Prophet Dance tradition do not react to difficult dilemmas with irrational and escapist cults…however; *they anticipate certain kinds of problems before a final paradox is presented*. [Similar to] pan-Indianism, [the Prophet Dance] is a means of producing a heightened awareness of potential problems and sustaining that awareness until some sort of resolution is reached. Promulgation and popularization of the problem gives everyone a chance to engage in a new discourse… *prophets and other leaders of this sort are those people whose solutions are more*

> *appealing by virtue of their congruence with an already developed discourse*; their views and visions are thus adopted, even if temporarily… Cultic movements, in other words, are not so much reactions to a crisis as a form of anticipation which allows an examination of the situation from perspectives which are not normally accepted within the culture" (Lanoue 1992: 126, my emphasis).

When Meriwether Lewis and William Clark arrive in Nimíipuu country in 1805, they had stumbled onto a landscape and social milieux where everyone was already anticipating their arrival, and likely had been for a very long time. Approximately five years prior, Nimíipuu and their immediate neighbors suffered another smallpox epidemic, and they might have lost more than half of their populations {Landeen and Pinkham 1999: 16} (Prentiss et al. 2005: 98). Population estimates of Nimíipuu before Lewis and Clark typically do not specify how many epidemics occurred before the Corps encroachment. However, population estimates 'before Lewis and Clark' range anywhere from about 2,000 [[Coale 1956a: 247]] to between 7,000 and 10,000 {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 250}, and all the way to 20,000 [[Wandschneider 2018: 533]]. Therefore, in the last 35 years of social life without white people on the Plateau, a crisis ensued and this likely turned the prophecies into "revitalization movements" that would use whatever they could to reestablish some sort of balance in the cosmos. Lewis and Clark were little aware of this, and it shows in their ethnographic notes as others have already detailed {e.g., Pinkham 2006; Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973; Swayne 2003}. In this way, we can see that *the Peoples of the Plateau were using Lewis and Clark for their own purposes, and how they used them and others in the first several decades of colonization demonstrates quite clearly the superior structural position of Nimíipuu relative to their neighbors once the prophecy started to unfold*.

To summarize this section, I have shown that by the time horses arrived on the Southern Plateau, religious leaders known as Prophets spearheaded the incorporation of horses, lead to the rise of a warrior society, and helped Nimíipuu become a principal power of the Plateau located in a geostrategic position on the eastern/southeastern side. Since time immemorial, fluctuations in the environment were managed by flexible family formations and patterns of sustenance, trade, and politics, all of which held deep religious significance. This history enabled Nimíipuu to quickly incorporate the horse into their society and, given their geostrategic location, ascended with their neighbors that also acquired horses. However, not all Plateau Peoples took to the horse for a variety of reasons, such as they didn't have the room, or they were already satisfied with their economic or social situation {{Hunn and Selam 2001}} [[Ruby and Brown 1993]] (Fisher 2010). Prior to the horse, the world-system or lifeworld of the Plateau was "differentiated," not "hierarchical" (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991, 1997). Although inequality and hierarch existed within groups for at least 3,500 years, there was no systematic exploitation or domination between territorial communities, thus they are simply different instead of hierarchical. There was some slavery, but it seems to have been the result of small-scale battles and wars fought over critical resources, such as food or a sacred site. Furthermore, the enslaved, after a time, could integrate into their captor's society with full rights. After the horse, slave raiding became a way to secure things needed to prepare for the coming world foretold in prophecy, such as more horses, but the enslaved were more likely to be sold to Coastal Peoples instead of held by Nimíipuu, although this did occur. Certain groups seem to have been systematic targets/victims of slave raids—mostly those who did not or were late to acquire horses for

themselves—and thus signal the establishment of a hierarchical world-system on the Plateau. The foundation for this hierarchy between territorial groups was already working within groups as more-or-less prestige was attached to different activities. Thus, the form of this lifeworld was expanding and developing, on the one hand, and on the other hand, responding to pressure from other lifeworld expansions on its frontiers. In addition, the U.S. was creating a series of frontiers of its own that were pushing its settlers, diseases, and Indigenous Peoples, west. This is observed by detailing how the content of this lifeworld did and did not change. Most salient is that all social life was considered sacred or religious, and this is reflected in oral traditions as well as the archeological and ethnographic records. This religious ethos would later guide both the incorporation of European/U.S. technologies and beliefs into Nez Perce society, as well as fierce resistance to everything white or Western—a complicated history that continues to play out on the Plateau {Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973} [[Miller 1985; Ruby and Brown 1989]]. In the end, the "death world" (Estes 2019: 16) of settler-colonial capitalism would destroy or appropriate Indigenous lifeway networks and frontiers created over thousands of years by the Peoples of the Plateau.

However, because *not all Indigenous Peoples of the Plateau were murdered or otherwise killed by U.S. settler-colonization and capitalist development, some of the legacies of these lifeways survived and enable Nimíipuu to persist, not just as a distinct cultural group, but a People who affect political economy from their ancestral land base*. To understand how this works, however, let us now turn to the meeting of Lewis and Clark and the critical events that led to the Nez Perce War of 1877. What this will do is

demonstrate how Nimíipuu/Nez Perce used what they already had to survive this devastating encounter. This episode is important because it informs how Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and their Tribe live on the Plateau today. Furthermore, this period of history and its ethnographic reading by colonizers adds detail and credence to the above claims that a there developed a fully formed, hierarchical world-system on the Plateau that was always already preparing for a changing world.

From Nimíipuu to Nez Perce: Surviving Frontier Colonization & Genocide

In September of 1805, Lewis and Clark and the "Corps of Discovery" straggled over the Bitterroot Mountains onto the Weippe Prairie, or Oyáyp, half-dead. This confirmed the beginning of the prophecies for some, but others were not so impressed with these strangers because they smelled bad, ate dogs, their heads were "upside down" because many were bald and wore beards, and they generally had bad manners {Phinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973; Swayne 2003}. In 1803, President Thomas Jefferson commissioned Lewis and Clark to explore and chart the newly acquired Louisiana Territory from the French Empire in the so-called Louisiana "purchase." The Haitian Revolution expelled the French from Haiti and sent the empire into a tailspin, forcing the French to pay off their debts and losses, in part, by selling their colonial claims in North America to the newly independent U.S. (Horne 2015). One of the major hopes of Jefferson was to find easy travel routes on the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. No such routes exist, and more than a year after the expedition began, the U.S. envoy nearly starved and

froze to death on the trek over the Bitterroot Mountains. When Nimíipuu found the company,[65] the Corps were at the mercy of their hosts.

In fact, there are at least two occasions were Nimíipuu debated killing the strangers. Once because some in the Corps insisted on eating dogs, something their Native hosts found completely offensive {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 35}. How could these be the men to bring great changes to the Plateau? William Clark brought his enslaved body servant named York, and his presence alarmed Nimíipuu because many initially "thought he was painted for war, perhaps in mourning and seeking vengeance" {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 35}. However, the presence of a Shoshone woman, Sacagawea, and her child made this idea seem unlikely, because women and children do not travel with war parties {ibid.: 102}. It is possible that York was "led to the creek by some women, signed to remove his clothes, then splashed with water, rubbed, and even had handfuls of sand and gravel rubbed into his skin" {ibid.: 144}. When his skin color did not wash off, the women decided that he was not painted for war. In the end, it was an old woman, Watkuweis, who convinced village leadership not to kill Lewis and Clark because she was once rescued by and married to a white man {ibid.: 37-41; Swayne 2003} [[Clark 1953b]]. After the decision was made not to kill the party, Nimíipuu decided to start building their alliance with the newcomers to acquire their knowledge and tools, especially guns and the Bible. For example, prophets and others found it curious that the newcomer's religion also set aside Sunday as a sabbath

[65] It was often assumed from the readings of the journals of Lewis and Clark that they saw the Indigenous inhabitants first. Most historical texts take this position, but it is clear in Nimíipuu record that it was they who saw Lewis and Clark first. According to oral history, it was a group of children hiding in the grass who first saw these strange newcomers and ran to alert the village that was finishing up the camas harvesting season (Pinkham and Evans 2013).

{James 1996; Slickpoo 1987; Thomas 1970} and knowing the power of guns from their expansion activities on the Plains, thought that there might be something worth exploring in this new religion that came with a book.

The formal alliance would have to wait, however, for the Americans were in a rush to the ocean and with Nimíipuu attempting to create a confederacy not all leaders were present when the Corps arrived {Pinkham and Evans 2013} [[Miller 1895]]. According to oral traditions, the same month Lewis and Clark showed up, a Nimíipuu diplomatic party had been sent to offer peace with the Shoshone (of the Great Basin lifeworld) so they could fight the Blackfeet (on the Plains lifeworld) and prepare for the prophesied coming of new people. The alliance failed, the Nimíipuu delegation was murdered, and war erupted. The Nez Perce did not make any formal alliance with Lewis and Clark until they came back in 1806 because the Nez Perce were warned that "strangers would come from the land of their enemies, but if they stopped and smoked with the great war chief there would be peace" [[Miller 1985: 46]]. Thus, they needed time to plan and organize everyone so that all interested village leaders/chiefs could meet with the Corps {Pinkham and Evans 2013: Chapter 2 and 10} [[Miller 1985: 46-47]]. This is a level of coordination at the highest levels of community. This was a meeting long in the making, working from prophecies told in a variety of ways since a time immemorial. Furthermore, this political and cultural movement is not an aberration, but rather seems to fit in a long historical pattern of community building and diplomacy among and between Peoples of different languages, dialects, ethnicities, and religious obligations that are observed in the archeological and ethnographic records and oral traditions. In the meantime, Nimíipuu feed the party with

more food than they could handle, watched over their horses, made them canoes, traveled some ways down the Clearwater River as guides, and informed their neighbors that the Americans were making their way down the Columbia River to the ocean {Pinkham and Evans 2013}.

The secondary goal of Lewis and Clark, aside from finding passage and charting territory, was to establish "peaceful" relationships with "the Indians" that they "found" on their journey. To accomplish this goal, the Corps brought with them, among other things, "peace medals" of bronze that depicted Thomas Jefferson's head on one side and, on the other side, a crossed tomahawk and pipe above two shaking hands. At least one of these medals arrived in Nimíipuu country before the first arrival of the party, likely by trade on the Plains. In 1805, Lewis and Clark gave some medals to village leaders who later donned them in 1806 when the Corps returned to more food and their horses {Pinkham and Evans 2013: xix, 41, 85-6} [[Miller 1985: chapter 4]]. Lewis and Clark promised much, including a steady trade of arms, supplies, and Bibles; exactly what Prophets and their followers wanted to hear, providing fuel to their cause. Nimíipuu had their own goals in mind and would have sought an alliance regardless of the peace medals and empty promises. Furthermore, some of their Plateau neighbors, but more so on the Coastal and Plains frontiers, had already established trade relationships with the colonizers for their own purposes, so it was certainly in the realm of possibility.

The official alliance was foraged between the Nez Perce and the United States on May 12, 1806 {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 146}. Under the assumption of peace and friendship, many Nimíipuu—henceforth called the "Nez Perce" (French for pierced nose)

by the U.S. after this encounter because of a miss-classification by Lewis and Clark—saw great potential in the use of the white man's tools and religion and the ability to gain more power and prestige by taking advantage of white settlers traveling through their lands {Axtell 1997; James 1996; Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973; Thomas 1970}. This alliance between the Nez Perce and Lewis and Clark, like any other on the Columbia Plateau at the time, included the extension of kinship networks {Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973} {{Hunn and Selam 1990}} [[Miller 1985; Ray 1981]]. In fact, the view of the Nimíipuu was that "Children from these unions would be the living symbol of the alliance and the guarantee that there would never be war between themselves and the Americans. Only a savage would make war upon his own" {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 154}. In fact, there is evidence that William Clark, York, and several others of the group procreated with Nimíipuu women. These sexual unions were consensual, and it is reported that at least some Nimíipuu women found the newcomers attractive and that some cried when the party left for St. Louis {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 166-7}. One of the children from this new union, William Clark's son, was named after his father, "Daytime Smoker," and was born to "either Red Grizzly Bear's younger sister or his daughter... By the time of the 1855 treaty, he was also known as Capon Rough [and Clark]" {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 236}. Daytime Smoker was killed in exile in the Oklahoma Indian Territory, along with his daughter and granddaughter, because of the 1877 war {ibid.: 248}. The evidence for York's offspring includes a Nimíipuu or Cayuse warrior's sketchbook that depicts in pencil what appears to be a Black man (he is shaded darker than the other people in the sketch and his hair is tight and curly, unlike the straight hair of Plateau Peoples) fighting

with Nimíipuu or Cayuse warriors against other Indigenous enemies, possibly Northern Paiute of the Great Basin {Stern et al. 1980: 364-5; also see Pinkham and Evans 2013: 166-7}. Furthermore, according to oral histories, York, likely had "two 'girl friends' while here [in the Clearwater Valley] and had children, perhaps by both" {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 166}.

Regardless of these unions, the U.S. was not interested in delivering any peace or friendship to the Plateau, much less following through with promises to institutionalize regular trade with their new allies. Instead, the U.S. was a newly independent settler-colonial state and now it needed even more land and resources if it wanted to stay independent. In fact, it was not until June of 1846 that Great Britain would relinquish all their colonial "claims" below the 49th parallel in the Oregon Treaty (Tyler 2021). Britain countered the initial American proposal of the 51st parallel hundreds of miles north and kept hold of most of its Canadian fur trading areas, important seaports, and other resource patches and routes for travel and trade. Earlier, Spain and Russia held colonial claims in the Pacific Northwest, but the U.S. held the advantage with the fall of the French empire (bitter historical enemies of the British) who sold their colonial claims to the U.S. when the Haitian Revolution provided the death blow to the French empire (Horne 2015). However, the U.S. was still just a small backwater periphery in the global capitalist world-system, especially between 1805 and 1848. In 1848, the Mexican American War resolved the colonial claims between the former colonies of the Spanish and British empires. After the Civil War, 1860-1865, the U.S. resumed its colonial pursuits and started its ascension as a "semi-peripheral" country in the capitalist world-system as it started to consolidate its

western colonial claims into semi-autonomous states. By the 1880s with increased industrialization, rising real wages, and population growth from immigration, the U.S. raised to the level of a competitive core state (Chase-Dunn and Lerro 2014: chapter 15). The U.S. would remain at this position until World War II where it skyrocketed to hegemony over the capitalist world-system (Chase-Dunn 1989).

In the meantime, Nimíipuu and their allies were the most powerful presence on the Plateau, and the U.S. needed allies in the area who knew the landscape and people to keep the British and other empires at bay. In fact, certain Nez Perces fought alongside the U.S. in various wars and battles, including against their historical enemies (e.g., Shoshone) and, later, against their historical allies (e.g., Cayuse and Yakama) and even their own families in the 1877 war {McWhorter 1952, 2020; Thomas 1970; Slickpoo 1973}. Many Nimíipuu/Nez Perce authors point out that hundreds of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce continue to uphold this old alliance through U.S. military service since World War I {Slickpoo 1973; Pinkham and Evans 2013; James 1996; Axtell 1997}. In 2019, the *Nimíipuu Tribal Tribune* {Veterans Issue} identified 459 Nez Perces veterans and active-duty members of the U.S. military since World War One and are actively seeking information about people not yet identified.

Nimíipuu, in showing the U.S. the best travel routes, would also act as middlemen (as they did historically before American colonization) and trade sub-par food and horses and so on for items they needed, especially guns, with the settlers starting to trickle over the Bitterroots and those crossing the Oregon Trail. In fact, sometimes white women and children were captured by Plateau Peoples and presumably sold as slaves at Celilo Falls

[[Ruby and Brown 1993]]. It is unclear if Nimíipuu were involved in these raids, but it is possible because not all were excited about the newcomers and their trade items as others were. Recall the Prophecies. Some emphasized that the world would change for the better and would bring about "happiness" [[Miller 1985 emphasizes this part of the prophecies in his book]]. Others, however, claimed that their world would be destroyed by this new world and much suffering would occur, and it is likely some preached that both things would happen {James 1996; Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973} [[Ruby and Brown 1989]]. Both great and devastating changes were occurring before and after the arrival of the Americans. For example, while Nimíipuu were taking advantage of new material items, especially guns, and increasing their wealth, especially with horses, they and their allies started to suffer even more devastating epidemics of foreign diseases brought by settlers. On the Plateau after Lewis and Clark, smallpox epidemics occurred in 1824, 1836, 1853, and 1863, malaria between 1830-1834, influenza in 1836, and measles in 1847-8, further devastating Nimíipuu and their neighbors [[Boyd 2021]]. In addition, more chronic diseases, especially tuberculosis, took hold on reservations where life was more crowed and dirtier than the original political economy of the Plateau, and continued to be devastating through the 1940s {James 1996} [[Boyd 2021]]. These epidemics caused a minimum of 78% population decline of the Indigenous population of the Plateau before the 1877 war [[Boyd and Gregory 2007: 61]]. This is after smallpox or other diseases likely depleted up to half of the Plateau population in the 1700s {{Hunn and Selam 2001}} [[Miller 1985; Prentiss et al. 2005]].

Just after Lewis and Clark departed back east, certain groups of Nimíipuu continued working to bring the prophecies to fruition and sought out the making of alliances with the newcomers, especially through the 1830s until the missionaries in the area began to overstay their welcome. For example, in 1831 a group of four Nez Perces journeyed to St. Louis, Missouri, and meet with Clark, speaking with him in a universal Indigenous sign language {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 235}. The purposes and happenings of the trip are debated, but it seems likely that this group, given they were sent by "a council of headmen," were there to remind the Americans of their allegiance and to seek out the items of the prophecies, such as guns and the Bible {ibid.; Slickpoo 1973}. Many Christians were elated to hear of this group of Nez Perces coming all the way to St. Louis to simply find the Bible, not understanding the more pressing diplomatic reasons for their trip {Slickpoo 1987} [[Coleman 1987; Haines 1937]]. This event sparked the first round of missionaries to invade the Plateau, who, taking off from where the fur trade left, set the scene for the next round of settlement with farmers, miners, and others. The 1830s were a time of increased violence against Indigenous Peoples on the Plateau that was taking on more forms, including missionization [[Coleman 1980; Gay 1989]], overfishing [[Colombi 2012b]], releasing hogs into camas gardens [[Colombi 2005; Colombi 2012a]], theft of natural resources and pollution {Nez Perce Tribe 2003}, and murder {Evans and Pinkham 2013; Slickpoo 1973}. Nevertheless, Nimíipuu generally remained on good terms with their new white neighbors in what seems to be an organized effort on part of leadership to maintain the alliance with the Americans.

There were contradictory relationships, of course, such as starting in 1838 with Henry Spalding and his wife Eliza, who established the first mission (Presbyterian) in Nez Perce country in Spalding, Idaho. Some Nez Perce remember the Spalding's fondly and are grateful that they finally brought the teachings of the white man's God to them {James 1996; Slickpoo 1973}. Others, however, remember how Spalding used public corporeal punishment against adults and was generally disrespectful to anything "Indian" because he considered it "evil," "savage," "backwards," "heathen," "uncivilized," and so on {James 1996; Slickpoo 1973} [[Drury 1958]]. At the same time, Spalding was collecting as many of these "evil" cultural items and shipping them off to his friend in exchange for supplies (Bond 2021) [[Cannell 2010]]. Many Nez Perce men felt that the Spalding's were attempting to reverse traditional (i.e., sacred) gender roles by having the men farm {Slickpoo 1996}.

Other missions on the Plateau, such as that established among the Cayuse in Walla Walla, Washington, by Marcus Whitman and his wife, Narcissa, were bringing about the prophecies of dramatic social change. In 1847, a group of Cayuse murdered the Whitman's and twelve other settlers because the Whitman's had clearly failed in their mission as a measles epidemic raged through the community, killing many Cayuses but sparing most whites. This event is often cited as a turning point in Indian-white relations on the Plateau as tensions between both groups became more generalized {Slickpoo 1973} [[Cannell 2010]]. It also created tensions with the breakout of the genocidal Cayuse War (1847-1855) between historical allies who were now forced to choose between that history and the new

alliance with the U.S., and most chose the new alliance for a variety of reasons, including the increasing threat of violence.

In the end, Nimíipuu/Nez Perce would side with their new allies more times than not, even during and after the 1877 war {Pinkham and Evan 2013; Slickpoo 1973; Thomas 1970}. As a result of the horse and the centralization of Nimíipuu politics—i.e., a hunting chief takes command of multiple villages in times of war but relinquishes control in times of peace where a food chief guides the diplomatic actions—and the geostrategic location of their community territorial claims, Nimíipuu/Nez Perce took advantage of every opportunity to gain wealth, prestige, and good favor with their new neighbors. Their Cayuse neighbors, although wealthy with the horse, were a group who adopted the Nez Perce language in an alliance (thus were a semi-periphery that ascended to a core position via allyship), but they did not have the mountains to their backs as the Nez Perce do with the Bitterroots, and instead were surrounded by the high desert of the southeastern portion of the Plateau and surrounded by other territorial communities.

In 1855 with the treaty negotiations at Walla Walla, the Cayuse would forego their own reservation and were forced to move to the Umatilla Reservation and join a tribal confederation with others. Shortly thereafter, another genocidal war broke out, this time against the Yakama (1855-1858). Yakama were also historical Nez Perce allies, and the Nez Perce (mostly) helped their new U.S. allies in this conflict. Part of the explanation is that in 1855, the Nez Perce were the most powerful group and both old and new neighbors recognized this power (Trafzer 1986).

Compared with their neighbors, the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce negotiated the most favorable terms for a reservation. As Pinkham and Evans put it:

> "The Nez Perces were at their zenith of their political and military unity and influence at the 1855 treaty proceedings, and this is reflected by the outcome in the 1855 document. But many other tribes dealing with [the then Governor of the Territory of Washington and veteran of the Mexican American War,] Isaac Stevens did not fare so well, and war broke out with other tribal groups soon after the 1855 proceedings. These new outbreaks, such as the Yakama War, which involved elements of Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, and others, again forced the Nez Perces to make difficult choices. It was similar to the hard decisions made by the Nez Perce as the Americans warred upon their Cayuse friends and relatives after the Whitman tragedy" {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 243}.

Arguably the most important article of this treaty today is paragraph two of Article 3, wherein the Nez Perce retain

> "The *exclusive right* of taking fish in all the streams where running through or bordering said reservation is further secured to said Indians; as also the right of taking fish at *all usual and accustomed places* in common with citizens of the Territory; and of erecting temporary buildings for curing, together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses and cattle upon open and unclaimed land" {Nez Perce Tribe 2003: 117, my emphasis}.

Fundamentally, *Nimíipuu political leadership negotiated a document in 1855 that secured the official recognition of their territorial community claim to their homeland that stretches back to a time immemorial* {Walla Walla Treaty Council of 1855}. This is signified with the phrase "at all usual and accustomed places." This is the last treaty to ever be signed by every chief of a Tribe in the United States [[Josephy 1997: 74]] and considered the

foundational document of a diplomatic relationship between two sovereign powers. The treaty is featured today in the Nez Perce flag[66] (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Nez Perce Flag.
Image source:
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flag_of_the_Nez_Perc%C3%A9_Tribe.png>

How could the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce negotiate such a powerful clause? From the 1855 treaty meeting minutes we can see that Isaac Stevens (then Governor of the Territory of Washington) was most interested in dealing with the Christian-convert Nez Perces,[67] such as Lawyer who was misattributed much authority, and ignored the words of the war chiefs, such as Looking Glass, to get what he and the US government wanted—passage, land, resources, and labor. It is then without surprise that Stevens began the negotiations

[66] At the same time, the flag features the borders of the 1863 Treaty that shrunk the 1855 Nez Perce Reservation boundary from 7.5 million acres to 750,000 acres {Nez Perce Tribe 2020}. The 1863 Treaty is also known as the "steal treaty" because only Chief Lawyer signed the document, under duress, and relinquished lands of other semi-autonomous bands for whom Lawyer did not speak. This is what led to the 1877 War, and at the center of the Nez Perce flag, we see Young Chief Joseph, the reluctant war chief of the 1877 War who was dragged into the conflict because his lands were signed away in the steal treaty {McWhorter 1952, 2020} [[Josephy 2007]].

[67] The Nez Perce Tribe {2003} stresses that "the United States government used religion to divide and conquer the Nez Perce people by funding missionaries and their missions. Our ancestors made difficult choices to ensure the perpetuation of future generations. Whether they chose to sign the treaties or not, whether they chose to become 'Christian' or not, it was the future and the survival of the *Nimiipuu* that each of them held in mind. Today, generations later, the Nez Perce share a diverse religious system that generally includes several denominations of Christianity (Presbyterians, Catholics, Methodists) and our native belief, *Walasat,* or Seven Drums" {10}.

while Looking Glass and other anti-American chiefs were away on a hunting party in Montana. Stevens asked for Lawyer's support and Lawyer rode into meeting carrying an American flag. The beginning of the talks was rough because many chiefs did not recognize the authority that Stevens had given Lawyer, the interpretations were poor, and many of the Plateau Peoples were convinced that the white man was not telling the truth {Walla Walla Treaty Council of 1855} [[also see Josephy 2007]].

However, in the last days of the negotiations, chief Looking Glass, who had heard of the talks and made haste from Montana to join, rode in with his hunting party.

> "His arrival with three of the tribe's elderly and most notable buffalo-hunting chiefs and a retinue of about twenty warriors, all in buffalo robes and painted for war with one of the warriors carrying a staff from which dangled a Blackfoot scalp, threw the council into a commotion and threatened to undo everything Stevens had won. 'My people,' Looking Glass scolded the Nez Perce, 'what have you done? While I was gone you have sold my country… Go home to your lodges. I will talk to you.'" [[Josephy 2007: 71-2]].

Nevertheless, after hearing from Looking Glass who refused to cede any of his lands, Stevens reminded the Nez Perce that they (but actually he) had promised that Lawyer would represent the tribe and that they could not go back on their word. The tribe discussed their options, and decided that, given the potential for war and conflict, Lawyer would resume his position as head chief in the eyes of the US, and each chief signed the document. This treaty recognized about 7.5 million acres of Nez Perce territory on the eastern half of their historical 13-million-acre claim {Nez Perce Tribe 2003}.

Gold was discovered in 1860 and brought thousands of white trespassers to Nez Perce country, breaking the 1855 treaty. Thus, settlers pillaged an untold amount of gold and other resources. White people also murdered "Indians" with impunity. Tensions

between the U.S. and Nez Perce continued escalating and, in 1863, new treaty terms were drafted by the U.S. who arrived with soldiers and cornered Chief Lawyer, who decided to sign the "steal treaty" of 1863 so to avoid an all-out war and save the Tribe {Pinkham and Evans 2013}. Lawyer also signed away about 90 per cent of the lands managed by other chiefs, such as Joseph and White Bird. This set the stage for war in 1877, and as missionization intensified, so did conversions and Christian Nez Perces were encouraged to move to the reservation by Indian Agents and missionaries {McWhorter 1952, 2020; Slickpoo 1973}.

By 1869 white farmers were shipping wheat cultivated on Nez Perce lands (the old camas fields) to the seaport in Portland, Oregon, for route to Liverpool, England (Colombi 2012b). Agriculture, logging, mining, and other economic development put enormous pressure on government officials and missionaries to "civilize" the Nez Perce and teach them how to farm to make way for incoming settlers {Slickpoo 1973}. The McBeth sisters, Kate and Sue, were among the many to heed this call and were the most productive in terms of converting Nez Perces and ordaining some of the men as Presbyterian preachers {Slickpoo 1973: 202-9}.

In 1877, the fragile peace between the Nez Perce and the U.S. broke. Unpunished murders, theft of horses and cattle and other resources was rampant {Kauffman 2007; Landeen and Pinkham 1999; McWhorter 1952, 2020; Nez Perce Tribe 2003; Slickpoo 1973}. Instead of listening to the concerns of the "non-treaty Indians" (i.e., those who did not sign the 1863 treaty), General O.O. Howard "showed his rifle" to the Nez Perce by arresting the Dreamer prophet and medicine man Toohoolhoolzote {McWhorter 2020: 40}

[[Howard 1881: 63-67]]. In retaliation for this arrest, as well as the "absolute absurdity" of the U.S. to demand these bands move everything to the reservation in 30 days {Nez Perce Tribe 2003: 48}, three Nez Perce warriors, Wahlitits, Sarpsis Ilppilp and Wetyetmas Wahyakt, left to kill white men who they knew had killed or mistreated their own {McWhorter 2020: 44}. "They took very specific and limited revenge on a total of seventeen white immigrants [sic] along the Salmon River" {Nez Perce Tribe 2003: 48}. The War of 1877 had begun.

The Nez Perce outmaneuvered the US Army for the better part of four months. Much of the Nez Perce success in their flight away from their homeland is attributed to superior horses and riding skills. For example, the Nez Perce could ambush soldiers by "hanging low on side of horses, doing underneck shooting" {McWhorter 2020: 188, quoting Yellow Wolf; also see ibid.: 42, 276}, or ride away undetected. General Oliver Otis Howard said that "*The chief advantage on part of the savages lay in the toughness, and swiftness in flight, of the Indian ponies*" [[156, my emphasis]]. Some of the war chiefs thought that as long as they left Idaho the Army would end the pursuit and they convinced the others to slow the pace {McDonald 2017 [1877/8]; McWhorter 2020; Slickpoo 1973; Kaufman 2007}. This gave the Army and Montana volunteers time to catch up. However, neither the Army nor the volunteers wanted to fight the warriors that had given them so much trouble already despite superior numbers and firepower, so instead they explicitly targeted women, children, and old people at such places like Clear Creek, Big Hole and Bear's Paw {McWhorter 1952, 2020; Slickpoo 1973}. In addition to the betrayal felt towards some of his people for scouting for the U.S. Army, this was the most painful part

of the conflict for the warrior Yellow Wolf, who only wanted to be left alone with his people and live free as his ancestors had {McWhorter 2020}.

Allen Slickpoo, Sr. {1973} explains that "many times our warriors were able to hold off vastly superior forces, and often demonstrated a knowledge of classical military strategy. General Howard dared not mention these encounters for his own protection and often tried to write them off by calling them skirmishes. We know them for what they were however, full-scale battles" {194}. Howard also failed to mention massacres {Slickpoo 1973: 187}, but he would always inflate body counts to impress Washington {see McWhorter 2020: 98n4}.

At the end of the 1,170-mile flight from their homeland, 290 people from the 800-person group were killed. Of these 800, about 300 of them were warriors and the rest were women, children, and old people. In battles, 77 Nimíipuu were killed, 30 of whom were women or babies, and another 42 were wounded {Nimiipuu Tribal Tribune 2019: Veterans Issue: 2}. 481 of the survivors, under the leadership of Chief Joseph, surrendered to the U.S. government, who promised they would be able to return home. The rest escaped with Chief White Bird to Canada. Some of the Canadian exiles would return home years later, but many stayed in Canada {McDonald 2016 [1878/9]}. The U.S. did not respect the terms of the surrender, and General Sherman Tecumseh Williams decided instead to punish the Nez Perce by sending them into exile in Indian Territory, Oklahoma (1877-1885). It was here where most Nez Perces died: in captivity and without much food, water, clothing, medicine, medical care, or housing {Axtell and Aragon 1997; Bull 1987; James 1996; McWhorter 2020; Slickpoo 1973}. Only 268 survived this exile (about 56%), and most

who died were the very young and the old. Many died from disease, malnutrition, but, according to oral traditions, it was heartbreak and depression that was most deadly {Bull 1987; McWhorter 2020}. However, even while in exile, the Nez Perce never stopped fighting. For example, and in line with a history of diplomacy that stretches to a time immemorial, and after much persuasion on his part, Chief Joseph was granted a trip to Washington D.C. to plead with policy makers to let his people go home {Chief Joseph 1995 [1879]}. It took time, but the plea worked to leverage public opinion, and in 1885, half of the remaining Nez Perce exiles were shipped to the Nez Perce Reservation, and the other half to the Coleville Reservation {Bull 1987}. Of course, the lands of either reservation were not the homelands of most of those fighting in the 1877 war, but at least they could be among some of their people and relatives. Joseph was sent to Nespelem, Washington, on the Coleville Reservation where he died in 1904. For others who returned to the Plateau, "To protect themselves and their families wherever they found refuge, many of the surviving Nez Perce War veterans changed their names" {Nez Perce Tribe 2003: 48}. Thus, a long period of keeping traditions, language, culture, and religion underground ensued and would remain until these things began to reappear in the 1970s {Axtell 1997; Nez Perce Tribe 2003; Weaskus 2011}.

Yellow Wolf managed to escape captivity in Montana, but in honor of Chief Joseph's surrender and because he was surrounded by enemy, Yellow Wolf decided to turn himself into the Indian Agent back in Lapwai.

> "I was riding alone, knowing what was ahead of me. Then the places through which I was riding came to my heart. It drew memories of old times, of my friends, when they were living on this river. My friends, my brothers, my sisters! All were gone! No tepees anywhere along the river. I was alone.

> No difference if I was hanged. I did not think I would die by the gun. The only way I could be killed was by hanging. That church Agent! That brave General Howard! They would see how I could die! I, a warrior, who knew the fighting! Keeping the religion of my ancestors, I knew not to fear. I was heading for the Reservation. That Indian Agent who helped General Howard make trouble was there. I would see him, he would see me" {McWhorter 2020: 278-9}.

After his arrest in Lapwai, Yellow Wolf was transferred as a prisoner of war to Indian Territory in Oklahoma with Chief Joseph and the others.

> *"Only the climate killed many of us. All the newborn babies died, and many of the old people too. It was the climate. Everything so different from our old homes. No mountains, no springs, no clear running rivers.* We called where we were held *Eeikish Pah* [Hot Place]. All the time, night and day, we suffered from the climate. For the first year, they kept us all where many got shaking sickness, chills, hot fever. *We were always lonely for our old-time homes…* When finally released from bondage [1885], brought back to this country, *religion had to do with where they placed us*... Because we respected our religion, we were not allowed to go on the Nez Perce Reservation" {McWhorter 2020: 289-290}.

Yellow Wolf continues, saying that when they reached Wallowa, the interpreter asked them,

> "'*Where you want to go? Lapwai and be Christian, or Colville and just be yourself?'* No other question was asked us... We answered to go to Colville Reservation. Chief Joseph was not given choice where to go. But he had the promise that as soon as the Government got Wallowa straightened out, he could go there with his band. That was never to be. On the Colville … [life] was better than Idaho, where all Christian Nez Perces and whites were against us. I have two sons, but have never told them of my war day fighting. I want them to see this story, all that I have given you. It is a true story, all as I have told you. It is a true history, what I have seen and done {ibid. 290, my emphasis}.

Recall the population estimates of the Nimíipuu before Lewis and Clark typically range from between 7,000 and 20,000. By the end of the 1877 War, the population was only 1,600—a population destruction rate of 77%-92%—and by 1900 the population was

1,400 {Slickpoo 1973: 227}. Today, there are approximately 3,500 Nez Perces[68] enrolled in the Tribe {Nez Perce Tribe 2020}, a population recovery rate of only 17.5% to 50%. Capital investment in timber, mining, agriculture, cities/towns, and infrastructure exploded in the following decades, especially after land allotment starting in 1890 and the opening of the Nez Perce Indian Reservation to white settlement in 1895 {Phinney 2002} [[Tonkovich 2012]]. This allotment shrunk the control of Nez Perce Reservation lands by Nez Perce to only 12% of the total {Nez Perce Tribe 2003} and created a situation where Nez Perce are only 15% of the total Reservation population (Census Bureau 2015). Nevertheless, the Nez Perce persisted through these and other colonial situations and are now reemerging as a political economic force on their ancestral homeland.

Thus, to summarize this section, after Lewis and Clark, Nimíipuu/Nez Perce continued their political economic rise and positioned themselves to negotiate the best possible terms with the U.S. In other words, we observe the creation of a new frontier with the meeting of two world-systems: that of the Indigenous Peoples lifeworld of the Plateau, and that of the global capitalist world-system. Nimíipuu were a core of their own world-system, and the U.S. was a peripheral country on the ascent in the capitalist world-system, and this helps explain some of the decisions that both did or did not make when dealing with each other in this new frontier; for each must consider their old and new neighbors. The U.S. did not take on Plateau Peoples until after the Mexican American War—i.e., until after the U.S. rose to the status of semi-periphery in the global capitalist world-system.

[68] This number does not include the unenrolled Nez Perce diaspora who live in places such as Oklahoma Indian Territory, the Colville Indian Reservation in Washington State, Los Angeles, California, Alberta and British Columbia, Canada, and elsewhere.

Two years later, in 1850, a critical mass of settlers was on the Plateau and the U.S. moved to consolidate its power in the Pacific Northwest, not to mention the dozen or so epidemics experienced by all Indigenous Peoples of the Plateau that made settler colonization that much easier (e.g., there was more unoccupied land than otherwise would have been the case). It would take another 27 years for the U.S. to accomplish this goal and it suffered multiple public embarrassments in the process with how it handled and treated the Nez Perce during [[Howard 1881; New York Time 1877]] and after {Chief Joseph 1995 [1879]} the genocidal campaign.

Like Coyote using the knowledge of the old world to fight a monster destroying everything and creating a new world, Nimíipuu created much of their own opportunity and had the agency to make decisions for better and for worse. Although much was destroyed, not everything was, especially because there was a pattern of Indigenous Peoples enhancing their societies, and not supplanting them, with new technology and knowledge of the colonizers. The Nez Perce continue to cut away at the heart of the monster by keeping traditions and knowledge underground. It took almost 100 years with the Self-Determination Act of 1975 for enough Nez Perce to feel safe enough to practice ancient lifeways in the open {Axtell and Aragon 1997; Nez Perc170or170be 2003; Weaskus 2011}.

This history, which has no obvious beginning nor clear end in sight, casts doubt on ideas about Western inevitability that suggest “civilization” will either liberate everyone (eventually, anyways) or destroy everything (more swiftly it seems with the likes of climate change, nuclear proliferation, pandemics, and so on). Perhaps, but maybe the West is not

that powerful after all. And maybe there are better ways to live on this earth that were always already alternatives to those that the West imposes violently—for even if all is not destroyed, the threat of climate change alone to directly kill millions of people is real and urgent. I corroborate research (e.g., Estes 2019; King 2013; Norgaard 2019) that shows that there is something to learn from a People whose history contains surviving everything from ice ages to racially motivated genocides. I now turn to those lessons as I unpack how Nimíipuu/Nez Perce use their own history to survive and affect change in political economy.

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CHAPTER 5
THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NIMÍIPUU/NEZ PERCE PUBLIC MEMORY: FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL TO THE FUTURE

The goal of this chapter is to identify and illustrate the "mechanisms of persistence" (Patterson 2004) that can account for the historical continuity of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce as a distinct cultural group who continue influencing political economy from their ancestral land-base. I do this by analyzing the public memory of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce through comparative-historical narrative reconstruction, using {curly brackets} to signify data sources (n=105). The fundamental claim in Nimíipuu/Nez Perce publications is that they have lived in their home since a time immemorial, and, because of this, they will continue to live there, at least until all humans perish in the death world of global capitalism. By taking this claim seriously, I find that how Nimíipuu/Nez Perce practice their lifeways, or social institutions (Bourdieu 1990), of *storytelling*, *husbandry*, and *community* accounts for some of their persistence and influence because they provide material and immaterial resources that capitalism cannot. Specifically, how Nimíipuu/Nez Perce tell stories provides ideas and knowledge that privilege the connections between all lifeforms and the landscape; how they practice husbandry provides sustainable and healthy means of living without a profit motive; and how they build community provides opportunities to practice extended kinship and egalitarianism. The basic challenge these findings present to sociology is the need to rethink our general reliance on imperial chronology for social scientific research.

Storytelling & the History of Time Immemorial

At its foundation, Nimíipuu/Nez Perce storytelling provides people with ideas and knowledge that privilege the connections between all forms of life and the landscapes that make their home. As Allen Pinkham, Nimíipuu/Nez Perce tribal elder, historian, former Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee (NPTEC)[69] Chairman, and USMC veteran of the Vietnam War, once put it,

> "if you relate [your] body parts to different [plant and animal] species, how many would you eliminate before you would say, 'Stop.' You can get along pretty well if you lose a finger, but if you keep doing that, when is it enough? I learned this philosophy from my elders. Even Joseph himself said, 'I am of the earth.' *Well, if you consider yourself part of the earth, you won't sacrifice those body parts*" {Landeen and A. Pinkham 1999: 8, my emphasis}.

This knowledge is traced through the oral histories, legends, myths, and other stories of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce since a time immemorial. The foundation of these stories, like for any other culture, is the language of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce, ni·mi·pu·tímt. And while the language is considered endangered, enough fluent speakers survived to enable the creation of ni·mi·pu·tímt learning communities that have the potential to revive ni·mi·pu·tímt as a common language of the Columbia Plateau {Cash Cash 2018}. In the meantime, for the majority of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce fluent in English only, everyday speech patterns on their reservation tend to reflect traditional ideas that "everything relates to the earth and its seasonal cycles" {Weaskus 2011: 1}. This type of discourse, described as "earthly

[69] NPTEC is the centralized government of the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho and is discussed below.

rhetorics" {ibid.}, developed when the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce were forced to learn English, and helps maintain at least some distinct connections to their home.

For instance, author and reservation radio personality, Jeanette Weaskus, says in her English dissertation that her own "last name is the mutilated remainder of a place story… [that] contains both family and personal history… detailed through the oral retelling of the history of a person's name" {2011: 7-8}. Specifically, her name refers to the shade of a medicine dance lodge located on a specific place on the Clearwater River. This history is kept alive in oral stories, such as the one about "Old Man Weaskus,"

> *"that legendary trickster*, [who] would wave to the Presbyterian missionaries, luring them to cross the river during the spring thaw, only to find that he had disappeared and made them cross the swollen and treacherous river for nothing… Old Man Weaskus smiles down on his *descendants who are… carrying on his work of resistance with that Coyote sense of humor*… Indigenous rhetorics did not arise solely in resistance to colonialism, but rather *had their own origin in the core value of the earth, the annual food cycle and effect of those cycles on their lives*" {Weaskus 2011: 9, my emphasis}.

The belief that all lifeforms are connected and bound to the earth comes out in most stories published by the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and are traced to a time immemorial. For instance, the creation story of Nimíipuu is the last story told in Allen P. Slickpoo Sr.'s {1972} anthology of oral traditions, *Nu Mee Poom Tit Wah Tit: Nez Perce Legends.* (Slickpoo [1929-2013] was a tribal elder and historian, former NPTEC chairman, and Army veteran of the Korean War). The preceding stories are about the animal people who worked, mostly through trial and error, to create good relationships with each other and discovered how to live well on Earth {Aoki 1989: Chapter 35, "Furred and Feathered

Animals Have a Council"}. And thus, animal people guided humans upon their arrival and initiated an agreement to ensure each other's survival:

> "*We will tell of a time when only animals were on this earth and no human beings. All the animals could talk among themselves and understood each other well… It was when the human beings came that all animals became mute*… [T]hey said, 'If you use us for food we will not talk to you anymore [and we will be difficult to catch and use]. *We were on this earth first, and now you have to make an agreement with us on how to live on this earth*.'… In exchange… human[s became] separate from the animals but would watch over them because they could not speak for themselves among… human[s]. *This was the agreement we had with all living things on this earth*. Offerings would be made for the sacrifice of life they would give for our benefit" {Pinkham 2006: 147-8, my emphasis}.

Stories almost always reference physical landmarks or natural phenomena in *Nimíipuu*/Nez Perce country so that the human people can continue learning lessons from the mistakes and triumphs of the animal people. As tribal elder, Andrew George (1905-1989), recounted, "I learned lots of things growing up about our history and Coyote stories—how the land was made and how salmon came to the rivers… *Our history is our stories, and you can see them in the rocks*" {Scheuerman and Trafzer 2015: 74, my emphasis}.

That the People's history is observed the rocks is both figurative and literal. It is figurative because stories of the animal people reference "topographic embodiments [that] are often the result of a mythic transformation, and their physical presence in the landscape bears witness to the changing moral character of the world—that is, *a world emerging from chaos, order and human form*" {Cash Cash 2006: 10, my emphasis; also see the oral traditions in Aoki 1989; Phinney 1969 [1934]; Slickpoo 1972}.

History in the rocks is also a literal statement because,

> "On the North Fork [of the Clearwater] River… the footprints of a human being are plainly seen, sunken into the basaltic rock formation… These footprints were made in a soft surface. How long since the change into hard basalt took place nobody knows" *That man was older than the stone itself*" {McWhorter 1952: 2, quoting Camille Williams}.

Anglo-colonization and capitalist development destroyed or cut off the People from most of the landmarks that are vital for their storytelling and the lifeways they support. Likely the most infamous destruction of landscape is the flooding of Celilo Falls in 1957 with the opening of The Dalles Dam {Bohnee et al. 2011; Landeen and Pinkham 1999; Pinkham 2007}. Celilo Falls was once the central historical trading site and gathering place of the Columbia Plateau Peoples, and likely the most productive fishery on the Columbia River {Conner and Lang 2006; Landeen and Pinkham 1999}. Celilo, a place where "Most of the rocks and falls… had names" {Landeen and Pinkham 1999: 74}, is also a central feature in several Coyote and other animal people stories {Aoki 1989: 11; Landeen and Pinkham 1999: 83, 84-88}. In fact, the creation story of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce, commonly known in English as "The Heart of the Monster," usually begins with "Coyote… building a fish-ladder, by tearing down the waterfall at Celilo, so that salmon could go upstream for the people to catch" {Phinney 1969 [1934]: 26}.

Even though "the sounds of life" {Pinkham 2007: 587} at Celilo were submerged by flood waters, Nimíipuu/Nez Perce memories of Celilo Falls share stories of rich personal and family histories, ancient legends, and contemporary tall tales {Landeen and Pinkham 1999; Nimíipuu Tribal Tribune 2019; Pinkham 2007; Pinkham and Evans 2013}. The creation story of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce, "The Heart of the Monster," like most other

oral traditions, uses “adaptation” as a primary “theme” {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 11}. Specifically, “The Heart of the Monster,” is about the death of the old animal world and the birth of a new human world. The new world was not inevitable. Rather, Coyote relied on the ancient knowledge and wisdom of his home to slay the Monster, rescue the surviving animal people, and create humans with the body parts and blood of the Monster. There are variations in the story, but every time Nimíipuu are created last and with Coyote acting as “the creating agent by combining the heart-blood of a large monster with the soil of Kamiah valley” {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 3}. And, as the story suggest, Nimíipuu/Nez Perce continue to recover the fragments of their old world to adapt whatever changes may come. Likewise, survival is not inevitable, but will certainly require adapting ancient ideas and knowledge. As Archie Phinney once said in a letter to Franz Boas in 1929 while studying in Leningrad, USSR, “A sad thing in recording these animal stories is the loss of spirit—the fascination furnished by the peculiar Indian vocal tradition of humor. When I read my story mechanically I find only the cold corpse” {quoted in Penney-Pinkham 2014: 64}. (Archie Phinney [1904-1949] was a Nimíipuu/Nez Perce linguistic anthropologist, co-founder of the National Congress of North American Indians, co-author of the first constitution of the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho, and Bureau of Indian Affairs Superintendent of the Northern Idaho Agency in Lapwai). Hence the tendency of many Nimíipuu/Nez Perce to find new ways of engagement with these stories, in a way, to revive the “cold corpse” of oral traditions, such as the short stories from Weaskus {2007, 2009, 2014} that blend biography with ancient stories.

Other novel ways of re-engaging with Nimíipuu/Nez Perce storytelling is to use it as a "methodology… employed… in research" {Penney-Pinkham 2013: 61} and the creation of classroom curriculum and activities in reservation schools {ibid.: 63; also see Holt 2016; Scheuerman et al. 2010}, to revive language {Cash Cash 2018}, to inspire artistic revitalization or reinterpretation {Sapatq́ayn 1991}, to make legal claims for access to ancestral hunting and fishing grounds and waters {Bohnee et al. 2011; Gudgell et al. 2006}, and to challenge Western historiography {Evans and Pinkham 2013; James 1996; McWhorter 1952, 2020; Nez Perce Tribe 2003; Thomas 1970; Slickpoo 1973, 1987}. For example, twenty-six of these ancient stories are presented in the book *Salmon and His People,* a college-level nature guide and introduction to the freshwater marine biology of the Columbia Plateau, as an "[attempt] to bridge the gap between the traditional environmental knowledge the Nez Perce people have acquired over the centuries through close observation and direct contact with the fish that reside in the Columbia River System and the environmental knowledge of these same fish that western scientists have acquired using their own methods" {Landeen and Pinkham 1999: *ix*}. With projects like these, Nimíipuu/Nez Perce are reasserting themselves as important stewards of the Columbia Plateau that influence how natural resources are cultivated, harvested, and used. Thus, the ideas and knowledge that privilege the connections between all lifeforms and the landscape inform how Nimíipuu/Nez Perce practice husbandry, which, in turn, provide sustainable and healthy means of living without a profit motive.

Husbandry & the Perpetuation of Health and Sustainability

At its core, how the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce practice husbandry provides sustainable and healthy means of living without a profit motive. Nimíipuu/Nez Perce understand how they care for, cultivate, and use natural resources as evolving relationships with landscapes, animals, plants, and other humans since a time immemorial. In short, husbandry enables the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce to physically engage with their history and build their future, especially by passing on knowledge from generation to generation. Thus, many Nimíipuu/Nez Perce, taught by their kin or friends, know ancient methods to care for, harvest, and utilize resources. For example,

> "In the fall season, camas is gathered. We went to Weippe… until it was all plowed out… Women go for digging just once in a year. I never saw them eating raw camas. First thing they ever think about before they even start digging, they have to make their own [cooking] pits and get all the stuff ready" {James 1996: 14, 17}

Many Nimíipuu/Nez Perce claim that their ancient lifeways offer more than a capitalist cash economy. The following captures a common sentiment in Nimíipuu/Nez Perce public memory: "I never registered for school until well into September and sometimes into October. I realize now that most of my education took place in the mountains or on the rivers" {A. Pinkham 2007: 594}. Indeed, according to the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission (CRITFC formed in 1977 by the Yakama, Umatilla, Warm Springs, and Nez Perce Tribes), "For many tribal members, fishing is still the preferred livelihood" {quoted in Landeen and A. Pinkham 1999: 110}.

Many Nimíipuu/Nez Perce describe this preference in terms of the deep emotional satisfaction attached to the experiences of harvesting good tasting food or the best raw materials to make tools, clothing, or art, and the health benefits from eating traditional foods and the exercise to care, cultivate, and harvest these foods and make use of other resources. For example, as an 81-year-old woman recalled,

> "Another bread was called tsa'pu-khm-luct, and our grandmother used to tell us, '*That's a food that you have to eat in the springtime. Be thankful that you're living to eat these things*…' Way back then, they served it, and we're still serving it. I'm sorry to say, sometimes we don't have much time to go out and dig for those foods, but *it's really delicious, and it's good for your health. That's the way we were told, so we try to tell that to our children, our grandchildren*" {James 1996: 17, my emphasis}.

Families and individuals that actively engage in their ancient lifeways of husbandry for whatever reason also seek opportunities to reproduce and perpetuate this social institution. Thus, techniques and technological preferences are acquired mostly through family socialization. Take, for example, the short life history of Harold "Grizzly Bear-Xáxaac" Jerome Walker, Jr. (1959-2019), better known as "Grizz," provided in his obituary in the *Nimíipuu Tribal Tribune* {2019: volume 1, issue 22, page 19}. Grizz, was a full-blood Nimíipuu and descendent of the White Bird, Lookingglass, and Too-Hool-Hool-Zote bands. He was known especially as

> "an avid hunter and fisherman of the Nimíipuu Land… [He] loved telling his stories of *night fishing* the middle fork of the Clearwater and Selway rivers. It's a lost art. Fishing to Grizz was about timing, and *he, along with his brothers, were shown the holes and times of when and where to best fish… Grizz was taught how to test his strength and endurance by walking on the bottom of the Clearwater River. His cousins and relatives would see who could last the longest underwater by carrying boulder rocks racing on the bottom of the river*. This was most often done right under the old Kooskia bridge" {ibid.: my emphasis}.

Of course, many families are now too embedded in the cash economy to fully engage with their People's ancient lifeways, if at all {Feathers 1970; James 1996; Slickpoo 1973}. Furthermore, because of their historical interactions with the U.S., many families are cut off from the places where their ancestors gathered, gardened, hunted, and fished {Emerson and McCormack 1996; Evans and Pinkham 1999; Nez Perce Tribe 2003}. Nevertheless, some of these families and individuals with more limited experiences seem to still have enough to practice lifeways when they find themselves adapting to challenges in a capitalist political economy. For example, a woman identified only as a "single parent" in the ethnography *Nez Perce Women in Transition* (1996) by Caroline James, an Indian anthropologist originally from Itarsi, India, said that

> "I think that the one-parent family has caused a lot of women to become independent by *force*. *[W]hen my husband died… [It] caused me to change some of my thinking because I have grown up in a society where my father worked*. And my mother worked sometimes, but my father was the breadwinner. He was the one who would go out hunting, put meat on our table, and I found myself without a husband, with two children. *And I found, to hunt and fish for my children, this is where I started really becoming the person to put the salmon and meat on the table. That's "here I started being more self-assertive* " {James 1996: 216}.

This kind of action, and the fact that capitalism subjects Nimíipuu/Nez Perce to conditions where many "cannot afford to buy meat from a grocery store every day" {James 1996: 17, quoting a "very young single parent of two"}, provides the Nez Perce Tribe with the material ability and impetus to revive, develop, and introduce adaptive husbandry practices that serve the needs of their people and their neighbors {Bohnee et al. 2011; Feathers 1970; Phinney 2002, 2003; Slickpoo 1973; Thomas 1970}. As Jamie Pinkham, currently the Acting Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Army for Civil Works, recalled he was

growing tired of "practicing industrial forestry," and so when his Tribe invited him home to work on natural resource issues, he jumped at the opportunity because he understood that

> "*a healthy, sustainable, natural environment is intimately tied to a healthy, functioning, human community*. I accepted his challenge and moved home to manage the nation's natural resources department. At the time, the tribal unemployment rate hit 64 percent in the winter. About 50 percent of those who worked earned less than US$12,000 a year. I realized that we needed to look to *our forests as a mainstay of our survival, as essential to our future. They were essential to our nourishment, education, spiritual connectivity, and recreation. Timber and grazing revenues could fuel tribal government while the land itself could help make our communities whole again*" {2019: 299, my emphasis}.

Many Nimíipuu/Nez Perce families and individuals, however, do not wait for their Tribal government to make the first move. For instance, it was certain families and friends who banded together, in the absence of Tribal support, to stop the State of Idaho from violating their treaty rights to fish at Rapid River {Evans and Pinkham 1999; Nez Perce Tribe 2003}. As a result of these actions specifically, the Tribe is now the manager or co-manager of various fisheries and acclimation sites in the State of Idaho, thus maintaining critical access to ancestral lands and resources {ibid.}. Since then, salmon and other fish have slightly recovered from conditions imposed by capitalism {Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission 2012}. A more recent example, the Oatman family is taking it upon themselves to recover hemp and cannabis as an essential feature of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce economy by encouraging the Tribe to legalize cannabis within their reservation borders and develop production with their *Tribal Hemp and Cannabis (THC) Magazine* {THC 2020a, 2020b}.

It appears that when old connections with the landscape and lifeforms are reestablished, stories and ceremonies "that had nearly disappeared" {J. Pinkham 2019: 303} suddenly reemerge {Piatote 1998}. And while Nimíipuu/Nez Perces today do not enjoy the average levels of wealth and health of the ancestors before U.S. colonization, enough continue to practice ancient husbandry to reproduce at least some of the material foundations of their traditional political economy. Because of this, the Nez Perce Tribe often outperforms their settler neighbors in efforts to recover the natural environment {Bohnee et al. 2011; Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission 2012; Gudgell et al. 2006; Landeen and Pinkham 1999; Nez Perce Tribe 2003}.

Husbandry practices also provide Nimíipuu/Nez Perce with historical and material foundations from which to make legal, political, and moral claims that they know better than their new neighbors how to live well in their homeland. And, as the environmental consequences of settler colonization and capitalist development become more apparent, these claims start to carry more weight with the U.S. {Bohnee et al. 2011; Gudgell et al. 2006}. Moreover, the materials and ideas that emerge from Nimíipuu/Nez Perce husbandry enable them to continue building distinct types of community that provide opportunities to practice extended kinship and egalitarianism.

Community & the Practice of Extended Kinship and Egalitarianism

Fundamentally, how Nimíipuu/Nez Perce build and protect their communities provides opportunities to practice extended kinship and egalitarianism. By community, I

refer to both a sense of belonging and the distribution of material and immaterial resources that come with belonging (or not) to the group. Like other Nimíipuu/Nez Perce lifeways, communities rely on their right and ability to access lands and use resources. According to Nimíipuu/Nez Perce public memory, they retain their rights to hunt, gather, and fish at all their "usual and accustomed places" {Treaty of 1855, Article 3} since a time immemorial. These rights, understood as the ability to form and develop respectful and reciprocal relationships with the landscape and all its inhabitants, allow people to pool resources and compel them to engage in collective action at critical moments. Of course, retention of rights is not inevitable, but, as the data show, community structures of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce allow for different leaders to emerge under different conditions to protect, at least some of, their ability to live how they want in their homeland.

In general, Nimíipuu/Nez Perce remain relatively unimpressed with capitalism. In a pointed critique of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, Archie Phinney once said that while the "U.S. government feels compelled to rehabilitate them [Indigenous Peoples] and bring them up to 'the level equal to that of the average rural white family,'" the hard truth is that the "*'average rural white family' is itself in need of a strong dose of 'rehabilitation'*" {2002: 40-41, my emphasis}. More than that, "the white man's way could mean self-destruction" {Slickpoo 1973: 284; also see Feathers 1970}. Therefore, according to Phinney, recovering and reviving Nimíipuu/Nez Perce culture "to achieve a certain social (racial) excellence and prestige as a national minority" {2002: 33}, necessitated first the re-establishment of tribal political economy {Phinney 1935, 2002, 2003}. While Phinney's ideas are certainly informed by his formal education in the U.S. and U.S.S.R. (Bathlesar

2020; Willard and Pearson 2004), they are more consistent with how Nimíipuu/Nez Perce build and protect their communities since a time immemorial. Indeed, many people today cannot fathom that it might be desirable for Indigenous Peoples to re-develop, much less re-imagine, their own political economy using their own languages and other distinct social institutions; not just for them, but the rest of us. However, this is exactly what Nimíipuu/Nez Perce continue to tell people from the West. Therefore, what Archie Phinney did was expand the highly adaptive traditions of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce diplomacy and leadership to protect his people's homeland and all the lifeforms with whom they share their home (for example, see {Axtell and Aragon 1997; Cash Cash 2018; Chief Joseph 1995 [1879]; Kauffman 1986; Phinney 1935, 2002, 2003; Thomas 1970} [[Tonkovich 2012: 27]]).

Since time immemorial, Nimíipuu sociopolitical organization centered the husbandry of location-specific resources by semi-autonomous communities (bands) trading and sharing among each other and with their neighbors {Bohnee et al. 2011; James 1996; Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973}. Distinctions in dialect and religious beliefs developed alongside location-specific husbandry {Cash Cash 2006, 2008, 2018}. However, Nimíipuu maintained their commonality through bilateral family formations, locally elected leadership, deep connections with the landscape, and egalitarian distribution of resources. The Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho {2003} claim that this process continues today, however disfigured it may be by colonization:

> "Social interchange and trade were historically… conducted among many of the bands throughout the Columbia River Basin. Many of the people divided into tribes today still have blood ties to members of other tribes as a result of ancestral intermarriages between bands and tribes.

> Because intermarriage on the Plateau continues, the tribes in our area are still related by blood. The Nez Perces traditionally lived in small, semi-permanent villages scattered along major rivers and streams. There are more than 300 known Nez Perce village sites in the aboriginal areas of Oregon, Idaho, and Washington that encompass over 13.5 million acres...
>
> Leadership… was specialized with regard to function. We elected leaders for activities such as warfare, hunting, fishing, religion, conflict resolution, and healing. Councils existed at all levels of our political organization and exercised a dominant influence over the actions of individual leaders" {Nez Perce Tribe 2003: 5-6}.

Of critical importance is that

> "Individuals derived their tribal identities from the commonality of language, land, and family. As Nez Perce, we believed that an individual possessed the right to disagree with and remain unbound by the rule of the majority... This simple individual right to conscientiously object to the majority opinion existed prior to the treaties and is still evident within the decision making process of the Tribe today"{ibid.: 6}.

The U.S. attempted a variety of methods to destroy Nimíipuu/Nez Perce communities, families, and their material resource base {Axtell and Aragon 1997; McWhorter 1952, 2020; Slickpoo 1973, 1987}. In many cases, they succeeded. However, not all were destroyed, in part, because Nimíipuu/Nez Perce community structures are complex and elastic, producing leadership that can take the form of location-specific communities, families, individuals, and/or, since 1948, the centralized government of NPTEC. This is consistent with the traditional sociopolitical structure where local leaders held more-or-less national power under different conditions (e.g., people found hunting chiefs more persuasive in times of war than in times of peace, when the food chiefs held more sway). And, because this kind of sociopolitical structure begets egalitarian distributions of resources through extended kinship obligations with their human and non-human relatives, Nimíipuu/Nez Perce continue fighting to "preserv[e] our rights to inhabit

our homelands and protecting our burial sites and sacred places of our ancestors" {Nez Perce Tribe 2003: 70; also see Axtell and Aragon 1997; Cash Cash 2006, 2018; McWhorter 1952, 2020}. This is an ancient tradition, to where "he Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho understands

> "The purpose of tradition is to ensure the Tribe's future through its children. By hearing our literature, our stories, our legends, our history, and by watching and dancing and singing and drumming, our children have always learned to honor and respect their proper relationships with other people and with their environment... Although fewer elders today still tell our traditional Coyote stories, all our elders nevertheless pass on their riches in the family stories they relate and through their extended family relationships, providing our young people with steady and continuing nourishment" {Nez Perce Tribe 2003: 104-5}.

And, since 1975, when Nez Perce "beliefs resurfaced from the underground back out into the open" {Nez Perce Tribe 2003: xi}, people are noticing that their Nez Perce

> "traditions are getting strong again. I see a lot of families that I never used to see at celebration. I see their kids are participating—n the powwows, celebrations, and dinners--kids helping out with dinners. Especially [helping out] with out elderly people; there are certainly more elders [needing help]. I have never seen so many women come together that make a dinner. That's always my favorite" {James 1996: 117}.

This is why "many precepts of *ancient communistic living* have, to a large extent, *carried over into modern life*. [For example, i]t is customary for families in more or less favorable circumstances to accept the burden of supporting indigent friends and relatives" {Phinney 2002: 29, my emphasis}. For many, these relationships are more important than what an Anglo-capitalist political economy has to offer. It seems that for many Nez Perces, the answer to Jones's {n.d.} question, "Do we need a piece of the pie?" {3, emphasis removed} is no. For instance,

> "Because of the Indian culture, we have a lot of families who still care

> deeply for their extended family members. *If there is a death in the family, everybody participates and helps*. The [non-Indian] community does not understand that. *We have people who lose their jobs because they have taken of" for three or more days to have a funeral*" {James 1996: 219, my emphasis}.

Nimíipuu/Nez Perce community structure also produces a distinct type of individualism that can be achieved only by deepening one's responsibility to the group. The ancient method was guided by wéyekin (an individual's vision or spirit quest), and it was not uncommon for individuals to move to a different community after their wéyekin {McWhorter 1952; Slickpoo 1973; Weaskus 2011}. Today, Nimíipuu/Nez Perce sometimes refer to themselves and their friends as "salmon" because, just like the salmon leave for the ocean and then return to feed the People, there is a historical pattern of Nimíipuu/Nez Perces leaving their homes and then returning with new abilities that can serve their People since time immemorial {Axtell and Aragon 1997; James 1996; Kauffman 1986; Penney-Pinkham 2013; Thomas 1970; THC 2020a, 2020b}.

Furthermore, as this pattern continues, so does the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce tendency to extend their fictive kinship networks with other humans and lifeforms everywhere as global community members who share the same Earth {Axtell and Aragon 1997; Holt 2012b, 2013a, 2013b; Jones n.d.; Feathers 1970}. For example, since 2004, the Nez Perce Tribe has awarded $5.3 million in grants to schools on and around the reservation, even schools with majority white student populations {*Nimíipuu Tribal Tribune* 2019 volume 1, issue 15, page 11} and they employ hundreds of people in the area, including white resident {Evans and Pinkham 1999; James 1996; Nez Perce Tribe 2003}. After all, "Within Nez Perce country, there are many races and colors of people, and we cannot exclude because

of this difference of race and color. Good neighbors help one another, and we intend to be good neighbors to everyone. That is all" {A. Pinkham 2007: 595}.

Chapter Summary & Conclusion

Nimíipuu/Nez Perce persist as a distinct cultural group who affect political economy from their ancestral landbase because they continue to practice their lifeways, or social institutions, of *storytelling*, *husbandry*, and *community.* Since a time immemorial, Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and their ancestors use their lifeways to adapt to change because they continue to provide material and immaterial resources that the People need and want, even after the imposition of a colonial-capitalist political economy. For example, many Nimíipuu/Nez Perce families and friends supplement diet and income by sharing surpluses of salmon with each other. The salmon still exist, in part, because of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce river husbandry kept alive with political action to maintain access to land/resources and storytelling passed down to children while catching and preparing salmon. Moreover, the continuation of salmon with the help of Nimíipuu/Nez Perce river husbandry buttress their moral and political claims that affect things such as international salmon prices, transnational mining projects, regional dam building, and local tourism. At the heart of these lifeways is the creation and reproduction of reciprocal relationships between the People, the landscape, and their neighbors, which exist, in some form or another, on the Columbia Plateau since a time immemorial and into the future.

My research hopefully advances our understandings of empire building, colonization, racialized political economy, the politics of public memory, and globalization. Theoretically, I build on research that shows how centering Indigenous Peoples history and knowledge help us understand human resilience and persistence in the most violent situations (e.g., Coté 2010; Estes 2019; Jacob 2014; Miller and Riding In 2011; Norgaard 2019). For explaining patterns and variations in colonial outcomes and processes (Cox 1959; Go 2008; Steinmetz 2005; Wallerstein 2007), I demonstrate that an imperial chronology, or what Mills (2020) calls a "white racial chronopolitics," is not necessary (also see Zerubavel 1998). Empirically, I contribute to research demonstrating that focusing on the knowledge and experiences of colonized people can create critical insights that help explain the mechanisms underlying colonialism, the limits of its power, and the potential for humans to build better social worlds (Du Bois 1998; Fanon 2004). I also demonstrate that "globalizing sociology" (Go 2017) requires we rethink how and why we rely on imperial chronologies to understand history and social problems (Carpio 2006; Mills 2020; Zerubavel 1998). At the policy level, my research highlights the need to support the self-determination of Indigenous Peoples and for the rest of us to listen to Indigenous Peoples, especially if we wish to survive current manifestations of settler colonialism, such as global climate change (Colombi and Brooks 2012; Estes 2019; Norgaard 2019).

The greatest limitation of my research is that, although my data are publicly available, a history of genocide and extreme capitalist exploitation means that documents published by non-Indigenous people are easier to access. I seek to overcome this limitation

by creating my own archive (see Comaroff and Comaroff 1992) that I will donate to the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho. Another limitation is that there are often disconnects between public representation and collective understandings of history (Olick 1998). Therefore, future research can build from my study to develop research designs, such as interviews, surveys, and participant observations, which scrutinize if and how Indigenous history informs contemporary life.

Of course, given the power of the discourse of "the West and the Rest" (Go 2018; S. Hall 2006; Hung 2003; Said 1983), and the memories we hold that support this discourse, a full survey of the public memory of Indigenous Peoples is necessary before undertaking more intrusive research designs. In fact, a repeated goal for many Nimíipuu/Nez Perce writing and publishing the history and knowledge of their people is to talk *with* those of us who are not Nimíipuu/Nez Perce about how we might be able to work together to solve the social and environmental problems that our ancestors could not resolve. Chapter 6 of this dissertation breaks down one of the most pressing problems of settler-colonialism on the Plateau: the racialization of natural resources.

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CHAPTER 6
WHITENESS & THE PARADOX OF RESENTMENT OF INDIGENOUS PERSISTENCE ON THE COLUMBIA PLATEAU, U.S.A.

> "But now, in *a turn of history* and uncommon fate, the [white] people who live in the [Wallowa] mountain valley [around Joseph, Oregon] that was taken from the Nez Perce want the Indians to return and are even assembling the financing to buy a large patch of real estate for them. They regard the return of the Nez Perce as a way to help *replace the dying logging and ranching economy* that was created as a justification for removing the Indians in the first place" [[New York Times 1996: 1A, my emphasis]].

Earlier chapters showed that the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce persist as a distinct cultural group who affect political economy[70] from their ancestral land-base, despite U.S. settler-colonization, genocide, forced assimilation, and capitalist exploitation. According to the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce, the primary reason they persist is because they "have been here since a time immemorial" and have a long and deep history of change and adaption {e.g., Gudgell et al. 2006; A. Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973}. As Roberta "Bobbie" Conner once said, "We know something everybody else doesn't know—we're never leaving" {quoted in Hart 2018: 508}. This claim attacks the genocidal heart of "white chronopolitics" (Mills 2020; also see Carpio 2006; Mills 2016; Zerubavel 1998) that uses "whiteness" as a dominant method of territorial claims-making in global capitalism (Du Bois 1915, 2007 [1946]; Estes 2019; Greer 2018; Harris 1993; Horne 2020; Norgaard

[70] For example, the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission, of which the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho is a member, have thus far been able to save the salmon from going extinct in the Pacific Northwest through their co-management of salmon/steelhead fisheries and acclimation sites {https://critfc.org/; J. Pinkham 2019}. This helps, among other things, keep the international price of salmon down (Diver 2012) and regional tourism economies hot (A. Rodríguez 2011). The Nez Pere Tribe of Idaho is also one of the largest employers in the region (ibid.) and has donated over $5.3 million to local school districts—including those with majority white populations—since 2004 (*Clearwater Tribune* 2019).

2019; Robinson 2000 [1983]; D. Rodríguez 2015; Wolf 2010; Wolfe 2006). Thus, I ask: How has whiteness responded to Nimíipuu/Nez Perce persistence?

Nimíipuu/Nez Perce understandings of history caste whiteness as a reactionary cultural trait that 1) is in a hurry, 2) acts without thinking,[71] and 3) makes a mess. These patterns create a cycle that is held together by resentment of Indigenous persistence that results from Native peoples refusing to give up and go away (physically or culturally) (Estes 2019; King 2005, 2013). Nimíipuu/Nez Perce understanding of whiteness come from the vantage point of since a time immemorial and with an eye towards the future. Time immemorial is the historical, political, and moral legitimation of these social and collective behaviors that ground the People to specific landscapes and the relationships they create and maintain with all forms of life. Nimíipuu/Nez Perce uses of time beyond memory is a historical force that not only lays bare the hypocrisy of competing white U.S. origin stories that claim civilization, progress, justice, exceptionalism, and superiority (S. Hall 2006; Mills 2014, 2020; Robinson 2007), but also some of the political and moral dimensions of the uses of time in science and the humanities (Bourdieu 1990: 81-85; Mills 2016, 2020; Zerubavel 1982, 1987, 1998) by demonstrating that U.S. colonization is not the most important thing to happen to the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce. Nez Perce history is so

[71] The point is that settler-colonial social structure creates situations for people to get "caught up" or "swept away in the moment." In no way does this absolve folks from accountability for their actions. Most of the white violence that targets Indigenous People is intentional and planned with the explicit goal of removing people from their homes (Blackhawk 2006; Dunbar-Ortiz 2014; Estes 2019; Norgaard 2019). That whiteness acts without thinking is an observation of the irrationality of a particular type of settler-colonial social structure that justifies its own existence by the "progress" it makes with other people's homes and resources, akin to the paradox of "creative destruction" in capitalism (Foster and Clark 2009). This is similar to anomie (Durkheim 1897) in that the violence of settler-colonial social structure can produce a sense of normlessness and this affects human behavior.

deep that it goes beyond memory, and this provides an exclusive archive of observations and knowledge about social and ecological patterns and changes in their homeland that is past the reach of what a settler-colonial capitalist society can understand and manipulate on its own.[72] In this way, this long-historical view from the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce makes salient how whiteness projects its own insecurities and fears onto "others."

Time immemorial is a claim that cuts at the genocidal heart of whiteness—like how Coyote cut away at the Monster's heart {e.g., Slickpoo 1972: 201-206}—by attacking the political, moral, and historical justifications of manifest destiny.[73] Fundamentally, the claim of time immemorial suggests that Indigenous People know best how to live in their homeland, for, after all, it takes a great deal of time to develop relationships with the landscape and lifeforms that are robust enough to survive everything from ice ages to genocide. Resentment of Indigenous persistence is often projection about the self-imposed lies and broken promises of manifest destiny and a false sense of white entitlement to the land and resources. The process of whiteness equating Indigenous resource rights with "welfare" and labeling traditional husbandry methods as "savage," for example, signals its own weaknesses and insecurities. It also signals opportunities for the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce, on the one hand, to reassert control over ancestral lands and resources and affect political economy, and for white people, on the other hand, to recalibrate and renew the power source of whiteness.

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[72] In fact, holding certain things in memory and practice and keeping them from being recorded in a Western medium was one key strategy to keeping knowledge alive by hiding it "underground" {Nez Perce Tribe 2003: xi}.

[73] The most common justification for "removing Indians" from their homelands was that they were not making "use" of the land, much less "progress." Progress of the highest order, accordingly, is understood as capitalistic profit making.

Whiteness on the Columbia Plateau[74] was originally institutionalized to control access to and use rights of natural resources for the settler-colonial, capitalist state.[75] Let us think of whiteness as the Heart of the Monster of Capitalism. The Monster of antiquity who sucked all of life into its belly without regard was also in too much of a hurry and too hungry to see or understand the resistance of Coyote who, against all odds, persisted in cutting away the Monster's Heart even after breaking his last flint knife {Slickpoo 1972: 201-7}. In the ancient story, the death of the old world means the birth of a new one, genocides also create and transform social identities (ethnogenesis) as much as they destroy 'other' people. Genocides are a fundamental component of creating "whiteness" and maintaining its use as a social category of power and privilege in racial capitalism (Horne 2020; Mills 2020; Robinson 2000; Weik 2014). However, on the Columbia Plateau and elsewhere around the world, some Indigenous Peoples have circumvented some of the settler-colonial power of whiteness as they continue to exercise distinct access and use rights of natural resources, preventing full achievement of white "manifest destiny." Corroborating post- or anti-colonial observations that "white" people know themselves, in

[74] Of course, Christopher Columbus never did visit this part of the world or any other place of what became known as the United States of America. In earlier chapters I refrained from using the phrase "Columbia Plateau" as much as possible, instead using terms such as the "Southern Plateau," "the Plateau," or the Nez Perce word wé·tes, which means "soil" or "earth" {Aoki 1994: 1235}. However, in this chapter I use the phrase Columbia Plateau/Columbia River Basin interchangeably and to highlight the imposition of whiteness over the landscape.

[75] Cheryl Harris understands whiteness as a "racialized conception of property implemented by force and ratified by law" (Harris 1993: 1715). Thus, "racial formation" (Omi and Winant 2015) is a type of "property formation" that is a "process of becoming that is never complete" (Greer 2018: 19). In other words, "*the same process that makes land into property makes people into proprietors*... To the extent that it plays a part in creating colonial subjects, property formation includes and excludes: it institutes privileges for some white it pushes others to the margins. In a colonial setting, property can be a prime location for the definition of race" (ibid.). This is why Nez Perces were not allowed to get a land allotment without taking a Christian name {Axtell and Aragon 1997; Thomas 1970} [[Coleman 1987; Tonkovich 2012]].

part, by imaging "black" people and "natives"[76] to justify imperial exploits (e.g., Cabral 2016; Césaire 1972; Du Bois 1998; Fanon 2000, 2004; Robinson 2000), I analyze how whiteness is reproduced vis-à-vis the struggle to create, maintain, and destroy territorial claims over resources on the Columbia Plateau.[77] This highlights the chronopolitics (Mills 2020) that operate at global (e.g., cosmologies) and local (e.g., landscapes) levels in a settler-colonial state that relies on Indigenous Peoples for its own political, moral, and historical understandings of itself. The settler-colonial communities of the Columbia Plateau *continue*[78] to rely on the cultural, political, and natural resources maintained by Indigenous People since a time immemorial, as the above quote from the *New York Times* [[1996]] suggests (although the article treats white people needing Indigenous Peoples as an aberration, where my research corroborates the thesis that this need is a central

[76] This process is similar to how empires and city states tended to invent the antithetical categories of civilization and barbarism as a "means of self-congratulation... [that] rationalized aggression" and crystalized a "new sense of identity" (Jones 1971: 377).

[77] Resentment is a central feature and driving force of reproducing whiteness, although most white people, living in cities and largely segregated from Native populations, are likely ambivalent or even apathetic about what happens to Indigenous People [[Erwin 1996; also see Cannell 2010]] (Norgaard 2019). Of course, most Indigenous Peoples in the U.S. also live in or near cities and away from reservations (Urban Indian Health Commission 2015). The situation is qualitatively different on reservations in rural areas where Indigenous People are the largest and most visible minority group who also have special rights (e.g., hunting, fishing, and gathering) not available to any other group {Phinney 2002, 2003} (Snipp 1996). In these struggles over territorial claims, white resentment is most palpable. And while there is also ambivalence and apathy in these situations, they are not the driving emotions of this cycle of whiteness. If anything, the other side of anti-Indigenous resentment seems to be grounded in white greed and selfishness that creates jealousy and suspicion among white folk, much like how Du Bois described World War I as an outcome of the greedy and selfish scramble for Africa (Du Bois 1915). For example, Henry Spalding was a Presbyterian missionary who believed that Catholic and Jesuit missionaries in the same area were evil [[Drury 1958: 110, 345]], while William Craig was all too happy to take advantage of either party so that he could acquire more land and property [[Cannell 2010]]. In fact, after the Whitman murders, Craig took possession of the entire Spalding estate [[ibid.]].

[78] Recall how it was the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce who saved Lewis and Clark and company from starvation, provided them passage, and watched their horses, but only after they decided not to murder these strange new people {Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973; Swayne 2003}. In addition, it is common for a settler-colonial state to rely on the knowledge and experience of Indigenous People to implement and maintain its own political economy (e.g., appropriating trade routes) (Ince 2014; Wolfe 2010).

component of whiteness). *There is opportunity in this weakness of whiteness*, such as chances for the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce to reassert control over social or economic processes after colonial failures become too much to hide (e.g., pollution, climate change, over harvesting, unemployment, etc.), but it also presents the terrifying prospect of an endless, violent cycle of whiteness that needs to recalibrate or renew itself every-so-often to maintain its power (Cox 1945; Lindqvist 1996; Marx 1998; Patterson 2018; Trouillot 2015; Warren 2018).

I make this argument in three stages that apply the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce view of whiteness gleaned from their public memory archive (Appendix A), i.e., whiteness as a reactionary, foreign object that is 1) in a hurry, 2) acts without thinking, and 3) makes a mess. I then end with an example of how this violent cycle sometimes leads to opportunity for the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce to reassert themselves as primary caretakers of the landscape and of their own communities. Allow me to briefly explain these analytical categories, for some may seem counterintuitive. These categories are derived directly from the earliest recorded Nimíipuu/Nez Perce observations of white people at a time of rawness and vulnerability for whiteness and the colonial U.S. that is not typically exposed in standard Western historiography. These early Nimíipuu/Nez Perce descriptions of white explorers, missionaries, soldiers, and other settlers helps us find some of the weak spots in the development and reproduction of pan-Europeanism as a source of power and privilege in capitalism (Estes et al. 2021). This is because the 19th century is when whiteness was just beginning to overtake the Christian Doctrine of Discovery as the primary justification for colonialism and slavery (Horne 2020). Furthermore, when the Nimíipuu encountered the

Americans, it was at a time when the U.S. was still just a small backwater periphery in the global capitalist world-system, especially between 1805 and 1848. The Nimíipuu/Nez Perce were privy to notice these weaknesses because of their own powerful position, not only in their own lifeworld relative to their Indigenous neighbors, but in relation to the newcomers who relied heavily on Indigenous People to gain a foothold in this new colonial frontier. In 1848, the Mexican American War resolved the colonial claims between the former colonies of the Spanish and British empires. After the Civil War, 1861-1865, the U.S. resumed the full force of its colonial pursuits and started its ascension as a semi-peripheral country in the capitalist world-system as it started to consolidate its western colonial claims into semi-autonomous states. The saw 1880s increased industrialization, rising real wages, and population growth from immigration, and the U.S. raised to the level of a competitive core state (Chase-Dunn and Lerro 2014: chapter 15), but not until after the conclusion of the Nez Perce War. The U.S. would remain at this position until World War II where it skyrocketed to hegemony over the capitalist world-system (Chase-Dunn 1989). Nevertheless, the early patterns of white colonial settlers observed by the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce are now institutionalized patterns of whiteness in the capitalist world-system.

When the Nimíipuu found Lewis and Clark, "The old people declared the white men q'uyíiy (full of odor), and said hipeqyíyimne (they were in a hurry)" {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 231, emphasis removed}. The bad odor[79] was likely because of poor hygiene

[79] Yellow Wolf, a veteran of the 1877 War, emphasized to his biographer and friend, Lucius McWhorter, that he "could smell white people, the soldiers, a long distance away" {McWhorter 2020: 163, 29} and that he could distinguish between white people and his people by smell alone {ibid.: 180}. This skill helped keep Yellow Wolf alive and escape detection before, during, and after the 1877 War.

and diet that resulted from being rushed to complete a mission on insufficient rations/equipment while simultaneously not understanding the best ways to travel. The smell also helped confirm the prophecies that strange newcomers were about to bring lots of change, both good and bad {Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973} [[Miller 1985]]. The Prophets said that the newcomers would come from across the eastern ocean, and so it was not surprising when they arrived with blue eyes that were "fish-like" {Pinkham and Evans 2013: 34}. However, Nimíipuu "wondered... if they [white men] were not related to dogs or bears since they had a bad odor and hair on their faces. Later, it would be said that some of the white men's faces appeared *upside down*"[80] {ibid., my emphasis} because some were bald and wore beards. The comparison to bears and dogs is not as insulting as it may seem because Nimíipuu thought of dogs and bears as important and strong animals {e.g., Phinney 1969: 81n1, 180n1, 184n1}. The Nimíipuu word for white people is sooyáapoo, which is a combination of words that mean "across-the-water-people" {ibid.: 29} and "hat wearers" {ibid.: 30}. These descriptions demonstrate a general curiosity of people visibly different[81] produced by more-or-less egalitarian (albeit unequal and hierarchical) social structure {James 1996; Pinkham and Evans 2013; Slickpoo 1973} [[Stern 1998; Walker 1998]] (Ames and Marshall 1980), rather than the fear and contempt

[80] This is an interesting word choice given other Indigenous Peoples have described the death world of capitalism as a world "upside-down" (Estes et al. 2021).

[81] Recall how York also generated a great deal of curiosity among Nimíipuu {Pinkham and Evans 2013}. Betts (2000) describes several scenes of Indigenous People along the Missouri River, on the Plains, and on the Plateau, trying to "rub off" the color from York's skin. Betts says that "it is true a number of tribes were awed by York's singularity, and it is also true he was the main attraction in Lewis and Clark's traveling magic show" (2000: 58). Bets does not say that Lewis and Clark might have encouraged Natives to inspect York, but the number of similar encounters that York has with a variety Indigenous Peoples suggests that this might be the case.

of "others"—not to mention the jealousy and suspicion among those becoming white—produced by the unrelenting exploitation and domination of capitalism and empire building (Du Bois 1915, 1998; Lindqvist 1996; Trouillot 2015).

The Nimíipuu/Nez Perce appear generally unimpressed with how white people seem to always be "in a big hurry" {A. Pinkham and Evans 2013: 49-56, 231-232; also see McWhorter 2020: 38; Walla Walla Treaty Council of 1855: 17, 37, 40, 62-65}. Indeed, their first collective impression of white people was of an ill-equipped U.S. Army recon team who were half-starved, exhausted, unable to hold down generous helpings of local foods of salmon and roots, and uninterested in learning much about Native custom {A. Pinkham and Evans 2013: 49-56, 231-232; Swayne 2003}.Some may have wondered if the party had a death-wish given their impatience drove them and their horses to endure great hardships crossing snow covered mountains—twice! Settler-colonial states place a high premium on speed, and the U.S. sponsored the quick development of whiteness as an institutional mechanism of achieving manifest destiny by making money, saving souls, attaining power, acquiring land, and establishing settlements. This is evidenced by, for example, Lewis and Clark's race to the sea to chart the Louisiana Purchase, a new territorial claim, bought from the French empire and used to compete with the British, Spanish, and Russian empires, but also by the countless state-sponsored *rushes*[82] for gold, silver, and other precious metals, timber, farmland, fish and game, water, missions, wars, dams, etc.

[82] The is also the ambiance or the feelings of a rush, typically described in white public memory with words such as adventurous, thrilling, fun, exciting, lively, dramatic, dangerous, and so on [[e.g., Cannell 2010; Meyer 1999; Mulford 2016]]. Glorification of the frontier rush is everywhere in U.S. public memory. Examples include stories about the *quick draw* in Hollywood movies and television, common reference to big investment opportunities as a "new gold rush"—not to mention sport mascots, such as the San Francisco 49ers (National Football League) or the Denver Nuggets (National Basketball Association),

Haste for white power and privilege creates social situations that encourages action without thought about the consequences of one's behavior for the self and others. Without enough time or clarity to think things through, comes out as impulsive and reactionary. Early observations of white people by the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce caste them as "single minded and a little irritable" {A. Pinkham and Evans 2013: 49} and perhaps a bit "anxious" {ibid.: 51} to accomplish their goals as fast as possible. As the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce describe it, the irritability and anxiety embedded in colonial social structure can turn any "young m[e]n in a hurry" (Richards 2016) [[Cannell 2010]] into mad men who will destroy anything without regard. For example, Yellow Wolf, veteran of the 1877 War, described U.S. Army soldiers slaughtering women and children inside of tepees as having "crazy minds" {McWhorter 2020: 132; also see A. Pinkham 2006: 146}. In other words, the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce view makes salient the irrationality of enlightened, Euro-American rationality.[83] This does not absolve people from accountability because while capitalist, settler-colonial social structure creates much opportunity for people to get "caught up" or "swept away" in the "heat of the moment," most of the white violence that targets Indigenous People is intentional, planned, and often endorsed, if not fully supported, by the state [[e.g., Coonc 1917; Howard 1881; Wells 1970]] {{Harney 1995: 105, 129}}. Indeed, creating chaos in the moment sometimes seems to be strategy, judging from the frequency, for example, of the state in its so-called Indian Wars to sponsor volunteer

which glorify the genocidal gold rushes in California and Colorado, or the San Diego Padres (Major League Baseball) that glorifies the genocidal rush to "save souls" by Spanish friars.

[83] George Ritzer (2015: 132) describes the "irrationality of rationality" as the outcome of "rational systems [that] are unreasonable" because they "deny the humanity" of people and produce the "opposite" of what they promise (e.g., efficiency, safety, predictability, calculability, control, and so on).

militias with reputations for being undisciplined and even more brutal than regular forces [[e.g., Andrews 1934; Cannell 2010; Coonc 1917]] (Richards 2016). In doing so, people seeking to achieve the full privileges of whiteness tend to create not just shortsighted and self-interested visions of the future (think Wall Street, for example [Ho 2009]), but these types of ambitions also produce a type of colonial madness that makes a mess of everything (think climate change and nuclear proliferation [Estes 2019; Harney 1995; Norgaard]).

The use of the word "madness" draws directly from Indigenous oral traditions about cannibalism that historically served to warn people about greed, selfishness, and carelessness. Some Indigenous scholars find the cannibal to be a useful metaphor to understand settler-colonization, genocide, capitalism, and climate change (Forbes 2008; Kimmerer 2015). Like Durkheim's (1897) notion of anomie, the madness of whiteness is induced by a sense of normlessness because

> "the wealthy and exploitative literally consume the lives of those that they exploit... it is a cannibalism accompanied by no spiritually meaningful ceremony or ritual. It is simply raw consumption for profit, carried out often in an ugly and brutal manner. There is no respect for a peon whose life is being eaten... Only self-serving consumption" (Forbes 2008: 34, emphasis removed).

Forbes and Kimmerer talk of the Wetiko or Windigo, or "a human being who has become a cannibal monster. Its bite will transform victims into cannibals too" (Kimmerer 2015: 304). The Windigo is energized, like capitalism, by scarcity and arrives during winter when all are hungry. Most importantly, the Windigo's hunger is understood as a positive feedback loop that creates

> "an increase in Windigo hunger causes an increase in Windigo eating, and that increased eating promotes only more rampant hunger in an eventual *frenzy of uncontrolled consumption*. In the natural as well as the built

> environment, positive feedback leads inexorably to change—sometimes to growth, sometimes to destruction. When growth is unbalanced, however, you can't always tell the difference" (Kimmerer 2015: 305, my emphasis).

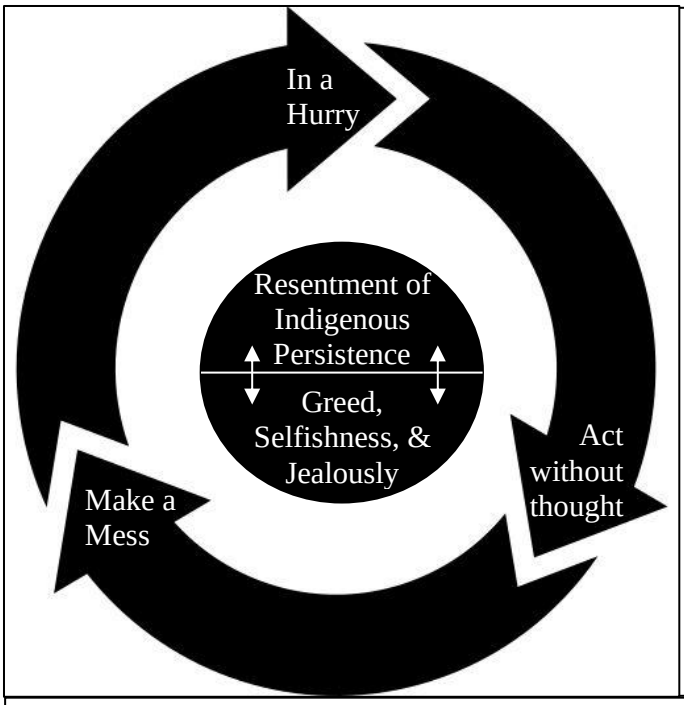
Thus, a driving force of Western imperialism might be described as structural Wetiko or Windigo "psychosis" (Forbes 2008: 49; Kimmerer 2015: 377). The Nimíipuu have their own oral tradition about the cannibal {Aoki and Walker 1989: 551-567; Slickpoo 1972: 191-197} [[Walker and Matthews 1998: 35-39, 185-188]]. And while the Nimíipuu cannibal, known as pá·pspaĺo· {Aoki and Walker 1989: 563} is different than the Windigo in some ways,[84] both are humans transformed into "hideous" cannibal monsters who are now driven by an insatiable appetite that threatens to destroy everyone.

[84] For example, while words such as "evil" or "diabolical" are used to describe the Windigo, the Nimíipuu cannibal, pá·pspaĺo·, is neither. Instead, pá·pspaĺo· is a dangerous monster who was once a husband, father, and the eldest brother to four unmarried brothers. He was also a hunter who, on his last hunt, killed a deer but was not careful when field dressing the deer because he cut his hand, smeared blood on the meat, and accidentally ate his own blood. Perhaps he was in a hurry? No matter, for after eating his own blood he became overtaken by hunger and a desire for the "best tasting meat." He then ate his own flesh all the way to the bone, leaving only a beating heart and an "ugly" skeleton. (The Windigo is also described as an ugly, hideous creature with antlers, unlike pá·pspaĺo· who becomes a re-animated human skeleton). Uninterested in the freshly killed deer, the cannibal left the corpse to rot in search of tastier human flesh. The cannibal then lured his four brothers to a canyon, one by one, where he then lassoed them with his own intestines. The cannibal then killed and consumed his brothers, piling their bones together in a corner. However, the youngest brother listened to the wisdom of his ancestors and escaped the cannibal's trap by securing flint knives to his legs and cutting the intestine lasso. By escaping, however, the cannibal was forced out of his canyon and pá·pspaĺo· began to hunt humans. It is here where Coyote shows the people how to defeat the cannibal by using his appetite against him and placing a trap at the edge of a cliff where cannibal, distracted by the prospect of a tasty meal, is pushed off a cliff somewhere between Kamiah and Kooskia, Idaho {Aoki and Walker 1989: 551-567; Slickpoo 1972: 191-197} [[Walker and Matthews 1998: 35-39, 185-188]]. The Windigo, by contrast, is almost impossible to defeat and transforms others into Windigo through biting them. Kimmerer reveals, however, that the Windigo can be defeated in summer, i.e., when there is plenty and the Windigo is weak. What connects the two oral traditions, however, is the idea of a cycle fueled by an insatiable appetite that drives these cannibals to madness *by destroying what they need to survive and often what they once loved* (Forbes 2008; Kimmerer 2015) {Slickpoo 1972: 191}. For the cycle of whiteness on the Columbia Plateau, both resentment and jealously are prominent features and they complement each other in the sense that both emotions, especially when social structure encourages greed and selfishness, can drive people mad like the Windigo (Forbes 2008; Kimmerer 2015) or some other kind of cannibal {Slickpoo 1972}. Likewise, these emotions feed each other because anything that the "other" has is equated as a loss for the self, and so goes the positive feedback loop of the Windigo and the cannibal that lays waste to everything.

Thoughtless action tends to make a mess of social and ecological relationships, causing and compounding social problems, such as pollution, violence, and exploitation. In this sense, whiteness is an indiscriminate force that will destroy the things that it needs to survive, such as diverse flora and fauna, clean air, water, and soil, healthy families, and so on (Deloria 1969, 1972; Estes 2019; Harney 1995; Norgaard 2019). Recall Archie Phinney's critique of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act and the U.S. government's plan to "bring [Indigenous Peoples] up to 'the level equal to that of the average rural white family,'" while most white and Black

> "citizens... [exist] under inhuman conditions of misery and poverty... [with] no special attention because they are unemployed proletarians and impoverished tenants and farmers—i.e., active components of capitalist society who are supposed to work out their own salvations individually—to live or die by their own efforts" {Phinney 2002 [1937]: 40}

In other words, the "'*average rural white family' is itself in need of a strong dose of 'rehabilitation'*" {Phinney 2002: 41, my emphasis}. More than that, "the white man's way could mean self-destruction" {Slickpoo 1973: 284; also see Feathers 1970}. Many small towns and cities of the Columbia Plateau created by the initial white rushes for gold, timber, farmland, and so on, now describe themselves as "dying" because they are no longer able to support themselves on one or a few extractive industries [[New York Times 1996]] (Brown and Swanson 2003; Force, Machlis and Zhang 2000; Machlis, Force, and Balice 1990). This prompts a new white rush for solutions as whiteness recalibrates itself to maintain power and privilege as the broken promises of manifest destiny become more obvious to more people, and so the cycle continues (Figure 6.1).



In a hurry to get to the sea, save souls, make money, acquire land, attain power, and other ways to achieve whiteness through manifest destiny. Examples include but are not limited to any *rush* for furs, gold and other minerals, timber, fish, farmland, war, missions, and dams.

Haste for white power and privilege creates social structures and situations that promote **action without thought**.

Thoughtless action tends to **make a mess** of social and ecological relationships that cause and compound social problems, such as pollution, violence, and exploitation. At this stage, whiteness must recalibrate itself to maintain its power and privilege, prompting a new white rush for solutions. It also presents opportunity for Indigenous People to use their persistence in their ancestral homeland to their strategic advantage and reassert some level of control over natural resources.

Resentment of Indigenous persistence holds together and propels a reactionary cycle of pan-Europeanism predicated on the empty promises of manifest destiny to eliminate Indigenous People and make progress with their land and resources. Whiteness is consistently resentful towards "the Indians" who refuse to go away or adopt the "white man's ways," but the resentment is projection for the failures of "civilization." Resentment is also grounded in the greed and selfishness produced by racial capitalism that creates jealousy and suspicion among those working to become or remain white. This cycle works at global, local, and interpersonal levels, where the process is typically slower at larger levels and speeds up as you scale down.

Figure 6.1: Cycle of Whiteness & Resentment of Indigenous Persistence

White civilization making a mess of everything sometimes presents opportunities for the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce to reassert themselves as agents of social change in not just their ancestral homeland, but in world history. Nimíipuu/Nez Perce are most effective at reminding people that they have been adapting to social and ecological change in this place "since a time immemorial," and thus understand how to survive. In other words, they take the opportunity to reassert themselves as agents of social change in not just their ancestral homeland, but in world history. And while these opportunities always run the risk of white

appropriation, for example, with "federally-funded grant programs that have created a dependence on state or federal funding agencies" {Holt 2013a: ¶18},

> "An Indigenous presence on ancestral homelands not only states a reclaiming of rights, it also reminds white settlers of the Indigenous values and our belief systems in why we believe in our roles and responsibilities as caretakers of the lands of our ancestors. Our ancestral homelands are indeed worth the good fight" {ibid.: ¶4}.

In other words, Indigenous "existence is resistance" (Tosold 2021, drawing from Fanon; also see Estes et al. 2021; Norgaard 2019), and the more Indigenous People back from the settler-colonial state, the greater the chances for disrupting the violent cycles of whiteness and capitalist exploitation. Moreover, the longer climate change[85] progresses, the less likely these settler-colonial communities will be able to save themselves short of massive social change.

I now move to reconstruct a brief historical sketch of white territorial claims-making on the Columbia Plateau by using the cycle of pan-Europeanism as described by the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce to organize my findings. Of particular interest is how "chronopolitics is directly linked to geopolitics" (Mills 2020: 301) as the settler-colonial U.S. state institutionalized whiteness as the dominant method of claims-making by casting itself and Indigenous Peoples as "timeless,"[86] but for opposite reasons (Wolf 2010). And

[85] Climate change is understood as a settler-colonial capitalist mess of the highest order that Indigenous Peoples in the western hemisphere have been fighting for over 500 years (Deloria 1972; Estes 2019; Estes et al. 2020; Harney 1995; Koch et al. 2019; Norgaard 2019).

[86] The ethnogenesis of whiteness, i.e., pan-Europeanism (Greer 2018; Harris 1993; Horne 2020; Mills 2020; Robinson 2000 [1983]; Weik 2014), in the U.S. is predicated, in part, on replacing those it considers "without history" (Estes 2019; Norgaard 2019; D. Rodríguez 2015; Wolf 2010; Wolfe 2006, 2010). To be without history is to be without time, or at least the ability to perceive it "correctly" and manipulate it for group or individual advantage (recall how Hawking [2017] discuss the "ridiculous" story of "it's turtles all the way down" to introduce readers to the physical study of "space-time"). At the same time, the carriers of history, as Western civilization claims to be, impose a dialectic of timelessness where the spread of

while the ethnogenesis of whiteness necessarily includes its own internal competitions[87] over its global origin story (e.g., is the progress of civilization a product of God or science? [Hawking 2017: chapter 1; Mills 2016, 2020; Zerubavel 1998]) to justify its territorial claims-making at local levels, it is confronted at every turn by the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce who have been here since a "time immemorial."

The Rush of Pan-Europeanism & the New Struggle to Control Natural Resources

Speed is of the essence in a colonial-settler society and is a subtheme in many publications about white/Nez Perce interactions. Lin Cannell's biography of William Craig, for example, often describes the speed of colonial travelers and the problems that arise when information, supplies, or people do not travel fast enough [[Cannell 2010: 95-6, 120-1]]. This is especially true after gold was discovered in 1860 and a "flood" of white settlers invaded lands that the 1855 Treaty had made off limits to white people. The general excuse that settlers gave, for example, for not upholding the 1855 Treaty was because there were too many settlers coming too fast to seek a fortune. The historical pattern suggests that the U.S. never intended to honor any treaty that it signed with Indigenous People (Deloria 1969; Estes 2019; Norgaard 2019) because the goal was always to take control of all the land by stealing it from "the Indians." Speed is also part of the justification for land theft and genocide, for speed is a clear indication of progress and civilization (Bauman

civilized social systems, and thus the destruction of anything "pre-Columbian," are inevitable outcomes of the so-called "end of history" (Fukuyama 1992).

[87] See Steinmetz (2008) for an example of how internal conflict within colonial administrations can lead to a variety of decisions and outcomes.

2000). Thus, white resentment appears in some cases as the need for speed and to remove Native impediments to making fast progress.

The most salient feature of the ethnogenesis of pan-Europeanism on the Columbia Plateau is the inherent resentment towards Indigenous persistence that propels a cycle of violence. This resentment is more subtle at times than others, but it is a general feature of whiteness. For example, any description of Indigenous Peoples as "savage," "heathen," "wild," and so forth indicates a distain for anything that is not "white" or "civilized," as we see with just one of General Oliver Otis Howard's[88] justifications for the genocidal campaign of 1877:

> "... Joseph and his band, and his 'non-treaty' confederates, were then still *clinging to the old habits and haunts*, and pasturing their numerous ponies... while the *white men were crowding... and erecting their white cottages*, and *stretching out their crooked fences in plain sight of the wandering Indian herders*.
>
> ... I do not think the real cause of the [1877] Indian war with the 'non-treaties' came from the reduction of the reserve [in 1863], nor from the immediate contact with immigrants, and the quarrels that sprung therefrom. These, without doubt, aggravated the difficulty.
>
> *The main cause lies back of ideas of rightful ownership, back of savage habits and instincts; it lies in the natural and persistent resistance of independent nations to the authority of other nations*. Indian Joseph and his malcontents denied the jurisdiction of the United States over them. *They were offered everything they wanted*, if they would simply submit to the

[88] General Oliver Otis Howard was a Yankee general in the Civil War who afterwards recruited emancipated Black men into the Army as "buffalo soldiers" for the so-called "Indian Wars" that gripped the U.S. western frontier for the next 25 years. Howard was a central figure in, among others, the genocidal campaign of 1877 against the Nez Perce [[Howard 1881]]. The famous HBCU, Howard University, is named after General O. O. Howard. There were no buffalo soldiers in the 1877 campaign against the Nez Perce. General William Tecumseh Sherman, another Yankee general who also led buffalo soldiers in the Indian Wars, oversaw the exile of those captured Nez Perce in the Indian Territory of Oklahoma, breaking the terms of the surrender and killing more than died in battle through neglect {Bull 1987}. Howard led the right wing of Sherman's March to the Sea in 1864 (Strong 2004). The Indian Wars were one way the U.S. reconciled differences between northern and southern white people in the aftermath of the Civil War and Reconstruction: both could unite in killing Indians out west (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014). In addition, the post-Civil War U.S. military was viewed by many, white and Black alike, as a means of achieving some level of upward mobility.

> authority and government of the United States agents. 'No! no! no! We will go where we please! Who gave Washington rule over me?' asked the growler of growlers, old Too-hul-hul-soote [sic], Joseph's most influential confederate" [[Howard 1881: 30, my emphasis]].

Too-Hool-Hool-Zote is the medicine man that Howard arrested in 1877 that sparked the war. Here we see Howard grapple with an original American question: why do "the Indians" refuse to adopt the "white man's ways" and "his authority"? Howard appears baffled that Joseph and his people do not want "white cottages" and "crooked fences," but instead cling to their "old habits and haunts." This confusion is a form of ethnocentric resentment where there is no room to consider ways of life that do not conform to a mode of life of the white, male, Christian, capitalist. This is what he means by "they were offered everything they wanted," for "Few [whites] supposed that a great many Indians might have good reason for not wanting to take on white ways" [[Wells 1970: 196]]. Howard typically explains away his confusion with Christian tropes of good and evil, civilization and savagery, and so on, but always with an eye on the land and the potential it has for capitalist development. Howard, after all, did have "the reputation of being a Christian soldier" [[Carpenter 1958: 129]]. Howard claimed, "When the Pacific railroads shall be completed, the Camas Prairie will not be despised. These wicked Indians have loved these broad acres, which they have not been wise enough to cultivate" [[Howard 1881: 136]]. The Nimíipuu/Nez Perce and many of their neighbors did cultivate the landscape, just not in ways that most colonial-settlers would recognize, much less consider, legitimate or useful {Landeen and A. Pinkham 1999; A. Pinkham and Evans 2013} [[Marshall 1999]]. Notice the following critique that Too-Hool-Hool-Zote, just before his arrest, gives to Howard's view as he points out that their laws are older than memory and, because of this, they will

remain. Also notice Howard's impatience at the slowing of progress and Too-Hool-Hool-Zote's refusal to capitulate.

> "He [Too-Hool-Hool-Zote] was answered [by Howard]: 'We do not wish to interfere with your religion, but you must talk about practicable things. Twenty times over you repeat that the earth is your mother, and about chieftainship from the earth. *Let us hear it no more, but come to business at once*.'
>
> The old man replied, in a very insolent tone: '*What the treaty Indians talk about was born of to-day! It isn't true law at all.* You white people get together, measure the earth, and then divide it; so I want you to talk directly what YOU mean!' The agent says very pleasantly: 'The law is, you must come to the reservation; the law is made in Washington. We don't make it.'
>
> To other similar remarks to old Dreamer replied fiercely: 'We never have made any trade. Part of the Indians gave up their land. I never did. *The earth is part of my body, and I never gave up the earth*'" [[Howard 1881: 64-5, my emphasis]].

Plateau Peoples have a long history of pointing out the haste of whiteness and that the true law of the land is the land itself that has been occupied by the People since a time immemorial. In a way that seems to remember the haste of Lewis and Clark, Young Chief of the Cayuse (close allies of the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce), once said during the 1855 Treaty negotiations in Walla Walla that, "We have nothing to say today; ... when we are done talking you will know our hearts. *We will talk slow not all in one day*. *No snow falls at this season of year. There will be time for you to go anywhere you wish*" {Walla Walla Treaty Council 1855: 17, my emphasis}.

About fifty years prior to the Walla Walla Treaty Council, Lewis and Clark were advised to wait for the salmon to return to the Clearwater River before attempting to trek over the Bitterroot Mountains. And while Lewis and Clark tried to wait and "they became anxious to leave and could not wait for the salmon's arrival" {A. Pinkham and Evans 2013: 231}. More importantly, "Their impatience revealed an unwillingness to embrace the

power or validity of salmon's mystery, and their disregard of knowledgeable tribal leaders... They might have listened and made it easier on themselves and their horses" {ibid.}. So, not only is whiteness impatient, but it also has a hard time learning from its mistakes, for not one year prior the Corps was forced to eat one of their horses to avoid starvation and recover from a brutal trip over the snow-covered Bitterroots {A. Pinkham and Evans 2013: 50}.

By 1877, the U.S. was done waiting for progress and ready to force the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce off most of their ancestral homeland through genocidal warfare. However, the haste of the Army led the loss of "a third of its men without killing a single Nez Percé" [[Erwin 1996: 497]] in the first battle at White Bird. At the battle of Cottonwood, the Army lost 11 soldiers and 6 white volunteers were killed while only one Nez Perce was killed and another wounded {Slickpoo 1973}. The rest of the war includes scenes, for example, of the Army and its volunteers rushing around the landscape only to get caught in non-advantageous positions, with their heavy artillery stuck in the mud {McWhorter 2020, 1952; Slickpoo 1973}. All of this foreshadowed the nervousness of General O. O. Howard, who noted that any "*restoration to the aboriginal character* [of the Wallowa Valley, i.e., Chief Joseph's homeland], *would give a serious check to frontier civilization*" [[Howard 1881: 27, my emphasis]]. Howard's anxiety was accurate, for the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho has been returning to the Wallowa Valley and other ancient homelands from which their ancestors were expelled. This trend picked up in the 1980s, but especially since the 1990s, as I discuss in the last section of this chapter, and as the opening quote from the New York Times [[1996]] foreshadowed. In the meantime,

Howard's rhetoric also targets those who may wish to achieve the manifest destiny of whiteness.[89] Take, for example, when Howard compares the 1877 "Indian war" with smashing the "evil" elements of the old European world, such as the Celts and the Highlanders, so that progress may be made in the new world:

> "But the rule is as fixed as the stars, that the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generations of the men who hate God.
>
> Smart as these [Indian] youths were, their tendency to evil... was undoubtedly inherited. While we abhor their crimes, and shudder at the horrid outrages which their people, as bad as the barbarous Celts, have committed, we nevertheless admire their wild courage, and cannot help wondering at their native ability. With them, as with the Highland leaders when the madness was on them, it meant war. It was hate and destruction in every form" [[Howard 1881: 15]].

Not all colonial-settlers were as dismissive or ignorant of the usefulness and legitimacy of Indigenous lifeways on the Plateau. Notwithstanding their arrogance and racism that downplayed the importance of Indigenous help, Lewis and Clark and company were certainly grateful to receive food, shelter, equipment, guidance, and other assistance from the Nimíipuu. More notable, however, are the fur trappers who began to arrive shortly after Lewis and Clark. William Craig (1807-1869), for example, was a fur trapper and described as a "rather typical Scotch-Irish" [[Cannell 2010: 19]] in the sense that, "In North America, the Scotch-Irish were perceived as scrappy, tough, and often the ones leading white settlement westward. They frequently saw the American Indians as a people to be wiped out or shoved aside so newcomers could settle land" [[Cannell 2010: 18]] (also see

[89] If whiteness is a source of power and privilege, then it must be exclusive (Harris 1993). Therefore, ideal types are created and compete for supremacy to determine the hegemonic model of whiteness. In the 19th century Columbia Plateau, the main competitions of whiteness revolved around religion, capitalism, and the armed forces.

Dunbar-Ortiz 2014 and Lindqvist 1996). Craig also married and raised children with a Nez Perce woman named Pahtissah, or Isabel, who was the “daughter of Thunder’s Eye, [a] Nez Perce medicine man and village headman from Lapwai Valley” [[ibid.: 15]]. Furthermore,

> "The fact that Craig and other trappers adopted the 'manifest destiny' mindset of the American majority puzzled me: most of the mountain men had loved the Indian way of life so much that they copied it, and title to western lands was recognized by the United States as lawfully vesting in the Indian tribes. Craig was able to build a successful life with his Nez Perce family and friends on their ancestral lands, and *yet at first opportunity he assisted his government in its plans to take that land from them*" [[Cannell 2010: 13, my emphasis]].

It seems to me that Craig, like many other trappers, who were the “pathfinders” of the frontier [[Erwin 1996]], were strategic in the sense that they knew they could not overpower any Indigenous group until conditions were just right. In the meantime, they made alliances and waited for the eventual haste and chaos of settler-colonialism to overwhelm the Plateau. In fact, while Craig was Scotch-Irish, he tended to act more like a French fur trapper in the sense that he settled down and had children with an important Indigenous woman. Most of his contemporaries, on the other hand, abandoned their new “wives” and children without second thought on some rush for gold or land elsewhere [[Cannell 2010; Wyeth 2017]]. Nevertheless, Craig was absolutely an opportunist looking to stake his own claims. For example, During the Yakima War (1855-1858), "William Craig bought from Indians two horses that had been 'taken up as strays,' paid $20 each for them, and sold them to the U.S. government for $125. Craig's transaction was typical of those fueling [the idea] that the Oregon settlers started the war for speculation" [[Cannell 2010: 118]]. After the Yakima War, the gold rush began and newspapers in Oregon and

Washington Territory released advertisements for “open Indian land.” The gold rush may have ended in a bust, but colonial-settlements started to sprout all over the Plateau in a rush to capitalize on whatever resources were available.

The conclusion of the 1877 War was the full institutionalization of whiteness as the legitimate claim to land. This was enforced by the Daws Act and allotment policies that made it impossible for Nez Perces to own property unless they took on a “Christian name” and used the land for farming or grazing, i.e., not for traditional husbandry practices {Axtell 1997: 2} [[Gay 1981; Tonkovich 2012]]. But here too, the haste of state sponsored missionary-ethnographer Alice Fletcher and her assistant, Elaine Gay, led to a variety of opportunities for the Nez Perce to circumvent these racist/genocidal policies and regain control of certain strategic tracts of land by telling these U.S. agents what they knew they wanted to hear [[Tonkovich 2012, 2014]]. However, allotment did devastate the territorial claims-making process of Nimíipuu/Nez Perces on their own reservation and by the time Fletcher and company left, the Nez Perce only owned about 15% of the land within their reservation. Today, the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho owns about 12% of the land within their reservation {Nez Perce Tribe 2020}.

It is after the war and allotment where we find the largest and most devastating rushes. In fact, white settlers were going so fast that they seemed to be acting without thinking, gobbling up all available resources, polluting the environment, and creating a series of resource-dependent towns that would become increasingly vulnerable to national and global capitalistic forces [[New York Times 1996]] (Brown and Swanson 2003; Force, Machlis and Zhang 2000; Machlis, Force, and Balice 1990). Nonetheless, the Nez Perce

never relinquished their rights to their "usual and accustomed grounds" for hunting and fishing {Walla Walla Treaty Council of 1855}, so as the white rushes for power and resources continued into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, there was always resistance from the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce who have "been here since a time immemorial."

The Thoughtless Actions of Whiteness

Haste for white power and privilege creates social situations that encourages action without thought about the consequences of one's behavior for the self and others. Without enough time to think things through, actions can become impulsive, reactionary, neglectful, and destructive. Early observations of white people by the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce caste whiteness as "single minded and a little irritable" {A. Pinkham and Evans 2013: 49} and perhaps a bit "anxious" {ibid.: 51} to accomplish their goals as fast as possible. There is a pattern of people getting "caught up" or "swept away in the moment" in their rush to manifest destiny {e.g., Conner and Lang 2006; McWhorter 1952, 2020; A. Pinkham 2006}. For example, while camping with the Nimíipuu, Lewis traded some "cheap" ribbons and other small items in exchange for a dog to eat. Instead of leaving "with the puppy... he killed the puppy and put it over the coals in a pot... [in front of] a little girl [who] got upset because she saw her playmate being devoured. Another relative, a young man disgusted with dog eating, took up [the little girl's] cause and threw another [dog] directly at Lewis" {A. Pinkham and Evans 2013: 125}. This was so upsetting to Lewis that he wrote in his journal that "I caught the puppy and threw it with great violence [back] at him and struck

him in the breast and face, seized my tommahawk and shewed him by signs if he repeated his insolence I would tommahawk him" {ibid.: 124}. This incident is said "to have left a 'bad taste'" with both parties, and "One wonders what Lewis was thinking. Perhaps he was incensed that he was being treated as if he were an uncivilized dog-eater by someone he regarded as a mere 'savage'" {ibid.: 125}. How Lewis reacted suggests resentment and a projection about the self-imposed hardships of the mission. The expedition was under-resourced with orders from Thomas Jefferson to hurry back with details about how to get to the Pacific Ocean. Hunger, irritability, and illness were commonplace. Lewis and Clark are still remembered as meek and mild compared with those who would soon follow, the fur trappers, missionaries, farmers, miners, loggers, soldiers, outlaws, squatters, land speculators, and others.

This idea that white settlers act without thought is expressed in some way by multiple parties. For example, Cannell [[2010]] takes note of a speech by a Catholic Cayuse, Theentheenmeetsa, said during the 1855 Walla Walla Treaty negotiations that, "'We are never the beginners in doing wrong to the whites. All Indians here understood well what has been said. When your "white children come into this country *they do things at random*'" [[Cannell 2010: 92, my emphasis]]. Just after these proceedings, some Nez Perces and William Craig escorted Isaac Stevens to the Plains to help broker a peace treaty with the Blackfeet and others. Stevens had been waiting impatiently on supplies to come along the Missouri River to start the proceedings. Stevens decided to move camp to the ships and as soon as they unloaded the supplies, Stevens gave liquor to his men, "and for days the fort [Ft. Benton] was the scene of 'fighting, cursing, and general uproar.'

Cummings accused Stevens of irresponsible behavior, but Stevens said that his men had been 'engaged in continuous, arduous duty since April [it was now August] and deserved an opportunity to let off steam'" [[ibid.: 96]]. This kind of behavior arises from settler-colonial social structure that predicated on mass scale manipulation and replacement and it can drive some into madness (Forbes 2008; Kimmerer 2015; Wolf 2006). There are many ways that one is driven to madness in a colonial-capitalist society, but the rush for progress combined with resentment of Indigenous persistence are consistent features. This is true for both the foes and "friends of the Indian."

Consider, for example, the trope of the "vanishing Indian" (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014; Estes 2019; Estes et al. 2020; Norgaard 2019). Resentment can arise in those who explicitly want "the Indians" gone when they do not leave—creating a rush to eliminate them by any means necessary, hence the tendency of soldiers and volunteers to start targeting women, children, and elders after their initial attempts to clear out Natives from their homes are frustrated by resistance. For example, the Walla Walla leader, Peo-peo-mox-mox, or Yellow Bird, once commented on the hurriedness of white people to push a treaty, saying that "*We require time to think, quietly, slowly*... I had but a little bit to say, that is all. I do not wish you to reply today, think over what I have said" {Walla Walla Treaty Council 1855: 40, my emphasis}. The settler-colonial state had little patience for Peo-peo-mox-mox and others who stalled white progress. When the treaty negotiations concluded the Yakima War broke out and Oregon volunteers hunted down Peo-peo-mox-mox, mutilated him, and made souvenirs and tools out of his body [[Coonc 1917]]. Yellow Wolf, veteran of the 1877 War, described part of the battle at Bear's Paw, Montana, this way:

> "...we came back from driving the soldiers to the hill to find part of our village in ruins. This tepee here was standing and silent. Inside we found the two women lying in their blankets dead. Both had been shot. The mother had her newborn baby in her arms. Its head was smashed, as by a gun breech or boot heel. The mother had two other children, both killed, in another tepee. *Some soldiers acted with crazy minds*" {McWhorter 2020: 132, my emphasis}.

Friends of Indigenous People, on the other hand, can develop resentment because Indigenous People are supposedly vanishing, and this creates a rush to collect data about Indigenous People for the sake of history and science. For example, Virgil Lucius McWhorter (1860-1944), who wrote some of the most important books on Nez Perce history and the War of 1877 {McWhorter 1952, 2020}. "According to Nez Perce Tribe member and park ranger/cultural interpreter, Diane Mallikan, during her youth the only books the Nez Perce would read of their history were *Yellow Wolf, His Own Story* [1940] and *Hear Me My Chiefs!* [1952] by McWhorter" [[Evans 2017: xiii]]. McWhorter was also officially adopted into the Yakama Tribe for pamphlets "he published on behalf of Yakama Rights... *The Crime Against the Yakimas* (1913), *The Continued Crime Against the Yakima* (1916), [and] *The Discards* (1920)" [[ibid.: xi]]. McWhorter is, therefore, a central source in this dissertation.

Nonetheless, at one time, McWhorter found himself in a rush to learn where an Indian Agent, Andrew J. Bolon, was murdered {{McWhorter 1968}}. McWhorter considered this information important because it is an incident that the settler-state used to justify the start the Yakima War. He was also generally interested in Native points of view about history. No white person knew where Bolon was killed and those who witnessed or committed this murder were understandably terrified of sharing this information with

anyone for fear of retribution. McWhorter eventually convinced Sul-el-lil, aka Yakima George, to show him the spot of what McWhorter described as "one of the most savage murders in Northwest frontier history"[90] {{ibid.: 1}}. Unfortunately, McWhorter killed his informant, Yakima George, by neglect and haste to find the place where Bolon was murdered.

Sul-el-lil did survive the initial trip, he was old (about 85-years-old) and became sick. Yakama George never recovered and he died in less than one year. McWhorter himself describes the trip to find the death spot of Bolon as "one of hardships and peril, of cold, hunger, and extreme fatigue, and desperate groping through a raging snowstorm. From the experience Sul-el-lil did not recover; he died the following year" {{ibid.: 2}}. McWhorter recounts an interaction between William Charley, son-in-law of Sul-el-lil, and himself:

> "You [McWhorter, said William Charley,] are the first man ever to come into these mountains at this time of year. All the Indians know the danger and stay away. *You took all this chance with death just to know where on man was killed who came into the Indian country looking for trouble.* You had no business bringing us on such a dangerous trip. If we die out here, if we do not get back home, it will be your fault. Su-el-lil [aka, Yakima George] said he wanted to go last July, but you did not seem to think it a good time.'"

McWhorter then explained that Su-el-lil did talk with him about it at a

> "Fourth of July Indian gathering at Thap-pahn-ish, but we wanted you as interpreter, and you were not there. I did not know the danger of going at this time of year, but you did. Why were you silent? Why did you not refuse to go?'

[90] This is a categorically false statement, as the "most savage" kinds of murder on the frontier were undoubtably those committed against Indigenous People, especially unarmed women, children, and elders.

> *His reply was a hark back to the primitive Indians concept of his word of honor*. 'We had promised you to go!'" {{McWhorter 1968 [1917]: 39, my emphasis}}.

McWhorter uses the word "primitive" four times in this 45-page pamphlet to describe Medicine man and Dreamer Su-el-lil. McWhorter also appears on the defensive, and thus resentful, in the entire document. For example, consider one scene of hardship:

> "William [Charley] prepared to use the great pine as a back wall for our fire. *Always a worshiper of trees, I mildly suggested that the pine be spared, but such sentiment was overruled*. William's contention that the lives of 'three Injuns' should not be risked for the sake of a solitary tree in that great forest prevailed, an" soon cheery flames were roaring against the upper side of it" {{ibid.: 38, my emphasis}}.

The nerve of McWhorter to suggest sparing a tree from a fire wall that would help keep the heat in and the fire going—when he did not bring enough food or other supplies for the trip— suggests a great deal of resentment for being in this precarious position. He blames William and George for the troubles of the trip although he was repeatedly warned by others not to go and that to do so would be cruel to the horses. Several horses died on the trip, and the party nearly dies a couple of times. Evans [[2017]] biography of McWhorter and analysis of his archival legacy mentions the stress McWhorter was experiencing with the recent death of his wife and others close to him during this time, and he mention that his children were "disgusted" with him for taking such risks but does not say that Su-el-lil died because of the trip [[Evans 2017: 51, 57]].

Other kinds of actions considered thoughtless include the massive industrial projects of the Columbia Plateau developed in the madness of war, including the Manhattan Project's Hanford Nuclear Site on the Columbia River and the various dams constructed along the Columbia, Snake, and Clearwater Rivers. Many of these dams were constructed

in haste and with a justification of Cold War "national security" {Landeen and A. Pinkham 1999} and so there was, apparently, no time to think about the devastating effects that these projects might have on the natural and social environments. Here the story of the Nimíipuu cannibal, pá·pspaĺo·, is instructive, because the cannibal eats himself first, leaving behind only an "ugly" skeleton and a beating heart inside the ribcage. At first, he can lure victims—his own younger brothers—into his canyon but, after the youngest brother escapes, the cannibal is forced out and threatens to kill everyone. At first the People try to run away, but they realize that running and hiding from the problem is only a temporary solution and, sooner-or-later, the cannibal will come to satisfy his hunger. Thus, the People must work together, and they devise a plan to push the cannibal off the cliff and "scattered his bones on the rocks below... People used to live up there on the land between Kamiah and Kooskia, Idaho. From *Ne-kis-sa* there is a cliff where the Crane kicked the cannibal down. You can still see it there. It is near Kamiah, Idaho" {Slickpoo 1972: 197; also see Aoki and Walker 1989: 551-567} [[also see Walker and Matthews 1998: 35-39, 185-189]] (compare with the Windigo in Forbes 2008; Kimmerer 2015). In this light, we can see that sometimes whiteness acts like a mad cannibal that can only act on futile attempts to satisfy and unsatisfiable hunger. We can call this hunger greed and selfishness, and these things are only intensified when they are rushed. This creates an unsustainable "positive feedback loop" (Kimmerer 2015: 305) that threatens to destroy everyone. I now turn to these consequences and how whiteness responds to its own mess making.

Making a Mess of Everything

Rushes to achieve whiteness through manifest destiny promotes thoughtless action that tends to make a mess of social and ecological relationships, causing and compounding social problems, such as pollution, violence, and exploitation. Whiteness tends to destroy the things that it needs to survive, such as diverse flora and fauna, clean air, water, and soil, healthy families, and so on. For example, most dams in the area are driving salmon to extinction or near extinction because dams were built without fish ladders and dams tend to make river temperatures warmer {Landeen and A. Pinkham 1999; Nez Perce Tribe 2003}. Likewise, the Hanford Site is still poisoning the ecosystem with nuclear waste because of poor waste management infrastructure and planning {ibid.} (Hanford Challenge 2021). In 1943, the Hanford Nuclear Site was established along the Columbia River in Washington as part of the Manhattan Project, producing the plutonium that would ultimately fuel the bomb dropped on Nagasaki,[91] Japan, plus tens of thousands more weapons stockpiled across the country {Landeen and Pinkham 1999: 34}. Today, the Hanford Site is the world's largest and most expensive environmental cleanup project, with hundreds of billions of US dollars spent and *thousands* of years of cleaning to go {ibid.} (Hanford Challenge 2021). The Department of Energy (DOE) has been forced by the various Plateau Tribes and others to pay out millions of dollars to the tribes for waste management, wildlife, and ecosystem restoration, as well as economic and cultural

[91] Horace Axtell would see the destruction of that very bomb while in the Army {Axtell and Aragon 1997: 144-147}.

development. In 1992 the DOE started funding the Nez Perce Tribe Environmental Restoration and Waste Management Program (ERWM) to participate in the oversight of Hanford cleanup and restoration {Nez Perce Tribe 2003: 100}. In fact, it is this source of funding that made possible the tribal monthly newspaper *Tots Tatoken* (1993-1997)[92] and the book *Treaties: Nez Perce Perspectives* {2003}.

Industrial agriculture, mining, and forestry in the area also have histories of destroying entire ecosystems. In many cases these industries devastate the environment to the point of undercutting their own prominence (Brown and Swanson 2003; Force, Machlis and Zhang 2000; Machlis, Force, and Balice 1990). This is especially true in areas where Nez Perces have explicit control over certain tracks of land after allotment eliminated most Indigenous land tenure. As Nez Perce scholar Archie Phinney observed in 1937:

> "*White men exploited the territory with a vengeance*. Pasturelands were overgrazed, forests were clear-cut by lumber companies with no thought of reforestation, agricultural lands were wastefully farmed out, particularly [allotted] Indian lands, for the leaseholder had no interest in maintaining the fertility of, or building up, the soil of lands that were his only temporarily. Lack of fertilization and proper summer fallowing soon decreased the productivity of farmlands and resulted in the decreased rental value of Indian lands. On the other hand, the cycles of depression of a capitalistic economy brought hard times for the white farmers. This meant that in some years the Indians received irregular and diminished payments of lease money or they could not rent their lands at all" {Phinney 2002: 26, my emphasis}.

Of course, environmental degradation goes beyond the borders of any reservation or homeland and today the mess is everywhere. As Jeremy FiveCrows, the

[92] A mostly complete record of *Tots Tatoken* is held in the archives of the Nez Perce National Historical Park Visitor Center outside of Lapwai, ID. I do not include this important Tribal newspaper because it is only accessible in the archive (see chapter 2 discussion about data and methods). However, my data include some writings from the once editor of *Tota Tatoken*, Jeremy FiveCrows {various dates}.

Communications Director of the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission (CRITFC), said:

> "Currently the oceans are not well, yet humans continue to dishonor and disrespect them. The oceans are overfished and even the deepest parts are polluted. The majority of marine species are drastically dwindling; the Great Barrier Reef is dying; a garbage island the size of Texas is floating in the North Pacific Ocean. Marine animals are choking to death in a sea of plastic; a study projected that by 2050, there will be more plastic than fish in the world's oceans. Major accidents like the BP oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, the Exxon Valdez spill in Alaska, and the [Fukushima] radiation plume rightly get our attention, but it is the cumulative impact of a century of smaller actions and activities that burden the oceans the most" {FiveCrows 2019: ¶4}.

Climate change and pollution are consequences of empire building that used settler-colonization and other violent methods to spread and develop capitalism for the profit of a select few, yet whiteness is relentless in blaming Indigenous People for these problems. This pattern also points to a weak spot in whiteness in the sense that the deflection and projection of racialized blame exposes the failures of manifest destiny. For example, Jamie Pinkham, former industrial and tribal forester and Executive Director of the CRITFC, once said,

> "I imagine the early explorers who visited our homelands took back tales of how the land was both full and empty: filled with limitless resources yet empty in appearance, with plenty of room for expansion. It prompted a *rush of indulgence that outstripped nature's capacity to deliver*. Instead of letting nature manage them, *the newcomers undertook not only to manage nature but to dominate it, to force it to submit to their purposes*...
>
> Ironically... lands became full but now with industrialization, urbanization, and toxins. And our lands have become empty as resources diminished, some of them withering toward extinction. *Tribes themselves remained targets as non-Natives attempted to fleece our lands and restrict tribal resource consumption, including uses protected by treaties with the United States.* A long winter settled over the tribes. But the connection to the land never diminished" {J. Pinkham 2019: 298, my emphasis}.

These durable connections to the land go back to a "time immemorial," and "After living here for thousands of years, the Nez Perce know how to live in this place, they know the stories of this place, and they are forever tied to the place where our ancestors' bones eternally rest... We are the Nimí·pu·, and we are of this land" {FiveCrows 2007: xvii}. FiveCrows continues, "As you learn about us, our history, and our connection to our homeland, *think about how you can listen to and learn from the land where you live. The message that 'we are of this land'* is true for everyone on this Earth" {ibid.}.[93] I now turn to one recent example of an attempt of "non-Natives... to fleece" {J. Pinkham 2019: 298} the Nimíipuu/Nez Perce from their lands and prevent them from harvesting and using resources—the incident at Rapid River, also known as the "Second Nez Perce War" of 1979-1981. This is an important event that punctuated one long cycle of pan-European resentment towards Indigenous persistence, specifically against their rights to fish for salmon in their "usual and accustomed places" (1855 Treaty). Rapid River ended in failure for the settler-colonial state, and it provided an opportunity for the Nez Perce to reassert themselves as primary caretakers of the land.

Land Back! Rapid River & Beyond

White rushes to achieve manifest destiny promotes thoughtless action that tends to make a mess of the social and physical environment, and this prompts a new white rush for

[93] If we are of this land, then we can think of reference to exploiting the Earth or dominating any of her lifeforms as a reference to the cannibalism of white settler-colonial capitalism.

solutions as whiteness recalibrates itself to maintain power and privilege as the broken promises of manifest destiny become more obvious to more people (Figure 6.1). The incident at Rapid River (just south by southwest of Riggins, Idaho) is one example of all three stages of this cycle of whiteness driven by resentment of Indigenous persistence.

In 1979, the State of Idaho, under the leadership of Governor of Idaho, John Evans (D), sought to restrict Tribes in the state from harvesting "more fish" than white people who fish recreationally.[94] The reasoning was that salmon runs were declining because of drought and the Indigenous fishing practices of Idaho Tribes, including the "unlimited hunting and fishing rights" [[New York Times 1979: section A, page 8, ¶6]] of the Nez Perce. In exchange for limiting the harvest, the State of Idaho would "give elderly and poor members of the tribe 2,500 fish. These will be 'jacks,' or salmon not old enough to spawn, or 'hatchery carcasses,' fish that are killed to remove eggs" [[New York Times 1979: section A, page 8, ¶11, quoting Mr. Scott]]. The State of Idaho decided to impose state fishing regulations on tribal members without first consulting the Tribe as required by Supreme Court understandings of federal law and Indian Treaties (both of which supersede state law) {Landeen and A. Pinkham 1999: Nez Perce Tribe 2003}. And while the Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho initially agreed to suspending tribal fishing for the year, there were

[94] In the 1950s, the State of Washington went on the offensive against Tribes exercising ancestral fishing rights in what became known as the "fish wars" (Reyes 2016). Members of the Nisqually and Puyallup Tribes, as well as others, staged a series of "fish-ins" that forced the Boldt Decision of 1974 from *United States v. Washington 1974,* that upheld the supremacy of treaties and the rights of Native Peoples, saying that "the Indians were entitled to half of the harvestable salmon running through their traditional waters" (ibid.: 120-121). This set a legal precedent that other U.S. Tribes subsequently use to help reassert their control over their homelands, including the Nez Perce Tribe {2003}. These fish-ins were a part of a larger global phenomena of pan-Indigenism as an emerging international force (Wilmer 1993) that continues to grow, especially in the face of climate change and the threat of nuclear war.

many tribal members at Rapid River who refused to listen to their Tribe, much less the State of Idaho.[95] One man came to the fishing hole on the day the Tribe agreed to stop fishing donning a gas mask in anticipation of police using tear gas [[New York Times 1979]]. More than that, "'The state had snipers up on the hill ready to shoot us,' [Elmer] Crow told a crowd of about 200 at the [2005] commemoration [of Rapid River]. 'Unbeknownst to them, we had snipers on the hill behind their snipers'" [[Woodard 2005: ¶7]].

The State of Idaho was projecting blame on the wrong groups because the real cause of the declining salmon runs was not the drought or Indigenous fishing practices. The drought was not helping, but the dams on the Columbia, Snake, and Clearwater Rivers, were the primary culprit because most were built without adequate or existing fish ladders and because average water temperatures are higher in rivers with dams [[Colombi 2005; Colombi 2012b]]. Commercial fishing on the mouth of the Columbia River, likewise, was to blame {Landeen and A. Pinkham 1999; Nez Perce Tribe 2003}, and the variability in local, regional, national, and global human resource use right regimes—including dam building, mining, waste disposal, and so on—that the salmon must cross on their journeys to the ocean and home again compound the vulnerability of the salmon [[Colombi and

[95] This is reminiscent of the 1877 War, where it was the "non-treaty" Nez Perces, i.e., those who refused to sign the "steal treaty" of 1863, who were forced to fight for their lives, while the majority of Nez Perces were already on the reservation {Slickpoo 1973} [[Josephy 2007]]. Those staging the fish-in were a small minority willing to risk everything. Both events are also indicative of a history, extending to a time immemorial, of semi-autonomous groups deciding for themselves how best to manage and maintain their own territorial claims to uphold their individual and collective responsibilities {A. Pinkham and Evans 2013}. In May 1980, four central figures of this fish-in, known as the "Fishermen's Committee," A. K. Scott, Brad Picard, Gordon Higheagle, and Rev. Walter L. Moffett, were elected to NPTEC, effectively replacing all Tribal officials who had bent to the demands of Idaho.

Brooks 2012]]. Much of the dam building on the Columbia Plateau is in the geopolitical context of war. As Colombi [[2005]] explains:

> "*The Second World War also generated new demands for national defense and hydroelectricity*... The Walla Walla District in southeast Washington would erect and manage all the dams on the lower Snake. Non-Native elites opportunistically worked through the Army Corps institutional structures, and taming the lower Snake River would provide growth in two economic sectors: commercial shipping ports and farming. Lewiston, Idaho, would soon become the Pacific Northwest's first inland seaport, and an emerging agricultural elite would gain more profitable methods of transporting agriculture commodities downriver to newly expanding national and global markets" [[Colombi 2005: 574-575]].

This rush to build dams continued into the Cold War and exemplified by the Ice Harbor Dam in Hells Canyon that was built to solve the growing energy needs to the Hanford Nuclear Site [[ibid.: 575]]. This mattered little for white folks whose resentment was only growing. For example, a resident of Grangeville, ID, a bordertown of the Nez Perce Reservation, wrote in a letter to the editor titled, "The Indian fishing," said that:

> "If the Indians were not benefactors of the technology of the white man my sympathy would be with them. However, they drive automobiles, use gasoline, and have the use of electric power generated by the hydro power plants. Consequently, being as how we live in the same country we should be given equal treatment. This means to be governed and abide by the same laws" [[*Lewiston Morning Tribune* June 13, 1980]].

Nez Perce tribal member and participant in the collective actions at Rapid River, A. K. Scott, recollected that "As recently as the 1970s you could stop at the stores in Riggins and see signs that said, 'No dogs, no cats, no Indians allowed.' They were especially prevalent during 1979 to 1980 when we were having trouble with the State of Idaho at Rapid River" {Landeen and Pinkham 1999: 117}. And by the time the Tribe agreed to take "hatchery carcasses" instead of harvesting salmon themselves, a series of "fish-ins" ensued. A "fish-

in" is like a "sit-in" of a standard social movement, where participants stay in certain location in peaceful opposition and force authorities to act against them. It is worthy of note that the *Lewiston Morning Tribune* [[June 23, 1980]], at times, covered the Rapid River fish-ins in the "foreign affairs" section of the newspaper.

Idaho SWAT teams, over the course of three years, arrested dozens of Nez Perces who refused to bow to the State of Idaho's demands and continued exercising their fishing rights guaranteed by the Treaty of 1855. These things were planned, but because the Nez Perce refused to simply go away as manifest destiny promised, the state moved to enforce new rules without consulting the Tribe and started acting in self-defeating ways, such as arresting a seven-year-old boy for harvesting a ceremonial salmon {Landeen and Pinkham 1999: 116-7}. The state even lumped all thirty-three court cases into one case, thinking it could land a knock-out blow to the Nez Perce Tribe. The case was sent to

> "Judge Reinhardt in district court at Grangeville, Idaho, in 1982. Judge Reinhardt threw out all thirty-three cases and ruled that the State of Idaho had not consulted with the tribes about imposing restrictions on the Rapid Rivers fishery and that *in the future the Tribe and state would have to work together to determine how that fishery should be managed*. *Judge Reinhardt's decision, based on the language of the 1855 Treaty, reaffirmed the Tribe's right to fish at its 'usual and accustomed places.' Since that time the State of Idaho and the Tribe have worked together to manage this fishery* [at Rapid River] and there have been years when the fishery has been closed. Hopefully, their joint salmon restoration efforts will be such that this fishery will someday fully recover so that Nez Perce people can continue to use Rapid River as a place to honor the salmon" {Nez Perce Tribe 2003: 120}.

The salmon are now slowly coming back to Nez Perce country since co-management, although the problems of dams, extractive industries, and climate change are getting in the way of recovery efforts {Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission 2012}. However, the state of Idaho has taken notice of the fact that the tourism and

recreation dollars for salmon and steelhead are helping hold at least some communities up as they shift away from exclusive dependence on extractive industries {A. Rodríguez 2011}. In fact, a Republican Representative in Idaho, Mike Simpson, recently advocated for dam removal on the Snake River to recover salmon and steelhead runs {*Nimíipuu Tribal Tribune* 2020}. The idea that dams should be removed is one that the Nez Perce and their Indigenous neighbors have advocated ever since their erection {ibid.}, and the idea is being entertained by some state representatives because the Nez Perce have a proven track record of salmon restoration enabled by practices go back to a time immemorial and survived genocide.

Participant in the Rapid River standoff, Elmer Crow, said at a 2005 commemoration that "What happened here 25 years ago didn't just change Nez Perce country... It changed the whole country. It was the beginning of co-management of fisheries. Our Nez Perce fisheries department is a good example. It started with three people. Now we have 260" [[Woodard 2005]].[96] Combined with the successful lawsuit brought against the Bonneville Power Administration in 1982 for damages to fish habitat by dam building (for a detailed discussion, see {Gudgell et al. 2006} [[Colombi 2012]]), the Nez Perce enjoy a $20 million annual budget for fish and wildlife restoration at "all usual and accustomed" places {Nez Perce Tribe 2020}. Furthermore, the Nez Perce now co-manage or own outright several fisheries and acclimation sites[97] at Dworshak, Kooskia, and elsewhere along the Clearwater

[96] Another participant at Rapid River, a retired Fish and Game officer, said at the same commemoration that "'I thought we were right then, and I still think so... But I respected the Nez Perce people for standing up for their treaty rights. And I respected the Fish and Game officers for doing what they believed in.'" [[ibid.]].

[97] Areas next to rivers and streams, typically built with concrete and gravel, allow hatchery salmon to acclimate themselves to the waters that will take them to the ocean.

and Snake Rivers in Idaho, as well as in Lookingglass, Oregon. In 2015 the Tribe was recognized with the Honoring Nations award for their work on salmon restoration by the National Congress of American Indians and the Harvard Kennedy School of Government's Project on American Indian Economic Development {Nez Perce Tribe 2020}, and salmon runs have been steadily increasing (albeit slowly) from their low point in the 1980s. Today, many Nez Perce fish salmon for subsistence, filling their extended family's freezer first and then their own, where any surplus can be sold along the roadside (either fresh or smoked) for some extra cash.

CHAPTER 6 REFERENCES

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APPENDIX A: NIMÍIPUU/NEZ PERCE DATA SOURCES

** Signifies the byline credits non-Nimíipuu/Nez Perce author(s) only. These publications are included because they were written in close collaboration with the Tribe and or tribal members, and they include original quotes, stories, art, or other information directly from Nez Perces about their own history, experience, knowledge, and so on.

{Curly brackets} in the dissertation text signify data sources from Appendix A.

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APPENDIX B: NON-NIMÍIPUU/NEZ PERCE DATA SOURCES

These publications are a sample of the popular ethnographic, historical, and biographical records about Nimíipuu/Nez Perce that are important for dominant (i.e., white) public memory on the Plateau.

[[Double square brackets]] in the dissertation text signify data sources from Appendix B.

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METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX C: NPTEC Research Permission Form

RESEARCH PERMIT SIGN-OFF SHEET

Name of Research Project: Existence as Resistance: How the Nez Perce Negotiate the Political Economics of Global Capitalism

Project Representative: Levin Welch, M.A.

Project Representative Address & Phone No.: [redacted]

Project Funder: Graduate Assistance in Areas of National Need (GAANN) fellowship / University of California, Riverside Department of Sociology

The attached research application has been reviewed by the individuals below with recommendations as follows:

1. Program Director Signature: _____
   Program: CULT. RESOURCES Date: 9/14/17
   Recommendation: RECOMMEND FOR APPROVAL

2. Branch Director Signature: _____
   Department: DNR Admin Date: 9/14/17
   Recommendation: concur with Admin recommendation

3. Executive Director Signature: _____
   Date: 9.14.17
   Recommendation: Concur

4. Office of Legal Counsel Signature: _____
   Date: 9/[illegible]/17
   Recommendation: concur

NPTEC presentation by: (Department Manager or Executive Director):

Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee Authorization:

Mary Jane Miller

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	Date: _____

Research Regulation Ordinance Process

To obtain a written permit

1. Applicant must complete and present to the appropriate Program Director or Department Manager, the attached forms at least ninety (90) days prior to proposed study, survey, or research project start date.

2. Applicant must read and obtain a working understanding of the Research Regulation Ordinance and its contents.

3. Applicant must prepare multiple copies of a brief and concise written prospectus (one page) of project, or a verbal presentation to the appropriate Tribal Council Sub-Committee. The project representative will be placed on the agenda through the appropriate Department Manager or Program Director.

4. **Only** written permits will be official and must include the authorizing signature and tribal resolution number.

5. The Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee sign off will be the final approval/ disapproval for the request. A $75.00 permit fee will be paid upon final approval of the request.

Any person attempting to conduct research not specifically requested or contracted by the Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee or permitted pursuant to provisions of the ordinance shall be subject to any and all civil or criminal remedies available pursuant to the Law and Order Code of the Nez Perce Tribe, including but not limited to: exclusion from tribal property, criminal trespass, and civil remedies provided for in the Nez Perce Tribal Law and Order Code.

Research Permit
Nez Perce Tribe

1. Name of Applicant: Levin Welch, M.A.

2. Address: [redacted]
School: [redacted]
Phone Number: [redacted] E-mail: Personal: [redacted]

3. Type of Application: _x_ Individual ___ Agency ___ Other
___ Corporation ___ Institution

4. Purpose of study, survey, or research (*Be concise*): (1) To understand how the Nez Perce have negotiated their continued existence within global capitalism to uncover how racism and capitalism work together to produce particular outcomes historically and today. To understand the effects of history on culture and sovereignty and how culture/sovereignty can be employed as negotiation tools in the future. To compliment, complicate, or contradict existing sociological theories of political economics, race and racism, and violence. (2) This research, my Masters thesis for the Sociology Department at the University of California, Riverside, will be published in a peer-reviewed social scientific journal and serve as the foundation for my PhD dissertation that I plan to conduct between 2018-2021 and will include in-depth semistructured interviews with Nez Perce tribal members and participant observation.

Is this project conducted for profit? If yes, explain: This study is not for profit, however, academic scholarship is inherently exploitative. In this case, I plan to use my research to further my career as a professional sociologist. As such, I take into consideration what kind of research the Nez Perce Tribe might need/want. Furthermore, I wish to volunteer my labor to the Nez Perce Tribe during the summers of 2018, 2019, and 2020, working on whatever the Tribe needs (e.g., adult education, research, writing, etc.).

If this project is not for profit now, could this information be used in a profit seeking venture in the future? If so, how? This research will not be used for a profit seeking venture beyond me attempting to get a career as a tenured community college professor of sociology and professional researcher.

5. Will an honoraria be offered to tribal people interviewed? Yes x No ____ Note: No Nez Perce Tribal members will be interviewed for this phase of research. However, the Tribe will be given an acknowledgment in the published manuscript.

6. Sources of funding to conduct study, survey or research: This study is supported with funding from the Graduate Assistance in Areas of National Need (GAANN) fellowship for the 2017-2018 academic year, and by the Sociology Department at the University of California, Riverside.

7. Project or actual cost of project: $ 14,500 (total funding package from GAANN and UCR, not including tuition) for the 2017-2018 academic year

8. Name and Addresses of all persons authorized to be involved and/or participate in conducting the project: (*Include those that will not be present on site*).
a.) Dr. Christopher Chase-Dunn, Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Master's thesis committee chair, 1221 Watkins Hall

University of California, Riverside Address: 900 University Ave, Riverside, CA 92521

b) Dr. Alfredo Mirande, Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Mater's thesis committee member, 1219 Watkins Hall

c) Dr. Ellen Reese, Professor of Sociology and Master's thesis committee member, 1217 Watkins Hall

d) Dr. Robert Perez, Assistant Professor of Native American Studies and Master's thesis committee member, INTS 4049

9. Proposed dates of study: From: Summer 2017 To: Spring 2018

10. Location of project and sources to be researched:

The Nez Perce Indian Reservation and surrounding areas. Sources of primary data include the archives at the Nez Perce National Historical Park Research Center, the University of Idaho, Lewis and Clark State College, and all local libraries and museums on and around the Nez Percé Indian Reservation. (See attached research proposal for more detail).

11. Methodology for conducting this project (*be concise*):

I follow the theoretical and methodological critiques of indigenous feminisms and reflexive social science to conduct (1) a longitudinal content analysis of historical discourses between polities and settlements living in and around the Nez Percé Indian Reservation, and (2) a narrative analysis of biographies of Nez Percé men and women. (See attached research proposal for more detail).

12. Describe the intended final product of this project:

The final product of this project will be three-fold. (1) A Master's thesis to satisfy the requirements of the PhD program in Sociology at the University of California, Riverside, for (2) publication in a peer-reviewed social scientific journal, that will (3) serve as the foundation for my PhD dissertation in sociology at the University of California, Riverside. I hope that my research will be of some use to the Nez Perce Tribe.

Is publication intended? If yes, explain:

Yes, I intend to publish this work in a peer-reviewed social scientific journal. Expected publication date is 2019. I also plan to turn my dissertation into a book (expected publication date is 2023).

13. How will the results of the project be used?:

The results of this project will be used to (1) challenge and update existing sociological theories regarding global capitalism, political economics, race and racism, and violence, and (2) contribute to the long standing academic debates about the Nez Perce Tribe specifically and indigenous peoples more generally. There is also some potential for the results of this study to be used by the Nez Perce Tribe to advocate for policy or programs on the Reservation.

14. How will this project benefit the Tribe?:

I hope that the results of this study can be used by the Nez Perce Tribe to advocate for policy or programs on the Reservation or in legal disputes with local, state or federal governments. The Tribe will receive a full copy of the report upon completion and receive copies of all original archival documents if desired. Furthermore, I hope that I can volunteer labor for whatever the Tribe might need while I am on the Reservation conducting research.

15. Proposed tribal program(s) and/or employee(s), member(s) identified to assist/ supervise in project:

Program: Contact Person:

[redacted]

16. **Assurances**: I give my assurance that the rights of individual tribal members, their families, and the Nez Perce Tribe will be protected throughout the duration of this project. I understand that I am subject to the Law and Order Codes of the Nez Perce Tribe as it pertains to the research. I further understand that the Nez Perce Tribe has a drug free policy and will adhere to the policy as it pertains to the participants, researchers and others involved in this project. I will employ or utilize local resources, with tribal members given first preference, in the project study, survey, and research. I have read and understand the Nez Perce Tribe's Research Regulation Ordinance and agree to adhere to its contents. I further attest that the information provided on the application for research permit is true and correct, and I understand that false information may result in denial or cancellation of a research permit.

[redacted] 8/17/17

Signature Date

Title
Doctoral Student

Organization
University of California, Riverside