



REPATRIATION: A CLASH OF WORLD VIEWS

[EDITOR'S NOTE: 'Repatriation' refers to the legislatively mandated return of human remains and specific categories of cultural items, currently housed in museums and other institutions, to culturally affiliated Native American groups. The point of returning materials in most instances is for purposes of reburial, though with regard to sacred items there is often an element of cultural revitalization involved. In this and the following two articles, Smithsonian anthropologists offer their perspectives on this increasingly important issue.]

Introduction

Repatriation is a topic of unparalleled importance in the museum world today, particularly as museum personnel struggle to meet deadlines imposed by law. There is also concern about the loss of museum collections. In addition to museums, repatriation is an issue of extreme importance for Native Americans, archaeologists, and physical anthropologists. In Indian country, there has been a ground swell of interest in and commitment to seeing the mandate for repatriation carried out. In the



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professional community, repatriation has had a profound impact on the way archaeologists 'do business' in the United States.

The idea of repatriation represents a highly charged issue where different currents of history, science, and politics converge. It is a point at which the interests of museums, Native peoples, archaeologists, and physical anthropologists intersect, where old relationships are being shattered and new ones forged. Repatriation has frequently been characterized as a clash of world views, the outcome of a head-on collision between diametrically opposed belief systems. It bears note that the two belief systems involved are not of equal valence within contemporary society. One system pertains to a subordinate minority group within the United States, the other to the majority. It took an act of Congress to move the scientific community to address the concerns raised by Native peoples.

For both Native people and non-Native scientists, human remains possess meaning. For many, if not all, Indian peoples, ancestral bones hold spiritual significance and power. For the scientist, skeletal remains are meaningful as sources of information: as 'data' for biomedical research, for studies of the evolution of human disease, and for solving forensic cases. For the physical anthropologist, human remains have been de-personalized and de-sanctified, though they are still highly meaningful. The fundamental differences in these two approaches to human skeletal remains relate to differences in world view and values systems.

Embedded within the repatriation movement are a number of fundamental issues that challenge our views of Native American peoples, call into question the "absolute" values of science, and force us to take a critical look at the role of museums in Western

society.

Repatriation may best be understood within the broader historical context of global decolonization. It parallels and is on a continuum with other indigenous movements around the world in which Native rights are being asserted. Among the issues being pressed are the right of control over one's own cultural heritage and the right to the sanctity of the grave.

In addition to human remains, the categories of cultural items encompassed within the repatriation mandate include funerary articles, sacred objects, and items of cultural patrimony. Legally, these items are defined as follows:

Funerary objects are items believed to have been intentionally placed with an individual at the time of death as part of a death rite or cultural ceremony.

Sacred objects are defined as specific ceremonial articles that are needed by traditional Native American religious leaders for the practice of traditional Native American religions.

Cultural Patrimony is defined as communally owned cultural property that has an on-going historical, traditional, or cultural importance central to a Native American group. Such objects, by definition, cannot be alienated, appropriated or conveyed by any individual, regardless of whether or not that person is a member of a Native American tribe or Native Hawaiian organization.

History of the Repatriation Movement in the U.S.

The idea of repatriation is rooted in the historical context of the civil rights movements

of the 1960s. During this period, Native Americans, like other minority groups within the United States, gained new-found political influence and recognition. It was during the activist climate of this era that some Native people began to express strong opposition to archaeological excavations, the public display of American Indian burials, and the permanent curation of Native American remains in museums.

The differential treatment of Native burials and the seeming disregard displayed by archaeologists toward them were seen as powerful symbols of oppression and the pervasiveness of racist practices for the Native community. In 1974, an activist group known as American Indians Against Desecration (AIAD) formed, with the explicit intent of bringing political pressure to bear on the question of the return and reburial of Native American remains. They argued that all Indians, past and present, are spiritually linked. As a result, modern Native peoples were responsible for the security of their ancestors' remains. They also argued that the removal and curation of human remains caused spiritual disturbance that could have a potential negative impact on the well-being of modern Native peoples.

Repatriation Legislation

Through the efforts of the AIAD and the widespread media attention it attracted, the repatriation issue slowly bubbled to the surface of public consciousness and eventually captured the attention of several sympathetic lawmakers. The first piece of legislation to treat this issue was the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) Act, which was passed by Congress in 1989. The principal functions of this Act were to authorize the transfer of the Heye Foundation's Museum of the American Indian collections from New

York to the Smithsonian Institution. This magnificent collection of Native American artifacts from all over the western hemisphere was to form the basis of the new National Museum of the American Indian. The NMAI Act also required the Smithsonian to inventory and assess the cultural origins of collections potentially affiliated with Native American and Native Hawaiian peoples. Human remains and funerary objects for which cultural affiliation could be established were to be offered for return to the appropriate tribal group. The idea that there must be a demonstrable relationship of cultural affiliation between the remains or objects in question and the tribal group to whom they would be offered for return was the cornerstone of this repatriation legislation.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed the following year, in 1990. This law expanded the repatriation mandate beyond human remains and funerary objects to include the categories of sacred objects and cultural patrimony. It also extended the applicability of this mandate to all federally funded museums, institutions, and agencies. The Smithsonian was explicitly exempted from NAGPRA due to the fact that it was already covered by the NMAI Act.

NAGPRA has four provisions:

1. To increase protection for Native American graves and provide for the disposition of cultural remains inadvertently discovered on tribal and federal lands;
2. To prohibit traffic in Native American human remains;
3. To require federal museums and institutions to inventory their collections of Native American human remains and funerary objects

within five years and repatriate them to culturally affiliated tribes upon request; and

4. To require museums to provide summaries of their collections of Native American sacred objects and cultural patrimony within three years and repatriate them if it is demonstrated that the museum does not have right of possession.

NAGPRA has been characterized as an important piece of human rights legislation for Native Americans. It also represents landmark legislation for museums in that it recognizes that scientific rights do not automatically take precedence over religious and cultural beliefs in the United States. NAGPRA has served to establish a new ethical outlook for museums in their relationships with Native peoples and other minority groups. It provides a framework within which museums and Native peoples can begin to develop new kinds of partnerships and collaborative relations. The passage of these laws represents the culmination of years of struggle for Native American groups. In essence, they legislate respect for the dead.

Issues in Repatriation

The central issue in the repatriation debate revolves around the question of whether Native American interests in reburying ancestral skeletal remains take precedence over the interests of archaeologists and physical anthropologists in studying and preserving them. From the outset, repatriation was portrayed as a controversy between museums, archaeologists, and anthropologists on one side, and Native peoples on the other. Discussion between the various parties affected by the repatriation issue became very polarized and was often characterized as a debate between science and religion.

Portraying the repatriation issue in these terms had the effect of casting Native peoples as anti-science or anti-intellectual, playing upon and promoting stereotypes of Native peoples as "backwards" or "primitive." To escape this kind of simplistic analysis, it is more helpful to think of the controversy over repatriation as a clash between competing value systems rather than as one of science versus religion. This requires a recognition of the fact that science is legitimately subject to criticism on the level of values as well as facts. Anthropology and archaeology, and science in general, have their own agendas, their particular politics being a commitment to the story of progress.

To better understand the positions and world views of the protagonists in the repatriation debate, it is important to consider the arguments and issues from the different sides of the prism. From the perspective of Native Americans, the points at issue in repatriation revolve around the differential treatment of the dead, the lack of respect for Native beliefs and feelings, treatment of people as objects of study, and racism, as evidenced in disproportionate numbers of Native American remains given over to scientific study. From the professional community's point of view, the notion of repatriating collections for purposes of reburial is contrary to the most fundamental principles of preservation and conservation. The loss of collections is seen as an irreplaceable loss of data for scientific and educational purposes. The different issues embedded in these two world views are elaborated upon below.

Native Concerns:

1) Many museums, the popular media, and public school texts present stereotypes of Indian peoples as foreign and vanishing members of a different race, distinct and apart from the rest of us. The generally held belief

that Native cultures would become extinct in North America was one of the original justifications for the collecting practices of museums and the work of anthropologists in the 19th century. Reburial is an important political issue on the Indian rights agenda in part because, by asserting their rights to protect the sanctity of their ancestors, Indian people assert that they have not vanished, and that their beliefs and feelings are entitled to the same respect as other Americans;

2) Native Americans view the collections of Indian human remains housed in museums as disrespectful, racist, and colonialist. To many, the collecting of their ancestors' bones by museums is a source of pain and humiliation, the last stage of a conquest that had already robbed them of their lands and their way of life. They cite, as evidence, museums' institutionalized treatment of Native Americans as objects of natural history, in

which elements of their traditional lifeways are collected as specimens, and the remains of their ancestors are collected like fossils. Native peoples ask what knowledge has been produced through the study of these remains that is of value to them. They also want to know why museums need so many skeletal remains to study;

3) There is a question of differential respect for the sanctity of the grave. Native peoples ask why Euro-American burials that are accidentally exposed or uncovered are reburied elsewhere, while Native American burials are sent to museums or universities for further study. Indian arguments for the sanctity of the grave tend to be based on beliefs in the sacred nature of burials, and a concern for the spiritual well-being of the deceased. Their concept of ancestry is a communal one that compels respect for the dead even in the absence of direct familial



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relations. The differences in attitudes between Euro-Americans and Native Americans may be seen to revolve around secular versus sacred constructs with respect to the sanctity of the grave and individual versus community responsibility to one's forebears; and

4) There is also the question of who controls the past; who has the right to interpret and write history. Native peoples have, for the most part, been denied the ability to interpret their own past. There has been a general refusal by scientists to admit to different ways of knowing, understanding, or interpreting the past. The past has been traditionally seen as the privileged domain of archaeologists. This is related to the elevation of Science as the supreme epistemology and the corresponding devaluation of other ways of 'knowing' the world, such as through oral history, legend, and myth. In the context of de-colonization, the past forms a critical locus in the struggle to reconstitute cultural identities and culture histories that have been severely impacted by the relentless drive and destructive policies of the State. The past forms the raw material for many and varied interests besides those of archaeologists, to be appropriated, preserved, exalted, or denied as required in the service of contemporary goals and motivations.

Museum/Scientific Concerns:

1) For many in the museum world, the notion of repatriating collections for purposes of reburial runs contrary to the most fundamental principles of preservation and conservation. It is viewed as tantamount to the purposeful destruction of knowledge. Museums are seen, by those who value them, as storehouses of data for future research. Physical anthropologists argue that the materials now in the collections provide information on the history and descent of the people represented;

new developments in the areas of DNA research, genetics, and chemical analysis in the past decade may hold the key to such questions as the peopling of the New World, human origins, and the evolution of disease;

2) Scholars also make the argument that archaeological finds in this country constitute the 'national heritage' and don't belong to one 'special interest group.' Since all humans are members of a single species, and ancient skeletons are the remnants of non-duplicable evolutionary events, all living and future peoples have a right to know about and study these human remains. That is, ancient human skeletons belong to everyone;

3) It was museums and anthropologists who were, in large part, responsible for the preservation of knowledge of Native American lifeways when Native cultures were on the wane or in the process of being systematically destroyed during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Museum people note with no little irony that in cultural revitalization movements, Native peoples have often recovered information on their heritage and traditions from the very institutions they now oppose;

4) It has also been argued that it would be racist *not* to have collections of aboriginal remains in New World museums. Such a situation would imply a lack of interest in the history of Native peoples of this continent.

Positive Outcomes of Repatriation

While the passage of the recent legislation provides a partial answer to the question of 'Where do we go from here?' the laws do not fully settle the issues. The murky language employed by the authors of the federal Acts leaves a number of technical and philosophical questions unreconciled.

These may prove to be intractable unless we are able to understand the repatriation issue within the broader sociopolitical and historical context of global de-colonization. What we're witnessing with the repatriation movement is a struggle for self-determination and control over cultural heritage. This struggle represents an effort on the part of indigenous peoples to reconstitute a collective cultural identity, in the aftermath of colonialism.

While having a direct and profound impact on Native communities in this country, repatriation also can be construed as a step in the right direction toward improving relations among Native peoples, anthropologists, and museums. Repatriation legislation provides a framework within which to develop better lines of communication and foster greater understanding and dialogue between the different parties affected. The change in attitudes and values developing out of encounters based on the repatriation mandate has begun to lay a foundation for museums, anthropologists, and Native peoples to work together in a spirit of mutual cooperation and collaboration.

Repatriation Process at the National Museum of Natural History

The Smithsonian Institution's physical anthropology division in the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) houses about 28,500 sets of skeletal remains. At one time, Native American remains numbered approximately 17,600 individuals; the remainder of the collection is made up of Euro- and African-Americans, and Europeans, Africans, and Asian peoples from various parts of the world. These collections were developed during the first half of this century, through the efforts of the Smithsonian Institution's first physical anthropologist, Aleš Hrdlička.

The repatriation mandate requires the Smithsonian to inventory and assess the cultural origins of collections potentially affiliated with contemporary Native American and Native Hawaiian peoples. Affected tribal groups are to be notified of the Museum's findings and consulted with regard to the disposition of culturally affiliated remains or objects. The Museum facilitates the return of the materials in question upon the request of the affiliated tribal group.

One of most sensitive collections in the NMNH is the Army Medical Museum collection of skeletal remains, which were transferred to the Smithsonian around the turn of the century. This collection contains about 2300 sets of remains, many of which date to historic periods and are explicitly identified with regard to cultural origins. The Army Medical Museum was founded in 1862 to perform biomedical and pathological studies on the Civil War dead. At the close of this War, the emphasis of the Army Medical Museum shifted to the collection of Native American skeletal remains. With the outbreaks of the Spanish-American War and World War I, research funding was diverted away from the museum, and its collecting function ceased.

The repatriation legislation offers little in the way of technical guidelines for how to proceed with this effort. It was thus left to the Museum to set up a workable program, which involved the establishment of a formal Repatriation Office. To date, much attention has been focused on the historical remains, with the Army Medical Museum collections being the most sensitive. Museum personnel continue to work through these collections, documenting specific information relevant to cultural identification from each set of remains.

In addition to responding to requests, the NMNH also takes a pro-active approach to the

inventory process. Groups that have not contacted the Smithsonian Institution are notified if collections of potential interest to them are identified during the inventory process. In addition to the documentation of physical remains, the Repatriation Office of the NMNH is also producing summaries of the ethnographic collections.

From a core staff of four in September 1991, the office has grown to include 20 regular staff and six full-time contractors. The Museum has sponsored eleven Native American professionals, students, and interns to date, one of whom is now a permanent member of the staff. The office currently has about 35 formal repatriation requests on file. These are handled on a first come, first served basis. Fifteen separate repatriations have been completed to date by the NMNH, and twelve others are in progress.

Outreach

In addition to the inventory and documentation work of the Repatriation Office, outreach efforts to the Native American community are a high priority. Repatriation staff have travelled to the Pacific Northwest, the northern Plains, Oklahoma, the Southeast, the Southwest, and Alaska to meet with leaders of different tribal groups. The purpose of these visits is to provide information on the repatriation program at the NMNH and collections of potential interest to the tribes. Staff members have participated in a number of the regional consultations held by the National Museum of the American Indian in various parts of the country as well.

A standing committee made up of five independent, external individuals is in place to review any disputed cases. Three of the members of this committee were elected by the Native American community. To date, there

have been no disputes for the committee to arbitrate.

It is important to remember that there is no Pan-Indian religion or single viewpoint on how to deal with the dead. Cultural protocols vary by tribe. Some Native groups feel that the housing of the dead in museums threatens the spiritual harmony and balance of the world; many say they personally feel the spiritual disquiet of their ancestors who are stored in museums. Another viewpoint is held by the Zuñi tribe, which does not want skeletal remains returned to the Zuñi reservation at this time. They feel the remains have been desecrated, and there is no method of dealing with them in any traditional Zuñi way. The Zuñis avoid the disturbance of grave sites when possible, but when a burial must be exposed (due to construction, for instance), the remains are excavated by an archaeologist, and basic information about the individual is determined by a physical anthropologist. The remains, along with all grave goods, are then reburied out of harm's way, as close to the original burial as possible.

The returns conducted to date have varied. The procedures have ranged from museum personnel boxing and shipping remains, to private ceremonies held in the museum by tribal representatives, to very public ceremonies. An example of a particularly interesting case study from the Northwest is discussed below.

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A REPATRIATION CASE STUDY

In December of 1994, The National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) of the Smithsonian Institution returned a large collection of human remains and associated funerary objects from the Middle Columbia River Basin to the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon and the Yakama Indian Nation of Washington State. The Smithsonian had been involved in negotiations for the return of these collections since 1988, when Chief Nelson Wallulatum of the Warm Springs Reservation first formally petitioned the Museum.

The majority of this collection was recovered by Dr. Herbert Krieger of the Smithsonian Institution in 1934 from Lower Memaloose Island, during an archaeological salvage operation associated with the construction of the Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River. A total of 51 sets of human skeletal remains and 164 lots of archaeological objects were recovered from a mixed, multiple burial context on this island. The artifacts found in association with the skeletal remains indicate that the burials dated from the late 1700s through the 1870s. Another fourteen sets of remains acquired by the Museum in 1903 were recovered from a similar context on Upper Memaloose Island, located upstream from The Dalles, Oregon. Native peoples of the region traditionally buried their dead in above-ground burial houses on islands in the Columbia River. These islands are generically referred to as 'memaloose islands,' meaning 'islands of the dead' in the native Chinookan language.

Most of the Native people who lived along the Columbia River were removed to reservations in the mid-nineteenth century. Those on the north bank were assigned to the Yakama Reservation, while those on the south side became part of the Confederated Tribes of the

Warm Springs Reservation. In August 1993, the NMNH recommended that the Columbia River collections be returned. The decision was made in accordance with the National Museum of the American Indian Act, which requires the Smithsonian to repatriate, when requested, culturally identifiable human remains and funerary objects. Given that the remains from the Columbia River islands were equally likely to be affiliated with descendent populations which are now part of the Yakama Indian Nation as those who are now members of the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation, both groups had to be involved in decisions about the disposition of the collections.

Delegates from both tribes arrived in Washington, DC to prepare the remains for return, a process which took two days. During ceremonies held at the Museum, Chief Wallulatum stated that he viewed the individuals who had been housed in the Museum as warriors who had been held hostage in the name of Science, but who were now being returned to their homeland. The collections were shipped to The Dalles, Oregon, where they were ceremonially reburied.

Documentation

Documentation of the remains and associated funerary objects recovered from the Upper and Lower Memaloose Islands and adjacent sectors of the Middle Columbia River Basin in Oregon and Washington began in June 1992. This process was initiated in response to a request from the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation for the return of any culturally affiliated remains from Lower Memaloose Island and the tribe's ceded lands. In addition to the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation, the other Native American community potentially affected by

the findings of the Repatriation Office report were the Confederated Tribes of the Yakama Indian Nation.

A total of 72 catalogue entries in the Physical Anthropology division of the NMNH were identified as having come from the Middle Columbia River Basin. Fifty-one of the catalogued sets of remains were recovered by Smithsonian curator Herbert Krieger during excavations conducted on Lower Memaloose Island in 1934. A single skull in a separate museum accession, collected by a different person 65 years earlier, was also determined to have come from Lower Memaloose Island. Fourteen crania, each with its own catalogue entry, were obtained from Upper Memaloose Island by the Fred Harvey Company and sold to the National Museum in 1903. Another set of remains located in 1948 by the River Basin Survey project comes from an interior site in Crook County, Oregon. The remaining five catalogue entries consist of crania from the Middle Columbia River Basin that were collected during the nineteenth century, and initially sent to the Army Medical Museum. The provenience information on these remains is imprecise. Three of the skulls were recovered near the Cascades of the Columbia River; one was collected upstream from The Dalles on the south bank of the Columbia River; and one was recovered by the Wilkes Expedition in the mid-nineteenth century, somewhere along the Columbia River. In compliance with the National Museum of the American Indian Act, these 72 sets of human remains were evaluated in terms of their probable cultural affiliation.

Cultural History of the Area

The mid-Columbia River region, particularly in the vicinity of The Dalles, was a cultural crossroads where groups from two distinct cultural areas, the Northwest Coast and the

Plateau, converged. Native peoples living in this area at the time of contact included the Wasco, Wishram, White Salmon, and Watlala (Cascades), Upper Chinookan groups affiliated with the Northwest Coast tradition; and the Klickitat, Tenino, and Yakama, Sahaptin speakers associated with the Plateau culture area. The treaty agreements signed with the U.S. government in 1855 established two separate reservations in the region on either side of the Columbia River. As a result, village groups living on the north side of the middle Columbia, including both Upper Chinookan and Sahaptin-speaking peoples, became affiliated with the Yakama Reservation, while those living on the south side moved to the Warm Springs Reservation.

The human remains from both Upper and Lower Memaloose Islands were recovered from mixed, multiple burial contexts. These mixed deposits can be ascribed to traditional mortuary practices in the region, involving the use of above-ground charnel houses. Associated funerary objects from the ossuary on Lower Memaloose indicate that the island was in use as a mortuary facility from at least the late eighteenth century through the mid-nineteenth century. The artifactual evidence is corroborated by early ethnohistoric accounts and oral tradition. Though lacking associated funerary offerings, the remains from Upper Memaloose Island are assumed to date from the same general proto-historic/early historic time period, based on fortuitous association of a few historic objects and the condition of the crania.

Based on the ethnohistoric and ethnographic information available on aboriginal village locations, the mortuary practices indicated by the context in which the remains were found, the presence of quantities of historic artifacts, and the number of crania in the series exhibiting intentional modification (a practice



associated with the Upper Chinook), it is suggested that the remains from Lower Memaloose Island (52 individuals) were culturally affiliated with the White Salmon, Wishram, and/or Wasco bands of the Upper Chinook. Accordingly, it was recommended that both the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation and the Yakama Nation, the Native American entities under which these bands are now subsumed, be notified about the presence of these remains in the NMNH, and consulted about their wishes regarding their disposition.

Analysis of Materials

The archaeological assemblage from Lower Memaloose included a large collection of personal and domestic artifacts, such as buttons, glass and shell beads, and metal utensils. The collections encompassed a total of 164 archaeology catalogue numbers in the Museum collections. Based on the context of recovery, the items in this assemblage were

interpreted as associated funerary objects and, as such, were subject to repatriation under the NMAI Act. Consequently, it was recommended that these items be offered for return together with the human remains.

Fifty complete crania were recovered from the skeletal remains. Of these, thirty were adult males aged 25 to 65, and eighteen were adult females, aged 18 to 55. Age and sex were undetermined for two of the crania. With respect to the mortuary population from Upper Memaloose Island, fewer of the individuals (about 65%) have intentionally modified (flattened) heads. Given this culturally mixed population, together with the fact that Upper Memaloose Island was located at the outer limits of Upper Chinookan influence, it seems not unlikely that both Upper Chinookan and Sahaptin-speaking peoples utilized this island for burial purposes. Applying the same criteria as listed above for the Lower Memaloose assemblage, it was suggested that the 14 sets of remains from Upper Memaloose were likely affiliated with

either the Wishram (for whom the island was formally set aside as a cemetery in 1926), the Wasco, or the local Tenino. As in the case above, it was recommended that both the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation and the Yakama Nation be consulted about their wishes regarding the disposition of the remains. No funerary items were associated with the human remains from Upper Memaloose Island.

Of the three crania recovered in the vicinity of the Cascades, two were identified as Watlala, while the other was identified as a probable member of the Klickitat or Yakama tribe. The remaining two individuals from the middle Columbia River lack secure provenience information. One of these exhibits the type of intentional cranial modification associated with the Upper Chinookan groups, while the other cranium is unmodified. There were no funerary objects associated with any of these remains. Given the presence of cranial re-shaping and the available provenience information, it was recommended that the Warm Springs Confederated Tribes be consulted regarding the disposition of three of these individuals (those with cranial flattening), and that the Yakama Nation should be consulted on a fourth. The cultural affiliation of the remaining individual is unknown.

The final set of human remains in this inventory was recovered by the River Basin Survey archaeological salvage project in the Prineville Reservoir basin in central Oregon. Evidence of a bullet wound to the head suggests the probable cause of death and dates the burial to the historic period. The cranium also exhibits intentional modification of the type associated with the Upper Chinookan populations. Given that the cultural affiliation of the individual cannot be specified beyond the level of Upper Chinook, it was

recommended that both the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation and the Yakama Nation be consulted as to their wishes regarding the disposition of the remains.

Tamara L. Bray

About Tamara Bray

Tamara Bray received her doctoral degree in anthropology from the State University of New York at Binghamton in 1991, and has been with the National Museum of Natural History's Repatriation Office since its inception in that same year. During this time, she has worked with Native American groups from the Pacific Northwest, the Great Basin, and the Great Lakes region on specific repatriation requests. She has travelled around the country to meet with tribal leaders and discuss the NMNH Repatriation program, participated in regional consultations sponsored by the National Museum of the American Indian, and presented professional papers at several national anthropological conferences on the subject of repatriation. From Tamara's perspective, the challenge of her position has been in walking the fine line between scientific interests and Native American rights, applying archaeological knowledge to address contemporary concerns, and helping to establish policies that have potentially far-reaching effects on American archaeology. The substance of her work in the National Museum has recently been published by the Smithsonian Institution Press in an edited volume entitled *Reckoning with the Dead*.

REPATRIATION AS A GUIDING PRINCIPLE FOR THE ARCTIC STUDIES CENTER

The passage in 1990 of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) emerged from the same social and political climate that now finds museums throughout the United States reconsidering their roles vis-à-vis Native Americans. Coincidentally, many Native communities are experiencing a burgeoning awareness of their cultural heritage, evidenced by the construction of local and regional cultural centers and by the growth of initiatives like Keepers of the Treasure, an organization of Native Americans concerned with the preservation of their physical patrimony.

In the North, many Native villages still retain a strong community identity. This identity is often based on the continuance of traditional hunting and fishing subsistence economies. It is also reflected in an ideology that includes a special reverence for elders who retain their cultures' traditional ecological knowledge and spiritual reverence for the land and animals on whom life depends. These shared sentiments are leading communities throughout Alaska to develop their own cultural preservation programs, initiatives that include an appreciation of 19th-century material culture, much of which now resides in museums throughout the world.

The Arctic Studies Center (ASC), located in the Anthropology Department at the National Museum of Natural History, was created in 1988. The program embraces the tripartite mandate of the Smithsonian's contributions to knowledge through research, exhibition and educational outreach programs. All three of these agendas are realized by the ASC commitment to "community anthropology,"

which seeks to combine the knowledge and experience of ASC personnel with objects in the Smithsonian's collections and Native community interests and expertise. This program is a logical extension of Smithsonian commitment to Arctic and subarctic peoples that uses the materials in the national collection to celebrate the accomplishments of those Native peoples. The concept of repatriation, which encompasses the return of knowledge and awareness of objects in museum collections to Native communities from which they derive, seeks common ground between Native Americans and museums holding title to large ethnographic collections. An example from Labrador and one from Alaska illustrate this broad interpretation of the repatriation concept.

Pathways

The Smithsonian has a long and distinguished history of involvement with the Native peoples of Labrador, including the Innu. In April 1992, the Innu Nation, the Labrador Community College in Northwest River, and the Innu Resource Center invited the author to the community of Sheshatshit in Labrador to discuss the Smithsonian Institution's collections and photographs that pertain to Innu culture and history. These dialogues raised the possibility of initiating a program that focused on cultural heritage, previous Innu land use, and archaeology. The proposed program was seen as an opportunity to teach Innu students about archaeology. With the expansion of Innu territorial authority and land management responsibilities emerging as part of proposed land claim negotiations, the Native people recognized the need for trained Innu individuals to assist in management of historical resources. The Innu and the Arctic Studies Center developed an archaeological research project which could provide new educational opportunities for the Innu.



Funds for a six-week field course in archaeological method and theory was acquired through "Pathways," a training program supported by the province of Newfoundland-Labrador. The course provided Innu students with the skills to work as technicians and crew members on archaeological research projects and gave them an introduction to cultural resource management programs and philosophy.

Community involvement was an essential feature of the Pathway program. An integral feature was the recognition of the importance of the skills, knowledge and memories of Innu elders, who were invited to the classroom.

The science of archaeology is a Western method of constructing knowledge about the past. The course was designed to include both the Western "scientific" discipline and the wisdom and knowledge of the Innu, based on traditional practices, observations, myth, and memory. After ten days in the classroom, the students spent nearly a month working at a site. Excavation revealed the remains of old tepee structures with central hearths. A wide array of late 19th and early 20th century artifacts, including hunting and fishing paraphernalia, tobacco-related products, knives, cookware, medicinal containers, molasses jugs, combs, beads, and coins, was recovered. The final phase of the program

was a presentation to the community on the results of the project. The Pathway participants spent a week cataloging and conserving the excavated objects, and preparing an exhibition and open-house for the community. Not only did the Pathway project represent an exciting development in archaeological research in Labrador, it provided a way for young Native people to work closely with community elders, and instilled pride by revealing a rich, exciting history that is their legacy. For the Arctic Studies Center, Pathways provided a model of collaboration between Native people and Smithsonian archaeologists.

Smithsonian Ethnographic Collections

Much of the material collected by Smithsonian ethnographers in the waning decades of the 19th-century consists of the day-to-day objects used for domestic and subsistence activities: clothing, hunting tools, sewing kits, dolls, etc. Edward Nelson, a naturalist and collector for the Smithsonian Institution, travelled among the Yupik of western Alaska between 1877 and 1881; his Yupik name was translated as the "Man who collected good-for-nothing things." His visits to Yupik communities were eagerly anticipated, as he brought sought-after trade items to exchange for objects people no longer needed or used. These "good-for-nothing things," the "trash" of Nelson's day, have been transformed by the alchemy of time and the miracle of preservation into modern "treasures." The Smithsonian's 1982 "Inua" exhibition celebrated Nelson's extraordinary collections. This exhibit made an international tour, after which a smaller version travelled in recent years to communities in rural Alaska. "Inua" brought recognition of the diversity and imagination of Yupik artistic traditions to a new generation of Alaskan artisans. In turn, many objects from "Inua" and other travelling

exhibits have now become recurring motifs in today's Alaskan commercial art.

Skeletal Materials

Repatriation often involves skeletal materials from museum collections. In Alaska, large numbers of skeletal remains were collected during the 1920s and 1930s by Aleš Hrdlička, a physical anthropology curator from the Smithsonian. Hrdlička was trained as a medical doctor, but his true passion was the systematic study of human physical variation. He collected and studied skeletal materials (mostly skulls) from all over the world, carefully taking measurements and noting morphological characteristics on each set of remains. To Hrdlička, these materials represented a research population that could provide answers to many questions about human antiquity in the New World, variation in physical appearance between populations, health and morbidity, growth and development -- the list is endless. He also felt, as did others of his generation, that Native Americans were dying out, and that he was protecting their heritage by collecting and storing the skeletal materials in a museum.

Although we now recognize that Hrdlička's collecting techniques would not meet either the scientific or ethical standards of today, we also realize that his contributions to the understanding of human variation are the foundation of modern physical anthropology. The techniques he developed and the standards he established provided guidelines that are still in use today, half a century after his death. The materials collected by Hrdlička from Alaska and elsewhere have been used to help establish cultural continuity at archaeological sites; to assess diet, health and stress of early peoples; to provide clues to human migration patterns and ethnic identity; to provide

information on growth and development; to document pathological conditions affecting populations; and to provide a basis for comparison in forensic cases. Many of these studies have directly benefited the Native people of Alaska, by providing them with information about the daily lives of their ancestors, by helping to establish their legal status, and by confirming their heritage and cultural identity. Some of the Alaskan skeletal material from the Smithsonian collections has been repatriated, but Hrdlička's initial measurements and documentation of morphological traits still exists for future research.

Conclusion

Indigenous peoples worldwide have begun to challenge the political and economic forces confronting them. Across the Circumpolar North, Native people are gaining the political authority and economic independence to increasingly effect public policy and development. With autonomy and authority comes a concurrent expression of interest in the revitalization of culturally distinct arts, rituals and ceremonies. These developments, not just in the North but world-wide, pose the great challenge to museums in the next century: to evolve from the perceived giant repositories of scientific specimens derived from colonial excesses and anthropological noblesse into institutions which facilitate an awareness of multiethnic diversity through celebration, repatriation and revitalization.

Stephen Loring
Arctic Studies Center

For Further Reading on Repatriation

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PUTTING PENSACOLA ON THE MAP!

"Archaeotourism" in West Florida

In March 1995 the first annual "Pensacola Pride" awards were presented to local people and organizations who have "put Pensacola on the map," by gaining national recognition in their chosen professions. The local press gave the awards and featured the awardees' work in the local and regional media. Three recipients received premier awards: the well known U.S. Navy fighter jet demonstration team known as the "Blue Angels"; the local world champion welter weight boxer, Roy Jones, Jr.; and

archaeologist Dr. Judy Bense and the Archaeology Institute at the University of West Florida.

Strange company for an archaeologist? Not in Pensacola. Here, archaeology plays a leading role: mainstreamed, shared, put on exhibit, and studied by University academics and students. The "Pensacola Pride" award is only the most recent of several local, state, and national awards given to University of West Florida archaeologists, the University, and their sponsors. Such awards come in appreciation for "putting Pensacola on the map," and for highlighting the archaeological resources of this quiet southern coastal city of a quarter million people.



Archaeology Comes to Pensacola

It all began in 1984 when the University decided to initiate an Anthropology program where there had been none. I arrived in Pensacola and quickly realized that the high quality archaeology I had studied academically was one of the best kept secrets around. In addition, the fact that it was unknown was directly leading to the destruction of the archaeological record right before my eyes!

Everywhere I looked, local archaeological deposits were under siege. Urban renewal was tearing up the historic colonial part of downtown; building construction along the bay front was threatening multiple sites; urban sprawl in subdivisions and strip centers was damaging interior prehistoric Indian sites; and massive construction at the U.S. Naval Air Station was impacting the densely concentrated sites on the peninsula. Responsible community leaders with the best of intentions had planned these projects, supported by both public and private funds. With little awareness of their rich heritage or their unknown and unrecognized resources, the community was rapidly destroying the unwritten record of all previous Pensacolans.

For a while I looked the other way. After all, I was new to town and a prehistoric archaeologist, unqualified to deal with historic period materials and documents. I was in the middle of starting a traditional career around the prehistoric Indian cultures that had left a rich record in sites still well preserved in the woods and swamps, away from the massive destruction of the urban areas. I was alone -- no staff, no funds, no graduate students -- and I had no clue about local politics or business.

Call to Action

However, one Sunday afternoon that first year, as I looked out over the construction site of the new city hall and watched looting being treated as a respectable pastime for families and relic collectors alike, it simply became too much to bear. I realized that day that since I had come to live in Pensacola, it was my responsibility to find a way to stop the destruction of the archaeology in *my* town. Because of my professional training and position at the University, the archaeological sites here were, in a sense, under my care; it was *my watch*, and I would not have my legacy be that I was the only archaeologist in town, and I had let it all be destroyed.

The Gulf Power Company

My first opportunity to champion public archaeology in the Pensacola area involved the electric utility for West Florida, the Gulf Power Company. In 1984 this company was planning to build a \$25 million corporate headquarters on the bay front of Pensacola. The proposed location was archaeologically sensitive, as it had been an African-American neighborhood for 150 years. It was in the vicinity of a colonial governor's villa, and a few prehistoric sherds had been recovered over the years. A check with the State determined that there was no archaeological compliance required for the project.

With a small delegation of concerned students and professionals, we approached the company with an unsolicited proposal to test the 11-acre parcel to determine whether there were significant archaeological deposits present. The testing was allowed, and we identified two

significant archaeological sites: a sealed, single Early Woodland village with scores of pits, and the undisturbed deposits of the entire African-American neighborhood.

We realized quickly that the scientific value of the sites was important, but not particularly so to the utility. We also knew that the company had been receiving negative publicity concerning the construction of its corporate headquarters due to its excessive cost, the relocation of poor African-American residents, and the lack of any direct improvement in service. So, we decided to develop a second proposal to the company, this time offering to use the company's archaeological resources for a positive public relations project focused on a major community outreach effort. The company would make a high profile educational contribution to the community, including an archaeology teaching unit for the public schools that would include a video documentary, a slide-tape documentary, replicated artifacts and a coloring book. An accessible public exhibit focusing on local Pensacola archaeology would be constructed for the lobby of the company building. We designed a logo for use on coffee cups, tee shirts, and power bill inserts, and we created a catchy project name, "Hawkshaw," after the name of the African-American neighborhood that would be virtually eliminated by the project.

The proposal was funded immediately by Gulf Power Company. As a result of the project, the company won a national Public Service Award from the Secretary of the Interior, as well as the top State public relations award. Archaeology gave the company what nothing else could: reams of positive newspaper coverage, TV spots, and editorials all over the Southeast. Through archaeology Gulf Power did something good for the community and for science, and the company was proud of the

extent of its commitment to community improvement. Today, Hawkshaw symbolizes the living past that would have been forgotten and destroyed if Gulf Power had not preserved the past as it built for the future.

Taking On the City Council

In order to stop the destruction of sites in the city, we needed local political support for archaeological preservation, and for that we needed legislation to protect local archaeological sites. For the City Council, any vote comes down to voter/citizen support. We helped form a large and vocal political action committee, and when we sent a proposal to the City Council for an archaeological review procedure on city owned property, it was approved unanimously. Council Members enthusiastically endorsed a program that put them in the leadership role, with funding for compliance on a project-by-project basis. Since the review procedure approval, four major city compliance projects have located and preserved significant archaeological deposits, with consistent and positive media coverage. A survey of Pensacola has been completed, with its archaeological areas defined and documented.

The Colonial Trail

Pensacola was a colonial town, one of the handful of settlements in the United States that has been continuously occupied since the 1600s. In the fall of 1994, the Pensacola Colonial Archaeological Trail was opened in the historic part of downtown. The trail is a series of outdoor and indoor public exhibits of some remnants of Pensacola's colonial town that existed from 1750 to 1821, a town that lies just beneath our streets, sidewalks, parking lots, and buildings. In an outside walking tour, people can see the actual archaeological remains of their old town: wells, foundations

of buildings, cooking ovens, and fort walls. The outdoor archaeological features are all well marked with signs and there are free brochures to take along the trail. People visit the museum and view larger exhibits of the items used in their town over two centuries ago.

"Archaeotourism" is bringing new people from the beaches to places downtown, where they eat, make purchases, and often stay the night. A new maritime museum and exhibit are being designed to display the items from the spectacular 16th century galleon shipwreck currently under excavation in Pensacola Bay, as well as more recent material from our long maritime history.

The Trail is a high profile, public oriented project that includes various elements for the public, from volunteer opportunities to school field trips. A full time public interpreter and public relations staff member prepares a weekly newsletter, takes groups on tours of dig sites, and even occasionally helps with excavations. The project is so popular with the press that it made international news and was highlighted on the "Science and Technology" program of Cable News Network.

Archaeology Steering Committee

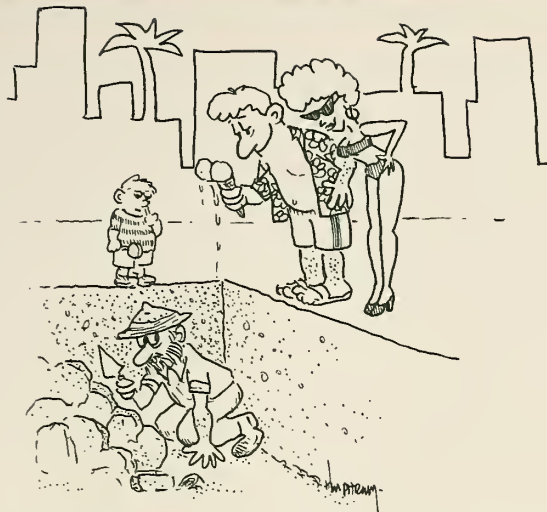
Pensacola now has an Archaeology Steering Committee, headed by a bank executive, made up of business men and women and community leaders interested in incorporating archaeology into the economic growth and development of the area. While the committee is advised by local archaeologists, historic preservationists, and the University President, it independently generates archaeological development ideas and ways to fund their implementation. The committee members know that the public likes history and

archaeology; they believe that physical and significant resources that lie in their area, if properly identified, studied and interpreted, will draw tourists and their money. It is a "clean" resource to develop. The concept of "archaeotourism" generated the ideas for the archaeological trail, archaeology museums, and sponsorship of public archaeology projects and products. This committee is even finding a way to increase the archaeology at the University, with more faculty and student support through political support in the state legislature. After all, the University is the "home" of archaeology in this community, and a necessary part of the development of the archaeology here.

Funding Support

In the Fall of 1993, Dr. Margaret J. Smith, a retired Pensacola aeronautical engineer and statistician passed away. She left her entire estate -- almost half a million dollars -- to the archaeology program at the University of West Florida. A few years earlier, the recently retired Dr. Smith had walked into my office and asked how she could become involved in archaeology. Not only did she take almost all of our courses to become educated in the subject, she brought our entire archaeology staff and students into the modern age of PC computer assisted drawing (CAD) and data analysis. Under her tutelage, we moved to a new level of work quality. With her gift, she continues to help us as we build, grow and develop archaeology at the University.

At the same time another guardian angel, a retired business couple, Hal and Pat Marcus, gave \$100,000 to an endowment for the Historical Archaeology graduate program at the University of West Florida. They selected archaeology because the field trains professionals who will develop Pensacola's archaeological resources that will, in turn, be



economically beneficial to the community. The program had no steady graduate student support and our donors knew that their gift would attract good students competing for graduate assistantships.

Pensacola Today

Today, there is a large archaeology support group, an advisory archaeology steering committee, an archaeological ordinance in the city, and a civic commitment to an archaeology integrated into the growth and development of Pensacola. In Pensacola, archaeology is viewed as an economic resource, not an economic obstacle. We communicate to the public in many ways a very simple message: **archaeology is here and it is good.** We have used the media's natural interest in archaeological finds, the public's natural curiosity about archaeology, and the good sites which are in our midst. The principle and assumption underlying all our efforts can be summed up in a single phrase: valuable resources will be protected by the public and their representatives. In Florida, our natural resources such as beaches and recreational waterways are protected and our cultural resources such as roads are well kept. These are expensive activities, but, because these resources are important economically, residents are willing to maintain them.

Archaeological sites have been demonstrated to be economically important in many places such as Jamestown, St. Augustine, the Southwest and Europe. Why not Pensacola?

The community is well on its way to understanding the benefits of the archaeological resources that lie in their midst. While there is a long way to go, and sites are still being destroyed, the damage is much less, and more and more people want to protect them. There still are only a few archaeologists here, three to be exact, and we will never, personally, be able to take care of all the sites. But the residents can and will, if given proper incentives.

Pensacola is not an unusual town, archaeologically. Each town in the country has something special about it and there are archaeological sites in and around each of them. Look around your area and ask if there are ways to stem the destruction going on in your own back yard. It will make you and your community feel good. After all, our communities' resources belong to us; **it is our watch.**

Judith A. Bense
Professor of Archaeology
University of West Florida

TEACHER'S CORNER: BINATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING

"Team research with a Mexican counterpart...not only gives you the insight of a Mexican studying Mexican culture, but it also aids you in knowing what kinds of questions to ask, when to ask, how to ask, what is appropriate in terms of that culture. It greatly enhances your learning experience and hopefully friendships made...will continue."

Kristina Lang-Dei, student

Over the last decade, the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB) and the Autonomous University of Querétaro, Mexico (UAQ) have developed an innovative research and training project that can serve as a model for others to follow. From its modest beginnings as an anthropology field research project, the Querétaro Research Project (QRP) has grown into a variety of opportunities for students and faculty from several social science disciplines at both universities.

The strength of the QRP lies in its binational collaboration. Whether in the field or in the classroom, the experience of Mexican and United States students living and working together teaches these young people the benefits of collaboration and communication across international and cultural borders. It also establishes the interpersonal basis for long term professional ties among Mexican and U.S. participants.

The Project's Research Focus

The Querétaro Research Project is an innovative team effort involving undergraduate and graduate students, faculty and researchers from both UCSB and UAQ. Participants work independently or jointly, but all share a framework of macro-micro analysis of interrelationships between individuals, extended social and political networks, communities, and larger social, economic, and political structures. Team members meet regularly to discuss their research with other participants and to co-author papers for conferences and publication.

The main goal of the team research component of the QRP is to study the impact of transnational ties, state policies, and the use of natural resources such as land and water on the Mexican peasant communities in the state of Querétaro. The historical period being researched begins with the 1917 post-Revolutionary land reform program in Querétaro and continues to the present. Research covers the entire state of Querétaro and its contrasting agricultural and ecological zones, while focusing on specific communities and land tenure sectors in each zone, including *pequeños propietarios* (private farmers), *ejidatarios* (state land grant recipients), and *jornaleros* (hired farm workers). Collectively, the studies contribute to a comprehensive ethnographic portrait of how a single region in Mexico has changed, adapted to, and been affected by local, regional, national, and international dynamics and structures over nearly a century. Research projects have covered such topics as female migration and employment, traditional medical practices, the impact of transnational corporations on health care decisions and farming practices, and political participation by the inhabitants of Querétaro.

Participants are encouraged to present the results of their research in professional journals and conferences in both Mexico and the United States. One of the main advantages of the team approach is the mentorship provided by faculty of both universities for graduate and undergraduate team members. This gives students a rare opportunity to participate in the research process from inception to publication, giving them their first glance into the life of a professional anthropologist.

Fieldwork Training

The training component of the QRP has developed in response to the research goals of the Project, and has become an essential part of the involvement of students in the research process. The QRP has trained students from both universities. We believe that the training component has three unique features generally absent in other field training programs for U.S. students:

1) computer "simulated" field research as preparation for the actual period of field work;

2) the opportunity to receive additional training and carry out field research in Querétaro; and

3) the pairing of U.S. students with students from the host culture.

At UCSB, field methods are introduced to undergraduates in a course that uses multiple teaching techniques to introduce students to ethnographic methods. Reading assignments include standard texts and articles on ethnographic field methods as well as ethnographic monographs and articles on Mexican peasant villages. The course also employs the assignment of field exercises in the surrounding community.



What sets this course apart is the use of computer-accessed multimedia lessons, a simulation of ethnographic research in Mexico. These simulations give students experience integrating theory, methods, and data in a complex, interactive environment. It also moves the teaching of research "outside" the classroom into a different culture. Students using the multimedia simulations are able to explore realistic facets of field research, including resource limitations (such as time and funding constraints), situation decision-making (such as choosing an informant), dealing with conflicting or incomplete sources of data, and exposure to a foreign (for most students) language. They learn to appreciate the ambiguity of real world data.

A second, more advanced source of undergraduate training is the UCSB-UAQ field methods practicum in Mexico. This intensive field training is coordinated by faculty and advanced graduate students from both universities. For ten days, the UCSB-UAQ students live together in a house in the region to be studied. They review basic ethnographic data collection methods during lectures, and reinforce their skills with afternoon exercises in the surrounding community, by interviewing, constructing genealogies, collecting life histories, preparing community resource inventories, mapping the community and its household sites, and other data collection techniques. Paired students from the two universities are then placed with families in rural Querétaro communities for up to six weeks. The students take extensive field notes and keep a field journal, which are reviewed weekly with a faculty member. This field experience has a profound impact on undergraduates that is heightened by their collaboration with Mexican students. One student said that sharing a room -- and nightly talks -- with the daughter of her host taught

her a great deal about the role of women in the community, as daughters, sisters, and wives, without the censorship of information she might have experienced by talking to the girl in the presence of other family members.

Graduate students from both universities have also benefited from QRP training and research opportunities. UCSB graduate students have undertaken summer research projects in Querétaro, and several have carried out dissertation research there. While in Querétaro, they are granted visiting scholar status and they actively participate in academic activities. In the past, these activities have included teaching undergraduate seminars at UAQ as well as carrying out joint projects with their Mexican counterparts.

In a similar manner, Mexican graduate students from UAQ have attended seminars in development anthropology at UCSB as visiting scholars. One of the authors (Gutiérrez), a *queretano*, is currently a doctoral candidate in the anthropology department of UCSB; his research focuses on haciendas in Querétaro in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Aside from receiving advanced training in anthropology, he has contributed significantly to the development of the fieldwork course and has taught it twice.

Mexican students have received training from other departments at UCSB as well, advancing technical skills such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS) development and remote sensing or cartography. They also take advantage of UCSB's extensive research library where they may find key resources not widely available in Mexico. While taking classes at UCSB, the Mexican students meet weekly the UCSB QRP team members (students and faculty) to discuss their work, participate in round table discussions, and

collaborate on the planning, analysis, and dissemination of joint UCSB-UAQ research.

Conclusions

Our experience with the development of this project has emphasized the benefits of including students in all phases of the research process, and has led to a multi-dimensional field methods curriculum. By exposing U.S. students to the ideas of their contemporaries in other countries, and by placing them in a field setting requiring collaboration with their peers, students contribute to and benefit from the intellectual and cultural values of the host culture students. Students who have participated in the QRP have an increased appreciation for the kind of skills they will need to apply once they enter an actual field setting. The participating students and faculty alike have been enthusiastic supporters of this project as well as substantial contributors to its development.

You can't really understand another culture unless you live with the people in that society, and our program offers that opportunity. What this means is that our students have a chance to live with the people they normally just learn about in books and films. The students live with them, live with the families, understand what they have to go through on a daily basis in order to survive, to make their lives work, to carry out the ceremonies that give meaning to their lives. The students learn how their hosts manifest their emotions, organize their daily existence, feed and clothe themselves, and meet the challenges and opportunities that people have to confront in another culture. These are things you cannot learn from books.

Manuel L. Carlos
 Director, UCSB Querétaro (Mexico)
 Research Project
 Professor Emeritus of Anthropology and
 Research Professor, UCSB

Juan José Gutiérrez
 Research Professor, UAQ
 PhD candidate, UCSB

Melody Knutson
 Research Associate, UCSB Querétaro
 (Mexico) Research Project
 PhD candidate, UCSB



S U M M E R F I E L D W O R K O P P O R T U N I T I E S

Looking for adventure? For an opportunity to acquire new skills? Become a member of an archaeological excavation or a scientific expedition in the United States or abroad and learn about another culture -- past or present.

Organizations to Contact

Anthropology departments at local universities and colleges, state historic preservation offices, and state archaeological societies often organize local archaeological excavations and frequently accept volunteers with no previous fieldwork experience. The Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) offers a listing of state archaeologists as part of its yearly field school listing for the U.S. and abroad. This publication includes over 250 opportunities with all information about costs, deadlines, age requirements, and archaeological sites to be excavated and analyzed, for each field school. The cost for the *Archaeological Fieldwork Opportunities Bulletin*, including shipping and handling, is \$13.00 for members and \$15.00 for non-members. Please send orders and make checks payable to: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Co., Order Department, 4050 Westmark Drive, Dubuque, IA 52002; you may also charge your order to Visa or Mastercard by calling (800) 228-0810 or (319) 589-1000.

Archaeology magazine, published by the AIA, features an archaeology travel guide to sites open to the public in the Old World (March/April issue) and the New World (May/June issue).

Several organizations offer volunteer public participation in worldwide research expeditions. Many of the organizations listed below are non-profit, and participation fees

may be treated as tax-deductible contributions.

University Research Expeditions Program

University of California
2223 Fulton, 4th Floor
Berkeley, CA 94720
(510) 642-6586

Over 25 programs are open to the general public; no background or prior experience is necessary.

Earthwatch

680 Mount Auburn Street, Box 403,
Watertown, MA 02272.
(800) 776-0188; (617) 926-8200
Scholarships are available for teachers.

CEDAM International

One Fox Road
Croton-on-Hudson, NY 10520
(914) 271-5365
CEDAM stands for Conservation, Education, Diving, Archeology, Museums. Programs in marine research, science and ecology are offered. Fieldwork in St. Kitts (June 3-10), Bonaire (July 15-22) and Belize (August 19-26) will document marine flora and fauna in those areas. Scuba divers and snorkeling enthusiasts are encouraged to apply.

Foundation for Field Research

P.O. Box 2010
Alpine, CA 91903
or
Dept. P.
P.O. Box 771
St. George's, Grenada (West Indies)
(809) 440-8854

Selected Field Schools

Crow Canyon Archaeological Center is a non-profit institution specializing in Southwestern archaeological research and education. Several programs introduce participants to

archaeological field methods, laboratory techniques, and excavation. The Adult Research Seminars, consisting of week-long sessions, are conducted from June through October; transferable college credit is available. The High School Field School, also offering transferable credit, takes place from June 25 to July 22; applications should be mailed as soon as possible. The Educators' Workshop will be conducted from July 30 to August 5; three hours of continuing education credit are available. Write or call: Crow Canyon Archaeological Center, 23390 County Road K, Cortez, CO 81321; (800) 422-8975 or (303) 565-8975.

Summer Abroad through World Learning, Inc., the U.S. Experiment in International Living, offers students and adults opportunities to learn another culture through homestay, language-study, and ecologically-focused programs. Write: World Learning, Inc., The U.S. Experiment in International Living, P.O. Box 676, Kipling Rd., Brattleboro, VT 50302-0676; (800) 345-2929 or (802) 258-3173.

Picuris Pueblo in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, New Mexico is the focus of an ethnographic field school, July 23 through August 13, sponsored by Middlesex County College. In addition to three weeks of instruction on southwest cultures and in field methods, students will live with Pueblo families and participate in village life, including pottery making, adobe construction and feast day. Write: Dr. Diane Z. Wilhelm, Middlesex County College, 155 Mill Road, Box 3050, Edison, NJ 08818-3050; or call (908) 548-6000, ext. 3099.

Center for American Archeology, Kampsville Archeological Center conducts educational research programs for junior and senior high school students, college students, and

volunteers, and also offers workshops for teachers. One to five week field schools for adults and high school students will be held June 5 through July 7. A field school with Individualized Mentored Research for high school juniors and seniors will be held July 10 through August 18. Volunteers can participate in site opening (May 28 to June 2) and closing excavations (August 21 through 25). Special Educators' Outreach weeks are August 7 to 11 and August 14 to 18. Scholarships are available for American Indian students. Write: Harry Murphy or Brenda Nord, Education Program, Center for American Archeology, PO Box 366, Kampsville, IL 62053-0366; or call (618) 653-4316.

Southwestern Archaeology on the Ground and in the Classroom is a graduate level archaeology field class for primary and secondary school teachers, offered by Arizona State University. Teachers, who can choose one of two sessions (July 11 to 26 or July 27 through August 11), will excavate Rattlesnake Point Ruin, a 90-room, 14th century pueblo in Lyman Lake State Park near St. Johns, AZ. For the course, teachers will develop a unit on Southwestern archaeology appropriate to the grade level taught. Write: Lyman Lake Prehistory Project, Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287-2402; or call (602) 965-6213. An academic field school for undergraduate and graduate students will also be held by Arizona State University, June 4 through July 8. Information is available from the same address.

Drew University in West Africa offers a comprehensive study of West African art and culture in Côte d'Ivoire (July 18 through August 17). In the Côte d'Ivoire, students will learn through apprenticeships about West African arts and crafts. Undergraduate or

graduate credit may be earned. Write: Off-Campus Program Office, BC-115, Drew University, Madison, NJ 07940-4036; (201) 408-3438.

Northwestern University's Ethnographic Field School (June 19 through August 12) is an opportunity to learn about the Navajo or Hispanic cultures of New Mexico and Arizona by designing independent research projects. Write or call: Professor Oswald Werner, Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60208; (708) 491-5402 or (708) 328-4012, evenings.

George Washington University Summer Field Program in Pre-Columbian Archaeology (June 10 through July 1; July 8 through July 29) will investigate the recently discovered Cueva de Rio Talgua ("Cave of the Glowing Skulls") and its associated site in Honduras. Students will be exposed to all facets of archaeological fieldwork (surveying, laboratory techniques, stratigraphic excavation, dating methods, photography), and evening lectures and discussions will provide background on the prehistory of Mesoamerica, particularly Honduras. Contact the Anthropology Department, The George Washington

University, 2112 G Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20052; telephone is (202) 994-6075; fax number is (202) 994-6097; and e-mail address is anth@gwuvvm.gwu.edu.

Human Origins and Prehistory in Kenya: The Koobi Fora Field School (June 3 to July 14; July 20 to August 30), offered by Harvard University Summer School and the National Museums of Kenya, introduces the wealth of paleoanthropological evidence at Koobi Fora and field methods in early human research. Write or call: Dr. Harry V. Merrick, Koobi Fora Field School, Harvard Summer School, 51 Brattle Street, Cambridge, MA 02138-3722; (203) 481-0674 or (617) 495-2921.

The Montclair State University Summer Field School is being operated by the Montclair State Center for Archaeology (July 10 through July 28). At the Black Creek site and associated Archaic and Woodland Period occupation and quarry sites, teams of undergraduate students will learn techniques of mapping, excavation, field recording, and laboratory processing of artifacts. Six credits may be earned. Contact Dr. Stanley Walling, Department of Anthropology, Montclair University, Normal Avenue & Valley Road, Upper Montclair, NJ 07043; telephone is



(201) 655-4119; fax number is (201) 655-5455. Deadline is April 15; early applications are encouraged.

Salt Center for Documentary Field Studies sponsors research on Maine life and Maine people. For example, participants in the past have documented tradition and change in Maine among American Indians, fishermen, store keepers, mill workers, farmers, and artisans. Students choose their own projects based on their background and experience, and can receive 12 credits through the University of Maine. There is also an opportunity for students to have their research published by the Salt Center through the photography and writing program. (June 12 through August 4). Write Salt Center for Documentary Field Studies, 19 Pine Street, P.O. Box 4077, Portland, ME 04101; or call (207) 761-0660.

Other Training Opportunities

Office of Elementary and Secondary Education (OESE) at the Smithsonian offers week-long courses in the sciences, arts, and humanities with in-service credit for teachers, K-12, from Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Virginia. Call OESE at (202) 357-2404 for a registration form after May 1.



BOOK RECOMMENDATION

The Emergence of Agriculture. By Bruce D. Smith. Scientific American Library, 1995. ISBN 0716750554, 231 pp., \$32.95. Distributed by W.H. Freeman and Company, 4419 West 1980 South, Salt Lake City, Utah 84104; fax: (801) 977-9712; telephone: (801) 973-4660.

Archaeologists now agree that agriculture developed independently in several places in the world, at different times and under different cultural influences. The domestication of plants and animals came about in a variety of ways, employing techniques that reflect human challenges working with various indigenous plants and animals.

In *The Emergence of Agriculture*, Bruce Smith documents the development of agriculture in five different parts of the world, with a chapter devoted to each (the Fertile Crescent, Europe and Africa, East Asia, Middle and South America, and eastern North America and the Southwest). In addition, Smith discusses how archaeologists have developed their theories over time, what discoveries have influenced changes in these theories, and how new technology has provided ways for testing them. In one chapter, Smith discusses why humans were motivated to domesticate plants and animals in the first place, and what benefits resulted.

This highly readable volume has excellent illustrations on nearly every page: maps, charts, line drawings, photographs -- even reproductions of paintings. The illustrations provide a wonderful visual backdrop for the text. Differences between wild and domesticated species of the same families are clearly demonstrated in photographs of side-by-side samples (leaves, seeds, bones) of each.

Drawings and photos of farming techniques and tools show how, even with limited resources, humans throughout the world have taken advantage of local resources. Both plants and animals are discussed, giving this book a broader scope than most books on domestication.

The Emergence of Agriculture is an excellent resource book for teachers, but is also valuable

as a text for college or advanced high school students. The book is a basic resource for all school libraries, since it is relevant to so many subjects -- World History, Geography, Anthropology, Archaeology, Ancient History, Biology and World Cultures.

Marilyn R. London
National Museum of Natural History



EDITORIAL NOTE

Ann Kaupp is currently taking a leave of absence from her position at the Smithsonian. Marilyn R. London has assumed Ann's editorial duties for the 1994-1995 issues of *AnthroNotes*. This first issue of Volume 17 is a combined Winter/Spring issue. The editors hope you find the materials stimulating and helpful!



POST SCRIPT

Have you moved recently? Please don't forget to notify *AnthroNotes*! You may have noticed that the back page of your *AnthroNotes* says "Address Correction Requested." If you have not notified us, and/or your forwarding order has expired, one of two things happens: either the issue is returned to us marked "Forwarding Order Expired" or the Post Office makes a copy of the back page and returns *that* to us - and throws away the actual issue! In either case, we have to pay for the initial mailing, pay for the return (50¢ for each return), and then pay to mail you another copy! Even more serious, the second mailing cannot be sent to you at bulk mail rates; we must send it in an envelope.

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AnthroNotes Staff: Marilyn R. London (Guest Editor), Ruth O. Selig, Alison Brooks, editors; Robert L. Humphrey, artist.

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