GATHERING TULE:

CULTURAL AND ECOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TULE TO THE NEZ PERCE IN THEIR HOMELANDS

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the

Degree of Master of Arts

with a

Major in Anthropology

in the

College of Graduate Studies

University of Idaho

by

Wendy A. Wegner

Major Professor: Rodney Frey, Ph.D.

Committee Members: Janis Johnson, Ph.D.; Anne Marshall, Ph.D.; Philip Stevens, Ph.D.

Department Chair: Mark Warner, Ph.D.

May 2017

AUTHORIZATION TO SUBMIT THESIS

This thesis of Wendy A. Wegner, submitted for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in Anthropology and titled "GATHERING TULE: CULTURAL AND ECOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TULE TO THE NEZ PERCE IN THEIR HOMELANDS," has been reviewed in final form. Permission, as indicated by the signatures and dates given below, is now granted to submit final copies to the College of Graduate Studies for approval.

Major Professor ____Date______________

Rodney Frey, Pd.D.

Committee Members ____Date______________

Janis Johnson, Ph.D.

____Date______________

Anne Marshall, Ph.D.

____Date______________

Philip Stevens, Ph.D.

Department Chair ____Date______________

Mark Warner, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

Gathering tule is an exploration of Nez Perce life, rooted in the landscape, from Creation to contemporary times. Methods and instructions are passed from generation to generation through story to guide the People as they engage with the land. Over time, the land has been fractionated and wetlands where tule grows have been manipulated by policies that prioritize commerce over protection. These wetlands are the kidneys of the system and the loss of them means a loss of traditional practices for the Nez Perce People, as though a part of the body is missing.

This master's thesis is an exploration of the place that is the Nez Perce Homelands, by travelling the land and engaging with the People. Rapid Assessment Methods, helped to determine where wetlands exist and should exist throughout the landscape. Engaging with material culture, such as tule and cattail mats, flat bags from dogbane, and other objects, as they are living, tells the story of skill and connection to ecosystems. These "objects" seem like utilitarian in nature, but a closer look reveals layers of story and social life. Listening to stories from Nez Perce People and those connected to plants and the community highlights the methodology that has existed since time immemorial. Language brings life and movement as the words are descriptions of physical attributes of the land, people and material. All of these are connected and not separate ideas that should be considered as a whole, putting Western linear thinking to the side and following Indigenous Methods, incorporating respect, reciprocity, relevance, and reliability. There is much to learn when we listen and conduct research with and not "on" Indigenous Peoples, who have instructions for all of us to live a more sustainable life.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout this research experience, I have sought people out, and many have happened to cross my path. I am very grateful to Kevin Peters, who initially planted the idea of tule in my head and who is a great educator and artist. It was important that this idea generated from a Tribal member, so that it could be relevant to the Nez Perce (Nimiipuu). I would like to thank my major professor and mentor, Dr. Rodney Frey, who taught me, as he learned, how to share our "huckleberries" and to be able to work in a good way from the heart. He changed my mind and heart about anthropology, and with his support, encouragement, and stories, often calmed my nerves and gave me courage.

I would like to thank my committee whose interdisciplinary make-up incidentally matches many interests of mine. Jan Johnson, a storyteller, role model and advocate for women and Indigenous ways. Anne Marshall, who teaches art and architecture with heart and shows that indigenous buildings are living beings that hold stories. Philip Stevens who supportive and inspiring and works diligently to promote Indigenous education for all. I would like to thank Yolanda Bisbee and Sydel Samuels, two strong Nimiipuu women, and the students at the University of Idaho Native American Student Center, who fill my stomach with food and my heart with hopes for the future.

In addition to Kevin, I would like to thank all of the Nimiipuu Interpretive Rangers at the Spalding visitor center along with Bob Chenoweth and Beth Erdy who guided me through archives and collections. I have met great folks that work in collections along the way, who have shared their knowledge and great respect for the material that they care for. My introduction was at the Smithsonian at the Summer Institute in Museum Anthropology, where I was able to explore archives, learn protocols, ethics, data navigation, and more,

guided by Candace Greene, Frederick Reuss, and Joshua Bell. I thank the horticultural staff for taking me on a personal tour of the NMAI landscape, and for keeping a healthy sanctuary in the middle of a busy National Mall. I would also like to thank the staff at the Museum Resource Center and Cultural Resource Center in Suitland, Maryland, specifically Maria Martinez who is a joy to be around. The library, botany, and archival staff at the Smithsonian, and the exceptional interns.

I carried the SIMA experience home to the Northwest where I encountered helpful staff at the Burke Museum, like Rebecca Andrews who shared an afternoon with me and tule mats, encouraging me to return to spend time with flat bags the next day. Lynette Miller, who took time out of her busy schedule at the Washington State Historical Society, and KT Hajeian from the Los Angeles County Natural History Museum who spent time with my daughter and myself in collections.

Much of this could not happen without additional funding creating the ability for additional research through the SIMA fellowship, The Roderick Sprague Endowment Fund which enabled me to visit collections in his honor, and the Lawrence Aripa Scholarship with which I carried his stories as shared by Dr. Frey and this guided my theoretical approach.

As I travelled the Nez Perce homelands, I often shared the experience of the land with the artwork of Nakia Williamson, his stories, and those of Josiah Pinkham. Allen V. Pinkham's book, *Lewis and Clark Among the Nez Perce,* was a great start to the research process and I was fortunate to have it signed by him at the Spalding Visitor Center, as we spoke in-person. Mr. Pinkham would often appear and share words of wisdom and a handshake and for that I am extremely grateful. Also, making an occasional appearance with kind and wise words, is Silas Whitman, who is cares deeply for the land and his people. I

thank him for his guidance at a NPPE meeting last year. Julian Matthews and Nimiipuu Protecting the Environment, has been a stronghold for information and activism, good food, and collaborative advocacy for the land and water. I would like to thank Pat Rathmann for her inspiration and for introducing me to the group, with whom I look forward to continuing with in the future now that I will have more free time. Another member that supports this group is Lucinda Simpson, who is passionate about water, landscape, tradition and who is great with people, having once been a police officer. I thank her for her time and support, and for sharing her experiences as a gatherer.

I would like to thank Angel Sobotta for teaching me Nez Perce through the beautiful language and for keeping these stories alive. Her patience and strength fills my heart and I am honored to know her. Through class I met great students, and the teteeq'is (elders), Bessie and Fancine, who are patient, wise, and kind. I was able to visit the elders group in Lapwai and still have a full heart from all the wisdom and kindness that filled the room. Also in Lapwai, I met Rue Hoover who is working hard to engage and educate youth in their homelands, while restoring and protecting valuable watersheds. I am looking forward to future planting projects.

The roads of the Homelands, often brought me to Wallowa. Through the winding roads to a gem located in northeastern Oregon. There are allies here that are helping with the healing process at the Josephy Center, Rich Wandscheider and Jan Hohman, who helped with plant and historical advice. At the Wallowa Homelands project, Mary Hawkins and Amy Meredith work in a variety of capacities to organize, sustain, and create an "open door" for descendants and others.

I would also like to thank my friend, who wishes to humbly remain anonymous. You are a great mother, strong, intelligent, inspiring, and so much more. You are a dear friend whom I will cherish always. You know who you are! There are so many Nez Perce People that touched my heart. My first goal is to do good and relevant work for you, and to continue our relationship.

DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my children Nicole and Tyler, who taught me to be a better person, inspired and encouraged me to advocate for people and the natural world. And for my grandchildren who give me hope for the future and desire to make a better world for them in which to live. For my Minnesota family, my Blackfeet family, and my California family who are diverse, inspiring and encouraging. For Roger Vielle, my Blackfeet forever life partner who always makes me, "iiyika'kimaa" (try harder) and who takes me with him on the pow wow trail. Thank you for forever changing my life. Thank you to my *Nimiipuu Lawtiwaama* (Nez Perce Friends) for filling my heart with your kindness and sharing your knowledge. You are strong people with good hearts.

Qe'ciyew'yew'

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Authorization to Submit Thesis……………………………………………………………........ii

Abstract……………………………………………………………………………………...iii

Acknowledgements……………………………………………………………………......iv

Dedication…………………………………………………………………………….… viii

Contents……………………………………………………………………………………...ix

List of Figures…………………………………………………………………………….….x

Preface……………………………………………………………………………………....xii

Chapter 1: Preparing to Gather: A Literature Review on Indigenous Methods………..…....1

Chapter 2: Accountability: Methods and Reflexivity…………………………...……..........13

Chapter 3: Searching for Tule: People and Place……………………………….………..21

Chapter 4: Gathering Tule………………………………………………………………......30

Chapter 5: Take Only What is Needed……………………………………………...…....46

Chapter 6: Listening to the Elders: Language is the Landscape…………………...…….......54

Chapter 7: Making the Mat: Learning from Material…………….……………………..….....59

Chapter 8: Sharing Story: Reflections and Suggestions……………………………………....70

Bibliography………………………………………………………………………….…77

Appendix A: Nez Perce Tribal Approval……………………………………...………....82

Appendix B: Institutional Review Board Approval…………………………...…...….83

Appendix C: National Health Institute Certification……………………………………..85

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Winona LaDuke at United Nations, 1977…………..……………………………..3

Figure 2: Dr. Jelana Porsanger *Four "R"s* of Research…..…………………………………6

Figure 3: Dr. Lambert the *Spider Conceptual Model*……………………..…………..…......7

Figure 4: Shawn Wilson *Indigenous Research Circle*…………………………..…………9

Figure 5: Shrinkage of Nez Perce Lands After 1855……………………..………..……...21

Figure 6: Nez Perce Seasonal Round……………………………………………………..…22

Figure 7: Kevin Peters with his Coyote Painting, photo by the author……………………..24

Figure 8: Unidentified Woman by Tule Lodge NEPE-HI-0400……………………..…….26

Figure 9: Interpretive sign at Joseph Canyon. Artwork by Josiah Pinkham, photo by author……………………………………………………………………………………..28

Figure 10: Woman Gathering Tule by Edward Curtis………………………..…………..…30

Figure 11: Tule in Shallow Lake, photo by the author……………………..……..………..30

Figure 12: Tule Seed Head in Deary CRP Pond, photo by author…………………………31

Figure 13: Mural at Spalding Visitor Center by Nakia Williamson, photo by the author…………………………………………………………………………………..…33

Figure 14: Study Plot in CRP Pond in Deary, photo by the author……………..……......34

Figure 15: Tule Pond Near the National Bison Range in Montana, photo by the author…...37

Figure 16: Map of Ladd Marsh from dfw.state.or.us……………..…………………….….38

Figure 17: Tule Bundle Gathered at Ladd Marsh, photo by the author…………..…………39

Figure 18: Tule at White Bird Battlefield, photo by the author……………………..…..….40

Figure 19: Drawing by G. Bentrup, USDA Factsheet…………………....………………..40

Figure 20: Clump of Tule Roots, photo by the author……………………..……..……...41

Figure 21: Dogbane Fishing Net Display at Clearwater River Casino, photo by the author…………………………………..............…………………………………..43

Figure 22: Dogbane Processing from primitiveways.com…………………...……………..…43

Figure 23: Plateau People in front of longhouse from lewisandclarktoday.com…...…....…46

Figure 24: Tamkaliks pow wow grounds from wallowanezperce.org………..…………....49

Figure 25: Tamkaliks Longhouse from wallowanezperce.org………..……………………...50

Figure 26: Landscape restoration plan, by Brian McCormack from wallowanezperce.org……………………………………………………………………......51

Figure 27: Display of Tule, Traditional Food, and Dogbane Flat Bag at Spalding Visitor Center, Designed by Kevin Peters, photo by the author………………………...…….…59

Figure 28: Example of Damaged Mat in Collection NPPE 1066, photo by the author……..60

Figure 29: Mat Longhouse Illustration from uidahowebpage/frey………………..……..63

Figure 30: Examples of Inside of Tule Stalk, photo by the author……………....…...……63

Figure 31: Tipis Shingled with Tule Mats at Coeur d'Alene Water Potato Festival, 2016, photo by the author…………………………………..……………………………...…..64

Figure 32: Cattail Mat from Coastal Tribe NPPE 2239, photo by the author……………...64

Figure 33: Large Nez Perce Tule Mat for Dwellings NPPE 1066, photo by the author...….65

Figure 34: Smaller Twisted Style Tule Mat NPPE 1063, photo by the author………....….65

Figure 35: Nez Perce Dogbane Flat Bags Burke Museum #2-2991, photo by the author.....66

Figure 36: Marjorie Waheneka Tule Basket and Visor at Nuunnimnix Exhibit, Lewiston Idaho, photo by the author………………………………………………….……….……68

PREFACE

I did not want to be an anthropologist. I studied Native art, learning that many Indigenous people historically had no word for "art". It is just a way of life and the word comes from Western economy placing value on art and displaying it in museums. I worked in museums and was aware of the legacy that the collections held captive. I researched the outdoors and taught environmental education, swallowing the pain of all the hazards we as humans wreak on our environment. I was pulled into the culture head first, when I met Roger and lived on the reservation in Browning, Montana. Life stretched between the National Park that I was charged to protect and on Blackfeet land referred to by elders as the "Backbone of the World."

Later, I worked for the Forest Service as a fire dispatcher and a trail builder in New Mexico. The Continental Divide trail, where I broke rocks with a mallet, was the vein that carried my heart back to Glacier. Roger and I travelled the country along the pow wow trail. At each location, we would run into old friends and meet new ones to add to the collection. Pow wows are art in motion, spirituality, sport, prayer, ceremony and story. I never imagined that I would attend so many, and now I cannot imagine life without them and the opportunity to gather with friends.

My experiences in Indian Country inspired me to want to give back for the gifts that have been given to me over the years. I wanted to focus on a plant and a people, yet little did I know, many layers of life would reveal themselves along the way. The seed of inspiration was planted by Kevin Peters at our initial meeting two years ago. He suggested that I look into tule as it is often overlooked, yet plays a significant role in Nez Perce life.

As I explored the landscape in search of tule, I also found something within myself. I intended to organize participant workshops that focused on the importance of process as we engage in the landscape and create objects. In the end, it became a story of the beneficial process in following Indigenous Methodologies as a guide which revealed layers of story within one culturally significant plant.

I learned methodologies from Indigenous scholars, travelled to Washington D.C. to learn about collections as field sites, and brought these lessons back to be applied in this research. Through this journey, I noticed an abundance of wildlife in wetlands and ponds that were successful. I also noticed places where wetlands and ponds should be, but have been choked off by human development.

Loss of wetlands means loss of tule and other plants that are culturally significant to the Nez Perce. Plant based objects have layers of story from immersion in the environment and giving thanks, to preparing and creating a finished product. That product is usually given to another person, and is seen as a living entity. As Kevin says, “Tule follows you from birth to death, and that’s pretty powerful” (personal communication, February, 2017).

Each journey starts with a goal of final destination, and each process of creating has a desired outcome of an object. Often, the value of process is overlooked in favor of the end result. I originally set out to better understand the process of engaging in the environment and the process of mat making through participant observation, however, gathering tule, became a story of process as a non-Native researcher engaging in Indigenous approaches to research. As I looked through a lens that is different from Western values, I began to see the connections with environment and object, and found myself learning in a new way. This

required an unpacking of lessons that were ingrained at an early age, and reframing methods to include people, object, landscape, and language that put everything into motion.

Language breathes life into the landscape, into material, and is kept alive by the people. I had no idea that at the age of 49, I would be capable of learning a second language. Stories, brought to life by language, land, and objects are methodologies and instructions for how to live with and take care of the land. They are driven by the community and are a guide for future generations. These are Indigenous Methodologies and are inclusive instructions for healing.

To begin, chapter one is a preparation for gathering, getting heart and mind in the right place. This is an Indigenous Methods literature review that I followed as a guide throughout this journey. While struggling to find a paradigm to fit, it seemed that Western frameworks were not applicable for incorporating all the elements of people, landscape, language, and objects. Often, researchers enter Indigenous communities from a place of expertise and power, pointing out the flaws, and leaving a deficit behind as they take away their data. Indigenous Methods are more respectful, collaborative, empowering, decolonizing, and should leave the community with a benefit rather than taking away from it. This is driven by the voice of the community, rather than the research “expert”.

Chapter two discusses how I approached the research and a bit about where I come from. In order to be accountable and trustworthy, I need to share some of what brought me to this place. Some may argue that reflexive ethnography is not objective, however true participatory interaction with co-researchers requires introduction of who you are, involvement, trust building, and commitment that is responsive to community needs. Davies (2008), defines reflexivity (broadly) as: “a turning back on oneself, a process of self-

reference.” This does not mean that I see myself as the focus of the research, but as a participant and co-researcher with the Nez Perce, Nimiipuu People. I use these terms interchangeably throughout this writing as Nez Perce is a name coined by visitors to this land. Nimiipuu means “the People” and I found that as I spoke with co-researchers, there is a strong effort to return to the original name that came from the People. For academic purposes, I refer to them by their recognizable name, but out of respect and to support the movement I also use the name of Nimiipuu throughout.

Chapter three is a very brief introduction to the Nez Perce and their landscape, just a few things gleaned from my search for tule and connection to people. It is impossible to give a complete account of the diversity of people that make up the Nez Perce, and these are just small examples. I must stress that I am just beginning the learning process, after two years and still very much a student that continues to learn each day.

Gathering Tule in chapter four, outlines the significance of tule, dogbane, some botany, and the ecosystems that they live in. Wetlands are one of the most diverse ecosystems on the planet, yet they are often overlooked, destroyed, or channeled away for commerce and development. They are the kidneys of the system, making them important for everyone and everything that depends on clean water. Spending time in these systems creates an awareness about the diversity and benefits that come from immersion in the outdoors. When we gather, we take only what is needed as in chapter five. As settlers moved to the west, much of the land became fractionated and the First Peoples were forced to move or assimilate. I highlight a few key factors in land fractionation and some contemporary movements toward the healing and restoration process.

This process cannot happen without listening to the elders and following their instruction, as highlighted in chapter six. Perhaps the most intimate way to learn about people is through their language and for the Nez Perce, the language is directly connected to the land. Nimiipuu stories from Creation, to place and the role of the people within are directly linked to language through time and space. Instructions can also come from looking, listening and learning material culture as in chapter seven. Here I share my experience engaging in material as living from landscape to maker and beyond as the many layers of tule mats come to life. Finally, I end with some reflections and suggestions from this journey, and a hopeful future as diverse species and diverse communities come together to promote positive change and healing. I conclude with a story, in an effort to complete the circle.

Tule is just one plant on a diverse landscape, but in searching for tule, I found out some things about myself and my connection to the land and the creative process. In tule, exists a living member of the Nimiipuu family infused with, and integral to language, story and meaning, all connected to the place, or landscape which are the Nez Perce Homelands. As a poster of the Nez Perce Seasonal Cycle on my wall reminds me each day, "*This land is my body*". Therefore, one plant, anchored in this landscape is a part of a whole system, connected to Nez Perce life. As that land became fractionated, and the Nez Perce pressured in unfathomable ways, as a threat to one is a threat to all, they persevere despite assaults. In the face of these pressures, the Nez Perce continue vibrant cultural ways through creation, land, language, ceremony, and story. When we support and give ecosystems room to grow <u>on their own terms</u>, they can thrive, but there are many layers to that, just as in being a supportive ally to Nez Perce culture.

CHAPTER 1:
PREPARING TO GATHER:
A LITERATURE REVIEW ON INDIGENOUS METHODS

"Strangely, there has been very little attention paid to Indian methodologies for gathering data, and, consequently, the movement is primarily an ad hoc, personal preference way of gathering new ideas and attempting to weld them into existing bodies of knowledge." Vine Deloria, Jr. (1999)

Historian, Activist, and scholar, Vine Deloria Jr. shared these words in 1999, Indigenous Methodologies continue to be overlooked by mainstream academics as credible and valid. Few publications exist, especially in the United States that highlight the value of these methodologies. Non-Indigenous researchers continue to use Western methods that are colonizing in nature, when working with Indigenous communities. This is perhaps because of the Western tendency to overlook the colonial legacy, and the academic publication process in the United States.

Multiple scholarly works have been published on a global scale in a variety of disciplines that communicate how Indigenous Methods work well. These methods promote de-colonization of research, and promote responsible and respectful collaboration with communities that promote self-determination and re-direct power back to Indigenous Peoples, honoring their voice, rather than extracting from them. Indigenous Methods can be applied on a global scope, while also recognizing individuality and diversity of the many communities that exist and have since time immemorial.

This literature review will consider global contributions that have introduced Indigenous scholarship while paving the way for emerging scholars in the field. When conducting research with Indigenous communities, I suggest that these methodologies be considered. This is not an instructional guide on how to penetrate Indigenous communities

and exploit them for their knowledge. It is a recommendation for researchers to unpack Western linear frameworks and be open to methodologies that are respectful to those that we collaborate with. This is a call to conduct research with, and not "on" Indigenous Peoples.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith presents the "term 'research' [as] inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism." She argues the word itself is, "probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (1999, p.1). Smith's publication, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples,* is a critical consideration of Western paradigms, and a call for Indigenous communities to reclaim ways of knowing. Too often, outsiders have entered communities with an agenda and from a place of power, attempting to define and validate Indigenous ways of knowing through a Western lens.

Smith writes from the perspective of a "colonized" Maori woman and suggests that, insider research be ethical, respectful, reflexive yet can be as critical as outsider research (1999, p.139). Historically, Western scholars have fragmented history and viewed Indigenous Peoples as primitive in their ways. Smith suggests that this needs to be acknowledged and understood for the process of decolonization can begin. For Western history to be styled as "chronological", a point of "discovery" must be defined so that historical development is a sign of "progress". This universal view of history does not leave an opening for Indigenous ways of knowing and these "norms" are almost always created by non-Indigenous scholars.

In chapter eight, Smith lays out twenty-five indigenous projects that highlight reclaiming history and storytelling through Indigenous methods (pp. 144-162). She describes "Indigenizing" as a two-dimensional methodology that incorporates landscape, images, stories, languages, themes, and metaphors. The second aspect is the Indigenous

“project” (p.146). Through this descriptive project, feminist and critical approach are partnered with the privilege focused mainly on the “Indigenous voice”. Smith acknowledges these Western methods as useful, while placing the Indigenous voice as the priority with the power and self-determination.

Smith points out that the word ‘Indigenous’ (a term which derived from the American Indian Movement in the 1970s), is problematic, while it internationalizes the struggles of colonized peoples, it also takes away from the diversity of the many communities. This term gets used by non-allies that do not necessarily take investment in cultures other than their own (p.7).

The magnitude of AIM's reach became apparent in 1977 when an international delegation of indigenous people took their concerns to the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland. Among the delegates was Winona LaDuke, then an 18-year-old Harvard student who had researched uranium and coal mining on Indian lands. "I was in awe of everybody," she recalls in the book. "I'd never been exposed to all this cool political leadership." Winona LaDuke (Abbe, 2013).

Figure 1: Winona LaDuke at United Nations, 1977

There are extensive bodies of research on Indigenous peoples, but few critical texts are localized (p.5). Smith credits African American scholars for providing ways to talk about knowledge, politics and methodologies of research. These scholars have found ways to communicate methodologies that apply at a global setting, while also recognizing the diversity of each individual community. These methods are comfortable for Indigenous communities, but are something that mainstream scholarship has yet to fully embrace.

Born in Botswana, in southern Africa, Dr. Bagele Chilisa was taught by her father at an early age the “decolonization of the mind”, while not coining the term directly, but by

teaching through his actions and examples (p. xix). Chilisa, published *Indigenous Research Methodologies,* (2012) as a guidebook for decolonizing research. Dr. Chilisa gives examples of colonized communities across the global spectrum, encouraging researchers to be culturally responsive through methodologies. Chilisa stresses the importance of participatory research where there is a major increase in the Indigenous voice. The participant becomes to co-researcher, and this is a call to decolonize through action research (p.229).

One negative impact has come from outside researchers that have tended to focus on the problems of the community in which they are working. This results in the researcher leaving the community with a deficit in focusing on their challenges rather than finding positive solutions, or focusing on the strengths of the communities (p. 243-244). Chilisa suggests a more “Appreciative Inquiry” incorporating elements of *Discovery, Dreaming, Design,* and *Destiny.* Participants are involved in the entire process, from the beginning, which contributes to a more relevant framework for questions and interviews (p. 244).

Western trained academics may view this approach as less credible, or less valid because it is not objective, or from an outsider point of view. Yet, dominant cultures are not asked to justify their research nearly as much as colonized communities. In truth, there can be no pure objectivity in research as it can be manipulated and chosen to fit the researchers needs, such as statistics reporting, interview questions (whether one-on-one or in a survey), and choice of project focus. Chilisa also addresses validity and reliability in a clear outline that presents Indigenous Methods as solid research approaches presented through stories (p. 164).

Margaret Kovach (2009), discusses that in qualitative research, stories are personal accounts, however, Western research questions legitimacy of knowledge and validity of this

type of research (pp. 102-103). Kovach states that, from a traditional Cree perspective, knowledge shared is a commitment to others and the Creator to tell the truth, as the storyteller knows it. The use of tobacco signifies a cultural responsibility to be truthful. Validity only comes into question if relational balance is not a framework or worldview of the researcher (p. 103). Kovach states that, "Story as methodology is decolonizing research" (2009, p. 103).

In her book, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (2009), Margaret Kovach discusses how Indigenous Methodologies are often welded (forced) into Western frameworks which can cause confusion and floundering (p. 36). She recognizes Indigenous methods as legitimate, relational, and dedicates an entire chapter to *Story as Indigenous Methodology*. Kovach shares that, "Stories are who we are. They are both method and meaning. Stories spring forth from a holistic epistemology and are the relational glue in a socially independent knowledge system" (2009 p. 108).

Kovach (2009), argues that Indigenous Methods are separate from Western framework and should be identified and communicated as such. Some scholars see them as complimentary, but Kovach outlines the differences and has them stand alone. While certain themes permeate across Indigenous cultures, Kovach also shows that to decolonize research, each communities' differences should be recognized and valued rather than a generalized Pan-Indian approach. Research with Indigenous populations has often been conducted under colonial power structures that do not accept, or support Indigenous research. Morgensen points out that "self-governance" devolved with colonial law, and "protection" as a means of entering the academy, and its funder, the state (2012, p.807).

In, *In the Light of Justice,* Walter R. Echohawk (2013), speaks to the international human rights that Native Americans and other Indigenous communities have throughout the world. Echohawk calls for domestic laws to keep pace with international law and suggests that *Declaration* of rights for Indigenous Peoples should be incorporated into American law and policy (pp. 63-76). While not legally binding, the United Nations Treaties do reinforce the *Declaraion* (pp. 76-91). On September 13, 2007, the UN General Assembly drew from human rights laws and adopted the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (p.3). This *Declaration*, focused on human rights, also covers property, civil rights, politics, economy, social, cultural, religious, and environmental rights that are basic to human populations for survival (p.3). These diverse communities are able to find support among other colonized peoples at the United Nations.

RESPECT
- What is a minimum requirement for participation in indigenous research?
- How can paternalism be avoided?
- What is the difference between respect and tolerance in indigenous research?
- How will the research outcomes be disseminated?

RECIPROCITY
- What negotiation processes are required for a research project, starting from initiation of research, through research conduct to the dissemination of research outcomes?
- Who will carry out research? Who will write it up?
- Who is responsible for research outcomes (any impact)?
- What is the role of indigenous community/communities?

RELIABILIY
- What is required for negotiation about research paradigms and processes?
- What are the factual requirements to a researcher's skills (language, etc.)?
- Who owns the research project? Whose interest does it serve? Who will benefit from it?
- Objectivity of research: both for the indigenous and academic worlds?

RELEVANCE
- Whose research is this? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope?
- What data can and must be used?

Figure 2: (Porsanger, 2010 p.8)

In 2010, Dr. Jelana Porsanger, Sapmi, presented at the United Nations regarding Article 3 and 32 of the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Porsanger herself, is an Indigenous researcher and utilizes this experience to point to the obstructions that Indigenous Peoples face when participating in the developmental processes (p.2). With this

in mind, Porsanger then provides recommendations for research protocols. Taking advice from the work of Tuhiwai Smith, Dr. Jelana Porsanger (Sapmi) outlined four "R" core issues that she suggests must be negotiated when conducting research with indigenous communities:

These protocols are a suggestion by Porsanger for researchers to have at least basic skills in Indigenous Knowledge and that new standards be set for inquiry in Indigenous communities. Protocols can help to strengthen Indigenous identities, change positions of power, and self-representation, which are lacking in Western frameworks (2010 pp. 9-10).

Although global in scope, many of these scholars are a close group that share epistemological commonality and are familiar with each other through relationships. Many come together to share knowledge each year in the small community of Pablo, Montana for the American Indigenous Research Association Conference.

For the past four years, Dr. Lori Lambert, and Indigenous researcher, has organized this groundbreaking conference on continuing developments and emerging scholarship. While Indigenous scholarship, knowledge, and practice is certainly not new, this conference is a platform for unity, shared knowledge and empowerment connecting experienced and emerging scholars.

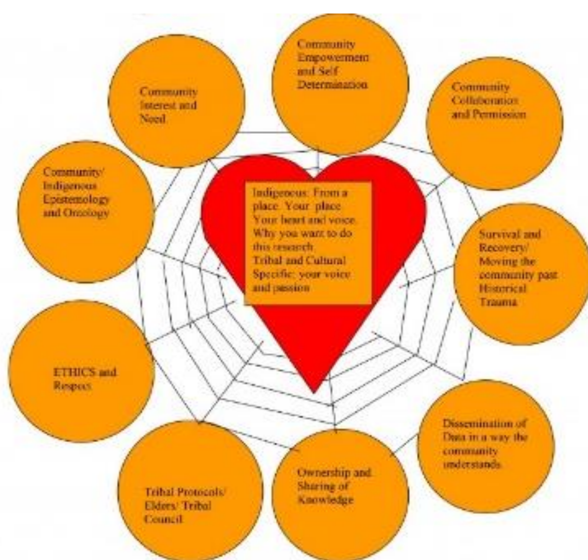


Figure 3: Dr. Lori Lambert Spider Conceptual Model

Dr. Lambert designed the *Spider Conceptual Model,* (2014, 220). Lambert's model is designed to give empowerment to indigenous communities and while her work is mainly in the field of behavioral sciences, this concept can be applied in all fields of research. Lambert describes Indigenous axiology as being built upon accountability. This protection is not just for human subjects, but also carries over to knowledge, ceremony, language, and relationships (p.63). This web highlights how the people can be co-participants in the research and in sharing are more than just "participants" or "subjects".

Lambert's book, *Research for Indigenous Survival*, calls for centering tribal culture within the research (as Chapter 7 is titled), encouraging a research agenda that emanates from within the community. She encourages researchers to responsibly follow protocols that empower the community. Indigenous methods often come from orality rather than written documentation. The researcher is able to form a relationship with the scholar through dialogue and the written word. This is more than simply following a set of directions, but the relationship holds each person accountable for their actions, as though they were related. A similar scholar, Shawn Wilson refers to this as "relational accountability" (2008, pp. 97-100).

In *Research is Ceremony* (2008), Shawn Wilson alternates chapters between a conversation with scholars and his sons in a part academic, part generational conversation story outlining Indigenous Methodologies. Wilson, Cree, from northern Manitoba, takes the reader through his own research journey with Australian aboriginal communities. He stresses the importance of relationality which holds us accountable to those that we are working with. When you take time to get to know people, they are more than "informants" or "subjects", they are friends and colleagues.

Wilson (2008), uses the circle because it is often used in Indigenous cultures, while he cautions about being too dogmatic. “The circle is a structural form that is egalitarian, relational, supporting inclusion and wholeness” (p.70). Wilson’s model encircles the Indigenous research paradigm with entities that are inseparable (2008, p.70). Each of the entities, Methodology, Axiology, Ontology, and Epistemology are components that have relationship to each other and form a mutual reality (p. 71).

Wilson cites the work of Carlos Corderol (1995), who argues a major difference between Western linear style and Indigenous is the, “Separation of those areas called science from those called art and religion. The indigenous knowledge base integrates them.” The very idea of objectivity creates this separation that is not found in Indigenous methods.

Figure 4: Shawn Wilson Indigenous Research Circle

These separations are not a natural part of Indigenous life, and it is a challenge to force them into a linear way of thinking. Wilson’s writing critiques other (Western) paradigms, not to discredit them or to justify his own, but to better understand them. Perhaps Western academics could take a cue from what Wilson is describing, suggesting that “checking your heart is a critical process” (Wilson, 2008).

In *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision,* Marie Battiste (2000) shares a collection from several Indigenous scholars that discuss decolonization through recognition of trauma and healing through self-determination. Battiste organizes this book into chapters that point

in the four cardinal directions, each a door of recognition, diagnosis, healing, and a vision for the future. In the section, *Northern Door*, James (Sakej) Youngblood Henderson writes that, "scholarly beliefs are embedded in particular languages and cultures and are shaped by them" and he continues to describe the paradox of Eurocentrism as, "resistant to change and continues to exercise persuasive intellectual power" (p.60). The appendix of this book offers *Principles and Guidelines for the Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous Peoples,* outlining 60 considerations that researchers, government, and other entities should consider seriously before and while conducting research to protect and respect cultural heritage. This guideline also discusses informed consent and ethics, for the protection of communities and their living knowledge.

At her keynote address in Montana, Dr. Bagele Chilisa shared that "Earth knowledge creates heart intelligence" (presentation, October, 2015). Chilisa pointed to other ways of doing research that do not simply require literature, or labeling, and stressed that "one can find many things through a local peoples' language system". These are not competing ideas. Indigenous knowledge is a science and can complement "hard sciences" and often does, but can also stand alone. Similarly, Kovach (2009), states that there is a deep concern among Indigenous researchers about risking cultural knowledge as Western science may not recognize its legitimacy. She offers Indigenous methods as an option and cautions against homogenizing Indigenous cultures as has happened far too often in the past.

In a literature review, the author is charged with highlighting related academic writing to their research. It is not a place to input opinion, but to have textual examples stand alone. Still, the very texts that the writer chooses are based on their own biases and that is why I need to take a moment for some reflection and thoughts. I am concerned that as a non-

Indigenous researcher that I may be contributing to a new form of intrusion through dialogue and adapting these practices. It should be considered that there is a danger of taking terminology and wielding it as a colonial tool. In the end, the most important part of Indigenous methods is participation, listening, respect, and patience. This is something that is hard for Western researchers to break through, especially on tight budgets and time limits. As a researcher, you are forever a student and never an expert in Indigenous culture. With this comes a possibility that the research might not be taken seriously by the academic standards. Academically, Western mythologies are placed over Indigenous ways of knowing, which leaves a valid and time tested way of knowing out of the picture.

As Wilson discusses, he became part of a web of relationships at the conference in Pablo, Montana. This is where I formed a relationship with his work, and met several scholars that were influential in these methodologies. These scholars came from all parts of the world and all spoke of being colonized, and efforts to decolonize research. Although very diverse, we shared food and conversation and learned from each other about the possibilities. I felt enlightened as the work I would be doing with the Nez Perce Tribe would fit well within this circle. While I am non-Native, I was welcomed as an ally. Being an ally is not a way in, it is a responsibility.

The circle is an important symbol in many indigenous cultures, but is different for each one. Similarly, Indigenous paradigms can be applied globally, yet are unique to each community. This requires time and dedication and is not to be taken lightly. If we are to truly decolonize methodologies, we must first wade through the mud of the legacy that colonialism left behind. Then, we can walk away, or use this to build bridges of respect and repair. We can never repay the debt that is owed to Indigenous populations and continues to

grow daily, but we can pay attention to their ideas and methods and respect them. This movement is taking shape and coming directly from Indigenous communities, honoring their lifeways. It is time to listen.

Visuals and texts are important additions to these methodologies, but just as important are oral and experiential knowledge that come with relationships. As a non-Native person working with an indigenous community, it is vital to consider these methodologies and conduct research with, not on the most studied people on the planet. Outsiders are not discovering anything new. We are sharing knowledge that has existed since time immemorial. We need to first ask ourselves before embarking on research of this manner, what benefits will it give back to the community? Am I positioning myself as an expert, or a student?

We are always learning and experiencing new things. We just need to listen and in forming a respectful relationship with people and knowledge, it must be reciprocal. We must not take away, but contribute to the communities that we work with. We should enter with a good heart, willing to listen and participate when asked. We need patience and understanding and accountability and awareness of the impact that colonialism has had on communities that still creates pain and suffering to this day. This is how we begin the healing and decolonizing process.

CHAPTER 2:
ACCOUNTABILITY: METHODS AND REFLEXIVITY

"Indigenous research is the ceremony of maintaining accountability to these relationships"
Shawn Wilson (2008)

METHODS:

I struggled within Western frameworks and felt that they were too linear, cutting out important parts of the research. In October of 2015, I attended a conference in Pablo, Montana for the American Indigenous Research Association. There I met scholars from around the world that have found ways to communicate Indigenous Methods academically, on their own terms. Many of the presenters integrated story, ceremony, tradition, and protection of their heritage into research design across many disciplines. Through this listening experience, and further research, I found that there are paradigms that work well and should be considered when working with Indigenous communities.

This research is qualitative in nature, I listened to stories and suggestions from the Nez Perce people, travelled the landscape, spent time with objects, began to learn the language, and conducted interviews. Each of these experiences are related to the other and are not separate concepts. Each part of the research was approached with ceremony and listening to story, whether it was a person, object, or part of the landscape. The language made everything come to life, as I experienced and as several co-researchers so eloquently shared.

I refer to my "informants" as friends and co-researchers. I felt that the word "informant" although considered academically professional, seemed to indicate a covert operation, insinuating they were sharing secret information. Interviews were organized with a set of questions, but became more of an open dialogue. Each person was careful to express

that what they shared was the way they were told, or was simply their opinion, leaving an opening for another's interpretation of story or event. This is important in Nez Perce culture, but does not lend itself to quantitative analysis, in this situation. As I continued, I did not feel comfortable as a typical researcher, clip board in hand, solid set of questions, and charts compiled that validated our conversations. I saw my co-researchers as more than statistical responses. They were sharing stories from the heart and nothing in that needs justification, and quantitative data did not fit in this case. I have seen surveys offered many times to Tribal members over the years. Often, these results would be overlooked in favor of policies that favor government and economic priorities from outsiders. I was not about to contribute to yet another survey.

As I continued my coursework at the University of Idaho, I found that through the work of Dr. Rodney Frey, it was possible to experience the "*Power of the Between*" as Stoller deemed it. Stoller (2009), highlights how stories can be transformative, connecting teller and audience, and like the wind, carry us closer to wisdom (p.173). Dr. Frey retold stories that Cliff Sijohn and Alan Old Horn shared and I imagined the "tin shed" and the "sweat house" that we can only understand once we are inside. If we are invited, we must enter with a good heart and be respectful. For me, Kevin Peters invited me to step, "One foot in the mud," immersing myself in the Nez Perce landscape in search of tule.

I met Kevin Peters in 2015, who planted the seed by suggesting, "someone should look into the tule plant. And, dogbane too. They do not get the attention they deserve." (personal communication, 2015). I walked away with the thought in the back of my mind, and as I researched more, I would find that a plant would take me on an adventure through Nez Perce homelands and forever change my life.

I began with informal conversations with tribal members. Early on, I met with Dr. Yolanda Bisbee, at the University of Idaho, to make sure that I was being respectful academically and to the Nez Perce Tribe. The University, which is seated on Nez Perce land, is working on improving protocols to protect Indigenous knowledge, with all surrounding tribes. I paired that with ecological research into the tule plant and the wetlands, marshes and riparian areas in which it would have thrived at one time. I explored the landscape that is the Nez Perce homelands, getting a better understanding of the variety of micro climates that exist in this region, as well as how these landscapes have been divided by water manipulation, developments, and agricultural practices. I then began to explore collections, looking at tule mats, comparing them to cattail mats, and considering various cultures that made them. Added to that were thinly available academic findings regarding tule, as well as visits to archives for historical research. I looked closely at flat bags made of Indian Hemp (which I refer to here as dogbane) as material transitioned over time with less dogbane, into cornhusk bags. Dogbane as material was at one time very valuable as a trade item as skilled Nez Perce crafted many items with it. Dogbane is also the main material that holds tule mats together, allowing them to function in a useful way.

As a result of this project, I began attending summit meetings for Nimiipuu Protecting the Environment. NPPE is a grass roots organization that works for environmental awareness and protection of the land while upholding treaty rights. These summits have been an empowering and engaging, introducing me to many people that work hard to protect the land and culture. I was fortunate to present my potential project in December of 2015, and was met with encouragement and enthusiasm. It was vital to have

the acceptance from Tribal members to continue, otherwise I felt that I should not go forward. I have transitioned into a more activist role, based on the knowledge that I have gained and will continue an ongoing relationship with the tribe, as an ally.

On a cold morning in December, I met with a group of elders in Lapwai, Idaho. I intended to interview them, but felt that time was better invested in introducing myself, talking about this work, asking for approval, and building trust relationships. With a box of homemade cookies and jam, sweetgrass and tobacco pouches, I asked for their approval and stated my intentions and goals. The room was filled with their wisdom and I was humbled with their existence. These women are keeping their language and culture alive and hold the keys to the past and the future. There is simply no way to describe this in written word. My heart was overfilling, much as it has each time I attended an event, talk, powwow, or interview in Nez Perce country. The Nez Perce are incredible people, strong, and kind hearted. Because of this, I felt intense responsibility to be respectful and do a good job for them and conduct relevant research that they can use for future protection of lands and culture.

I planned to meet again with the elders for a group interview prior to this publication. However, our gathering was postponed because the Lapwai Wildcats (the local high school) went to the state basketball tournament. Through my experience in Indian Country, I understand that entire communities clear out during basketball tournaments. With hard work, determination, and great coaching, the Wildcats, both boys and girls won the state tournament. This certainly outweighed my interview as a priority, and I am more than happy with the outcome. Sherman Alexie once said in an interview, "*Basketball is actually one of the strongest aspects of our culture, especially intertribal culture. It's more intense and*

certainly more common than powwows. It has that warrior appeal that modern society doesn't provide to native men anymore. Basketball ended up being a sort of substitute warrior culture. I played my whole life, even as an adult, until I had kids and couldn't go out of town to tournaments anymore" (Alexie interview, Blasingame, 2008).

I was connected to the elders through my Nez Perce Language teacher, Angel K. Sobotta. Angel teaches the Nez Perce language from the heart and through active learning. In addition, after hearing talks from Nakia Williamson and Josiah Pinkham, I realized that the Nez Perce language *is* the landscape. To leave language out would create a hole in the research, as these are inseparable parts of the same body. I had once heard Allen Pinkham state, "Biology is important, but we must talk about cultural importance of the land. Without the cultural added, it is like cutting an arm off of the body." (LCSC presentation, March, 2016). Those words entered my heart and mind and I carried them with me through the research process.

I must stress the importance of Tribal approval. The University of Idaho is continuing to work on and update protocols in working with tribes and this is as it should be. Native people are the most studied people on the planet, and it is crucial to work with tribal representatives to gain consent prior to moving forward. The Nez Perce tribal government requires a research permit application. This application requires that the researcher state their intent, agree to protect cultural rights, and will do no harm to the community. The application passes through a variety of departments including Cultural, Natural Resources, and other applicable, then to the Nez Perce Tribal Council for final approval (See Appendix A). While a Tribal government process, this also recognizes diversity within, several

individuals review the intent of the researcher to be sure that this is in the best interest of the overall tribe. This process can take time and should be completed prior to the IRB.

The IRB, or Institutional Review Board, represents the organization in which the researcher works under, such as in this case, the University of Idaho. Because of the history in human research, regulations are created to protect participants. The board reviews questionnaires, confidentiality, data, and other considerations to protect human participants and ensure that research is conducted ethically and responsibly (See Appendix B). The NIH certificate, or National Institute of Health, shows that the researcher has completed training in the interest of protecting human research participants (See Appendix C). Researchers should always work ethically and operate under best practices and these requirements help to protect research participants through oversight. As an ethnographer, I also followed ethical protocols outlined in the American Association of Anthropologists blog and publications.

Timing, seasonality, and human nature did not allow for all the intended projects to be completed. One example was a proposed participant workshop for gathering tule and making tule mats. I felt that immersion in the outdoors and the creative process are important facets that should be considered. I touch on some of this in the writing, but could not make the workshjops happen in time. Each time I tried to push things through, I failed miserably. When I organized, yet let things happen in the right way, they worked out. Each having a lesson to add along the way. A second example was a permit granted to me by a state agency to gather tule, however upon speaking with Tribal members found this to be a culturally sensitive area. In order to respect the Tribe, this idea had to be set aside.

In addition, I set out to conduct a “scientific” plot on the property that I rent in Deary, Idaho. This property contains a CRP pond that is home to several hearty groups of tule. I utilized previous training in wetland delineation as well as the Rapid Assessment Methods (RAM) to consider wetland health in my observations (Stein, 2009). While I did try to incorporate “hard science” into this research, in the end it became qualitative in nature and being immersed in wetland ecosystems provided stories about the landscape and diversity.

REFLEXIVITY:

I have been an artist for as long as I can remember, from coloring on my walls as a child to understanding the importance of the creative process as a teacher and mother. As a young single mother, I attended college as an art major, chipping away over the years then transitioning into outdoor education. On a tight budget, my children and I spent many weekends camping, hiking, and making art projects together.

Taught by Jeffrey Chapman at the University of Minnesota, and Joseph Horse Capture at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, I learned that Native People really had no word for “art” that is was a way of life. “Art” is a European concept of display and economic value that did not apply to many tribes. Many items are viewed as living relatives and are intended as gifts or used only for ceremony, a thought that stayed with me as I wandered through museums seeing them trapped behind Plexiglas cases. I studied an Ojibwe Bandolier bag and realized that ideas become trade items as well as objects. Ojibwe women saw lacework from Norwegian settlers and changed patterns from geometric to curvilinear with incredible skill. Later, I saw a Norwegian wedding dress at a museum and felt a portion of what it must feel like to see a relative trapped in a display.

As my children grew up and out onto their own, I became an interpretive ranger at Glacier National Park. There I would learn about the contentious relationship between the park that is seated on Native land, and the Blackfeet tribe to whom the mountains are the “Backbone of the World”. I learned all that I could about Blackfeet and met many wonderful people. At a ceremony of the four bands, on the visitor center lawn, I met Roger. We became instant friends as we shared laughter and stories and eventually my plan to remain single would end, as we began a life together. I spent summers as a ranger and winters as a teacher on the reservation. I was certainly an outsider, but was met with kindness and acceptance beyond my imagination. Since then, Roger and I have moved a few times, always catching a pow wow whenever we can. I have been gifted an opportunity to incorporate my art into Roger’s regalia, listen to the drums that stay in my head and heart for days, meet new friends and reconnect with old. I am in a strange situation as a non-Native person surrounded by many things that I may never come to understand, but have the highest respect for. In all of these things, the natural world, art, ceremony, prayer, and story come together and there are no separations.

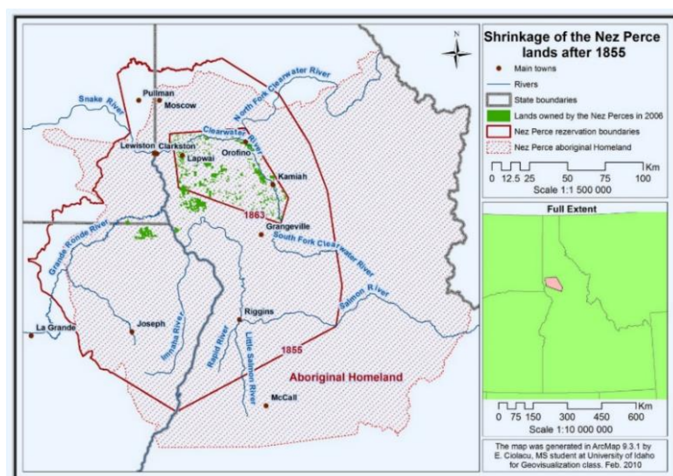
I have had to unpack many old ways of thinking and break divisions that are created by the mainstream system. I have grown to appreciate and understand Indigenous ways of thinking, and yet still struggle with linear ways that have been ingrained through my education. I am indeed in an interesting position that carries a history of colonial oppression and false narrative, but I hope to contribute to a positive change. I do not want to appropriate, but I do want to appreciate and take time to listen. Native communities are speaking to all of us out of concern for our future and living in a sustainable world. It is time to listen.

CHAPTER 3:
SEARCHING FOR TULE: PEOPLE AND PLACE

"Each time the sun comes up, it's a new day. We greet these new days with prayer and song. We have special songs for all these things…A lot of songs are about nature and a way of life." Horace Axtell, (2000)

Perhaps the most recognizable icons of Nez Perce culture by non-Natives are the images and words of Chief Joseph, and the Appaloosa horse. Both are highly respected and regarded, but the Nez Perce are far more multifaceted people, deeply rooted in landscape and connected to their history, while serving as respectable contemporaries that uphold and sustain their culture through stories passed over generations. The narrative of the Nez Perce is not mine to tell, but throughout this journey, I have connected to the people through their homelands and their stories.

The rocks and hillsides are living stories of creation and direction from the animal people that came before and rivers and lakes are home to the sacred salmon. The homelands are full of a variety of terrain with roots, berries, and many other materials that made Nez Perce life rich and diverse. Nez Perce People create exceptional beadwork, basket hats, bags, mats, and more, reflecting the land and life in imagery and story.



The Nez Perce, or *Nimiipuu* People occupied traditional territory between the Bitterroots to the east and the Blue Mountains to the west, in what today we refer to as Idaho, parts of Oregon and Washington (nezperce.org).

Figure 5: from *http://1.bp.blogspot.com/_ukX3lLS82QU/S7PJ8wkwKoI/AAAAAAAAADI/KP_oDqAKYTg/s1600/Nez_Perce_2.jpg*

Originally, Nez Perce hunted, fished and gathered between a total of 13 and 15 million acres in this area (Nez Perce, 2003).

Trade and social interaction have been conducted since prehistoric times throughout the Columbia Basin (Nez Perce, 2003). With a rich variety of terrain, the Nez Perce were wealthy and thrived throughout the seasons as they gathered and crafted material for daily life and valuable trade items, such as dogbane rope and netting.

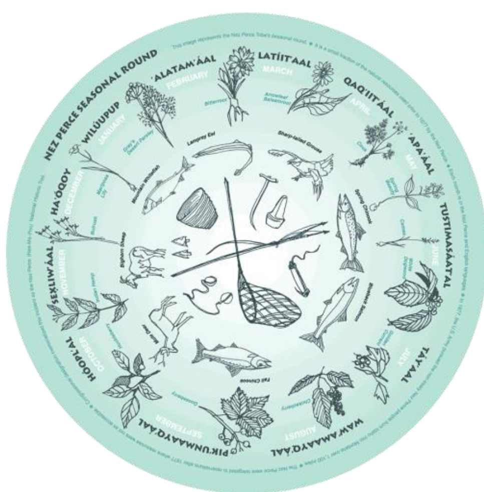


Figure 6: Nez Perce Seasonal Round

The Nez Perce Seasonal Round serves as a guide to gathering, hunting and other ways of life, with the natural world sending cues as for gathering, hunting, fishing, and so forth. The landscape was rich in diversity and the Nez Perce/Nimiipuu lived closely within, rather than over the natural world around them.

Long ago, families lived in longhouses constructed mainly by women. These were A-framed with poles and mats of tule were laid across like shingles, with an opening at the top to let sun in and smoke out. The women were responsible for keeping the fires going (James, 1996). Tule would have been readily available and mats could easily be rolled for travel seasonally from one place to another. Tule was normally gathered in the fall and mats were used year-around and were ideal for movements within the seasonal round.

In later years, the longhouse would also become a place for the *Walasat* or *Waashut* religion, the oldest known religious practice of the Nez Perce. Many of these longhouses are still in use today across the Plateau region, even though the United States government and

missionaries attempted to prevent the Nez Perce from conducting their own traditional practices (Nez Perce Tribe, 2003). Thanks to Horace Axtell, this lifeway has been renewed and has a growing following among the Nimiipuu People.

Today, Lapwai, Idaho is the central location for Nez Perce Tribal government and other offices. One office is the Nez Perce Water Resources Division, which works to, "manage, protect, develop, and restore the Nez Perce Tribe's surface and groundwater resources and watershed environments in the treaty-reserved homelands for the benefit, health, culture, and welfare of the tribal public" (http://nptwaterresources.org/). It is important to remember that the treaties did not create new rights for the People, in fact they created divisions in the land and ancestral places. Treaties were an agreement to retain as many rights as possible while intruders continued to chip away at the homelands. Some outsiders believe treaties are no longer binding, however federal courts, Congress and executive orders confirm these reserved rights and their validity (Nez Perce Tribe, 2003). These treaties are constantly under threat and many Tribes such as the Nez Perce are forced to fight for rights such as hunting, gathering, and fishing, as well as protecting landscapes.

Near Lapwai, in Spalding, is the Nez Perce National Historic Park. The park is the sight of the old Spalding Mission and has a visitor center and grounds with interpretive information. Since its inception in 1965, the park has worked with the tribe as employees, cultural consultants, collections management, and exhibits creation. This is where I first met Kevin Peters who introduced me to the richness of Nez Perce life.

Kevin is an interpretive ranger at the park and a tribal member. He is an artist, scholar, dancer, and so many other things including an inspiration to many as he plants seeds of knowledge. We discussed that I was interested in working with a tribe and a plant and he suggested, "What about tule? Tule just doesn't get the recognition that it deserves" (personal communication, 2015).

Figure 7: Photo of Kevin Peters by his Coyote Painting, taken by the author.

Although I was familiar with wetland ecology, I was not familiar with tule. Kevin talked about the importance of Nez Perce women and how they did so much to ensure the well-being of the people, including mat making and gathering (personal communication, 2015). Caroline James shares a quote from an interviewee (whom she calls, "middle aged woman") in her 1996 publication:

"In think they [anthropologists] are missing out, because they seem to fail to realize that Nez Perce women were the mainstay, that they provided anywhere from 80 to 85 percent of the work to maintain a household." (James, 1996 p. 11).

Gathering tule for Nez Perce is generational and as in all plant gathering, there are "techniques and methods" as Lucinda Simpson taught me. She shared that some younger folks have not been taught these methods and may go out and simply gather, not knowing to leave some behind and be selective. She also agreed that opportunities for elders to teach

youth these methods would be beneficial to the landscape and the tribe in teaching them, "how to use these things that are provided to us" (personal communication, January, 2017).

I connected with Lucinda at a presentation about water in conjunction with an exhibit at the Moscow, Idaho City Hall. She was dressed in traditional regalia and shared a story for each part of her outfit, from her basket hat to her 100-year-old moccasins. She is from a root gathering family, which allows her to wear a basket hat, and each part of her regalia had a connection to water (presentation, January, 2017). Many of these hats are made from dogbane, beargrass, and other traditional plants. Simpson shared some colorful stories about her time as a policewoman, and is very charismatic with people. She is heavily involved in Nimiipuu Protecting the Environment, and is one of the women featured in the book, *Nez Perce Women in Transition,* (James, 1996). James' publication remains one of the few resources highlighting Nez Perce women and their roles as caregivers, creators, and warriors.

In a class in 2015, Josiah Pinkham stood at the front with an array of regalia and objects. He spoke of the role of women to the people and how they would not have been able to survive without them. More than 80% of food gathered is by Nez Perce women, as well as their great care for the home and preparation since the beginning of time (presentation, 2015). As gatherers, the women had special techniques for digging roots and gathering. While the knowledge still exists, it is under threat due to the loss of gathering places (James, 1996).

Many Nez Perce women that I spoke with said that tule just isn't around as much as it used to be, and that the best crop is in the casino pond. This was a running joke in the Lapwai area, humor used as a device to heal from the painful reality that the landscape has

been changed creating losses of important plants and ecosystems. Some have special places to gather, or have heard of them, but they are kept secret for protection.

Lucinda Simpson spoke with me about gathering and what it is like to interact with the landscape and prepare and make materials. She spoke about deep respect for gathering areas and leaving an offering because, "This is where our ancestors gathered, in the same area" (personal communication, January, 2017).

Figure 8: Unidentified Woman near Tule Lodge NEPE-HI-0400

In a discussion with my Nez Perce friend, whom I will call, H.B. (for Humble Butterfly – to protect anonymity), she stated that when she gathered tule with her children, she felt her ancestors presence. It was a very special moment for them, interacting with the land, the plants and the ecosystem including the water that went with it. She spoke with great enthusiasm about the ancestors, the frogs, the air, the mud, and all the sensations of immersion in the wetland (personal communication, March, 2017). Through story, the land is clearly connected to identity, ancestry, health and well-being, the creative process, and generations yet to come.

I carried these stories with me, like a rolled up tule mat, moving from place to place looking for wetlands in the Nez Perce Homelands. The words are the dogbane that holds the stories together, as they shrink and expand and the people breathe life into them. I came to understand that respect for the people is respect for the tule plant. It is not as simple as going

out, pulling a plant out of its roots, making a mat, and carrying on. There is a process, an attention to surroundings, an appreciation for our place within the cycle of life. We tend to think we are in control of the land, manipulating and molding it to our desire. In reality, we have a place within that landscape and can learn if we only pay attention.

In *Wisdom Sits in Places* (2013), Angel Sobotta describes how "wisdom in places" means land, language, people and legends, introducing herself as who she is and where she is situated in this "place" called the Nez Perce homelands. Through storytelling, she walks the audience through highway 12, which runs through the reservation. The landscape along this strip of land is filled with stories, including the Heart of the Monster, the Nez Perce creation story in near Kamiah, Idaho. Angel awakens the creation story through a play in Nez Perce language and all these things come together to speak to the importance of the landscape through storytelling. Angel encouraged that the Nez Perce are, "Good, strong, brave, intelligent people that are encouraged to live up to their stories" (Sabotta, 2013).

I travelled roads that passed through the Homelands from Montana, to Wallowa, to White Bird in search of tule and dogbane. Each location had a story of its own, and as I passed through agriculture and developments, I could see the land of the Nez Perce/Nimiipuu far and wide ingrained deeply in the soil. Sometimes, I would look so hard at a creek that I would see the ghosts of salmon and lamprey. Fields that were drained and tilled, were former homes for precious roots and hunting grounds. Rocks and outcroppings in formations are characters from important stories caused me to consider how different this

place would look had it been left to the caring hands of the Nimiipuu People. This is the Nez Perce Holy Land, and lines of commerce and development cut through it all like a hot knife.

Figure 9: Interpretive sign at Joseph Canyon. Artwork by Nakia Williamson, photo by the author.

Some locations have signage signifying an historical event, many do not, but are just as important to Nez Perce culture. As Lucinda said, perhaps not everything can be called “sacred” so to speak, but it is important to have respect and reverence for all that we are given. Just as some signs educate travelers, some also state “Private” or “Keep Out” and are on traditional gathering lands. She stated that often even when permission is asked of the landowner, gatherers are turned away.

Prior to visiting with Lucinda, as summer was winding down, I had the intention of organizing a group to gather and make tule mats for participant observation. With cold weather fast approaching, I happened upon a location that seemed perfect for gathering. On the sign I observed the agencies in charge of the area, so I immediately contacted the agency to request a permit. The staff enthusiastically granted a permit and I was on the way to organizing a group, with the assumption that all would go as planned.

I mentioned the location to some elders and was met with uncomfortable silence. I had a Tribal research permit, a permit from the agency that managed the location, but I had

neglected to ask the elders first. I spent a few hours doing some archival research and came upon the history of this place (that I will not name for protection). I asked several people through interviews about what they knew and while it may be a good story, I am relieved that I never pulled one stalk of tule from this place.

In December, I met with the elders' group in Lapwai. I explained that I had researched this place and that while I was granted a permit, I felt that out of respect for them, this was not a place to gather. They were relieved, and we discussed that how in many instances, researchers are granted permission by other entities than the Tribe and these sites are then exploited for their resources, or desecrated by some. This is crucial to consider when researching in and around Tribal lands. While I did not complete my intended "participant observation" workshop, within my time frame, I was able to hold a respectful and responsible relationship with the elders and their connection to this place. This would be one of many lessons learned from listening to Nimiipuu People, as harm to the land meant harm to the People.

CHAPTER 4:
GATHERING TULE

Figure 10: Woman Gathering Tule source: oregonphotos.com

"Plants are our oldest teachers"
Robin Wall Kimmerer

While tule is available throughout the world and has historically been utilized by Indigenous Peoples, little information exists about its usefulness and benefit to ecosystems. Tule, is a bulrush which grows in marshes and swampy ground at the edges of lakes and streams at lower elevations; sometimes growing in water a meter or more deep (Turner, 1998). This plant is called by names such as *Hard-stemmed Bulrush, Roundstem Bulrush, Bulrush, or Rush,* is a member of the Cyperaceae, sedge family. The scientific name for tule is *Scirpus acutus* as well as *Schoenoplectus acutus.* Some plants can grow up to 3 meters (or around 9 feet tall), (Turner, 1998 pp. 108-110).

Figure 11: tule in shallow lake, by the author.

Curious about the two scientific names for tule, I asked a Smithsonian botanist who is an expert in the family Cyperacea. Mark Strong (personal communication, July 19, 2016), shared that *Scirpus* is a name that derived from Linneaus taxonomy and is a place where many rushes are seated until new generas are discovered. As the genera for *Scirpus* was split *Schoenoplectus* became a new name. Strong has been involved in discovering some of these new genera and he humbly shared his knowledge about seed dispersal, genetics, and photosynthesis.

Turner, (1998) describes tule as having swollen stem bases with rounded ends. Ends are lighter at the bottom and become darker green in color as the stem tapers toward the top. Tule has poorly developed leaf sheaths, but due to the quality of photosynthesis that the stem provides, the plant has little need for leaves (Mark Strong, personal communication, July 19, 2016). Many animals and waterfowl take advantage of tule as nesting material and food sources. They are used by a variety of waterfowl across a wide geographic range (Allen, et al. 2008).

"Alongside the flower head is an erect, tapering green bract 2-10cm long, appearing as a continuation of the stem. The flowers grow in numerous compact grey-brown spikelets clustered at the ends of a number of short branches spreading from a single point at the top of the stem." (Turner, 1998 pp. 108-110)

Figure 12: Tule seed head taken by the author at CRP pond in Deary, Idaho, September, 2016

Allen, Nuechterlein, and Buitron conducted a study in 2008 regarding tule stands and water nesting birds. They stated that lakes are managed for multiple users and this overlap can sometimes negatively impact waterbirds (p.411). By placing artificial nests and creating wave action, the researchers were able to study how waves on lakes impact nesting birds, and in addition made observations about bulrush growth. They found that a positive relationship existed between stand density and stem height and that some clonal bulrushes grow in predictable patterns. Center stands die out and leave inner pockets surrounded by a larger stand. They found that older stands with more density were taller, which provided a good nesting habitat for birds such as nesting grebes. Because of the thick bases and taller stems, and tubular structure, these bulrush communities were able to attenuate waves (Allen et al. 2008, pp. 414-415).

In the web, one mammal has a close relationship with tule and wetlands. Muskrats create burrows and lodges in and around these systems. They use tule for building materials as well as food sources, eating from above and below ground (Henry et al., 2000). Muskrats directly influence wetland vegetation, distribution, production, invertebrates, and bird habitat (Henry at al., 2000). They are a key species in the wetland web and work in a partnership for succession and changes, as they cut and discard plant materials, increasing diversity.

Kevin told me that tules are like people, “One is fine, but together, can accomplish great things” (personal communication, 2015, 2017). Tule is an important mat-making material for many tribal people. Most people harvest at the peak of maturity in late summer and early fall. If they are too young, they are hard to pull up, but if just right they pull out of the base easily, but can also be cut with a knife. Care must be taken not to bend or kink

stems during harvest. Mats can be rolled into a tight bundle and stored (because of pithy stems) – they served many purposes (Turner, 1998).

Traditionally, Nez Perce created large A-framed dwellings covered with portable reed mats (Pinkham and Evans, 2013 p. 87). These mats were layered like shingles and could be moved to a new location easily by carrying of floating downstream (Pinkham and Evans, 2013 p. 87). These dwellings were used closely in step with the cycle of the salmon. The wetland environment where tule thrives benefits fish of all sorts. Most fish are in some way dependent on wetlands for food, spawning, nurseries, or other habitat requirements (Dugan, 2005).

Figure 13: Nez Perce Families drying salmon near tule mat longhouse. Mural at Nez Perce National Historic Park, Spalding Visitor Center, by Nakia Williamson. Photo by the author.

While conducting this research, I found that there were several stands of tule growing in the CRP pond on our rental property in Deary, Idaho in 2015. The Conservation Reserve Program or CRP, is administered by the Farm Service Agency. This program began in 1985 to restore agricultural land to ecologically protected land. This is a win for the environment as well as the farmer as it helps to improve water quality, prevent soil erosion, and improve areas for wildlife (USDA-FSA, 2016). The pond on the property is a fine example of how this program can be successful. Several wetland plants flourish, as well as

several waterfowl, fish, frogs, turtles, kingfishers, great blue herons, turkeys, deer and an occasional moose. In the spring of 2016, close to where I observed tule the year prior, I constructed a 1 meter by 1 meter study plot with the intention of observing and measuring tule growth throughout the summer months, then harvesting in the fall.

At the pond near the plot, I heard the red winged black bird sing to welcome spring. I observed a pair of swans that came to visit as well as the hard-working muskrat family. As Kevin told me, I witnessed the wet, matted down grass from the dear bedding down at night, and felt the cool breeze on my face. I was immersed in the pond with as Kevin put it, "One foot in the mud." (personal communication, 2015). I startled a great blue heron, stealthily stalking frogs and sun fish. It flew over me like a terrestrial being from the stone age.

As the days grew longer, I checked the plot and to my surprise and amusement, the first strong plant to present itself was directly outside of the plot, as if to remind me that my rules did not apply. By June, many of the goslings had hatched and were scolded by the adults if they strayed too far. Water striders glided across the surface, dragonflies and damselflies hovered at the reflection from my sunglasses. The pond was full of life above, below and all around, all dependent on each other for survival and I stood among them all considering my role in this place.

Figure 14: Study plot by the author.

I left in late June for a fellowship at the Smithsonian, but would return in four weeks to catch up with their developments. Upon my return, I was surprised to find that there were few tule left in the area. Something had happened. I had also expected to gather service berries that seemed bountiful when I left, but were now puckered and shriveled in the sun. The weather had turned warm quickly, but there was also a change in the area that had my concern. Prior to the past two seasons, the hillside behind the pond had been allowed to grow freely without disturbance. Now, this land is leased for agriculture and has been tilled, given extra nutrients and sprayed for weeds. I had a theory that agricultural runoff was the culprit in the depletion of the tule plants and this created a concern. Tules are great at absorbing toxins as are many wetland plants, but this could pose a problem for traditional plant uses.

While ponds and wetlands are the kidneys of the system, and are able to absorb and filter toxins well, there is only so much loading that they can handle (Prather, personal communication, 2016). Researchers concluded that cattails are able to absorb far more nitrates than bulrushes, such as tule which was better at absorbing ammonia (Gebremariam and Beutel, 2008). I am left to wonder if this was the cause of the tule depletion, as this would require laboratory testing to determine nutrient loads. Dr. Prather (2016) also mentioned that because the land was tilled, the water flow had changed and that it would enter the ground differently now.

The primary source for agricultural runoff is nitrogen (N), some fertilizer being taken by crops, while remaining amounts of nitrates run into surface and ground waters. This nutrient loading can create "dead zones" as well as contaminate potable water (Beutel et al., 2009). In some cases, wetlands can be constructed to mitigate wastewater, such as settling

ponds, which can benefit the system. Constructed wetlands reduce nutrients and provide habitats for amphibians, birds, and other animals (Michael, 2003), but should be considered as non-usable for traditional plant gathering and using for materials such as mats that come into contact with food, children or elderly that are susceptible to contamination.

Jane Shuttleworth, found that little information exists regarding revegetation of bulrush, and decided to interview resource managers, biologists, nursery owners and researchers who she felt in 1997, were pioneering these efforts. Shuttleworth found that many of her interviewees reported a decline of tule over time, based on direct observations. Several factors contributed, such as recreational and shoreline damage, agricultural runoff creating eutrophication, and physical removal from owners of shoreline properties. Plantings with rootstock were tested and some succeeded as others failed. One planting was successful the first year and died out the second (Shuttleworth, 1997). This is an indication that the system must be in the right condition for tule to thrive. Shuttleworth recommends a 3-4 year study on the plant growth. Any healthy tule that I observed was growing amongst a diversity of wetland plants with a large area of shallow, stable water.

Tule can be planted and is able to show success under the right conditions, such as areas with stable water. Harris and Marshall (1960), found that the way seeds are stored helps contribute to their overall health after collection. They also found that the most effective planting occurred in fall with a drawdown of water (1960, pp. 135-138). This is an important study to consider regarding wetland restoration projects that include bulrushes such as tule.

Figure 15: Tule at pond near National Bison Range,
Ravalli, Montana, October, 2016, by the Author

In November of 2016, I travelled with my research assistants (Roger and our two dogs) to Ladd Marsh near LaGrande, Oregon. This time, I had a permit to gather for research purposes, and had consulted several Tribal members. Although not confirmed completely, this was said to be a “place of peace” and neutrality, where several area Tribes came to gather a variety of traditional plants. This community aspect of Ladd Marsh still holds true today.

The nearest remaining example of healthy tule is located at Ladd Marsh near LaGrande, Oregon. Established in 1949, this marsh is operated by several entities both private, and public and is a designated public hunting area. Although the marsh has existed for a long time, it needed protection following severe droughts in the 1930s and because it is managed for waterfowl, it is one of the largest tule marshes remaining in Oregon (Ladd Marsh, 2015).

Figure 16: Map of Ladd Marsh
from: http://www.dfw.state.or.us/resources/visitors/ladd_marsh/index.asp

Ladd marsh is full of diversity and full of tule. Unlike other areas, it is not likely that anyone could gather large amounts of any plant material without scrutiny from land management, as it is closely watched, and a permit is required to be clearly displayed. Roger and I found the "right" place and gave offerings and thanks sending prayers on the wind and thanking the Creator for these gifts. Neither of us Nez Perce, still felt that it was necessary to gather in the right and respectful manner because we were not alone. The ancestors were there and watching and we needed to honor them, as well as the abundance of life that was all around us.

We entered the marsh on foot into a central spot and I selectively gathered, taking care to leave some for those that would follow and for the health of the ecosystem. Some plants pulled right out of the root stalk easily. It was the end of the season and many have the markings of a fungus that occurs when harvesting is late. I noticed these same spots on some of the mats that I observed in collections. I gathered 10-12 and handed them to Roger who would carefully tie them together, using care not to bend them. It took us about an hour and a half to gather a bundle measuring approximately 22 inches around at the middle,

containing about 150 stalks, measuring an average of 90 inches tall. These stalks were of various thickness and some had seed heads at the top (which would later be eaten by an unknown critter while stored on my front porch, continuing the cycle of growth). We ended and again gave thanks for these gifts and bundled them up to go into our vehicle, for future mat making.

Figure 17: tule bundle gathered and photographed by the author at Ladd Marsh, 2016.

At night, we stayed at a local campground next to the Oregon Trail. Coyotes laughed just outside of our tent, announcing their evening kill and a dinner call to others in the distance. Owls crooned, frogs chirped and an occasional duck would stir with cursing quacks. The morning brought loud choruses of bird songs and curious dragonflies observing our breakfast habits. For us, this was certainly a place of peace and immersion in landscape.

In the cool fall weather, I sat on our front porch, pulling soaked tules from a bucket and stringing a needle through rows of tubular stalks. I found that the stalks are buoyant for some time which caused them to float until they filled with water hours later. The sensory experience of the marsh returned to me as I worked my hands around little mats, stories held within their stems, light as a feather.

Figure 18: Tule at White Bird Battlefield Historic Site, November, 2016, by the Author

Kevin stated that he had observed places where tule seemed to come back to life after being dormant. In some dryer areas that I observed, there were traces of tule that looked as though they were two seasons old. At White Bird, I found several small tule patches, although the terrain was dry and it was the end of the season, it was evident that tule can adapt and survive well when offered the right environment. White Bird, because of its history, is protected from grazing and other impacts, as it is a battle site. As I drove to White Bird, I could see where the road cut through areas where wetlands used to be. There were several clues as plants dotted the ditches along the road.

I relied on basic wetland delineation training acquired at Ely Community College. While this method is intended to mark wetland jurisdiction (and not being applied for legal purposes here), there are factors that can be considered to determine wetland existence during drought periods, climate, and recognizing key plants to identify the possibility of a wetland existing at a location.

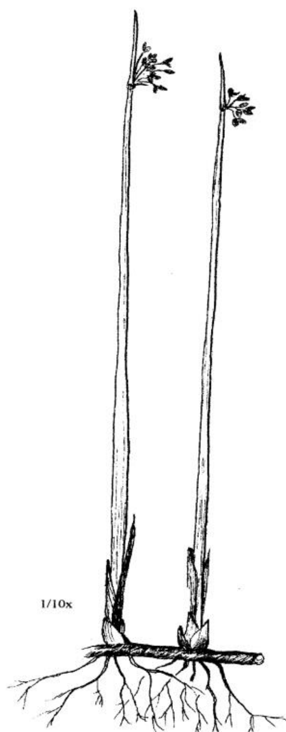


Figure 19: Drawing of tule by G. Bentrup (USDA Factsheet)

In addition, I relied on RAM, or Rapid Assessment Methods (Stein, 2009) which are also used for management purposes (not in this study) as a wetland indicator for field observations. While I did not compose assessment data, I used the indicators according to Idaho topography to determine if the areas were likely to be a wetland. Further data should be collected as RAM is a tool for assessing, but needs further validation at a higher level.

Figure 20: Photo of tule root clump by the author.

Tule (*Scirpus acutus*) is comprised of a rhizomatous root system which does not tolerate long periods in deep water, but will spread in alkaline, saline and brackish areas (USDAFactsheet). While it would not do well in rocky fast moving water, it would flourish in riverine wetlands along floodplains, small lakes, marshes, and wetlands with the right chemical composition. Undoubtedly based on the decline of wetlands in this area, and information collected, historically, there would have been far more tule available for the Nez Perce to gather in the past. Mats would have served them well in this climate that ranges in temperature from 20-100 degrees.

In November of 2016, I spent several hours at a pond in Idaho considering tule and the environment. I held a clump of roots in my hand that felt like buffalo hide. These small dried roots are part of the rhizome that spreads under water. Several species of microinvertebrates live here, as well as diving bugs, fish and amphibians that use these root systems for food, shelter and safety. All of these species contribute to the chemical

composition of the ecosystem and depend on each other. Human misunderstanding of wetland function has contributed to great decline.

Just as species within an ecosystem are dependent on each other, so are materials that Indigenous People use for creating useful items. This is the case with dogbane, which is hard to find in the Nez Perce Homelands and was an important part of mat making, but toxic to cattle.

Dogbane, referred to as *Indian Hemp,* or *Apocynum cannabinum,* also called Spreading dogbane, from the dogbane family is an erect, bushy herbaceous perennial that grows up to 1 meter tall, with smooth, often reddish stems (Turner, 1998 pp. 136-139). Dogbane was the preferred cordage used to create tule mats and bind them together. Turner (1998), states that "Indian Hemp was without a doubt the most important source of plant fiber for First Peoples." (p.137) Spreading dogbane was used when Indian Hemp was not available.

Dogbane grows best in damp areas, producing the tallest and thickest plants, but can also thrive well in gravelly and open woods. Dogbane holds up very well in water and is long lasting, making it an excellent companion for the tule mat. Dogbane does not shrink, and this technical property allows for the tule to shrink in warm weather, allowing for a breeze to come through the mats on dwellings. A common trading product, used for a variety of items, and in early days a bundle of good twine was worth as much as a horse (Turner, 1998 p.139).

Figure 21: Photo of dogbane fishing net on display at Clearwater River Casino, taken by the author.

Turner (1998) shares that: “harvesters remove the branches and leaves, then flattened the stems by pulling them over a pole tied to a tree. They split open the stems with a knife or sharp stick and peeled off the outer ‘bark’ (skin) by hand, breaking away the brittle inner tissues, then bundles the fibre together and hung them to dry. When the dry fiber can be easily separated from any remaining outer skin by pounding the flattened pieces with a stick or twisting by hand.

Figure 22: dogbane being processed, from: http://www.primitiveways.com/images/cordage.jpg

The final step is to roll dampened pieces into twine – rolling on thigh or buckskin (137). Lengths were joined together by splitting the thick end of one to the thin end of another and splicing them into an interlocking “v”” (138).

Each individual that I spoke with about dogbane, shared that it is missing from the landscape and extremely difficult to find. Due to its toxicity to cattle, it had been eradicated and is no longer available for use, unless a lucky person happens across a remaining bush when out and about, or there are secret places to find this gem. I was familiar with this plant from working in Glacier National Park and seeing it often, as the national park is protected from grazing. I was not able to find any in my travels throughout the homeland of the Nez Perce, except for a couple of bushes near a creek, in a remote area.

Rue Hoover and I spoke at length about dogbane and tule in the Nez Perce Homelands. Rue works in Nez Perce Water Resources and is an expert in wetlands, integrating the traditional importance of these ecosystems to the Nez Perce People. Agriculture, dams, development, and roads, all impact floodplains, wetlands, marshes, and creeks across the homelands (personal communication, March, 2017).

Hoover is a wetland specialist whose main goal is to preserve and sustain the wetlands on the reservation. She works with youth and is in the process of working on an interpretive trail near Lapwai Creek, which is connected to a natural water system, Spring Creek. This trail will have interpretive signs about cultural plants, including tule and dogbane. Hoover is focused on protecting cultural knowledge, while also educating youth and engaging them in the outdoors to experience wetlands first hand (personal communication, March, 2017).

Worldwide, there are more than 50 definitions of wetlands. They can include, flooplains and deltas, freshwater marshes, ponds, small lakes, and more (Dugan, 2005). Wetlands are the kidneys of the system, filtering toxins, as well as creating one of the most diverse ecosystems that occur above, below, and surrounding them, yet we tend to take them

for granted. Wetlands are made up of soils, water, plants and animals that all interact in biological ways. They function to generate healthy wildlife, assist fisheries, forestry, flood control, soils stabilization, and can support agriculture, but have been viewed by Europeans as disease infested and obstacles to development. Because of the "world's hydraulic vision" a direct consequence is less than 50% of what wetlands once were (Dugan, 2005 p. 47). Wetlands are often overlooked and misunderstood as an important part of the overall biodiversity of the planet).

I listened to the people that are concerned about the loss of these plants and the impact on the landscape and tradition. I also observed the landscape that told a story about fractionation and how commerce has pushed out important ecosystems. The data matches up to the stories from local observations of Nez Perce People and are indicators that we need to pay attention to our role in protecting and preserving ecosystems for tradition, health and well-being.

CHAPTER 5:
TAKE ONLY WHAT IS NEEDED

"Of course, ecosystems and cultural systems are dynamic; change is to be expected and is part of natural processes. However, too much change, too quickly, will not allow the complex web of life to adapt."
Nancy Turner (2005)

The Nez Perce welcomed many traders and travelers through their homelands, exchanging goods and techniques that crossed the Plateau and beyond. The first travelers to wedge a crack in opening lands were William Clark and Meriwether Lewis (Pinkham and Evans, 2013) and the Corps of "Discovery". Lewis and Clark would provide a record of the rich landscape in which the Nez Perce thrived, their mission to survey for future European expansion, rather than make ethnographic observations. Pinkham and Evans (2013), share an account from the Corps of Discovery as they witnessed:

A village consisting of two longhouses: one had eight families, in it and, "*the other was much the largest yet we have seen. it is 156 feet long and about 15 feet wide built of mats and straw, in the form of the roof of the house haveing a number of Small dores on each Side, is closed at the ends and without divisions in the intermediate Space. [In] this lodge at least 30 families."* (2013, p.125).

Figure 23: Plateau People from: http://lewisandclark.today/1806_5/5.html

As missionaries arrived, continue divisions, forcing large shared households into single family (James, 1996). While some Nez Perce adapted well and accepted Christianity, this forced acculturation would change the family structure and begin to divide the landscape that they were a part of. Everything from household goods to clothing and economy would be directly impacted by the missionaries (James, 1996).

The push for Nez Perce to become sedentary agriculturists would be orchestrated by Alice C. Fletcher and the federal government in the form of the Dawes or General Allotment act of 1877. Fletcher was an ethnographer and one of the first women to serve as a federal Indian agent. She began with the Omahas, then the Winnebagos, but would find the varied landscape of the Nez Perce difficult to divide (Tonkovich, 2016). The Nez Perce became one of the first tribes to be allotted under the Dawes Act as a result of events following the Joseph War of 1877 (p3). Fletcher would find that to her disappointment, some Nez Perce chose land that appeared to be uninhabitable or good for crops, only to later realize these were sacred sites.

While Fletcher was a very private person, she kept a daily diary which reflected the challenges of the policy for which she had originally advocated. She realized the mounting damage that it would cause to Native cultures and sovereignty (p1). However, the push for Nez Perce to become "civilized" agriculturists, and encroaching settlers and cattlemen, would overtake the land with fence, road, and former places for gathering would now become grazing lands. As H.B. shared, "the cattle took priority over the people, and still do in some ways" (personal communication, March, 2017).

Travellling between Wallowa and Joseph, Oregon, ghosts of wetlands lie beneath green grazing fields. Now drained, channeled and tilled for livestock and crops, the wetlands

are gone replaced with commerce. The valley and Wallowa mountains are constantly under threat by development. This valley was home to Joseph's Band who was forced to leave in 1877 after a string of broken agreements by the federal government. A final broken promise would claim that Joseph and his people could return to Wallowa. In the end, there were several battles, many miles crossed, many lives lost, and dispersal of the remaining band as far as Oklahoma (Nez Perce, 2003).

My introduction to Joseph and Wallowa, and the history of the valley, was through a pow wow. Each year the Tamkaliks pow wow is held to welcome the Nez Perce home. This effort began in 1994 with a small group of local people and tribal members. The goal of this project is to create relationships between the dispersed descendants and bring them together in a welcoming place (personal communication, Hawkins, November, 2016).

Each year as the pow wow winds down there is a friendship feast where all people gather to celebrate traditional foods and culture together. On a hot summer afternoon, people lined up in the sun for a feed, The woody smell of smoked salmon permeated the air and everyone was hungry. Seven men in matching Pendleton vests held seven drums and sang songs of hope and blessing. They sang songs of prayer, of the seven drums, and I could not help but feel that we were witnessing the power of healing in this place. This was a time to listen and learn.

An elder woman in a basket hat sat at the head of our table. She instructed us not to eat anything and to wait. We sipped water, following her lead, and then took a small piece of each of the foods that were passed around. Berries, roots, elk, and salmon, each felt more holy than the communion. These were gifts from the land, from the Creator, and I would later understand that this is the protocol to follow in accordance with the Seven Drum

ceremony. These foods would have been laid out in the longhouse on tule mats as the ceremony of thanks took place to ensure that the People would continue to be fed and cared for by the land.

The announcer called to the anxious *Soyapoos* in the sun, “Please, come in out of the heat, there will be plenty of food.” They stood fidgeting with the sense of possibly going without, if they lost their place in line. The announcer went on to talk about how “there is a way that these things are done, these foods are sacred”. Prayers, drums, elders and women first. Directions are laid out through story, song, example, symbols, ceremony, regalia, and more, if we only pay attention, we can learn that we will not go without.

Figure 24: Tamkaliks pow wow grounds from: http://wallowanezperce.org/

He thoughtfully considered continuing his speech how “we now drive through and wait in a car to get our food handed to us”. We would have to be patient, do things the right way before we eat this sacred food. This was, in my mind, what is meant by “Indian Time”. Many joke about the meaning as being late for an event, but here I witnessed it as giving thanks for gifts and understanding where this food comes from. A stark contrast from getting handed a greasy bag through your car window. We slowed, we prayed, sang, and followed the elder’s direction so that we could ensure more blessings in the future (personal experience July, 2015).

In the past, tule mats were used for processing food, as well as serving at special occasions. As Kevin told me, "Mats follow you from birth to death. They are for food, births, weddings and burials" (personal communication, 2016). In today's busy world, we may overlook the significance of ceremony over convenience of time and see mat making as unnecessary. A mat highlights the slowing transformational experience of making, connecting, and land.

The communal gathering place at Tamkaliks began in 1994 at a local school gym with a pow wow and feed. Mary Hawkins from the Nez Perce Homeland Project shared the story with me of the humble beginnings in 1994, with an idea to welcome the Nez Perce home through ceremony, which has been successful since the beginning.

Tamkaliks has now moved to a 320-acre plot that is in the process of restoration. This plot of land is a place for ceremony and reflection, renewal and hope for the future. It is seated beneath large rock outcroppings that hold stories of the ancestors that came before and are still here, the arbor and longhouse creating a place for descendants to carry on traditions in new ways.

Figure 25: Longhouse at Tamkaliks from: http://wallowanezperce.org/volunteer

A new longhouse was built on the grounds as a sign of healing and respect, designed and located with Tribal input. Just as in the old way, all are welcome to visit in a respectful manner, as any visitor would to a friend's home. There is talk of constructing a traditional

frame for tule mats that would be available seasonally, but the new longhouse accounts for contemporary lifestyles and the fact that the People now travel here from sedentary homes at some distance.

While there are no mats skirting the longhouse, it is made of modern materials and state-of-the-art construction and is intended for year-round use (personal communication, Hawkins, November, 2016). Inside at the center is a rectangular pit that contains soil from several sacred places throughout the Northwest. The soil is “cleaned” and filtered and rests in the pit, as hard as cement. It is cool to the touch, and is the place where the dwelling connects directly to the Earth.

Mary Hawkins from the Nez Perce Homeland project calls this effort a “front door” for descendants to come home and learn, visit, or stay (personal communication, November, 2016). The project is looking at creating educational programming and a restoration landscape project, reaching to the past and making way for future generations.

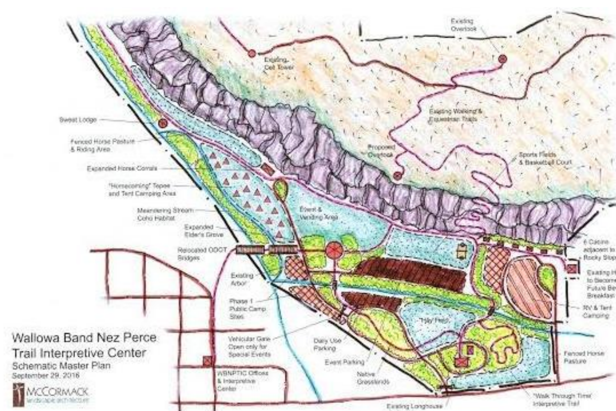


Figure 26: landscape plan from Brian McCormick from: http://wallowanezperce.org/volunteer

While history cannot be re-written, it must be acknowledged, for any healing to occur in contemporary times. Through my experience, the healing of the People is connected directly to the healing of the land. One way to heal is to recognize the lines and barriers that split the natural flow, and contribute to depletion of resources. Although agriculture plays

perhaps the biggest role in divisions, there is no question that dams have had a serious impact on fish, plants, and preventing the natural riparian and wetland areas that are connected in the web of sustainable landscapes. Julian Matthews, Elliot Moffett, Lucinda Simpson, and others today work to protect and honor treaty rights through collaboration and sharing the Nez Perce stories through Nimiipuu Protecting the Environment.

"We have to be the voice and the warriors for the next seven generations; our fish, water, land…our many endangered natural resources need protection. Our people need to be educated and we need to unite." (http://www.nimiipuuprotecting.org/about_us)

A major goal of the organization is to see the dams removed that block the flow of anadromous fish, and severely impact the environment. They work through education, networking, and activism to empower tribal members and encourage leaders in the coming generations. In many cases where dams are removed, the ecosystems immediately bounce back which in turn is beneficial for the health of the water, ecosystems and humans. It is not just an environmental issue, it is also an economic one, that is costing more that it saves.

At a presentation in May of 2016, Jim Waddell, a former employee for the US Army Corps of Engineers, discussed myths about dams, and why economically, they should be breached. In his opinion, breaching does not mean an explosive event, rather a mitigating way to restore fragile ecosystems. Waddell estimates that benefits of dam removal to the lower Snake River would be an estimated average of $158 million annually. This is in comparison to costing the Army Corps of Engineers, keeping this nonproductive infrastructure, annually averaged at $161 million (presentation NPPE, May, 2016).

The effects of dams also create impacts from nutrient loading as water is retained and released, negatively impacting fish and wildlife estuaries (Holland et al., 2003). When I spoke with Rue Hoover at Nez Perce Water Resources, she shared that dams prevents those riparian areas from flourishing along rivers where tule would normally grow (personal communication, March, 2017). The dams are clearly impacting traditional fishing and gathering places, as well as negatively impacting the economy.

The story of industrialization in the United States, was one that many generations thought was one of progress and forward movement. Now, as we face a fast-changing climate, we are long overdue in listening to the Nez Perce who are sharing their stories to promote overall health of the planet. For Nimiipuu, this is a way of life, and not just for their people alone, but for all of us. If we work together to change that story from commerce to connection, we can all benefit from healthier ecosystems. We should, as I have heard many times, think about generations yet to come and what type of place we are leaving for them.

Programs and organization such as the Wallowa Homelands Project, Nimiipuu Protecting the Environment, and Rue's educational programming at Nez Perce Water Resources, all share a common thread of hope and renewal. All are planted in a place that has significant meaning, all are sharing knowledge through empowerment and education, and all are working to protect and restore ecosystems. They may seem like small steps in a big battle, but many people are coming together to bring forth the stories and tradition of the first people on this land, carrying that thread through to future generations.

CHAPTER 6:
LISTENING TO THE ELDERS: LANGUAGE IS LANDSCAPE

"Language and cultures are living processes." Shawn Wilson, (2008)

Our class began with a "thank you", *Qe'ciyew'yew',* from the tribe for our participation and learning the language. They say that we are appreciated because we are helping to keep it alive. I had no idea that I would be thanked because I felt it was and is a true honor to be there. The Nez Perce language, or *Nimipuutimt*, is the landscape and the two are not separate concepts. Threats to the language, threatens the land, and directly impacts the People, all are one.

Each word is a movement of sound, a story, a song that is a living, breathing moment. While it is a challenge, it is also very rewarding. With the language comes stories, such as the Creation story, the tipi and the Nez Perce love for animals and plants. The elders, Bessie and Florene never snap at us to correct us, as mainstream teachers sometimes do. They simply repeat the word back and forth with the students until it sounds right, with grace and patience. We play games and give commands. Our class is interactive and through that experience, we learn the words that we put into motion.

My friend, H.B., shared with me that when you simply look at a language, you just have simple words. But, once you put that into motion it changes. Like tule, as you gather and make something with it, you alter it and it changes the language of it. The language helps to give life to things like this. "Like moccasins. You start with leather and cut and and change it. Each step is something new and once it is in motion, it becomes something different. It's alive" (personal communication, H.B., March, 2017).

Nimiipuutimt is in the Sahapitan language family, having several daialects. This is the linguistic definition and while linguistics can help to examine and create rules for language, the experience is hard to define. To hear the glottal stops and understand that a "c" makes an "s" sound requires unpacking of Western education and language and re-learning, mostly by listening. Understanding language, also requires a deep understanding of culture. For instance, there are over 175 terms for "family" in the Nez Perce language (presentation, Josiah Pinkham, September, 2015). My language teacher, Angel taught us the words to explain who relatives are. Words such as *neene'* and *yaaca'* reflect both relation to an older sister or brother, as well as older female or male cousin. This reference to relatives reflects back to the time of the longhouse when large families shared space and siblings included cousins. These terms are still used today and reflect a strong link to a large familial connection (personal communication, Angel Sobotta, 2017).

Many of the place names in Nez Perce are not named after a person as in Western languages. These places are named for where certain events happen in the landscape. As an example, Lewiston, Idaho is named, *Simiinekem,* which means "where two waters meet". Or, Moscow, Idaho is named, *Taxtinma,* meaning "place of many fawns", or "where fawns lose their spots" (Crook, 2016-17 p. 41). Many sites such as, *Ha'amsaxpa,* on the Wallowa River, were named for the terrain, "at the boulders in the river" where Cayuse, Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Nez Perce fished for salmon, likely using the boulders as islands to fish from (Hunn, et al. 2015, p. 180). *Tim'neepe*, is "at or in the heart" and is the name for the Heart of the Monster, near Kamiah, Idaho. This is where the Nez Perce Creation Story took place. This is where Coyote fought the Monster and saved all the animal people, so that they could teach the humans how to live in the world.

Angel K. Sobotta, is Nez Perce and is our language teacher. Angel believes that experiential learning is the best way to engage in the language and she exemplified this success through her play telling the Creation Story of the Nez Perce. Taken from a recording of Gene Ellenwood, Angel and others retold the story in Nez Perce language and as the characters, each with an important role to play. As we watched the recording of Gene telling this story, he was breathing life into this story and experiencing it anew, although he had probably shared it many times throughout his life. Angel and her relations continued that life through the story and the language (NP Language class, 2016). It was astonishing to find out that this play had come together in a very short period of time. Today, Angel is working with elementary students to reintroduce the play and keep it alive (personal communication, November, 2016).

What spoke to me the most was that all these components (language, land, animals, people, etc) are all one, and the language clearly relays the story that the land provided gifts for Nez Perce life. There are no separations and many times strength comes from the smallest creatures. We often pay attention to the "charismatic" animals (like the grizzly and rattler) but they play a secondary role in this story. The People come later and they are all impacted by the work of coyote, from the monster to the muskrat at the end. The way that the elder, Gene Ellenwood told the story, you understood that he had heard and told it many times before, yet his laughter and expressions made it seem new again, like the birth of multiple grandchildren. Then, when the group got together and brought it to life again through the play, the language and relationships regained a lively momentum. These stories are living things and impact all that are involved from the storyteller to the listener.

Linda Hogan shared her thoughts about language in, *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision,* (2000): *"I want to make two points here. One is about language and its power. While we can't say what language is much beyond saying that it is a set of signs and symbols that communicates meaning, we know it is the most highly regarded human ability. Language usage, in fact, often determines social and class order in our societal systems. Without language, we humans have no way of knowing what lies beneath the surface of one another. Yet there are communications that take place on a level that goes deeper than our somewhat limited human spoken languages. We read one another via gesture, stance, facial expression, scent. And sometimes this communication is more honest, more comprehensible, than the words"* (Battiste, Linda Hogan, 2000).

In our language class, we practiced setting up a *coqoycoqoy*, "tipi", travelling through each step in the Nez Perce language. The instructions for the *coqoycoqoy* came from a story told long ago, with the design fashioned after a bull buffalo. Poles face each of the cardinal directions, and the canvas places over poles (horns) has *macayo*, or "ears" that are from the bull's head. These instructions came directly from the land and the *coqoycoqoy* is placed in the proper position upon it. Kii coqoycoqoy hiiwes hanyin canvaski, "this tipi is made of canvas" but prior to that tipis were covered with *wiipol*, "buffalo" hide.

Our story continued to reach back into time, before manufactured canvas, and before the people crossed the mountains on horseback to hunt buffalo in Montana. *Waqipanix hiweeke hanyinn tok'ooki*, "A long time ago people used tule". *Kii hiiwes tok'o*, "this is tule". These words change properties of tule, just as H.B. shared with me. They move and give life to the mats, whether as a part of the longhouse or tipi, on the ground, or as a plant in a pond. *Tok'oo'nit*, means, "tule mat lodge" and as the story tells, has been used by the Nez Perce for their homes for a very long time.

The elders have worked to preserve the language, which was once in danger of being lost, helping to pass down stories passed down through oral tradition. These stories are tied to cultural knowledge and physical characteristics of the environment (Nez Perce Tribe, 2003). As I have learned from the elders, I now recognize words in story and prayers at events and pow wows. It is a sense of accomplishment, but also a feeling of understanding the culture a bit more.

Angel is an incredible *sepehitemenew'eet*, "teacher" and in her class I learned more than words. I learned about land, people, culture, and that story and language are methods of learning. I will always be an eager *hitemenew'eet*, "student" and uphold the pledge that I have been taught:

Cukweneewit, Know it

Hitemeneewit, Learn it

Teecukwe, Teach it

C'ixneewit, Speak it

Titooqanaawit, Live it,

Wiyeeleeheyn, Everyday!

CHAPTER 7:
MAKING THE MAT: LEARNING FROM MATERIAL

"*Objects have a story to tell.*" Kevin Peters (2017)

Figure 27: Display case at Nez Perce National Historic Park featuring traditional foods, tule mats and dogbane flat bag. By the author, February, 2017.

While searching for tule, I travelled out to Washington D.C. and back toWashington State, viewing objects that moved far from the Homelands and crossed many paths. I visited a total of seven collections, viewing and interacting with 23 mats, 40 flat bags, and other materials including cattail mats, drums, duck decoys, pipe bags, baskets and basket hats. The reason for this is that interaction with the material allows for a more intimate experience. While many collections have items available for view through databases, digital photos cannot replace a personal interaction, being there at that place and time. I was able to look closely at the weaving techniques, better understand the material and processes, as well as interact with curatorial and collections staff to gather more information. Staff were all welcoming, and pointed out that because of my visit, some of these items could be pulled out for photos and further documentation. Each site has basic, yet differing protocols as to how to interact with materials, and each site struggles with few staff and tight budgets. Still, they take great care in creating a safe and protected environment for these objects.

Through this experience, I have been able to see the many layers of life that material objects have. From the maker to receiver, a deep story occurs as items are moved through hands and history. Because of my background in the arts, I found that tule mats would allow me to see more deeply into the process, without getting hung up on design elements and details. As I viewed them, I saw patterns of trade in goods and ideas. Most of these objects although derived from plant materials, have held up very well over time. When damage has occurred over time, it provides a window into the core of the material, and technique. A closer look reveals the insulating properties and lightweight nature of tule.

Figure 28: Example of damaged tule mat showing inside insulating properties by author NEPE #1066

In the summer of 2016, I travelled to Washington D.C. for a four week, intensive program at the Smithsonian. The Summer Institute in Museum Anthropology, is designed for anthropology and history students to engage with collections and archives as field sites. Myself, and eleven other students from across the country learned to navigate collections and study objects closely. A valuable realization was the way that museums are moving toward better connections with source communities. Candace Greene encouraged us to understand the history of how items left the community, which in many cases was very painful, and the healing process of reconnecting communities with objects (presentation, July, 2016). Joshua Bell works with source communities in Papua New Guinea and is a proponent of understanding how things are made or "*Chaine Operatoire*". He encouraged us

to engage with and learn from communities and not just their things. He shared that, "Engaging makes us better anthropologists" (presentation, July, 2016). David Odo encouraged us to look very closely and spend time with objects, listening and viewing their story, as well as drawing objects that we observed (presentation, July, 2016). This exercise was the most powerful for me personally. As I studied the fur hat and drew details, I was pulled further into the object. I saw each bead, bell, feather, and ribbon. By drawing in this way, it was an extremely intimate experience with material culture.

At the Smithsonian Cultural Resource Center (CRC) in Suitland, Maryland, I would experience collections from an Indigenous angle. For my appointment, I met with collections staff to look at some Nez Perce items related to this project. Approaching the building, the surrounding landscape sooths your mind as traditional plants are incorporated with a water feature. The building is round and designed around the collection as well as incorporates the diverse cultures from this continent.

The entrance is filled with light and has openings to the Earth and Sky in honor of those Creation stories. A smudge and prayer room is on site for ceremony and thanks, which has a large window overlooking a path through woods and a sand pit with ventilation for smoke. Among all of the collections that I engaged, this was the most honoring experience that I had. I was able to get my mind and my heart in the right place prior to engaging with the objects and this carried over into other experiences. This facility was built with Indigenous communities in mind, rather than about those that collected items, many times under questionable circumstances. A major goal is to reconnect source communities with their material culture, which are living members of their families.

The CRC was built with direct involvement of communities and was completed in 1998, and is now a support center for the National Museum of the American Indian in New York and Washington D.C.. At the National Museum of the American Indian, I was fortunate to be given a personal tour of the landscape surrounding the building by the museum horticulturalist. As we walked around the museum, Christine and her intern described how the landscape was designed to make people slow down before they enter the building. Each plant is Indigenous to a culture and many are used in ceremonies and in the famous museum kitchen. In the back of the museum, surrounded by traffic and city noises from the National Mall, is a pond that provides a retreat from the hustle and crowds. There, in the middle of the pond was a thriving patch of bulrush. This bulrush is a different species that *Scirpus acutus*, yet related. A key feature was the diversity of the pond. Christine shared that this pond was constructed ten years ago and staff helped it along, but it has been self-sufficient for some time now (personal communication, July, 2016). They simply introduced a space, and it took a life of its own.

At the Smithsonian, there were mats, yet none from Nez Perce culture. I was however, able to look at other related items of dogbane, as well as tule and cattail mats from other cultures. The benefit of this was to gain a knowledge and comfort with the material and engage in “close looking” as our instructors called it. This was extremely valuable as many ethnographers do not have the opportunity to engage in material in this manner. These items may seem to be utilitarian in nature, but they have a layered and complex social life beyond the maker. Tule mats have several uses and the style depends on what they are used for. Smaller mats that are twisted are often used for food, or sacred items. Larger mats are used for shelters such as longhouses.

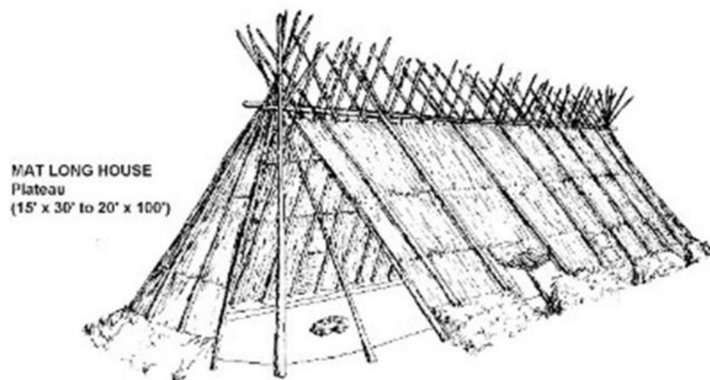


Figure 29: Image Source: http://www.webpages.uidaho.edu/~rfrey/422lodges.htm

Cattail mats were often used toward the coast and across the plains in the Midwest. While they were used by Nez Perce on occasion, it is far more common to find tule mats in collections and tule would have been the material of choice for Plateau shelters. The Plateau has a variety of weather from dry desert conditions, to long periods of wet and cold Pacific air. For this reason, tule is perfect as it swells in wet weather, keeping out the rain, and freezes to keep the inside of the shelter warm.

Figure 30: photographic examples of inside of tule stalk by the author.

At the Coeur d'Alene Water Potato Festival, the tribe had constructed tule mat covered tipis. It was pouring rain that day, yet the inside of the shelter was bone dry. I spoke with the gentleman that put these lodges together and he stated that it took about two weeks to gather and prepare the mats for the lodges. Viewing them was an outstanding experience and it is hoped that dwellings like these could be created in the Nez Perce Homeland area as well.

Figure 31: Tule mat tipis CDA Tribe, photos by the author.

In warm dry weather, the tule shrinks and stalks will leave gaps allowing air to flow through the shelter, providing a much needed breeze in the heat. Cattail mats do not hold up as well over time in dry conditions, as I observed several mats that appeared to be flaking and much more fragile. There is also a significant difference in style as the cattail mats are creased with a special creaser that matches the needle (personal communication, Burke museum, February, 2017).

Figure 32: Example of cattail mat NEPE #2239– Used by coastal tribe, photo by author

Tule was widely used prior to the availability of buffalo, and contemporary materials such as canvas. Still, tule is much easier to transport compared to buffalo hide and canvas that is general in one large bundle. Larger mats would have been used for dwellings such as longhouses and smaller mats were, and still are used for ceremonial purposes. I would not have known this without engaging with material and gaining a better understanding of what questions to ask those that I interviewed and conversations with collections staff that had learned from source communities.

Figure 33: Large mat NEPE #1066 – Nez Perce National Historic Park collection, by the author

Figure 34: Example of twisted mat with dogbane cord from NEPE collection #1063, photo by author

Inferences can be made that the larger mats were not twisted, so that the insulating properties of shrinking and swelling would be more effective. Twisted mats would be used for food and other special circumstances that would require a flexible, yet solid piece

I engaged with tule mats at the Smithsonian, the Burke, the Washington State Historical Society, the Spalding Visitor Center at Nez Perce National Historic Park (on exhibit and in the collection). In addition, I looked at Nez Perce flat bags made from dogbane and other materials in all collections mentioned, as well as the Los Angeles County Natural History Museum. In each collection, every flat bag had a different design on each side. After asking several people, I was not able to get an answer as to why they are designed this way, but I am sure there is a story somewhere.

Figure 35: Nez Perce dogbane Burke Museum Object ID: 2-2991

A bag in the Burke collection #2-2991, age unknown showed signs of water damage, yet still held its shape and was in-tact. While holding the bag, it felt sturdy and strong as though it were recently made. This bag was a testament to the lasting resilience of dogbane as a material. In several conversations, I was told that these bags were used for food storage

and that wild creatures new to stay away from them. This is a truly ingenious way to store food for later use and makes dogbane a valuable material. While I do not know the origins or reasons, each design tells a story about the maker and where they come from. To hold them is a connection to material, skill, and hard work of the maker.

Tim Ingold is an anthropologist that encourages others to know themselves by experiencing making. By touching and feeling objects, the student engages in a sensory experience using the "art of inquiry" (Ingold, 2013). He analyses the idea of participant observation as just another way for social scientists to collect data, rather than being a part of the full experience. He states that we "enter, fill our bags, then cut and run" (2013 p.5). Many anthropologists, historians, architects, and archaeologists see objects as simply material, or the history that is behind it. Ingold brings these disciplines together with art to better understand the creative process. Rather than focus on the end result, he encourages his students to get their hands dirty and experience the material. This helps to understand the process, as well as get to know ourselves and our place in the world that we share with others.

A movement to have curators go out and conduct fieldwork, bring anthropologists into museums as field sites, and engage with source communities in and outside of the museum, is helping to better curate "intangible heritage" and promote better communication (Alvizatou, 2012). Museums, such as NMAI are tending to focus more on living descendants that a former fascination with the past, thus creating "living memorials" in an effort to de-colonize spaces and heal from a dark past (Alvizatou, 2012).

Joshua Bell, working in Papua New Guinea, brings archival photos to the communities he works with, that are being devastated by resource extraction. While

recognizing pitfalls, such as concern about this method altering the peoples understanding of themselves and their history, he highlights the importance of this movement towards a more symmetrical anthropology. He points out that collaborations are open to pitfalls and misunderstandings, but overall engaging with a community rather than making inferences, changes the power structure to redress the legacy of colonialism (Silverman, ed. 2015).

When I spoke with H.B., Lucinda, and Kevin, they all shared that museum collections are a mix of good and bad. They can conjure historical trauma, give a sense of loss, confusion and sadness. Some communities do not want items returned because they feel that their life has been lost, while others want to bring them “home” where they belong. Lucinda stated that, “the good thing is that they are a sort of record of how things were made in the past” (personal communication, January, 2017). She also added that while there is little written about Nez perce and tule, there are photos that show it was used often. H.B. said that it is a “catch 22” because there is a division of good and bad in keeping these things in collections (personal communication, March, 2017). Kevin wants objects to be “freed from plexi-glass” so that people can walk around them and experience them. He spoke in particular about the contemporary work of Marjorie Waheneka at the Nuunimnix exhibit in Lewiston in 2015.

Figure 36: Marjorie Waheneka Tule Basket and Visor.

This exhibit showcased traditional and contemporary art from Nez Perce People. Many of these objects were not in cases and could easily be walked around and experienced. Many community members came to share language and stories from the heart about their relatives that inspired them to make an object, or the person that made it. While the Nez Perce are deeply rooted in culture and tradition, it is also important to recognize that they are contemporary peoples that create new works, make new stories, and new ceremonies. It is the Western way of thinking that frames indigenous people into one romantic time period. This is not only disrespectful, it takes away agency and can be dehumanizing. It is not the role of the outsider to tell the Nez Perce People how they should act. It is the role of the outsider to be respectful, responsible and as an ally listen to the needs of the people, rather than make assumptions.

SHARING STORY: REFLECTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

I began this writing with a look at Indigenous Methodologies. I found that these paradigms worked well with incorporating all the facets of the project. While they apply to a large scope of peoples, it is important to recognize each communities' diversity and not to generalize. It is also important to recognize individual diversity within communities. What may work for some, does not apply to others. As a non-Native researcher, I placed myself in a secondary position, as a student, rather than in a power position as the so called, "expert". As much as I try, I will never learn all that I can about Nez Perce culture because it is a growing and living entity, kept alive by the people. I am always going to be a student and should never assume that I have learned all that I can. This is not the place for "parachute" research that is short-term, coming in and gathering data, then leaving a deficit. These are reciprocal, long lasting relationships and that commitment needs to be considered, as well as understanding the legacy of historical trauma. To be an ally, we must recognize the past, and try to do our best to invest in the healing process, rather than take more away.

Informed consent and protection of traditional knowledge are not simply written documents. This is a lived process, from the heart, and continuous throughout the scope of research. As I found with H.B., these stories are a thread from ancestors, to this moment in time where we make our contribution, and into the future generations. In too many instances, traditional knowledge has been mined for commerce and data, and not for the benefit of the communities. When we are invited in to someone's culture, we must follow their lead and act respectfully, listening to the stories because these are instructions.

Stories are methods that derive from a variety of cultural content. They can be shared in prayers, song, spoken word, artwork and craft, and a variety of other ways that are not just

written text. In writing this, I am risking words on paper that can be manipulated. If I were to tell you this story in person, as my co-researchers did with me, we would form a relationship through that story. Some of that can occur through writing, but there is no replacement for the shared experience. Culture is a moving and living being and to put an idea on paper captures just a moment in time from an individual point of view. It is my place to speak for the Nimiipuu People, nor do I need to give my approval to story as methodology. This is simply an account of my experience as I searched for a plant and came away with many layers of meaning and as a non-Native person, I found that Indigenous Methodologies, when applied to research in this manner allow for a more layered experience rather than linear and boxed. I found that using an Indigenous framework fit well and did not exclude historical theoretical concepts. In fact, Indigenous methods are inclusive and I relied on the work of Clifford Geertz, Margaret Mead, Franz Boaz and other theorists. The difference for me was to put the Indigenous view first and fit Western models within rather than the other way around as we are accustomed to.

Participatory research (for me) is more than spending time with people, taking notes on their behavior and writing about observations. It is entered with permission, experience and engagement, and a good heart. How does this translate into ethnographic validity? By unpacking western frameworks that have been ingrained in us since grade school, and understanding “other ways of knowing” (Frey, 2014). Storytelling in all forms is more than just telling a story. Pow wow regalia tells a story of identity, songs are historical records of events, Creation stories are instructions for survival and methods for how to interact within the natural world. These and others, are valid, reliable, and have been tested for thousands of years by Indigenous Peoples.

Many Nez Perce People said that there have been some mat making workshops but that more are welcome, especially where elders and youth work together generationally to share the experience. In that element, stories can be shared and more happens than simply "making". It is an opportunity to share a partnership in the experience that no book can instruct, as I found throughout this journey.

There was a need to encourage more engagement in the outdoors, but time, budget cuts and a challenging political future, pose challenges. However, there are opportunities to support existing programs. Rue Hoover's program in Lapwai is important for the reservation and beyond as they restore the landscape through stewardship and engagement. There are also plans to create a traditional tribal garden and a small longhouse along the trail. When several stakeholders get together for these efforts, the people and the landscape benefit. These programs also honor cultural heritage and work closely with tribal members from the start. This is also true of Wallowa where several entities are coming together to create a healing place for descendants. A big part of their project design incorporates landscape improvement with ceremonial structures. These efforts also create diversity in ecosystems for overall health as in Ladd Marsh, where many stakeholders work together to protect and preserve wetland ecosystems.

In areas where there are runoff issues, tule can be great for mitigation, but could pose a hazard to traditional users, especially under heat, birth, and food placement. Testing of tule plants from several water bodies to gain a better understanding of any toxins that may exist in the plants. This would provide information for ceremonial uses and heating of the plant material, use for food and births to make sure that there are no contaminants.

I suggest that items housed in collections be experienced as though they are living entities. They do have an important story to tell, and were not necessarily made in the Western way for “art”, economics, display, or commerce. Many items made in the “Indian Way” are intended for ceremony, gift giving, or other uses. While we cannot assume that every single item is labeled as “sacred” we can approach each one with reverence and respect. I have been witnessing a movement, (as many of these items were acquired under dark circumstances), in reconnecting and reuniting source communities with their cultural material. This is a positive, yet slow movement that deserves support. Collections are on tight budgets and short staffed, yet all that I met are welcoming and open to descendants connecting with material. Communities should know they are welcome and in doing so, help educate others, as well as oversee the return of these family members. This is a difficult and many times a painful process for community members and great care and effort needs to be applied to each situation. While they serve as an educational opportunity, it is hard to engage with items that were worked by the hands of ancestors, and taken away from the community. I cannot speak on behalf of communities, only share my thoughts as a non-Native researcher and I apologize for speaking about this without direct cultural attachment. Overall, researchers must avoid exploitation of cultural knowledge of all types, even if it means excluding certain findings and data.

All of these are woven together for strength, just as the tule mat. One reed by itself cannot accomplish much, but when woven into a mat, together is stronger and functions as a shelter. In all examples, collaboration between agencies, stakeholders and the Tribe, help the overall health of ecosystems. This is played out within the ecosystem as well. As I witnessed, tule thrives where there is room and a large amount of diversity in plants and

animals. The wetland ecosystem where tule thrives operates in four directions. Upward to the sky for wind and photosynthesis, down into the soil and water where one of the most diverse communities of biota exists on the planet, out toward the shoreline to create a buffer and filter toxins, and into the water where mammals, birds, reptiles and other creatures benefit each other and the overall system.

If tules are not available, it takes extra work and distance to find and gather them, but it can be done. Mats are made to be shared or used for special purposes, such as births, deaths, food, and shelter. One reed cannot do this alone, but several build a mat that is shared with others as a gift of knowledge. Mats are held together with the support of dogbane. Dogbane holds itself in all conditions, making it a support for tule to shrink and expand in changing weather. Tule is a teacher, rooted in the wetland ecosystem, and contributes to the web of all around it, it is a member of the Nimiipuu family and the homeland landscape. In the face of hegemonic pressures, they persist and persevere and flourish. When these plants are threatened, it threatens the entire culture. Kevin once share with me: "I like tule because it grows in clusters that support each other. Like humans, when we come together we are strong and can accomplish things. One is small and fragile, together they are strong. We can learn from that." (personal communication, 2016). Working together to support and sustain healthy ecosystems that are Nez Perce lifeways, helps us all to sustain a better community on many levels. When we step "one foot in the mud" there are many gifts that come along the way. We may be searching for one particular plant, but the web that is connected to that reveals itself if we just pay attention.

At the CRP pond at my home, the red winged blackbird has returned to announce the arrival of spring. The deer have been sleeping beneath the willows again as the grass is

mashed down with outlines of their bodies. The muskrat paddles around the pond, furiously preparing for a new family on the way. Ducks and geese return, and a new pair of mergansers are nesting this year. Water striders dance across the surface and know that the dragonflies are underneath. As it warms, they will break out a new set of wings and fly curiously in the warm sun.

In a few weeks, tules will poke out of the water, their roots anxiously awaiting warmer days for stalks to capture photosynthesis for energy. The cycle continues and there are clues, as H.B. pointed out. Some of these clues are off balance and less reliable with the changing overall climate, still they persevere, if we just look and listen. Lucinda shared concern that the Nez Perce gathering season has changed. Water and other valuable resources are dwindling and are not as reliable as they once were (presentation, January, 2017).

As I listened to my friend H.B., she talked about her children and great grandchildren (yet to be) in the same tense that she spoke of her ancestors that came before. I pictured a continuous thread that connected them all together, through land, language, objects and story. This thread is reciprocal, moving back and forth in prayer and thankfulness. It has no beginning or end and this moment is what keeps it alive and breathing. That is the purpose for the here and now. We talked about giving thanks before gathering, as all my co-researchers shared. This is a process to honor those that came before and put yourself in the right place before removing a plant from the land. This is scientific selection, as well as respect for the people and the environment, all parts of the same body.

There is no store to buy tule and dogbane from for supplies to continue crafting these important objects of life. The answer lies in restoration and making more room for wetlands

to exist in a natural way. Rue Hoover is working on that in Lapwai, restoring the landscape and educating youth. In Wallowa, the people are healing on 320 acres with a pow wow, a feed, and a longhouse. Soon educational programming will continue as well as restoration along the water. There are places like Ladd Marsh, that serve as an example of a diverse ecosystem, with a diverse group of stakeholders, making sure that it is protected.

I met with Kevin again, to complete the circle, in a way. We shared what has happened over the past two years, and how his "seed" of knowledge, grew to my amazing journey. I shared my story with him and together as he stated. "We move just a little farther down the road" (personal communication, February, 2017). His words indicated there was no beginning or end. I shared that I witnessed tule's resilience in tough places, but that where it flourished, there was great diversity in the land.

Nimiipuu stories are codes of ethics and moral responsibility, teach about place and respect for what we are given. They also teach methods and theory much as science does. It is simply a different way of relaying information and is credible and valid. These are directions and as we fail to listen to them, we continue to damage this planet, but if we work together and create the right conditions, new growth will happen. As I searched for tule and wanted to gain a better understanding of the process through research, I found that I myself participated in a process of shared knowledge and experience. Gathering tule for me, is a multilayered story of people, landscape, object, and language that all contribute to the learning process. A major finding is that we all benefit from listening to the Nimiipuu, as they are guiding us in ways to live in companionship with the land and it is time to listen.

'eqiicqitx weetesne

"Take Care of the Earth"

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbe, Mary. (2013) Photo. *The American Indian Movement (AIM) stopped making headlines long ago, but it's still making history visually in two photo shows and a book.* Minneapolis Star Tribune, May 30, 2013.

Alivizatou, M. (2012). *Intangible Heritage and the Museum New Perspectives on Cultural Preservation* (Critical Cultural Heritage Series). Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.

Allen, Joseph H., Nuechterlein, Gary L., and Deborah Buitron. (2008). Bulrush Mediation Effects on Wave Implications for Over-Water Nesting Birds. *Waterbirds: The International Journal of Waterbird Biology,* Vol. 31(3) Sept. 2008.

Axtell, H., & Aragon, Margo. (1997). *A little bit of wisdom: Conversations with a Nez Perce elder* (1st ed.). Lewiston, Idaho: Confluence Press.

Battiste, Marie. (2000) *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*. Vancouver, CA: UBC Press.

Beutel, Marc W., Newton, C.D., Brouillard, E.S., and Watts, R.J. (2009). Nitrate Removal in Surface-Flow Constructed Wetlands Treating Dilute Agricultural Runoff in the Lower Yakima Basin, Washington. *Ecological Engineering* Vol. 35(1538-1546).

Blasingame, Jim. From Wellpinit to Reardon: Sherman Alexie's Journey to the National Book Award. The Allan Review. Virginia Tech Digital Library Vol.35(2), Winter 2008. 9 December, 2016: http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals/ALAN/v35n2/blasingame.html

Brush, S., & Stabinsky, Doreen. (1996). *Valuing local knowledge: Indigenous people and intellectual property rights*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.

Chilisa, B. (2012). *Indigenous research methodologies*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

Chilisa, Bagele (2015, October). American Indigenous Research Association Conference, keynote. October 23, 2015

Conservation Reserve Program (2016). United States Department of Agriculture (USDA-FSA) Farm Services Agency. Accessed February, 2017 from: https://www.fsa.usda.gov/programs-and-services/conservation-programs/conservation-reserve-program/index

Crook, Harold D. (2015-2017). Nimipuutimt 101 and 102. Not published – for class use only.

Davies, Charlotte Aull. (1999) *Reflexive Ethnography:a Guide to Researching Selves and Others* London ; Routledge

Deloria Jr., V., Scinta, Samuel, Foehner, Kristen, & Deloria, Barbara. (1999). *Spirit and Reason: The Vine Deloria Jr. Reader*. Golden: Fulcrum Publishing.

Denzin, Norman K., Lincoln, Yvonna S, and Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. (2008). *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Dugan, P. (2005). *Guide to wetlands*. Buffalo, N.Y.; Richmond Hill, Ont.: Firefly Books.

EagleWoman, A., & Leeds, Stacy L. (2016). *Mastering American Indian law* (Carolina Academic Press mastering series). Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.

Echo-Hawk, W. (2013). *In the light of justice: The rise of human rights in Native America and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum.

Frey, R., & Coeur D'Alene Tribe of the Coeur D'Alene Reservation, Idaho. (2001). *Landscape traveled by coyote and crane: The world of the Schitsu'umsh : Coeur d'Alene Indians*. Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press.

Frey, R. and a host of elders. (Draft: 2014) *Huckleberries: Stories from the American Indian Experience for Research, Writing, Pedagogy, and Our Humanity.*

Gebremariam, Seyoum Yami, and Marc W. Beutel. (2008). Nitrate Removal and DO Levels in Batch wetland mesocosm: Cattail (*Typha* spp.) versus bulrush (*Scirpus* spp.). *Ecological Engineering.* Vol. 34(1-6).

Harris, Stanley W. and William H. Marshall. (1960). Germination and Planting Experiments on Soft-stem and Hard-stem Bulrush. *The Journal of Wildlife Management,* Vol 24(2), April 1960.

Holland, M., Blood, Elizabeth R, & Shaffer, Lawrence R. (2003). *Achieving sustainable freshwater systems: A web of connections*. Washington, DC: Island Press.

Horse Capture, G., Champagne, Duane, & Jackson, Chandler C. (2007). *American Indian nations: Yesterday, today, and tomorrow* (Contemporary Native American communities). Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

Hunn, E., Morning Owl, E. Thomas, Cash Cash, Phillip, & Engum, Jennifer Karson. (2015). *Čáw pawá láakni = They are not forgotten: Sahaptian place names atlas of the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla*. Pendleton, Oregon: Portland, Oregon: Tamástslikt Cultural Institute; in association with Ecotrust.
Lessons learned

Ingold, T. (2013). *Making: Anthropology, archaeology, art and architecture*. London ; New York: Routledge.

James, C. (1996). *Nez Perce women in transition, 1877-1990*. Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho Press.

Kovach, Margaret. (2009). *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations and Contexts*. Toronto: U of Toronto.

Ladd Marsh Wildlife Area. (2015, August). Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife. Accessed February, 2017 from: http://www.dfw.state.or.us/resources/visitors/ladd_marsh/index.asp

Lambert, L. (2014). *Research for indigenous survival: Indigenous research methodologies in the behavioral sciences*. Pablo, Montana: Salish Kootenai College Press.

Lavender, D. (1992). *Let me be free: The Nez Perce tragedy* (1st ed.). New York: HarperCollins.

McKinstry, M., Hubert, Wayne A, & Anderson, Stanley H. (2004). *Wetland and riparian areas of the intermountain West: Ecology and management* (1st ed., Peter T. Flawn series in natural resource management and conservation; no. 4). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Michael, John H. Jr., (2003). Nutrients in Salmon Hatchery Wastewater and its Removal Through the Use of a Wetland Constructed to Treat Off-Line Pond Effluent. *Aquaculture* 226 (2003) 213-225.

Morgensen, Scott L. (2012). Destabilizing the Settler Academy: The Decolonial Effects of Indigenous Methodologies. *American Quarterly*, Vol. 64(4), pp. 805-808.

Murkin, H., Valk, Arnoud van der, Clark, William R., & Marsh Ecology Research Program. (2000). *Prairie wetland ecology: The contribution of the Marsh Ecology Research Program* (1st ed.). Ames: Iowa State University Press.

Nez Perce Tribe of Idaho. Environmental Restoration & Waste Management Department. (2003). *Treaties: Nez Perce perspectives* (1st ed.). Lewiston, Idaho]: Confluence Press.

Nez Perce Wallowa Homeland [web site] (2017). Accessed from: http://wallowanezperce.org

Niezen, R. (2003). *The origins of indigenism: Human rights and the politics of identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Painter, B. (2002). *White Bird: The last great warrior chief of the Nez Perces*. Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press.

Peers, L., & Brown, Alison K. (2003). *Museums and source communities: A Routledge reader*. London; New York: Routledge.

Pinkham, A., Evans, Steven Ross, & Hoxie, Frederick E. (2013). *Lewis and Clark among the Nez Perce: Strangers in the Land of the Nimiipuu*. Washburn, North Dakota: The Dakota Institute Press of the Lewis & Clark Fort Mandan Foundation.

Porsanger, Jelana (Sapmi). (2010). *Self Determination and Indigenous Research: Capacity Building on Our Own Terms.* International Expert Group Meeting, Indigenous Peoples: Development with Culture and Identity, Article 3 and 32 of the United Nations Declaration

of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York, 12-14 January 2010.

Royster, J., Blumm, Michael C, & Kronk, Elizabeth Ann. (2013). *Native American natural resources law: Case and materials* (Third ed., Carolina Academic Press law casebook series). Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.

Shuttleworth, Jane. Shoreline Revegetation of Lakes with Bulrush Rootstock. *Restoration and Reclamation Review.* Vol. 2(2), 1997. Department of Horticultural Science, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, MN.

Silverman, R. (2015). *Museum as process: Translating local and global knowledges* (Museum meanings). London; New York: Routledge.

Sleeper-Smith, S. (2009). *Contesting knowledge: Museums and indigenous perspectives*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Dunedin, N.Z.: Zed; U of Otago.

Sobotta, Angel K. (2013). *Wisdom Sits in Places.* Tedx Talk at LCSC, December 18, 2013. accessed from: http://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=angel+sobotta+ted+talk&view=detail&mid=360758F2090A67435039360758F2090A67435039&FORM=VIRE

Stein, Eric. (2009). Diagnosing Wetland Health with Rapid Assessment Methods. *SWS Research Brief.* Society of Wetland Scientists. No. 2009-0010.

Stoller, P. (2009). *The power of the between: An anthropological odyssey*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tilley, D. Plany Guide for Hardstem Bulrush *(Schoenoplectus acutus).* 2012. United States Department of Agriculture, Natural resources Conservation Service, Idaho Plant Materials Center. Aberdeen, ID 83210.

Tonkovich, Nicole (2016). *Dividing the Reservation: Alice C. Fletcher's Nez Perce Allotment Diaries and Letters, 1889-1892.* Washington State University Press Pullman, WA.

Turner, N., & Royal British Columbia Museum. (1998). *Plant technology of First Peoples in British Columbia* (Royal British Columbia Museum handbook). Vancouver: UBC Press.

USDA, (pub. Date unknown). Wetland Plant Factsheet. *Harstem Bulrush (Scirpus acutus).* Interagency Riparian/Wetland Project. USDA-NRCS. Plant Materials Center, Aberdeen, Idaho.

Waddell, Jim (2016) *dam Nonsense,* NPPE – Understanding the Costs of the Snake River Dams 5-4-2016

Watson, R. (2012). Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods by Shawn Wilson. *Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe Canadien, 56*(2), 294-295.

Wilson, Shawn. (2008). *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. Black Point, N.S.: Fernwood Pub.

APPENDIX A: NEZ PERCE TRIBAL APPROVAL

NEZ PERCE TRIBAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
INTER-OFFICE
MEMORANDUM

TO: Finance Department
NPTEC Members

FROM: Mary Jane Miles, Secretary

SUBJECT: Administrative Actions - April 26, 2016

DATE: April 26, 2016

The following Administrative Actions were approved by the Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee meeting in Special Session, April 26, 2016 in the Richard A. Halfmoon Council Chambers, Lapwai, ID. You are hereby authorized to disburse funds and/or take proper action.

NATURAL RESOURCES SUBCOMMITTEE-APRIL 19, 2016

1. Letter Authorize a letter to approve Jason Vangen, Utilities Coordinator to continue to sign and submit monthly discharge monitoring reports (NMR) for the Waste Water Treatment Plant in compliance with the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) National Pollutant Discharge System standards.

2. 2016 Annual Operating Plan Approve the 2016 North Idaho Annual Operating Plan to establish operational procedures and guidelines to facilitate Fire Management activities.

3. Research Permit Approve a Research Permit for Wendy A. Wegner, University of Idaho, graduate student for "Importance of Tule/Dogbane to Nez Perce ecosystem" thesis research.

4. Comments Approve comments on the Nez Perce Clearwater National Forests Road, Administrative, and Recreation Site Maintenance Project Environmental Assessment.

5. ITBC Letter Authorize a response letter to the Intertribal Buffalo Council (ITBC) Executive Director.

6. Governor Bullock Letter Authorize a letter to the Honorable Steve Bullock, Governor of the State of Montana regarding Year-round bison tolerance in Montana.

APPENDIX B: INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

University *of* Idaho
Office of Research Assurances
Institutional Review Board
875 Perimeter Drive, MS 3010 Moscow
ID 83844-3010
Phone: 208-885-6162
Fax: 208-885-5752
irb@uidaho.edu

To: Rodney P. Frey

Cc: Wendy Ann Wegner

From: Sharon Stoll
Chair, University of Idaho Institutional Review Board

Date: October 10, 2016

Title: The Cultural and Ecological Significance of the Tule Plant (Schoenoplectus acutus) to the Nez Perce People in their Homelands.

Project: 16-080

Approved: 10/10/2016

Renewal: 10/09/2017

On behalf of the Institutional Review Board at the University of Idaho, I am pleased to inform you that the protocol for the research project The Cultural and Ecological Significance of the Tule Plant (Schoenoplectus acutus) to the Nez Perce People in their Homelands. is approved as offering no significant risk to human subjects. This approval is valid until 10/09/2017.

This study may be conducted according to the protocol described in the application. Research that has been approved by the IRB may be subject to further appropriate review and approval or disapproval by officials of the Institution. Every effort should be made to ensure that the project is conducted in a manner consistent with the three fundamental principles identified in the Belmont Report: respect for persons; beneficence; and justice. As Principal Investigator, you are responsible for ensuring compliance with all applicable FERPA regulations, University of Idaho policies, state and federal regulations.

Federal regulations require researchers to follow specific procedures in a timely manner. For the protection of all concerned, the IRB calls your attention to the following obligations that you have as Principal Investigator of this study.

1. For any changes to the study (except to protect the safety of participants), an Amendment Application must be submitted to the IRB. The Amendment Application must be reviewed and approved before any changes can take place.

2. Any unanticipated/adverse events or problems occurring as a result of participation in this study must be reported immediately to the IRB.

3. Principal investigators are responsible for ensuring that informed consent is properly documented in accordance with 45 CFR 46.116.

4. A Continuing Renewal Application must be submitted and approved by the IRB prior to the expiration date else automatic termination of this study will occur. If the study expires, all research activities associated with the study must cease and a new application must be approved before any work can continue.

5. Please complete the Continuing Renewal/Closure form in VERAS when the project is completed.

6. Forms can be found at https://veras.uidaho.edu.

APPENDIX C: NATIONAL HEALTH INSTITUTE CERTIFICATION

Certificate of Completion

The National Institutes of Health (NIH) Office of Extramural Research certifies that **Wendy Wegner** successfully completed the NIH Web-based training course “Protecting Human Research Participants”.

Date of completion: 04/10/2014

Certification Number: 1447146