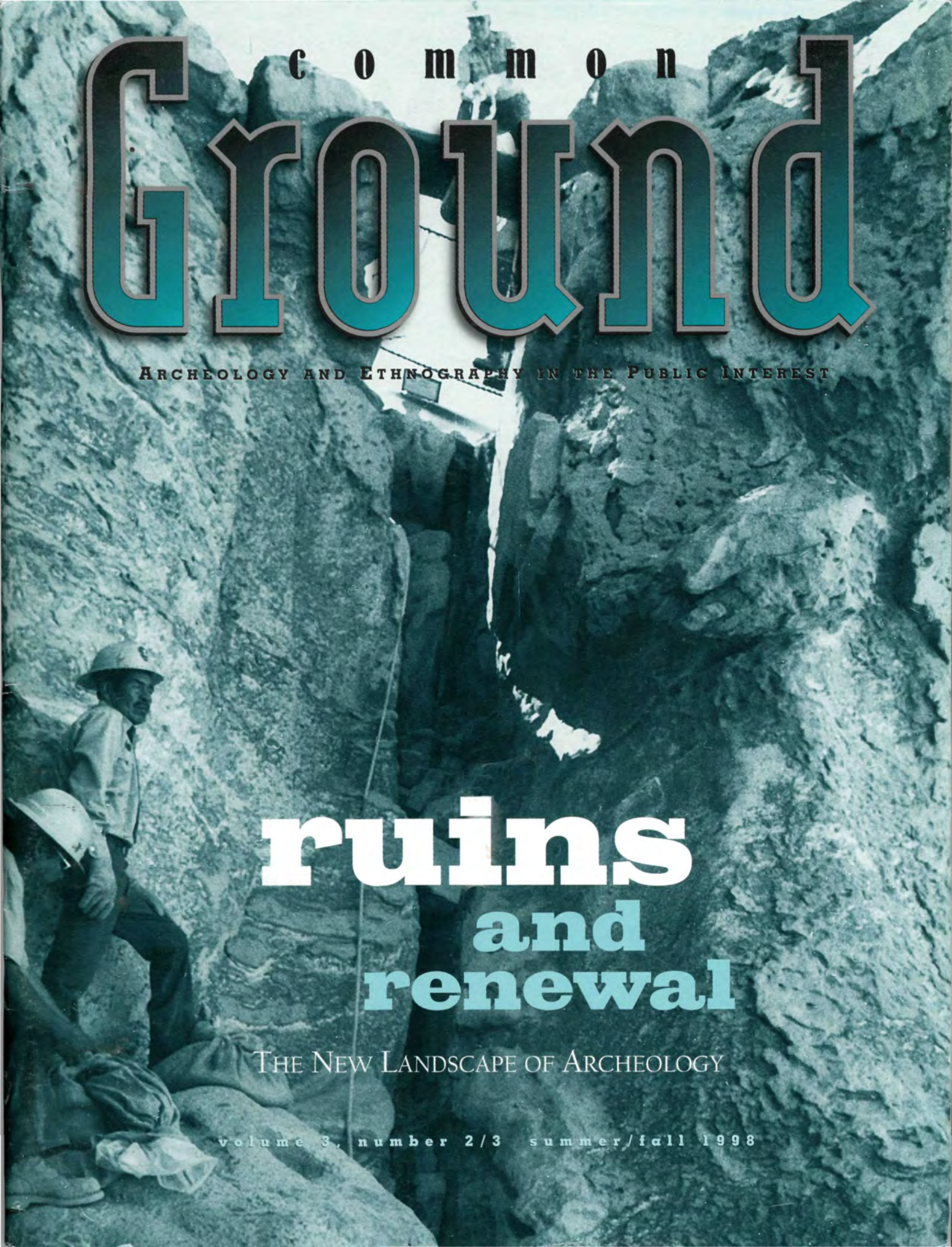




c o m m o n Ground

ARCHEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST

ruins and renewal

THE NEW LANDSCAPE OF ARCHEOLOGY

volume 3, number 2/3 summer/fall 1998

Envisioning the Past

FRANCIS P. McMANAMON

Seeing is believing, says the old proverb. In this regard, much of the archeological record challenges public interpretation because it is difficult to see or, in many cases, not visible at all. Take a group of sites at Fort Hill in Eastham, Massachusetts. The area, which lies within Cape Cod National Seashore, was examined by the Park Service as part of an archeological inventory project. The sites there encompass thousands of years of human activity; yet, as one walks the trails or looks out from the hilltop, there are no visible clues. To envision the past, one must know about the

focus for archeological investigations. Thomas Jefferson excavated an Indian mound; the earthen architecture of the Midwest and Southeast fostered debate and a variety of investigations throughout the 1800s. In the Southwest at the turn of the century, it was the architecture of the cliff dwellers that excited public and scholarly interest. Even early efforts in historic period archeology focused on recovering information about structures at places like Jamestown and Fort Necessity. Interpreting architectural remains involves looking at construction sequences, structure design, and room functions, among other

“Drawings, paintings, or animation . . . can cut through jargon and technical detail, providing quickly understandable images of the past.”

archeological deposits within the top two or three feet of soil.

I see a detailed picture as I stroll. I see where ancient inhabitants discarded trash, where they mended stone tools, prepared food, sat discussing everyday matters. I see grass- and reed-covered wigwams, round and oval, spread lightly over the landscape, not tightly clustered or encircled by a stockade. The images that come to mind reflect my understanding of the archeological record. Other visitors will not be able to imagine the past as I can. That is why visual interpretation is so important, and why archeologists should focus more attention on it.

A picture is worth a thousand words. Drawings, paintings, or animation—when informed by accurate scientific interpretation—can cut through jargon and technical detail, providing quickly understandable images of the past. *National Geographic* has long been a leader with this kind of interpretation. Its October 1991 issue, “1491, America Before Columbus” used art extensively to interpret traditional histories and archeological sites from central New York to the coast of Washington State. In its web site “Ancient Architects of the Mississippi” (www.cr.nps.gov/aad/feature/feature.html), the Park Service used artistic interpretations from Cahokia State Park, the NPS Southeast Archeological Center (www.cr.nps.gov/seac/seac.html), and other sources. These kinds of informed images—the result of close collaboration between artist and technical expert—have become regular fare in the information graphics of newspapers and magazines.

The depiction of vanished architecture has long benefitted from such collaborations, especially at classical sites where architects and archeologists have worked side by side. In North America, architecture or its remnants have often served as the

topics. More commonly than with sites lacking such remains, artistic reconstructions come into play.

This is increasingly so with the advent of 3-D computer modeling, which has caused an explosion of digital reconstructions. These images, showing the original appearance of an ancient structure or complex, are often key to effective interpretation for the nonspecialist. Not unexpectedly, most are of classical sites, where the recording of ancient buildings has always played a major role. The new digital Museum of Reconstructions (www.reconstructions.org/mission.html) is an example. At this site, viewers can see the reconstruction as well as the scholarly sources. Although there are few examples in the United States, the Earthworks project—sponsored by the Center for the Electronic Reconstruction of Historical and Archeological Sites at the University of Cincinnati—is working on an animated flyover of Ohio’s Newark Earthworks. Hopefully, more attention to North American sites will develop.

The ability to create these reconstructions does raise concerns about artistic license. Which elements of site organization and building detail are based on sound data and which arise from the imagination of the artist? Technical excellence does not ensure verity, as one can see from the recent Disney films *Pocahontas* and *Hercules*. As these tools proliferate, the archeologist’s role in the picture grows rather than fades.

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MONTY ROESSEL

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DIGGINGS

News, Views, and Recently Noted

Tending to the Past

CALIFORNIA COUNTY
GETS MAJOR FED GRANT
TO CARE FOR ARTIFACTS

In June, California's Orange County approved nearly half a million dollars—almost three-quarters of it from a federal grant—to sort, study, and preserve its massive archeological and paleontological collections generated over 20 years of development.

Housing and road construction in the county has turned up many thousands

Large plaster casts of fossils discovered during road construction sit in an Orange County warehouse.



MARK BOSTER, LOS ANGELES TIMES

of artifacts and fossils going back as far as 75 million years. But construction of the San Joaquin Toll Road—and the Eastern and Foothill Transportation Corridors—has revealed that there is

more beneath Orange County than perhaps anyone imagined. The project, which began in 1995, resulted in a series of major discoveries, generating a stunning collection of fossils,

animal remains, and artifacts, which state and federal law dictate must receive museum-quality care. As it was, the county did not have the resources to manage its ever-growing collections.

Artifacts, fossils, and other specimens are currently stored at the county records complex in a cramped warehouse. Until recently, some of them were kept outside covered with tarpaulins. The

bankrupt in 1992. Currently, volunteers from the Pacific Coast Archaeological Society and a local natural history association have been tending to the bones and artifacts.

Focus on Finding Partners

■ Federal Collections Conference

On November 18-20, the San Diego National History Museum will host the second in a series of conferences on dealing with the widespread problem of conserving federal collections. This conference, building on last year's in Berkeley, CA, is aimed at representatives of state, university, and private institutions responsible for federal holdings; curators; archivists; tribes; federal managers; consultants; and users of collections in disciplines including archeology, art, biology, ethnography, history, and paleontology.

This time the focus will be on practical ways to forge partnerships among these interest groups. Topics include the pragmatic and legal aspects of partnerships, the costs of curation, NAGPRA, the Internet and communications technology, and a legislative update.

For more information, visit the Department of Interior web site at <http://www.doi.gov/pam/futcolco.html> or contact Sally Y. Shelton, Director, Collections Care and Conservation, San Diego National History Museum, P.O. Box 1390, San Diego, CA 92112, (619) 232-3821, x226, fax (619) 232-0248, e-mail sshelton@sdnhm.org.

archeological record includes objects left by some of the earliest inhabitants of southern California as well as by more recent historical activity.

Because of the collections' inaccessibility, scientists have not had a chance to study them. Over the years, the collections were maintained by the Natural History Foundation of Orange County, whose attempt to establish a museum went

The project money will be used for a curation facility and to hire consultants to manage the collections. Buildings at an 88-acre former Marine Corps base, recently closed, will likely house the collections in the future. Orange County has begun hearing proposals from consultants on how to proceed. Another task the county faces is figuring out how to set fees to charge developers for curating the

objects their projects unearth. Until now, the county has not charged developers for these services. An initial report estimates the fee for storing, stabilizing, and cataloguing at \$200 a cubic foot.

The bulk of the money for the project, \$350,000, comes from a federal Transportation Enhancement Act grant. The remainder of the \$420,000 was provided by the Transportation Corridor Agencies, a local multi-jurisdictional body, and the county itself.

Rising to the Top

HONORS TO ALASKA ARCHEOLOGIST

Archeologist Jeanne M. Schaaf is the national winner of the annual Park Service Appleman-Judd Award for Cultural Resources Management, created to foster creativity in preservation projects, particularly those that may serve as models for others in the field.

In little over a year, Schaaf planned and put in place a preservation program for four parks covering 9 million acres of Alaska wilderness. At the same time, she acted as the principal investigator for three research projects and

provided guidance for several more. Overseeing excavations at an eroding site with exposed burials, Schaaf resolved repatriation issues with native Alaskans (some of whom later joined the excavation team) and was also the prime impetus behind a preservation book and video aimed at the public.

It is quite an achievement, says Gary Somers, senior archeologist with the NPS Alaska support office. "She could have easily avoided the challenge and simply continued as a research archeologist," he says. Instead, she also took on the job of acting cultural resource manager—which was open at the time—going to bat for a multidisciplinary preservation program for Alagnak Wild River, Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve, Katmai National Park and Preserve, and Lake Clark National Park and Preserve. In short order, she grew the program from one part-time temporary historian to a full-time permanent archeologist, a

Archeologist Jeanne M. Schaaf receives Appleman-Judd Award from National Park Service Director Robert G. Stanton.



ROSA WILSON/NPS

Archeology Goes to Congress

NEW REPORT IS PORTRAIT OF VITAL NATIONAL EFFORT

BY STATUTE, the Department of the Interior is required to report to Congress on the state of the federal archeology program. The latest report unveils a new approach to providing the raw numbers of acres surveyed, artifacts stored, and money spent. The Federal Archeology Program, Report to Congress, 1994-95 profiles the agencies and individuals who work every day, often against formidable obstacles, to preserve our nation's heritage.

Hard data remain the core of the report, but it is also an accessible, reader-friendly portrait—in images as well as words—of a program responsible for an estimated millions of archeological sites on public land, many of which have yet to be discovered.

In part, the publication serves as an introduction to the program for the general public. But it is also

intended to capture the attention of busy members of Congress, whose desks are inundated with reports. For both of these audiences, it shows what drive, creativity, and cooperation can bring to an important federal effort in the public interest. The article below, which typifies the kinds of projects highlighted in the new publication, shows those qualities in action.

Federal Archeology Program, Report to Congress, 1994-95, by Daniel Haas, is published by the NPS Archeology and Ethnography Program, 1849 C Street, NW, Room NC 210, Washington, DC 20240, (202) 343-1058, fax (202) 523-1547, e-mail dan_haas@nps.gov. Limited copies available on request.

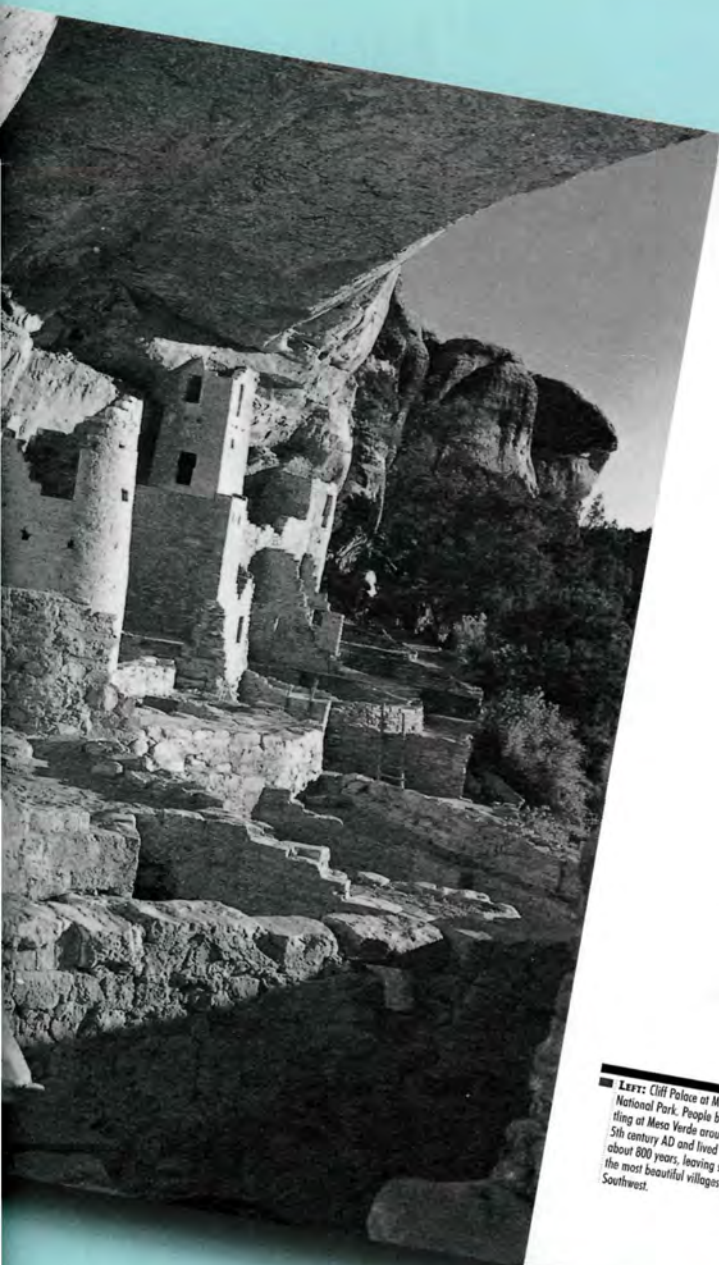
Tremors in the Heartland

DATING PALEO-QUAKES WITH ANCIENT ARTIFACTS

When one thinks of earthquakes, America's heartland is not the first place that comes to mind. But major tremors have rocked Illinois and Indiana for at least 12,000 years. Archeologists and geologists on a project funded by the U.S. Geological Survey's earthquake hazards reduction program learned that

Indiana has been hit by six earthquakes measuring six and higher on the Richter scale. Two were massive, probably in excess of seven. The research, conducted by studying evidence of the tremors in the stratigraphy in relation to surrounding artifacts, allows scientists to date the paleo-quakes, determine their magnitudes, and locate the epicenters. Future earthquakes of comparable magnitudes can be expected in this area of the country, researchers say. ■ Artifacts such as spear points and pottery sherds are the key to dating the tremors, while geological clues called "dikes" give researchers an idea of their power. The dikes are telltale signs of the quakes evident wherever spring flooding has eroded the region's river banks, exposing the stratigraphy. The dikes form where the water table is relatively close to the surface. Seismic shaking causes sand to mingle with water, then forces the viscous





LEFT: Cliff Palace of Mesa Verde National Park. People began settling at Mesa Verde around the 5th century AD and lived there for about 800 years, leaving some of the most beautiful villages in the Southwest.

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mix
upward into layers of
clay and silt, where it is preserved. By dating
artifacts above and below the dikes, scientists can establish a time
frame for the quake. ■ Bracketing with artifacts also helps isolate dikes from different
quakes. Separating them is important because the largest earthquakes produce the most widespread dikes. A
swarm of dikes usually indicates the tremor's epicenter. ■ Literally thousands of dikes have been discovered by
project researchers floating downriver in canoes and motor boats. Even small ones are conspicuous. About 300
miles of riverbank have been searched to date, with many new archeological sites discovered. ■ To put the paleo-
quakes in perspective, some were on the order of the 1989 Loma Prieta quake (7.1) that toppled highways and
buildings in the San Francisco area. Since earthquakes haven't been considered a significant threat in the midwest,
most buildings have not been built with them in mind. Should one occur, the consequences could be severe.
Through the alliance of archeology and geology, the USGS earthquake study is a step toward being better prepared.

Reconstructing a River

■ BRec Sponsors Innovative Publishing Project

Like the land through which it flows, Arizona's Verde River has felt the impact of human habitation for over 1,500 years. Now, thanks to an innovative publishing project sponsored by the Bureau of Reclamation, the full breadth of that story is told.

Vanishing River—Landscapes and Lives of the Lower Verde Valley weds a

book format with a CD to reconstruct the vanished Verde, along with the lives and landscapes of the Hohokam, Sinagua, Yavapai, Western Apache, and Euroamericans. The research on the project, conducted over six years by a multidisciplinary team of archeologists, anthropologists, and environmental scientists, is based on the first systematic excavations at multiple sites in Arizona's Lower Verde River Valley. The 858-page book synthesizes and interprets the results of the work, while the CD presents over three volumes' worth of descriptive materials on the excavations and artifacts recovered, with more than 300 photographs, most in color.

Vanishing River is "a major contribution in using new technology for

presenting archaeological research to professional archaeologists and the general public alike," writes Reclamation archeologist Jon Czaplicki in the foreword. A Quick-Time movie opens the CD, introducing the project and summarizing the most important findings.

Vanishing River—Landscapes and Lives of the Lower Verde Valley: The Lower Verde Archaeological Project, 858 pages, casebound, with companion compact disc (IBM and Mac compatible), is available for \$60 plus shipping and handling from SRI Press, 6099 East Speedway Blvd., P.O. Box 31865, Tucson, AZ 85751, (520) 721-4309, fax (520) 298-7044.

full-time permanent historian, two temporary archeologists, and a temporary cultural anthropologist.

Somers says the achievement is all the more remarkable because it came during a Service-wide reorganization while Schaaf was on a

year-long loan from the Alaska system support office. "She overcame doubt, lack of information, logistic concerns, lack of funding, and many other obstacles by teamwork, leadership, and perseverance," he says. "She employed no

political stratagems or clever bureaucratic tricks. Her approach was honest argument and doggedness in pursuit of her goals. She gained the respect of all who worked with her."

Schaaf rose to the top in a field of five regional winners.

Anthropology Explored

SMITHSONIAN PUBLISHES
BEST OF ANTHRO NOTES

AnthroNotes, the journal published by the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, has marked its 20th

anniversary by anthologizing its best essays. Aimed at high school teachers and students as well as college undergraduates and the public, *Anthropology Explored: The Best of AnthroNotes* features more than two dozen leading anthropologists writing in an accessible style. Each essay is followed by an update—commissioned for the volume—enhancing the theme that knowledge changes with time.

In charting the shifts in perspective over the discipline's 150-year history, *Anthropology Explored* traces the emergence of humans from other primates, describes archeologists' understanding of early and more recent settlements, and explores the diversity of past and present cultures.

Anthropology Explored: The Best of AnthroNotes, edited by Ruth Osterweis Selig and Marilyn R. London, 360 pages, 42 b&w illustrations, is \$35 casebound, \$17 paperback, \$3.50 postage and handling for the first book and \$1 for each additional. Contact Smithsonian Institution Press, P.O. Box 960, Herndon, VA 20172-0960, (800) 782-4612, fax (703) 661-1501.

Site Watch

Protecting the Nation's Archeological Heritage

Florida Draws The Line

LOOTERS FEEL THE PINCH OF AGGRESSIVE NEW APPROACH

A pair of looters caught digging in Florida's archeologically rich, 100,000-acre Aucilla Wildlife Management Area have been ordered to pay nearly \$30,000 in restitution for the damage. The record penalty, described by law enforcement authorities as a landmark, signals the state's resolve to crack down on looting and spare its dwi-

Robert Daniels, right, of the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, examines results of illegal digging with state archeologist Jim Miller.



dling number of archeological sites. Until now, the average looting penalty has been about \$150.

On March 31, 1997, Robert Daniels, an officer with the Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, spotted a truck near a recently looted site. He discovered Arthur and Daniel Cochran digging up stone tool fragments and pot sherds associated with the Weeden Island culture, dating back about 1,500 years.

Charged with the illegal excavation of an archeological site, the Cochran brothers pled guilty in state court. Under state law, they could have received up to five years in prison and a \$5,000 fine each.

Awareness of archeological crime has risen in Florida in recent years. Until 1993, state law called for a fine of

up to \$500 or six months in prison for unlawful excavations. But in 1993, the Florida legislature made looting that involved digging a felony. In June 1997, Secretary of State Sandra Mortham created an archaeological law enforcement task force. The 25-member body is comprised of high-level officials from a host of state and federal agencies. Since no single authority in the state is responsible for enforcing antiquities laws, the task force will attempt to bring some focus to the issue. Miller says the representatives are not all archaeologists, but are educated on

ial mounds and temporary camps, has been a relic-hunters playground for decades. Daniels says that there are about 50 roads in and out, with access 24 hours a day. His agency has made 75-80 arrests there in the past three years. "For every [looter] we catch," he says, "there are about 50 we don't." Items generally find a market at what Daniels calls "flea markets for Indian artifacts" throughout the Southeast. The much-coveted paleoindian projectile points, provided they are intact, sell for \$1,000 per inch. But there is a higher stratum to the antiquities trade, occupied by what are often called the "serious" diggers, those with contacts in Europe and Japan. Native American pots and vessels that are whole and relatively undamaged will fetch five-figure sums.

State archaeologist Miller says that Daniels' enthusiasm for protecting Florida's heritage has been contagious among his colleagues. "He's spread the word and the excitement about archaeology much more effectively than we ever could have done by writing letters," says Miller. Daniels recently received the Florida Archaeological Council's Steward of Heritage Award for his contributions to archaeological conservation.



MARK POLEY, AP

Looters' holes at the Aucilla Wildlife Management Area.

various aspects of looting in Florida. One important lesson Miller says the task force has learned is that public relations are essential.

The wildlife management area, which contains largely prehistoric sites such as bur-

ment about archaeology much more effectively than we ever could have done by writing letters," says Miller. Daniels recently received the Florida Archaeological Council's Steward of Heritage Award for his contributions to archaeological conservation.



JIM HUGHES/STP

Fighting for the Past

UTAH DEFENDS ITS HERITAGE

In Utah's first criminal prosecution of a private company under archaeological protection laws, Sunshine Canal Co., Inc. has pleaded guilty to bulldozing a site on BLM land near the town of Vernal in northeastern Utah. The site, containing a fire pit structure and lithic scatter left over from prehistoric tool-making, was approximately 1,200 years old.

A private archaeological consultant hired by Sunshine found two sites in the pipeline area. BLM was informed and required that a qualified archaeologist be present when construction approached the sites. When that time arrived in April 1993, Sunshine unsuccessfully tried to notify the local BLM archaeologist, who was away doing fieldwork at the time. According to a statement filed in U.S. District Court by Sunshine, Inc., the company neither contacted

a private archaeologist nor halted the construction. It did contact the BLM archaeologist upon his return, but by then a trench 62 yards long, 12 yards wide, and a yard deep had been bulldozed through the site.

An important aspect of ARPA was brought out in the Sunshine case: whether a company can be held liable for the actions of its employees. Businesses can be held responsible for damage to an archaeological site if any of their employees know of its existence. According to Assistant U.S. Attorney Wayne Dance, who handled the case, prosecutors do not have to show that the damage was intentional, and a firm cannot escape liability by claiming that an employee was unaware of the site.

Sunshine Canal Co. agreed to pay \$5,007 in restitution to the BLM and pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor ARPA violation. The company also got a \$500 fine.

Elsewhere in the state, a pair of Colorado State University students pled guilty to misdemeanor ARPA charges for vandalizing prehistoric petroglyphs in Canyonlands National Park.



JIM HURN/ENR

Vacationing at the park during spring break, 1997, Andrew Fink and Ryan McDonough gouged their names into what is known as the Peek-a-Boo petroglyph panel, believed to have been left by people of the Basket-maker culture, who lived in the area 1,000 to 2,000 years ago. One of the vandals' signatures was 14 feet long, done in large block letters. According to Dance, who handled this case too, there was extensive local media coverage of the vandalism.

Investigators matched the carved names with back-country permits issued by Canyonlands rangers, which led them to Fink and McDonough. Both admitted defacing the petroglyphs. With



JEFF LONG, BLM

damage to the rock art assessed at well over \$500, the act qualifies as a felony under the Archaeological Resources Protection Act. Attorneys for Fink and McDonough negotiated an agreement with the U.S. Attorney's office in which they pled guilty to one count each of a misdemeanor ARPA violation in return for their paying the cost of

restoring the rock art, which was over \$10,000. Both were given a year's probation and 100 hours of community service cleaning graffiti off buildings in Denver.

And on BLM land near the town of Kanab, authorities discovered rock art defaced with a swastika, Satanic symbols, and three nicknames. Curtis Cox, 23, who pled guilty to a felony ARPA violation, was sentenced to three years' probation and 50 hours of community service, and was ordered to pay \$2,705 toward restitution of the art. Audra Cox, also 23,

FACING PAGE: A vandal's graffiti scrawled over 2,000-year-old rock art at Canyonlands National Park; ABOVE: Prehistoric rock shelter at Canyonlands; LEFT: Ancient markings defaced by Satanic symbols on BLM land in Utah.

pled guilty to a misdemeanor ARPA violation. She also received three years' probation and agreed to cooperate with prosecutors regarding the involvement of a third party named Caruso. Caruso, whose deeply gouged swastika was the worst of the damage, pled guilty to a felony ARPA violation and agreed to pay the same amount as Curtis Cox toward restitution. Caruso is scheduled to be sentenced as this issue goes to press.

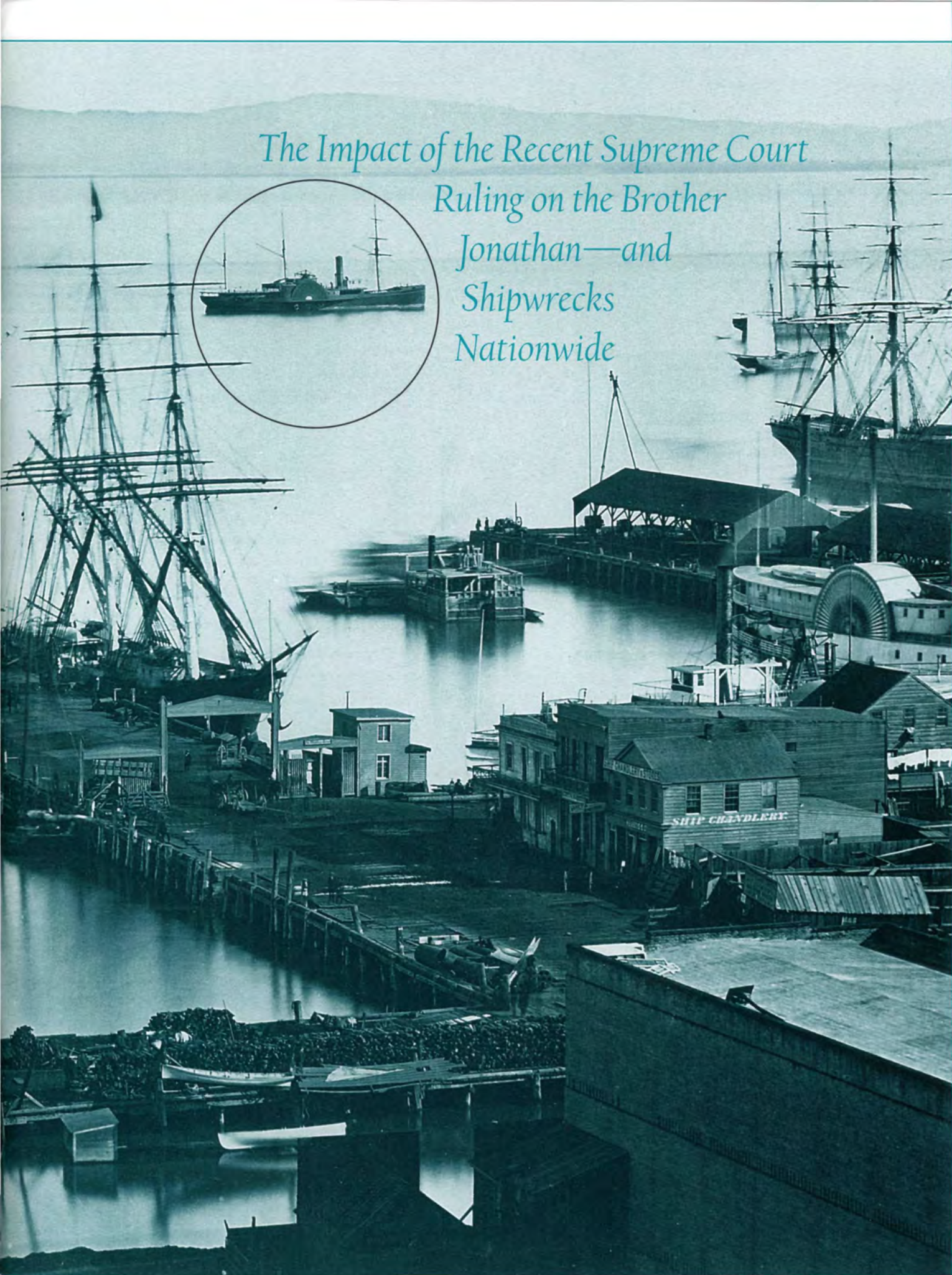
on hold

In the continuing legal struggle over the *Brother Jonathan*, the Supreme Court has ruled that, unless a state has “actual possession” of a shipwreck, federal courts can decide if the Abandoned Shipwreck Act or the law of salvage applies. The justices then remanded the case to the federal district court to reconsider the issue that made it difficult from the beginning: whether or not

RIGHT: Rare photograph of the *Brother Jonathan* (circled) at anchor in San Francisco harbor, ca. 1863.



*The Impact of the Recent Supreme Court
Ruling on the Brother
Jonathan—and
Shipwrecks
Nationwide*



“The determination sends the legal dispute back into the thicket of issues surrounding what constitutes abandonment—not least of which is who shoulders the burden of proof—a question some preservationists hoped the high court would resolve.”

the *Brother Jonathan* was abandoned. To reach this determination, the justices told the lower court to use admiralty case law, which goes back to the 1800s, instead of the “express abandonment” test it applied in earlier rulings, which says that owners must deliberately abdicate title.

At issue was whether California can protect the paddle wheel steamer, sunk in 1865 and eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, from a salvage firm that says it bought 19th-century insurance company rights to part of the cargo (however, claims records did not surface in any of the rulings—all focused on jurisdiction—and it is unclear what the company acquired). The vessel was reportedly carrying \$2 million in gold and a U.S. Army payroll estimated at about \$250,000 when it struck a rock four and a half miles off the California coast and sank in less than an hour with the loss of nearly everyone aboard.

Under the ASA, a state automatically assumes title if a wreck is abandoned and either embedded in state submerged lands or on these lands and listed on (or eligible for) the National Register. With the exception of foreign vessels, if any of these conditions are not met, the wreck is subject to federal admiralty law and jurisdiction. In 1995, the federal district court for the Northern District of California ruled that because California had not proved the *Brother Jonathan*’s abandonment, the case fell under the admiralty law of salvage.

In attempting to assert that the federal court did not have jurisdiction in the case, California had cited the ASA as well as its own preservation statutes. This two-pronged approach, the state reasoned, would invoke the 11th Amendment, which protects states from being sued in federal court without their permission (*Deep Sea Research, Inc. v. Brother Jonathan and California* 89 F3d 680 [9th Cir. 1996]), rehearing

denied and amended opinion, 102 F3d 379). California argued that, without its consent, federal admiralty courts did not have the power to adjudicate its interest in the vessel.

The district court ruled (and the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed) that since California did not prove abandonment, it could not claim 11th Amendment sovereign immunity. In addition, the federal courts ruled that the ASA preempts California’s preservation statute.

The Supreme Court, for its part, said that the 11th amendment does not prevent federal courts from determining whether the law of salvage or the ASA applies. Citing 19th century cases, the justices said that the standard for states should be the same as for sovereign nations, which are not immune to admiralty suits unless they have “actual possession” of a vessel. The high court also noted that if the *Brother Jonathan* is found to be abandoned and the ASA applies, there would be no need to address the issue of whether the act preempts the California preservation statute.

The determination sends the legal dispute back into the thicket of issues surrounding what constitutes abandonment—not least of which is who shoulders the burden of proof—a question some preservationists hoped the high court would resolve. Now states will have to fight out shipwreck cases one by one, says Peter Pelkofer, senior counsel with the California State Lands Commission. This, he says, is what the ASA intended to prevent (they will also have to determine “actual possession,” which the court did not define).

A new trial in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California will determine whether the *Brother Jonathan* is an abandoned shipwreck subject to the ASA, or is not abandoned and subject to the law of salvage. Litigation is expected to go on for several more years.

Drug Probe Yields NAGPRA Conviction

UTAH MAN ADMITS TO SELLING ANASAZI SKULL

On November 21 of last year, Richard Lamb, of Kanab, Utah, pled guilty in federal court in Salt Lake City to one felony ARPA count and a misdemeanor NAGPRA count, both results of his selling a Native American skull to an undercover Park Service agent for \$200. Lamb came to the attention of NPS officials in the summer of 1995, when local police investigating a small-time drug operation got word from a confidential informant that Lamb was offering a prehistoric skull for sale. The informant agreed to introduce the agent to Lamb, which led to the sale and arrest.

At the time of his plea, Lamb was just finishing a two-year prison sentence for a drug distribution offense. U.S. District Judge Tena Campbell sentenced Lamb to five years' probation and 200 hours of community service. He was also ordered to pay \$6,416 to the NPS for the costs of determining the right of control over the skull and reburial of it. According to Assistant U.S. Attorney Wayne Dance, who handled the case, the sentence reflected Lamb's success in a prison drug rehabilitation program and other efforts at reform.

Dance says that where the skull came from is "one of the interesting unknowns" in the case. Lamb initially told the agent that he had personally excavated it and even described the area in southern Utah where it was found. He retracted this claim later, however, saying that he only wanted to make the sale more attractive. He said the skull actually came from someone who had had it in their family for a long time and who gave it to Lamb as payment for a drug debt.

Forensic anthropologists from the Smithsonian Institution and the University of Utah examined the skull and determined that it was that of an adult male Native American who is believed to have lived some time between 100 B.C. and A.D. 700. Local police passed the information about the skull on to Park Service investigators because Lamb's hometown of Kanab is close to Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and they were aware of the NAGPRA implications. Lamb's misde-

Navajo Mask Case Passes Legal Test

■ Supreme Court Lets Trafficking Conviction Stand

The Supreme Court has declined to review the 1996 conviction of Richard Corrow, found guilty in the first jury trial under the criminal provisions of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. In 1995, Corrow purchased a number of Navajo ceremonial masks from the widow of a religious leader (known as an hataali, or chanter) who used the masks in a healing and rain-making ritual known as the Nightway ceremony. Corrow then attempted to sell the masks through East-West Trading Co. of Santa Fe, which sells Native American arts and crafts. Under NAGPRA, the masks are considered items of cultural patrimony that are illegal to buy or sell (see summer 1996 *Common Ground*).

With a successful prosecution led by Assistant U.S. Attorney Paula Burnett, Corrow was sentenced in federal district court to five years' probation and 100 hours of community service (941 F. Supp. 1553 [D.N.M. 1996]). He appealed the verdict in the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals, which upheld the lower court's ruling (119 F3d 796 [1997]). Corrow's attorneys argued that NAGPRA is unconstitutionally vague, particularly in its definitions of "cultural patrimony" and "cultural items" (NAGPRA defines "cultural patri-

mony" as "having ongoing historical, traditional, or cultural importance" to a tribe). They reasoned that these categories are unreasonably broad, and do not give fair notice of what objects are protected or what conduct is illegal under the act. According to the brief filed on Corrow's behalf, "there is nothing unique about the [masks] that would give any person notice of their 'ongoing historical, traditional, or cultural importance,' their cultural patrimony, or their inalienability." NAGPRA, they argued, encourages arbitrary and discriminatory enforcement, because authorities generally cannot determine which objects fit the definitions of "cultural items" or "cultural patrimony."

In declining to review Corrow's case, the Supreme Court let the lower courts' ruling stand. Thus, the only circuit to review a NAGPRA criminal conviction has found that the terms "cultural items" and "cultural patrimony" are not unconstitutionally vague, and that they give legal authorities ample objective guidance to enforce the law. NAGPRA's language, the Tenth Circuit ruled, gave Corrow fair notice to verify ownership of the masks, which the Navajos consider living gods, tribal property, and meant to remain within the four sacred mountains that delineate their reservation.

meanor NAGPRA offense, his first, was for trafficking in Native American human remains (18 U.S.C. 1170[a]). Subsequent NAGPRA violations are considered felonies.

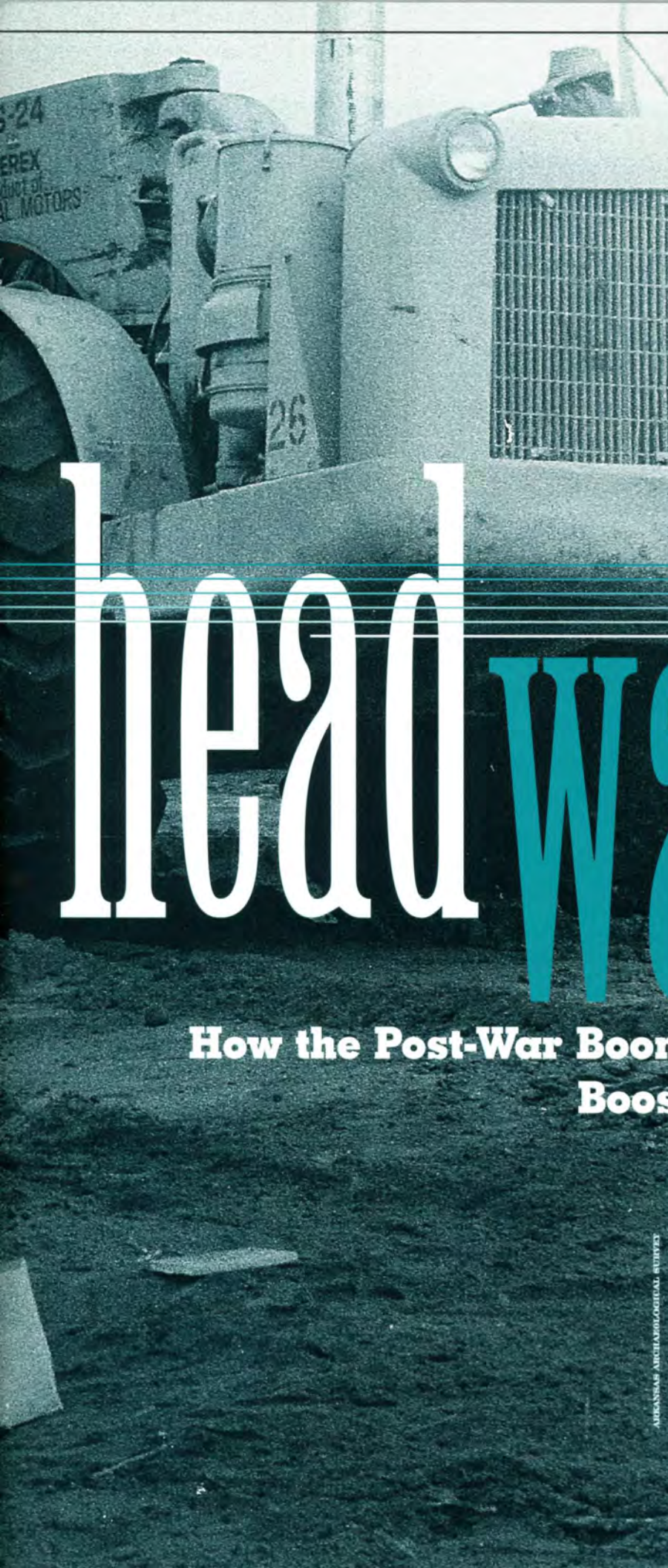
His ARPA offense came under the interstate commerce provisions of the law (16 U.S.C. 470ee [c]), since he brought the skull from Fredonia, Arizona, to Utah for sale.



By Charles R.
McGimsey III

IT IS 50 YEARS since the federal government, at the urging of professional archeologists and historians, began to conduct and fund archeological investigations as part of public projects. While not present at the creation of the River Basin Archeological Salvage Program, Bob McGimsey and others of his generation played essential roles in the development and elaboration of these public efforts. *Common Ground* is pleased to present some recent thoughts and research on the history of American archeology in this important era from Dr. McGimsey.

—Francis P. McManamon,
Chief, National Park
Service Archeology and
Ethnography Program



headwaters

How the Post-War Boom Boosted Archeology

Every river, no matter how large, begins with one small rivulet, its headwater. If the rivulet is to become a stream and subsequently a river it must be joined by ever increasing sources of support. So it is with ideas and

Left: actions that become successful programs, of whatever sort. They often have small, seemingly inconsequential, points of beginning that later, and with many additions, lead to significant developments.

It is hard for those of us active in archeology today, involved as we are with historic preservation plans, environmental impact statements, and cultural resource

management, where nearly every federal agency has a staff of archeologists and each actively funds archeology as a normal part of its operations, to recall that immediately after WWII no such programs or activities existed—not even in anyone's mind's eye.

In the years immediately prior to the war the federal government had been actively involved with archeological projects, many of them quite massive, under-



ARKANSAS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

Nusbaum wrote an official letter to the superintendent of the Navajo Reservation (a federal employee) recommending that El Paso Natural Gas meet the cost of an archeological survey . . . In reply he received a phone call from the superintendent indicating that he did not wish to ask the company to meet such costs as he feared such a request would imperil the entire contract negotiations.

taken in relation to Depression Era social programs and TVA dams. But in 1944 the Depression was no more. The social programs were over and done with. Neither was there much left to do in the way of additional TVA dams. The federal government was completely out of the archeological business (except for work in the National Parks) and there was no reason for archeologists, or anyone else, to think that that situation would change.

But, as we know, the government did become very involved in archeology and remains so. How did that come to pass?

THE RIVER BASIN SURVEYS, 1945

As WWII began to wind down the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation began to gear up for a major post-war program of constructing power and water control dams on the Missouri River and its tributaries, as well as elsewhere. Sometime in 1944 Julian Steward, then with the Bureau of American Ethnology, read a news

article about the proposed program and called Frank Roberts into his office to discuss what archeologists might do to counteract this major threat to the nation's archeological resources. In May 1944, Society for American Archaeology President J. Alden Mason established a planning committee (Fred Johnson, chair) to review WPA and TVA records so that the WPA work might form a background to legitimize further federal archeological endeavors. Johnson, who had been working for Steward, also became alerted to the proposed construction activity. He consulted with William Duncan Strong, Chair of the National Research Council's committee on the basic needs in archaeology (established in 1939 to provide for review of WPA archeological work and develop archeological standards), and with Ronald F. Lee (chief historian, National Park Service) and others in the National Park Service. Discussions with the Corps and BRec revealed just how

far along their planning was and confirmed everyone's worse fears regarding the threat to archeology.

Over the next several months Johnson, with the help of Julian Steward and others, developed the concept of a small committee of professionals, independent of the federal government but with a broad base of organizational support, who would assist various federal agencies in recovering the threatened archeological materials. The result was what came to be called the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains, or CRAR. This committee first met in May 1945. It consisted of W. S. Web, who had played a major role in administering the WPA program, as chair; A. V. Kidder (who along with Web represented the ACLS); J. O. Brew (representing the American Anthropological Association), and Fred Johnson, as secretary (representing the SAA).

CRAR and the discussions leading to it were largely responsible for initiating the Inter-Agency Archaeological Salvage Program. For the next 30 years the committee was archeology's primary—indeed almost sole—voice in Washington, serving as advisor to the Smithsonian, the Park Service, other federal agencies, and Congress. More than once, it saw to the establishment of or saved essential appropriations for archeology during the period.

During 1945, CRAR helped the Smithsonian and the National Park Service negotiate a number of cooperating agreements with the two primary federal construction agencies, the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. Frank Roberts of the

Smithsonian was dragged into assuming the Herculean and largely thankless task of providing primary scientific direction,



Left: Archeologists at highway construction site in southeast Missouri.

while the Park Service assumed primary responsibility for obtaining funds and for overall administration. Thus was created what became known as the Inter-Agency Archeological and Paleontological Salvage Program (or sometimes as the River Basin Surveys, though the latter term is generally used to refer to that portion of the work done under Smithsonian supervision). A major distinction between this program and most Depression Era federal funding was that now the funding was appropriated to support archeology directly, not archeology as a means to accomplish make-work for a depressed economy.

The initial emphasis was on funding Smithsonian crews to operate in the Missouri Basin and in a few reservoirs in other parts of the country. However, particularly after about 1952, the National Park Service began entering into a series of cooperative agreements with local institutions to do reservoir salvage work both within and outside of the Missouri Basin. Funds were made available to the Park Service annually, using authority established by the Historic Sites Act of 1935, which transferred them to the Smithsonian. For the first two years or so the Corps and BRec made program monies available as well, but the Bureau of the Budget took a dim view of this and that source tended to dry up, especially after the passage of the Reservoir Salvage Act of 1960. That act expanded operations to federally licensed dams, and was widely interpreted as making the National Park Service responsible for all funding. Although funding was relatively large (e.g., in fiscal 1952-53 the Smithsonian had ten parties in the field and

state agencies operating under agreements with the National Park Service had nine), it was never even close to adequate for the amount of work that needed to be done. Despite the best efforts of CRAR on Capitol Hill, funding was always precarious. In 1949, funds were appropriated so late that they could not be spent during that field season and a whole year was lost. Even with its funding limitations, initiation of the Inter-Agency Program severely strained the archeological profession's ability to supply sufficient adequately trained personnel. Not until the mid '70s, when the passage of the Moss-Bennett legislation resulted in an avalanche of new investigations, was the profession placed under a similar strain.

THE EXPANSION OF PUBLIC ARCHEOLOGY, 1950

The San Juan Project, as it was called, is the prime (in both the sense of primary and premier) illustration of the federal government's indirect involvement in archeology immediately after the war. It can be considered the direct forbear of all so-called "contract," "project," or "salvage archeology," now called "CRM."

Sometime toward the middle of 1950, Jesse Nusbaum, departmental consulting archeologist of the National Park Service, based in Santa Fe, became aware of this project, which proposed building a series of gas pipelines across northern New Mexico and Arizona to California, with the southwestern section passing largely, but not entirely, through the Navajo Reservation.

In his role as DCA, Nusbaum had broadly defined responsibilities for protecting archeological resources on federally owned or controlled lands under provisions of the Antiquity Act of 1906, its uniform rules and regulations, and the Historic Sites Act of 1935. He tried, without success, to alert the Park Service and the Department of the Interior to the destruction of archeological resources to be expected as a result of the pipeline project.

On July 20, 1950, Nusbaum wrote an official letter to the general superintendent of the Navajo Reservation (a federal employee) recommending that El Paso Natural Gas meet the cost of an archeological survey for the pipeline's right-of-way, and the subsequent recovery of any archeological data that might be destroyed by the construction. In reply he received a phone call from the superintendent indicating that he did not wish to ask the company to meet such costs as he feared such a request would imperil the entire contract negotiations.

Given the lack of interest shown by his superiors and realizing he was in an administrative box as a Park Service employee, Nusbaum strove to find an alternative route. As it happened, his long-time friend Sam Akeah was the chair of the Navajo Tribal Council. Jesse called Sam and explained to him the nature of the situation and the danger to the archeological resources. As a direct consequence, Mr. Akeah, when he reviewed the initial draft of the pipeline contract a day or so later, indicated a desire to have a small paragraph inserted into the contract providing protection for any endangered archeological sites.

Doubtless because of Mr. Akeah's request, it was arranged for Nusbaum to meet several El Paso officials on the 28th for a flight to Gallup and subsequently to accompany them to a conference with the Navajo officials at Window Rock. Conversation with

the El Paso people during that trip revealed that, while disturbed by the introduction of such a new element so late in the contract negotiations, they were not primarily concerned with the cost of the archeology but rather with the potential cost of any associated construction delays. Nusbaum was able to reassure them on that score and after further discussion the company agreed to fund the archeological research. This agreement was presented at the Window Rock conference, was accepted by all, and the contract negotiations were concluded successfully.

The archeological research project was a success, thanks in no small part to the archeologists involved, Jesse Nusbaum and Fred Wendorf, the project supervising archeologist, and their two field teams (all of whom were, in a sense, working in a new milieu), as well as to the cooperation received from the construction company and the Navajo Nation. Important data were recovered and promptly reported, and the construction work was not delayed. It was followed by other pipeline projects by El Paso and other pipeline companies and became a model not only for pipelines but for other private construction projects done on federal property or under federal permit or license.

HIGHWAY SALVAGE ARCHEOLOGY, 1954

In late March 1954, Fred Wendorf gave a talk about the El Paso pipeline project to a service club in Santa Fe. A few days earlier, while driving down US 66, he had noted federal highway construction that reminded him strongly of the pipeline survey and, at the conclusion of his talk, showed a few slides of this and commented that it was too bad that private firms seemed to be doing a better job of protecting archeology on federal property than the federal agencies themselves. Immediately after his talk, somewhat to Fred's discomfort, a gentleman introduced himself as Mr. W. J. Keller, New Mexico district engineer for the Bureau of Public Roads. However, Mr. Keller immediately assured Fred that he had similar concerns and suggested that they follow up on the problem. Three or four days later Mr. Keller arranged for a meeting in the office of Mr. C. O. Erwin, New Mexico state highway engineer, a meeting that included other state and federal highway officials and Jesse Nusbaum of the National Park Service. The audience proved to be sympathetic, and details for an informal operating program were rapidly worked out.

One of the early highway projects was carried out near Reserve, New Mexico, on U. S. Forest Service land and, while engaged in that project Fred met and discussed what was going on with some Forest Service personnel. As a consequence, it was arranged to undertake similar work in connection with Forest Service road construction. However, here a snag promptly developed. When the first bill was presented (for \$600) the Forest Service business office refused to honor it and sent it off to the U.S. comptroller general for an opinion.

Fortunately, Mr. C. D. Curtis, U. S. commissioner of public roads, was interested in archeology (he had recently reviewed the New Mexico situation favorably) so when the problem arose with regard to the Forest Service he arranged for Fred to meet with the comptroller general to determine if the charges were appropriate. Fred's meeting went well and payment was approved for such projects. After the meeting Curtis noted to Fred that while that

was all well and good, comptroller generals change and that it would be wise to incorporate such approval in law. New Mexico's Sen. Denis Chavez, the chair of the Senate public works committee, was at that time working on what was to become the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956; Rep. John Dempsey of New Mexico was the ranking member of the House public works committee. So Fred, being from New Mexico, had an "in." Accordingly, Sen. Chavez' staff was contacted and, back in New Mexico, Wendorf sat down with Keller and Erwin to draft an appropriate addition to the highway bill relating to archeology. Fred carried this draft with him for weeks awaiting a call from Chavez' staff. In due course the call came and he read them the proposed addition. It was duly incorporated into the bill.

All was not yet smooth sailing, however, for prior to the development of rules and regulations for the new highway legislation, there was a change in personnel at the Bureau of Public Roads and the new administrators were not favorably inclined toward archeology. Fred had one more ace in the hole. During WWII Rep. Sam Rayburn of Texas had nominated him to West Point (though circumstances had prevented his actually going). Calling on this connection, Fred contacted Rayburn and visited him in Washington. As a result, Rayburn's staff contacted the Bureau of Public Roads to inquire as to whether there was some insurmountable problem vis a vis archeology. Lo and behold, there was not, as it developed, and the Federal Highway Salvage Program was underway, although not without individual problems to be overcome in almost every state.

Reservoir salvage work and, after 1956, highway salvage, constituted the major federally funded involvement with archeology until the mid 1970s.

CONCLUSION

In concluding, perhaps I should emphasize that by highlighting, as I have, a few of the many individuals involved in initiating these post WWII programs that began the present commitment of the federal government to archeology, I am not propounding any "great man" theory of history. Far from it. The initial rivulets, while having a role to play, have relevance and value only when and to the degree that the rest of the sources are present and functioning well. Perhaps there is just a suggestion that much, if not most, history is happenstance: a succession of events whereby the right person is in the right place at the right time or, alternatively, in the wrong spot at the wrong time. Carpe Diem!

SOURCES

"The River Basin Surveys": Larry Banks, pers. comm., 1997; Brew, 1962; Corbett, 1961; Fagette, 1996; Johnson, 1973; Lehmer, 1971; Lyon, 1996; Roberts Jr., 1949; Gordon Willey, pers. comm., 1997.

"The Expansion of Public Archeology": Nusbaum, 1956; Fred Wendorf, pers. comm., 1997.



Right: Salvaging prehistoric pit houses damaged by road construction in Arizona.



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"Highway Salvage Archeology": Knudson, 1984; Wendorf, 1961; Fred Wendorf, pers. comm., 1997.

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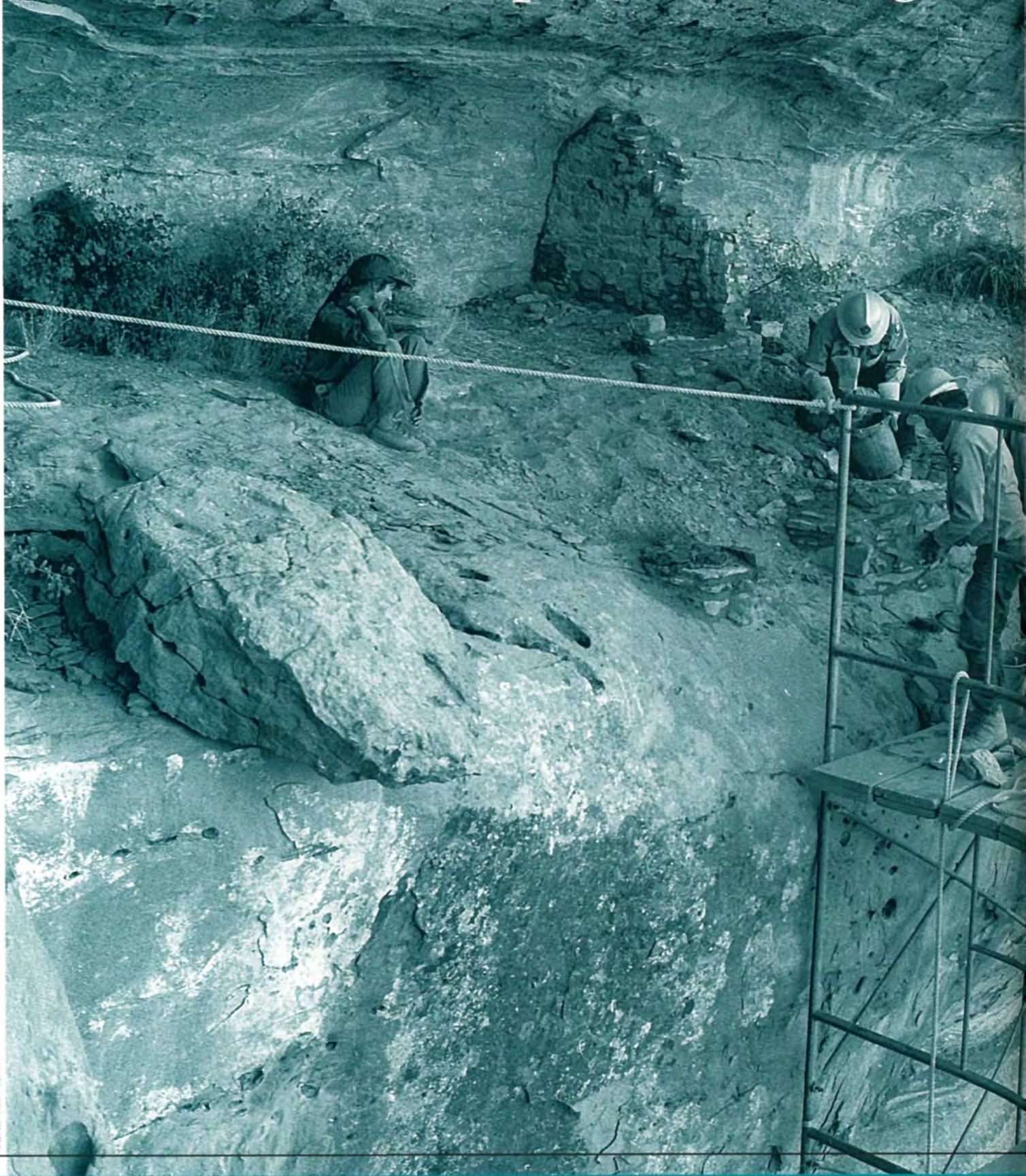
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The New Landscape of Archeology



CERIL WEBB/ONDS



Ruins *and Renewal*

P
eering at a

ruin through the lens of a camera, an archeologist focuses on a cooking hearth, an architect on what is left of the floor supports, a traditional craftsman on the workmanship, an ethnographer on the descendants of the original dwellers (there, perhaps, to testify to the ongoing resonance of the place). Whether looking at standing ruins or foundations worn to

LEFT: Park Service stabilization crew tends to ruins at Chaco Culture National Historical Park.



JAMES VAZZIE

PARK SERVICE INITIATIVES

NPS Cultural Landscape Inventory

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Historic Landscapes Initiative

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www2.cr.nps.gov/hli/hli_p.htm

“The concept of the cultural landscape [highlights] the premise that people do not passively inhabit a place, that their imprint survives in the archeological record and in the oral histories, place names, and traditional practices of present-day groups.”

near-invisibility, each of these professionals sees differently. Today, all of their viewpoints, and more, inform a new interdisciplinary, holistic approach to preserving above-ground remains. This issue of *Common Ground* looks at how this cross-pollinating has seeded a number of initiatives to identify, interpret, and protect sites, structures, and earthworks that, until now, have withstood centuries of weathering and neglect.

Notwithstanding the architectural skills of past peoples, many ruins that once dominated the landscape are deteriorating due to lack of funds to maintain them. In the mid-1990s, a number of Park Service professionals in the Southwest, encouraged by then-director Roger Kennedy, initiated a grassroots effort to preserve ruins in their parks—parks that, in many cases, had joined the park system because of the very ruins now threatened. Todd Metzger, Ellen Brennan, and Kathy Fiero report on the progress in halting the destruction of these “Vanishing Treasures.”

Rarely do highly visible structures exist in isolation; often they are part of an evolving network of social and geographic relationships. Gardens, irrigation canals, trails, and roads are just a few of the physical manifestations of these networks. They too must be incorporated into a preservation strategy. Archeologists have long studied the spatial arrangements of human settlement, as have historical architects who study formally designed and rural landscapes. Increasingly, the concept of the cultural landscape, though not yet a discipline itself, is being used as a unifying theme to highlight the premise that people do not passively inhabit a place, that their imprint survives in the archeological record and in the oral histories, place names, and traditional



practices of present-day groups.

The cultural landscape is fertile ground for cooperation among archeologists, architects, historians, folklorists, ethnographers, and others—as Tom Carter’s work on the vernacular architecture of the West demonstrates. But its broad scope also brings challenges for preservationists looking to protect these places by nominating them to national and international registries such as World Heritage Sites.

An initiative to inventory cultural landscapes in the Park Service illustrates the problems and promises. Because the inventory is based on criteria for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, it falls short of the overarching view of ethnographic landscapes described by Michael Evans. Similarly, Steve Pendery cautions that because a landscape may have many culturally significant layers, archeologists must find common cause with historic landscape preservationists in deciding what to nominate and preserve.

Social and political landscapes are difficult to bound physically. This does not mean they are any less real. Certainly, the Western Apache concept of landscape, as interpreted by Keith Basso under the tutelage of his tribal mentors, gives meaning to the very essence of how a people see themselves and their places. Equally meaningful is the value bestowed by politicians and voters on properties incorporated into parks, greenbelts, and heritage sites. Linda Mayro offers a glimpse of the political process that gave voters in Pima County, Arizona, a chance to reaffirm the historical and natural meaning of their surroundings.

And that vote represents the common voice heard in all of these initiatives. Preserving ruins, in and of itself, is not the end goal. The goal is linking value to meaning—whether it is voiced by

grassroots enthusiasts, political advocates, ethnographers, historical architects, or ethnic groups striving to preserve their culture.

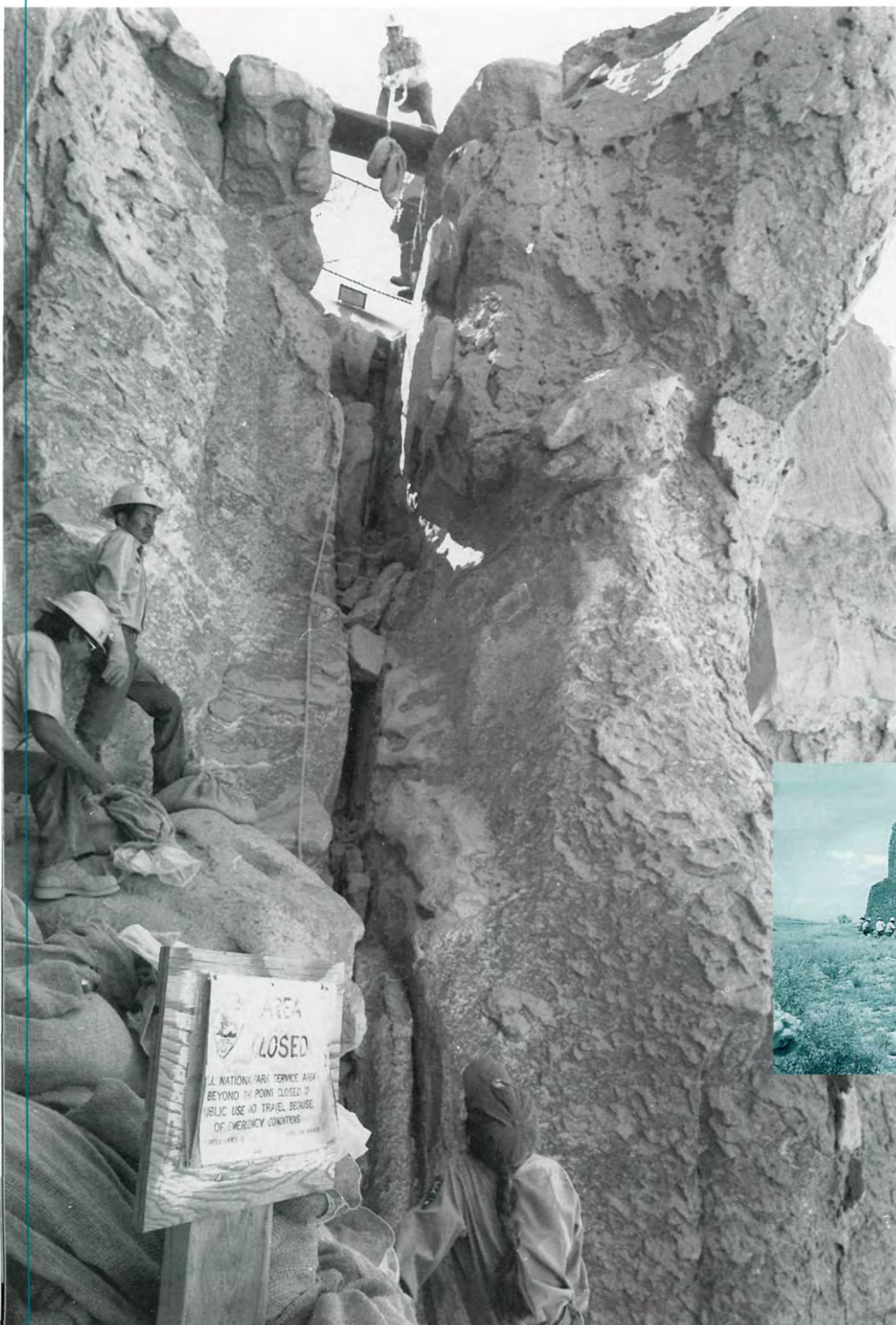
—Veletta Canouts

UPPER LEFT: Restoration underway at Chaco Culture;
LOWER LEFT: Hopi crew member at Wupatki National Monument; **OPPOSITE:** Documenting stabilization work at Wupatki; **BELOW:** Repointing mortar joints in remains of walls at Chaco Culture.



OPPOSITE AND LOWER LEFT: MONTY ROESSEL





LEFT: KATE DOWDY/NPS; RIGHT: CECIL WERTON/NPS



anishing treasures

As these words are being written, thousands of ruins in the Southwest are threatened with deterioration and collapse. Some are World Heritage Sites, others are places of spiritual meaning for tribes; all are gems of the national park system. Former Park Service Director Roger Kennedy calls the situation "an undeniable crisis in care."

■ It is a problem long in the making. Throughout the century, the Park Service has had to repair ruins under the brunt of heavy visitation. The craftsmen were usually local people who traced their ancestry to the sites; the supervisors a small cadre of archeologists expert in indigenous architecture. The primary repair material was mortar made from Portland cement. ■ Despite the skill of the work, by the 1970s it became clear that the cement was hastening, not halting, the destruction. After a flurry of experiments with new materials, the problem was forced to the back burner by inflation, the disbanding of the repair unit, and the retirements of key personnel. For over a decade, the situation lan-

guished—with visitation and nature continuing to take their toll—only to resurface with a vengeance in the early 1990s. ■ A handful of park managers began to compare notes about the deteriorating sites in their care; the result was a grassroots program called "Vanishing Treasures." As the following articles illustrate, the program is tackling the problem on three fronts: first, by documenting the rate of deterioration; second, by repairing structures in imminent danger (while fostering new techniques and materials); and third, by training a new generation of craftsmen before the older ones have retired. ■ Each of these initiatives has been infused with a wealth of ideas, thanks to the involvement of a wider range of professionals. Each has had success and failure. The failures, by and large, are tainted by a recurring theme: lack of funds. ■ Glenn Fulfer, superintendent of Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument, says the Vanishing Treasures program is "a last defense against the loss of these tangible symbols of America's heritage." As the destruction continues apace, hopefully it's not too little, too late.

Stabilization crews race against time and the elements, an all-too-prevalent scene in the Southwest.

—TODD R. METZGER, CHIEF, DIVISION OF RESOURCES MANAGEMENT, NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
FLAGSTAFF AREA NATIONAL MONUMENTS; PROGRAM AGENT, VANISHING TREASURES PROGRAM



LEFT AND RIGHT: KATHLEEN TIERO

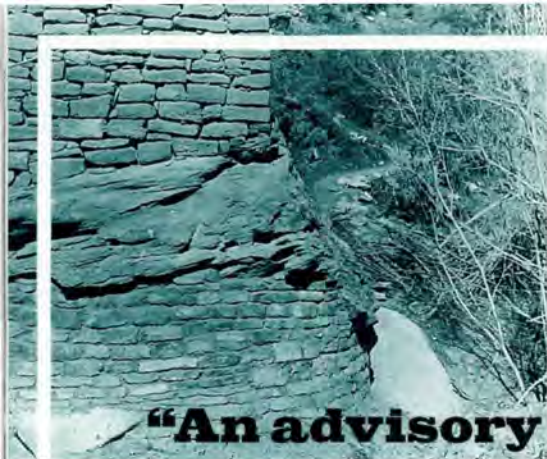
a legacy in

By Kathleen Fiero



THE FABRIC OF Square Tower, its stonework crafted by the ancestors of Arizona's and New Mexico's Pueblo Indians, has withstood the test of centuries. But during the last three decades, nature—perhaps unwittingly abetted by an early preservation plan—has been getting the upper hand. To deal with the problem, the Park Service has put together a repair kit packed with the tools of an unusual range of professionals. This meeting of the minds promises to pioneer a new way of caring for the nation's prehistoric landmarks.

■ **vanishing
treasures**



"An advisory group was recruited with the professional depth that could not only solve the problem at hand, but also pioneer a new paradigm for preserving such structures."

The edifice rises up in a complex of intriguingly shaped houses, dams, and towers, situated at the head of Little Ruin Canyon in southeastern Utah's Hovenweep National Monument. Not much is known about the prehistory of Hovenweep—declared a national monument in 1923 because of its spectacular Puebloan architecture—since there has been little excavation here. The construction of the complex, wet-laid, single- and double-coursed walls of carefully shaped stones interrupted here and there by raised doorways, is typical of the Northern San Juan Pueblos, evidenced in the towers, great houses, kivas, dams, and walls they built throughout the region in the 13th century. It is the location and durability of this complex that sets it apart. One- and two-story structures cluster at the heads of canyons—on the rims, on the slopes, on boulders, even tucked into the cliff faces. For some, only rubble remains; others are superbly preserved except for their roofs. Square Tower, the centerpiece of the Park Service unit in which it resides, is one of these.

The tower's high, nearly intact walls rest on a sandstone boulder immediately adjacent to the main drainage at the foot of the canyon, next to where a spring empties out. And there lies the problem. In 1960, with water eroding the rock and threatening to topple the tower, the Park Service constructed a protective wall of local sandstone set in Portland cement mortar. Then, obscured by overgrowth and forgotten as personnel changed over the next 30 years, nature went to work.

When the vegetation was cut in 1990, it became apparent that the wall, far from staving off the erosion, had possibly accelerated it, with sizable areas eroding out of the rock face on the northeast and southeast corners. Deposits of calcium sulfate on the boulder and the wall meant either a dissolving of the natural bonding material in the sandstone or salt from the concrete eating its way in. Or both. The cause of the problem was obvious—water. But what were the forces feeding the erosion? The relatively high water table? Surface runoff? Or water moving underground from the mesa into the drainage?

Park Service managers took immediate action. Mary Griffiths, geologist at Mesa Verde National Park, undertook a study of consolidants that could keep the sandstone grains from dissolving (with erosion, the grains flake off to the touch). She soon focused on ethyl silicate as the most promising. The monument's staff pruned back the vegetation and—to channel possible flash floods—constructed a gabion along the bank adjacent to the boulder. Runoff patterns were also modified to direct water away.

The deep cavity between the wall and the boulder was filled with mud mortar, a natural material, to keep out water. Historic photographs of the tower and boulder were collected (the earliest dates to 1892), and the public trail was closed so visitors would not get hurt by a collapsing wall.

Meanwhile, an advisory group was recruited with the professional depth that could not only solve the problem at hand, but also pioneer a new paradigm for preserving such structures, which dot the Southwest. Present on the team were a geologist, several historic architects and structural engineers, a fabric conservator, and a number of archeologists, representing the Park Service, the U.S. Geological Survey, the Bureau of Reclamation, the University of Pennsylvania, and the Utah Historic Preservation Office.

There was a crosscurrent of ideas that one would expect given the group. There is a twist in the tower, possibly induced by recent events. Believing that, unchecked, it could hasten the structure's demise, one of the architects suggested erecting a rigid armature inside. An engineer countered that an inflexible skeleton could restrict natural shifts caused by changes in temperature. So, among other short-term recommendations, the group advised measuring the movement scientifically as a first step.

The work of the Historic American Building Survey, a Park Service unit who fielded a project team in 1993, is the result of this interdisciplinary ferment (see *Federal Archeology*, spring 1995). Under the direction of HABS architect Joseph Balachowski, the team deployed the tools of architectural photography—Linhoff Metrika 150mm and 90mm photogrammetric cameras—with paper bulls-eyes affixed to the stonework. The bulls-eyes acted as data points, ensuring a record as precise as an architect's drawing, a first for a Park Service archeological site.

Past documentation of such ruins has generally been accurate,

LEFT, RIGHT: Support wall beneath Square Tower after it was completed in 1960; ABOVE: The structure after vegetation was cut away from its base and a gabion built to divert flash floods.

■ **treasures**

but elevations, almost by necessity, have been drawn with a good deal of artistic license. The highly irregular surfaces make conventional measuring all but impossible. In this case, HABS produced elevations directly from the photogrammetric images, which were digitized, stone by stone, into Autocad software at the computer-aided drafting studio the survey shares with the Historic American Engineering Record (part of the reason for such exactitude was to have a record of this architectural masterpiece should it ever be lost).

With these data as a baseline, the Park Service monitored the movement using a program designed by Park Service engineer Dave Keough. A year's worth of measurements helped determine whether the twist was introduced during the tower's construction in the 13th century, between its abandonment and the earliest photographs in the late 1800s, or recently. The data showed no movement significant enough to be a threat, and the vintage photos evidenced no twisting since the turn of the century.

Not all of the plans unfolded as expected. The engineers had recommended burying a French drain in the rock debris against the boulder on its west and south sides. But excavators under the supervision of Mesa Verde archeologist Dave Johnson found a well-preserved kiva just below the surface. Consequently the drain was not installed. Instead, the kiva was covered up (to protect it from the elements) and moisture meters were sunk in the backfill to measure the water flow. The meters, which also record temperature, have been read monthly since 1995.

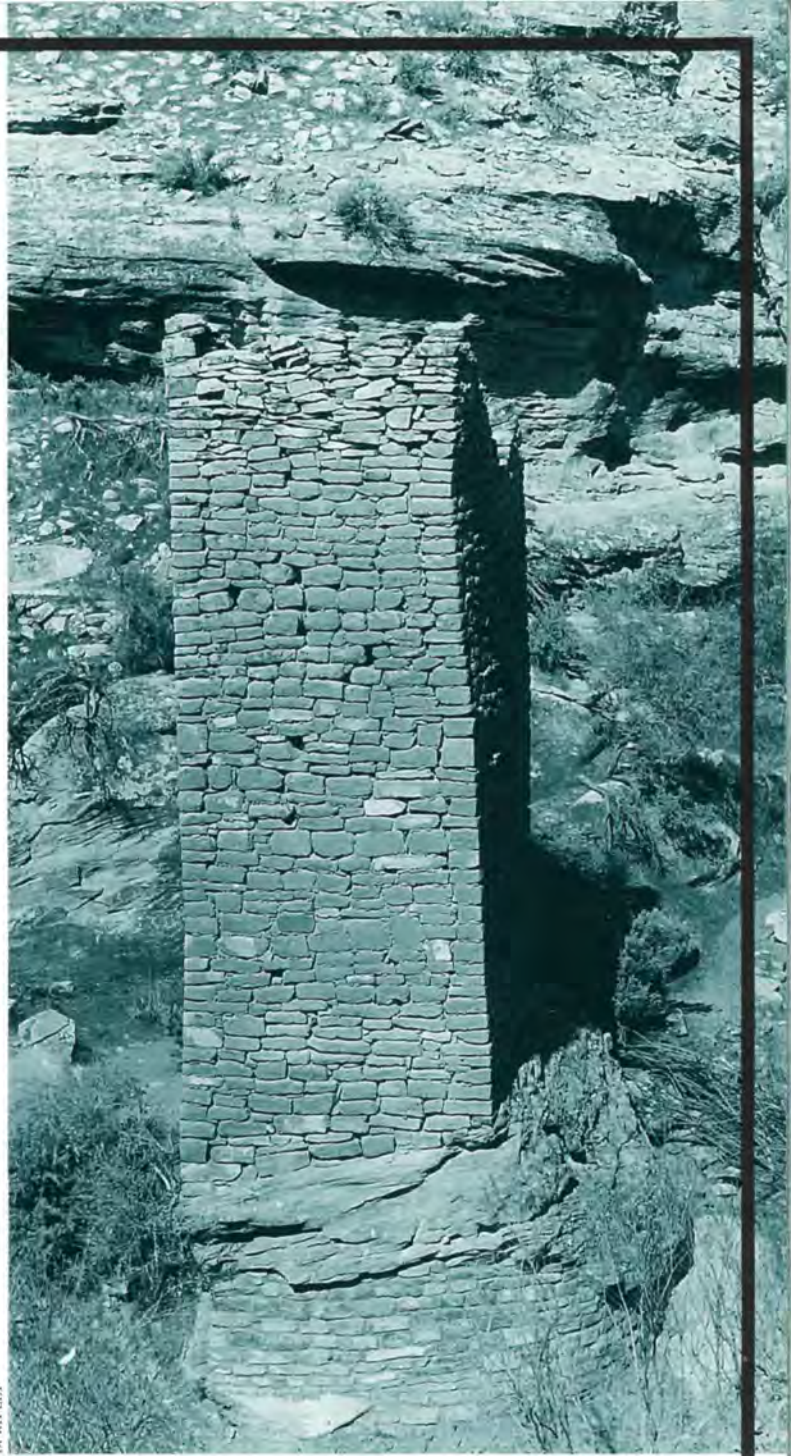
The park archeologist advised installing ceramic pins in three places on the boulder to monitor surface erosion. And, on the recommendation of conservator Frank Matero, deep voids in the sandstone were packed with hydrated hydraulic lime and sand, a dry, natural mixture softer than the rock itself (harder materials like the concrete tend to accelerate erosion).

During this time, Griffiths was testing the ethyl silicate on boulders near the tower, and the surrounding water was tested for salts to determine if it was the origin of the eroding forces. Several stones were removed from the wall but no erosion was noted behind them. The stones were reset in a mud mortar (again, a natural material) for easy removal and checking in the future.

Al Decker, a retired member of the crew who built the wall, was interviewed, but could remember little of the specific rationale behind its construction. The obvious concern at the time was that the eroding boulder would lead to the collapse the tower.

The joints in the tower's stonework were filled with mud mortar hardened by a liquid acrylic polymer to extend its life. This work was carried out by the Mesa Verde masonry workers Raymond Begay, Gene Trujillo, Willie Begay, and Kee John—assisted by myself and Phil Wilson. Before repointing, Mesa Verde archeologist Larry Nordby wrote an historic structures report documenting the details of the mortar and other features of the tower.

After three years of successful lab and field tests, it was time to apply the ethyl silicate to the boulder. But first, conservator Anne Oliver did detailed photographic and graphic documentation of the sandstone surface. Salts were removed too. I worked with Griffiths and Matero to apply the ethyl silicate, in 1996 and last year.



The project continues. The ethyl silicate has definitely hardened the boulder, but the real cause of the deterioration has not been addressed. The rain falls and the stream still flows into Little Ruin Canyon, with the water table only inches below the surface at the base of the boulder much of the year. It is hoped that the erosion has been reduced but only monitoring will tell. Now, with the short term recommendations carried out, we plan to reconvene our advisors to take on the long term preservation of the boulder—and the precious piece of our nation's heritage perched precariously upon it.

For more information, contact Kathleen Fiero, Site Preservation (Stabilization) Archeologist, Mesa Verde National Park, Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado 81330, (970) 529-4510, fax (970) 529-4498.

■ **treasures**

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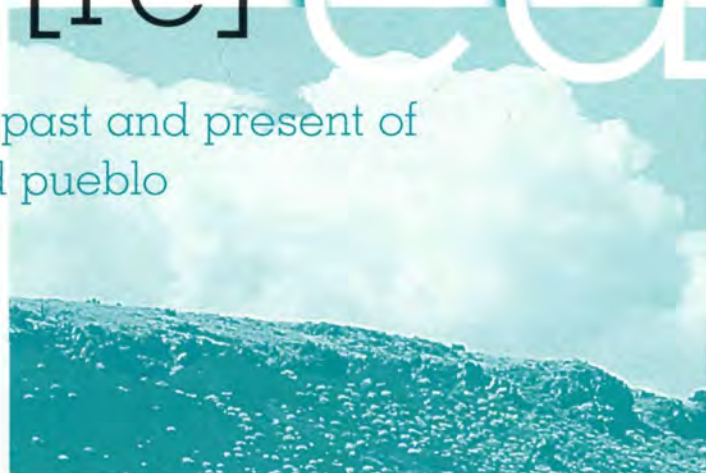
documenting the past and present of
an endangered pueblo

ver the past year and a half, students from Northern Arizona University, the author among them, have helped document architectural remains at Wupatki and Walnut Canyon National Monuments. The project has been instrumental in developing hard data on the condition of ruins throughout the National Park Service.

Of all the structures investigated, Wupatki Pueblo was the most challenging, says the author. It is used here not only as an example of the documentation process, but also to point out the critical importance of such efforts.

Vintage photo of Wupatki National Monument, Arizona, which was occupied between the 11th and 13th centuries.

by ellen brennan



turing a ruin



Wupatki Pueblo has often been described as a “nexus,” a place where the Hohokam, Kayenta, Sinagua, Cohonina, and Prescott cultures came together to exchange goods, traditions, and ideas. It is the

largest pueblo within the boundaries of Wupatki National Monument, with about 70 ground floor rooms. A masonry ball court—the only one of its kind in northern Arizona—was built here, along with an unroofed “amphitheater” reminiscent of a great kiva.

Archeologists have generally accepted that Wupatki was built by the people of the Sinagua culture sometime between A.D. 1140 to 1220. Beyond that, however, they still ponder Wupatki's place in the Southwest's prehistoric cultural landscape. How was it built? Who built it? Who really lived there, and how did it expand over time? Wall construction patterns, sealed doorways and vents, beam sockets, and differences in building techniques over time are a few of the clues used to answer such questions.

How can we answer the questions, though, if we don't know the structure's original nature? Over the last 65 years, Wupatki Pueblo has been subjected to excavation, restoration, and stabilization, depending on the Park Service preservation philosophy

multiple mortar applications effectively mask all the original bonding and abutments. Many architectural attributes have been destroyed or altered, with modern “artifacts”—like in-wall drains—added to mimic original features (features that have not changed, such as sealed doorways and vents, are particularly helpful clues to a structure's original nature).

While records research is always important, here it became the singularly most essential part of documenting the highly stabilized Wupatki Pueblo. We used original excavation records, photographs, and stabilization reports to document change. Baseline data—the starting point for any future preservation plans—were assembled by identifying what was original, what was modern, and what had been altered or inadvertently removed.

We were able to answer some of these archeological questions. Researchers have doubted the authenticity of the so-called “Chaco wall” in one of the pueblo's rooms, long seen as an artifact of stabilization workers familiar with the building technique at Chaco Canyon. Our research verified that the wall was constructed in that fashion by the Pueblo's inhabitants. We were also able to re-identify three segments of a “plaza/retaining wall” first mapped by J. Fisher Motz in 1934 but subsequently dropped from later records. And we re-established as original a wall segment misinterpreted as a modern support structure for a water drain.

What have we learned? On a practical level, the baseline data from our project helped recapture some of the

at the time. Even though many projects were undertaken to preserve the pueblo, some rooms were significantly altered. Clearly, a method was needed to document the ruin's original state as well as its current condition.

The documentation of untreated or minimally treated ruins has a long history in the National Park Service. Attributes cataloged during such projects include construction techniques, stone and chinking properties, provenience data for room features, wall and room measurements, mortar types, general room condition, and factors of deterioration. The process is straightforward, combining records research, field documentation, database management, photography, and graphics imagery. Separate construction events are identified through mortar types, masonry styles, and bond and abutment patterns.

Archeologists believe such documentation can be used as a template for preservation. By concisely describing the original construction as well as the intensity of the destructive forces, repairs can be made that are structurally and aesthetically compatible with the original architecture. This approach is important not only in terms of study, but also in the visitor's ability to appreciate technological accomplishments of the past.

In our project, however, we needed to shift our focus away from masonry and wall patterns. Wupatki's 65 years of

information lost due to the earlier experimentation. We know what changes have taken place over the last six decades. We know what is original. This is vital in planning future preservation and interpretation. On a management level, we have gained insight into which preservation strategies have and have not worked. Fortunately, the National Park Service and other agencies are learning from these past experiments even as they develop new techniques to protect these resources. As a result, we are less prone to making decisions that may turn out to be detrimental.

Just as importantly, however, we have reaffirmed that even extensively treated ruins are indeed valuable in research and public interpretation. It is incumbent upon us now to use this information wisely.

Ellen Brennan, an anthropology graduate student at Northern Arizona University, worked on the project described in this article through a cooperative agreement with the National Park Service Flagstaff Area National Monuments. Brennan can be reached through her e-mail address: ebrennan2@aol.com. For additional information, contact Todd R. Metzger, National Park Service, Flagstaff Area National Monuments, 6400 N. Highway 89, Flagstaff, AZ, 86004, (520) 526-1157, ext. 222, e-mail todd_metzger@nps.gov.



■ *vanishing* treasures

High on the Endangered List

The Vanishing Treasures program has a vision, a plan, and a plethora of proposals to stave off the destruction. But without funds, is the program itself a candidate for the endangered list?

Montezuma Castle . . . Canyon de Chelly . . . Bandelier . . . ruins at these and other parks throughout the nation—including those shown opposite—have long been honored among our greatest treasures. Yet year by year, stone by stone, they are succumbing to erosion, burrowing rodents, vandalism, and the unintended effect of thousands of visitors. The National Park Service, custodian of most of these places, has cared for them as need arose and funds allowed. "Reverent care, but not efficient care," is how former director Roger Kennedy described it.

Vanishing Treasures—a proactive initiative jump-started by staffers in these parks—hopes to change that. The key is an infrastructure geared to the long haul.

In the past, problems were dealt with piecemeal, with no system of accountability for fix-it or maintenance projects even when they did win funding. Now, a formal proposal system has been set up. Parks compete for project money by submitting fully fleshed out plans—and timetables. Over 40 parks have already submitted proposals, with a team of top NPS professionals recruited to judge them. Staffers have also instituted a standardized system for taking inventory of the ruins, assessing their condition, measuring the progress of preservation, and keeping tabs on costs, all elements spelled out in the initiative's long-range plan—*Vanishing Treasures: A Legacy in Ruins*—published earlier this year.

The problem is the seed money. The program was slated for \$60 million over 10 years, but even with the economy humming it has "gotten only a dribble of that" says one Park Service official. This fiscal year the initiative received \$1 million. There is strong backing, however, from the agency's highest managers, including the director.

Still, park staffers eschew a "woe is me attitude" in favor of refining the infrastructure and steering money to the most needy projects. With the coming wave of baby-boomer retirements—and skyrocketing visitation—they hope that Congress will eventually come through with the funds. Whether future generations will have the privilege of standing before the ruins of America's frontier forts, native cliff dwellings, and Spanish missions hangs in the balance.



FORT UNION



TUMACACORI
MISSION



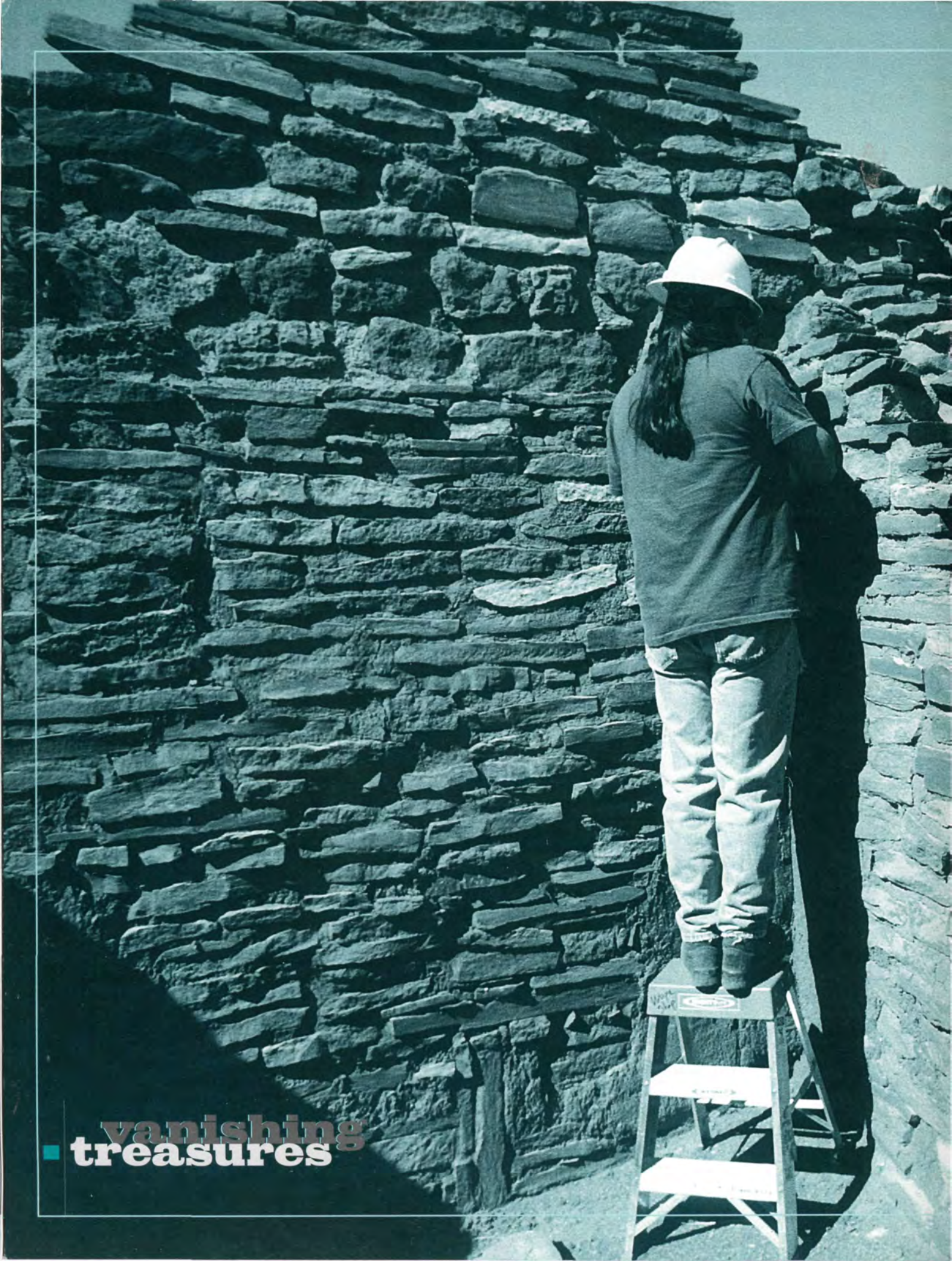
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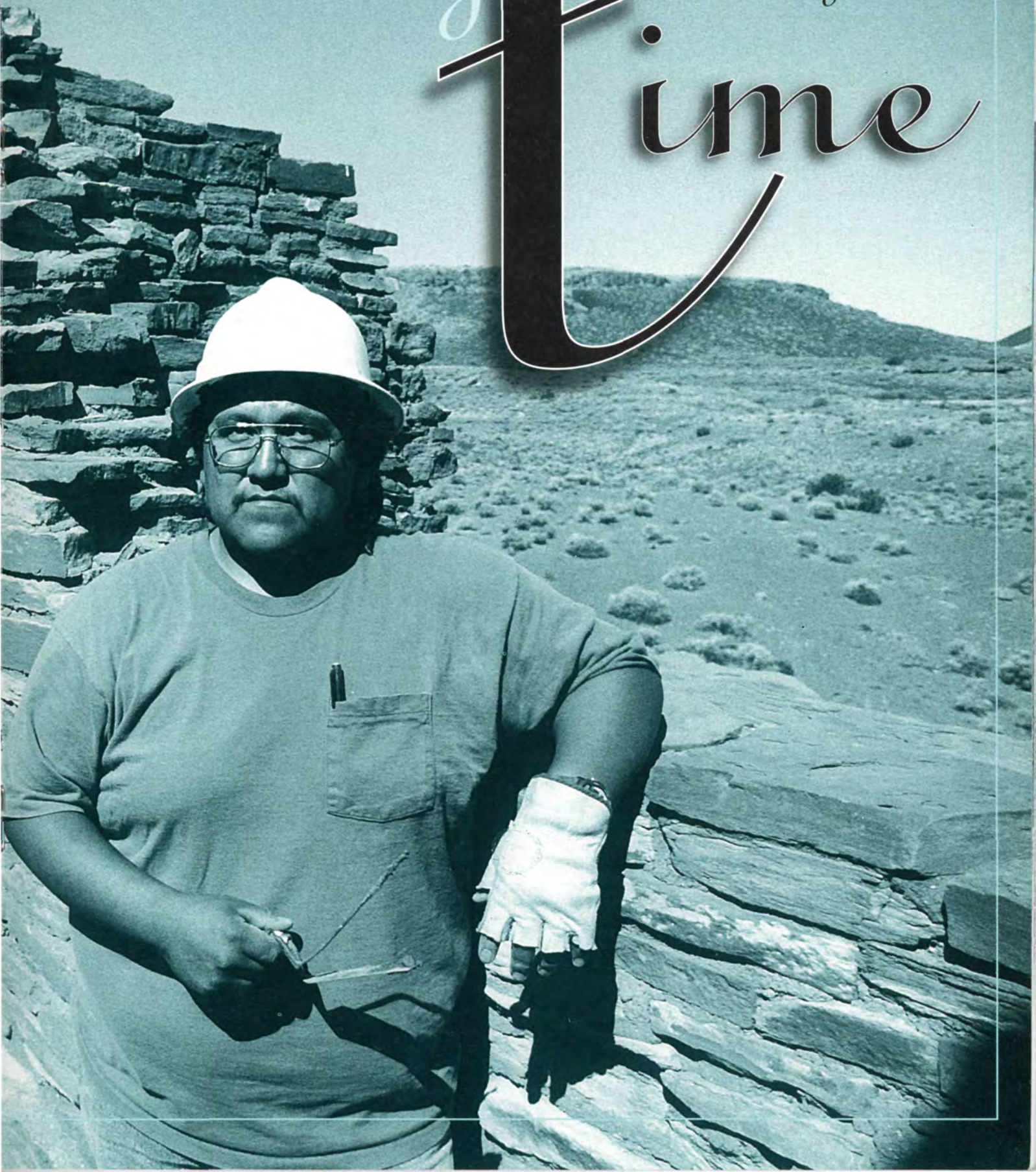


■ **vanishing**
treasures

mending

photographs by
monty roessel

Time







by *joseph flanagan*



ECIL WERITO'S HAND SWEEPS ACROSS a low stone wall, and in an almost helpless way indicates what remains of a very old structure in the desert. "This is as far as our money lasted," he says, meaning where the wall abruptly changes appearance and is beginning to come apart. Werito is talking about the attempt to save a part of Chaco Culture National Historic Park, what remains of the large towns inhabited from the 9th to the 12th centuries by the native people of what is now New Mexico. ■ But he is also describing a wider crisis: the rapid loss of some of the most dramatic and eloquent testimony to North America's past, the adobe and stone structures of the Southwest. The rate of deterioration is outstripping attempts to halt it. Funds and expertise are in short supply.

■ The care of these ruins has traditionally fallen to local people of Hispanic and Native American origin who, more often than not, trace their ancestry to the original builders, and because of this, they tend to view the work they do as an expression of

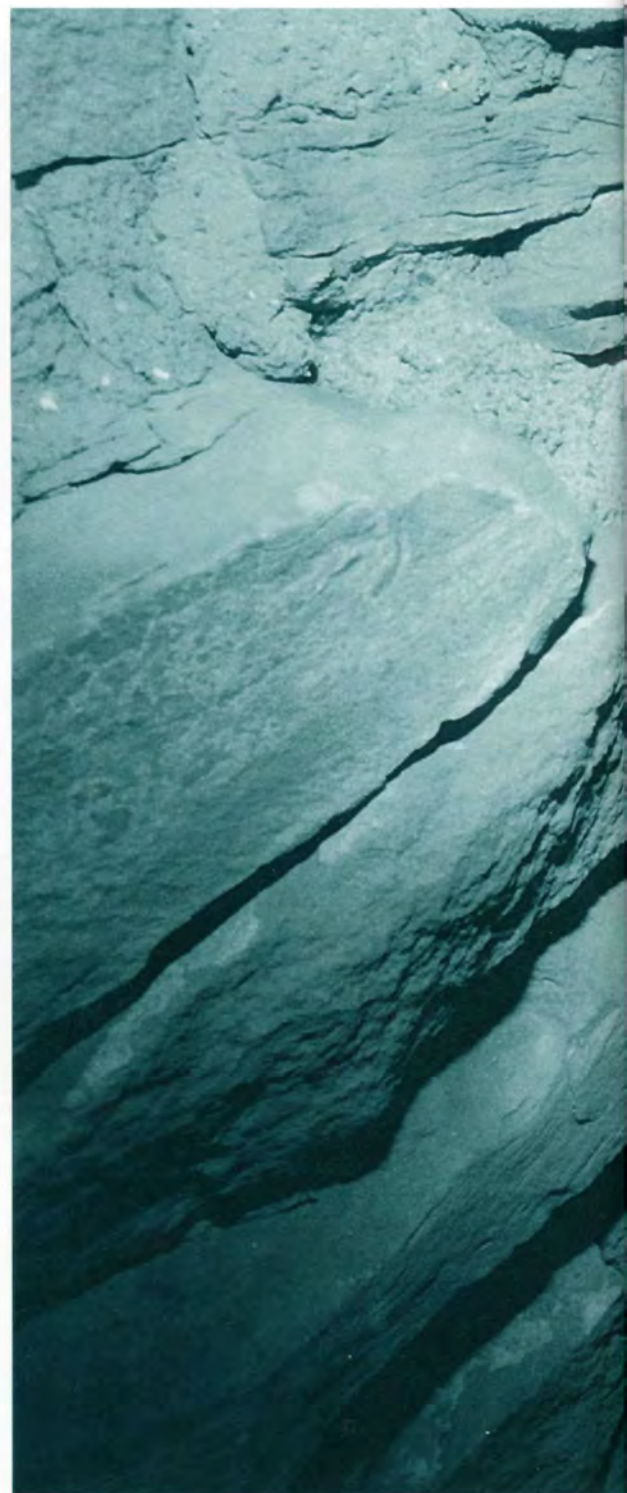
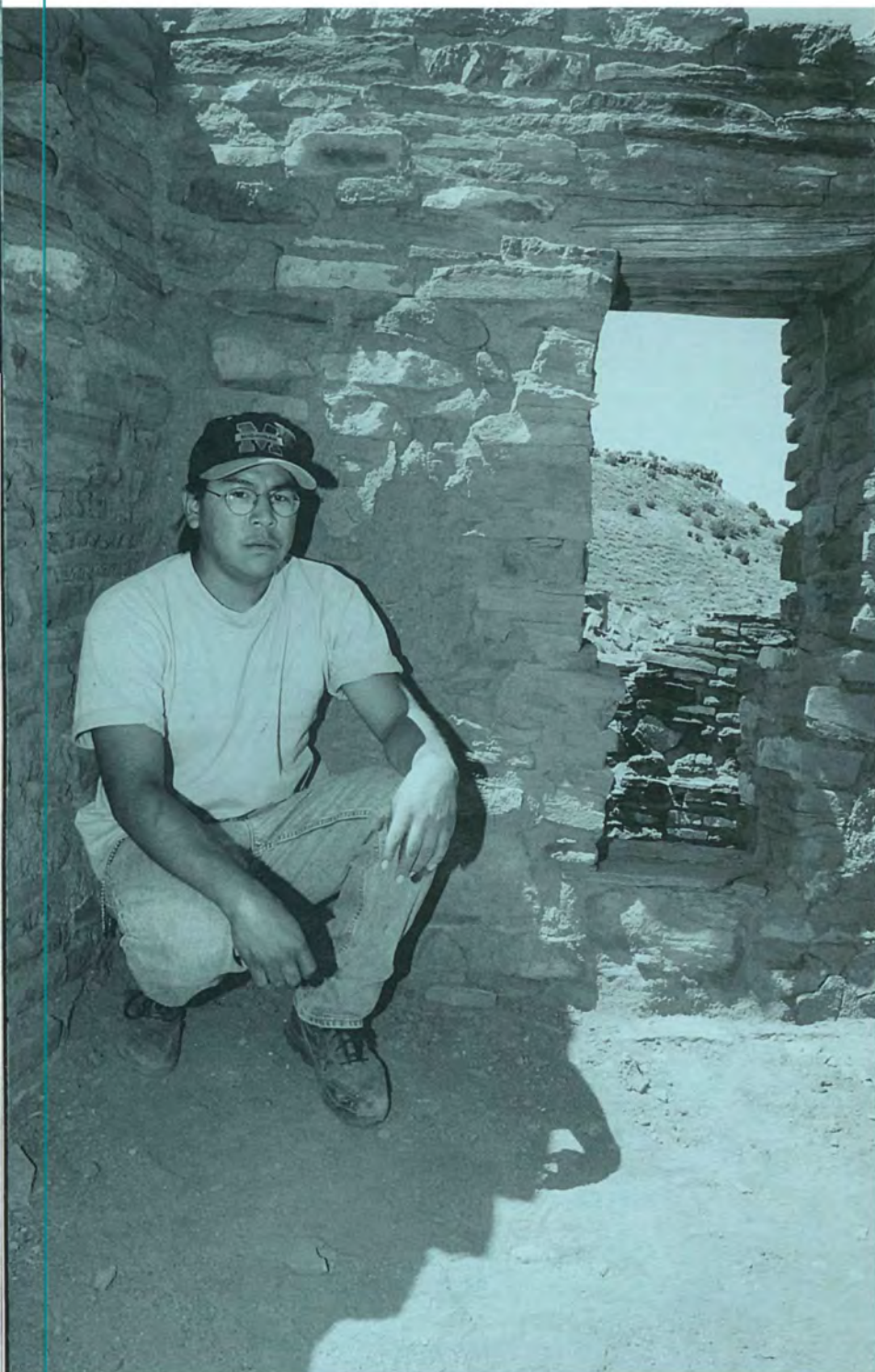
homage and identity. They are mostly seasonal Park Service employees who come back year after year to care for the ruins, despite being underpaid and without benefits or job security. Time is taking its toll on them, too. Their average age is 55, and few younger people are interested in replacing them as they retire. When they are gone, they will take the knowledge of their craft with them.

LEFT: Bernard Natseway repairs a deteriorated part of an interior room at Wupatki Pueblo.

ABOVE: Photographs of the ancient walls document location of repairs and track changes to the architectural fabric over time. **RIGHT:** Lloyd Masayumptewa, member of the ruins stabilization crew at Wupatki National Monument. **PREVIOUS**

PAGES: Bernard Natseway, background, patches a wall, while Lloyd Masayumptewa repoints stone.

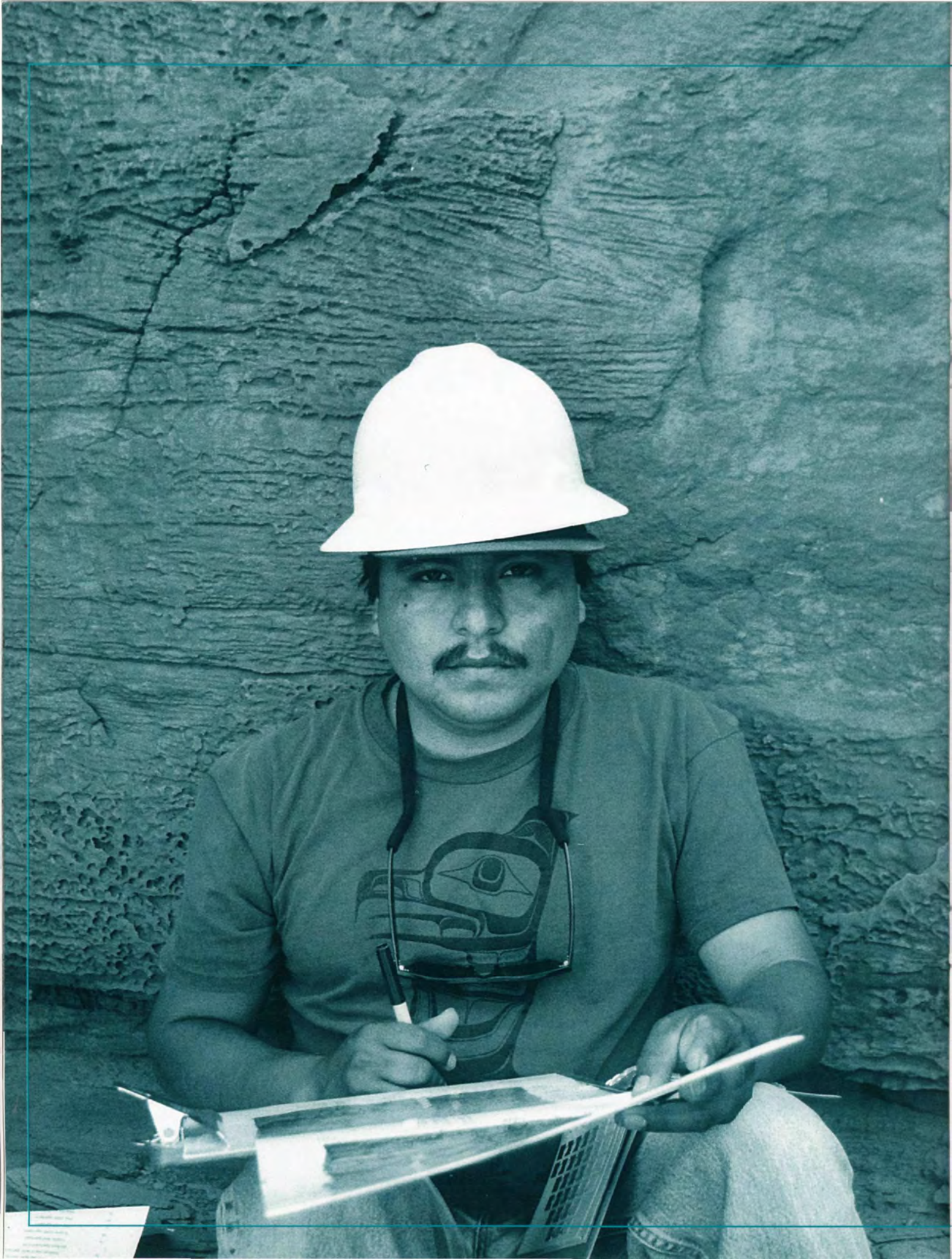




ABOVE: Lyle Balenquah takes a break in the shade. Temperatures at Wupatki Pueblo frequently exceed 100 degrees in the summer.



ABOVE: Stabilization crew member at work shoring up one of Wupatki's interior rooms.



■ vanishing treasures

■ The National Park Service counts tens of thousands of individual ruins in its system, many of which haven't even been recorded. They could be short sections of wall only a few feet high, or vast, elaborate complexes like Chaco Culture National Historical Park. They are all "vanishing treasures," as the the Park Service has begun to call them in an initiative of the same name. Its goal is to establish a ruins preservation program that stems the deterioration of these structures, some of which are World Heritage Sites. ■ The first focus is the "emergency cases," those facing imminent danger from forces such as erosion, weather, burrowing animals, and heavy visitation. But the strategy also calls for attracting young people to the craft of preservation masonry, with the experienced workers serving as their mentors. Where possible, the Park Service is converting the seasonals to full-timers—with benefits—and establishing a career track that, until now, hasn't existed. This new type of technician will



LEFT: Hopi tribal member Bernard Natseway works on architectural documentation, which will allow future site managers and archeologists to distinguish original material from recent additions.

ABOVE: Lyle Balenquah resets capstones.

RIGHT: Repointing mortar joints. Although the walls of Wupatki Pueblo stand in their original locations, most of the surface mortar has been replaced as the elements have taken their toll.



not only learn masonry care, but also how to document and photograph, write the necessary reports, and follow the administrative procedures called for by preservation laws, all tasks currently carried out by trained archeologists. Sharing knowledge of such skills, says David Yubeta of Tumacacari National Monument in Arizona, is a way of "getting away from the idea that [ruins preservation] is a menial

BELOW: Lyle Balenquah resets capstones, which deflect rain and keep moisture from penetrating into the core of the wall.



■ vanishing treasures

chore.” ■ Vanishing Treasures also plans to maintain ruins proactively, rather than by responding to emergencies, which has been the pattern in the past. And then there is the question of money. In the never-ending quest for funding, ruins preservation never fares well. The initiative hopes to reverse that trend. ■ In the meantime, the quiet cycle of desert seasons goes on, imparting no sense of the



ABOVE: Lloyd Masayumpte-wa repoints mortar joints.

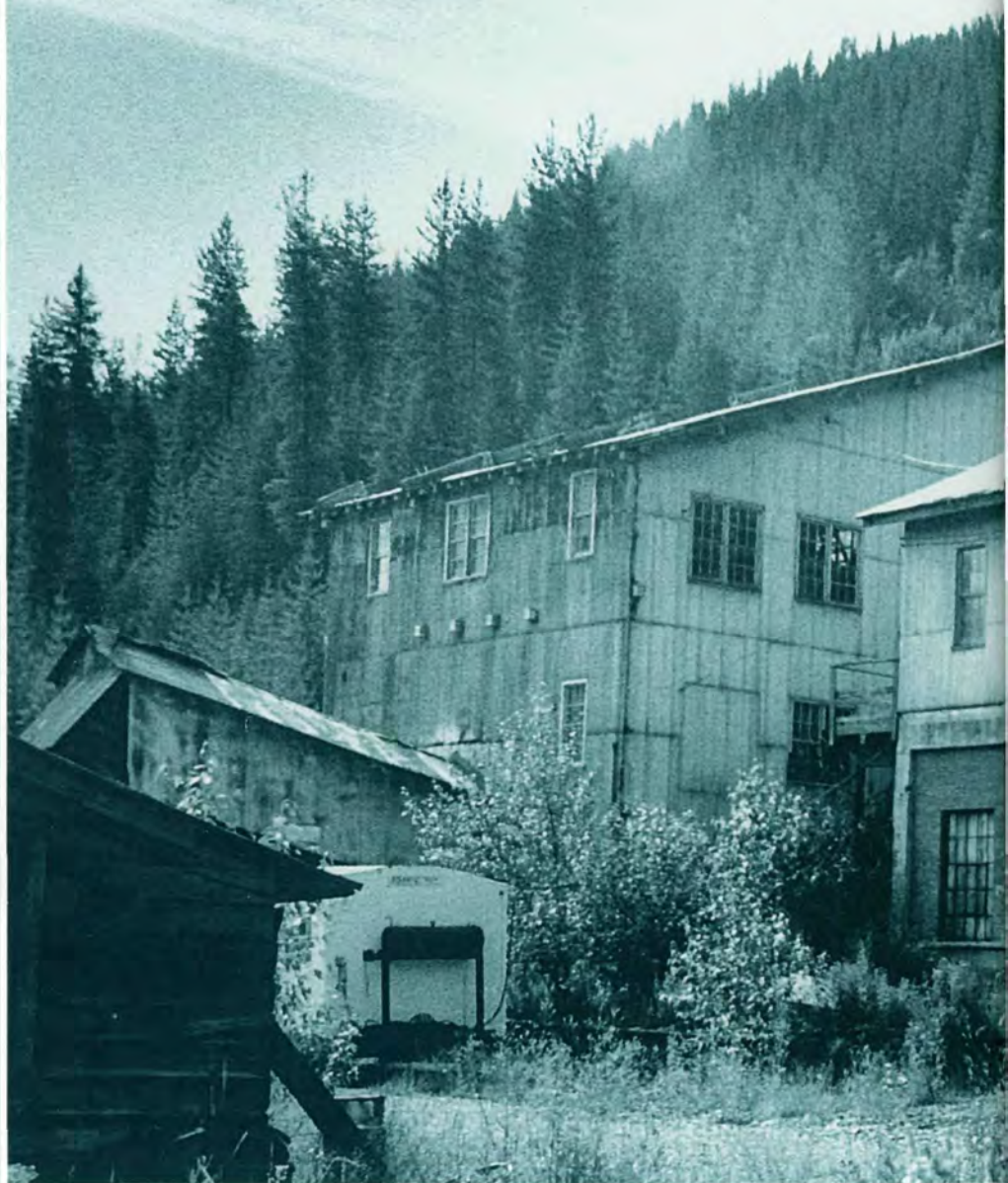
urgency at hand. When small groups of workers spread out with their tools in an isolated ruin, it is an act of hope, hope that these treasures can be kept among us. Knowing that a wall needs to breathe, having a feel for the consistency of the mortar, means that hope can be fulfilled.

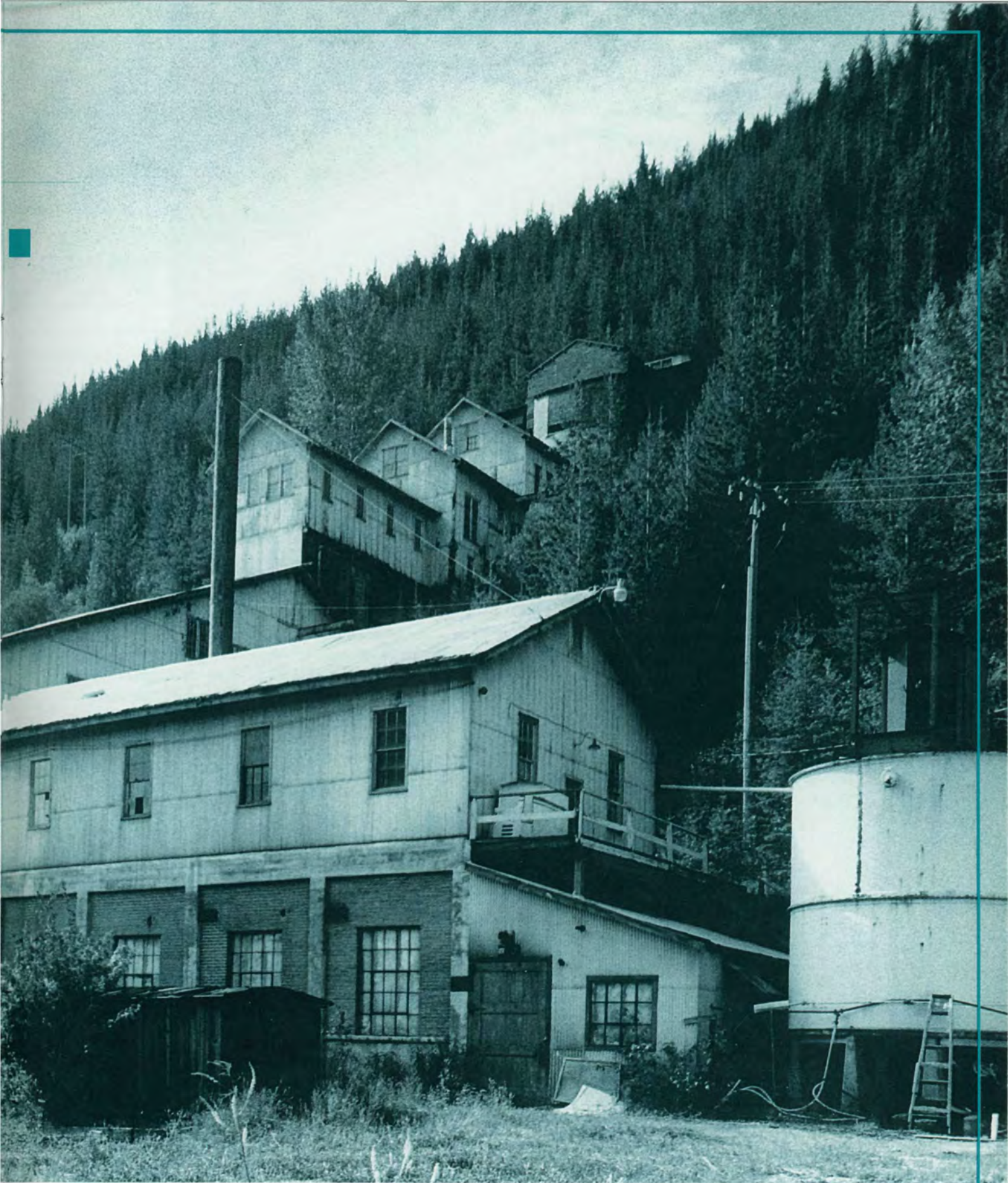
Building Communities

■ Pioneering New Ways of Preserving the Western Landscape

By THOMAS CARTER

Drawing the Bridge House was one thing. Falling down, the only entrance covered in poison ivy, and the upstairs filled with what became an increasingly inhospitable colony of wasps, the place was a mess. Figuring it out was even harder. Outwardly simple, the building had been cobbled together over the course of several generations with materials salvaged from just about





THOMAS CARTER

ABOVE: The Polaris Mill, in the mining district of Coeur D'Alene, Idaho, one of several sites studied using a new approach to vernacular architecture..



THOMAS CARTER

every building project in town. What was original? Which sections had been added? Who was responsible for the work? How had the building functioned? Questions came easily. Answers with more effort.

Measured sketches soon turned into a plan-and-section revealing how the building had grown through time. Oral interviews coalesced into a story explaining how the house came to be

where it is and how it was used. A chart of recorded land transfers translated into a tidy paper trail of the site's occupation. And taken together, the gathered data could themselves be cobbled together to produce a history of this small, seemingly undistinguished house in Paradise Valley, Nevada.¹

The work that is described here, carried out during July

may differ according to a person's interests and perspective, the essential factor, the thing that makes this approach unique, is the emphasis placed on the object, whether it be a building, a piece of furniture, or a whole town, as the primary focus of attention. Committed to the idea that the systematic study of the built environment holds vast potential for understanding both past and present human behavior, a growing number of historians, architectural historians, folklorists, archeologists, geographers, and preservationists are actively engaged in documenting and interpreting the material record of human occupation in North America.

It is a compelling stratigraphy. For example, a western Nebraska site yielded, in chronological order, a set of Siouxian tipi rings, an open-range cattle ranch, a number of small immigrant homestead farms, a thousand-acre mechanized wheat operation, and a cluster of Cold War missile silos. The historical overlays speak of profound changes in the cultural activity found in the area over time, and further, within each strata the material evidence is vitally important in piecing together a pattern of everyday life as it existed during each period of occupation. The story holds true for other parts of the country as well; the resources may change but what stays the same is a shared interest by researchers from the broadest range of disciplines in the "archeological" investigation of American life.

Interdisciplinary cooperation also stems from the central role fieldwork plays in this object-oriented approach to cultural research. Because objects like tipi rings and missile silos rarely reside in university archives or the collections of local libraries, fieldwork, generally consisting of the in situ recording of objects and constellations of objects with measured drawings, photographs, and oral histories, is imperative. As Gabrielle Lanier and Bernard Herman point out in their fine new book, *Everyday*



JULIE OSBORNE

1997 by students and teachers from the University of Utah's western regional architecture program, exemplifies a type of historical research that is becoming increasingly prevalent throughout the country. Depending on who you're talking to, it goes by the name of vernacular architecture, material culture, or cultural landscape studies, and while the specific topics and methods

The Basque hotel

is best understood as part of a community of buildings, a social grouping of objects structured by a series of distinctive attitudes toward both class and ethnicity.

Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic, "buildings . . . are the best teachers of ordinary architecture. Books, drawings, photographs, and written descriptions are invaluable, but, inevitably, we learn the most about buildings by taking to the field—by looking, evaluating, measuring, questioning, and looking again."² For students of American material culture, things like buildings are used to explain history, rather than simply letting the study of history explain them, and this turning of the tables requires, at some

level, fieldwork. If you are going to study buildings, you can't expect to check them out of a library—you have to go to them. Getting out of the car and talking to people about their architecture is difficult, but such engagement is necessary if we are going to study things that have never been studied before. Where significant fieldwork has been accomplished, in places like the Chesapeake region of Virginia and Maryland and in the vicinity of Boston and Philadelphia to the north, two factors are usually responsible.³

ABOVE LEFT: Bridge House, in Paradise Valley, Nevada, was once a boarding house for Basque shepherders; BELOW LEFT: Student making sketches as part of the University of Utah's western regional architecture program field school; ABOVE: Section of Bridge House; BELOW: Measuring a wall of the San Jacinto store in Elko County, Nevada.

The first is a growth during the past three decades of an interest in vernacular architecture. Cultural geographers Fred Kniffen and Pierce Lewis were the first to pay significant attention to ordinary buildings, using traditional house and barn types during the 1960s to map the spatial distribution of imported European

cultures in North America. Folklorist Henry Glassie, archeologist James Deetz, and art historian Abbott Lowell Cummings came next, advancing in a number of distinguished studies both a forceful argument for an artifact-driven approach to history and the outlines of a rigorous method for going about it. By the 1980s a new generation of able imitators had appeared, and it wasn't long before the theories and techniques of these pioneers were being applied to the numerically common buildings of any place and any time period. The result was the eclectic if generously inclusive field of vernacular architecture: "more an approach to architecture than a type of architecture," as people in the field have become fond of saying. And like their social history cousins who gradually moved from doing rather narrow histories of the working class to histories of societies as functional (or dysfunctional) wholes in order to illuminate patterns of class, race, gender, and ethnic relations, students of vernacular architecture are increasingly studying cultural landscapes, consisting not only of the widest range of buildings set within a particular social and environmental context, but also, as University of California-Berkeley's Dell Upton notes, "the imaginative structures that all inhabitants of the landscape use in constructing and constructing it."⁴

A second catalyst for the widespread acceptance of both vernacular architecture and the fieldwork methodology came from the preservation movement of the 1970s. A central provision of



BLANTON OWEN

// The thing that makes this
approach unique ... is the emphasis placed
on the object, whether it be a building, a piece of
furniture, or a whole town. //



STAR HOTEL
ELKO, NV

the National Historic Preservation Act was that the states begin developing systematic inventories of their historic resources. It sounded good, but as survey money started flowing to state preservation offices trouble arose. Confronting the vastness of the ordinary architectural landscape, newly hired surveyors armed with only John J.G. Blumenson's *Identifying American Architecture* floundered.⁵ What were all these buildings that looked nothing like the ones in the book? It was enough to make a good architectural historian cry, and many simply quit. The ones who stuck it out, however, were forced into a kind of above-ground archeology. Grabbing their copies of Glassie, Deetz, and Cummings, the SHPO surveyors began sifting through layers of hitherto untouched architectural evidence. Slowly the data came in, shaky typologies were formulated, and in the process the first studies of vernacular architecture emerged. The big preservation money dried up in the early 1980s and most state survey programs were scrapped or handed over to local contractors under the Park Service certified local government program, but the study of American architectural history had been changed forever. Not only was the field opened up to a whole new range of common buildings, but innovative studies based in part on the SHPO survey work began to appear, providing models for the further study of the American cultural landscape.⁶ Several SHPO offices, most notably those in North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, should be credited with leading the way toward what some have called a "new architectural history."

In the West, however, little was happening. The network of scholars found along the eastern seaboard did not exist, and the region's size became a formidable barrier to communication

between the western state SHPO offices and universities. The absence of substantive vernacular architecture and cultural landscape research west of the

OPPOSITE: Sketches of the Star Hotel in Elko County, Nevada.

Mississippi River prompted the creation in 1990 of the western regional architecture program at the University of Utah. The program's objective is to encourage the documentation and study of western American architecture by sponsoring, first, a series of scholarly monographs exploring important western building traditions and second, an annual field school in western architectural history. For the past seven years, University of Utah graduate students have traveled to remote parts of the West to measure and draw threatened historic buildings associated with ranching, mining, transportation, the military, Mormon settlement, and the intersection of Hispanic and Anglo-American cultural traditions.

The 1997 field school focused on Basque hotels in the Great Basin. Found in the larger cities of Utah, Nevada, Idaho, and California, the hotels were constructed as a "home off the range" for hundreds of Basque immigrants who came to America beginning in the 1850s to work as seasonal herders in the region's rapidly expanding sheep industry. Owned and operated by Basques, the hotels provided family-style meals and single-room lodging as well as recreation facilities like pelota (paddle-ball) courts, reading rooms, and bars. In the hotels, Basque herders could find both camaraderie and comfort in a country that often proved intolerant of racial and cultural otherness. At one time

there were hundreds of these establishments, but as the number of Basque herders in the region declined in the 1950s and '60s the hotels slowly began to close down or simply find a new role as restaurants featuring good and affordable food. The historical significance of the hotels lies in their ability to convey a sense of Basque national and ethnic identity in a part of the country where cowboys too often are king.

Working with historian Jeronima Echeverria, herself of Basque descent, University of Utah students spent 10 days in the field documenting a dozen Basque boarding houses and hotels. The buildings range in size from small retrofitted single-family dwellings to larger and more fashionable examples like the Boise's Anduiza Hotel, constructed of brick around a large indoor pelota court. But the process of discovery was the same as that used on Bridge House. Fieldwork, both architectural and historical, came first. As the building was sketched and measured, its principal functional elements and phases of construction were identified. The front two-story section and the first room on the west appeared original, as was possibly the partially subterranean stone root cellar to the north. The method of construction on the front section was the same, a thin single-wall technology (where the walls consist of one-inch vertical boards nailed to both plate and sill and then covered with a veneer of "drop" or "novelty" siding) not typically found in ranching communities like Paradise Valley. Since single-wall technology is primarily associated with mid-to-late nineteenth century mining and railroad town housing in the West, its presence on Bridge House was curious and raised questions concerning the building's origins. The east rear room was a composite of single-wall (on the west and north) and regular stud wall construction, and was clearly appended to the earlier front section. Finally, there was a mixed assortment of recycled lumber scabbled into the area between the west rear and root cellar, suggesting that this part of the house was last to be enclosed.

Determining the building's use was more problematic, although it seemed fairly certain, following customary practice, that the service rooms, including the kitchen and root cellar, were found to the rear. Removing the wall between the two original ground floor west rooms was significant (with a dotted line in the plan indicating the location of the original dividing wall) for it allowed the occupants to create a long, open room that is unusual in dwellings but which would have been an ideal space for serving meals (at a long family-style table) and/or for setting up a public bar. The more elaborate wainscoting and pressed tin wall covering (the decorative metal was undoubtedly pulled from the ceiling of an abandoned commercial building) also suggests that some special activity took place here. The original two-front-door arrangement was equally intriguing, for the two doors would have allowed one (presumably the one to the west) to be used for public entry (to the bar and dining area) and the other to open into a private two-room apartment (perhaps the lodging of the hotel keeper and her/his family). The staircase in the public side could have led to dormitory-style sleeping rooms above.

Oral histories conducted with local residents seemed to corroborate the artifactual evidence. By all accounts a man named George Bell was the original owner of Bridge House, either building it on site or moving it in from the nearby mining camp of Spring City around 1880. Since, as we noted above, single-wall

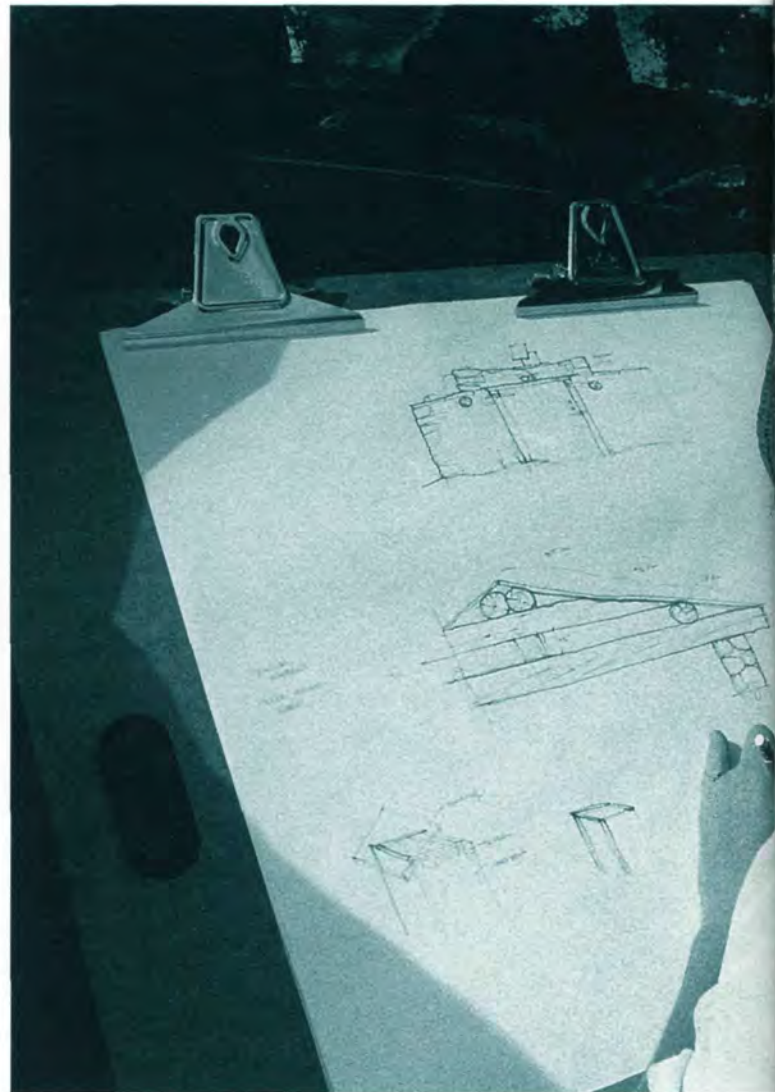
Ethnic identity is accom



ABOVE: The author measures a roof parapet on the San Jacinto store; **RIGHT:** Sketching a root cellar adjacent to the store.

construction is common in western mining towns and since Bell himself ran an advertisement in the Paradise Valley newspaper listing mining camp houses for sale, it seems likely that Bridge House began its life elsewhere. In the boom-and-bust cycle of western mining towns, it is not uncommon for houses to be recycled after a gold or silver seam played out and the miners moved on. Alphonso Pasquale was the next owner, buying the property around 1906 and renting it to a series of Basque operators who ran it as a boarding house for sheepherders well into the 1950s.

Taken by itself, Bridge House, or for that matter any of the hotels recorded, is limited in historical content. The building is interesting, but what does it say about western history? In the larger western cultural landscape, however, or compared to other hotels or other kinds of buildings in town, Bridge House becomes more meaningful for we begin to see patterns. The Basque hotel is best understood as part of a community of buildings, a social grouping of objects structured by a series of distinctive attitudes



toward both class and ethnicity. Within the western building community, the hotels must be viewed as a kind of segregated space. Set off in the hotels, Basque immigrants found camaraderie and safety, but also second-class status. Inside there was familiar food, hearty drink, and Old Country friends, while on the outside the immigrants incurred the wrath of their melting-pot-driven American neighbors. In remaining aloof, and even more importantly, by laying claim to a part of the landscape, the Basques branded themselves outsiders, strange-speaking and dark-skinned sheepmen in a land that spoke the language of the Anglo-dominated cattle industry. Living by the railroad tracks might connect them to their homeland, but it also placed them

panied by ethnic stigmatization, and the Basque hotels, set within the larger building community that is the West, are reminders of both the region's cultural diversity and its cultural divisions.



ABOVE AND LEFT: BLANTON OWEN

across the tracks in the rougher, poorer, and usually more urban and industrial parts of town. Ethnic identity is accompanied by ethnic stigmatization, and the Basque hotels, set within the larger building community that is the West, are useful reminders of both the region's cultural diversity and its cultural divisions.

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Archeology and Historic Landscape Preservation

Intersection *of interest*

A cultural landscape, says archeologist James Deetz, is "that part of the terrain which is modified according to a set of cultural plans."¹ This definition certainly identifies the common ground shared by archeologists and historic landscape preservationists in the National Park Service. Both focus on places that combine the work of human beings with the work of nature. Both are concerned with preserving cultural landscapes and interpreting them to the public. And both have been research partners since the first days of the preservation movement.

Archeology is our main source of information on the landscapes of the nation's earliest historic sites, such as Virginia's Jamestown.² Archeologists have also investigated formally designed landscapes at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. More recently, Park Service archeologists have examined the evolution of the Smith School courtyard at the Boston African American National Historic Site. Vernacular landscapes, such as rural historic districts, are ideal candidates for archeology because they often lack historical documentation. This is exemplified by the archeological research at Minute Man National Historical Park in Massachusetts, which is looking at the landscape from prehistory to the present.

Clearly, the disciplines of archeology and historic landscape preservation benefit from each other's vantage points. Given today's challenges, however, achieving consensus can be less than straightforward, such as when an historic landscape encompasses an archeological site from a different time period. Problems can and do result from the different training, skills, and orientation of the two disciplines. Let's look at how these issues can play out when deciding how to preserve and interpret these places.³

Conveniently for archeologists, preserving a cultural landscape generally means preserving its archeological components. However, rehabilitating a landscape—which may involve replacing historic features that are damaged or missing—is more complicated. Historic landscape preservationists often rely on archeological surveys to help identify these features, but may disagree on how much excavation and recording is needed. To help defuse potential conflicts, both professionals must clearly articulate their methods and goals.

Archeology has been invaluable in restoring properties to how they appeared at a particular point in the past. Archeologists have been able to locate the foundations of period buildings as well as

their associated gardens and yards. However, when it comes to reconstructions—replicating non-surviving properties—consensus can be elusive. Two early reconstructions at national parks in the Northeast—Saugus Ironworks in Massachusetts and Fort Stanwix in New York—left few areas for future archeologists to re-examine. Such reconstructions may impact archeological sites not essential to the reconstruction but significant in their own contexts, as happened with the 19th century overlay of the fort. Fortunately, in recent years, reconstruction has been a less desirable preservation and interpretive option in the Park Service and elsewhere.

Archeologists and historic landscape professionals generally agree that significant cultural landscapes should be maintained and interpreted for the public. The key to the best research and treatment is the active involvement of both professions. For example, vegetative cover, which is often essential to combat erosion and other forms of site attrition, addresses the goals of both groups, and non-historic trees or plantings can be removed while keeping root systems in place, thus preserving archeological features. When it comes to interpretation, decades of public archeology have demonstrated that it is important to show the method and theory of our disciplines as well as the results of our research.⁴

With enough cooperation, we may soon find a united approach to our common ground, the cultural landscape.

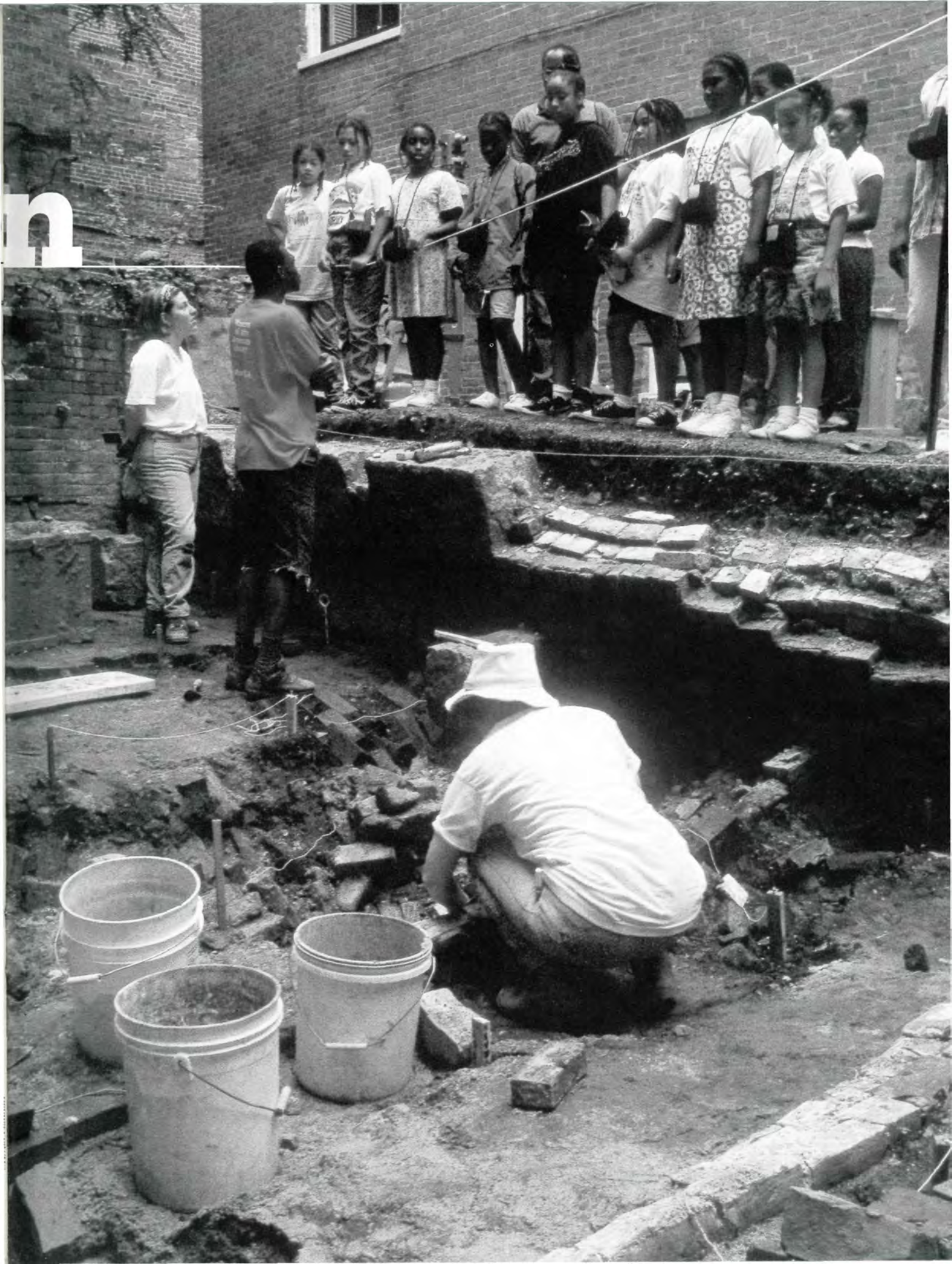
Right: Excavations at the 1835 Abiel Smith School, Boston African American National Historic Site.

For more information, contact Steven R. Pendery, Senior Archeologist, Archeology Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center, National Park Service, 400 Foot of John St., Lowell, MA 01852, (978) 970-5150, fax (978) 970-5121, e-mail steven_pendery@nps.gov.

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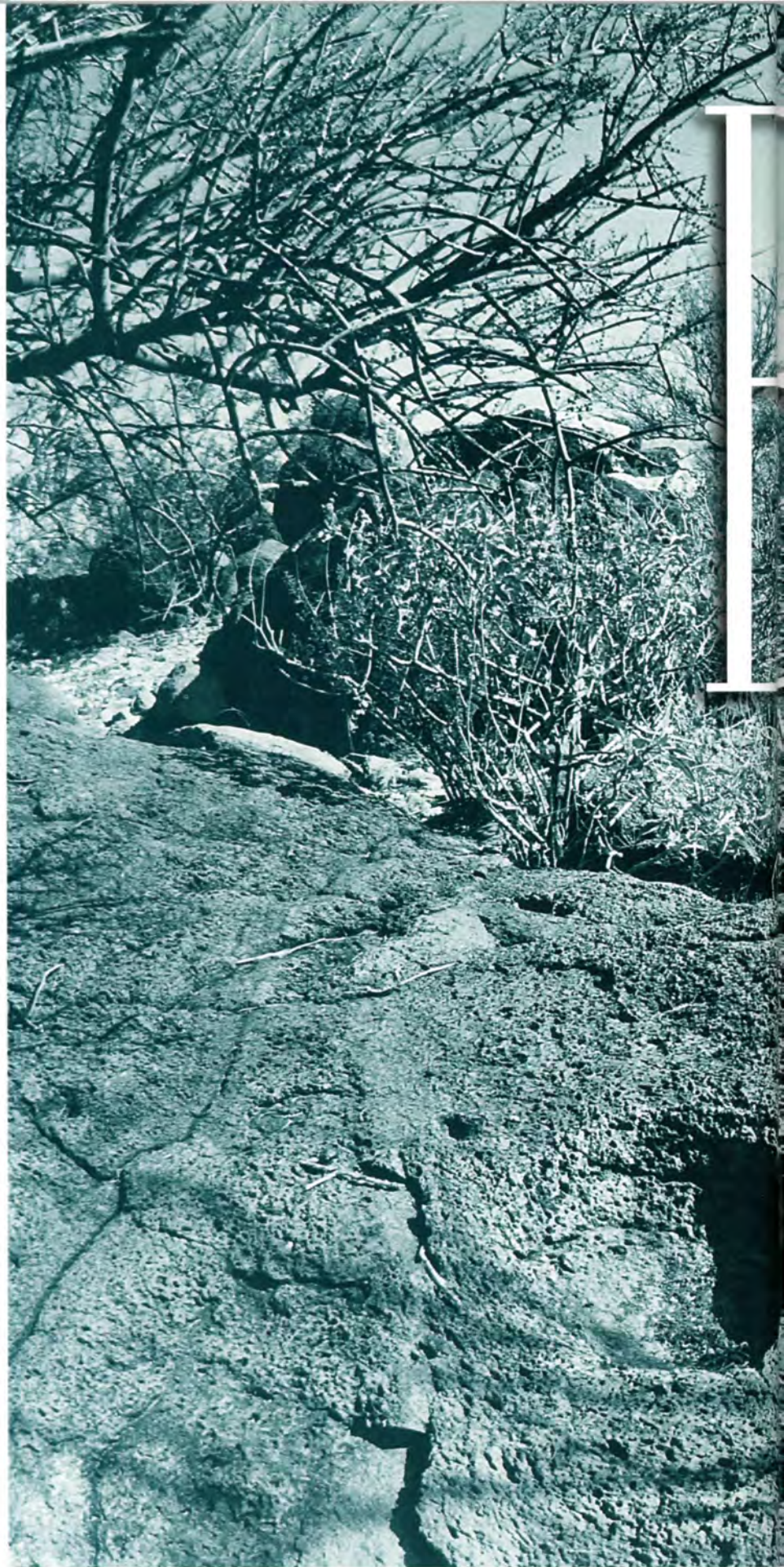


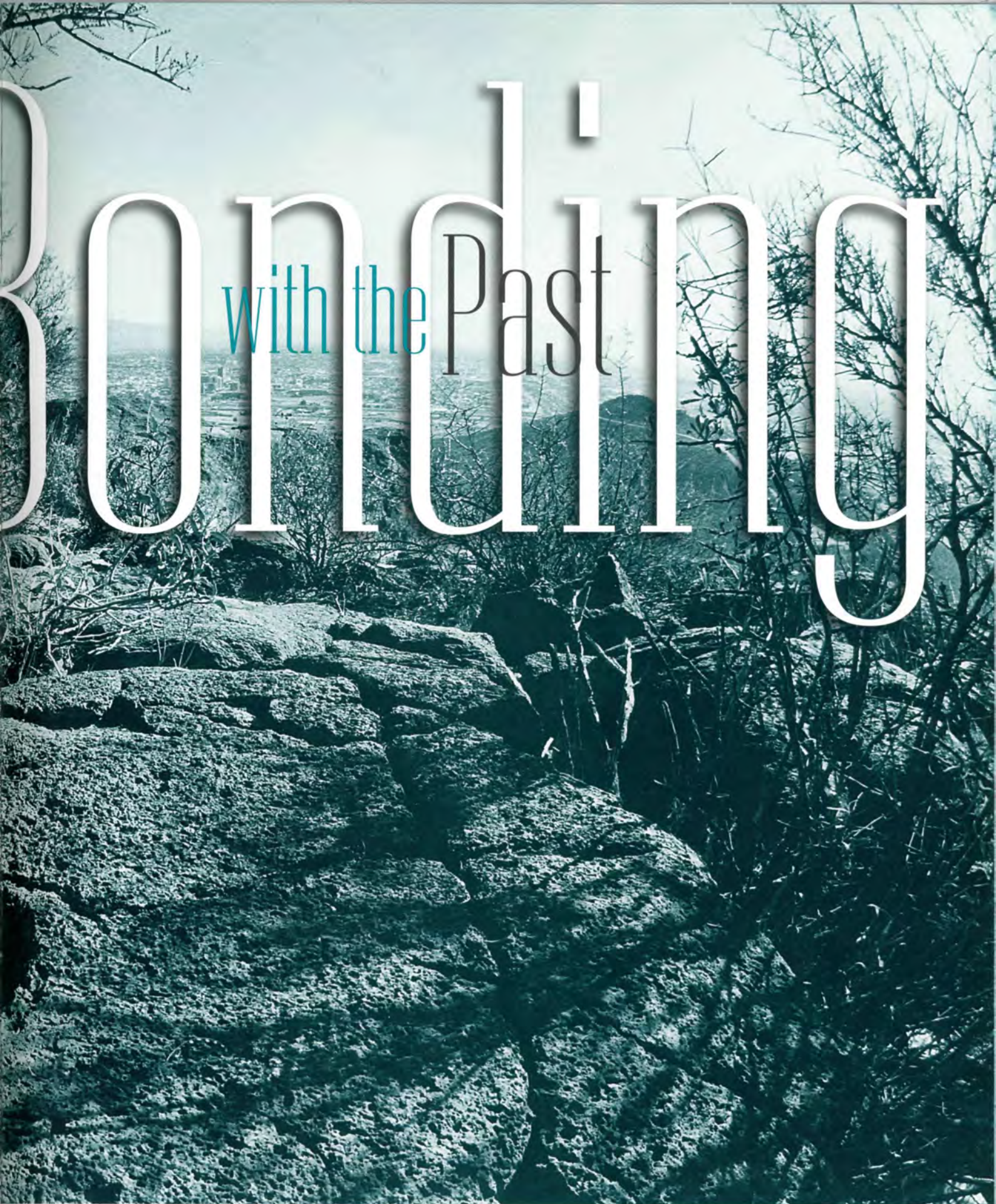
Protecting both culture and nature is the goal of the new \$6.4 million historic preservation bond passed by Pima County, Arizona, which encompasses Tucson and its environs.

Archeologist Linda Mayro, cultural resources manager for the county, was instrumental in the campaign for the bond, which dovetailed the interests of groups like the Nature Conservancy with a multicultural community long sensitive to its heritage. "You have to remember that up until the turn of the century, this was the old West," Mayro explains. "Tucson is still a border town that has not forgotten its old stage coach routes, its abandoned mines, its historic ghost towns, its ruins of Spanish Colonial presidios and missions."

That past, says Mayro, is under tremendous pressure from an influx of residents "who don't have roots here." With developers salivating over parcels such as Tumamoc Hill—a prehistoric habitation and agricultural site on a dramatic vista high above the city—Mayro and her partner organizations not only got out the vote but had the media fending off opponents such as the Chamber of Commerce. An Arizona Daily Star editorial, in response to the Jaycees, framed the issue for its readers: "Do you want to preserve some of the beautiful habitat

Tumamoc Hill, rich with the presence of the ancient Hohokam culture, occupies prime real estate overlooking Tucson (seen in the distance). The hill played a prime role in galvanizing public support for Pima County's new \$6.4 million preservation bond.





Bonding

with the Past

ALL PHOTOS WILLIAM AND GAYLE HARTMANN EXCEPT AS NOTED



I feel very strongly that we owe

the public. The public funds everything we do in preservation. And we need to give that back.

that made this fast developing region so desirable? Or do you want to expand the development tentacles of red-tile roofs that creep outward into every desert crevice?"

Here Mayro talks about why voters opted for the former choice by over a 2 to 1 margin.

COMMON GROUND: THAT'S QUITE A MANDATE FOR A PRESERVATION MEASURE.

LINDA MAYRO: Our elected officials, I have to say, have taken a real leadership role when it comes to preservation and open space. I've worked with several boards of supervisors and every one has supported maintaining the quality of life as the public perceives it here. They're not so quick to succumb to growth as they might be in Phoenix, where development money is big power. That's not to say that there aren't powerful developers in Pima County. But the boards here have tried to strike a balance.

I'll give you an example. We are suing the state of Arizona, which wants to limit the ability of counties to down-zone for urban growth boundaries and open space greenbelts. In Phoenix, I don't think they even batted an eye, because it's not a priority for their government leaders. Pima County has always been a bit more sensitive to these issues.

CG: THE LEVEL OF AWARENESS THERE IS INDIGENOUS.

MAYRO: Yes. I think that's our advantage. We have a real vocal Native American population. Mexican and Spanish traditions are deeply rooted. I mean, this was Mexico until 1856. The neighborhoods are strong. The historic districts are active. Even the rural communities are old. Ajo, on the far western fringe of the county, is an historic mining town. It even had a mine in pre-

historic times. A newer city like Phoenix doesn't have the same identification with its heritage.

CG: THE DRIVE TO PRESERVE TUMAMOC HILL SHOWS THAT AWARENESS IN ACTION. COULD YOU TALK ABOUT HOW THIS EFFORT LINKED UP WITH THE NEW BOND?

MAYRO: The University of Arizona's site lease had just expired, so the state was compelled by statute to put it on the market,

with the proceeds going to public education. Suddenly it was a very attractive parcel for developers.

CG: TO PUT HOUSES UP THERE?

MAYRO: Absolutely.

Developers were about to petition to open up the property for bid. That caused a great hue and cry in the community, with Supervisor Grijalva—it's in his district—championing its conservation as open space. So I told him, "You know, there are archeological sites all over that slope." That further sparked the community's interest. It made a good rallying point. Our identity is so much in tune with our heritage that places like Tumamoc Hill, which stand for environmental values as well as cultural values, are where you get the broadest constituency.

We earmarked purchase money for that parcel, and for three other archeological sites, from both the open space and preservation sides of the proposed bond question. Meanwhile, fortunately, the state passed what's called the Arizona Preserve Initiative, or API, which preserves sensitive lands. I worked with the U.S. Geological Survey—which has a lab on another part of the hill—to conserve the 320 endangered acres through API. That way, the land could be reclassified for conservation uses.

CG: IS THERE A THREAT FROM VANDALS AND LOOTERS?

MAYRO: We don't have a big problem at Tumamoc Hill because the site is very open, with agricultural features that are not so obvious as at a pueblo ruin. Since the early 1900s, the Carnegie Desert Laboratory and now the University of Arizona have maintained the site as a natural, living desert laboratory. Access has always been somewhat restricted. The more visible sites, though, have been vandalized.

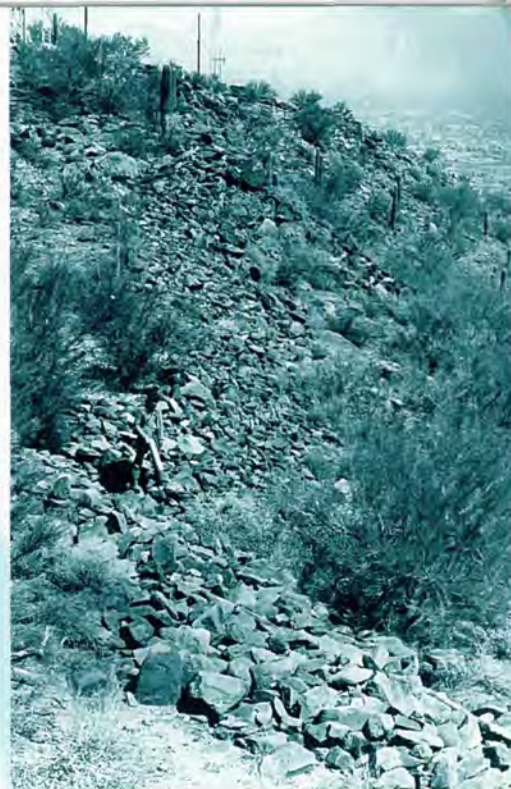
CG: DOES THE VERY AWARENESS YOU MENTIONED TRIGGER SOME OF THAT BEHAVIOR?

MAYRO: Perhaps. A lot of the pot-hunting is recreational, but some is certainly for money.

For a long time, people could bring their pots to swap meets and sell them. Pot-hunting was fairly lucrative. That has been curtailed quite a bit with the passage of state laws that make it an offense to vandalize burial sites.

The media do a pretty good job of publicizing the issue, that this kind of behavior destroys our heritage. And that it's illegal.

The trails of the Hohokam still crisscross Tumamoc Hill's slopes (left). Archeological evidence indicates there were large villages around its base, while the hill itself was farmed. Dry-laid masonry walls near the summit (above right) enclose an area of petroglyphs, potsherds, and smooth, bowl-like impressions that the repeated act of grinding has worn into the stone.





I couldn't restrict myself to archeology, and let all

CG: YOU ALSO PLAN TO BUY AND REHAB HISTORIC PROPERTIES WITH THE BOND MONEY. YOUR PROGRAM MUST BE BROAD FOR A LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

MAYRO: Well, I feel a lot of that is my doing—thanks, of course, to the support of the county administrator, who has allowed the program to expand. But this is still a small operation. I have to manage all kinds of preservation activities. I review county construction projects. I look at private development and at adaptive

re-use of historic buildings. It became evident to me early on that I had to embrace the entire range of historic properties because no other county program would do it.

I feel very strongly that we owe the public. The public funds everything we do in preservation. And we need to give that back. We do exhibits and brochures, site surveys and National Register nominations. And, to the extent I can do it, public speaking and tours for visitors.

CG: DO YOU GO FROM ONE AREA OF THE PROGRAM TO THE OTHER FAIRLY WELL?

MAYRO: I've moved between them pretty easily from the first. I know the preservation policies well enough to apply the standards, and I know when to get help.

I push myself. I try not to identify myself as the county archeologist, which I'm not, but as the preservation manager. So, I'm wearing the bigger hat now. I couldn't restrict myself to archeology, and let all these historic buildings go down. I can't do that. It's ethically and morally wrong. Prehistory and history are a continuum, and the preservation laws for all are the same.

CG: CLEARLY YOU HAVE A LOT OF CONSTITUENCIES TO WORK WITH DAY-TO-DAY. LET'S TALK ABOUT WHO YOU HAD TO PULL TOGETHER TO GET THIS BOND THROUGH.

MAYRO: The Nature Conservancy and the Trust for Public Land were very, very active, as were the local groups who supported the open space question. But first I had to go before the Citizens Bond Advisory Committee, which represented the community. I had to argue how preservation would broaden the support for the open space question, which they had already adopted. From that point, it was a team effort.

The Conservancy actually brought someone in to help organize the campaign. They underwrote a study of what residents would vote for. And the open space question, even in the months before the election, polled out at 64 percent. They researched it down to

these historic buildings go down. I can't do that.

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the family level, where a wife might support open space because the kids can have parks and the husband in construction might not because of the potential for work being taken away.

CG: CAN YOU GIVE US A BALLPARK FIGURE ON HOW MUCH TIME AND MONEY THE INTEREST GROUPS PUT IN?

MAYRO: To run a campaign I think the target was \$80,000. At one point there was literally a SWAT team of phone bank volunteers. There were even TV spots and direct mail—"Vote yes and preserve our Sonoran heritage." It became a heritage question.

CG: WHAT WAS YOUR ROLE IN ALL OF THIS?

MAYRO: I'm a county staff person, so it was my job to go to the public meetings. But I couldn't say, "Get out and vote. This is a good thing." I could only say, "Should this be approved, the money will do A, B, C, and D." I was out there almost every night. That's where, I think, we probably had our greatest impact. We'd go as a team. Someone from the citizens committee and myself and someone from the open space committee.

CG: DID THEY ASK TOUGH QUESTIONS?

MAYRO: Some of them took the Chamber point of view, and we had to counter that. Once you educated them about the urgency a little bit, they tended to back off.

The tax issue is one that everyone always raises—"why are we taking this off the tax rolls?" There's so little private property. We have a big federal land base here, a big state land base.

CG: CAN YOU TALK ABOUT THE CHAMBER'S OPPOSITION?

MAYRO: The Jaycees are pro-development. They argued that there's enough public land already. They said that developers are responsible in this community, they set aside enough open space

For the people of Tucson, identity is entwined with place. That is what brought together the city's diverse population—65% Anglo, 28% hispanic, 4% black, 3% Native American, and 2% Asian—to preserve its cultural geography, from the enigmatic pits of Tumamoc Hill (left) to the Depression-era structures built by the Civilian Conservation Corps (below right).





The Jaycees

[argued] that developers are responsible in this community, that they set aside enough open space in golf courses and flood-prone areas . . . the community said, "This is not our point of view." And that probably helped us get out the vote.

in golf courses and flood-prone areas. Basically, they lost their credibility. Because after that the community said, "This is not our point of view." And that probably helped us get out the vote.

CG: THE CHAMBER DIDN'T SEE THE HERITAGE TOURISM POTENTIAL?

Pima County's identity spans the centuries, expressed in a rich texture of place evidenced by the entrance to Colossal Cave (right)—listed on the National Register of Historic Places—and the remnants of turn-of-the-century O'odham Indian campsites on Tumamoc Hill (left). The remains of 12th century farming on the hill, with its contour terraces, bordered gardens, and channels for diverting water, not only memorialize the former inhabitants, but also continue to pose questions about the changing relationship between people and the environment. When the hill was threatened with development, local residents lined up behind the preservation bond, and in doing so, took a stand for all the county's valued places.

MAYRO: Apparently not. Yet, according to a just-completed study by the Tucson Visitors Bureau and the University of Arizona, high on the list of what tourists do is go to historic sites.

CG: DID YOU PROPOSE PRESERVING ANY OF THE PROPERTIES AS CULTURAL LANDSCAPES?

MAYRO: I don't know that we used that specific term as a campaign tool. But I certainly used that concept when I would speak to groups that are already predisposed to see the link between culture and the environment. To get the word out to the greater community, it was almost understood that if you save open space, you are also saving cultural property. Tumamoc Hill is certainly a good example.

Fortunately, the open space preserves are very much just that. They're preserves. They will not be subject to very much, if any, development, other than, say, a few interpretive signs. To deal with those situations where there's potential conflict—or merely to advise on future issues—a subcommittee of the Tucson-Pima County historical commission has been formed with one member representing each of the five county districts and two members providing broader preservation guidance. We need that hook into the community.

CG: DO YOU HAVE ANY ADVICE TO OTHERS LOOKING TO FLOAT THIS KIND OF BOND?

MAYRO: A long time ago, it seems like several lives ago, I was in



COURTESY LINDA MAYRO

a class discussing how Farmington, New Mexico—which is not a big community—had passed a preservation bond for the Salmon Ruin. And then it hit me recently that, "If they could do it, why not Pima County?"

In this community, people will support bonds, but not a half-cent sales tax, which they feel really hurts poor people. I think it's because the bond obligation is spread out over a considerable time period. Basically, it shows up on your property tax.

But if there was anything I learned it's that everyone understood the value that a broadened constituency brings. Even some of the contractors' associations came out in opposition to the Chamber. They understood that amenities like open space and historic preservation actually increase property values.

Being at the local government level helped too. I mean, we're so close to the people. They can walk in here and say, "Why didn't you fund the expansion of Fort Lowell Park?"

CG: AND WHILE YOU'VE GOTTEN \$6.4 MILLION, YOU DO NOT GET IT ALL AT ONCE. YOU NEED A LONG RANGE PLAN.

MAYRO: Precisely. Make priorities. Get the money first to the most needy or the most urgent projects. Get the money to the projects that make a statement that we are, in fact, fulfilling the voters' expectations.

The



Many
V



ices

of Sacred Geography

BY MICHAEL EVANS

PRESERVATION LAWS, crafted under the influence of western science, protect discrete aspects of Native American culture: the sacred site, the treaty-defined territory, the traditional plant species. But tribes, who do not see the world so discretely, have a more holistic approach, which aims to preserve what some call their “sacred geography.” Over the last several years, preservationists have grappled with protecting these entities under the aegis of terms like cultural landscape, ecological landscape, and traditional cultural property. The dilemma arises from the many voices with which these places speak.

Petroglyph National Monument is an example. The monument, on the west side of Albuquerque, is located in a large landscape that at least 20 tribes identify as part of their traditional territory—what might be referred to as their “holy lands.” Sacred mountains in all four directions generally bound the area, tied by oral tradition to the origins of these peoples.

Within this large landscape are smaller landscapes. One can be described as a storyscape, made up of discrete geographical places connected to each other by story and song. The Zuni migration stories, which refer to different places in and around the monument, are of this type. A smaller landscape that connects the volcanoes to the west with the Sandia Mountains to the east defines a ceremo-

nial and sacred space for many Pueblo peoples.

Petroglyph symbols, like the landscapes they occupy, also form relationships of meaning. In some cases, symbols on the monument’s land are connected with symbols on tribal land. In other cases, symbols in different areas of the monument form networks of meaning. And even

The federal preservation program is built on a bedrock of protecting individual sites, structures, and artifacts, sometimes divorced from their original context. The Indian way is different, presenting preservationists with a suite of challenges.

if the original symbolism has been lost, the petroglyph’s importance may be undiminished because it is in—and defines—a particular place. These places also enhance the importance of their plants and sources of water, especially when these inhabit more than one sacred area.

The implication for preservationists is that it is possible to protect something identified as a point on a map but end up destroying the context that gives it meaning. For example, even though a new road may be routed around a “power rock,” the ensuing traffic may ultimately destroy the ceremonial context. A better solution might be to route the road around the entire landscape.

Identifying these places is no more difficult than identifying the resources within them. This process involves interviewing cultural experts—identified as such by their tribes—with a focus on the landscape as well as on what resides in it. This consultation, preferably on the site, will not only identify what to protect, but often suggest the strategy to do so.

wisdom

sits in places

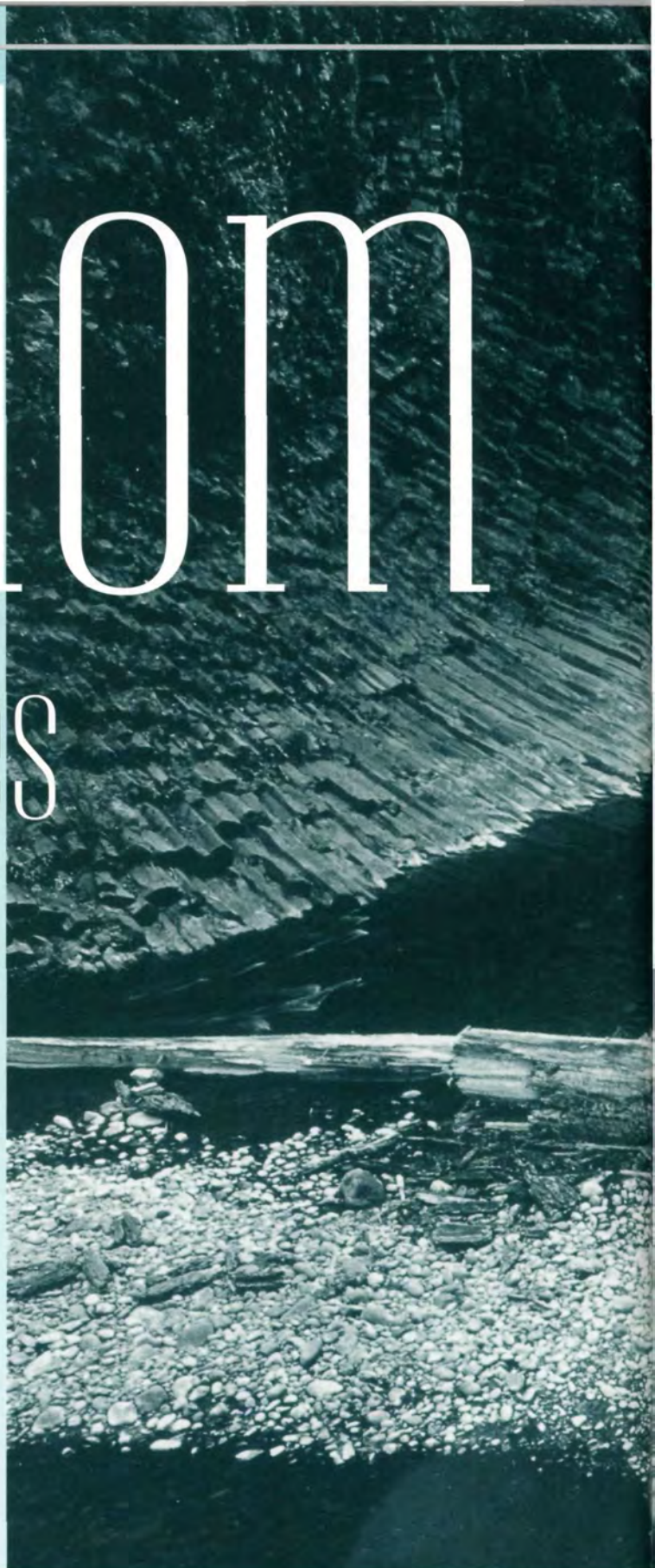
"Wisdom sits in places," Apache cowboy Dudley Patterson tells the author. "It's like water that never dries up. You need water to stay alive don't you? Well, you also need to drink from places."

Anthropologist Keith Basso had cowboied with the Western Apache for 15 years in and around Cibecue, Arizona, when an

by Keith Basso

elder asked him to make some maps—"Not white men's maps, we've got plenty of them, but Apache maps with Apache places and names. We could use them. Find out something about how we know our country."

Guided by four native companions, Basso records the places of the Apache and the narratives that signify their ancestral importance. Along the way, he discovers that "as Apache men and women set about drinking from places—as they acquire knowledge of their natural surroundings, commit it to permanent memory, and apply it productively to the workings of their minds—they show by their actions that their surroundings live in them."





JOE CASTRILLI

FOR INDIAN MEN AND WOMEN, the past lies embedded in features of the earth—in canyons and lakes, mountains and arroyos, rocks and vacant fields—which together endow their lands with multiple forms of significance that reach into their lives and shape the ways they think. Knowledge of places is therefore closely linked to knowledge of the self, to grasping one's position in the larger scheme of things, including one's own community, and to securing a confident sense of who one is as a person.

As conceived by Apaches from Cibecue, the past is a well-worn "path" or "trail" which was traveled first by the people's founding ancestors and which subsequent generations of Apaches have traveled ever since. Beyond the memories of living persons, this path is no longer visible—the past has disappeared—and thus it is unavailable for direct consultation and study. For this reason, the past must be constructed—which is to say, imagined—with the aid of historical materials, sometimes called "footprints" or "tracks," that have survived into the present.

For [place-makers] Charles Henry and Morley Cromwell, the country of the past—and with it Apache history—is never more than a narrated place-world away. It is thus very near, as near as the workings of their own imaginations, and can be easily brought to life at almost any time. It is history constructed in spurts, in

edly local and unfailingly episodic. It is also extremely personal, consistently subjective, and therefore highly variable among those who work to produce it.

In the country of the past, as Apaches like to explore it, the place-maker is an indispensable guide. And this in a powerful sense. For the place-maker's main objective is to speak the past into being, to summon it with words and give it dramatic form, to produce experience by forging ancestral worlds in which others can participate and readily lose themselves. To this engrossing end, as Charles Henry showed repeatedly, the place-maker often speaks as a witness on the scene, describing ancestral events "as they are occurring" and creating in the process a vivid sense that what happened long ago—right here, on this very spot—could be happening now.

sudden bursts of imaginative activity, and it takes the form of stories delivered in spoken Apache, the language of the ancestors and most of their modern descendants. Answering the question "What happened here?" it deals in the main with single events, and because these are tied to places within Apache territory, it is point-

"Snakes' Water"

BY KEITH BASSO

In the slow-moving week that follows (June is now upon us, the heat a relentless foe) we travel with Charles to twelve more places, and at two of these—an open expanse named Nch'íí' Gol-gaiyé (Bitter Agave Plain) and a dispersion of vertical boulders called Tséé Naadadn'áhá (Scattered Rocks Stand Erect)—he slips into the past and constructs ancestral place-worlds. As before, and speaking often in the same eyewitness voice, he imagines his forebears arriving on the scene, studying it intently, and assessing its potential for helping them survive. Looking out on Bitter Agave Plain, the ancestors marvel at all the grass, tall and thick and laden with edible seeds, and praise it as a sign of ample summer rainfall. Pausing at Scattered Rocks Stand Erect, they wonder with a mixture of fear

and curiosity why the boulders are upright, as if rammed into the earth by a gigantic hand. At both localities they make and bestow a place-name, a name describing the place itself, just as it looked a long time ago, just as it looks today.

But more is contained in Apache place-names than frozen ancestral quotes and ageless images of a new and striking landscape. In addition, place-names can offer evidence of changes in the landscape, evidence of major shifts in local climatic patterns.

I knew nothing of these things until I accompanied Charles and Morley to Thíish Bi Tú'é (Snakes' Water), an inactive spring at the foot of a sandstone bluff some miles west of Cibecue. Hidden from view by Monsanto bushes, the spring is survived by a cluster of hand cut rocks, flat and rectilinear, which encircle a pool of whitish sand now the home of delicate purple wildflowers and a motley assort-

ment of weeds. A Budweiser beer can, faded and pock-marked with rust, lies on the ground nearby. Standing alone a few feet away, Charles gazes at the rocks for several minutes, as though waiting for them to speak. And perhaps somehow they do, for he suddenly declares the spring has long been

dry, that at some point in time its water went away, and that the result of this is an absence of fit (a "lack of match" is what he says in Apache) between the place itself and the way its name describes it. The name it was given a long time ago shows that it has changed. Snakes' Water, as anyone can see, is no longer the way it was when the ancestors saw it first and made it their own with words. Motionless in denim shirt and sweat-stained Stetson hat, Charles again falls silent. Then, with his eyes still fixed on the barren circle of rocks, he begins to fashion a place-world in which they served an important purpose.

"Now these rocks are lying alone. No one comes to them anymore. Once this wasn't so. Long ago, people came here often. They squatted on these rocks when they filled their containers with water. They knelt on these rocks when they drank water from their hands. Our peo-

Thus performed and dramatized, Western Apache place-making becomes a form of narrative art, a type of historical theater in which the "pastness" of the past is summarily stripped away and long-elapsed events are made to unfold as if before one's eyes. By comparison, Western Apache history of the Anglo-American variety strikes many Apache people as distant and unfamiliar. Unspoken and unanimated, it lies silent and inert on the printed English page; it is history without voices to thrust it into the present.

Removed from the contexts of daily social life (reading, Apaches have noticed, is an isolating activity), it also seems unconnected to daily affairs and concerns; it is history without discernible applications. Detached from the local Apache landscape, it has few spatial anchors, and when places are identified, as often they are not, their names are not their own; it is history loosely situated, geographically adrift. Obsessed with dating historical events, it packs them into tightly ordered sequences



which it then may try to explain by invoking abstract forces ("mounting tribal aggression" and "outbreaks of cultural disarray" were two of Morley Cromwell's favorites) in which no one can quite believe; it thus becomes remote, intangible, divorced in suspect ways from the forces of human agency. Commonly qualified and sometimes hotly debated by persons

who construct it, it appears to be in search of final historical truths, of which Apaches believe there are very few indeed.

But far more important is the fact that it does not excite. It does not captivate. It does not engage and provoke a measure of wonder. As Charles Henry said once, summing up quite a bit, "It's pretty mainly quiet. It stays far away from all our many places."

Excerpted from Keith H. Basso's Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache, winner of a Western States Book Award for Creative Nonfiction as well as a citation from the American Anthropological Association. Reprinted with permission of the University of New Mexico Press.

ple were very grateful for this spring. It made them happy to know they could rely on it anytime. They were glad this place was here.

"Now they are coming to get water! They have been working—maybe they were digging up agave—and now they are thirsty. A man is walking in the lead with women and children behind him. The women are carrying their containers. Some have water jugs on their backs. No one is talking. Maybe there are snakes here, lying on these rocks. Yes! Now the man in front can see them! There are snakes lying stretched out on these rocks. They are the ones who own this spring, the ones who protect it.

"Now that man is speaking to the people. 'Listen to me,' he is saying. 'All of you must wait here. Don't go any closer. Don't approach Snakes' Water until I talk to them and ask them to move away.' The people obey this man, knowing that he will do things correctly. Now they are waiting together in a group, just as he told them to do.

"Now that man has come here. He is talking to those who protect Snakes' Water, using words they understand and doing things correctly. Soon they move off the rocks. They keep going, unalarmed, until they are out of sight.

Now that man is sprinkling something on the water. It is a gift to the ones who own it. He is giving thanks to them and Water, informing them that he and the people are grateful. 'This is good,' he is saying to them. 'This is good.'

"Now he is beckoning to the people to come and get water. Some of them are still concerned, holding back with their children. Others are arriving now, nervously looking around. Now they see they have nothing to fear—everything was done correctly and they start to fill their containers. Now they are happy and grateful, talking amongst themselves. 'This water is good,' they are saying. 'It is good that it is here for us.' Some of the women are smiling. They know they have nothing to fear. Now they are kneeling on these stones, relieving their thirst, drinking from their hands."

A short while later, seated in the shade of a Juniper tree, Charles explains that what we observed at Snakes' Water is not at all uncommon; there are more places like it, scattered throughout Apache country. Many of these places, he says, were named for sources of water. Other localities, according to their names, once gave life to species of plants that thrive under moist conditions, and these plants have either vanished

or persist in stunted form. Tł'ohk'aa Sikaadé (Stand of Arrow Cane), where today no cane exists, offers a telling example; so does Tł'is Sikaadé (Grove of Cottonwood Trees), where one small tree remains. And these are only a few.

Judging from what happened at these and other places, Charles goes on to say, there can be no doubt that the country was wetter and greener when the ancestors first explored it. After lighting a cigarette and pouring a cup of coffee from the thermos we carry with us, Charles volunteers that no one really knows (he implies with a shrug that no one really cares) when the water began to go away. But it would have been interpreted as a punitive response, wrought by Water itself, to something the people had done. Maybe, he says, the people were greedy, taking from springs and streams more water than they needed; maybe they were wasteful, throwing water away they should have been careful to save; or maybe they ceased doing everything correctly, neglecting in haste or forgetfulness to give repeated thanks to Water for giving of itself. No one knows for sure, Charles says, but no one doubts that the people were greatly alarmed to learn that they were at fault.

NAGPRA NEWS

Implementing the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

Army Enlists Interior in Settling Kennewick

TO DETERMINE IF
REMAINS FIT LEGAL
DEFINITION OF NATIVE
AMERICAN

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, on whose land the human remains known as Kennewick Man were discovered, has turned the task of determining their origin over to the Department of the Interior. The determination is perhaps one of the most eagerly awaited developments in the Kennewick saga. Perceived variously as an early Native American, an ancient Norseman visiting the New World, and a major find for physical anthropology, the discovery of the remains—and the ensuing controversy

over their disposition—have attracted international media coverage. A group of scientists has sued the federal government for the right to study the skeleton, which may be among the oldest ever found in North America. Five tribes from the Northwest also want custody of the remains, so that they can be reburied in accordance with their beliefs.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act stipulates that federal agencies can delegate the responsibility for disposition of inadvertently discovered Native American human remains to DOI. According to the agreement with the Corps, if Kennewick Man is found to be Native American, Interior will determine the skeleton's disposition according to NAGPRA's regulations.

To ascertain the remains' disposition, the department has specified a number of procedures that may be followed. They include documentation and examination of the remains (possibly

including "physical testing of limited portions . . . if necessary and appropriate"), and geological study of the discovery site. The agency will identify the entities needed to determine the custody of the remains and may also conduct studies to that end.

Interior and the Corps have also created a joint review team, which will meet at least once a month to evaluate progress. In the meantime, the Corps has taken steps to protect the site and ensure proper curation of the remains. On May 28, U.S. Magistrate Judge John Jelderks, who is hearing the scientists' suit, ordered the government to turn pertinent case records over to the plaintiffs' lawyers. He also stated that the scientists should evaluate the conditions under which the Corps is currently keeping the remains, which they have done. Interior is consulting with the tribes on proposed documentation, examination, and analysis of the bones, which may be done this fall.

Review Committee Gets New Member

BABBITT MAKES
APPOINTMENT

Uera Metcalf, of Nome, Alaska, has been appointed to the committee that monitors and assists the implementation of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. Ms. Metcalf, a fluent speaker of the Siberian Yupik language, has served as NAGPRA coordinator with the Bering Straits Foundation. She has also worked with the Eskimo Heritage Program of Kawerak, Inc., a non-profit organization serving Native Alaskans, and was a member of the Alaska Advisory Council for Bilingual/Bicultural Education. She was born and raised in Savoonga, on St. Lawrence Island.

c o m m o n Ground

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*Cover: Masonry preservation
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