

Leader and Spokesman for a People in Exile: Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce

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“**H**EAR ME, MY CHIEFS! ... My heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever.”¹ Thus ended Chief Joseph’s eloquent surrender speech at Bear Paws, Montana, bringing to a close the legendary Nez Perce War of 1877. The surrender marked the beginning of Chief Joseph’s diplomatic stand for justice in Indian Territory, where his tribe was forcibly exiled in accordance with American Indian policy of the time. Joseph battled for the repatriation of the Nez Perce through protests and other legal means, winning the support of the growing Indian rights movement of the 1880s. Through his efforts, Joseph forced the government to act on his demands, leaving a foundation for American Indian rights activism and policy reform in the twentieth century.

Joseph’s father, Tu-eka-kas, was chief of the Wallowa band of the Nez Perce tribe in northeastern Oregon, and faced the peak of American westward expansion in the mid-1800s. Eager to open the Columbia Plateau to white settlement, the government proposed a reservation for the Nez Perce, in an 1863 treaty council, that included only a sixth of the tribe’s lands.² The portion of the tribe retaining its lands under the proposal signed the treaty, but Tu-eka-kas and four other Nez Perce chiefs who would lose their respective Wallowa and Salmon River homelands refused to consent (see Appendix A).³ Before he died in August 1871, Tu-eka-kas counseled his son, Joseph: “You are the chief of these people ... Always remember that your father never sold his country.”⁴

At the time, President Ulysses S. Grant was pursuing a “peace policy”⁵ for American Indians. Tribes were to be consolidated on reservations and assigned to various Christian denominations. As a result, the Department of Interior was determined to move the so-called “non-treaty” Nez Perce bands within the boundaries of the 1863 reservation in Idaho.⁶ Though Joseph and the other non-treaty chiefs were not legally bound by the 1863 agreement, a government ultimatum issued in May 1877 forced them to comply. While the tribe was preparing to move to the reservation, tempers rose and reckless Nez Perce youth raided white settle-

ments, precipitating war.⁷ Facing inevitable retribution, the five non-treaty bands conducted a desperate, yet extraordinary 1100 mile retreat through the Rocky Mountains, Yellowstone National Park, and the prairies of Western Montana. On October 5, 1877, Joseph, the only surviving war chief, and the five Nez Perce bands, surrendered to General Nelson A. Miles at Bear Paws, Montana.

As part of the surrender negotiations, Chief Joseph was promised that his people would be returned to the Idaho reservation in the spring of 1878.⁸ In the following months, however, federal officials at the highest levels of the military and Indian Bureau decided to override the surrender terms. In a telegram dated October 10, General of the Army William T. Sherman voiced the concerns of the Post-Civil War military, calling for “extreme severity” in dealing with the Nez Perce “else other tribes alike situated may imitate their example.”⁹ He ordered that “these captured Indians must never be allowed to return to the Idaho reservation, but should be engrafted on . . . Indian Territory.”¹⁰ Sherman’s recommendations were backed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretaries of War and the Interior. Their approval for exiling the Nez Perce was in line with the American policy of forced removal for native nations. The recommended relocation site, Indian Territory, was a central reservation system in Oklahoma first established by the Indian Removal Act of 1830.¹¹ During the Reconstruction years, it became the destination for rebellious tribes from throughout the country, including the Kiowas, Modocs, Comanches—and the non-treaty Nez Perce.

In July 1878, the 400 Nez Perce exiles were brought to the Quapaw Agency in northeastern Indian Territory, near present-day Oklahoma’s border with Arkansas and Missouri.¹² No preparations had been made prior to their arrival. Housing accommodations were nonexistent, rations were scarce and of poor quality, and no quinine was available to treat the 265 prisoners suffering from malaria.¹³ Disease and neglect caused “one of the most concentrated population losses experienced by the prisoners,”¹⁴ with over 70 deaths by October 1878.

As senators and Interior Department officials visited him in Indian Territory, Joseph launched his campaign for justice and reform. On August 14, the chief was visited by two members of the Board of Indian Commissioners intending to finalize the tribe’s location at Quapaw. Joseph declined to cooperate, however, and “complained that he was detained there virtually as a prisoner of war, in violation of the conditions of his surrender.”¹⁵ Joseph demanded his tribe’s repatriation to the Northwest, stating that the malarial climate of Indian Territory was devastating for the Nez Perce’s health. Moved by his insistence, the commissioners recommended that the exiles should “be removed, if not to their old homes in Idaho, to some more congenial northern climate.”¹⁶

Joseph’s diplomacy led many to conclude that they had not studied the Nez Perce view of the war or its origins, and his demands stirred the conscience of government officials and the public. Erza A. Hayt, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, had originally advocated permanent expulsion for the Nez Perce. A meeting with Joseph in October changed his position drastically. Hayt left for Washington D.C. with a high regard for the tribe and their chief, describing Joseph as “bright and intelligent” and “anxious for the welfare of his people.”¹⁷ It was

clear that the Indian Bureau was not prepared to deal with an American Indian group that “understood [its] rights and demanded fair treatment.”¹⁸ Though Joseph had promised that he would “fight no more forever” on the battlefield,¹⁹ he now waged a new war for better conditions for his people.

On October 7, 1878, Chief Joseph testified in Seneca, Missouri, three miles from the Quapaw Agency, to a Congressional Investigating Committee. He demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of American Indian civil rights, stating that “the greatest want of the Indian is a system of law by which controversies between Indians ... and white men can be settled without appealing to physical force.”²⁰ Joseph promised that if such a system could be implemented, American Indians would consent to leave justice to “a proper tribunal” and would not “retaliate without the law.”²¹ In essence, he called for the extension of the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution, granting citizenship and the rights associated with it, to American Indians. Many of the changes Joseph advocated would eventually become law in the twentieth century.

While Joseph lobbied for the return of his tribe to Idaho, another similar legal case was occurring at the same time. Chief Standing Bear and a small group of his Ponca tribesmen had fled their reservation in Indian Territory and journeyed to their Nebraska homelands. Arrested at Omaha, Standing Bear filed a court case against the government for unlawful detention.²² In a landmark decision, the court ruled that “an Indian is a person within the meaning of the laws of the United States”²³ and that Standing Bear’s band could not be detained by the government. This case, together with Joseph’s stand, formed a broad platform for American Indian rights activism in the 1870s. Joseph and Standing Bear promoted civil rights at the dawn of Indian reform movements throughout the country, and spurred interest in Native American welfare.

This interest would reach unprecedented heights in January 1879 when Chief Joseph brought his campaign to Washington D.C.²⁴ Accompanied by fellow headman Yellow Bull and interpreter Arthur Chapman, Joseph attended numerous meetings and spoke with President Hayes, the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and a number of congressmen urging them to move the Nez Perce from Indian Territory. The main highlight of the visit, however, was the two hour address that Joseph delivered at Lincoln Hall to an enthralled audience of 800 diplomats, senators, and Indian rights activists.²⁵ In his presentation, Joseph boldly denounced the government’s unequal policies, with its “good words and broken promises,”²⁶ and called for public action on behalf of his tribe. He ended with a timeless and moving appeal to the natural rights outlined in the Constitution:

When I think of our condition my heart is heavy. I see men of my race treated as outlaws and driven from country to country ... We only ask an even chance to live as other men live. Let me be a free man—free to travel, free to stop, free to work ... free to think and talk and act for myself—and I will obey every law, or submit to the penalty.²⁷

Published in an April 1879 issue of the prestigious *North American Review*, Joseph’s presentation earned national acclaim and undermined the concept of the

central reservation system, a policy abandoned by the federal government in the 1880s. Inspired by Joseph's success, Ponca headman Standing Bear would follow him to Washington D.C. in fall 1879 to campaign for American Indian rights, in a sense carrying on from where the Nez Perce leader had left off.

After Joseph's return to the Quapaw Agency, the momentum he had begun in the East halted abruptly due to the stiff refusal of both Congressional delegates and settlers from western states to accept the Nez Perce. Instead, the tribe was moved to the Ponca Reserve in central Indian Territory during June 1879, where drought, disease, government neglect, and depression continued to take their toll.²⁸ Agonized by his tribe's situation, Joseph petitioned the same army generals who had confronted him in the war, Generals Oliver O. Howard and Nelson A. Miles, for action.²⁹ His own career prospering, Miles now had the influence and position to advocate Joseph's demands, forwarding them to President Hayes in January 1881.³⁰

Meanwhile, the Indian reform movement was becoming an important force on the national horizon. At the annual Lake Mohonk Conferences in New York beginning in October 1883, representatives from the Indian Rights Association and Ladies' National Indian League, religious leaders, members of Congress, and distinguished officials debated U.S. policy and reform initiatives.³¹ Joseph's 1879 visit to Washington D.C. had successfully raised the release of the Nez Perce prisoners to an important national issue, especially among Indian rights activists. In April and May of 1884, Congress received fourteen petitions from citizen groups from Kansas to Connecticut calling on the government to act on Joseph's long-repeated demands.³² One memorial submitted by the Presbyterians of Cleveland boasted 500 signatures, including that of President Garfield's widow. With national support now behind Joseph's cause, the final breakthrough was achieved on May 27, 1885. The Nez Perce's long-awaited arrival at the Idaho reservation was marked by great rejoicing, but for unspecified religious reasons 150 of the 268 returnees, including Chief Joseph, were transferred to the Colville Reservation in northeastern Washington.³³ Nevertheless, it was a stunning historical moment for the tribe, a tribute to Joseph's determined leadership through eight torturous years in exile.

Chief Joseph spent the last twenty years of his life at Colville, a land similar in climate and terrain to the Nez Perce's homeland.³⁴ The passing of the Dawes Allotment Act in 1887, which sought to promote individual ownership of land on reservations and disintegrate tribal ties, marked the beginning of a new era in government relations with Native Americans. Though Joseph was offered land at the Idaho reservation, he declined and instead launched a campaign to regain his Wallowa Valley homeland.³⁵ Despite multiple trips to Washington D.C., appeals to prominent officials, and a visit to the valley in June 1900, Joseph was unable to secure land at Wallowa.³⁶ He died at the Colville Reservation on September 21, 1904.

Joseph's resistance to American policy in Indian Territory inspired his descendants to continue the fight for their aboriginal rights. During the 1950s and

60s, three representatives of the Colville Nez Perce, Charles E. Williams, Joseph Redthunder, and Harry Owhi, filed numerous petitions to the Indian Claims Commission under Joseph's name.³⁷ One case submitted in July 1951 demanded "payment for lands ceded by the [1863] treaty" to the government.³⁸ In August 1971, the tribe was granted \$3.55 million for the claim. Later cases for trespass on reservation land, government mismanagement of funds, and loss of fishing rights resulted in further monetary compensation.³⁹ A final claim, arguably the most important, was submitted by the Colville Nez Perce for the loss of the Wallowa Valley and the subsequent "dislocation, imprisonment, and dispersal" of the tribe in Indian Territory.⁴⁰ Though dismissed at first, the case ultimately brought \$725,000 to the Nez Perce in October 1974.

The legal battles begun by Joseph, and his lifelong refusal to relinquish claims to his Wallowa homeland, were legacies inherited by the Colville Nez Perce. Joseph's historical impact on the non-treaty Nez Perce culture was, and has been, far-reaching in its scope. *His* leadership maintained the tribal unity of the non-treaty Nez Perce, and prevented their dissolution as a political and social entity, during their chaotic and devastating exile in Indian Territory. Today, Joseph serves as both an inspiration and a symbol of endurance to the Colville and Idaho Nez Perce, many of whom are struggling to define a personal identity "suspended between [the] two worlds"⁴¹ of modern and traditional society.

From a larger perspective, Joseph's activism set him apart from notable American Indian leaders of his time for he "opted to fight from within federal guidelines,"⁴² employing the courts, the press, and American technology. According to Dr. Pearson, a professor at Berkeley University, Chief Joseph and Yellow Bull became, in 1877, the first American Indians to operate the Edison voice recorder. Joseph understood that public support was crucial to the success of his speeches and petitions, and supported advances in communication, including telegraphy and the phonograph.

Most significant, perhaps, is the fact that Joseph "recognized [his] aboriginal and civil rights 80 years before modern-day Indian activists argued for [them]."⁴³ His stand influenced the American Indian Movement of the 1960s, as notable campaign leaders used pictures of him in their demonstrations and quoted from his 1879 Lincoln Hall speech.⁴⁴ Further, the political pan-Indian movement of the 1960s built on ideas Joseph advocated extensively in Indian Territory, including inter-tribal communication and native sovereignty. Many of these principles became part of U.S. law in later years, with the passage of acts granting American Indian citizenship, self-determination, and religious freedom in 1924, 1975, and 1978.⁴⁵ These changes marked the realization of Joseph's dreams, but also brought new implications for native cultures.

At a time when the last native tribes of the West were effectively subjugated by the military and the Indian Bureau, Chief Joseph boldly resisted the central reservation system in Oklahoma and fought unceasingly for the return of his tribe to Idaho. He insisted on his demands over major social barriers, including differences in language, religion, and political beliefs, sought new relationships with federal officials, and employed American technology to his advantage. Joseph's

diplomatic success as an influential individual in history set the stage for major legal changes in American Indian policy, and inspired the Nez Perce to continue the battle for their aboriginal rights.

Notes

1. "Chief Joseph's Surrender Speech" from *New York Tribune*, November 16, 1877, accession 001, box 85, folder 1, Edmond S. Meany Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington, 1.
2. James Mooney, "Nez Perce's War," accession 001, box 84, folder 38, Meany Papers, 2-3; Francis Haines, *The Nez Percés: Tribesmen of the Columbia Plateau* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 213; Charles E. S. Wood, "Chief Joseph, the Nez Perce," *Century* 28, no. 1 (May 1884): 135.
3. C.E.S. Wood to Edmond S. Meany, July 23, 1900, accession 002, box 9, folder 36, Meany Papers, 2.
4. *Personal Recollections of General Nelson A. Miles* (New York: The Werner Company, 1897), 259; Young Joseph and W. H. Hare, "An Indian's View of Indian Affairs," *North American Review* 128, no. 269 (April 1879): 419.
5. Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *Indians of the Pacific Northwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 229.
6. Walter Evans, "Dateline Northwest: The Nez Perce's Chief Joseph," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, September 14, 1975, 10; Edmond S. Meany, "Chief Joseph, the Nez Perce" (MLitt thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1901), 7.
7. *Yellow Wolf: His Own Story* (Cadwell, ID: The Caxton Printers, 1940), 41; Lucullus V. McWhorter, *Hear Me, My chiefs! Nez Perce Legend and History* (Cadwell, ID: The Caxton Printers, 1952), 199.
8. William T. Sherman to Oliver O. Howard, December 12, 1877, Oliver O. Howard Papers, Special Collections, Bowdoin College; Nelson A. Miles to Oliver O. Howard, January 8, 1878, Howard Papers; Edmond S. Meany, "Chief Joseph, the Nez Perce," 41.
9. W. Sherman to E. Townsend, October 10, 1877, Document 6286 (Nez Perce War File, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Microfilm Publication M666, National Archives).
10. W. Sherman to P. Sheridan, October 22, 1877, Document 6564 (Nez Perce War File, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Microfilm Publication M666, National Archives).
11. Robert U. Marshall, *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1900*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1984), 204.
12. J. Stanley Clark, "Nez Perce in Exile," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (July 1945): 215.
13. *1878 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 66-67; *1879 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 286.
14. J. Diane Pearson, *The Nez Percés in the Indian Territory: Nimiipuu Survival* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 121.
15. U.S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington: GPO, 1880), 7.

16. Ibid.
17. *1878 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, XXXIV.
18. Pearson, *Nez Perce in Indian Territory*, 133.
19. "Chief Joseph's Surrender Speech" from *New York Tribune*, Meany Papers, 1.
20. Nelson A. Miles, "The Indian problem," *North American Review* 128, no. 268 (March 1879): 312.
21. Ibid.
22. Candy Moulton, *Chief Joseph: Guardian of the People* (New York: Tom Doherty Associates, 2005), 206.
23. Ibid.
24. McWhorter, *Hear Me, My Chiefs*, 523; Alvin M. Josephy Jr., *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1965), 639.
25. "Broken pledges," *Washington Post*, January 18, 1879.
26. Young Joseph, "An Indian's Views," 432.
27. Ibid., 433.
28. Clark, "Nez Perce in Exile," 223; *1879 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 72-78; *1881 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 94; *1882 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, LXIII-LXV, 74-77; *1883 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 79; *1884 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 89-90.
29. Chief Joseph to Oliver O. Howard, June 30, 1880, Howard Papers.
30. Josephy, *Nez Perce Indians and the Opening*, 641.
31. Marshall, *Indian Frontier*, 205-206.
32. See index of *Congressional Record*, Volume XV, 48th Congress, 1st Session, April and May, 1884.
33. Yellow Wolf, 290; G. L. Deffenbaugh, "The Return of the Nez Percés," *Foreign Missionary* 19, no. 2 (1885): 72.
34. Edmond S. Meany, "Chief Joseph, the Nez Perce," 47; Erskine Wood, "Diary of a Fourteen Year Old Boy's Days with Chief Joseph," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (June 1950).
35. "To Open Colville Reserve" from *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, date unknown, accession 002, box 10, folder 7, Meany Papers; "Joseph's Old Hunting Ground" from *Seattle Times*, July 9, 1900, accession 002, box 9, folder 34, Meany Papers; "Appealing for a New Home," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 8, 1900; "Joseph continues his fight," *Seattle Times*, November 20, 1903.
36. Caroline W. Thomason, "Chief Joseph's Return to His Beloved Wallowa," *Spokesman Review*, August 16, 1953; Henry M. Steele to Edmond S. Meany, "Speeches of Chief Joseph at Seattle and UW," January 10, 1904, accession 001, box 85, folder 1, Meany Papers; Chief Joseph to Edmond S. Meany, "Desire for the Old Home in Wallowa Valley," August 24, 1900, May 27, 1901, and June 25, 1901, accession 002, box 9, folder 18, Meany Papers; James McLaughlin to Department of the Interior, "Chief Joseph's Band and the Wallowa Valley," June 23, 1900, accession 001, box 18, folder 2, Meany Papers.
37. Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *A Guide to the Indians of the Pacific Northwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 148-149.
38. *Nez Perce Tribe of Indians v. United States*, 18 Ind. Cl. Comm. 1, Docket 175 (Ind Cl. Comm. 1971); *Charles E. Williams and Joseph Redthunder, as representatives of the Nez Perce Tribe of Indians v. United States*, 8 Ind. Cl. Comm. 220, Docket 175-A (Ind Cl. Comm. 1960).
39. *Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, as the representatives of the Joseph Band of the Nez Perce Tribe v. United States*, 2 Ind. Cl. Comm. 17, Docket 179

(Ind. Cl. Comm. 1970); *Charles E. Williams, Joseph Redthunder, and Harry Owhi, as representatives of the Nez Perce Tribe v. United States*, 3 Ind. Cl. Comm. 571, Docket 180-A (Ind. Cl. Comm. 1960).

40. *Charles E. Williams, Joseph Redthunder, and Harry Owhi, as representatives of the Nez Perce Tribe v. United States*, 25 Ind. Cl. Comm. 99, Docket 186 (Ind. Cl. Comm. 1974).

41. William A. Allard, "Chief Joseph," *National Geographic* 151, no. 3 (March 1877): 432.

42. J. Diane Pearson, e-mail message to author, December 8, 2008.

43. *Ibid.*

44. J. Diane Pearson, e-mail message to author, December 10, 2008; Paul C. Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: The New Press, 1996).

45. Vine Deloria Jr., *American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985).

Appendix A: Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archival Collections

Meany, Edmond S., Papers. Special Collections. University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, WA.

Edmond S. Meany, a professor at the University of Washington, studied Chief Joseph and maintained extensive correspondence with agency officials at Colville. I viewed these papers during my visit to the University's Special Collections Division, and found fourteen important documents for my research, including various newspaper clippings, letters, speeches, and official reports. These primary sources helped me grasp Joseph's impact on society in his later years, and his efforts to regain the Wallowa Valley. Additionally, the collection contained three of Joseph's most important speeches, including his surrender address, which helped me define the main causes Joseph fought for throughout his life. The newspapers clippings revealed the changing nature of American policy at the turn of the century, providing critical information about the Dawes Allotment Act and severalty at the Colville Reservation.

Howard, Oliver O., Papers. Special Collections. Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, ME.

I contacted Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine in November, and requested photocopies of specific documents from the Oliver O. Howard Collection. General Howard was an important figure in the Nez Perce War of 1877, and his correspondence with other military officials was critical to my understanding of Joseph's actions. Two letters from General Nelson A. Miles and William T. Sherman revealed the military's original plans to send the Nez Perce back to Idaho in the spring of 1878. This substantiated Joseph's claims, and proved that the government renegeed on its promises when it exiled the Nez Perce to Indian Territory. The third photocopy I requested was a letter

from Chief Joseph to Howard in June 1880, pleading the general to support his cause by advocating the return of the Nez Perce. This document showed how Joseph did not give up on his fight for justice after his Washington D.C. visit, and continued to pressure the government to act on his demands.

Personal Correspondence

Pinkham, Josiah. E-mail interview. March 4-March 12, 2009.

Mr. Pinkham is the tribal ethnologist of the Idaho Nez Perce, and his insights were a very important perspective on Chief Joseph's legacy and impact on the Nez Perce tribe through the years. He is related to Joseph from his father's side, and is a distant grandnephew to the celebrated chieftain. I took this into consideration while evaluating his responses to my questions. Mr. Pinkham provided useful etymological suggestions for my paper, and also helped me understand the legal cases the Nez Perce are fighting today. His input has helped me evaluate how the Nez Perce tribe views Joseph's achievements. I look forward to continuing my correspondence with Mr. Pinkham to expand my knowledge of the Nez Perce and their complex, intriguing history.

Memoirs

Miles, Nelson A. *Personal Recollections of General Nelson A Miles*. New York: The Werner Company, 1897.

The memoirs of General Nelson A. Miles, an important army general during the 19th century, contained two chapters on the Nez Perce campaign, and helped me understand the military's view of the conflict. Miles was highly supportive of Joseph's cause, and his account explained how he, as commander of the Department of Columbia, fought for the Nez Perce's repatriation during their exile in Indian Territory.

Yellow Wolf. *Yellow Wolf: His Own Story*. Translated by Lucullus V. McWhorter. Cadwell, ID: The Caxton Printers, 1940.

Yellow Wolf was Chief Joseph's nephew by blood, and his account is an important primary source for understanding the exile from the Nez Perce's point of view. Though the main focus of this work is the 1877 war, it also contains useful anecdotes on the tribe's years in Indian Territory. Yellow Wolf's "Own Story" helped me understand how the Nez Perce not involved in Joseph's diplomatic efforts viewed him, and the effects of disease and depression in Indian Territory.

Government Documents

W. Sherman to E. Townsend, October 10, 1877, Document 6286. Nez Perce War File, Records of the Adjutant General's Office (RG 94), Microfilm Publication M666, National Archives.

I viewed this document on microfilm at the National Archives branch in Seattle, Washington on prior arrangement. From the secondary sources I studied, I knew that the primary documents in the Nez Perce War File from the Records of the Adjutant General were critical to understanding the decisions made by the military and Indian Bureau after the war. The documents were organized poorly in four microfilm rolls, but knowing the dates and numbers of the letters I was seeking, I was able to track down this telegram from the General of the Army to a lower general, E. D. Townsend, five days after the surrender. This source was important to my paper because it commended General Miles for capturing the Nez Perce, and expressed the military's reasons for exiling the tribe. I learned that General Sherman was worried about the reaction

of other recalcitrant tribes, and wanted to quell rebellion as efficiently as possible to avoid further uprising.

- W. Sherman to P. Sheridan, October 22, 1877, Document 6564. Nez Perce War File, Records of the Adjutant General's Office (RG 94), Microfilm Publication M666, National Archives.

This document was a follow-up to the previous telegram, and expressly stated General Sherman's recommendations for dealing with the Nez Perce. Later forwarded to other high officials in the Indian Bureau and Department of War, this telegram called for "permanent and harsh exile" for the Nez Perce in Indian Territory and exile from their homeland. This document helped me understand the military's policy toward Native Americans in the Post-Civil War years. By checking the recommendations in this paper with facts from other primary and secondary sources, I was able to clearly grasp the deliberations of officials away from the battlefield.

- Commander G. Randall to W. Sherman, December 10, 1877, Document 137. Nez Perce War File, Records of the Adjutant General's Office (RG 94), Microfilm Publication M666, National Archives.

This document was the first petition submitted by Joseph and the Nez Perce during their exile, and demanded the return of the Nez Perce to Idaho. Though it was blocked by General Sherman, this protest set the tone for the tribe's unwavering resistance to American policy. It demonstrated that Joseph was opposed to relocation to Indian Territory from the beginning, and that his efforts to return his tribe were based on principle. Further, the petition helped me track the full diplomatic course charted by Joseph after the war.

- U.S. Department of the Interior. Board of Indian Commissioners. *Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the Secretary of the Interior*. Washington: GPO, 1880.

Historically, the Board of Indian Commissioners was a non-profit organization appointed by Congress to supplement the Indian Bureau in making decisions about Indian policy and monetary appropriations. The 1880 report contained a description of Commissioners Clinton B. Fisk and William Stickney's meeting with Joseph in August 1878. The significance of this document is that it shows the radical change in the government viewpoint that Joseph brought about: whereas one year before General Sherman was calling for the execution of the Nez Perce leaders, in August 1878 the Board of Indian Commissioners were advocating relocation to the Northwest as the best alternative. I quoted from the Commissioners' recommendations in my paper to support my claims about Joseph's actions.

- U.S. Department of the Interior. Bureau of Indian Affairs. *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior*. Washington: GPO, 1878-1884.

These extensive reports from the Suzzallo and Allen Libraries' Government Publications section contain a highly statistical account of the Nez Perce's exile in Indian Territory. I studied seven years of the reports from the Quapaw Agency, the Ponca Agency, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The reports documented the appalling effects of the malaria contracted by the Nez Perce, and their progress in agriculture and other "civilized pursuits." The central trend in these reports was that though the Nez Perce

were attempting to better their conditions, disease, drought, and longing for “their old homes in Idaho” was taking a serious toll on their efforts. Toward the last three years, the agents at the Ponca Agency began recommending return to the Northwest, helping me understand the pressures on the government to meet Joseph’s demands. I quoted from the report of Commissioner E. A. Hayt on his meeting with Joseph in October 1878 to show how government opinion was changing at the time.

Journal Articles

Deffenbaugh, G. L. “The return of the Nez Peres.” *Foreign Missionary* 19, no. 2 (1885): 71-72.

This journal article from the Special Collections of the Allen Library provided a first hand account of the long-awaited return of the Nez Perce to Idaho in 1885. Written by a Christian missionary at the reservation’s central agency, the article described the joy of family and friends who were reunited. It also provided statistics on the returnees that I used in my paper, including the number taken to the Colville reservation.

Miles, Nelson A. “The Indian Problem.” *North American Review* 128, no. 268 (March 1879): 304-315.

Joseph’s testimony to the Congressional Investigating Committee at Seneca, Missouri was recorded in this article, published by the *North American Review*. His views on American policy toward Native Americans were of critical importance to my paper, for they demonstrated that the changes he advocated in the 1880s would directly influence American policymakers. In his address, Joseph demonstrated a deep understanding of Native American civil rights, and suggested practical reforms that would be later incorporated in American policy.

Wood, Charles E. S. “Chief Joseph, the Nez Perce.” *Century* 28, no. 1 (May 1884): 135-142.

Charles E. S. Wood was an army lieutenant in the Nez Perce War, and after Joseph’s 1879 speech at Lincoln Hall, became an outspoken advocate for the tribe’s repatriation. This article provided useful information on the deliberations of the military after the war, and included a telegram from General Oliver O. Howard to Nelson A. Miles expressly stating that the Nez Perce should be returned to Idaho. Furthermore, I used information from the article’s discussion on the legal implications of the 1863 treaty in my paper.

Wood, Erskine. “Diary of a Fourteen Year Old Boy’s Days with Chief Joseph.” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (June 1950): 71-94.

Erskine Wood lived with Chief Joseph at Colville for six months, and his diary describes the daily life of the tribe—including hunting expeditions, religious ceremonies, and fishing. I summarized these details in my paper, when I briefly described life at the Colville Reservation.

Young Joseph and W. H. Hare. “An Indian’s View of Indian Affairs.” *North American Review* 128, no. 269 (April 1879): 412-434.

A rare and valuable primary source, the 1879 address Chief Joseph delivered at Lincoln Hall marked the culmination of his fight for justice. In this speech, Chief Joseph presented a full-length history of his tribe’s relations with the government, and also a sort of autobiography of his own life—information that helped me understand the Nez

Perce perspective of events. Furthermore, Joseph's demands for public action helped me analyze his impact on the Indian reform movement. I quoted from this speech in my paper on two occasions.

Newspaper Articles

"A Lesson from the Nez Percés." *New York Times* October 15, 1877.

This *New York Times* article published just after the war described the conflict as a "crime and major blunder" on the part of the U.S., thus displaying a strong bias toward Joseph and the Nez Perce. Nevertheless, the article was important to my understanding of how the press contributed to, and detracted from, Joseph's cause. It also helped me appreciate the viewpoint of major newspapers at the time.

"Appealing for a home." *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* July 8, 1900, Sunday ed.

This newspaper article was published days before Chief Joseph's second trip to Washington D.C., and describes the preparations being made for this visit. This first-hand account helped me understand the nature of Joseph's later diplomacy, and how the press viewed his efforts to regain the Wallowa Valley.

"Broken Pledges." *Washington Post* January 18, 1879.

This article was an important primary source that described Joseph's speech at Lincoln Hall. I used information about the audience, including the number present, and the manner in which Joseph was received by the Indian reform group in my paper.

"Joseph continues his fight." *Seattle Times* November 20, 1903.

This article published months before Joseph's death described his speeches at the University of Washington and Seattle Theater. The article stated that "no event for years attracted so much interest among history students in Seattle as this visit and lecture of the celebrated chieftain." The article helped me grasp how the citizens of Washington viewed Joseph at the turn of the century, and how his death would prove a great loss for the Northwest.

Legal Cases

Charles E. Williams and Joseph Redthunder, as representatives of the Nez Perce Tribe of Indians v. United States, 8 Ind. Cl. Comm. 220, Docket 175-A (Ind. Cl. Comm. 1960).

This case was submitted by the Colville Nez Perce for payment for lands ceded to the government by the 1863 treaty. The docket and court proceedings helped me analyze Joseph's impact on his descendants, for the same principles he fought for at tribal councils and in the halls of Congress were now being upheld half a century later. Another significance of this court docket to my paper is that the Colville Nez Perce were well informed of their rights (even those abrogated 100 years before), and insisted on them through legal means—as Joseph would have done.

Charles E. Williams, Joseph Redthunder, and Harry Owhi, as representatives of the Nez Perce Tribe v. United States, 3 Ind. Cl. Comm. 571, Docket 180-A (Ind. Cl. Comm. 1960).

This claim petitioned the government for compensation for gold taken from the Idaho reservation in 1860, and the unauthorized trespass of white settlers that went unpunished by the government at the time. This case helped me understand the historical context for the war, and how the young men of the tribe were goaded into violence by the ac-

tions of unscrupulous miners and farmers. Furthermore, it shows that the Colville Nez Perce understood the illegality of the government's actions in 1855, again testimony to Joseph's unwavering stand against injustice.

Charles E. Williams, Joseph Redthunder, and Harry Owhi, as representatives of the Nez Perce Tribe v. United States, 25 Ind. Cl. Comm. 99, Docket 186 (Ind. Cl. Comm. 1974).

I cited this claim in my paper, for it contains one of the most important legal arguments articulated by Joseph during his lifetime and continued by his band after his death. In this docket, the court debated the Colville Nez Perce's rights to the Wallowa Valley and considered liabilities for the damages incurred in Indian Territory. Though the latter claim was dismissed with an interlocutory order, the former claim succeeded and the Nez Perce were awarded \$725,000. This primary source was significant to my paper because it shows the persistence with which the Colville Band pursued their aboriginal rights, accepting monetary compensation only when all else had failed.

Joseph's Band of Nez Perce Indians v. United States, "Claims for Compensation for Lands in Oklahoma Territory," April 18, 1902. Document 311, 57th Cong., 1st Sess.

This claim was submitted by Chief Joseph two years before his death, and demanded compensation for lands relinquished in Indian Territory. In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (included in the case), Joseph called for restoration of the Wallowa Valley to its rightful owners. This document was important because it set the stage for the claims that the Colville Nez Perce would submit in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s.

Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, as the representatives of the Joseph Band of the Nez Perce Tribe v. United States, 2 Ind. Cl. Comm. 17, Docket 179 (Ind. Cl. Comm. 1970).

This case was submitted by the Colville Nez Perce for the government mismanagement of "trust funds and other properties" of the tribe. It provided further historical context for the legal debates Joseph began.

Nez Perce Tribe of Indians v. United States, 18 Ind. Cl. Comm. 1, Docket 175 (Ind. Cl. Comm. 1971).

This final claim was submitted before all others, but brought compensation toward the end of the Indian Claims Commission's life due to pending questions on the rights of the Joseph band of the Nez Perce. The case was submitted for the absence of any payment for lands ceded by the 1855 treaty (not discussed in the paper), and ultimately resulted in a compensation of \$3.55 million. It helped me understand, like many of the other dockets, how the Colville Nez Perce insisted on what was owed them even many years after the abrogation was made.

Treaties

"Treaty between the United States of America and the Nez Perce Indians." June 11, 1855. *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* 2 (1903): 528-531. National Archives, Seattle, WA.

I viewed a transcription of the 1855 treaty at the National Archives in Seattle, and though I did not expressly discuss this agreement in my paper (it is of peripheral importance to Joseph's actions in Indian Territory), it contributed to my understanding of the events that led up to the 1877 war. This treaty provided a historical context for my research, and helped me better understand the legal cases that the Colville Nez

Perce submitted in later years.

“Treaty between the United States of America and the Nez Perce Indians.” June 9, 1863. National Archives, Seattle, WA.

I viewed a photocopy of the original 1863 treaty at the National Archives in Seattle, and could thus guarantee the genuineness of the primary source. I used information from this treaty in my paper, including the boundaries of the reduced reservation and the legal claim that Joseph maintained (his father never signed the treaty). Thus, like the 1855 treaty, this source helped provide historical context and a deeper understanding of the issues facing the tribe before the war.

Census Records

U.S. Census Bureau. “Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900.” Colville Agency, Okanogan, Washington. Accessed at the National Archives, Seattle, WA.

This census record of Joseph’s household in June 1900 provided basic biographical information about him including: relations, personal description, nativity, citizenship (none), occupation/trade, education, and land ownership. This helped me gain a better understanding of his personal relations, and learn the details of his life.

Colville Agency. Census for the Years 1885, 1888, 1890-1893. Rolls 50-51, Indian Census Rolls 1885-1950, Microfilm Publication M595 (RG 75), Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Seattle, WA.

These census records provided a listing of all the members in “Joseph’s Band of Nez Perce Indians” and helped me understand the demographics of his people. I viewed these records on microfilm at the National Archives in Seattle. The fact that birth dates and the spelling of names changed from year to year reflects on the haphazard and careless manner of many operations at reservation agencies.

Secondary Sources

Personal Correspondence

Pearson, J. Diane, Dr. E-mail interview. November 8—December 11, 2008.

Dr. J. Diane Pearson has a PhD degree in American Indian Studies from the University of Arizona, and teaches at the University of California, Berkeley. She published *The Nez Percés in Indian Territory* in 2008, and is well-informed about Chief Joseph’s diplomatic actions. I sent Dr. Pearson a list of questions about my topic in November, and her thoughtful answers provided crucial information on Joseph’s legacy and impact on American Indian policy reform. Dr. Pearson discussed how the work of American Indian leaders, including Joseph and Standing Bear, influenced public opinion, and affected the future of the non-treaty Nez Perce. She commented on the 1960s American Indian Movement, and how Joseph’s actions inspired Nisqually Billy Frank and other Indian leaders in the Northwest. I used three quotes from this interview in my paper.

Journal Articles

Allard, William A. “Chief Joseph.” *National Geographic* 151, no. 3 (March 1977): 408-434.

This *National Geographic* article on Chief Joseph briefly covers his life, and provides a highly thought-provoking description of life on the Idaho reservation today. Cliff Allen, a member of the Nez Perce tribal council at Idaho interviewed by the author,

expressed his hope that Joseph's life would inspire young Nez Perce men and women to uphold their traditions and take pride in their heritage. I quoted from Allen's description of the crisis facing many Nez Perce today: the conflict of their traditional culture with the teachings of white society. This article was critical to my analysis of Joseph's impact, as a cultural symbol, on the Colville and Idaho Nez Perce.

Clark, J. Stanley. "The Nez Percés in Exile." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (July 1945): 213-232.

I found this valuable and highly relevant article while researching periodicals at the University of Washington. In addition to the covering the details of the Nez Perce removal to Indian Territory, the article analyzes the poor conditions at the Quapaw and Ponca agencies and the rapid deterioration of the tribe's health. This article helped me understand one of the reasons why Joseph opposed permanent settlement at Indian Territory, and how he conveyed the suffering of his people to the public.

Fee, Chester A. "Chief Joseph: A Truly Great Man of the Pacific Northwest." *Dubaar Scrapbook* 27 (March 1945): 44-48.

This article from the microfilmed *Dubaar Scrapbook* discusses the history of the Nez Perce tribe from their first encounters with white men until their repatriation from Indian Territory. I used information about the surrender, and the events immediately following it, in my paper. The article included the important fact that the Nez Perce expulsion to Indian Territory occurred in parts, and wasn't finalized until after their arrival at Fort Leavenworth.

Haines, Francis. "Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce Warriors." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (January 1954): 1-7.

This article by Francis Haines states important statistics from the Nez Perce War, showing the remarkable nature of the Nez Perce retreat. The tribe, encumbered by the wounded, the sick, and the old, faced a veteran Civil War force ten times larger in numbers. This article contained useful information on Joseph's role in the war that I used in my paper.

Newspaper Articles

Baily, Joe, Jr. "Chief Joseph: Great Indian Leader." *Spokesman-Review [Spokane]* January 8, 1950, Mag. Sec. 2.

A microform article from the University of Washington Library, this source analyzes Joseph's efforts to retain his Wallowa Valley before the Nez Perce War. I used the details on Joseph's surrender presented in this article in my paper.

Beurge, David M. "'My heart is sick and sad': Bitter ironies etch the story, and the portraits, of Chief Joseph." *Seattle Weekly* December 11, 1996, 22-27.

This unique article from the *Seattle Weekly's* Magazine Section describes the effect of the ordeal in Indian Territory on Chief Joseph, and how in spite of continued failures, he persisted in his appeals to officials. In my paper, I used the description presented of Joseph's lifelong "bid for freedom," and his inability to ever regain the Wallowa Valley.

Evans, Walter. "Dateline Northwest: The Nez Perce's Chief Joseph." *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* September 14, 1975, 7-11.

This microfilm article from the Suzallo Library at the University of Washington focuses on how Joseph maintained his native beliefs about the ownership of land in exceptional circumstances, and insisted on his rights despite continual wrongs done against him. The rich use of quotations and primary sources helped shape my analysis on Joseph's impact on the non-treaty Nez Perce culture and identity.

Thomason, Caroline W. "Chief Joseph's Return to His Beloved Wallowa." *Spokesman-Review* [Spokane] August 16, 1953, Mag. Sec, 2.

This article covered Joseph's tumultuous visit to the Wallowa Valley in 1901, and his cold reception by the citizens settled in his homeland. The major significance of this article was in highlighting Joseph's progressive spirit; he was not satisfied with return to the Northwest alone, but continued to fight for his homeland. The ideas presented in this article were useful to the paragraph in my paper that describes Joseph's last years.

Dissertations

Meany, Edmond S. "Chief Joseph, the Nez Perce." MLitt thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1901.

This Masters of Letters thesis from the University of Washington's Microfilm collection is a sweeping overview of Chief Joseph's life and interactions with the government. In addition to a valuable legal discussion on Joseph's rights to the Wallowa Valley and the legitimacy of the 1863 treaty, this balanced and unbiased dissertation assesses the "present conditions" of the Colville Nez Perce at the turn of the century. Furthermore, Meany's analysis is highly relevant and accurate, for he had the rare chance to interview Joseph personally.

Scholarly Articles (Online Database)

Berge, David M. "Chief Joseph and Chief Seattle: From Indians to Icons." *American Indians of the Pacific Northwest*. Digital Collections, University of Washington. September 2008. <<http://content.lib.washington.edu/aipnw/buerge2.html>>

This article is part of the American Indian Pacific Northwest Collection from the University of Washington's Digital Archives and offers a brief overview of the lives and legacies of Chief Joseph and Seattle, two important Native American leaders from Washington State. It was useful to my research for its overarching description of Joseph's actions.

Books

Baird, Dennis, Diane Mallickan, and W. R. Swagerty, eds. *The Nez Perce Nation Divided: First Hand Accounts of the Events Leading Up to the 1863 Treaty*. Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 2002.

This anthology of primary sources covers, in detail, the events between the 1855 and 1863 treaties, and helped me understand the mounting tensions for both the Nez Perce and American government. Through the use of newspaper clippings, letters, and agency reports, *The Nez Perce Nation Divided* provides important context for the outbreak of war and subsequent events in Indian Territory.

Beal, Merrill D. *"I Will Fight No More Forever": Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963.

A well-written and detailed history of the tribe, this monograph focuses on the Nez Perce War of 1877, but also contains a short section on the tribe's exile in Indian

Territory. The detailed documentation led me to several primary sources, and helped in evaluating the accuracy of the information presented.

Deloria, Vine, Jr. *American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.

A collection of eleven essays written by various university professors, this work provides a deep understanding of the issues faced by both Native Americans and government policymakers in recent years. Furthermore, the analysis of American Indian voting and citizenship aided in assessing Joseph's impact on U.S. Indian policy.

Gidley, Mick. *Kopet: A Documentary Narrative of Chief Joseph's Last Years*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981.

This work focuses on Chief Joseph's life at the Colville Reservation and covers his correspondence with Edmond S. Meany, various Indian agents, and other officials. *Kopet* sheds light on a period in Joseph's life rarely covered, and discusses the *negative* impressions of many who worked with him. This book provided different points of view on Joseph's achievements, and led me to several archival sources.

Haines, Francis. *The Nez Percés: Tribesmen of the Columbia Plateau*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955.

The 1863 treaty and the legal ambiguities surrounding it are discussed in detail by this excellent monograph. This work documents the Nez Perce War and the immediate consequences of the struggle, helping one understand the vacillating nature of American Indian policy in the 1870s.

Hampton, Bruce. *Children of Grace: The Nez Perce War of 1877*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1994.

Children of Grace provides an excellent discussion on the deliberations of the Indian Bureau regarding the fate of the Nez Perce after the war. The book contained dates and other basic facts on Joseph's actions in Indian Territory, serving as a guideline for deeper primary source research.

Joseph, Alvin M., Jr. *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1965.

This book is a comprehensive and literally monolithic history of the Nez Perce, beginning with the tribe's first encounters with the Lewis and Clark Expedition. I studied the chapter on Chief Joseph's diplomatic efforts after the war; though this was only a cursory overview, it provided a foundation for deeper research into primary sources.

Jackson, Helen H. *The Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson, 1879-1885*. Edited by Valerie Sherer Mathes. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.

This compilation of letters received and sent by Helen Hunt Jackson, an important Indian reform activist in the 1880s, provides an understanding of the Indian reform movement. Though Jackson primarily campaigned for the Ponca Indians, her letters can be applied, in a sense, to other tribes exiled in Indian Territory as well.

McWhorter, Lucullus V. *Hear Me, My Chiefs! Nez Perce Legend and History*. Cadwell, ID: The Caxton Printers, 1952.

This book was written by a man who spent a large part of his life with Native

American tribes in the Northwest, and provides the Nez Perce view of the 1877 war. The book's meticulous use of primary sources, careful documentation, and extraordinary research offers invaluable information on Joseph's actions.

Moulton, Candy. *Chief Joseph: Guardian of the People*. New York: Tom Doherty Associates, 2005.

This book covers all the major events of Chief Joseph's life, from his father's death in 1871 to his Washington D.C. visits at the turn of the century. Since it is primarily a biographical work, this book was of limited importance to my paper. The discussion of the Standing Bear case, however, was an important element in my research.

Pearson, J. Diane. *The Nez Percés in the Indian Territory: Nimmiipuu Survival*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008.

Perhaps the most relevant secondary source I encountered, *The Nez Percés in Indian Territory* discusses both the demographic aspects of life in Indian Territory and the actions of "peace chiefs and diplomats" like Joseph and Yellow Bull. The book explained how Joseph's visits to Washington D.C. shifted public opinion, and the importance of technology and the press to his cause. Painstakingly documented, this work provided several important details for my paper and supported my analysis of Joseph's actions and legacies.

Ruby, Robert H. and John A. Brown. *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992.

An online-book recommended by Dr. Pearson, this work contains a limited discussion on the claims submitted by the Colville Nez Perce during the twentieth century. The citations led me to the actual court dockets, which proved to be invaluable primary sources. The cases substantiated my analysis on the long-term significance of the legal battle begun by Joseph.

Ruby, Robert H. and John A. Brown. *Indians of the Pacific Northwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981.

This book provided historical context for my topic for it discusses President Ulysses S. Grant's "Peace Policy" for American Indians, the implementation of which led to the removal of Joseph's band from the Wallowa Valley. This source helped me understand why the government chose to assign reservation agencies to religious groups, and how the failure of this policy affected the future of Native American tribes throughout the country.

Smith, Paul C. and Robert Allen Warrior. *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee*. New York: The New Press, 1996.

Like a Hurricane describes the major events and figures involved in the American Indian Movement of the 1960's. Reading through the speeches of activists at Alcatraz and Wounded Knee, I noticed clear parallels to the concepts Joseph advocated in Indian Territory eighty years before. As such, it was useful to my analysis of Chief Joseph's legacy, and Indian reform movements after his time.

Trafzer, Clifford E. *Northwestern Tribes in Exile: Modoc, Nez Perce, and Palouse removal to the Indian Territory*. Sacramento: Sierra Oaks Pub. Co., 1987.

A rare book from the Special Collections of the University of Washington, *North-*

western Tribes in Exile discusses the history of the central reservation known as Indian Territory. This source helped me understand how the relocation of Joseph's tribe fit in with the policy of the time, and how the experiences of the Nez Perce compared to those of the Modoc and Palouse tribes.

Utley, Robert Marshall. *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1984.

This source provides a highly academic and analytical overview of American policy toward Native American tribes in the later half of the nineteenth century. The book contains excellent insights into the strained relationship between the Indian Bureau and the War Department, the wars of the "peace policy," the 1880s Indian reform movement, and the implications of the Dawes Allotment Act. This analysis opened my mind to the true scale of the so-called "Indian problem," and the differing perspectives of native tribes and the government.



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