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1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 19-03-2023		2. REPORT TYPE Thesis or Dissertation		3. DATES COVERED (From - To) -			
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE A Place of Conflict: Historical Collaborative Archaeology at Malheur Indian Agency Headquarters			5a. CONTRACT NUMBER W911NF-16-1-0150				
			5b. GRANT NUMBER				
			5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER 611102				
6. AUTHORS Christina, McSherry			5d. PROJECT NUMBER 611103				
			5e. TASK NUMBER				
			5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAMES AND ADDRESSES University of Nevada - Reno 1664 N. Virginia St. Ross Hall 204/MS 325 Reno, NV 849.00 89557 -0325			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER				
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS (ES) U.S. Army Research Office P.O. Box 12211 Research Triangle Park, NC 27709-2211			10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S) ARO				
			11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S) 63118-HC-PCS.40				
12. DISTRIBUTION AVAILABILITY STATEMENT							
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES The views, opinions and/or findings contained in this report are those of the author(s) and should not be construed as an official Department of the Army position, policy or decision, unless so designated by other documentation.							
14. ABSTRACT							
15. SUBJECT TERMS							
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:		17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT		15. NUMBER OF PAGES		19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON Sarah Cowie	
a. REPORT	b. ABSTRACT					c. THIS PAGE	19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER 775-682-7524

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**REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE (SF298)**  
**(Continuation Sheet)**

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**Continuation for Block 13**

Proposal/Report Number: 63118.40-HC-PCS

Report Title: A Place of Conflict: Historical Collaborative Archaeology at Malheur Indian Agency Headquarters

Report Type: Ph.D. Dissertation

**Publication Type:** Thesis or Dissertation

**Institution:** University of Nevada-Reno

**Date Received:** 19-Mar-2023

**Completion Date:** 4/26/22 12:04AM

**Title:** A Place of Conflict: Historical Collaborative Archaeology at Malheur Indian Agency Headquarters

**Authors:** Christina, McSherry

**Acknowledged Federal Support:** Y

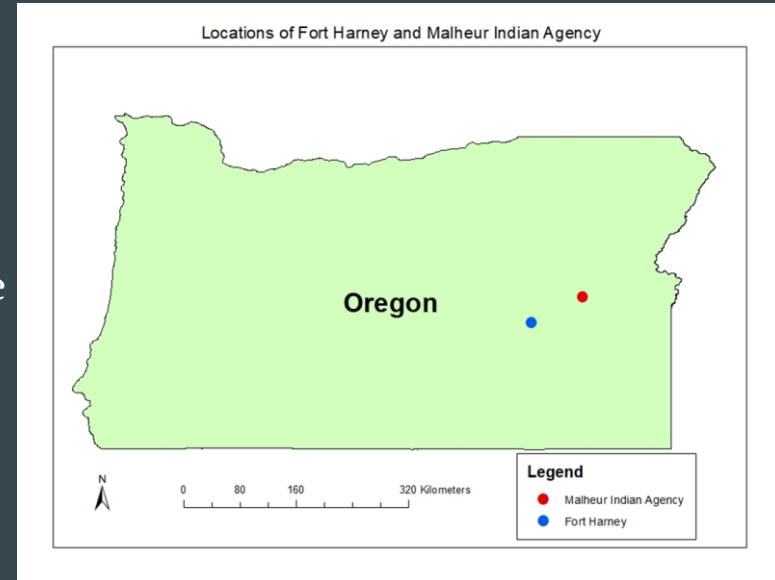
# A Place of Conflict: Historical Collaborative Archaeology at Malheur Indian Agency Headquarters



Christina McSherry Dissertation Defense  
April 25, 2022

# Introduction

- How do archaeologists theorize and practice conflict archaeology?
  - Do theory and practice match?
  - If they do not, how can the field be improved?
- How can archaeology and archaeologists be more inclusive using community-based participatory research and decolonizing practices?
- I answer these questions by conducting a decolonizing, collaborative, research project at the Malheur Indian Agency Headquarters outside Burns, Oregon.



# Conflict, Violence, Power

- **Conflict:** “struggle between actors or collectives as expressed as definite social practices” (Giddens 1979, 131).
- But- “Conflict” is often used synonymously with “violence” and “war.”
- **Violence:** difficult to define, but at its most basic, “Violent acts are directed by human beings against other human beings with the intention of doing those others harm” (Carmen 1997, 6).
  - There are multiple types of violence, and not all of them are physical violence.



Current news example of “conflict” and “war” both being used to describe the same event.



# Conflict, Violence, and Power

This research focuses on three types of violence:

- Physical Violence- violence resulting in “physical harm” (e.g., Riches 1986; Schröder and Schmidt 2001; Weber 2019).
- Symbolic Violence- culturally driven form of violence embedded in cultural beliefs and practices that are used to preserve and reproduce the existing power structure (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).
- Structural Violence- Violence created by the existing social structure being used by those in power to maintain that structure (and thus, their power) (Farmer 2004; Foucault 1995; Giddens 1979; Roller 2018).

# Conflict, Violence, and Power

Violence is closely connected to the concept of power (e.g., Bernbeck 2020, Laswell and Kaplan 1950; Mann 1986).

- Can cause violence (e.g., efforts to maintain power).
- Can be a response to violence (e.g., using agency for resistance, negotiation and persistence).

This research uses the concepts of “power to,” “power over,” “power with” and “power under” as described by Spencer-Wood (2010).

- See also: Bourdieu 1977; Butler 1997; Foucault 1978; Giddens 1985; Marx and Engels 2018; Miller and Tilley 1984; Weber 2019
- This conception of power accounts for domination but also multiple forms of agency.

# Conflict Archaeology and the Archaeology of Colonialism

Conflict Archaeology: “any archaeology that is a result of, or was affected by conflict or threat of conflict” (Shiels 2008).

In practice:

- Fortifications
- Battlefields
- Military-focused
- Physical violence
- Some focus on civilians and prisoner of war camps, especially for more recent conflicts

Archaeology of Colonialism: focuses on the lived experience of communities facing colonialism and how they change, adapt, negotiate and resist.

In practice:

- “Culture change”
- Negotiation
- Persistence
- Structural and Symbolic Violence
- Domination and Resistance

But what is each field missing?

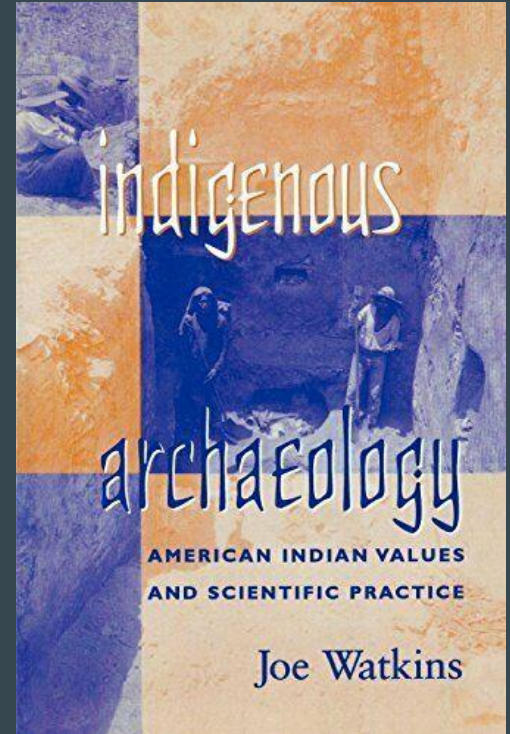
# Decolonizing Archaeology

Archaeology and Anthropology have done harm to Indigenous communities, including by promoting and assisting colonialist policies. As a result, communities are often hesitant and resistant to working with researchers.

Primary critiques of archaeology include:

- Considering Indigenous peoples “primitive” rather than current communities
- It is possible for data and interpretations to be used against Indigenous communities
- Theory fails to account for Indigenous agency
- Reliance on Ethnography and outside perspectives
- Fails to include Indigenous world-views and knowledge
- Differential treatment of Indigenous human remains and artifacts

See: Deloria 1988; Hammil and Cruz 1989; Smith 2012; Thomas 2000; Watkins 2000



In practice, decolonizing archaeology means practicing collaboration, not just consultation (See Atalay 2012; Colwell 2016; Forsman 1997; Smith 2012; Stapp and Burney 2002; Watkins 2003).

### Consultation

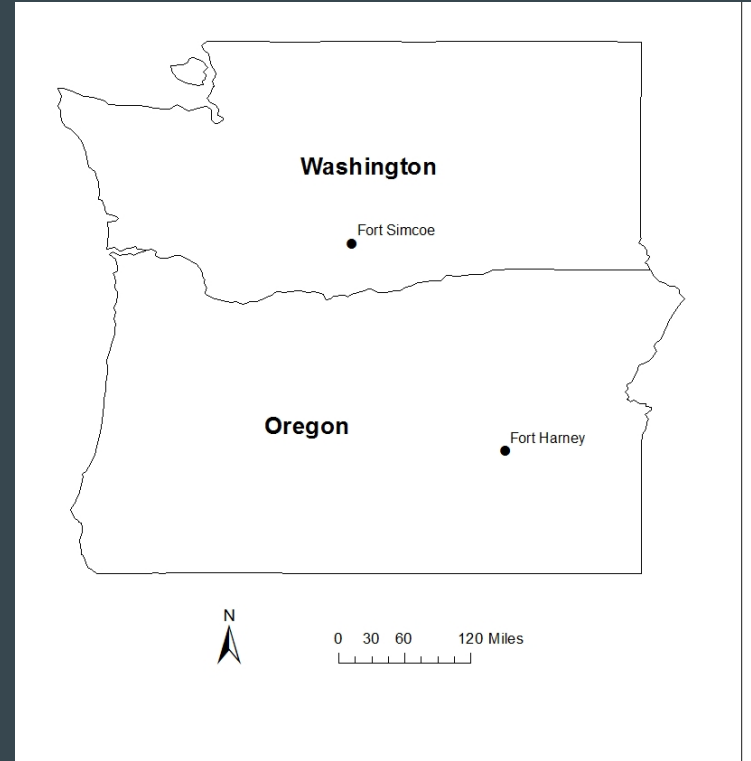
- Often required by law in some way
- Work is often already underway (research methodologies, research design) when communities receive notice
- Bare minimum of communication often involving, notification of work, and monitoring
- Community members are not necessarily involved in the fieldwork/analysis
- After the notification, it is generally on the communities to continue/follow up the process
- Goals of researchers are prioritized

### Collaboration

- Not required by law, but becoming more common ethical practices
- No work is done or decided until community input is gained. This includes research design and methodologies.
- Community goals are considered and prioritized in the research
- It is on the researcher to continue/follow up on the process and gain community approval
- Community members are involved in the field work and analysis
- Communities are involved in distributing the research and retain intellectual property

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

- Started in 2016
  - Partnership between Burns Paiute Tribe Culture and Heritage Department (Diane Teeman) and UNR Department of Anthropology (Dr. Sarah Cowie)
- Driven by the communities’ desire to document their forced removal from the Malheur Reservation to the Yakima Reservation in Washington State
- Collaborating communities named the project “Our Ancestors’ Walk of Sorrow” Removal Trail Project.
- Goals of preserving, documenting, and remembering using archaeological methods and Indigenous ways of knowing



# The Collaborative Process

- Reaching out to communities' early- before topics and research design are decided
- Holding convenings and ensuring consent for all parts of the research process
- Thinking ahead
  - Not just about fieldwork but also publications, curation, storage of data and paperwork, and implications and uses of research
- Listening to concerns that may not be directly related to your research, but you may be in a position to address
- The researchers' timeline may not be the communities' timeline
- Must be willing to listen and act on what you are hearing. Sometimes this means modifying aspects of your ideal research plan

Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow Convening  
University of Nevada, Reno, Campus. March 1-2, 2019,  
Reno, Nevada

Meeting Location: University of Nevada Reno Campus, Joe Crowley Student Union, Joe Crowley Student Union, 1664 N Virginia St, Reno, NV 89503. Room 403: The Great Room

**Location and Building Access Note:**

There is a passenger drop off location located in front of the Joe Crowley Student Union building (Convening Location)

Elevator Access from main floor is available; restrooms are located near the meeting room.

**Parking Notes:**

Friday is Permit Parking Required. When entering the garage, please enter the code #1904011 into the key pad. A permit will print for you to put on your dash.

Handicap Parking: Even if you have a handicap permit, a school permit must be obtained. Parking will be either in the West Stadium Garage (There is a hill between this garage and the convening location) or the Whalen Garage (no hill).

# Project Research Design Methods

- Community members identified Malheur Indian Agency as a site of conflict and an important component of the Removal Trail narrative.
- Geophysical survey (conducted Summer 2018)
- Three sites included in research- Agency Site, Lithic Site, Hot Springs Site
  - Fieldwork conducted as part of Indigenous Collaborative Historical Archaeology at Malheur Indian Agency Headquarters Field School (Summer 2019).
    - Pedestrian Survey and in-field analysis
      - pXRF
      - 10 meter transects
      - Photography
      - “Catch and release”
    - Excavation
      - Shovel Test Units
      - Test Units
    - Historic Artifacts collected for curation
    - Landscape Survey
- Archival research
- ArcGIS Analysis
- Camp Harney Collection



# Research during COVID-19

- Zoom and Accessibility
- Archives closed
- Museums Closed
- Labs closed

**Seattle Archives** <seattle.archives+noreply@nara.gov>

Tue, May 11, 2021, 11:53 AM



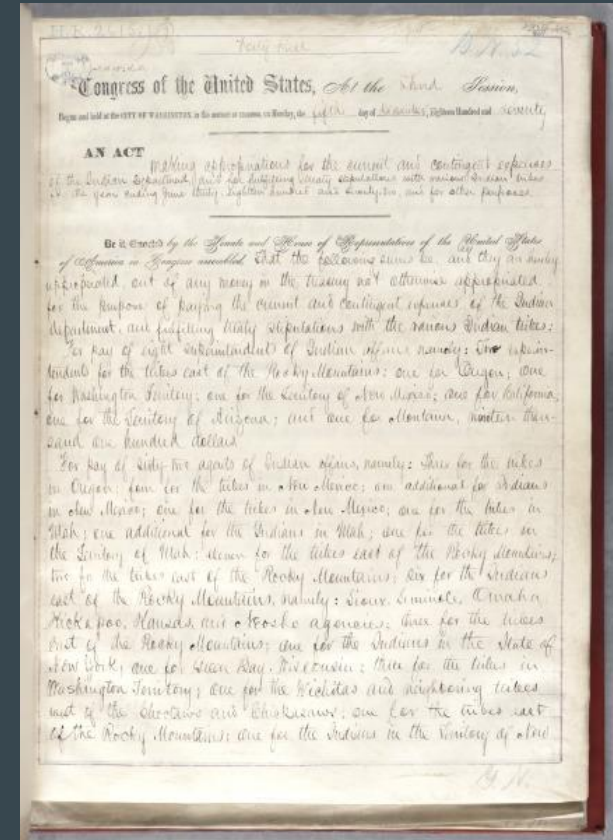
to me ▾

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Due to the COVID-19 pandemic and pursuant to guidance received from the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), NARA has adjusted its normal operations to balance the need of completing its mission-critical work while also adhering to the recommended social distancing for the safety of our staff. As a result of this re-prioritization of activities, you may experience a delay in receiving an initial acknowledgment as well as a substantive response to your reference or FOIA request or appeal. We apologize for this inconvenience and appreciate your understanding and patience.

# Historical Data: Indian Policy

- Creation of the Agency came from a long history of laws and policies that were part of “Indian Policy”
- Bureau of Indian Affairs
- Court Cases determining level of sovereignty Indigenous communities had
  - While these cases acknowledge Indigenous sovereignty, they also place them under the rule of United States Government.
- Treaties
  - Indian Appropriation Act 1871
- Policies of forced assimilation
  - Agencies were an essential part of this policy
- Violent Warfare

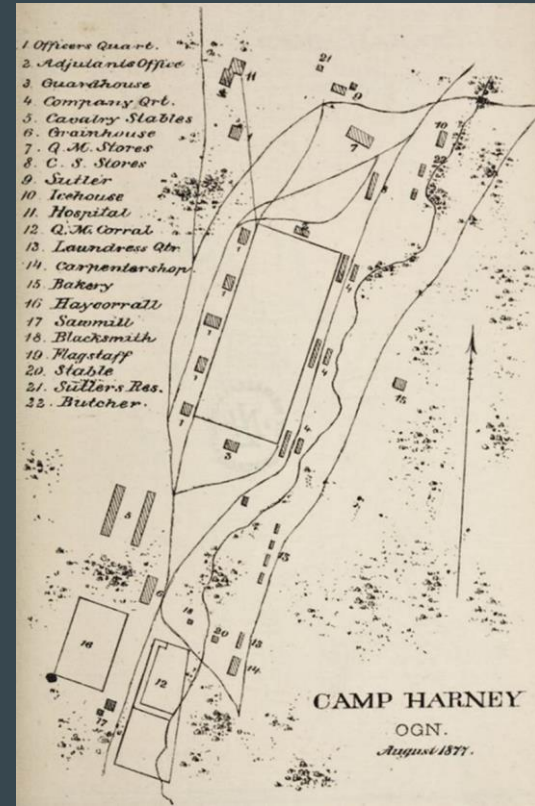


Indian Appropriation Act 1871

photo from National Archives online

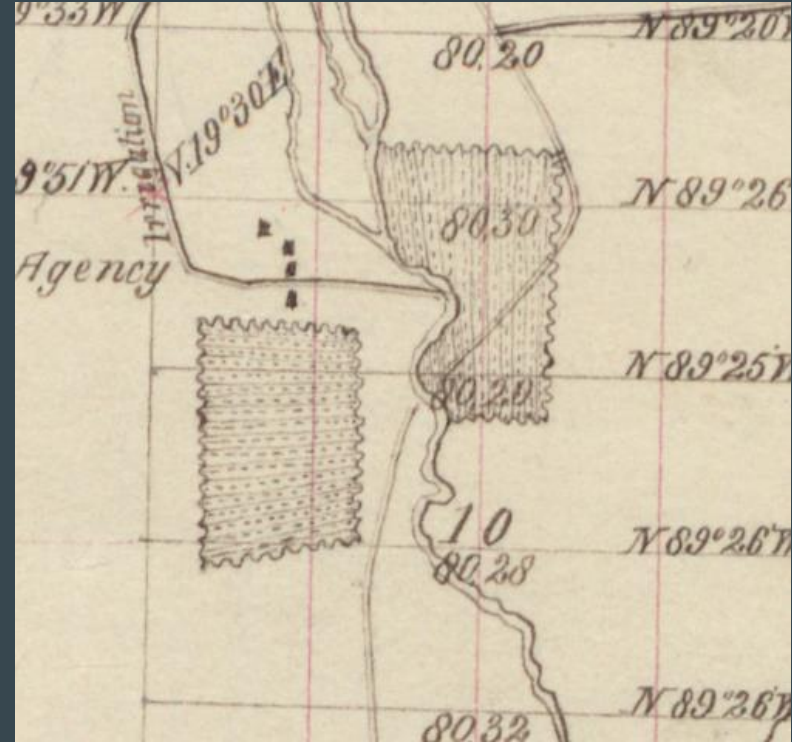
# Historical Data: Camp Harney

- Key site relating to the creation of the Malheur Agency
- Established in 1867 as part of the “Department of Columbia” network of fortifications
- Area set aside for the camp was 36 square miles
- Surrounded by hills and is an easily defensible position
- Buildings included barracks, soldiers quarters, hospital, guardhouses, stables, and eventually a trading post as the area became more populated
- Roads were built to connect Camp Harney to other fortifications and eventually the Malheur Agency



# Historical Data: Malheur Indian Reservation

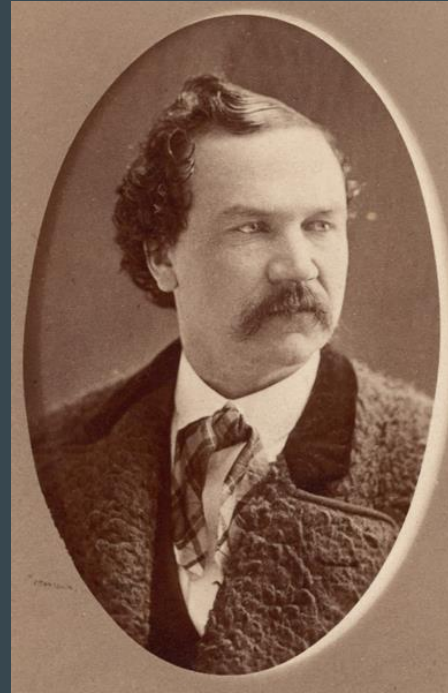
- Neme had a treaty with the US Government in 1869, but it was never ratified.
- Malheur Indian Reservation was created by executive order in March 1871.
- Set aside all land between the 42 and 44 parallels of latitude and 117-120 degrees longitude
  - Except for land already set aside for military purposes (Camp Harney, Military roads)
  - Approximately 2,280 square miles
- The Agency was the bureaucratic center of the Malheur Reservation and in charge of distributing supplies and implementing the forced assimilation policy.



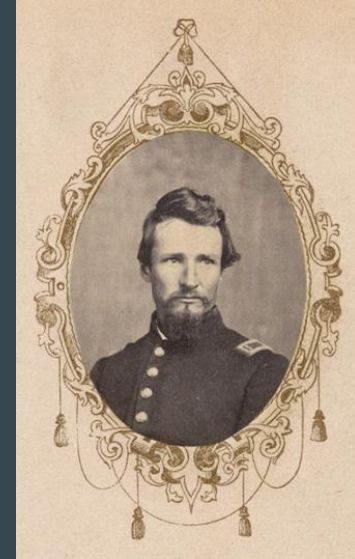
Agency in 1875 on a General Land Office (GLO)  
Map

# Historical Data: Life at the Malheur Indian Agency

- Goal of the Agency was to teach settler lifeways to the Indigenous communities
  - Farming, blacksmithing, school for children
- By 1876 buildings at the Agency included stables, two employee quarters, two commissaries, carpenter and blacksmith shops and schoolhouse
- Indigenous labor was a key part of Agency practices
  - Detailed labor rolls were kept and show tasks like farming, caring for livestock, helping at the agency office
  - Irrigation ditch
- Life could vary depending on the Agent in charge
  - Samuel Parrish 1873-1876
  - William Rinehart 1876- 1880
- Records, both military and agent reports show Indigenous communities did continue to practice traditional lifeways



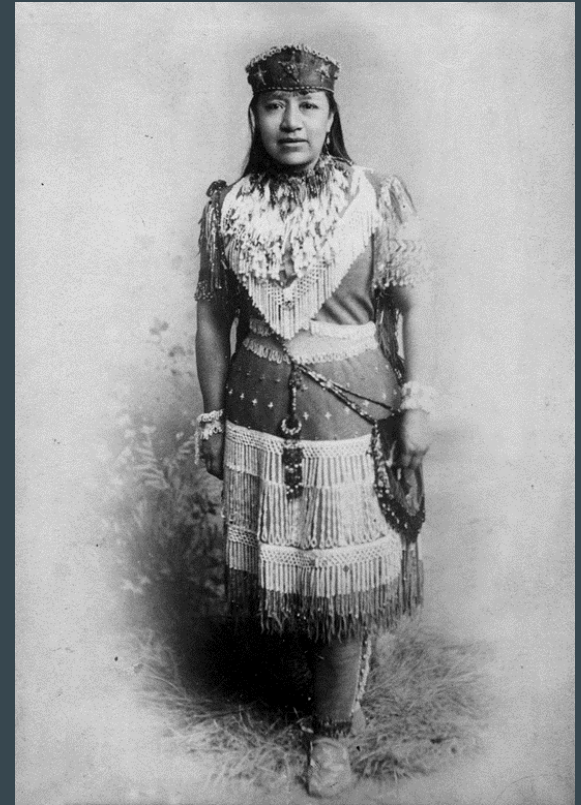
Samuel Parrish  
(Oregon Historical Society)



William Rinehart  
(Oregon Historical Society)

# Historical Data: Bannock War of 1878 and its Aftermath

- Discontent grew under Rinehart's tenure as Agent
- The Bannock community in Idaho faced similar conditions.
  - 2 Incidents sparked the Bannock War
    - US Government stealing horses (Howard 1907)
    - Bannock community members killed two white men, in retaliation for a sexual assault (Hopkins 1969).
- Bannock tribal members came to the Malheur Agency and several communities joined their resistance in May, 1878.
- By June 5, Rinehart reported all Indigenous community members had left the Agency.
- June-August 1878 warfare with battles and skirmishes
- US Army, under General O.O. Howard, suppressed the rebellion.
- Following the war, community members were held at Camp Harney.
- In winter they were marched to Yakima Reservation in Washington State.



Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins

(Nevada Historical Society)

# Malheur Indian Agency Site

- Reservation was dissolved by executive order in 1882
  - Land placed back into public domain
- 1885-1928- Pacific Livestock Company
- 1928-1930s- Walters Family Ranch
- 1936- Agency Valley Dam Constructed submerging the site
- 2002, 2004 CRM Phase III excavations conducted at Agency Buildings by Heritage Research Associates



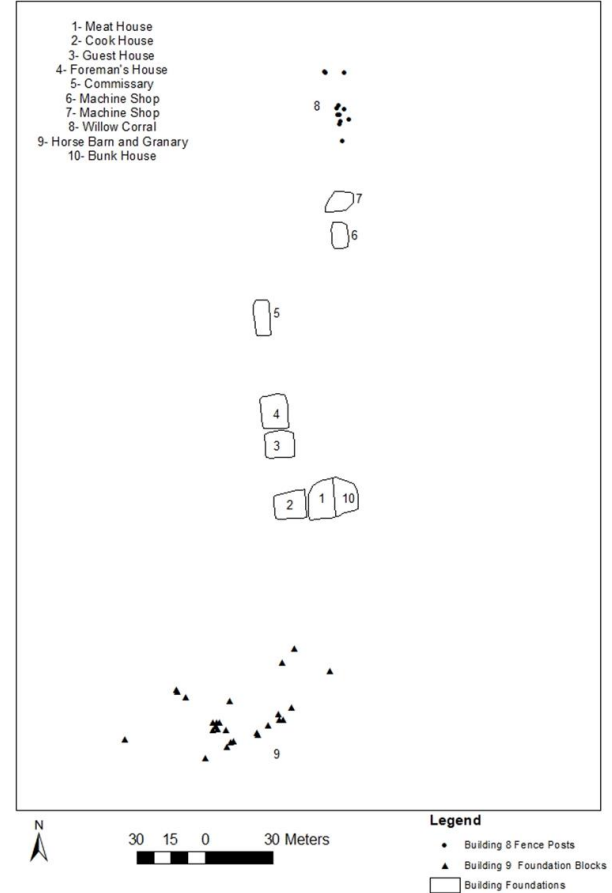
Construction of Agency Valley Dam  
(Oregon Historical Society)

# Buildings at the Malheur Indian Agency

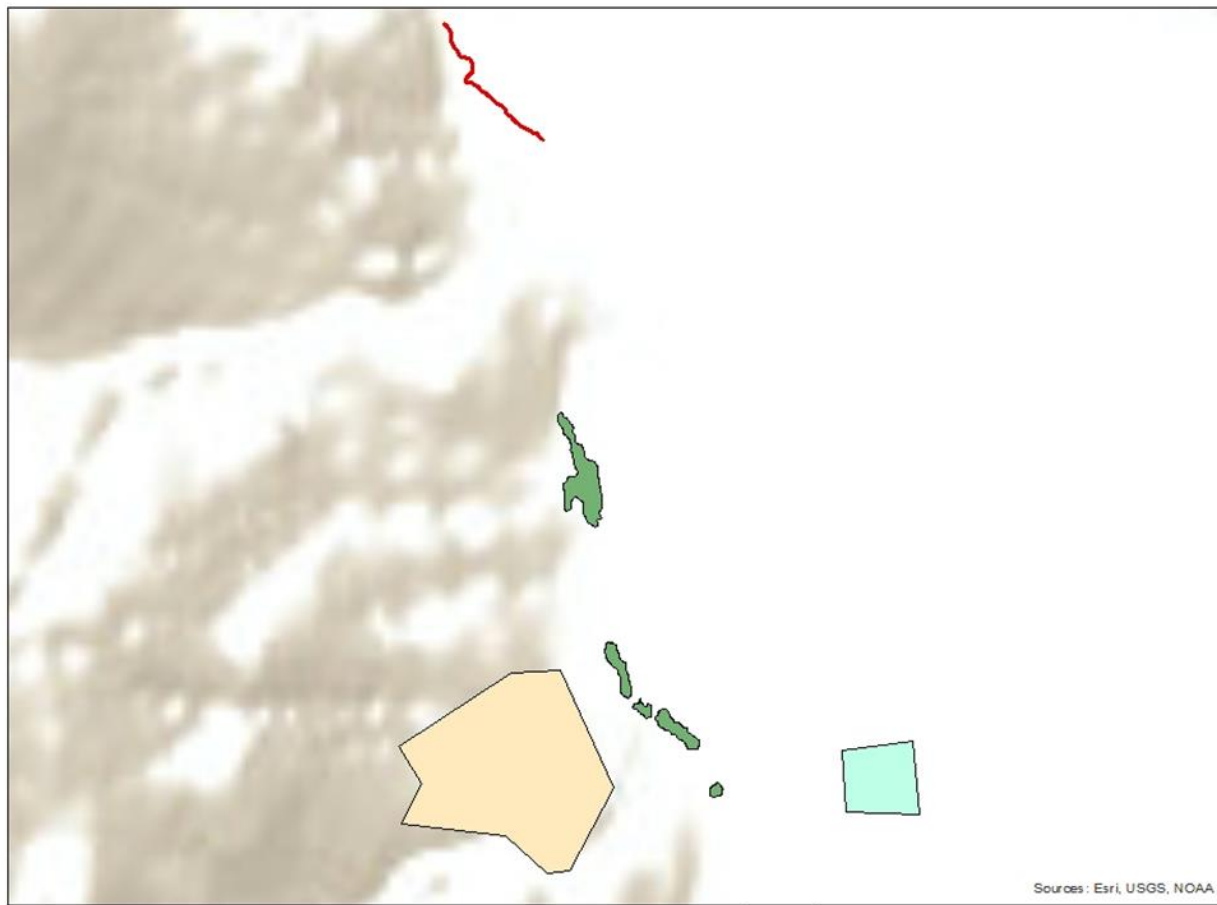


- Buildings 2, 3, 4 and 5 date to the Agency period
- Can be identified by more substantial foundations

Malheur Indian Agency and Agency Ranch Buildings August 2021 Survey



# Location of Willows and Irrigation Trench from August 2021 Landscape Survey



Sources: Esri, USGS, NOAA



0 155 310 620 Meters

### Legend

- Willows
- Agency Site
- Lithic Scatter Site
- Irrigation Trench

# Artifacts at the Malheur Indian Agency: Agency Area

Table 7.1: Agency Period Artifacts from 2002-2004 and 2019 Fieldwork

Artifact Class	Quantity	Date	Excavated In	Totals
<b>Food and Food Consumption</b>				5
Olive Green Wine Bottle	1	1860s-1870s	2002-2004	
Bordeaux Wine Bottle Base	1	1860s-1870s	2019	
Olive Green Bottle Glass	1	1860s-1870s	2019	
White Ironstone Rim Sherd	1	19 <sup>th</sup> Century	2019	
White Ironstone Gothic Cameo	1	1848	2019	
<b>Architecture</b>				541
Cut Nails	16	1820-1891	2019	
Glass Shards < 0.085 Inches Thick	525	Pre-1880	2002-2004	
<b>Ammunition</b>				5
44 Henry Flat Cartridge Casing	1	1860-1934	2002-2004	
38 Long Colt Cartridge Casing	3	1875-present	2002-2004	
45-70 Government Cartridge Casing	1	1873-present	2002-2004	
<b>Flaked Technology</b>				3
Porcelain Scraper	1	N/A	2002-2004	
Brown Glass Graver	1	N/A	2002-2004	
Green Glass Graver	1	N/A	2002-2004	



# Artifacts at the Malheur Indian Agency: Lithic Scatter Site

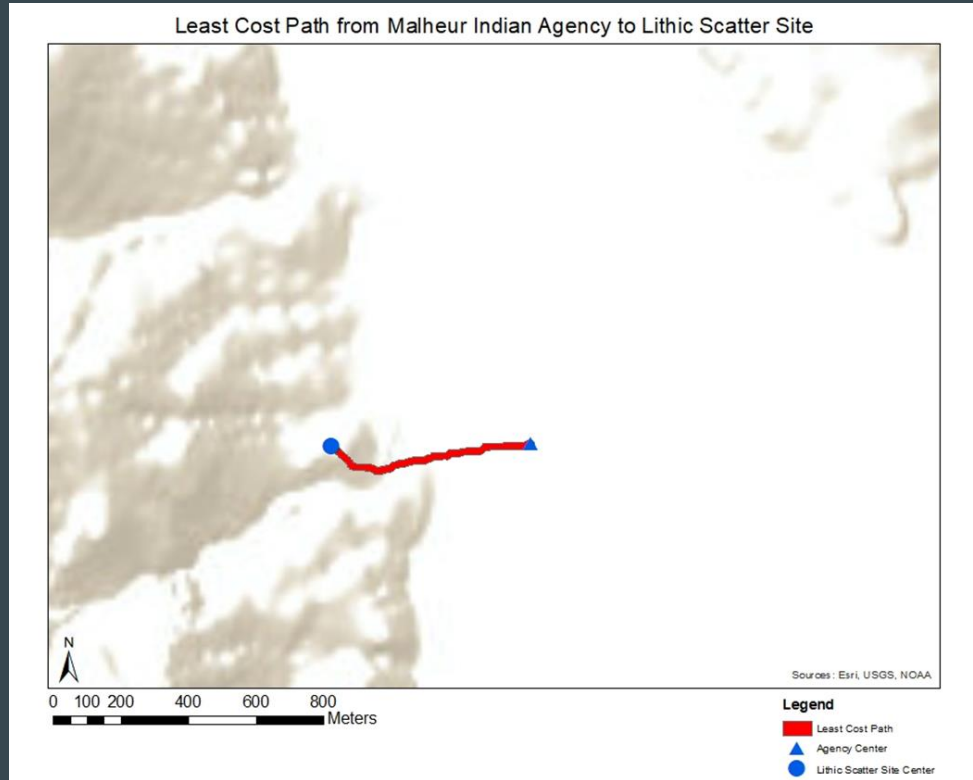
Table 7.2: Agency Period Artifacts Recorded *in Situ* during 2019 Survey

Artifact Class	Quantity	Date	Totals
<b>Clothing</b>			5
Prosser dish-type buttons	4	1840-1880	
Belt buckle	1	19 <sup>th</sup> Century	
<b>Architecture</b>			8
Cut Nails	8	1820-1891	
<b>Food</b>			2
Hole-in-cap Cans	2	1840s-1920s	



# Geographic Analyses

- Least Cost Path Analysis-determines a potential route between two points based on what is the “least cost”



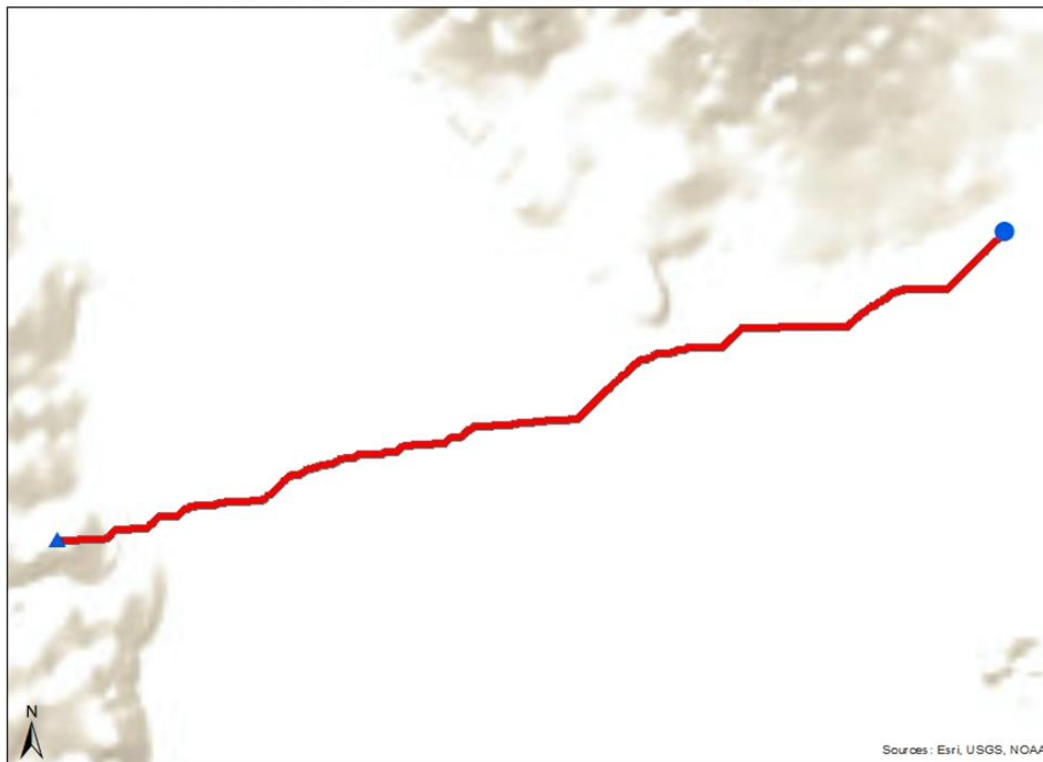
### Least Cost Path from Malheur Indian Agency to Hot Springs Site



0 100 200 400 600 800 1,000  
Meters

- Legend**
- Least Cost Path
  - Agency Center
  - Hot Spring Site Center

### Least Cost Path from Lithic Scatter Site to Hot Springs Site



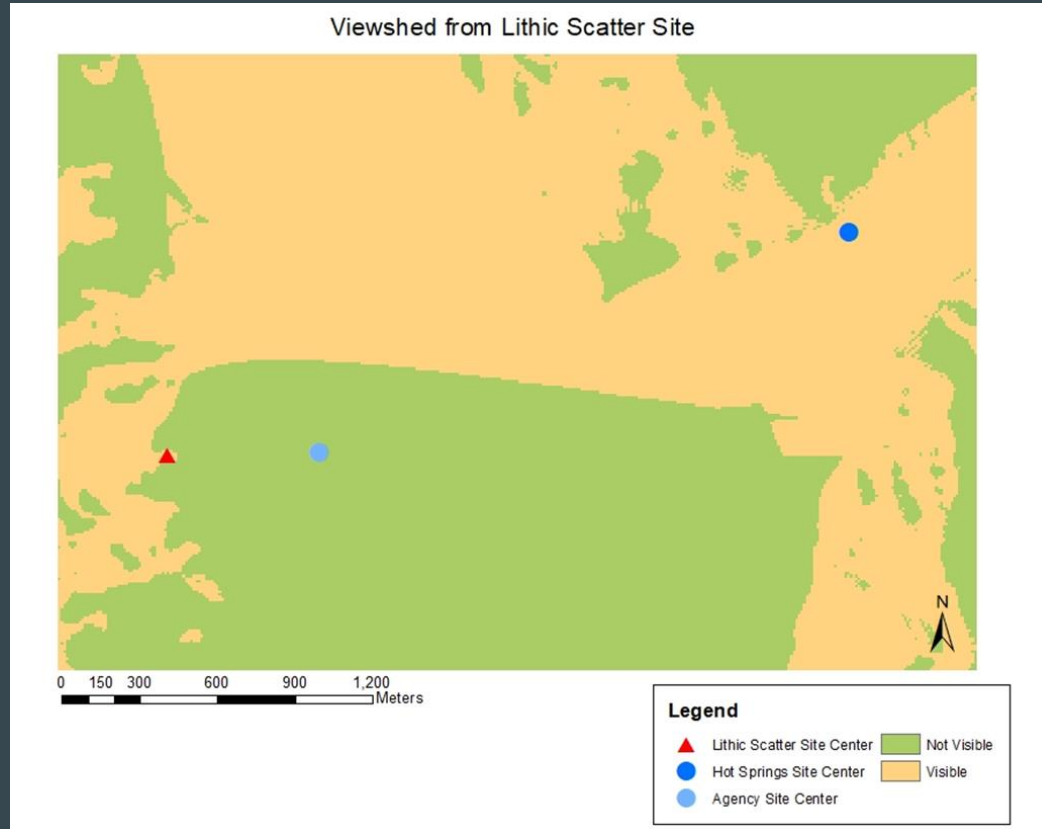
0 100 200 400 600 800 1,000  
Meters

#### Legend

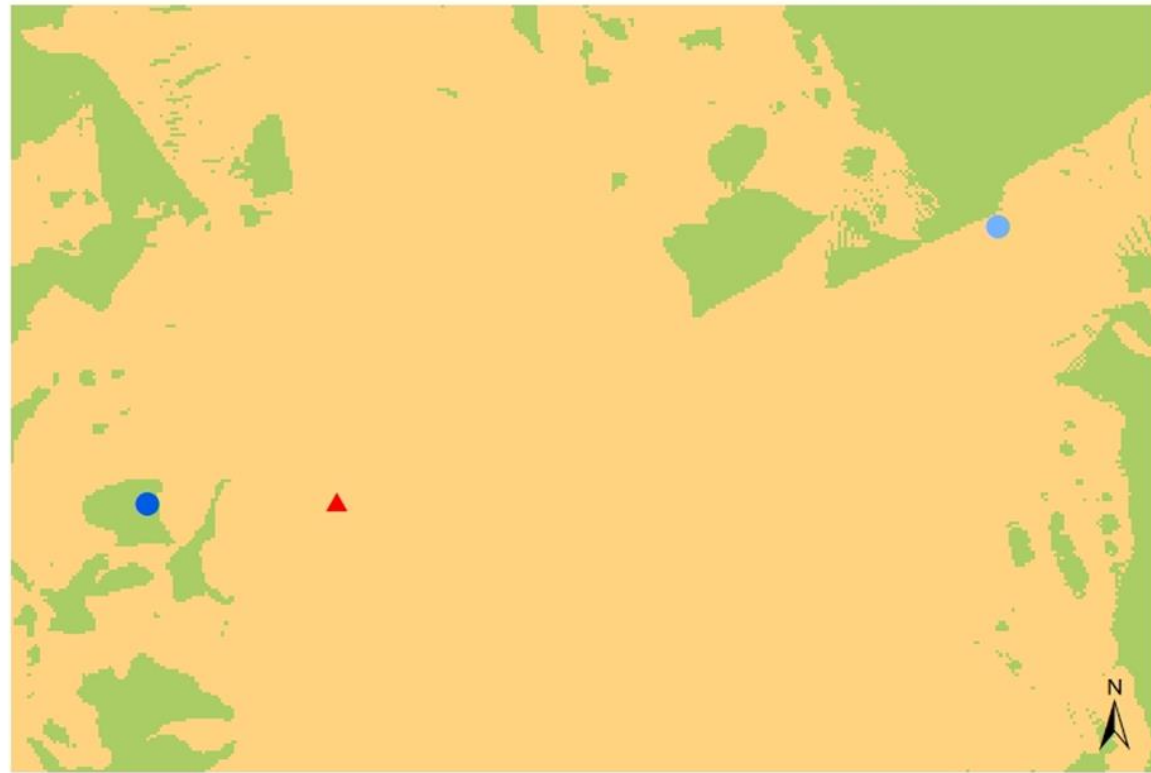
- Least Cost Path
- Hot Spring Site Center
- Lithic Scatter Site Center

# Geographic Analyses:

- Viewshed Analysis- determines what can be seen from a single point on the landscape



# Viewshed Analysis from Malheur Indian Agency Site

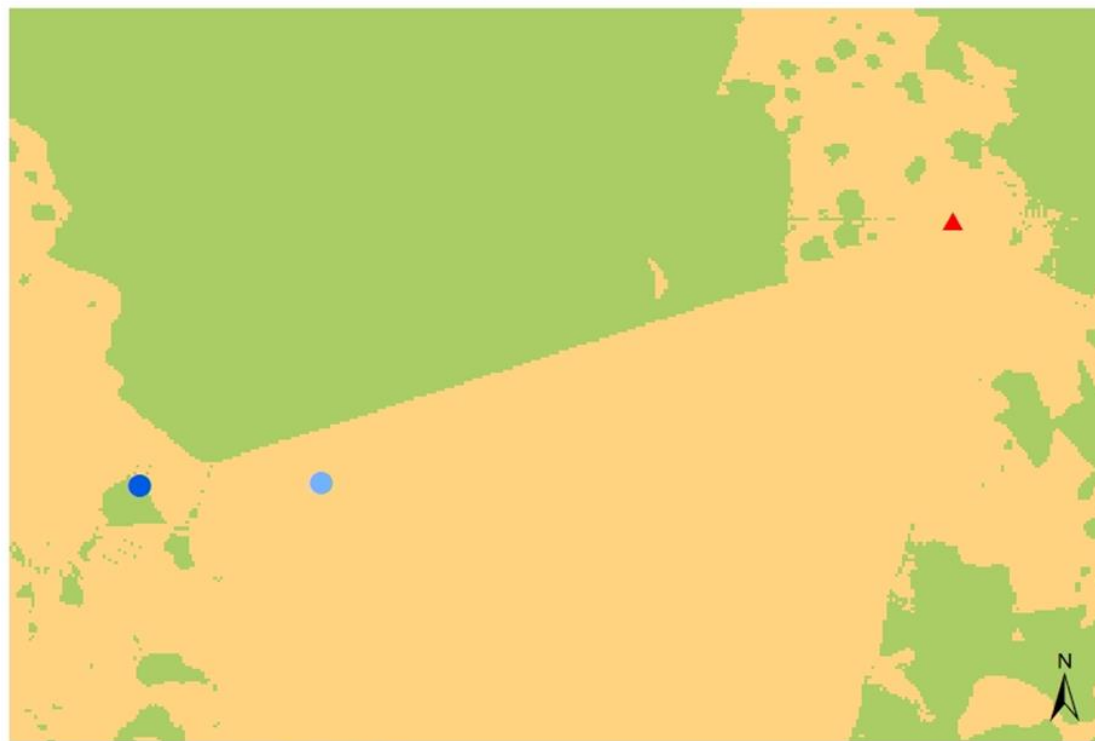


0 150 300 600 900 1,200  
Meters

## Legend

- |   |   |
|---|---|
|  Agency Site Center          |  Not Visible |
|  Hot Springs Site Center     |  Visible     |
|  Lithic Scatter Site Center |   |

## Viewshed Analysis from Hot Springs Site



0 150 300 600 900 1,200  
Meters

### Legend

- |   |   |
|---|---|
|  Hot Springs Site Center     |  Not Visible |
|  Agency Site Center          |  Visible     |
|  Lithic Scatter Site Center |   |

# Geographic Analyses:

- Response Time Analysis- determining how long it would take to get to the Agency from Camp Harney

Historic Route from Camp Harney to Malheur Indian Agency

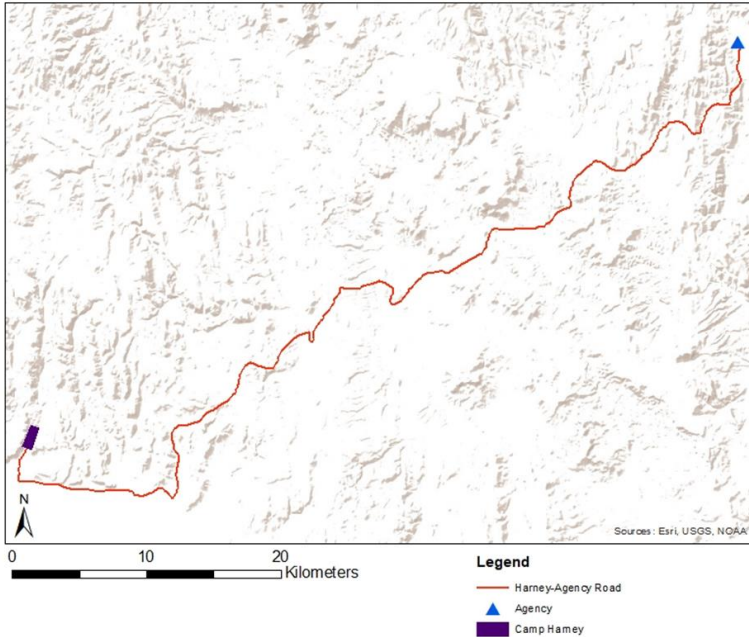


Table 7.3: Time to Reach Camp Harney based on Horses' Speed

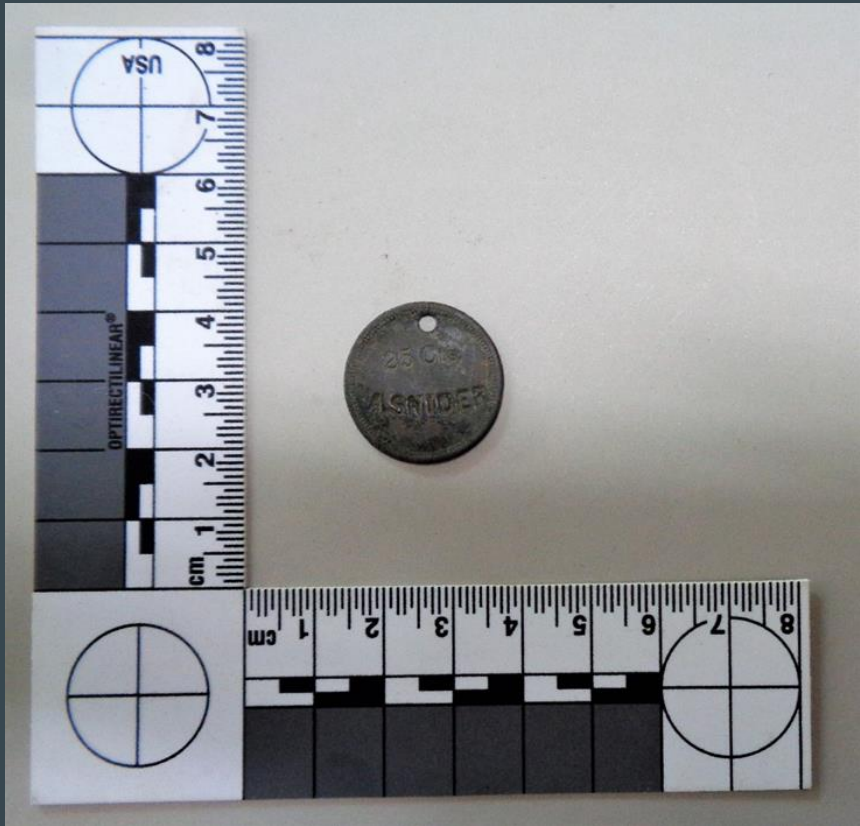
Horses' Speed	Time to Reach Camp Harney (Hours)
Walking 1.70m/s	13.85
Trotting 3.30m/s	7.13
Canter 4.95m/s	4.76
Gallop 7.52m/s	3.13
<b>Average 3.25m/s</b>	<b>7.24</b>

# Camp Harney Collection









# Is the Malheur Agency a site of conflict?

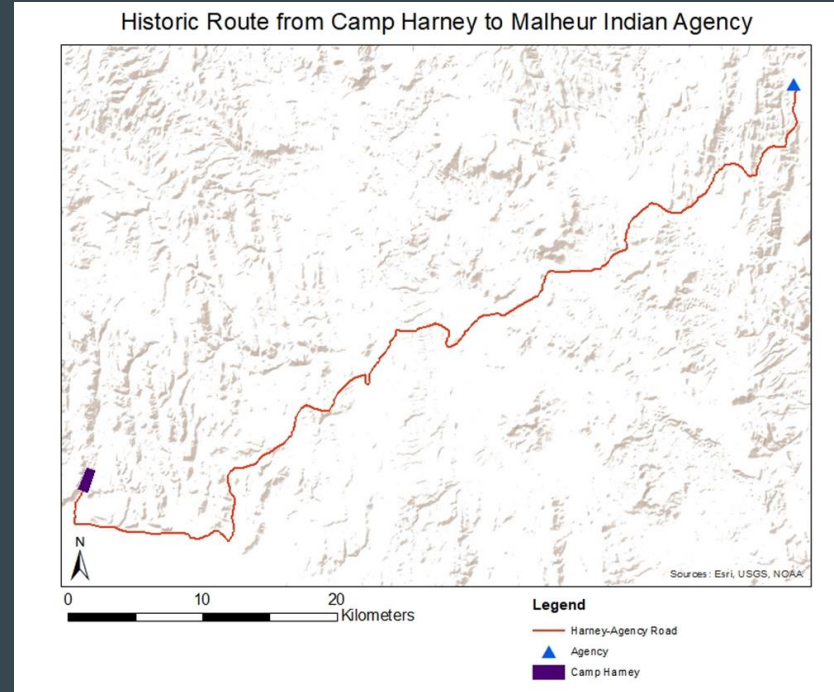
- Conflict: “struggle between actors or collectives as expressed as definite social practices” (Giddens 1979, 131).
- Conflict between Indigenous communities, U.S. Government and the U.S. Military
- Can be seen in the creation of the reservation and the agency, and how all parties negotiated the relationship

The conflict escalated to violence in multiple ways.



# Evidence of Violence at the Malheur Agency: Physical Violence

- Threat of Physical Violence
  - Agency is accessible to the Military
    - Response time analysis
    - Types of Units stationed at Camp Harney
  - Military presence at the Agency
    - Historic records
    - Presence of military ammunition in the artifact assemblage.
- Threat of physical violence is a form of coercion and can impact actions.
  - Communities moving once Rinehart became Agent
    - He made it clear he would use physical punishments.
- Physical violence through use of physical labor (e.g., digging the irrigation ditch)



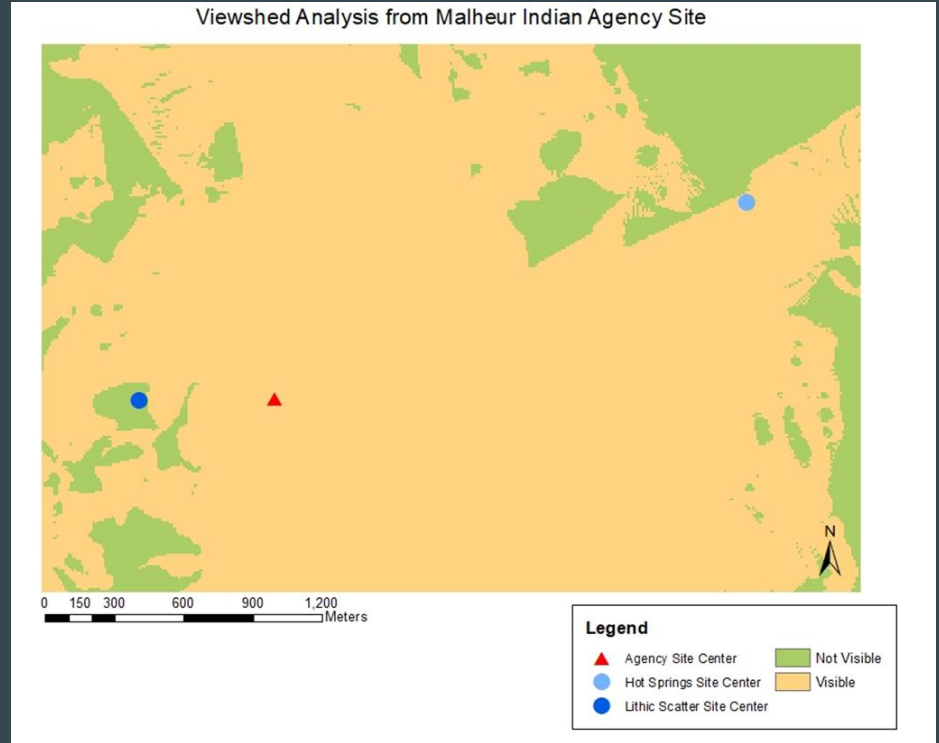
# Evidence of Violence at the Malheur Agency: Symbolic Violence

- Purpose of the agency- forced assimilation and cultural genocide
- Settler style building construction and material goods in the artifact assemblages
- Digging of the Irrigation ditch
- Parrish's form of leadership



# Evidence of Violence at the Malheur Agency: Structural Violence

- Agency as an institution, structured for a specific purpose
  - Created boundaries within which communities now lived
- Location of the Agency
  - “Out of the way”
  - Close enough for easy response
- Strategically placed for military practices of the time and military geography practices
  - Easily defensible
  - Controlled the water sources and some supplies
  - Infrastructure, accessibility, and visibility with roads
- Surveillance
  - A form of bio-power



# Response to Violence

- Indigenous communities had agency and responded to the violence. They were not just passive consumers.
- Resistance
  - Bannock War 1878
  - Some refusal to do labor
  - Choice of location to reside at the Agency
- Negotiation
  - Boundaries of the reservation
  - Parrish's tenure
    - Participation in labor (e.g., irrigation ditch)
  - Choosing to use some settler goods- as seen at the lithic scatter site
  - Choice of location to reside at the Agency
  - Flaked technologies using settler goods
- Persistence
  - Continuing traditional practices
  - Living in traditional areas



# Conclusions

- The Malheur Indian Agency is a site of conflict and violence that should be included in conflict archaeology.
- Conflict archaeology can benefit from the addition of sites like the Agency for a more holistic narrative of conflict.
- Collaborative practices and using archaeological methods create a more multivocal narrative and can highlight what was left out of the historical record or reframe events from additional perspectives.
  - Also help achieve communities goals
- Research such as this can create a less military-centric history of the Bannock War and bring the discussion of this conflict up to speed with other recent histories.



# Future Research

- Examine the CRM collection in person
- Integrate with more archival evidence
- Work with communities on publications and presentations



# Acknowledgements

- This project would not have been possible without the assistance of many others
  - Diane Teeman and Dr. Cowie
  - My committee: Dr. Morgan, Dr. Boehm, Dr. White and Dr. Strang
  - The collaborating descendant communities
  - Burns Paiute Tribe Culture and Heritage Department for hosting many events and discussions, logistical support, help with fieldwork.
  - Field school participants
  - Jim Withee at the Harney County Museum
  - Dr. Shore and Tigey Jewel-Alibhai for work on the geophysical survey
  - Emily Rubenstein for assistance with the 2021 survey and GLO Georeferencing
  - Dennis O'Connell for help with the 2021 survey
  - Kristina Crawford for pXRF training
  - Jared Smith for GIS assistance
  - Kiana Vance for data entry and artifact research and photos
  - UNR Graduate Student Association and Russell J. and Dorothy S. Bilinski Fellowship for funding
  - The research reported here was funded in whole or in part under a Presidential Early Career Award for Scientists and Engineers (PECASE, #W911NF1610150; Sarah Cowie, PI), U.S. Army Research Office/Army Research Laboratory. The views expressed are those of the author(s) and should not be attributed to the Army Research Office/Army Research Laboratory.

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