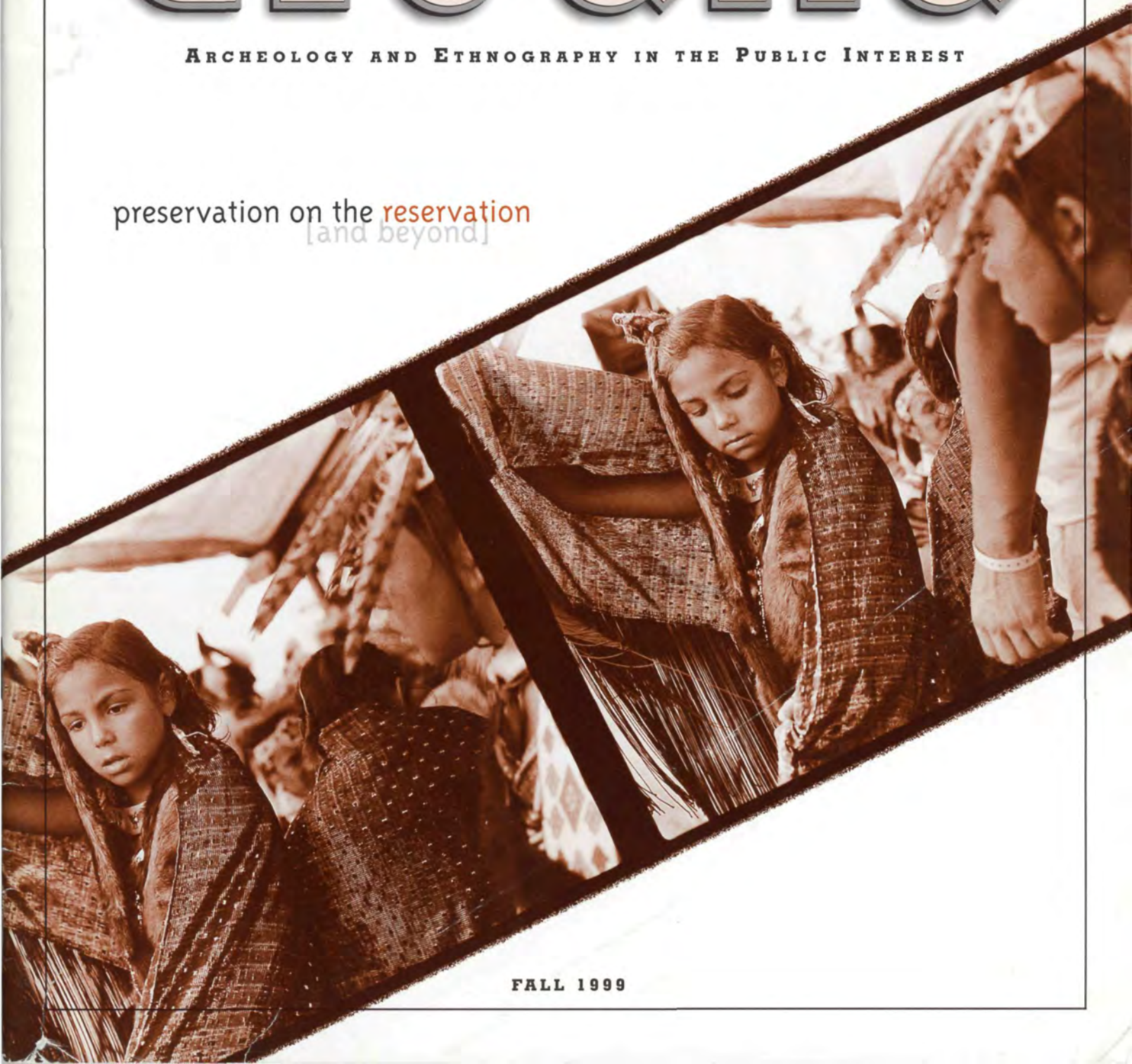


# c o m m o n Ground

ARCHEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST

preservation on the reservation  
[and beyond]



FALL 1999

# contents

## DEPARTMENTS

in context 3  
diggings 4  
sitewatch 6  
nagpra news 44

**Common Ground:  
Archeology and  
Ethnography in  
the Public  
Interest**

Fall 1999

Cover: Mohawk girl  
at Grand River  
Powwow, Six Nations  
Reserve, Ontario.

Gregg Staats  
(Mohawk)

## FEATURES

10

### ■ PRESERVATION ON THE RESERVATION [REVISITED]

Federal legislation and a resurgent sense of identity have brought native groups a greater role in preserving their heritage and traditional ways of life.

BY C. TIMOTHY MCKEOWN

14

### ■ A DECADE OF CHANGE

How Native Americans have become enfranchised as stewards of their past and keepers of their future.

BY AL DOWNER

20

### ■ TRADITIONAL ROOTS, MODERN PRESERVATION

As in the Euro-American tradition, native peoples have always had sanctuaries for their past. And like these western counterparts, their institutions are evolving with time.

BY JAMES NASON

32

### ■ RECLAIMING INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

In a remarkable movement, native groups are going to inspiring lengths to save disappearing languages.

BY TERESA L. MCCARTY AND LUCILLE J. WATAHOMIGIE

# - in context -

by Francis P. McManamon

## WORKING FOR "THE OTHER"

Anthropologists sometimes refer to cultures they've studied as "the Other." Given this fact, it is an interesting development that many archeologists and cultural anthropologists now work for Indian tribes, where they must balance the responsibilities of their jobs with those of their profession. In the late 1970s, shortly after archeologists in large numbers began to work for employers other than uni-

versities and museums, questions arose about how such "client-oriented" archeology should be guided. Were the goals of the client or those of anthropology most important?

Anthropologists working for tribes have confronted similar issues. To what extent are they advocates for their employers

Like all anthropologists, those working for tribes confront situations requiring professional analysis and judgement. Their employers may have uses for the information that differ from what they envisioned. If they want to continue to be employed, they must accommodate such uses, to the extent that they do not conflict with their personal and professional standards.

Anthropology and archeology are imprecise sciences. No mathematical formulas exist to provide unambiguous answers. Methods and techniques are situational, within generally understood standards. In assessing the archeological importance of particular resources, for example, professionals must be aware of current theory and interpretations. It is this grounding in the basics that enables anthropologists who work for tribes to develop flexible approaches to their work and to advise on the best outcome.

Today, anthropological publications and symposia overflow with emphatic discussion of how professionals are "situated" and the

and to what extent are they disinterested professionals providing assessments and advice?

For my entire career so far, I have advised public agency officials about their responsibilities for the archeological resources in their care. This relationship is not very different from that of archeologists who work for other clients, including tribes. Different clients have different objectives. Public agencies that fund or permit development require advice about their legal responsibilities. They need to know how much archeology they are obligated to do. The archeologists who provide the advice must give these agencies—their clients—their best judgement of what is required.

These "best judgements" must be based on the precepts of the profession. Archeological interpretations are predicated on logic and fact. Professional behavior is guided by ethics that mediate among several issues: the concern for the long term preservation of the archeological record, the benefits that can be drawn from it, and the significance of the resources.

Like those of us working for public agencies, those working for Indian groups must take care to distinguish between advocating for tribal positions and providing professional advice to their clients. The features in this issue offer some examples.

“Those working for Indian groups must take care to distinguish between advocating for tribal positions and providing professional advice.”

cultural context for analysis and decision-making. Granted, such self-consciousness has its value for keeping one on his toes. However, one's ability to evaluate situations from a solid professional foundation remains key to providing good service to one's employer, whatever kind of "Other" they represent.

Francis P. McManamon is Chief, Archeology and Ethnography Program, and Departmental Consulting Archeologist, National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

## RETURN TO SHILOH

### ARCHEOLOGISTS INVESTIGATE BATTLEFIELD, PREHISTORIC MOUNDS

**R**ecent work at Tennessee's Shiloh National Military Park has shed further light on the site's multi-layered past. In July, a team from the NPS Southeast Archeological Center conducted investigations using ground penetrating radar and GPS technology. Besides being the site of one of the Civil War's deadliest encounters, Shiloh also features seven Mississippian mounds dating from AD 1050 to 1250.

The archeologists, led by David G. Anderson and John Cornelison, had a number of questions in mind, namely, the nature of Mound A, which is eroding into the Tennessee River, and where WPA-era archeologist Frank Roberts conducted his mound excavation in 1933. The team also hoped to pinpoint the site of an artillery battery in Corinth, Mississippi, occupied by federals in 1862 after the Shiloh engagement. The information will help NPS to better manage the park and assist a synthesis of work on the mounds being compiled by Paul Welch at Queens College in New York. The park is funding the project.

Mound A will be largely gone within the next few years, and archeologists knew little about its composition or history. GPR yielded an excellent view. It is now believed the mound was built up over time, not all at once as previously thought. The radar defined the stages of construction deep within, which recount the political and ceremonial history of the mound. Each stage represents a new leader or major episode of activity. An earthen apron around the base is thought to have been a late addition to enhance the mound's appearance. The findings will tell archeologists more about how the mound's fortunes changed through time. Most of the other mounds examined had similar features.

Also critical is where Frank Roberts dug. One of many New Deal archeological projects in the Southeast at the time, his excavation was extensive, employing as many as 120 workers at once. But he left no record of where it was and little about the results. Researchers now have a fuller understanding of the context for Roberts' findings.

**RIGHT: The 9th Mississippi Volunteer Infantry before battle. Ground penetrating radar located mass graves at Shiloh, which claimed more lives than the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the war with Mexico combined.**



FLORIDA STATE ARCHIVES

The radar also pinpointed mass graves of Confederates at Shiloh and, just south in Corinth, the site of the artillery earthworks, whose outline was known from historic maps but left no surface traces. Archeologists confirmed the battery's position with exploratory excavations.

A report will be released in early 2000. For more information, contact David Anderson, NPS Southeast Archeology Center, 2035 E. Paul Dirac Dr., Box 7, Johnson Bldg., Suite 120, Tallahassee, FL 32310, (850) 580-3011 ext. 344, e-mail david-anderson@nps.gov.



## IN PRINT

### SAFETY MANUAL

While it is well known that archeologists face numerous hazards in the field, this reality is often given short shrift. To raise awareness, the New York State Occupational Health and Safety Training and Education Program has funded a safety manual.

Compiled by consultants Panamerican Environmental, Inc., Health and Safety for Archaeologists and GRM Professionals is an exhaustive reference guide of hazards, precautions, and good practice covering everything from poison ivy to unexploded ordnance. It also covers training in safety basics and in planning safe projects.

Limited copies of the volume, based on OSHA's general industry standards and construction industry standards, are available for the cost of shipping. Once these run out, the price will be \$12.50. To order, contact Peter Gorton at Panamerican Environmental, Inc., 2390 Clinton St., Buffalo, NY 14227-1735, (716) 821-1650, fax (716) 821-1607.

## U.S. IMPOSES EMERGENCY RESTRICTIONS ON ARTIFACTS FROM CYPRUS

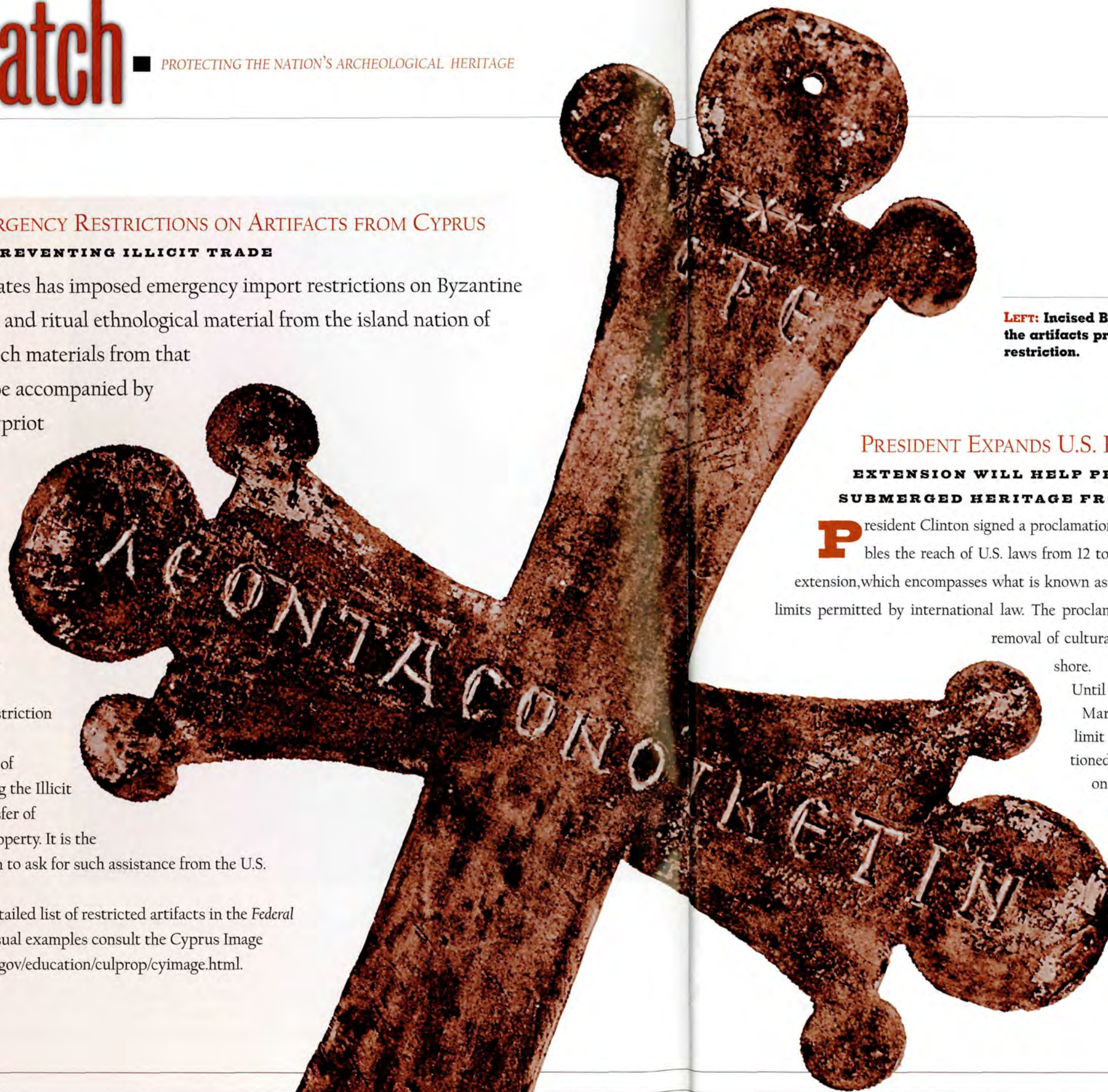
MOVE AIMED AT PREVENTING ILLICIT TRADE

**T**he United States has imposed emergency import restrictions on Byzantine ecclesiastical and ritual ethnological material from the island nation of Cyprus. Export of such materials from that country must now be accompanied by a permit from the Cypriot government.

The restricted materials date from approximately the 4th to the 15th centuries, an era that produced some of the finest Byzantine art. Objects of metal, wood, ivory, bone, textiles, mosaics, and frescoes are protected.

Cyprus requested the restriction under the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. It is the first Mediterranean nation to ask for such assistance from the U.S. government.

Customs published a detailed list of restricted artifacts in the *Federal Register* on April 12. For visual examples consult the Cyprus Image Collection at <http://e.usia.gov/education/culprop/cyimage.html>.



**LEFT: Incised Byzantine cross from Cyprus, among the artifacts protected under the emergency restriction.**

## PRESIDENT EXPANDS U.S. REACH AT SEA

EXTENSION WILL HELP PROTECT NATION'S SUBMERGED HERITAGE FROM SALVORS

**P**resident Clinton signed a proclamation on September 2 that potentially doubles the reach of U.S. laws from 12 to 24 nautical miles from the coast. The extension, which encompasses what is known as the contiguous zone, now reaches the limits permitted by international law. The proclamation is important to preventing the removal of cultural heritage found within 24 miles from shore.

Until now, U.S. authority to protect National Marine Sanctuaries beyond the 12-mile limit against foreign vessels has been questioned as inconsistent with the Convention on the International Law of the Sea. The extension will help to ensure that these sites—one holds the Civil War ironclad U.S.S. *Monitor*, about 17 miles off the coast of North Carolina—can be safeguarded, and that activities affecting other underwater sites be regulated.

## Guilty Plea for Rock Art Defacement

A California man has pleaded guilty to defacing prehistoric rock art on BLM land in southeast Utah's Montezuma Creek Canyon. Sotero Oveido, who was working for a company doing drilling and mapping for the agency, scratched his name in large letters beneath a panel of images inscribed thousands of years ago.

BLM briefed Oveido and other workers about the laws protecting archeological sites. The workers signed forms stating that they understood.

Oveido pleaded to a felony ARPA violation; federal officials determined he did about \$8,000 of damage. His company recompensed BLM over \$7,800; he will pay \$837 for investigation costs. Rock art specialists are preparing bids for the repairs.

Wayne Dance, Assistant U.S. Attorney for the district of Utah, was the prosecutor.

# - S i t e w a t c h -



NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER, GEORGE GRANT COLLECTION

## SAVING AMERICA'S TREASURES

### WHITE HOUSE MAKES \$30 MILLION IN GRANTS AVAILABLE

**T**he White House Millennium Council has made \$30 million in grants available to the Save America's Treasures Initiative, which preserves those nationally significant structures, sites, and collections most in need. Administered by the NPS, the awards must be matched with non-federal funds, to foster state and local interest.

So far, 62 projects have been funded, ranging from the cliff dwellings at Mesa Verde National Park to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's house in Massachusetts to the National Film Preservation Foundation's effort to save silent movies. To date, over \$31 million has been raised from the private sector.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation is leading the initiative's effort to recruit individuals, foundations, and corporations to the cause. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton serves as honorary chair. For more information, contact Ellen McCulloch-Lovell, Director, White House Millennium Council, 708 Jackson Place, NW, Washington, DC 20503, (202) 456-2000, fax (202) 456-2008, e-mail [www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/Millennium](http://www.whitehouse.gov/Initiatives/Millennium).

**ABOVE: Cliff dwellings at Colorado's Mesa Verde National Park, one of America's treasures slated for funds under the initiative.**

## NINTH CIRCUIT UPHOLDS NAGPRA CONVICTION

### FOLLOWS TENTH IN AFFIRMING LAW'S CONSTITUTIONALITY

**T**he Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals has upheld the conviction of Rodney Tidwell, ruling that the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act is not unconstitutionally vague. A 1995 undercover investigation revealed that Tidwell, a dealer in Native American art, purchased a number of Hopi religious masks and 17th century priests' vestments that came from the Pueblo of Acoma. At his trial, experts testified that these items are "objects of cultural patrimony," or objects with ongoing historical, traditional, or cultural importance central to the people of

Acoma. Buying or selling such items is a violation of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.

A jury convicted Tidwell of seven counts of trafficking in Native American cultural items, eleven counts of theft of tribal property, a count of conspiracy (for filing false affidavits), and an ARPA count for trafficking in archeological resources (the vestments). He was fined \$12,000 and sentenced to 33 months in federal prison. At the time, Tidwell was on probation for an earlier NAGPRA offense. In his appeal, he used the arguments raised by Richard Corrow, an art dealer sentenced to five years' probation and 100 hours of community service in 1996. Corrow's conviction was upheld by the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals. He appealed to the Supreme Court, which let the Tenth's ruling stand.

Like Corrow, Tidwell argued that NAGPRA is unconstitutionally vague, encouraging arbitrary enforcement. He raised objections to two elements of what constitutes cultural patrimony: the inalienability of cultural objects and their ongoing historical and traditional importance.

Because these terms are defined by Native Americans, he argued, and because tribal law concerning cultural patrimony isn't written, it would have been impossible for him to have had fair notice of what is proscribed by NAGPRA.

The Ninth Circuit adopted the Tenth's reasoning in the Corrow case. Like Corrow, Tidwell claimed to be a dealer in Native American art, so he knew or should have known that the items were protected. Even if he was unsure, he knew enough to inquire or consult an expert. As in the Corrow case, the Ninth ruled that NAGPRA does not encourage arbitrary enforcement because authorities must consult with Native American officials to identify items of cultural patrimony before they can investigate.

Tidwell also challenged the sentence imposed by the district court. The judge had increased his sentence based on Tidwell's obstruction of justice and the amount of the loss to the Pueblo of Acoma. The appeals court affirmed the lower court's decision to use Tidwell's asking price for the items to gauge loss and the district court's finding that he had obstructed justice.

## Archeological Society Members Plead Guilty to Disturbing Graves

In July three members of Virginia's Reed Creek Archaeological Society pleaded guilty to illegally excavating Native American graves. Larry Price, 55, Arthur Roberts, 53, and Robert Miller, 40, received a year of probation and 75 hours of community service from the Wythe County Circuit Court.

The defendants came to the attention of authorities following reports of questionable excavations on private land and possible transport of burial items across state lines. The FBI and U.S. Attorney's Office for the western district of Virginia investigated, but when their suspect died they turned the investigation over to the state, along with information gathered on society members through a search warrant and grand jury investigation. Virginia's antiquities act prohibits the removal of human remains.

No archeologists took part in the excavations, says Ruth Plagenhoef, assistant U.S. attorney for the western district. Societies normally work under professional supervision.

**preservation:** *keeping safe from harm; avoiding injury, destruction, or decay; maintenance. It is not creation, but the saving of that which already exists, and implies the continuance of what previously existed.*

**reservation:** *a tract of land (under control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs) to which an American Indian tribe retains its original title or ownership or which has been set aside for its use out of the public domain.*

—Blacks Law Dictionary, 1990

## preservation on the

**It has been** nearly 10 years since the Navajo Nation published *Preservation on the Reservation: Native Americans, Native American Lands, and Archaeology*, the result of a two-day conference of national experts to discuss preservation on Indian lands. That meeting's agenda would foreshadow events of the coming decade: the applicability of preservation law to tribal culture and how Native Americans and archeologists could work together given the antagonisms of the time.

[revisited]

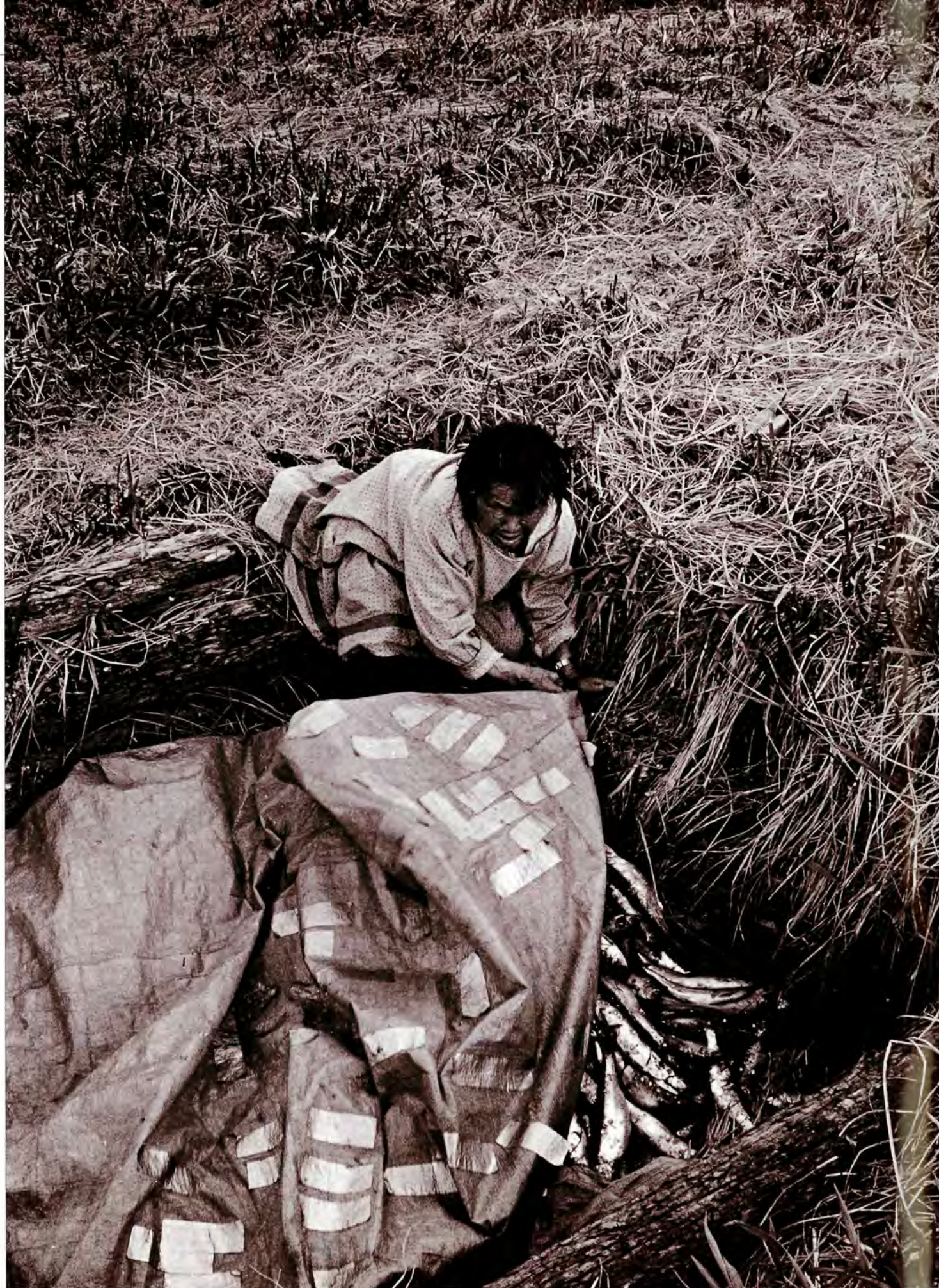


NPS HARPERS FERRY CENTER

BY C. TIMOTHY MCKEOWN

■ ABOVE: APACHE RANCHER.

■ **LEFT:** NATIVE ALASKAN WOMAN WITH A CACHE OF FISH; **BELOW:** MAKAH TRIBESMEN OF WASHINGTON PADDLE TO OPEN WATER IN SEARCH OF WHALES.



JAMES BARKER



AP/JACOB HENIFIN

Change followed swiftly. Within months came several federal initiatives that would profoundly change tribal preservation. On September 12, 1990, the National Park Service published regulations establishing definitions, standards, procedures, and guidelines for preserving federal collections of remains. That fall President Bush signed both the Native American Language Act and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. The former dedicated the United States to preserving and promoting the rights of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop their languages; the latter clarified U.S. obligations regarding Native American human remains and cultural items discovered or excavated on federal or tribal lands, or in the possession or control of agencies and institutions that receive federal funds.

Two years later saw another flurry of activity. On May 29, 1992, the Forest Service and Fish and Wildlife Service issued regulations for managing native subsistence on Alaska's public lands. These regulations specifically addressed traditional uses incorporating beliefs and customs transmitted from generation to generation. On October 30 of that year, amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act were signed into law that addressed tribal concerns in managing historic properties.

Since 1992 the action has largely shifted to the executive branch. Several executive orders and memoranda have mandated consultation between federal agencies and tribes regarding the access, use, and protection of sacred sites and other matters that affect tribal communities.

**Over the decade** these mandates have done nothing less than transform the meaning of preservation and where it is carried out. The ideas behind the 1990 volume focused primarily on preserving historic property—that is, the districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects as defined by the National Historic Preservation Act. Subsequent events expanded the act's view to include other aspects of native heritage. The curation regulations and NAGPRA formalized native rights regarding human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural

patrimony. The language legislation further expanded federal concern, and the subsistence regulations continue to influence tribal activities throughout the country. The executive orders and memoranda broadened the scope even further to include all matters that affect native communities. Taken as a whole, the last 10 years represent an evolution in federal policy to preserve the full breadth of the Native American experience.

The last decade has also seen preservation expand beyond the boundaries of the reservation. The excavation and discovery provisions of NAGPRA recognized tribal rights to control cultural items on federal lands within their aboriginal territory as defined by the U.S. Court of Claims, the Indian Claims Commission, and others. The NHPA amendments and recent regulations have provided a role for tribes in preserving historic properties encountered as part of federal undertakings on and off the reservation. NALA and the subsistence regulations affect Indian people wherever they live.

Taken together, the events of the past decade demonstrate the commitment of Indian tribes and Native Hawaiians to control and preserve their centuries-old heritage on their own terms and in their own way.

a decade of change by al downer

## place and culture

In 1986, the Navajo Nation established the first tribal program devoted specifically to preservation, with the author as its first preservation officer. Three years later, the Navajo historic preservation and archeology departments cosponsored the conference "Preservation on the Reservation." At that time preservation on most reservations meant dealing with archeological sites and human remains. While these continue to be important issues on reservations today, over the ensuing decade an increasing number of tribes became formally involved in preservation as it is broadly conceived in the national preservation program.

Although my focus here is tribal participation as outlined by the National Historic Preservation Act, we must not lose sight of the fact that tribes have protected their places of importance since time immemorial. Tribal



MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO

■ **PREVIOUS PAGE:** WOMEN OF NEW MEXICO'S SANTA CLARA PUEBLO, 1935;  
**RIGHT:** YOUNG PARTICIPANT AT OJIBWE LANGUAGE CAMP.

■ **Colville Confederated Tribes  
 Archeology Department**

Before the arrival of white settlers, the wilderness of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho was home to a multitude of tribes. In 1872, President Ulysses S. Grant issued an executive order relocating a number of them to what was then called Washington Territory. Today, the Colville Confederated Tribes, as they are called, occupy 1.3 million acres on their reservation in the Pacific Northwest.

The tribes assumed stewardship of their heritage early on, establishing a history and archeology department to preserve sites on and off the reservation. In 1996, they became one of the first native groups to assume responsibilities otherwise exercised by the state preservation office.

The department has a long tradition of keeping abreast of developments in preservation law and managing sites and collections. It is currently rewriting its local archeological ordinance to reflect changes in legislation. It was the first native preservation agency to create a federally certified repository for locally excavated materials, in cooperation with the Army Corps of Engineers' Seattle District. The tribes have also entered into agreements with agencies such as the Bureau of Reclamation, the Bonneville Power Authority, and the Washington state preservation office. Adeline Fredin, who heads the department, played an integral role in developing the Native American Religious Freedom Act and a state graves ordinance.

governments began to identify these places in the early 1950s, primarily in response to the Indian Land Claims Settlement Act, which required proof of the extent of a tribe's lands. Tribes established programs or hired consultants to document historic, archeological, sacred, and cultural sites, along with the oral history and traditions that go with them. These were not preservation programs per se; they aimed to protect the rights of a tribe and its members. They did, nevertheless, identify places associated with the early histories of the tribes, which is essential to preservation.

By the 1960s some of these programs provided preservation services on tribal lands (and sometimes on neighboring lands as well) in response to federal agency needs under such laws as the Reservoir Salvage Act and the National Environmental Policy Act. In the 1960s and 1970s, preservation on the reservation was largely a by-product of these programs.

While tribes were engaging in these various activities, the federal government was attempting to develop a national preservation program. After several less-than-fully successful attempts, in 1966 Congress enacted the National Historic Preservation Act, the basis for today's program. Congress envisioned a national partnership among federal and state governments and private individuals and organizations. But there was no role for Native Americans or tribal governments.

In 1980, the act was substantially amended, expanding the partnership to include local governments and mentioning tribes for the first time. The amendments provided for direct grants to tribes for specific projects to preserve tribal historic properties. Except for the grants, though, it is pretty clear that the mention of tribes was largely an afterthought, providing no real role for them. Congress did not appropriate funds for the grants until 1989, so that even this provision had no effect on tribal participation in the national program until 1990.

In 1992, Congress again substantially amended the act, expanding the partnership by specifically offering tribes a role. In addition, places of traditional religious and cultural importance—often among those places of greatest historical significance to Native Americans—were identified as potentially eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. Federal agencies were also required to consult with tribes whenever their undertakings had the potential to affect a place of religious and cultural significance. Finally, section 101(d)(2) of the act provided tribes with the opportunity to assume any or all of the functions of a state preservation office on their lands.

Until 1992, tribal preservation was based entirely on the powers of tribes as domestic sovereign nations. After 1992, some began to look at ways that the national program could contribute to meeting preservation objectives.



DELINA WHITE

## a show of commitment

### *leech lake band of ojibwe tribal historic preservation office*

**EVEN BEFORE** Minnesota's Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe became one of the first tribes to assume the functions of a state preservation office, Director of Resources Management Gerald White was planning a program with roots in the community. "Tribal members consistently voiced concerns about our traditional cultural properties," he says, "yet the Forest Service controlled almost half of our treaty set-aside land base, and only recently acknowledged the importance of these places to our people." Necessity demanded community engagement, he says. "It would have been very difficult for an outsider to establish a dialogue on places important to us."

White had a strong interest in archeology from having participated in fieldwork with the Forest Service in the late '80s. With the passage of the 1992 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act—the legislation enabling tribal programs—he hired Rose and David Kluth, a pair of archeologists who met the criteria for the position spelled out in the act's regulations. "We hired Rose and David because of their commitment," he says. "Rose brought an understanding of legislative issues that we did not have before, along with compassion for our issues. Today, I believe we have one of the best contract archeology programs in the nation."

White also established the first elder council for dealing with cultural concerns. Originally intended to deal with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, out of necessity its role expanded. "Elders are very important in the decision-making process, especially when burials are the issue," he says. "We cannot make a decision without first consulting them. They've told us what to do in every case we've ever dealt with."

The program has not assumed all the SHPO functions. White planned to play to their strengths—the knowledge of tribal members and archeological staff. The new office identifies and maintains archeological sites, conducts preservation reviews of proposed government projects, evaluates properties for nomination to the National Register, and conducts educational programs. "It was bet-

ter for us that the SHPO handle the standing structures so that we could focus on living traditions and geographic areas," says White. The SHPO also retains responsibility for local preservation programs and assists in evaluating rehab proposals that may qualify for federal assistance.

The Minnesota preservation office has been very respectful of tribal concerns, maintaining strong consultative ties with White and his staff. "We have a level of trust with the SHPO that goes both ways," he says. Deputy SHPO Britta Bloomberg has worked closely with state tribes on guidelines for dealing with traditional cultural properties off the reservation.

The split-duties approach has worked well given the many publicly funded projects with the potential for impacting tribal properties. In a recent site survey in advance of pipeline construction, oral history interviews opened up a new avenue for communicating with tribal members, giving them a voice in the preservation process.

**THE PROGRAM'S GOALS** are holistic. "We intend to preserve and enhance our language, traditional arts, and culture, without separating one from the other," White says. Currently he is working with the state on plans for a museum at Battle Point, site of the last battle between Indians and the U.S. government in 1898.

For more information, contact Rose Kluth, Program Director, Leech Lake Heritage Sites Program, 6530 Highway 2 NW, Cass Lake MN 56633, (218) 335-8095, fax (218) 335-2974, e-mail rkluth@mail.paulbunyan.net.

# the case for subsistence

essence of identity, symbol of survival *by rosita worl*

**NATIVE AMERICANS** throughout the United States continue their quest for food in ways similar to those practiced by their ancestors for hundreds, perhaps thousands of years before them. The survival of subsistence hunting, fishing, and farming economies is remarkable given federal policies that sought to eradicate traditional ways of life and assimilate native people into the dominant economy and culture. That their cultures continue today is more remarkable still with the continuing conflict between developers and traditionalists, the political maneuvering by those who covet native resources, and animal rights activists who would eliminate hunting.

The number of hunting and gathering communities in North America has been significantly reduced since Europeans arrived on the continent, and some anthropologists predict they will soon be extinct. However, the fact remains that subsistence economies remain vital in the United States, and enclaves of Native American communities cling tenaciously to their ways of life. They have demonstrated that they intend to pursue all political and legal measures to protect their ancient ways.

**THE QUESTION** may be posed why native people, from Arctic whalers to Pueblo farmers, continue to maintain subsistence economies, which are almost universally cast as indicative of poverty or underdevelopment. From an anthropological perspective, the answer is simple. Subsistence economies are eminently successful, demonstrated by the fact that for about 99 percent of the time humanity has existed—approximately two million years—it has been supported by hunting, fishing, and horticulture. The shift to industrialized economies is relatively new—fewer than 400 years—and given catastrophic events such as Alaska's Exxon Valdez oil spill and Japan's recent nuclear accident, it is not even certain that humankind will survive it.

To Native Americans who continue to depend on natural resources, subsistence is more than eking out a living. While it is important to the economic well-being of their communities, the subsistence lifestyle is also perceived as

the basis of cultural existence and survival. It is a communal activity rather than an individual pursuit. It unifies communities as cohesive functioning units through collective production and distribution of the harvest. Entire families participate, including elders, who assist with less physically demanding tasks. Parents, rather than educational institutions, teach the young to hunt, fish, and farm.

**FOOD AND GOODS** are also distributed through native cultural institutions. Some groups have formalized patterns of sharing, while others do so in more informal ways. All distribute subsistence foods without regard to economic return. Some subsistence communities give special allocations to elders or households with single mothers. Most require young hunters to distribute their first catch throughout the community. Ancient trading patterns established untold years ago continue among some tribes in the same fashion as they once did.

Subsistence embodies cultural values that recognize both the social obligation to share as well as the special spiritual relationship to the land and resources. This relationship is portrayed in native art and in many ceremonies held throughout the year.

While non-natives tend to define subsistence in terms of poverty or the minimum amount of food necessary to support life, native people equate subsistence with their culture. Among many tribes, maintaining a subsistence lifestyle has become the symbol of their survival in the face of mounting political and economic pressures. It defines who they are as a people.

In 1996, the National Park Service approved proposals from 15 tribes to assume various SHPO functions on their lands. Five more subsequently joined the list and a number of others are in various stages of preparing proposals to assume SHPO functions.

The SHPOs are required by the act to carry out all of the functions listed in section 101(b). However, a tribe can pick and choose which functions to assume. With minor exceptions, the tribal preservation offices have assumed all the functions on their lands.

Both the THPO and SHPO operations are partially funded by grants from the Historic Preservation Fund. Grants to the THPOs are much smaller, however. The Navajo Nation, which is bigger than West Virginia, has the largest, but it is still less than half the amount granted to each of the SHPOs of the Federated States of Micronesia. These grants support only a fraction of the responsibilities that tribal preservation offices have taken over from the SHPOs.

In 1997, the THPOs incorporated the National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers. This organization has its principal office in Washington, DC, so that staff can serve as a point of contact with federal agencies as well as track legislative, regulatory, and policy matters as they relate to tribal preservation interests. NATHPO plays a role in informing the world about preservation concerns as well. It also provides training and support for tribes and assistance to federal agencies in dealing with preservation issues.

Obtain information on NATHPO or how to contact THPOs from the association's office at 1411 K Street, NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20004, (202) 628-8476.



JAMES BARKER

## ■ Tribal Historic Preservation Offices

Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe  
(South Dakota)

Confederated Tribes of  
the Colville Indian Reservation  
(Washington)

Confederated Tribes of the  
Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the  
Flathead Nation  
(Montana)

Confederated Tribes  
of the Umatilla Reservation  
(Oregon)

Confederated Tribes of the  
Warm Springs Reservation  
of Oregon

Hualapai Tribe  
(Arizona)

Lac du Flambeau Band of  
Lake Superior Chippewa Indians  
(Wisconsin)

Leech Lake Band  
of Chippewa Indians  
(Minnesota)

Mescalero Apache Tribe  
(New Mexico)

Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe Indians  
(Minnesota)

Narragansett Indian Tribe  
(Rhode Island)

Navajo Nation  
(Arizona, New Mexico, Utah)

Poarch Band of  
Creek Indians of Alabama

Spokane Tribe  
(Washington)

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe  
(North and South Dakota)

Tunica-Biloxi Tribe  
(Louisiana)

Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head  
(Massachusetts)

White Mountain Apache Tribe  
(Arizona)

Yurok Tribe  
(California)

■ ABOVE: SALMON FISHING ON THE YUKON RIVER

# museums

## and cultural centers

**For centuries,** American and European museums have collected objects from Native American communities. These institutions—the ideological descendants of ancient Mediterranean temples and the private, princely collections of Medieval and Renaissance Europe—are, at heart, facilities that house objects of significance to a community, cared for by specialists who use them for the enlightenment of the people.

Tribal museums have their roots in antiquity as well. In pre-European North America, there were both sacred and patrimonial objects of great community significance. These, too, were kept by specialists, under special conditions, for the community's benefit. In

the Southwest, kivas housed collections whose use was vital to the members of the pueblo and to their sense of place in the world. The Iroquois of the Northeast, the Great Plains societies, and communities of the Pacific Northwest all followed similar practices.

These institutions are rarely, if ever, thought of as “museums,” despite their close ideological match to those of Euro-American origin. This lack of appreciation may simply be

ALL PHOTOS JAMES NASON EXCEPT AS NOTED



■ **ABOVE:** OREGON'S MUSEUM AT WARM SPRINGS, WHICH OPENED ITS DOORS IN 1993, IS A MAJOR TOURIST ATTRACTION AS WELL AS AN EDUCATIONAL FACILITY FOR THE COMMUNITY. THE MUSEUM, ESTABLISHED BY THE CONFEDERATED TRIBES OF THE WARM SPRINGS, IS NOTABLE FOR COMBINING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE WASCO, PAIUTE, AND WARM SPRINGS PEOPLES. WITH ONE OF THE MOST SOPHISTICATED PERMANENT EXHIBITION HALLS OF ANY COMPARABLE INSTITUTION IN THE COUNTRY, THE MUSEUM ALSO OFFERS CHANGING EXHIBITS AND A RIVER SITE FOR OUTDOOR INTERPRETIVE ACTIVITIES.

**Traditional roots, modern preservation** by james nason



■ **ABOVE:** CREATED AS AN ECOMUSEUM IN 1991, THE AK-CHIN HIM-DAK (AK-CHIN WAY OF LIFE) GREW OUT OF A COMMUNITY DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN ITS HERITAGE IN TRADITIONAL ARTS, VALUES, AND LANGUAGE. THE AK-CHIN COMMUNITY, POPULATED BY DESCENDANTS OF THE PIMA AND PAPAGO, IS SOUTH OF PHOENIX IN AN AREA OCCUPIED SINCE AT LEAST HOHOKAM TIMES. MAJOR ARCHEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN THE 1970S AND '80S SPURRED RESIDENTS TO ESTABLISH THEIR OWN HERITAGE FACILITY—NOT ONLY AS AN ARTIFACT REPOSITORY BUT ALSO AS A FOCAL POINT FOR EDUCATION. MUSEUM PLANNING, CARRIED OUT WITH THE HELP OF THE SMITHSONIAN, LITERALLY INVOLVED EVERY FAMILY.

a function of colonial denigration, or may relate to a Native American view of objects as having a life and spirit of their own. However it is seen, today's Native American museums have their foundations in institutions that were widespread before 1492.

The impetus for many of today's tribal museums lies in history. Most Native American objects were either destroyed or appropriated by Euro-American museums or into private collections. It seems likely that up to 90 percent of the objects that survived into the reservation period were alienated by means both fair and foul. What is less known is that many Native American communities never abandoned their "museum" institutions. On the contrary, they have been actively establishing modern institutions that both derive meaning from the past and exemplify new opportunities for community enrichment and preservation.

The development of new tribal museums began primarily in the 1960s, with significant growth in the '70s and again in the '90s. By 1981, approximately 44 had been established, most part of tribal governments with others operating as adjuncts to a parent organization (e.g. the Institute of American Indian Arts Museum) or as independent non-profit organizations like the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center. Today there are more than 180 throughout the United States and Canada, most in the western states and provinces, with more new facilities in design or under construction.

Tribal centers and museums have not replaced traditional institutions, but have instead enhanced preservation. From the start, they have not only collected, preserved, and interpreted objects for their communities, but have also carried out other functions. Many operate K-12 programs focused on tribal heritage and language, including



■ **LEFT:** EXHIBIT AT OREGON'S MUSEUM AT WARM SPRINGS; **ABOVE:** SANTE FE'S INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN INDIAN ARTS—WHICH OFFERS TRAINING IN THE ARTS AND MUSEUM WORK—IS HOME TO A NATIONAL COLLECTION OF CONTEMPORARY INDIAN ART, FROM PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURE TO COSTUMES, DECORATIVE ARTS, AND AUDIO AND VIDEO PRODUCTIONS. THE EXTENSIVE COLLECTIONS ALSO FEATURE THE WORK OF NATIONALLY KNOWN ALUMNI.





■ **ABOVE:** THE COWICHAN NATIVE VILLAGE NOT ONLY SHOWCASES TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY ART, BUT ALSO TELLS THE STORY OF THE COWICHAN TRIBE, THE LARGEST IN BRITISH COLUMBIA. LOCATED IN DUNCAN, B.C., THE VILLAGE WAS DESIGNED AROUND SEVERAL CEDAR LOG STRUCTURES ON A SITE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COWICHAN RIVER AND VALLEY. FEATURED ARE THE KILPAULUS HOUSE, A RIVERWALK CAFÉ OFFERING TRADITIONAL FOOD, THE QUAMICHAN HOUSE, A FINE ART GALLERY, AND COMEAKIN HOUSE, A LARGE TRADITIONAL LOGHOUSE DESIGNED FOR DANCES, FEASTS, AND THE PRESENTATION OF TRADITIONAL LEGENDS. AT KHENIPSEN HOUSE, VISITORS SEE TOTEM POLES, MASKS, AND CANOES PRODUCED.

■ **RIGHT:** THE MASHANTUCKET PEQUOT MUSEUM AND RESEARCH CENTER, A STATE-OF-THE-ART, TRIBALLY OWNED AND OPERATED COMPLEX, USES THE LATEST EXHIBITRY TO BRING THE PEQUOT STORY TO LIFE: MULTI-SENSORY DIORAMAS, FILMS, VIDEOS, AND INTERACTIVES. DISPLAYS OF ARCHIVAL MATERIALS, ETHNOGRAPHIC AND ARCHEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS, AND WORKS OF ART AND TRADITIONAL CRAFTS ARE INFORMED BY YEARS OF SCHOLARLY RESEARCH AND DISCUSSIONS WITH TRIBAL MEMBERS.

#### ■ A Recipe for Success: American Indian Museums Association

by Karen Kramer

After nearly four years in the making, the American Indian Museums Association has finally come to fruition.

AIMA was established in March 1998 under the umbrella of the American Association for State and Local History. Steering committee members felt that having an "Indian desk" within AASLH afforded a much greater shot at success. The North American Indian Museums Association, formed in the 1980s, did not get off the ground in part due to lack of structure, support, and funding: vital foundations that AASLH can give.

AIMA seeks to foster heritage institutions, train tribal professionals, and further the national dialogue on the issues. A recent member survey found the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act high on the list. Repatriation concerns will be looked at from both a "matter of the heart perspective and a financial perspective," says AASLH executive director and CEO Terry Davis.

Surely the association has all the ingredients for success: carefully considered input from prospective members, solid plans for implementation, a skilled steering committee, recognition of past inadequacies, and a stable and supportive foundation in the AASLH.

research and interpretation in history, archeology, and traditional and contemporary arts. Tribal museums operate theaters, libraries, archives, and gardens. They have also established living history programs, cultural festivals, and special events such as ecotours.

Two institutions typify these trends. The Suquamish Tribal Museum, a short ferry ride from Seattle, provides educational and research services for the tribe and the greater Puget Sound community. Founded on a remarkably successful photographic archives and oral history program begun in 1978, the museum's achievements include oral history projects, several media productions, education programs, and excellent exhibits, including an acclaimed presentation of Suquamish life and history.

The discovery and excavation of an ancient Makah village at Ozette, Washington, not only led to unparalleled insights into Makah history and culture, but also to the Makah Cultural and Research Center, which opened in 1979 after seven years of tribal work and close collaboration with architects, exhibit designers, and museum specialists. Its extensive permanent exhibits have been augmented by a succession of special shows. The center has also been the focus of research and publication in several areas, a major language program, and numerous other initiatives.

The diversity and strength of tribal museums also reflect a growth in economic and political power and a collective determination to maintain Native American identity in our increasingly pluralistic society. There is cutting-edge exploration as well. Tribal museums are researching new methods for culturally appropriate storage, handling, and access consistent with museological practice. They

have long exemplified community-based approaches to interpretation and new ideas about presenting Native American cultural constructs.

Because of NAGPRA, some are now involved in new community and family relationships embodying shared ownership and use of highly valued cultural objects. Tribal museums are also creating new standards for research done by community members and others, and new concepts in intellectual property—all of which will have an impact on other museums and researchers.

In many respects, tribal museums have as many similarities to other museums as they have differences. They complete a circle that began with alien institutions imperialistically collecting and interpreting Native American culture and ended with a resurgence of tribal communities. They are, collectively, an important new element in preservation. They have embarked upon successful partnerships with other American institutions and have brought new insights of value to us all.



MASHANTUCKET PEQUOT MUSEUM AND RESEARCH CENTER

by jessica johnson

# masked hazard

Several years ago, the Hopi tribe was consulting on the repatriation of three sacred masks (known as Katsina Friends) from Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. During the process the tribe discovered the Friends had been treated with pesticides. Further tests, done by the museum, found that some were contaminated with arsenic and mercury. How could this happen? Why were the masks poisoned? Should others involved in repatriation worry?



SOURCE: ART NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY, WARSHAW COLLECTION OF BUSINESS AMERICANA

# testing for toxicity

## examining native artifacts at the denver museum of natural history

by shelley howe with contributions by robert b. pickering, jude southward, and rynthia johnson

**TODAY MOST CONSERVATORS** would balk at the use of chemicals to prevent insect damage. Procedures such as integrated pest management have largely eliminated hazardous chemical use. There is still the residue of the past, however. The use of pesticides on natural history collections, which began more than 200 years ago, was common from the late 19th to the mid-20th century. Dusting, spraying, and sometimes shoveling chemical concoctions onto artifact mounts helped to prevent infestation.<sup>1</sup> Although this may have killed the insects, it also created chronic health problems among many early museum professionals. These chemicals can cause severe respiratory, heart, and lung problems if handled or ingested.<sup>2</sup>

In 1997, during a consultation between the Denver Museum of Natural History and the Hopi (funded by an NPS NAGPRA grant) the tribe voiced concerns about the past use of pesticides on their ceremonial masks. The museum applied to reallocate part of the grant to test masks and objects from Hopi Pueblo and other tribes kept in its Sacred Storage Facility.

The museum's anthropology department curates many Native American artifacts made of fur, feathers, and hide. Most of these roughly 13,000 objects, collected by Francis V. and Mary Crane in the 1950s and '60s, were given to the museum in 1968. The staff didn't know what they might have done, although there was no hint of pesticide use.

In consultation with the conservation department, anthropology staff decided to test these objects, some likely to be claimed and possibly worn. A letter outlining the project and test candidates was sent to each tribe. Any request to omit an object was honored. Virtually all tribes wished to have their objects tested.

Over three months, 512 objects were scrutinized. Initially, the project was to test for arsenic and mercury as the two most likely contaminants. Early in the process, however, the test for mercury was determined not reliable and that part of the project postponed. Subsequent discussions with chemists and conservators validated that the mercury test kits are not yet reliable for the objects in

question. (The arsenic test kits are manufactured by E. Merck in Germany and supplied by EM Science, a division of EM Industries, Inc. in Gibbstown, NJ. The kits monitor six levels of arsenic ranging from 0 to 3 parts per million.) Arsenic was not detected on 473 of the objects; 38 tested at the low level of 0.1 parts per million. One, a Northeastern Onondaga False Face mask, tested positive at 3.0 parts per million, which poses a significant risk. A person handling such an object should take precautionary measures such as wearing gloves and a respirator. The mask was separated out to contain contamination.

The tests pointed to the need for sophisticated analysis of arsenic sources and health risks. Various research institutions are studying the available test procedures.

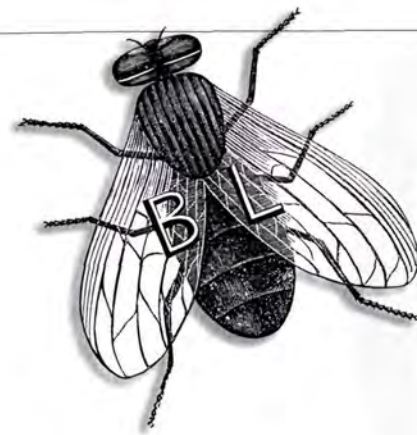
A two-page summary of the results was sent to the tribes. A longer technical report, examining the potential for procedural variations, naturally occurring arsenic associated with the mineral hematite, and artifact contamination through association with other arsenic-treated objects, was sent to the NPS NAGPRA office.

**WE BELIEVE THIS PROJECT** symbolizes the collaborative spirit that can result from good faith and open discussion. Given the culturally sensitive issues, the museum was pleased with the positive response from tribal representatives; in fact, many delegations who came during the testing were highly interested. The museum plans to continue working on the pesticide issue.

Shelley Howe, who was hired to conduct this project for the museum, holds an MA in museum collections management from the University of Nebraska, Lincoln. She continues working in the Anthropology Department as collections assistant.

### Notes

1. Hawks, Catherine A. and Stephen L. Williams, "Arsenic In Natural History Collections," *Leather Conservation News*, vol. 2, no. 2 (spring 1986), pp. 1-4.
2. National Park Service, "Arsenic Health and Safety Update," *Conserve O Gram*, July 1993, pp. 1-4.



Imagine if you had to keep moths from your sweaters forever, not just for the few years you wear them. That's what museums have been trying to do ever since they started collecting. To keep insects away they have used a variety of tools, including pesticides.

Many of these deterrents, such as mothballs or No-pest strips, were commonly used in homes too. These chemicals discouraged insect infestations or killed insects after they got in. Unfortunately, some left hazardous residues. Things we now know to be toxic, like arsenic, mercury compounds, and DDT, were used.

Early pesticide techniques were broadly applied. Collectors and museum staff developed their own recipes. A recent article by Lisa Goldberg, a conservator in Cornell, New York, describes a 19th century mix of 1 pint of saturated solution of arsenic acid and alcohol, 25 drops of strong carbolic acid, 20 grains of strychnine, 1 quart of strong alcohol, and 1 pint of naphtha, crude or refined. These homemade concoctions posed risks to the applicator and the artifact. Other chemicals requiring special equipment and expertise, such as the fumigants ethylene oxide and methyl bromide, were also employed (see Goldberg's article under "Resources In Print").

Today many objects are going back to tribal communities, some into people's homes where they are once again being put to use. Tribes and individuals need to be aware of the problems and how to protect themselves. Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, director of the Hopi Tribe cultural preservation office, thought there should be ways to identify hazards before more Katsina Friends were returned. To gather information, he applied for a NAGPRA grant to identify the levels of pesticides on these objects. This year he's working with a group of scientists. His and others' research in museums around the country could become the basis for tribes to deal with the issue.

There are now strict rules for controlling pesticides. Many museums are adopting a new strategy: integrated pest management, or IPM. According to Carol di Salvo, IPM specialist for the Park Service, the approach is holistic. Pesticides are considered only after other methods to remove pests have been ruled out. IPM prevents a reliance on chemicals. For example, museums may stop pests by banning live plants that provide them food, water, and safe haven. Or they monitor where the pests sneak in with sticky traps or roach motels. Once the entry point is known, the insects are blocked using a variety of techniques. From now on, using IPM, museums will be able to keep their collections safe from harm in a way that won't harm people either.

But in the meantime, what can you do to protect yourself? What if you want to return repatriated objects to people in your community? How do you know if there is a risk?

Use this article as a starting point, but be sure to contact local experts for advice. The resources listed here will help you find more information.

### RESOURCES IN PRINT

Goldberg, Lisa, "A History of Pest Control Measures in the Anthropology Collections," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works* vol. 35 (1996), pp. 23-42, Washington, DC: National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

Hawks, Cathy A. and Stephen L. Williams, "Arsenic in Natural History Collections," *Leather Conservation News* vol. 2, no. 2 (spring 1986), pp. 1-4.

Makos, Kathryn A. and Elizabeth C. Dietrich, "Health and Environmental Safety," in *Storage of Natural History Collections: A Preventive Conservation Approach*, edited by Rose, Carolyn L., Catherine A. Hawks, and Hugh H. Genoways, Iowa City: Society for the Preservation of Natural History Collections, 1995, pp. 233-254.

## COMMON PESTICIDES

| Common Name            | Registered Name                                          | Possible Residues                      |
|------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| arsenic                | orthoarsenic acid, arsenic trichloride, arsenic trioxide | white crystals                         |
| corrosive sublimate    | mercuric chloride                                        | crystals                               |
| mothballs, moth flakes | naphthalene                                              | white to brown crystals, mothball odor |
| mothballs              | paradichlorobenzene                                      | white to brown solid, mothball odor    |
| DDT                    | Dichloro-diphenyl-trichloroethane                        | white crystals or powder               |
| DDVP, Vapona           | Dichlorvos                                               | sometimes a vinegar-like color         |

This is not a complete list of all insecticides used in museums, only those easily available and commonly known.

**First, be informed.** The resources will get you started, including the wide range of information on the Internet. Look for training in your area. Nancy Odegaard, conservator at the Arizona State Museum, received an NPS NAGPRA grant to sponsor a workshop for Arizona tribes this March.

**Second, ask museum staff.** Even a hundred years ago, many museums kept records of pesticide use. There may even be records for specific objects, but at least the museum should be able to give you a general history of pesticide use or infestations. Under NAGPRA, museums must tell the recipients of repatriated objects about any known treatments. However, there is no legal obligation to remove pesticides, and museums are not legally responsible for health risks.

But the people in the museum are concerned about pesticides too, because they work around the collections every day. Dale Kronkright, a conservator at the Museum of New Mexico, developed a set of questions that the museum should be prepared to answer both for their own staff and for tribal members. Working with intern Linda Landry to answer these questions led to a handout, "Health Hazards and Pesticides on Museum Objects." The handout, which accompanies all repatriated items, is required reading for staff, researchers, and people who use the collections for ceremonies.

Unfortunately, museum records are often incomplete. People in the past didn't understand the pros and cons of pesticides; collectors often applied them before donating objects to museums.

**Third, examine the artifact.** According to Odegaard, if it has been in the collection a long time and shows little or no damage from pests, you should suspect treatment with something that left a residue. Crystals can often (but not always) be residue left from pesticides. It's important to remember that not every museum used all these materials, and not every object got all the treatments.

There are numerous other signs that indicate the presence of pests: holes, chewing marks, cobwebs, and droppings, among others. Insects also leave their moulted skins and waste, which is usually a soft powdery material.

**Fourth, get expert help.** While museum staff can give you some ideas about the risks they are not experts. Industrial hygienists lay claim to this title. If you are using suspect objects, contact the American Industrial Hygiene Association, (703) 849-8888.

Work with a museum conservator, industrial hygienist, or other qualified expert to identify toxic materials still on the objects. There are simple spot tests for arsenic; other types of materials may be more difficult to identify (see Makos and Dietrich in Resources).



■ **LEFT:** MOTHPROOFING SOLUTION, ONCE USED TO PROTECT ARTIFACTS, IS NOW CONSIDERED A HAZARD.

#### Fifth, take these basic precautions:

**WEAR PROTECTIVE EQUIPMENT** like vinyl gloves, coveralls, a lab coat, and—as appropriate—head cap, shoe coverings, and a NIOSH-approved respirator with a high efficiency particulate (HEPA) air filter. The equipment you need depends on what you are doing.

**WASH EXPOSED SKIN** before eating, drinking, smoking, or applying cosmetics.

**CLEAN WORK SURFACES** after use with a HEPA vacuum.

As with much in life, hindsight is 20:20. Museums were using techniques and materials considered proper at the time. No one knew the damage that DDT would do to the environment. When a collector sprinkled arsenic on an object, no one thought it would ever be worn again. Now collections are being used in diverse ways. When objects get used, everyone must be aware and take the proper precautions.

For more information, contact Jessica S. Johnson, Conservator, Museum Management Program, National Park Service, 1849 C St., NW (NC230), Washington, DC 20240, (202) 343-8141, fax (202) 343-1767, e-mail [jessica\\_johnson@nps.gov](mailto:jessica_johnson@nps.gov).

#### RESOURCES ONLINE

American Association of Industrial Hygienists  
[www.aiha.org](http://www.aiha.org)

American Conference of Government Industrial Hygienists, Inc.  
[www.acgih.org](http://www.acgih.org)

Center for Safety in the Arts  
[artsnet.heinz.cmu.edu:70/0/csa](http://artsnet.heinz.cmu.edu:70/0/csa)

New Jersey Department of Health and Senior Services Right to Know Hazardous Substance Fact Sheets  
[www.state.nj.us/health/oh/rtkweb/rtkhsfs.htm](http://www.state.nj.us/health/oh/rtkweb/rtkhsfs.htm)

NPS Conserve O Grams  
[www.cr.nps.gov/csd/publications/index.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/csd/publications/index.htm)

The Occupational and Environmental Medicine WWW Resource Index at Duke University  
[occ-env-med.mc.duke.edu/oem/index2](http://occ-env-med.mc.duke.edu/oem/index2)

Radcliffe's IPM World Textbook  
[www.ent.agri.umn.edu/academics/classes/ipm/ipm-site.htm](http://www.ent.agri.umn.edu/academics/classes/ipm/ipm-site.htm)



■ LEFT: GRANDMOTHER EMMA HUMCHITT WITH GRANDDAUGHTER, BOTH MEMBERS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA'S HEILTSUK TRIBE.

*"What then, if the children forget the Navajo language? What will be our shield as we move forward into the future? ... Both English and Navajo should be learned, without emphasizing one over the other."*

**What if** the children do forget? This testimony by a Navajo elder cuts to the heart of the issue. She also captures the enormity of the task: with English so pervasive, how can a balance be struck? The challenges seem overwhelming. Of the 300-plus languages indigenous to what are now the United States and Canada, nearly a third have disappeared. Only about a quarter of those that survive are still being passed on to children. Without some immediate intervention, all of these languages will fall silent within the next few decades—an enormous and irredeemable loss.<sup>1</sup>

If new generations are not to forget their language and the collective memory it holds, then traditional learning environments must be reconfigured and restored, and new ones created.

Here we look at efforts among indigenous communities in the United States to accomplish this. In many ways it is a story of remarkable resilience.

**Reclaiming indigenous languages** by teresa l. mccarty and lucille j. watahomigie

language

■ BELOW LEFT: HUALAPAI YOUTH PARTICIPATING IN THE TRIBE'S BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM.

Many are programs we have developed or worked with ourselves. They illustrate the possibilities, not just for bringing the language back, but as suggested by the elder's remarks, for moving it forward into new social settings as well.

#### LANGUAGE IMMERSION

**Indigenous** language immersion in the United States can be traced to the Maori Kohanga Reo or "language nest" preschools in New Zealand. There, young children are literally "bathed" in

Maori throughout the day, in communication-intensive interaction with elders. This is complemented by language classes for adults, especially mothers.

Hawaii was first to adapt the Maori approach in the United States. After being banned in schools for 90 years, the Hawaiian language and culture were nearly decimated. Hawaii is now experiencing a native language renaissance.

The movement began with university-level classes, a weekly Hawaiian language talk show, a newsletter, student and teacher groups, and Hawaiian-only camping trips. In 1978, Hawaiian was recognized as a co-official language (with English) in the state. Shortly thereafter, a group of parents and native language activists founded 'Aha Pūnana Leo ("Nest of Voices"), a total immersion preschool supported entirely by parental funds and labor. As their children grew, Pūnana Leo parents successfully lobbied the state for Hawaiian language schools. Today, an entire educational system is in place, from pre-K to the university level.

The Pūnana Leo now serve 175 children in nine full-day, 11-month preschools, providing instruction entirely in Hawaiian. In elementary schools, children are educated in Hawaiian through fifth grade, when English is introduced as a subject. Student achievement in these programs equals or surpasses that

of Native Hawaiian children enrolled in English language schools.<sup>2</sup>

In the Navajo Nation, immersion has also proven effective in halting language loss while aiding student achievement. Unlike Hawaiian, Navajo claims over 100,000 speakers. Yet it, too, is losing ground to English, especially among youth.

A recent study by Navajo linguist Paul Platero, for instance, shows that less than 50 percent of children in reservation Head Start preschools speak proficient Navajo. And a subsequent study by Wayne Holm, director of the tribe's Navajo Language Project, found that without immersion schooling, children who come to school speaking Navajo speak it less well by their fifth year of schooling than they did as kindergartners.<sup>3</sup>

With this in mind, Holm and a group of parents and public school teachers at Fort Defiance, Arizona launched the first Navajo immersion program in 1987. The program consists of kindergarten reading in Navajo, with English reading and math introduced in first grade, followed by a half-day each of Navajo and English in second and third grades and one hour of daily Navajo instruction in grade four.

By the third and fourth grades, Holm reports that immersion students performed as well on English tests as students who spoke English only and were "way ahead" in math. These students achieved precisely what the research in bilingual educa-

"Without immersion schooling, children who come to school speaking Navajo speak it less well by their fifth year of schooling than they did as kindergartners."

■ RIGHT: HUALAPAI LANGUAGE INSTRUCTIONAL BOOKLETS.



HUALAPAI TRIBE

■ RIGHT: INÉE YANG SLAUGHTER, LEFT, WITH ACTOR WES STUHL, ESTEFANITA MARTINEZ, AND CONROY CHINO AT EVENT HONORING EXEMPLARY COMMITMENT TO LANGUAGE PRESERVATION; FAR RIGHT: YOUNG PEOPLE FROM NEW MEXICO'S SAN ILDEFONSO PUEBLO AT IPOLA'S FIRST ANNUAL YOUTH LANGUAGE FAIR.

#### MASTER-APPRENTICE PROGRAMS

**Some of the boldest** efforts at language reclamation are being carried out in situations where the language is most threatened. In California, where 50 indigenous languages are spoken—none as a mother tongue by children—a radically different approach is being tried. “We cannot simply send people off to a community where their language is spoken all the time,” linguistic anthropologist Leanne Hinton notes.<sup>4</sup>

Instead, the remaining speakers and their communities must create new environments where the language can be reconstructed and used. With this as a goal, 16 teams of master teacher-elders and younger apprentices are working together, cooperating in everyday activities, communicating always in the heritage language. There is no direction from outsiders and no special curriculum. All that is required is commitment and intensive immersion in the language.

In her overview of these language revitalization efforts, Hinton reports that several apprentices have achieved conversational proficiency. But the benefits of such programs, she maintains, go beyond fluency: Native instructors have learned effective new teaching methods, and children have developed a sense of pride in their ancestral language.

#### OTHER LANGUAGE PRESERVATION WORK

**With the exception** of Navajo and Mohawk, most indigenous immersion programs have concentrated on oral language. What about efforts to reclaim indigenous languages in their written forms?

Hualapai, a Yuman tongue spoken by approximately 1,500 people, is among the world's “smaller” languages. Just 50 percent of the school-age population speak it. On the Hualapai reservation in northwestern Arizona, the language is being revitalized among the young.

tion claims: They acquired Navajo “without cost” to their progress in English or other subjects. Moreover, they are living examples of the value of bilingualism—a fact that increased confidence in the program and encouraged the Navajo Nation to implement early immersion programs across the reservation.

#### BILINGUAL EDUCATION AT ROUGH ROCK

**At the Navajo community** of Rough Rock, the context is unique not only in its large number of native speakers, but also in the tribe's relatively long written language tradition. In 1980, Teresa McCarty joined a three-year project to develop bilingual educational materials. The project staff (all community members except McCarty) first surveyed attitudes toward the Navajo language, using these data to develop Navajo/English teaching materials. The staff then worked with parents, teachers, and students to implement those materials in the classroom. Similar programs were growing at a feverish pace across the Navajo Nation at the time. The net effect was the creation of a practical, teachable literature—probably the largest indigenous literature in the U.S.—and a cadre of native language teachers.

Two recent federal grants have spurred new developments at Rough Rock, enabling the school to begin a pre-K-12 language program. At the elementary school, parents and elders work alongside teachers. At the high school, students engage in applied research and apprenticeships to developing Navajo and English literacy as well as mathematics and technological ability. In addition, the program sponsors summer camps in which students work with elders to learn livestock management, ethnobotany, drama, storytelling, and native arts. The elders' oral stories are then entered into a hypercard software system for classroom use.

## sharing and connecting

### saving the languages of the americas by inée yang slaughter

“Language is the soul of a nation.” —Chief Oren Lyons, Onondaga Nation

This principle guides the mission of the Institute for the Preservation of the Original Languages of the Americas, founded in 1992 in Santa Fe. The institute recognizes the imminent loss of language and thus the individuality of communities throughout the hemisphere. IPOLA promotes public awareness and innovative community-based initiatives in collaboration with other groups. Our goal is to “create speakers” that protect language as a living heritage through these initiatives:



SIBEL MELIK



SIBEL MELIK

The Indigenous Language Institute, a “language clearing-house,” makes information accessible to tribal communities throughout the Americas. The institute has three components. An information resources branch analyzes communities to determine the common ingredients of successful language programs. A teacher training initiative sponsors workshops in curriculum development, desktop publishing, and the like in a facility where attendees create their own materials. A research section brings together communities and specialists in language acquisition, education, sociology, psychology, and other disciplines, with the results published in a reader-friendly format.

The Native Languages Revitalization Resource Directory, first published last year, offers a wealth of information on language programs, resources, and funding. The directory, which features an extensive bibliography, also lists important contacts and web sites. A second edition—with updates and a new chapter on language status compiled

by the Committee on Endangered Languages—is slated for 2000. The directory is on the web at [www.ipola.org](http://www.ipola.org).

The Youth Language Fair, an annual spring event, invites young people ages 10-19 to use their native language creatively in the form of poetry, short stories, songs, and dramatic skits. Often this requires working side by side with native-speaking elders and teachers. Works are printed

with English translation. The next fair will be held in Santa Fe.

“Those Who Make a Difference,” a Santa Fe fall event, honors a native speaker who commits his or her time to preserving the language in a community. Alongside the speaker we honor a Native American artist involved in the cause. As language, culture and art are inseparable; we believe the honoring should reflect

that unity. Our 1999 language honoree, Estefanita “Blue Water” Martinez (87) of San Juan Pueblo, created the first Tewa dictionary and has authored bilingual storybooks.

The Native Language Network, a newsletter published twice a year for our members, features articles on language issues, profiles of community programs, news, and information on how to join the effort.

We invite individuals, institutions, foundations, and corporations to be partners. There are many needs as the program expands, and we must respond quickly. IPOLA is not-for-profit and relies solely on contributions.

For more information, contact IPOLA, 560 Montezuma Avenue, 201-A, Santa Fe, NM 87501, Attn: Inée Yang Slaughter, Executive Director, (505) 820-0311, fax (505) 820-0316, e-mail [ipola@ipola.org](mailto:ipola@ipola.org), web site [www.ipola.org](http://www.ipola.org).

■ BELOW: ALOHA WEEK INVESTITURE AT HAWAII VOLCANOES NATIONAL PARK.



RICHARD RASP

Unlike the Navajo, whose written language tradition stretches back 150 years, the Hualapai had no practical orthography until a bilingual education program was funded in 1978. Creating a writing system from scratch is a challenge that very few speakers of larger, “world languages” can understand. After a false start with an academic linguist who perceived that her role would be directing rather than helping, the Hualapai entered into what would become a life-long literacy development partnership with linguistic anthropologist Akira Yamamoto. The rest of the story hinges on the long-term collaboration of Lucille Watahomigie, Yamamoto, community elders, and a small but committed school

staff who literally “grew their own” writing system, curriculum, and faculty.

In the process, they organized the Yuman Language Institute, a university-accredited summer program at which native speakers, educators, and linguists developed writing systems and teaching materials in several Yuman languages. As more indigenous communities became involved, the Yuman Language Institute grew into the American Indian Language Development Institute at the University of Arizona, which enrolls hundreds of native educators from throughout North America each year. AILDI faculty and participants drafted the Native American

“Virtually all the language revitalization initiatives we know of have involved collaborative teams of speakers and non-speakers, insiders and outsiders, school-based and community-based personnel.”

Languages Act, the only federal legislation that explicitly vows to protect and promote indigenous languages.

AILDI helped the Hualapai bilingual education staff develop grammar, a dictionary, and a series of attractively illustrated children's literature. Recently, the school introduced an interactive technology component that involves students in videography and computer publishing in Hualapai and English. Evaluations show consistent improvements in standardized test scores and school attendance as well as a virtual elimination of dropout rates. The program's innovations and results led the U.S. Department of Education to recognize it as a national demonstration project, to be adopted by other indigenous schools.

Other language immersion programs have been developed by the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians—a group renowned for their high rate of language retention—and by the Wind River Arapaho and Mohawk tribes. In Oklahoma, where 27 indigenous languages are still spoken or are in the process of being revived, teams of elderly speakers, novice learners, and linguistic anthropologists are creating new learning environments as they document and teach the language. In Massachusetts, Aquinna, Mashpee, and Assonet tribal members have constituted the Wampanoag Language Revitalization Committee to reconstruct Wampanoag, which is no longer spoken. According to collaborating linguist Kenneth Hale of M.I.T., their chief resources are historical records, including the Eliot Bible of 1663, the first bible in any indigenous language to be published in the Western hemisphere.<sup>5</sup> And in Puerto Rico, the Taino—a group long declared “extinct”—are resurrecting the language and a living Taino identity.

#### ON LINGUISTIC SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE FUTURE

We agree with Ken Hale that these and other language rescue efforts have the character of a miracle. They are living testimony to a people's determination to protect their own, and the world's, cultural and linguistic diversity. This in itself is reason for optimism. Though varied in their contexts and methods, all of these programs share certain characteristics:



RICHARD RASP

■ ABOVE: ALOHA WEEK INVESTITURE AT HAWAII VOLCANOES NATIONAL PARK.

**INTERVENING EARLY** in children's lives

**PROTECTING THE LANGUAGE** from intrusions in English

**BLENDING AUTHENTIC ORAL COMMUNICATION** with challenging academic content

**VALIDATING THE LOCAL CULTURE** and incorporating it into language instruction

**MAKING A STRONG COMMITMENT** to involving teachers, children, parents, and elders in the language learning enterprise.

These examples show that literacy in indigenous languages is a whole-community effort; it is also a reversal of historic power relations that have silenced these languages so fiercely and for so long. Literacy cannot replace the spoken word, but it can reinforce its transmission. Indigenous literacy is an affirmation of identity, which creates new forms for expressing local knowledge and tangibly connects the language with the history and culture of its speakers. At the same time, indigenous literacy

■ continued on page 42

# return of a language

*hawaiian makes a remarkable comeback* by william h. wilson

**TODAY, AT HAWAII VOLCANOES NATIONAL PARK**, young families come to gather plants for traditional ceremonies and children chatter away in a language that has not been spoken by the young in half a century. Here is the home of Pele, "sacred woman of the crater," central figure in epic stories chanted and danced throughout the islands. Here are the forests of the *kia manu*, or bird catchers, said to be able to call a bird to a hand-held flower, a prominent image in danced poetry, for in Hawaii beautiful birds are like precious children and loved ones. And here too, along with these families and children, is the most successful of the efforts to revitalize a Native American language.

In the 1970s, the bird catchers had been gone for nearly a century, but they were not forgotten. A new generation of monolingual, English-speaking Hawaiians sought out the home of Pele and the haunts of the bird catchers. These young people—often members of newly established hula schools looking for the poetic roots of the dance—were at the vanguard of a cultural revival.

Reviving Hawaiian culture proved to be a formidable task. Tradition places great emphasis on the language. In Hawaiian belief one mispronounced word in a dance or song removes its ancient *mana* or spiritual power. Tragically, the native tongue was nearly extinct.

**THE NEAR-EXTERMINATION** of a language is a familiar story for Native American peoples. Before the islands were annexed to the United States in 1898, the indigenous language was dominant. It was the language of public education; even non-natives spoke it. With annexation, the language was banned. The ban was especially vigorous in the schools. Children were physically and psychologically punished for using the native tongue. Parents were told that speaking Hawaiian in the home was a sure way to harm their children. Soon a pidginized English emerged. By 1920, hardly any children spoke the language. The traditions of chant, epic literature, and poetry began a precipitous decline. Even educational achievement, previously at a standard above that of the mainland, plummeted with the closure of public schools using the language. Native culture became a parody of itself to meet the stereotypes of tourists.

The 1970s saw a renaissance of native culture fostered through Hawaiian-speaking elders. But many realized that once the elders were gone, the revitalization would end. The elders themselves said *Aia i ka ʻōiēlo*, "It lies within the language."

In 1983, a group of teachers, discouraged by the lack of success teaching Hawaiian simply as a class in the schools, formed the 'Aha Pūnana Leo, Inc., the Language Nests Organization. The group came together around a native language radio talk show that featured a different elder every week. Many of the elders expressed a wistful desire for a new generation of *mnaleo*, or native speakers. The term *mnaleo* had been derived from an identification with the birds of Hawaiian poetry. It refers to mothers passing food to their babies through their lips as birds do in the forest, a process much like the healthy transmittal of language.

**THE FINAL PUSH** to establish the organization was a return visit by a New Zealand Maori who had studied Hawaiian and been a part of the radio program. He told how he and other Maori leaders had set up *Kohanga Reo*, or language nests, using the same imagery of the birds and the passing of language. On hearing of this the members established the organization with the name 'Aha Pūnana Leo, suggesting both the traditional imagery and the Maori connection. By 1984 the group had started its first Pūnana Leo preschool taught by native speakers, initially a failure because they were not accustomed to speaking Hawaiian in school with English-speaking children. Kauanoe Kaman, one of the founders who was raising her own children in Hawaiian, was determined to see the program work. She established a demonstration Pūnana Leo preschool site with her children enrolled. Within five months all the children were speaking fluently. The 'Aha Pūnana Leo then began to create new preschools to meet rising demand.



RICHARD RASP

■ LEFT: ALOHA WEEK INVESTITURE AT HAWAII VOLCANOES NATIONAL PARK.

**THE NEXT CHALLENGE** was to provide education for children matriculating into the public schools. The 'Aha Pūnana Leo' and the parents of the pre-schoolers moved on to the state legislature. In the 1980s the old legal restrictions on operating schools in Hawaiian were still on the books. These laws would have to be changed to obtain the full kindergarten-through-high school education that the organization sought. After three years of lobbying and actively challenging the law, the families prevailed. The law was changed. A state legislator's remarks that the federal government opposed the use of native language led to a new lobbying effort in concert with American Indians and Alaska Natives. In 1990, the Native American Languages Act, introduced by Hawaii's Senator Daniel Inouye, reversed two centuries of policy that sought to eliminate Native American languages.

Simply passing laws was not sufficient. There had to be teachers fluent in Hawaiian along with books for the whole school curriculum. While elders could teach preschool, the state wanted college-educated, certified teachers for the elementary and high school level. The 'Aha Pūnana Leo had been preparing for these challenges. College students practiced with the elders and an old system for teaching reading and writing was revived. These young people became the teachers. The 'Aha Pūnana Leo then applied for federal grants for the education of the native people.

**EACH YEAR** a new grade is added. An 'Aha Pūnana Leo partnership with the University of Hawaii at Hilo provided important support with a language development center and a laboratory school. The school graduated its first seniors in May. Today there are some 2,000 students enrolled in Pūnana Leo preschools and Kula Kaiapuni Hawaii public Hawaiian language schools, more than five times the number of elders born before 1920.

Education for these students is unlike anywhere else in Hawaii. Students begin the day with a chant, learn hula, maintain traditional gardens, and more importantly approach all subjects from a native worldview. Even though they study through Hawaiian they have succeeded in the academics of the larger English-speaking world. Indeed, the first seniors participated in a concurrent program at the university where they took college courses ranging from biology to Japanese to political science. Their grade point averages ranged from 2.9 to 3.5; all passed the English composition placement exam, which is often a barrier for native students.

**THE EFFECTS OF THE REVITALIZATION** can be seen at Hawaii Volcanoes National Park, where students come to visit the lands of their ancestors. There is now a Hawaiian-speaking ranger and regulations allowing for the traditional use of natural resources. At the seniors' graduation ceremony, ferns gathered from the park scented the room while the students wore traditional clothing rather than black gowns and mortar boards. Upon their heads were the flowers the *kia manu* used to capture rare birds, birds whose care of their young in tightly woven nests inspired the 'Aha Pūnana Leo Language Nests Organization.

For more information on the revitalization of Hawaiian, visit the web sites of the 'Aha Pūnana Leo, Inc. ([www.ahapunaleo.org](http://www.ahapunaleo.org)) and the Hawaiian Language Center at the University of Hawaii at Hilo ([www.olelo.hawaii.edu](http://www.olelo.hawaii.edu)). Or e-mail Dr. William H. Wilson at the College of Hawaiian Language, University of Hawaii at Hilo ([pila\\_w@leoki.uhh.hawaii.edu](mailto:pila_w@leoki.uhh.hawaii.edu)).

■ RIGHT: ALOHA WEEK INVESTITURE AT HAWAII VOLCANOES NATIONAL PARK.

forms a proactive bridge to English and the wider world. Finally, literacy programs stimulate other, more diffuse forces for language maintenance. The very processes by which indigenous literacy is constructed are community-building processes: They raise consciousness about the value of the language even as they empower speakers with the tools to protect it.<sup>6</sup>

We have highlighted only some of the language reclamation work under way. There are many other inspiring stories. This work convinces us that much can be accomplished by small groups with great commitment. We close with a few guiding thoughts on this necessary work.

**Commitment.** Personal and group commitment constitute the foundation for successful language reclamation efforts. But commitment must be coupled with a clear understanding of what is at risk. The loss of native languages will only be exacerbated by half-hearted and ill-informed attempts—which brings us to our second consideration.

**Knowledge of what works—and what doesn't.** Each language community is unique. What works for one may not work for another. Knowing the appropriate course of action requires an honest assessment of a community's attitude towards its language and their relationship to outside power hierarchies. This means confronting the question of whether stakeholders really want to maintain the local language and if so, what a "yes" vote implies.<sup>7</sup> This information can then be used to heighten community awareness, enhance dialogue, and build coalitions.

**Collaboration.** Virtually all the language revitalization initiatives we know of have involved collaborative teams of speakers and non-speakers, insiders and outsiders, school-based and community-based personnel. This joining is by no means problem-free. The most effective projects acknowledge this, express participants' differences, and recast those differences as strengths.

**Eternal vigilance.** If indigenous languages are to live in the minds and tongues of future generations, the price, language activist Clay Slate reminds us, is everlasting vigilance.<sup>8</sup> Language reclamation is a social and political process as well as a linguistic and

educational one. A good part of the process is building lasting relationships between speakers, families, communities, and schools. The best way to ensure these arrangements will survive is the heart of the challenge: producing a new generation that speaks the native tongue.

#### NOTES

1. See M. Krauss, "The Condition of Native North American Languages: The Need for Realistic Assessment and Action," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, vol. 132 (1998), pp. 9-21.
2. For more on the Hawaiian immersion program, see W.H. Wilson, "I Ka 'olelo Hawai'i Ke Ola, 'Life Is Found in the Hawaiian Language,'" *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* vol. 132 (1998), pp. 123-137.
3. For more on the Platero and Holm studies, and on Navajo immersion, see A. Holm & W. Holm, "Navajo Language Education: Retrospect and Prospects," *Bilingual Research Journal* vol. 19, no. 1 (1995), pp. 141-167.
4. See L. Hinton, "Awakening Tongues: Elders, Youth, and Educators Embark on Language Renaissance," *News from Native California* vol. 7 (1993), pp. 13-16; see also Hinton, "Language Loss and Revitalization in California: Overview," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* vol. 132 (1998), pp. 83-93.
5. K.H. Hale, "Reasons to Be Optimistic About Local Language Maintenance and Restoration," unpublished ms.
6. For more information on the Hualapai and Rough Rock programs, and the development of indigenous literacies, see T.L. McCarty and L.J. Watahomigie, "Language and Literacy in American Indian and Alaska Native Communities," in B. Perez et al., *The Sociocultural Contexts of Language and Literacy*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1998, pp. 69-98.
7. N.M. Dauenhauer and R. Dauenhauer address this for Tlingit in their chapter, "Technical, Emotional, and Ideological Issues in Reversing Language Shift: Examples from Southeast Alaska," in Grenoble, L.A. and L.J. Whaley, *Endangered Languages*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 57-98.
8. C. Slate, "Finding a Place for Navajo," *Tribal College* 4 (1995), pp. 10-14.



RICHARD RASP

## DESTINATION UNCERTAIN

### RESPONSES MIXED ON REVIEW COMMITTEE'S PROPOSAL FOR DEALING WITH CULTURALLY UNIDENTIFIABLE REMAINS

One of repatriation's most difficult issues—how to deal with culturally unidentifiable human remains—prompted the NAGPRA review committee to draft a set of principles as the starting point for further discussions. The responses reflect what has made the subject problematic from the start.

One principle that drew criticism from many sides was that unidentifiable remains be quickly repatriated since they have little historic or scientific value. Tribes said this assumes that the remains are of value only from a scientific perspective. Others said it is wrong to assume the remains have no information to impart and questioned how, in such cases, the proper recipients would be determined.

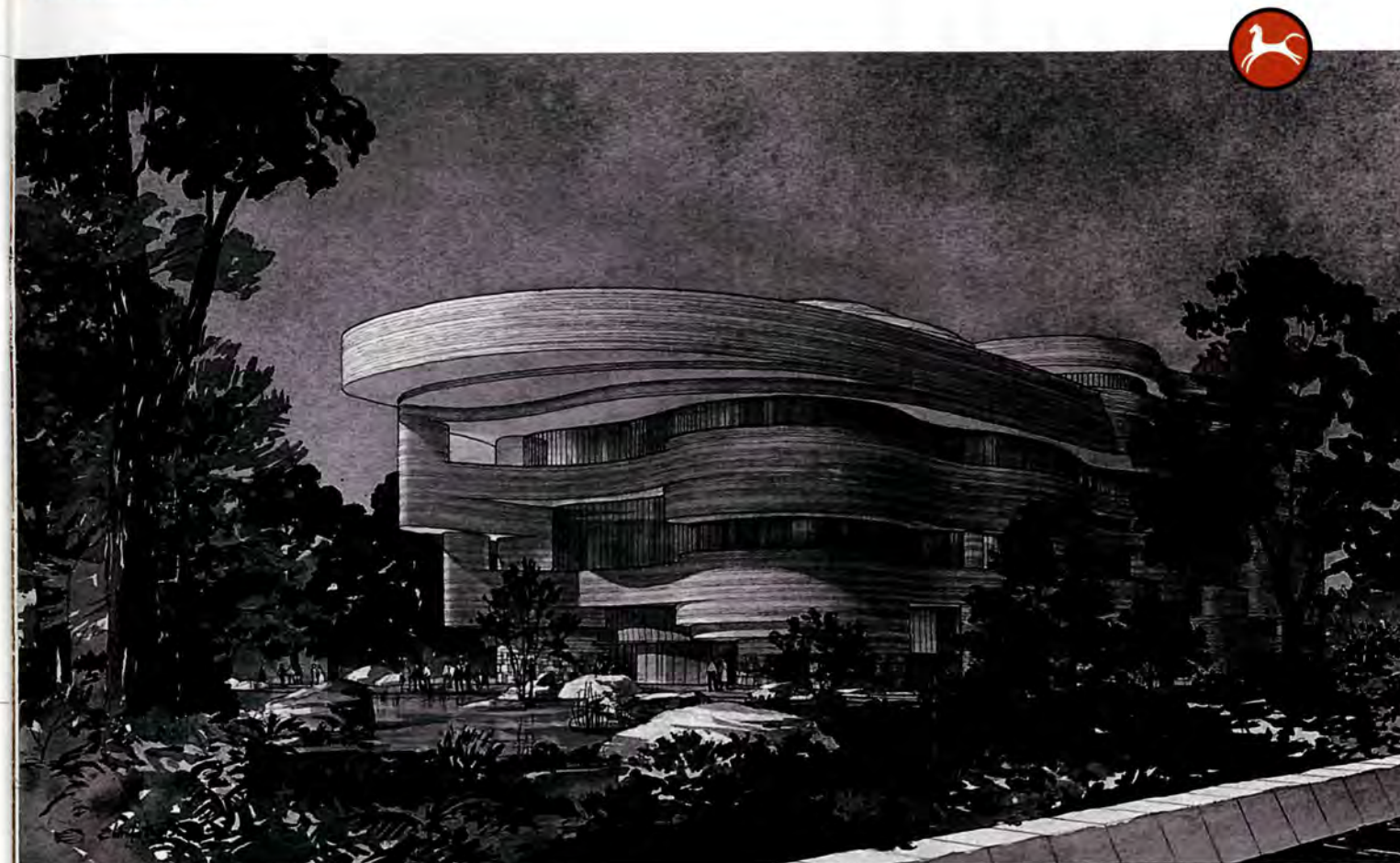
The draft proposes that remains could be repatriated to a native group that is not federally recognized if it worked with a culturally affiliated one that was, or if the claimant becomes recognized in the future. This drew protests from unrecognized native groups and others who said it would make it more difficult for them to make a claim. A number of Native American respondents also advocated a stronger Indian role in the process of determining whether a given set of remains is culturally unidentifiable.

As this issue goes to press, the review committee is taking the issue up once again at its meeting in Salt Lake City.

### Kennewick Man Report Now Online

The latest findings on the remains known as Kennewick Man headline the range of information on the topic now available on the NPS archeology and ethnography program's web site ([www.cr.nps.gov/aad/kennewick](http://www.cr.nps.gov/aad/kennewick)). The findings are presented in four chapters covering the initial examination of the remains, an osteological assessment, an analysis of sediments from the site of the find, and a report on the stone object embedded in Kennewick Man's pelvic region.

A range of other information is also available, from the Corps of Engineers' initial questions about the remains, to its request for assistance from the Department of the Interior, to a press release on the examination of Kennewick Man by researchers. More will be posted as it develops.



NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

## CELEBRATING NATIVE AMERICA

### NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN BREAKS GROUND ON THE MALL

Ground was broken on the National Mall on September 28 for the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian. Dedicated to preserving, exhibiting, and studying Native American culture, it is scheduled to be completed in 2002.

The facility, to be located on the mall's last remaining museum site, is expected to draw an estimated 6 million visitors a year. It will comprise about 270,000 square feet and includes three permanent exhibition galleries, a 300-seat theater, a 120-seat outdoor performance space, and facilities for conferences and workshops. About a third of the \$110 million cost was privately raised.

The NMAI was conceived in consultation with tribal elders and other native people in Canada, the United States, and Mexico. Through exhibits, performances, and other media, tribes will tell their own stories through the museum's collection of almost a million objects—the largest of its kind in the world.

The NMAI culminates years of discussions between the Smithsonian and the Heye Foundation's Museum of the American Indian in New York City. The Heye held one of the largest collections of native objects in the world, assembled during the first half of the century by wealthy New Yorker George Gustav Heye. The collection was transferred to the Smithsonian in 1990, when President Bush signed a bill to create the museum. Senators Daniel Inouye and Ben Nighthorse Campbell were instrumental in formulating the legislation.

The museum's primary exterior material will be a Minnesota limestone known as Kasota, which varies in size and texture, giving the building the appearance of a stratified stone mass that has been carved by wind and water. The grounds will take the form of reconstructed natural habitats, such as hardwood forest, wetlands, and eastern meadows.

During fiscal year 1999, \$2,331,150 was awarded to Indian tribes, Alaska Native villages and corporations, Native Hawaiian organizations, and museums to assist with implementing the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. The award was divided among these 43 projects.

The Park Service archeology and ethnography program, which administers the grants, received 79 applications from 53 Indian tribes, Alaska Native villages and corporations, and Native Hawaiian organizations; 21 museums also submitted. The total request was approximately \$4.5 million. Submissions were reviewed by NPS staff and a panel of Native Americans and museum professionals.

Applications for FY 2000 grants are now on the web at [www.cr.nps.gov/aad/nagpra/grapp1.html](http://www.cr.nps.gov/aad/nagpra/grapp1.html).

## ALASKA

1. Anvik Repatriation Project. Anvik Village. Contact Tami Jerue: (907) 663-6322. Amount \$9,760.
2. Bering Strait Communities' Survey of NAGPRA. Bering Straits Foundation, with the University of Alaska Museum in Fairbanks. Contact Vera Metcalf: (907) 443-5252. Amount \$67,875.
3. NAGPRA Education and Consultation. Denakkanagga, Inc., with Anvik Village. Contact Catherine Ipalook: (907) 456-1748. Amount \$75,000.
4. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Kootznoowoo, Inc. Contact Carlton Smith: (907) 790-2992. Amount \$72,650.
5. Angoon Repatriation Project. Kootznoowoo, Inc. Contact Carlton Smith: (907) 790-2992. Amount \$10,150.
6. Teller Repatriation Project. Native Village of Teller. Contact Allan Okpealuk: (907) 642-3381. Amount \$915.
7. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Nondalton Village. Contact Karen Stickman: (907) 294-2220. Amount \$39,700.

## ARIZONA

8. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Hualapai Tribe. Contact Loretta Jackson: (520) 769-2223. Amount \$74,175.



# FY 1999

# NAGPRA

# GRANT AWARDS

9. Pesticide Contamination Workshop. Arizona State Museum at the University of Arizona, with the Arizona Poison Control Center and 21 Arizona tribes. Contact Alyce Sadongel: (520) 621-4609. Amount \$44,785.

## CALIFORNIA

10. Kumeyaay Collaboration. Barona Band of Mission Indians, with the Campo Band of Mission Indians, Ewilaapaay Band of Mission Indian, Inaja Band of Mission Indians, Jamul Indian Village, La Posta Band of Mission Indians, Manzanita Band of Mission Indians, Mesa Grande Band of Mission Indians, San Pasqual Band of Mission Indians, Santa Ysabel Band of Diegueno Indians, Sycuan Band of Mission Indians, and the Viejas Band of Kumeyaay Indians. Contact Steve Banegas: (619) 443-6612. Amount \$60,815.

11. Chemehuevi Collaboration. Chemehuevi Indian Tribe, with the Twenty-Nine Palms Band of Luiseno Mission Indians. Contact Lynn Fraher-Petach: (818) 885-7066. Amount \$67,145.

12. NAGPRA Documentation and Cultural Restoration Project. Karuk Tribe of California. Contact Leaf Hillman: (530) 627-3446. Amount \$74,140.

13. Lake County Collaboration. Robinson Rancheria, with the Big Valley Rancheria, Elem Indian Colony, Upper Lake Rancheria, and the Scotts Valley Band of Pomo Indians. Contact Irenia

Quitiquit: (707) 275-0205. Amount \$75,000.

14. Mendocino County Collaboration. Sherwood Valley Rancheria, with the Cahto Indian Tribe/Laytonville Rancheria, Coyote Valley Band of Pomo Indians, Guidiville Rancheria, Hopland Band of Pomo Indians, Manchester Band of Pomo Indians/Manchester-Point Arena Rancheria, Pinoleville Rancheria, Redwood Valley Little River Band of Pomo Indians, abd the Yokayo Tribe of Indians. Contact Pauline Girvin-Montoya: (707) 485-1778. Amount \$75,000.

15. Chumash Consultation. UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, with the Santa Ynez Band of Mission Indians. Contact Wendy Giddens Teeter: (310) 825-1864. Amount \$74,715.

16. Naka Skawock Kee Ne Kamayanechk (We Want To Take You Home). Yurok Tribe. Contact Thomas Gates: (707) 444-0433. Amount \$72,660.

## COLORADO

17. Colorado Cultural Affiliation Symposium. Colorado Historical Society, with the Colorado Commission of Indian Affairs, Denver Art Museum, University of Colorado at Boulder, University of Denver, Metropolitan State College, Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, Fort Sill Apache Tribe, Jicarilla Apache Tribe, Kiowa Indian Tribe, Northern Cheyenne

Tribe, Pawnee Nation, Eastern Shoshone Tribe, Three Affiliated Tribes, Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, White Mesa Ute Tribe, Ute Indian Tribe, Southern Ute Indian Tribe, Comanche Tribe, Northern Arapaho Tribe, Oglala Sioux Tribe, Rosebud Sioux Tribe, and the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes. Contact Carolyn McArthur: (303) 866-2303. Amount \$73,255.

18. Manual for Repatriating Cultural Items. Denver Art Museum, with the Pueblo of Zuni, Pawnee Nation, Yavapai-Apache Nation, Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, Nebraska State Historical Society, and the Science Museum of Minnesota. Contact Nancy Blomberg: (303) 640-7572. Amount \$70,070.

19. Consultation with Eastern Woodland Tribes. Denver Museum of Natural History, with the Onondaga Nation, St. Regis Mohawk Tribe, Tonawanda Band of Seneca Indians, Seneca Nation, Cayuga Nation, Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma, Tuscarora Nation, Oneida Nation, Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin, Seminole Tribe of Florida, Seminole Nation of Oklahoma, and the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians. Contact Robert Pickering: (303) 370-6492. Amount \$75,000.

20. Consultation with Southeastern Tribes. University of Denver Museum of Anthropology, with the Quapaw Tribe, Alabama-Coushatta Tribe

of Texas, Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town, Cherokee Nation, Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians, Chickasaw Nation, Choctaw Nation, Jena Band of Choctaw Indians, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, Creek Nation, Poarch Band of Creek Indians, Kialegee Tribal Town, and Thlopthlocco Tribal Town. Contact Jan Bernstein: (303) 871-2543. Amount \$75,000.

## CONNECTICUT

21. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Mashantucket Pequot Tribe, with the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center. Contact Keven McBride: (860) 396-6814. Amount \$42,875.

## HAWAII

22. Native Hawaiian Reburial Materials Project. Hui Malama I Na Kupuna O Hawaii Nei, with the O'ahu Island Burial Council. Contact Edward Ayau: (808) 638-9057. Amount \$15,070.

## ILLINOIS

23. Consultation with the White Mountain Apache Tribe. Field Museum of Natural History, with the White Mountain Apache Tribe. Contact Jonathan Haas: (312) 922-9410. Amount \$46,205.

## KANSAS

24. Consultation Regarding the Disposition of Kansas Culturally Unidentifiable Remains. University of Kansas Museum of Anthropology, with the Kansas State Historical Society, Bureau of Reclamation Great Plains Region, Kansas City District Corps of Engineers, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Mountain-Prairie Region, Pawnee Nation, Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, Kaw Nation, Osage Nation, Three Affiliated Tribes, Sac and Fox Nation of Oklahoma, Sac and Fox of the Mississippi in Iowa, Sac and Fox Nation of Missouri, Prairie Band of Potawatomi Nation, Citizen Potawatomi Nation, Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas, Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma, and the Ote-Missouria Tribe. Contact Mary Adair: (785) 864-2673. Amount: \$71,270.

## MASSACHUSETTS

25. Pecos Valley Repatriation Project. Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology at Phillips Academy. Contact James Bradley: (978) 749-4490. Amount \$10,815.

## MICHIGAN

26. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians. Contact Wesley Andrews: (616) 439-3865. Amount \$50,850.

## MONTANA

27. Bitterroot Salish-Pend d'Oreille Documentation Project. Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. Contact Antoine Incashola: (406) 745-4572. Amount \$66,815.

28. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Fort Peck Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes. Contact Curley Youpee: (406) 768-5155. Amount \$73,120.

## NEW MEXICO

29. Pecos Valley Repatriation Project. Pueblo of Jemez. Contact William Whatley: (505) 298-5707. Amount \$15,000.

## NEW YORK

30. Genesee River Valley Cultural Affiliation Project. Rochester Museum and Science Center, with the Haudenosaunee Standing Committee on Burial Rules and Regulations (Seneca Nation, Tonawanda Band of Seneca Indians, Cayuga Nation, Onondaga Nation, St. Regis Mohawk Tribe, Tuscarora Nation, and the Six Nations Reserve at Grand River). Contact Connie Cox Bodner: (716) 271-4552. Amount \$74,085.

## OKLAHOMA

31. Documentation of Unmarked Caddo Cemeteries. Caddo Indian Tribe of Oklahoma. Contact Andrea Douglas: (405) 656-2344. Amount \$75,000.

32. NAGPRA Collaboration and Documentation Project. Chickasaw Nation. Contact Jeannie Barbour: (580) 332-8685. Amount \$74,565.

33. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, with the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. Contact Terry Cole: (580) 924-8280. Amount \$67,730.

34. Native American Tribal Museum and Cultural Center Repatriation Conference. Oklahoma Historical Society, with the Cheyenne Cultural Center and the American Association for State and Local History. Contact Robert Blackburn: (405) 522-5202. Amount \$72,580.

35. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma. Contact Carrie Wilson: (501) 442-7576. Amount \$75,000.

36. Documentation of Wichita Human Remains Using Anthropological Methods. Wichita and Affiliated Tribes. Contact Virgil Swift: (405) 247-2425. Amount \$67,585.

## OREGON

37. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Confederated Tribes of the Grande Ronde Community. Contact Lindy Trolan: (503) 879-2248. Amount \$39,555.

38. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, with the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, and Central Washington University. Contact Jeffery Van Pelt: (541) 276-3629. Amount \$50,000.

## SOUTH DAKOTA

39. Woksape Oyate Tawa Pi (The People's Wisdom). Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, with the Oglala Sioux Tribe, Rosebud Sioux Tribe, Santee Sioux Tribe, Yankton Sioux Tribe, and the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe. Contact Sebastian LeBeau II: (605) 964-4155. Amount \$48,135.

40. Rosebud Sioux Tribe Repatriation Project. Rosebud Sioux Tribe. Contact Marcella Cash: (606) 747-2263. Amount \$3,620.

## WASHINGTON

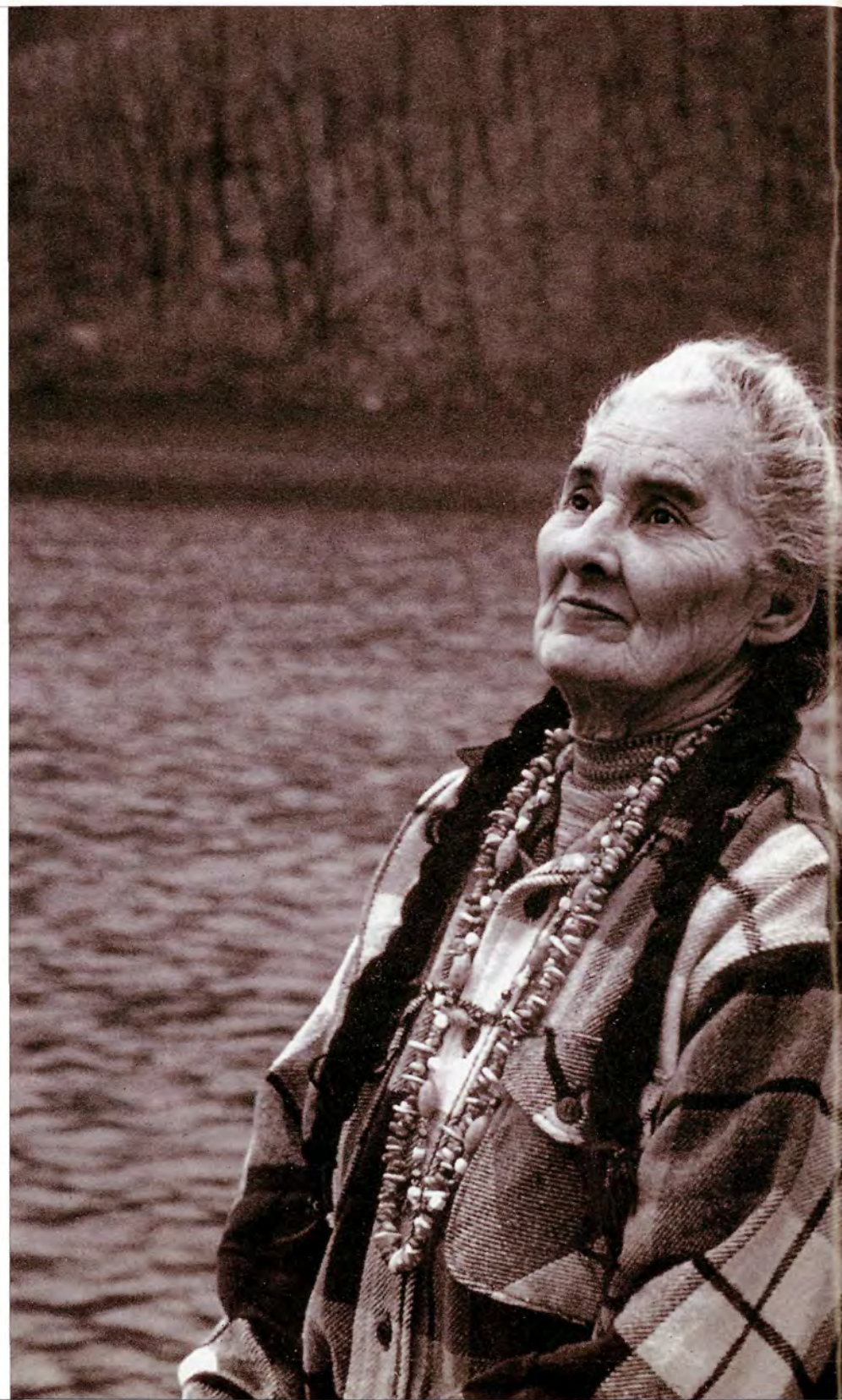
41. NAGPRA Training Program. Nisqually Indian Tribe, with the Northwest Indian College. Contact Cynthia Iyau Peabody: (360) 456-5221. Amount \$31,550.

42. Skokomish Reburial Materials Project. Skokomish Indian Tribe. Contact Jim Park: (360) 877-5213. Amount \$3,450.

43. NAGPRA Education and Documentation Project. Squaxin Island Tribe, with the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum. Contact Brian Thompson (360) 426-9781. Amount \$68,465.

# -pastpresent-

By the 1960s, the Pequots of Connecticut, once a flourishing tribe, numbered a mere 30 members, inhabiting a rocky patch of ground at Mashantucket. Since the 1600s, the tribe had languished, victim to war, disease, and, in later years, the lure of opportunities off the reservation. Then, after centuries of decline, matriarch Elizabeth George (opposite) catalyzed the rebirth of the tribe. | **George urged** fellow tribal members to hold on to the land and appealed to others to return. Her untiring efforts not only helped draw people back to Mashantucket, but began the slow reclamation of the land lost. She convinced other Pequots to become involved in tribal affairs and drafted the first Pequot constitution. In the early years of the revival, she took on the state to keep the reservation from being turned into a park. | **The effort** she started continued after her death in 1973. The Pequots struggled for economic self-sufficiency, trying their hand at raising pigs, farming, and harvesting maple syrup. In 1992, the tribe opened Foxwood Resort Casino, ending its years-long quest for financial stability. | **Today**, the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center—completed in 1998 thanks to the tribe's change in fortunes—is being hailed as one of the most innovative cultural institutions in the United States. The 308,000 square foot complex, tribally owned and operated, serves as a major resource for scholars and the public, using the latest in exhibit design and technology to describe Pequot history and culture. | **The Pequots** have made a long, successful journey from Elizabeth George's house, where people often gathered around the table remembering the past and dreaming of the future.



MASHANTUCKET PEQUOT MUSEUM AND RESEARCH CENTER

**Common Ground: Archeology and Ethnography in the Public Interest** is published by the National Park Service Departmental Consulting Archeologist and Archeology and Ethnography Program.

Statements of fact and views are the responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect an opinion or an endorsement by the editors or the National Park Service.

Send comments, articles, address changes, and information on conferences, training, and publications to Editor, NPS Archeology and Ethnography Program, 1849 C St. (NC 210), NW, Washington, DC 20240, (202) 343-4101, fax (202) 523-1547, e-mail david\_andrews@nps.gov or joe\_flanagan@nps.gov.

## SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

Bruce Babbitt

## DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Robert G. Stanton

## ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, CULTURAL RESOURCES

Katherine H. Stevenson

## DEPARTMENTAL CONSULTING ARCHEOLOGIST CHIEF, ARCHEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

Francis P. McManamon

## DEPUTY CHIEF

Veletta Canouts

## GUEST EDITOR

C. Timothy McKeown

## MANAGING EDITOR

## DESIGNER

David Andrews

## ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Joseph Flanagan

## CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Michelle Aubry

Audrey L. Brown

S. Terry Childs

Muriel "Miki" Crespi

Dan Haas

Mark Schoepfle

David Tarler

Richard C. Waldbauer

## CIRCULATION MANAGER

Lori Hawkins

ISSN 1087-9889



**“Of the 300-plus languages indigenous to what  
are now the United States and Canada,  
nearly a third have disappeared. Only about  
a quarter of those that survive are being passed  
on to children. Without some immediate  
intervention, all of these languages will fall  
silent within the next few decades.”**

**- Teresa L. McCarty and Lucille J. Watahomigie,  
“Reclaiming Indigenous Languages,” p. 32**

**National Park Service  
Archeology and Ethnography Program  
1849 C Street, NW (NC 210)  
Washington, DC 20240**

**Bulk Rate  
Postage and Fees Paid  
USDI-NPS Permit No. G-83**