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1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 19-03-2023	2. REPORT TYPE Book Chapter	3. DATES COVERED (From - To) -
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4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Navigating Entanglements and Mitigating Intergenerational Trauma in Two Collaborative Projects: Stewart Indian School and “Our Ancestors’ Walk of Sorrow” Forced Removal Trail.	5a. CONTRACT NUMBER W911NF-16-1-0150
	5b. GRANT NUMBER
	5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER 611102

6. AUTHORS Sarah Cowie, Diane Teeman	5d. PROJECT NUMBER 611103
	5e. TASK NUMBER
	5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER

7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAMES AND ADDRESSES University of Nevada - Reno 1664 N. Virginia St. Ross Hall 204/MS 325 Reno, NV 849.00 89557 -0325	8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER
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9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS (ES) U.S. Army Research Office P.O. Box 12211 Research Triangle Park, NC 27709-2211	10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S) ARO
	11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S) 63118-HC-PCS.38

12. DISTRIBUTION AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES The views, opinions and/or findings contained in this report are those of the author(s) and should not be construed as an official Department of the Army position, policy or decision, unless so designated by other documentation.

14. ABSTRACT

15. SUBJECT TERMS

16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:	17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	15. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON Sarah Cowie
a. REPORT	b. ABSTRACT	c. THIS PAGE	19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER 775-682-7524

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE (SF298)
(Continuation Sheet)

Continuation for Block 13

Proposal/Report Number: 63118.38-HC-PCS

Report Title: Navigating Entanglements and Mitigating Intergenerational Trauma in Two Collaborative Projects: Stewart Indian School and "Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow" Forced Removal Trail.

Report Type: Book Chapter

Publication Type: Book Chapter	Peer Reviewed: Y	Publication Status: 1-Published
Chapter Title: Navigating Entanglements and Mitigating Intergenerational Trauma in Two Collaborative Projects: Stewart Indian School and "Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow" Forced Removal Trail.		
Publication Identifier Type:	Publication Identifier:	
Volume:	Edition:	1st Page#:
Date Received: 19-Mar-2023	Publication Year:	
Publisher: The University Press of Florida: Gainesville.		
Publication Location:		
Book Title: Archaeologies of Indigenous Presence.		
Authors: Sarah Cowie, Diane Teeman		
Editor:		
Acknowledged Federal Support: Y		



PROJECT MUSE®

Archaeologies of Indigenous Presence

Panich, Lee M., Schneider, Tsim D.

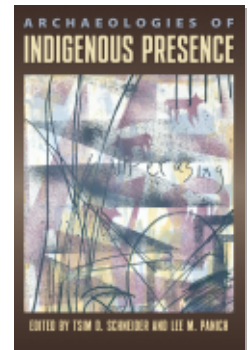
Published by University Press of Florida

Panich, Lee M. and Tsim D. Schneider.

Archaeologies of Indigenous Presence.

1 ed. University Press of Florida, 2022.

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Navigating Entanglements and Mitigating Intergenerational Trauma in Two Collaborative Projects

Stewart Indian School and
“Our Ancestors’ Walk of Sorrow” Forced Removal Trail

SARAH E. COWIE AND DIANE L. TEEMAN

Traditional Indigenous landscapes are imbued with cultural meaning and value that are best understood by researchers from both etic and emic perspectives and through collaborative research. We, the authors, are engaged in long-term partnerships with numerous American Indian communities in the American Great Basin, including the Burns Paiute Tribe. Co-author Diane L. Teeman is enrolled in this Tribe and is the director of its Culture & Heritage Department. Together we endeavor to document and understand typically unconsidered aspects of how and why the US government forcibly removed American Indians from their ancestral homelands in the American West in the nineteenth century; how and why the government attempted to assimilate tribal children into mainstream society; and, how and why government oversight continues to regulate Indigenous heritage through federal archaeological policies that often perpetuate colonial practices. Colonialist worldviews define what has value as a “cultural resource” and what has life, presence, and agency in narrow terms compared to the definitions in many Indigenous epistemologies. The fact that who and what has personhood in cultural resource management are rarely topics of discussion cross-culturally leads to an incomplete scope for cultural resource management consideration. This lack of recognition also means that research funding opportuni-

ties for archaeology would rarely include work on these topics. Furthermore, the fact that Indigenous peoples rarely have opportunities to assert Indigenous worldviews in management discussions has led to laws, policies, implementations, and research funding distributions that do not meet the needs of tribally understood cultural landscapes and ecosystems. In addition to this lack of inclusion in cross-cultural discussions of ontology and epistemology, the paths established by law and by agency protocols for protecting culturally important places and things are inadequately revealed to Tribes because they are not agency interlocutors.

In this chapter we address two related case studies in collaborative Indigenous archaeology. Both projects were developed under a grant entitled “Governmentality and Social Capital in Tribal/Federal Relations Regarding Heritage Consultation,” which funded collaborative archaeological research to explore conflicting heritage discourses on public lands. Both projects presented here featured archaeological field schools that included substantial involvement from Native students, staff, and volunteers with the goal of interrogating conflicting discourses and epistemologies about Indigenous heritages. We first describe a project that recently began on an Indigenous trail that the federal government used in the nineteenth century to forcibly remove Indigenous prisoners of war (POWs) from their homelands. Then we report on a completed project at Nevada’s historic Stewart Indian School, another Indigenous landscape that the federal government later repurposed as part of its effort to assimilate Native children.

Both projects highlight concepts of entanglement, removal, and trauma. “Removal” refers to the forced removal of Indigenous peoples from their homelands, removal of children from their families in the boarding school system, removal of cultural materials from the ground through standard archaeological practices, and removal of Indigenous voices from heritage management. Removal practices are related to entanglement, both in the sense of colonial entanglements (e.g., Silliman 2005) and in the sense of analogies with research on temporality and on entangled relationships that cross space-time continuums (e.g., Bakhtin 1981; Schlosshauer 2010). The concept of trauma addresses the painful disruptions created by historical acts of removal, and the subsequent wounds of intergenerational trauma that are at times reopened by standard archaeological practices today. These three interrelated concepts—removal, entanglement, and trauma—inform archae-

ologies of colonized Indigenous landscapes, peoples, and heritages. It is our hope that researchers working with Indigenous landscapes will consider how they may reduce the perpetuation of colonialist domination in archaeological study. Working in a truly collaborative way with Indigenous communities may help mitigate traumas associated with tragic events and will invaluablely broaden and enrich archaeologists' understandings of the research effort. When individuals holding Indigenous ways of knowing are physically present in real-time research efforts, there are opportunities to present alternative standpoints that broaden our cross-cultural understandings.

Our research design on these projects is also informed by concerns about power and the state. The United States has implemented numerous policies to control, disempower, erase, and, in some cases, exterminate Indigenous North Americans. Since their inception, the disciplines of archaeology and anthropology have been tools of the state that have worked to control Indigenous peoples and their heritage (Atalay 2010, 79; Warrick 2017, 88; Wobst 2010, 77). In North America, anthropologists historically dismissed Indigenous peoples' perspectives about their own cultures (Thomas 2000, 101). Many Indigenous groups have been silenced by their experiences with colonialism and the sociopolitical plight they faced after conquest. In addition, academic archaeologists assumed that they were experts about Indigenous communities (Deloria 1992, 595), and gatekeeper of Indigenous heritage (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010).

We use a Foucauldian lens in our research. Foucault's (1991, 1998, 2007) ideas about knowledge, power, biopolitics, and governmentality apply to the historic events related to forced removal of Indigenous peoples, the Indian boarding school system, and the contemporary attitudes, practices, and management of Indigenous heritages. As Atalay (2006, 296) observes, sometimes it can be productive to use the "master's tools" of western scholarship to provide critiques that eventually decenter dominant western practices and create counterdiscourses in Indigenous studies. Our theoretical approach combines western and Indigenous philosophies (see also Fowles 2010). Like Panich and Schneider (this volume), we hope to directly address the need for broader processes of "undisciplining" and confronting the ignorance or "unknowing" that pervades settler colonialism in the academy and beyond. Our blended theoretical approach is helpful for navigating between our need to serve Great Basin Indigenous communities and our need to operate within

systems that have oppressed those communities (see also Schneider et al., this volume). This approach could be called theoretical code-switching; it enables us to productively move between these two situations.

Perhaps most importantly, our two projects are collaborative. Collaborative archaeology endeavors to provide a space for multivocality for all the identified stakeholders that desire to participate in a project. This approach is an Indigenous archaeology, a term Watkins (2000) championed and Nicholas (2008, 1660) later defined as “an expression of archaeological theory and practice in which the discipline intersects with Indigenous values, knowledge, practices, ethics, and sensibilities, and through collaborative and community-originated or directed-projects and related critical perspectives.” Indigenous archaeologies are an essential component of decolonizing archaeological practice today (Atalay 2006; see also Harris 2010; Smith 1999; Wilcox 2010). Indigenous archaeologies exist in a perpetual state of becoming. The foundational theory is that in the absence of colonialist/state control, we as human cultures hold a level of intellectual equality that facilitates consideration of epistemological difference.

“Our Ancestors’ Walk of Sorrow” Forced Removal Trail Project

The more recent of these two projects began in 2016 and will be the subject of Teeman’s PhD dissertation in anthropology; preliminary results are presented here. The project arose in part from the partnership between University of Nevada Reno Department of Anthropology (Cowie, a settler of European descent) and the Culture & Heritage Department Director of the Burns Paiute Tribe (Teeman, an enrolled Tribal member). The Burns Paiute Tribe has had a long-standing interest in documenting their forced removal from their ancestral homelands in the winter of 1879. The physical corridor of the removal trail is poorly documented and there are few accounts from the POWs, but their descendants now have the opportunity to change that through our collaborations. Collaborators in the project are not “informants” in the ethnographic sense; rather, they are knowledge holders and contributing research partners. Their presence as members of the research team brings a validity to the knowledge creation process that a strictly etic research performance could never attain.

Our project will identify the physical corridor used to march more than

500 Indigenous POWs from Fort Harney, Oregon, to Fort Simcoe, Washington (Figure 13.1). We endeavor to identify the metaphysical dimensions of the removal corridor as the descendants of the forced march understood them. In 1872, President Ulysses S. Grant signed an executive order that established the Malheur Indian Reservation subsequent to a treaty signed at Fort Harney. Non-Native pressure for the land led to deteriorating conditions on the reservation, and in 1879 an uprising occurred to the east among the Bannock Indians over settler infringements in Idaho that spilled into eastern Oregon (Burns Paiute Tribe 2001). Two primary first-hand accounts of the effect of the Bannock War effect on the Indigenous people of the northern Great Basin have been published (Howard 1907; Hopkins [1883] 1994). Stowell (2008) provides a recent academic study on the topic, but many questions remain. The Bannock War was short lived and poorly documented. The death of Chief Egan of the Paiute Tribe was the final blow to the uprising, and once the POWs were back at the reservation and held at Fort Harney, debate over what should happen to them began. Indian agent William V. Rinehart wrote an account of the POW removal:

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

Approximately 550 Paiute men, women, and children—many of whom . . . had not engaged in hostilities—traveled north for nearly a month through the snow and over two mountain ranges. The women and children traveled in wagons, but some of the men were forced to march in leg irons. Five children, one woman, and an elderly man died along the way, their bodies left alongside the road since it was too cold to bury them. . . . Rinehart complains about the exorbitant cost of the winter removal and notes that the Paiute were forced to leave Camp Harney under-equipped even though supplies were enroute from the Malheur agency. Yakama Agent James Wilbur remarked that the newly arrived



Figure 13.1. Map showing start and end points of forced march of over 500 Indigenous men, women, and children from Fort Harney in Oregon to Fort Simcoe in Washington in 1879. The march of more than 300 miles took place in rugged, snowy terrain in the month of January. Map courtesy of Christina McSherry.

Paiute were “utterly destitute” and that he was given no notice of their coming “and of course no arrangements for giving them rations.” (Oregon History Project 2008)

The people who survived the march struggled for survival at Fort Simcoe. Some people escaped from their internment, but the majority of the prisoners of war were not released for half a decade. In their absence, the Malheur Reservation was returned to the public domain and surviving POWs were landless when they returned to their homelands. Descendants of the survivors of the forced march now live scattered on at least fourteen reservations and tribal communities in five western states (tribal collaborators, personal communications 2016–2018).

Collaborative Research Design for the Trail

Numerous descendant collaborators have made themselves available to the removal trail project so that they might have an opportunity to represent

their Ancestors' experiences and share their own experiences of the tragedy. Project preparation began with identifying additional descendants of the forced march. In 2016–2017, Teeman contacted the tribal communities that in 1934 sent representatives to attend a General Council meeting that was held in Burns, Oregon, to discuss pursuing a Malheur Reservation court case. Teeman worked to identify whether people wanted to hear our proposal. Each tribal community determined who we should address with our project proposal and how they wanted to receive and review the proposal.

The critical initial goal for presenting the research proposal to communities was to identify whether this research would be welcomed. If any of the communities Teeman visited indicated that they did not want research conducted on the removal trail, we planned to terminate the effort. When no objections were raised, Teeman and Cowie hosted project convenings to develop a tentative working title for the trail project and achieve consensus about best cross-cultural practices for implementing the project. The project collaborators are descendants of the POW forced march and they chose by consensus the working name of the project: "Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow (or Sadness)." The name may be translated into Paiute at a future convening. The Paiute language is alive and holds personhood status. It hears us and knows when it is honored, so more time is needed to develop consensus on the correct translation. This is one of many reasons that collaborative research requires abundant time, patience, and sincere care.

During the fall 2017 convening, collaborators traveled along the southernmost portion of the removal trail as public land managers understood it. We also agreed on communication logistics and acceptable research options to identify whether any methods should be modified or removed from consideration. The group also supported a field school in collaborative Indigenous archaeology that was held in the summer of 2019 at the Malheur Indian Agency site near Burns, Oregon. This site is contemporary with and related to the events of the removal trail. Teeman served as the field school's instructor and all the field school students were tribal members. This project will be detailed in later publications.

One of the most obvious points of interest that emerged from our convenings and discussions during the field school is that numerous discrepancies exist between the written record as the US War Department and the Office of Indian-Affairs of the U.S. Department of the Interior chronicled it and

the first-hand accounts of the forced march as asserted by the Burns Paiute Tribe. These discrepancies include how many people were involved, how many lives were lost, and the distance of the march. Even more elusive is an account of the physical route taken during this military action. Trails are often ephemeral to begin with, and detecting the presence of discreetly visited locales with little physical evidence is difficult with standard archaeological methods (see also Laluk, this volume; Scheidecker et al., this volume). This challenge is compounded by three complicating factors: processes of settler colonialism and the way the ideology of Manifest Destiny worked to erase prior Indigenous presence; non-Native researchers' historical exploitation of Native peoples' knowledge and Native peoples' subsequent hesitance to share sensitive information (see also Scheidecker et al., this volume); and the fact that earlier Native trails often became wagon roads and then highways, which means that the physical evidence of the trail was often lost/destroyed (regarding settlers' erasure and rebranding of Indigenous places, see also Bauer, this volume; Scheiber, this volume; Trabert, this volume).

Furthermore, our discussions made the need to include cross-cultural understandings and concerns even more evident. Our collaborators illuminate why it is essential that they be involved in federal and state agency management discussions of the corridor today. The metaphysical components of the corridor, the need for appropriate acknowledgement of and reverence to the Ancestors, and the traumatic experiences still present in these places complicate what it means to appropriately manage heritage matters in ways that are completely unknown to many non-Native people.

This project will eventually provide a comprehensive analysis of the retrievable quantifiable data that exists on the landscape of this event while also providing room for the more qualitative data that exists in the minds and hearts of the descendants of the POWs. Given these physical and social landscape considerations, the issue of identifying the removal trail corridor of the Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow Project will proceed with a considerable amount of collaborator discussion before the route can be adequately mapped with the additional tools of satellite imagery, aerial photography, and archaeological work. Together, we will also parse out practical and symbolic meanings of the military road as it was constructed and then differentiate its original use from the symbolic meaning it holds as the trail of a forced march removal.

From this effort, we will provide a more complete narrative of this traumatic event in mid-nineteenth-century American history than standard archaeological practice could achieve. This will allow us to develop culturally appropriate recommendations to federal land management agencies regarding preservation of the corridor that will be informed by both physical (archaeological) and metaphysical considerations (e.g., the loss of life along the trail and the imprint of suffering that was left on the land). In the Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow Project discussions, we endeavor to identify, disentangle, and represent the series of events from the perspectives of power and representation that occurred then and are perpetuated in different manifestations of settler colonialism today.

Stewart Indian School Project

The authors initially met on a collaborative Indigenous archaeology project at the Stewart Indian School in Carson City, Nevada, that began in 2012 (Cowie et al. 2019). American Indian boarding schools constitute a traumatic history for many Tribal peoples (see also Montgomery and Colwell 2019; Surface-Evans and Jones 2016). Like other Indian boarding schools in the United States, Stewart Indian School was mandated in 1890 by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and designed to force Native children to assimilate as settlers encroached on their lands (Figure 13.2).

This case study began with a partnership between archaeologists at the University of Nevada, Reno; the Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO) of the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California (hereafter Washoe THPO); and the Nevada Indian Commission. As with the Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow Project, we reached out to numerous personal and professional connections in the region to discuss archaeological sites that could be considered for the focus of an archaeological field school in service to the wishes of tribal communities. We restricted our discussion to sites that tribal organizations thought were suitable.

After several meetings, several of which were facilitated by the Nevada Indian Commission and its Stewart Advisory Committee, consensus developed that the project would take place at the Stewart Indian School. The Nevada Indian Commission, whose office as a state agency is currently located on the grounds of the school, and the THPO for the Washoe Tribe of Nevada



Figure 13.2. Boys in military-style uniforms at Stewart Indian School, circa 1890s–1900s. Courtesy of Nevada State Museum, Carson City, Nevada Department of Tourism and Cultural Affairs.

and California, the Tribe whose ancestral homelands include the site, were particularly supportive. Numerous tribal members from regional communities explained that this would be the most appropriate site for a number of reasons. Traumatic memories of the Indian boarding school system are still painfully fresh in Native communities today. In contrast, because of processes of settler colonialism, non-Native peoples are largely ignorant of those histories and still often relegate Native peoples to ancient history. Our collaborators aimed to raise awareness of this important part of Native American history and to contribute to its preservation through that raised awareness. One aspect of the research design was the goal of gaining the attention of the media, the state legislature, and the governor's office through our physical presence at the site (located in Carson City, Nevada's state capital). Our plan was to conduct archaeology very visibly in the public eye to demonstrate the powerful and oft-heard Indigenous declaration that "We are Still Here" and to continue to care for these places despite settler colonialists' brutal attempts to erase tribal peoples and heritages throughout the world (see also Dickson and Steinmetz, this volume, Laluk, this volume, and Schneider et al., this volume). Indeed, many stakeholders pointed out that selecting Stewart Indian School

for this project would benefit many Tribes, not just one. Members of numerous Tribes passed through Stewart during its 90-year history.

The Stewart Indian School opened in 1890 and operated until 1980 (for a history of the school, see Thompson-Hardin 2019). It is currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and the Nevada Indian Commission plans to nominate it as a National Historic Landmark. Young Native Americans from roughly 200 different Tribes in the western United States attended the school, and it has significance for numerous descendant communities today. The school was established by a mandate from the Bureau of Indian Affairs that was part of federal policies designed to force assimilation. In the earliest years, attendance was mandatory and children were literally rounded up in wagons and taken from their families (Thompson-Hardin 2019). The federal biopolitical (see Foucault 2007) policies of controlling Indigenous bodies for political purposes were readily visible. For example, children were forced to cut their hair upon their initial arrival at school in an attempt to remove all signs of Indian identity. In Great Basin communities, cutting hair was a traumatic event with deep cultural meaning. Anthropologist Julian Steward (1943, 81; Dean and Marler 2001, 35) wrote that cutting hair traditionally only occurred when a close loved one died. According to Dean and Marler (2001, 35) cutting hair is called *nadegqa'se*, which means “taking or killing oneself—where the mourners are literally sending a part of themselves to be with the dead.” Other activities were required of the children that disciplined their bodies, including requiring them to march in lines and wear military uniforms. Our excavations recovered objects related to bodily discipline, such as lice combs, medicine bottles, and buttons from army clothing that reflect the oppressive efforts of settler colonialism. We recovered other objects such as soda bottles that alumni recalled enjoying with other treats (Washoe Elder Jo Ann Nevers, personal communications in Cowie et al. 2019). This reminded us that not all artifacts represent one side of a dynamic of colonial domination or resistance; children at the school may have engaged with some mass-produced items just because they enjoyed them (see also Panich and Schneider, this volume). Other items included a small number of flaked lithic and glass materials. We did not determine whether the lithics could have been flaked by the students; this uncertainty helps unsettle the problematic distinction between precontact and postcontact periods.

Like many Indian schools of this era, Stewart Indian School was designed

to teach children skilled trades. This was the federal government's effort to train their minds as well as their bodies and to assimilate them as productive members of the American workforce. The federal government recognized the implications of removing children from their homelands in a state-sponsored attempt to address the so-called Indian problem (see Ruuska 2019 for more on the federal government's strategies for Indian education in Nevada). Such policies had widespread repercussions that created disrupted connections between the landscape and cultural and spiritual knowledge attached to specific places that were accessed through visitation and oral traditions. A number of scholars have described the inseparability of the natural and cultural worlds in Indigenous epistemologies and the disruptions resulting from colonialism, including Keith Basso's *Wisdom Sits in Places* (1996) and Julie Cruikshank's *Do Glaciers Listen?* (2005). It is clear that when Indigenous children were taken from their families and their homelands, their access to cultural memories and future guidance was restricted.

The removal of American Indians from their ancestral homelands occurred both at a large-scale regional community level (as in the Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow Project) and at the individual level (as in children who were taken to Stewart Indian School). These events have resulted in complex intergenerational trauma. This has parallel implications for the taken-for-granted practice of removing artifacts from sites during archaeological projects.

Implications of Removing Artifacts

Dissonances between federal and tribal values are the subject of ongoing research. Collaborative work can productively address conflicts among and between spirituality, ethics, and western and Indigenous knowledges. These discussions are critical for building relationships and providing space for historically suppressed voices to tell their truths. Thus, this project was designed not only to learn about a painful aspect of tribal histories at Stewart Indian School but also to interrogate colonialist policies in heritage preservation law and current archaeological practices that perpetuate the oppression of Native peoples today. Archaeological research cannot provide an accurate picture without meaningful involvement of the communities from whom cultural materials emerged.

Among other things, our collaborative project generated important conversations about the implications of removing artifacts from archaeological

sites for research. On one hand, federal legislation was written to allow and encourage the scientific removal of artifacts from sites. In contrast, numerous participating tribal members discussed the importance of leaving certain artifacts in place. This became one of the most important themes that emerged from this collaborative project.

We discussed standard archaeological excavation procedures at the beginning of the project and invited participants to critique any of our practices. We developed the research design with input from our research partners and other tribal members who participated in various ways as students, staff, and interested individuals. From the beginning, the Washoe THPO stated that they prefer that certain artifacts, particularly lithics, flaked glass, and any artifacts from the precontact period be left in place. This preference contrasts with standard archaeological procedures and has important implications.

An important aspect of archaeology is the documentation of cultural items in place. Once cultural items are collected for further analysis, holding them in museums in perpetuity has also been advocated for to allow for later archaeological reexamination. To this end, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (amended 1992) states that it is the policy of the federal government to “encourage owners who are undertaking archaeological excavations to . . . allow access to artifacts for research purposes.”¹ For public lands, the code of federal regulations narrowly dictates the requirements for cultural items collected as part of an archaeological excavation; they must be permanently curated in a federally approved repository.

Given these legal requirements, agencies and archaeologists have limited latitude for alternative outcomes for the permanent disposition of the cultural items they excavate. Still, laws and regulations are subject to interpretation. Who determines which repositories meet federal standards? Is field examination and reburial of artifacts a viable option? Why were tribal communities not considered as potential keepers of excavated materials? Resource protection is the stated goal for much legislation, yet archaeologists, whose methods destroy the integrity of a site through excavation, have been given authority by the state to control the spoils of that destruction. Meanwhile, the Indigenous people that have affiliations to these same cultural items and landscapes are not given equal consideration. What would our cultural resource management legislation look like if Indigenous communities had been part of legislation development discussions? A lack of diversity in the discussion of

cultural resource management laws led to laws that protect western scientific interests and silence tribal interests that don't coincide with the interests of archaeologists. One such example of this quandary is given by the Washoe tribal historic preservation officer:

If all the artifacts are removed from the landscape, then we have nothing to show that we were ever there. That is why it so important to leave archeological materials, lithics etc; in place. It is our story and we want to maintain that connection to the landscape. Nobody should have the right to erase history by the removal of material evidence. (Darrel Cruz, tribal historic preservation officer, Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California, personal communication, March 31, 2014)

Such considerations are rarely if ever discussed in archaeological discourse. They are an example of an inadequate recognition of cross-cultural considerations that could have been avoided had tribal communities been part of the rule-making process. Current federal policies also uncloak the underlying institutionalized racism that continues to guide how knowledge is produced and whose voices are part of that knowledge production.

It is important to remember the diversity of tribal peoples and the different perspectives that may arise in the management and categorization of artifacts. Current problematic dichotomies of Native and non-Native or prehistoric and historic are two examples. For example, the Washoe THPO made an important distinction between flaked and nonflaked material, but not every Tribe would. Other communities, including many Paiute peoples, emphasize the difference between an object's origin material and the type of modification that was made to it and the metaphysical discussion of whether something that is changed in form continues to have a consistent essence. This applies to archaeological sites, too, since a site's essence is made up of all of its parts. It makes little difference if the parts (e.g., artifacts, soils, water, and such) are moved around on a site as long as they are moved about with care. In many Paiute perspectives, a site still has integrity if the items are moved about on the land. In fact, they have agency to move about on their own or with the help of other beings in their community. These values can be worked into treatment plans for archaeological mitigation (see also Laluk, this volume, for a discussion of Ndee recommendations of avoidance, leaving artifacts in situ, and developing tribally approved treatment plans).

As others in this volume have rightly pointed out, imposing a stark contrast between prehistoric and historic or Native and non-Native artifacts is highly problematic (e.g., Panich and Schneider, this volume; Russel, this volume). Likewise, as Kretzler (this volume) observes, “artifacts” might be better understood as personal belongings. This conceptualization powerfully blurs past and present and acknowledges the continued presence of important ties.

Much work is needed to unsettle and undiscipline archaeology’s problematic dichotomies, and it will be important to consider Tribes’ variable metaphysical understandings of life, time, power, and land. Each Indigenous community has their own conceptualizations of how to classify things the Ancestors left on the landscape. Archaeologists can honor communities’ knowledge and sovereignty by classifying artifacts based on individual communities’ own epistemological-ontological frameworks as best we can with the current federal legislation.

Many Native American Tribes have deep relationships with their homelands and hold a deep respect for the power of place that is distinctive for those communities and places. For example, for most Numic-speaking Tribes, the term for such power or energy is *puha*. Anthropologist Alex Carroll and her colleagues (2004, 129) explain that *puha* “pervades all manifestations of the physical world and concentrates in certain people, places, and objects to higher degrees than in others.” They explain that object deposition in specific locations serves to reciprocate *puha* by both attempting to “harness” and “lend” power at a particular place (Carroll et al. 2004, 131). Citing work by Jay Miller (1983, 79–80), they further describe *puha* “as a cosmic force that, together with the life force, forms the fabric of the universe; . . . it constantly flows through a web-like structure that connects all things and beings, human or otherwise, that make up the universe.” From this exchange, even ordinary places can become imbued with additional *puha* through ceremony and maintaining a relationship to the location (Carroll et al. 2004, 132–3; see also Basso 1996).

Perhaps the most memorable of all the lessons from the Stewart Indian School project for archaeological students was the understanding that in essence, *an archaeological project that disturbs the earth may adhere to federal and state regulations but still risk disrupting the very fabric of the Universe*. An experience from the Stewart Indian School illustrates this potentiality. During opening discussions for the first day of school, as the Indigenous students

were preparing themselves, it was suggested that we offer prayer as a group. Having no objections, the tribal Elder in our group led prayer. During this time, he explained the need to prepare oneself for the work we were beginning because disturbing the Earth and seeking out those things left behind by the Ancestors was a form of “breaking through time” (Mark Johnson, personal communication 2013).

Mark’s prayer asked for protection and understanding as we proceeded with the effort and considered the tragedies of its dark past and asked for protection in the present to make way for a stronger future. When we returned the following day, we found a large dead owl near the place where we had convened the morning before. In some people’s cultural understanding, owls are messengers that warn of impending illness or death. We never knew what caused the owl to die in that location, but the following day after Mark was absent from fieldwork, we learned that he was hospitalized and recovering from a stroke. We cannot prove that the events were interconnected, but it was startling for all participants and caused us each to reevaluate our behavior and connectedness to one another as we worked. After discussion among the tribal members on the project, we sent medicine and prayers to Mark and adhered to the protocols those tribal members used to protect themselves. We also provided offerings to the spirits of the children who had lived and died and remain in that place.

Removal, Entanglement, and Mitigating Trauma

Indigenous sciences and spiritualities may be inextricable from larger understandings of the environment and the cosmos. Mark Johnson’s description of archaeological excavation as “breaking through time” is reminiscent of *puha*, the force that connects everything and everyone in the Universe. These concepts do not need validation from other fields; Indigenous knowledges stand on their own right. However, it is worth considering what practitioners in other fields can learn from similar conceptualizations of interconnected time and space. Other disciplines have also observed the entanglements of people, places, objects, and experiences that are co-present beyond time and place.

For example, linguist and literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin describes the connection between space and time as a chronotope (“literally, time space”), where time is a fourth dimension of space. In literary applications, time, “as

it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes, artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history” (Bakhtin 1981, 84). Bakhtin likens this phenomenon to Einstein’s theory of relativity “almost as a metaphor (almost, but not entirely)” (84).

Indeed, the assertion that sensitive objects have powerful relationships across time and space is, at least on the surface, similar to recent research in quantum mechanics. Physicists have successfully entangled particles whose relationships to each other cross time-space continuums. This phenomenon, which Einstein originally described as “spooky action at a distance,” is known as a quantum nonlocality (Crull 2018). Quantum entanglement at this stage of research may be best understood as an analogy rather than as an actual mechanism for the connective power many Indigenous communities describe (although, like Bakhtin, we may hedge our bets here). Research to date has only produced very short relationships under highly controlled circumstances before the “death” of the quantum entanglement, and researchers continue to seek longer-lasting coherence (e.g., Almeida et al. 2007; Schlosshauer 2010). Currently, there are no known examples anywhere near the time scale of the archaeological record.

However, the fact that quantum entanglement *happens at all* suggests that conversations are warranted between physicists, archaeologists, and Indigenous knowledge holders. Researchers in archaeology and Indigenous studies are beginning to investigate the implications of alternative temporalities for heritage research. For example, Shannon Lee Dawdy (2010, 762) encourages archaeologists to explore “new possibilities that come from willfully collapsing archaeological and ethnographic time.” This bears similarities to work by geographer Vanessa Watts (Mohawk and Anishinaabe), who asserts the agency of nonhumans in the world and the importance of phenomenologically experiencing Indigenous “place-thought” as a way to access the “pre-colonial mind” (Watts 2013). Recognition of such ontological and epistemological differences offers potential practical applications for future productive considerations of place-time in tribal consultation (e.g., Richland 2018).

Much has been said here about the pain of *removal*, so we must briefly address the possibility that *returning* can heal. Healing also occurs when sites, situations, and ecosystems are brought back to a greater level of completeness. From the cultural perspective of the Burns Paiute, a disruption occurs when one or more components or beings in a community are unceremo-

niously removed. This upsets the previous homeostasis among the mingled *puha* of beings present in a location. The removed item(s) and the associated landscape and ecosystem are disrupted when the dynamic is modified by addition or removal. This has become most evident with the removal and loss of presence of Indigenous peoples in these landscape interactions. Our returned presence is needed on the landscape for the landscape to heal. Our presence is needed in and on our cultural landscapes to return the ecosystem to a place of homeostasis.

When Indigenous peoples return to their ancestral homelands, when alumni of the boarding schools visit the Stewart Indian School, when archaeologists return (or repatriate) artifacts and human remains, there are opportunities for healing, but not without a great deal of pain along the way. Many of our collaborative research meetings paused for weeping, as collaborators connected past and present events of intergenerational traumas. However, like other researchers who are exploring the potential for healing that can come from revisiting places and repatriating remains (e.g., Colwell 2019; Schaepe et al. 2017), it is our hope that the pain of return is outweighed by strengthened connections and emancipated truths.

In conclusion, we are grateful that Mark Johnson and other participants at the Stewart Indian School have contributed essays for a multivocal edited volume on Stewart Indian School (Cowie et al. 2019). We also anticipate similar multi-authored publications for the Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow Project. It is clear that the acts of removing communities from their traditional homelands, removing children from their communities, removing artifacts from sites, and removing voice from the people who experience these actions have similar traumatic implications. These four acts of removal are driven by similar processes of governmentality and biopolitics and are embedded historical-colonial and modern-colonial power imbalances. Thus far, most archaeologists and the agencies for whom they work are privileging legislative power that regulates archaeological work. In doing so, they ignore other kinds of power that are critical not only to tribal sovereignty but perhaps also to connectedness across space and time.

Both case studies demonstrate that governmentality, biopolitics, legislative processes, and knowledge production act similarly on landscapes, human bodies, and artifacts. In collaborative archaeology, living community members with blood and other ties to these landscapes are contributing tribal

knowledge and oral history as research partners. Through such partnerships, our work groups have developed a more complete picture of our shared histories. Holistic approaches to understanding the past also may help mitigate the intergenerational trauma and historical grief that accompanies many such landscapes of conflict.

Acknowledgments

Thanks to the Washoe Tribal Historic Preservation Office, Nevada Indian Commission, Burns Paiute Tribe's Culture & Heritage Department, and numerous students and tribal communities who participated in these projects. The research reported here was funded under awards (#W911NF1210205 and #W911NF1610150) from the U.S. Army Research Office/Army Research Laboratory. The views expressed are those of the authors and should not be attributed to the Army Research Office/Army Research Laboratory. Our analysis has benefited greatly from conversations with Jenanne Ferguson, Paul White, Timur Tscherbul, Ted Howard, and Lonnie Teeman. Thanks also to Christina McSherry for producing the map in this chapter and for her collaborative work on the Malheur Indian Agency project. Previous versions of this chapter were presented at meetings of the Society for Historical Archaeology, the American Anthropological Association, and the Japanese-American-German Frontiers of Science Symposium sponsored by the National Academy of Sciences. We are grateful to Tsim Schneider and Lee Panich for welcoming us to this inspiring volume. Their comments and those of the peer reviewers provided welcome suggestions for improvement and expansion of this chapter. Errors or misinterpretations are the sole responsibility of the authors.

Note

1. "National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 as Amended through 1992," Public Law 102-575, accessed April 20, 2020, <https://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/nhpa1966.htm>.

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