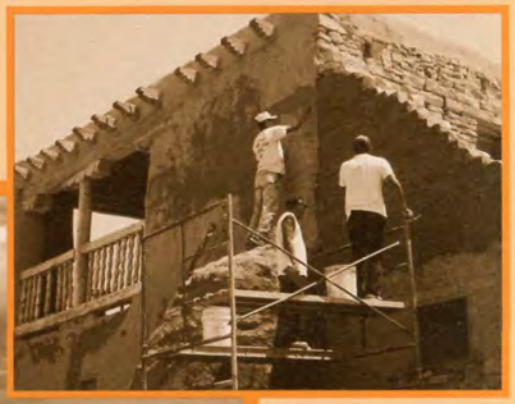
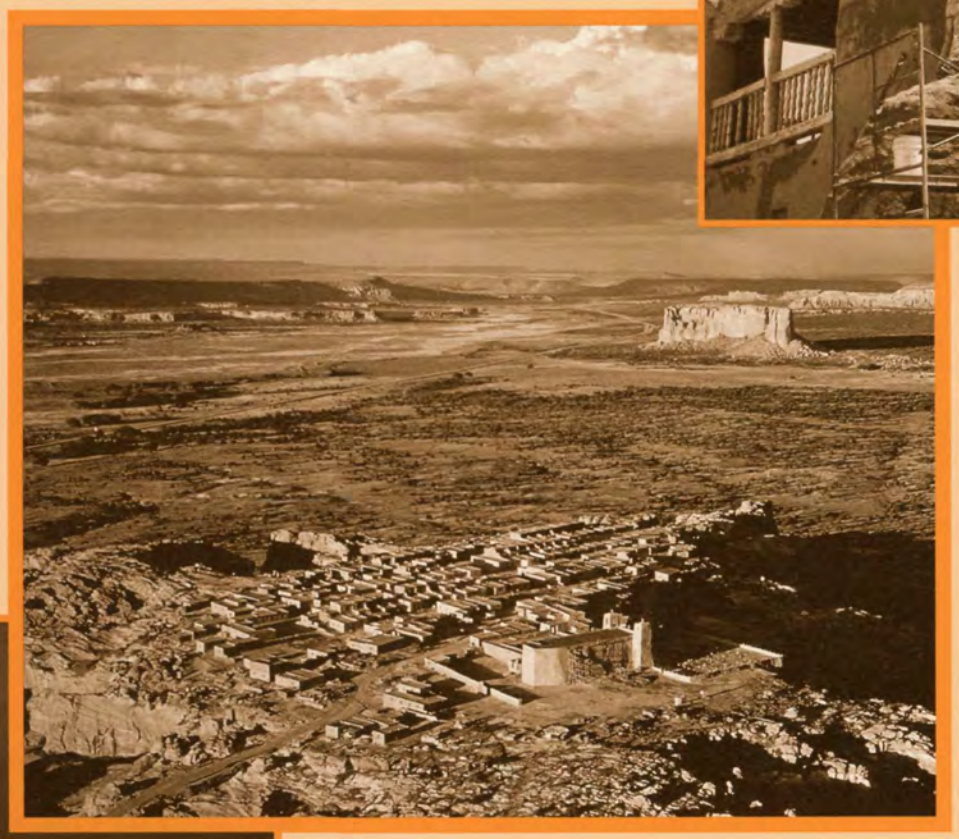
CRM

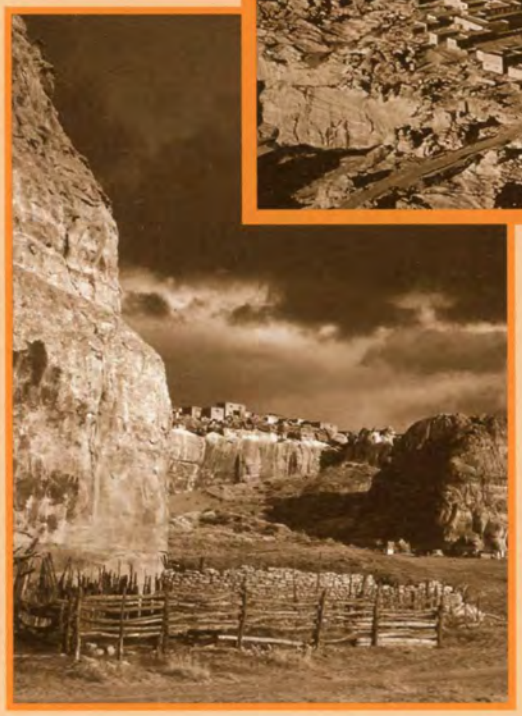
CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

VOLUME 23 NO. 9 2000

Beyond Compliance







Tribes of the Southwest

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
National Park Service
Cultural Resources

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Information for parks, federal agencies, Indian tribes, states, local governments, and the private sector that promotes and maintains high standards for preserving and managing cultural resources

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Design and Imaging
McCoy Publishing Services
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ISSN 1068-4999

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Cover: center, aerial view of Acoma Pueblo, photo courtesy Dick Kent, Photography; bottom left, view of Acoma Pueblo from below and, top right, emergency stabilization by re-mudding at the Convento of San Esteban del Rey in Acoma Pueblo, photos courtesy Dennis G. Playdon; see article, p. 20.

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Virginia Salazar and Jake Barrow

Dialogues

This issue of *CRM* is devoted to cultural resource management on Aboriginal tribal lands—under the jurisdiction of both tribes and non-tribal entities. The articles are united by one theme: communication. The communication spoken of is two-way and involves proactive listening. Every article in this *CRM* reflects an interactive dialogue of shared perspectives.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), enacted in 1990, opened the door for dialogue about collections, but also resulted in many mutually beneficial partnerships between tribes, federal agencies, and other institutions. NAGPRA fertilized a ground-swell of energy throughout the nation. Increasing self-determination led to the creation of tribal historic preservation offices that manage their own internal cultural resources. There are currently 22 such offices and the number is growing. These offices manage the affairs that were previously administered by the state historic preservation offices. Because so many tribes—particularly in the Southwest—have strong living traditions, and in so many cases still occupy lands of their ancestors, this change is quite appropriate, and long overdue. The articles focus on projects and issues involving contemporary tribes and sites. These include compliance involving NAGPRA; site preservation of ancestral and traditional places within the jurisdiction of the National Park Service and on tribal lands; consultation processes; and object conservation issues involving state, federal, and tribal collections. Eastern Colorado and Rio Grande communities to the western borders of the Navajo Nation are represented. There is a wealth of examples of partnering projects between tribes, agencies, and institutions.

Initially, we made a decision to limit the focus to a regional geographic area covering the Rio Grande communities, the Navajo Nation area, and one subject in eastern Colorado. In our search, we were able to connect with examples that clearly exemplify the new agenda at work.

There are many additional stories to be told within this geographical context. The restoration of Taos Pueblo 10 years ago is a benchmark of tribal self-determination in internally managing historic preservation. The tribe welcomed and used external assistance, but always controlled the process. The recognition of Taos Pueblo as a World Heritage Site affirmed the tribe's valuable preservation initiative. Other Pueblos such as Zuni and Tesuque have followed suit, revitalizing their historic centers, and thereby demonstrating their recognition that the preservation of historic and cultural fabric is integral to the survival of the culture. When the youth participate in these activities, as is demonstrated in the case studies, they gain the experience that will enable them to become the caretakers of their cultural heritage—which forms a key part of our shared heritage.

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Virginia Salazar and Jake Barrow are guest co-editors of this issue of CRM.

The editors are very grateful for the persevering assistance provided by Jane Harvey and the last-minute assistance of Barbara Stanislawski.

Frank Matero

Beyond Compliance

Planning Heritage Preservation for Native American Ancestral Sites

In the American Southwest, indigenous Pueblo cultures are a vital part of the region's contemporary mosaic of ethnic diversity. This is especially evident through their long-standing relationship to the land and landscape, as reflected in the continuity of place for most Pueblo communities and the countless number of sacred/ancestral sites that figure prominently in contemporary beliefs and ritual.

Many such sites have recently gained federal recognition and legal protection through Native American participation in the federal government's Section 106 consultation process; yet programmatic stabilization, protection, and interpretation of these sites have proven difficult. Based on the recognition that such places remain critical to the continuing identity of indigenous peoples and that these sites are central to the cultural lives of many, their physical preservation and respectful management have become a relevant, timely, and sometimes controversial issue.

Since its emergence in the 1970s, historic preservation has developed into a professional field that many now consider to be among the most significant and influential socio-cultural movements to affect public life and the quality of our historical environment. To date, most preservation activity has focused on programs of survey, inventory, conservation, restoration, and rehabilitation of specific sites associated with selected histories. Such approaches have tended to ignore the continuing significance that buildings and landscapes hold for traditional communities in defining and preserving everyday life and beliefs in all their diverse forms and expressions.

Conservation as a concept and process has as its fundamental objective the protection of cultural property from loss and depletion. Implicit in this is the notion of maintaining living contact with the past through the identification, transmission, and protection of that which is considered culturally valuable. In traditional societies, this concept of valued cultural inheritance is most visibly regulated by tradition. Yet, as central as tradition is to the concepts of cultural identity, it is also as dynamic as culture change itself. Only by recognizing the changing nature of tradition within the context of cultural identity can a community effectively and responsibly manage its present and future through personal and collective interpretations of the past. Historic preservation is not an impractical attempt by nostalgic minds to see history preserved as an entity apart, but rather as continuous change, and conservation as a logical step in evaluating changes to the whole environment.

Applied conservation in contemporary form can have applicability to indigenous societies when linked to tradition. This approach intends to provide culturally responsive alternatives to imported solutions that do not relate to existing contexts; it seeks to counter the often destructive

Trail backfill at Tsankawi Mesa before preservation treatment. Photo by the author.

application of "modern" technologies, which can be physically damaging and disrupt the lifeways of traditional communities. Instead, the application of culturally appropriate conservation can encourage long-range revitalization by promoting and investing in sustainable solutions that reinforce and promote the related social practices and beliefs associated with traditional living.

From this approach, the concept of **heritage management** emerges as a broadly based method for the planning, direction, and care of all heritage—both natural and human-made—with an ideological objective of maintaining and establishing cultural continuity and identity. Moreover, the concept serves an educational function, through the preservation and promotion of culture history and sustainability. The wisdom of such an approach has only occasionally been demonstrated through unique international development programs centered on the conservation of cultural property in relation to the socio-economic realities and modern requirements of traditional communities. Application to the indigenous native cultures of North America—and in particular to the ancient Pueblo communities of the American Southwest—is appropriate, and long overdue.

Native American Pueblo communities and their ancestral sites, together with the land, define a traditional cultural landscape, which for these communities is physically and ideologically inseparable. While past approaches by outsiders have viewed this cultural landscape as separate entities in time and space, many native communities instead have a characteristic sense of continuity between past and present, between veneration and use of the land, and a sense of identity and place in time as reflected by and through these sites, their built remains, and beliefs and practices. Lack of available economic resources, forgotten traditional knowledge, tourist-based development, and the infiltration of inappropriate government programs from the outside have placed severe pressures on the historic resources, and on traditional living and the continued transmission of traditional knowledge, especially to the community's younger generations.

Trail backfill at Tsankawi Mesa after preservation treatment. Photo by the author.

Project Focus

In 1997, following the completion of a renewed Resource Management Plan, Bandelier National Monument invited the University of Pennsylvania to help plan a project to specifically address the problems of trail and site preservation at Tsankawi Mesa. That request quickly evolved into a context-based problem addressing Tsankawi, and more recently Frijoles Canyon, as a cultural landscape. In 1998, an interactive training program launched a season of field work that has continued each summer into the present. In this way, the central issues of use, interpretation, and technical conservation could be explored together from the beginning in developing integrated approaches to the preservation and maintenance of this archeological and ancestral site. Heritage preservation, as both a means and an end, was developed as a dynamic program by which the affiliated Pueblo communities could explore, reinforce, interpret, and share their historical and traditional past and present among themselves and with outsiders. Conservation as a proven methodological approach could facilitate a sustainable, long-term relationship between a community and its natural and cultural resources, as well as the lifeways associated with them.

In recent years, the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate Program in Historic Preservation has included a curriculum that concentrates on developing an integrated management approach to the conservation of archeological sites as traditional places of cultural significance that acknowledges and responds to past identities and present-day needs and expectations. Likewise, in recent years, the National Park Service has begun to expand upon the essential mission to preserve, study, interpret, and present

sites of natural and cultural significance to further work with traditional communities to understand, experience, and perpetuate our shared cultural heritage. In the Tsankawi Project and the Frijoles Canyon Cavate Project, both institutions have come together, and included the Pueblos of Cochiti and San Ildefonso, in exploring culturally and environmentally appropriate methods to better understand and manage ancestral Puebloan sites that lie within the jurisdiction of Bandelier National Monument.

Program Description

Education and Training. The collaboration has led to an integrated program of field training, stretching the current academic conservation curriculum into actual problems and field activities, with the added benefit of creating career opportunities for Native Americans in conservation and cultural resource management. University students join side by side with native students to participate in the field training exercises (in 1998 and again in 2000). The collaboration has also stimulated the reappraisal of National Park Service management strategies related to native ancestral sites. Such a project addresses the very issues of cultural diversity by bringing different partners together to explore each other and themselves through their notions of tradition and the commonality and specificity of cultural heritage.

The objective of the collaborative program, now in its third year, has been twofold. First, it has sought to raise the awareness of the interdisciplinary and highly specialized nature of working in designated heritage areas among professional conservators, planners, architects, landscape architects, anthropologists, and museum professionals and their students. Each needs to understand the limitations and complementariness of their respective inputs, as well as how best to integrate these with the contributions of the other professions involved. Second, the community as cultural affiliate has been directly involved during all phases of research, analysis, and implementation. All have cooperated closely, during both the analytical and the planning stages, to develop solutions that respond fully to the inherent complexity of outside visitor and tribal use and beliefs. Ultimately, the aim has been to promote and reinforce an awareness and knowledge about tradition and cultural diversity among resource management professionals and community members through a practical program of heritage management for traditional native ancestral sites.

Bandelier student employee Waiyai Martin (Cochiti Pueblo) moving slash to mesa top at Tsankawi during the 1999 summer season. Photo by Jake Barrow.

At a practical level, the program has addressed topical, theoretical problems through advanced site-applied fieldwork. In so doing, the program has offered real assistance through training to Native American Pueblo communities and the National Park Service in their effort to identify and develop the strategies, practical actions, and technical and culturally-determined standards needed at this crucial moment. Environmental damage, deteriorating archeological remains, and uncoordinated and rapid development in and around the region all pose major threats to the cultural resources and ecological stability of these sites. These problems have been addressed through a professionally-based, community-assisted survey of cultural resources and needs as directed by the partners. In addition, a practical field-training program was developed and implemented to provide opportunities for National Park Service professionals and Native American interns. This partnership has served as a model cooperative program, and helped to stimulate dialogue between associated tribes and the park—dialogue that continues to be very alive and active today.

The Collaborative Program—Approach and Components. The problems encountered in historical/traditional settlements and ancestral/archeological sites are multi-disciplinary. Accordingly, the emphasis of a collaborative program is on developing integrated solutions with input from diverse professionals as well as stakeholders. The current program at Bandelier National Monument has been supervised by a multi-disciplinary team whose various expertise and individual contributions have been brought together and synthesized into concepts, strategies,

Continued on page 8

Tribal Voices

The objectives for the 1998 workshop, Beyond Compliance: Heritage Preservation for Native American Ancestral Sites, were stated: "... to examine the objectives, programs, and systems related to the native ancestral site preservation and management through active tribal participation during project planning and implementation. The National Park Service manages the ancestral site of Tsankawi within Bandelier National Monument. A dialogue and collaboration will be sought, using the training process, to increase and enhance communication and activities between the stakeholders. In this case, San Ildefonso Pueblo will represent the interests of Puebloan peoples as directly related to Tsankawi. The training also will provide an introduction to resource protection and management programs, and field skills necessary for the conservation of the cultural and natural heritage at Tsankawi."

Joint recognition of active site degradation and inappropriate activities shown by some visitors to Tsanakwi led the park to actively support this project. Beyond conserving the place, hearing native voices express heartfelt opinions about Tsankawi was a specific agenda in the curriculum. During the training, these three questions, which generated direct and powerful responses, were asked of the group:

What does Tsankawi mean to you?
What are the issues?
What changes, if any should be made?

"Tsankawi is still our home"
"Tsankawi should be left as it is"
"Artifacts should not be removed from the site"
"Respect the place"
"Contamination of the land from Los Alamos nuclear research has hurt the site"
"Visitation should be more controlled; trails should be established to restrict access"
"The NPS should hire someone from the Pueblo to patrol the area"
"Return Tsankawi back to San Ildefonso Pueblo"
"Trails are in need of repair, but would rather that they be left alone"
"Parking area is too small but visitation should not be encouraged"
"Cavate preservation should be done to prevent vandalism (graffiti)"
"Back-filling of deep trails is acceptable"
"Remove the word "Anasazi"—a Navajo word that implies a people who are unknown and gone"
"Use Tewa words in the trail guide"
"Do not refer to Tsankawi as a ruin—call it a village"
"The site is open to the public but they are not instructed how to behave."
"The word "ruin" on the sign allows people to think of the place as abandoned and not cared for."
"The current policy of discovery allows visitors to roam the site and disrespect special places at Tsankawi that have sacred meaning to Tewa people (i.e. Kivas and shrines).
"Identify Tsankawi with a sign stating, "Our towns are full of people you can't see. This is our ancestral home where our people lived and are buried. Treat carefully"
" The boundary should be posted to clearly mark NPS from tribal land"
"USGS has "sacred area" designated on topo map—why can't NPS do the same?"

Respondants included: San Ildefonso elders Adeladio Martinez and Martin Aguilar; native students Naomi Naranjo, Patrick Cruz, Lawrence Atencio, Bill Bebout, Paul Quintana, and Adrian Roybal.

and practical proposals—all under the supervision of the partners.

The major focus of the program has addressed the theoretical and ethical issues and technical problems of trail and ruins (cavate) stabilization, graffiti mitigation, environmental restoration, site interpretation, and the collection and care of artifacts. Participants have explored the natural and cultural context of Tsankawi and Frijoles Canyon, including its landscape and environmental changes, archeological and preservation history, and artifact collections. They have also performed condition surveys of the resources to understand and develop intervention priorities, and have addressed the technical solutions to stone and plaster deterioration, visitor access, and graffiti.

In summary. The activities of the last several years have re-invigorated the intra-cultural dialogue concerning the conservation of Native American archeological and ancestral sites by accentuating the living cultural landscapes and by encouraging multi-disciplinary involvement. This dialogue has fostered increased cultural sensitivity between native and non-native participants, and facilitated community/stakeholder participation with outside professional partners and the public. In addition, it has helped to provide another vehicle for National Park Service and other heritage professionals and cultural affiliates to collaborate in an applied field context and, most important, to learn and experience other cultural viewpoints in the presentation and management of heritage through the concepts and practices of conservation.

The synthesis of outside professional approaches and methodologies in heritage management with direct participation from community members acknowledges the various strengths and contributions of the project partners upon which to build more reasonable solutions to the problem of environmental and cultural damage from unsustainable, inappropriate use and management. By conjoining current issues concerning indigenous heritage, tradition, and appropriate technology with academic training needs and formats through the vehicle of field-applied research and practical work, this program has effected the greatest impact on the maximum number of people trained at the appropriate level of involvement. Native American students from the affiliate Pueblos, as well as graduate students from preservation programs, were directly trained through this initiative, as were a large number of professional staff from the National Park Service. As a direct result, several Pueblo students have chosen career paths in architectural studies, anthropology, and conservation. Additionally, the existing consultation process between the National Park Service and the affiliated Pueblo communities has been greatly strengthened during collaborative efforts through public meetings, social events, field work, and group exercises such as mapmaking, language discussions, and the identification of shared and unique values and recommendations for the sites.

Frank Matero is Chair of the Graduate Program in Historic Preservation at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Acknowledgements

The 1998 training program was funded in part by the National Park Service Cultural Resources Training Initiative. The two-week training session held at the onset of the project was an interactive colloquium designed to initiate cross-cultural dialogue. This event served as gestation for the multi-year program and tribal consultation process that has been engendered. Participation included the following: Martin Aguilar and Adeladio Martinez, elders of San Ildefonso Pueblo; Bandelier staff particpants, including Roy Weaver, Superintendent, Charisse Sydoriak, Chief of Resource Management, Gary Roybal, museum technician (San Ildefonso), Elizabeth Mozzillo and Mike Elliot, staff archeologists, Brian Jacobs, natural resources specialist, and Sally King, Interpretation. Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe staff included Virginia Salazar (Santa Clara Pueblo); Jim Trott; Jake Barrow; Jill Cowley; and Bob Powers. University of Pennsylvania staff included Frank Matero; Bob Preucel; and graduate student Shaun Provencher. Shaun Provencher wrote his thesis on this topic; he went on to become employed by the Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe, and now works as a landscape architect in the Pacific Great Basin Support Office of the National Park Service. The New Mexico State Historic Preservation Office was represented by Alysia Abbott, archeologist. Native American student participants included Naomi Naranjo, Adrian Roybal, and Bill Bebout (San Ildefonso); Patrick Cruz and Lawrence Atencio (San Juan); and Paul Quintana (Cochiti). Private consultants included archeologists Kurt Anschuetz and Wolkie Toll; and conservator Betina Raphael.

Thomas Merlan, Loren Panteah, and Myron Gonzales

Maintaining Traditions

The Importance of Neighboring Tribes in the Effective Management of National Park Resources

In early May 2000, the National Park Service set a prescribed burn in Bandelier National Monument. The fire escaped and became a conflagration that devastated 47,000 acres in north-central New Mexico, leveling part of the town of Los Alamos and threatening nuclear facilities at the Los Alamos National Laboratory. The fire wreaked havoc for the people and economy of northern New Mexico and attracted national attention. Out of the ashes have come many important lessons for the National Park Service about how to best manage cultural and natural resources. One of these lessons is the importance of substantial consultation with the neighbors of national parks—in particular with traditionally associated Indian groups that possess long experience in land management. Another is that a real willingness on the part of the NPS to change and adapt plans to meet the traditional and practical concerns of associated Indian groups may well be critically important to the future of all parks and the regions that surround them.

Cavates (alcove sites) on cliff face of Frijoles Canyon, Bandelier National Monument. Photo courtesy Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe, New Mexico.

The following article discusses a landmark two-phase research project initiated by Bandelier National Monument in late 1995, designed to ascertain the traditional historical basis for relationships between affiliated traditional Indian communities and park resources; to evaluate the traditional cultural and natural resources that continue to be used and valued; and to inform park managers of traditional affiliations and uses to assist in future resource management.

Background

Ever since Cochiti Indian friends first introduced Adolph Bandelier to the archeological wonders of north-central New Mexico's Frijoles Canyon in the spring of 1880, many anthropologists have come to accept the critical importance of historic ties between modern Pueblo Indians and the lands that now form Bandelier National Monument.

Until about the beginning of the 16th century, Pueblo peoples occupied the lands now forming Bandelier National Monument; subsequently, they moved to villages located closer to the Rio Grande. In recognition of this occupation, President Woodrow Wilson authorized Bandelier National Monument in 1916 to "reserve [the] relics of a vanished people." The park's 32,827 acres are primarily located in Sandoval and Los Alamos counties in north-central New Mexico, but also include the discrete Tsankawi Unit, located 11 miles from the park in Santa Fe County.

Traditional groups nearest to Bandelier are the Pueblo de Cochiti, south of the Cañada de Cochiti; San Ildefonso Pueblo, north and east of the Ramon Vigil Grant, and contiguous with the Tsankawi Mesa unit of the park; and Santa Clara and San Juan Pueblos, north of the park and separated from it by Santa Fe National Forest lands, and also by the Ramon Vigil Grant and other lands surrounding Los Alamos that are

View into Frijoles Canyon, Bandelier National Monument. Photo courtesy Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe, New Mexico.

managed by the Department of Energy. The nearest lands of the Pueblo of Jemez, almost entirely surrounded by Santa Fe National Forest lands, are about 6 miles to the south and west of the park. Santo Domingo Pueblo is immediately south of and contiguous with Cochiti; San Felipe Pueblo is immediately south of and contiguous with Santo Domingo. The Tewa Pueblos of Pojoaque, Nambe, and Tesuque are grouped to the east of San Ildefonso.

Other Pueblo communities not immediately adjacent to the park were included in the first phase of study: Zia Pueblo is west of and contiguous with Jemez Pueblo; Zuni Pueblo is about 140 miles west-southwest; and the Tewa-speaking community of Hano, located on First Mesa in Northern Arizona, is about 250 miles west of the park.

The park initiated the two-phase research project late in 1995. Hired as project consultants to conduct the research were ethnohistorian Dr. Frances Levine and historian/historic preservation specialist Thomas Merlan.

The project was originally designed as an ethnographic overview to document traditional uses of the cultural and natural resources within the park. The main body of the final report was intended to be a discussion of the traditional resource uses of Bandelier National Monument and the role the park plays in contemporary tribal and other traditional societies. However, as a result of consultation between the park and traditionally associated Pueblos, it gradually assumed its own character.

Its purpose shifted to describing the traditional historical bases for relationships between potentially affiliated traditional communities and park resources, and evaluating the traditional cultural and natural resources that continue to be used and valued by associated tribes. The first phase of the project became primarily a literature search, followed by a consultation with six Pueblos that had been determined, on the basis of the literature, to be traditionally associated with the park. The second phase of the project, originally designed as an ethnographic investigation of the location and nature of traditionally used cultural and natural resources within the park, was expanded to include the formation of a tribal consultation committee (with representatives from the six Pueblos whose traditional associations with the park had been confirmed); a series of meetings and field visits to enable the traditionally associated Pueblos and the park to consult on traditional concerns and management practices; and the drafting of a role and function statement for the consultation committee, and the drafting of a general agreement between the communities forming the committee and the park.

Pre-project Consultations

Bandelier National Monument conducted a variety of consultations with Pueblo groups believed to be traditionally associated with the park (summary, Merlan and Levine 2000) prior to the present study. In 1985, the National Park Service (NPS) initiated its intensive, 10-year Bandelier Archeological Project survey and test excavations, designed to inventory the range of cultural resources in the park, to provide better interpretation of past occupations for park visitors, and to preserve the range of archeological resources (Toll 1995:vii). Between 1987 and 1991, the inventory surveyed and recorded archeological sites in a sample of about 40% of the park. The NPS informed Pueblo communities about the scope of the Bandelier Archeological Project, and met with representatives of the Pueblos of Santa Clara, Cochiti, Jemez, Santo Domingo, and San Ildefonso.

The NPS also conducted a separate consultation required by the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) with certain Pueblos regarding human remains and associated funerary objects from the Rainbow House site in Frijoles Canyon.

Also in compliance with NAGPRA, in November of 1995, Bandelier National Monument prepared a listing of all human remains and associated funerary objects obtained from archeological sites in Bandelier National Monument for which the NPS is responsible. A preliminary cultural affiliation determination, dated November 12, 1995, concluded that Pueblo sites in the park dating from the early-12th century or later were likely to be associated with all of the extant Pueblos. However, this determination was preliminary, and was not taken as conclusive. The present study reached narrower and more specific conclusions about these associations, based on the literature and on consultation with the Pueblos and tribes.

Phase I: Literature Search/Preliminary Consultation

Phase I of the study included a search of relevant published and unpublished literature, and the preparation of an annotated bibliography of more than 200 published and unpublished sources from primary and secondary materials available in regional archives and libraries, which was included in the report (*Bandelier National Monument: Ethnographic Literature Search and Consultation.* Levine and Merlan, 1997).

Phase I also included preliminary consultation with tribes in New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Oklahoma. Researchers contacted 27 tribes and communities. Twenty-three of them, including all the New Mexico Pueblos, the Hopi Tribe (including First Mesa Village), and the Navajo Nation, participated in the project. The Comanche Tribe, Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, Southern Ute Tribe, and Pueblo of Ysleta del Sur did not respond in any way. This phase identified six tribes—the Pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, and Zuni—with traditional, historic (in the general sense, and going back to Coalition times), geographic, or religious associations with Bandelier National Monument.

During a series of management meetings, the park and the Pueblos discussed proposed actions, with a view to meeting the needs of land management, public access and interpretation, and the preservation and protection of traditional values.

After determining through literature search and preliminary consultations that Cochiti, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, and Zuni are traditionally associated with Bandelier National Monument, the consultants cooperated with the park in carrying out a second round of consultations in office settings and the field.

Phase II: Consultation with Tribes/ Recommendations to Management

Phase II of the project identified three other communities that assert a historic or traditional relationship with the park: the Pueblos of San Juan and Zia, and the Hopi Tribe. The Pueblo of Acoma did not assert a traditional association with the park, but asked to be kept informed of its management activities. The Navajo Nation noted the possibility that at least four Navajo clans trace their origins to Rio Grande Puebloan communities. Literature search and preliminary consultation indicated that 16 other Pueblos and tribes have no documentable traditional association with the park.

The consultation process narrowed the 27 Pueblos and tribes originally contacted down to a group of six having established traditional associations with the park. Three assert a traditional association, but have no precise information to back it up. The Navajo Nation suggests a more general association between the community and the Rio Grande Pueblos. Acoma Pueblo does not assert an association, but wishes to be kept informed, and to be party to consultation issues specifically related to the discovery of human remains and other NAGPRA materials in the park.

Consultation confirmed that 16 other Pueblos and tribes have no documentable traditional association with the park. The report resulting from the consultation recommended a process of consultation that builds on known traditional associations and involves the six Pueblos in an ongoing management relationship with the park as provided for by applicable law and regulation.

Several different types of associations between park lands and existing Pueblos emerged. Historic associations can be drawn between sites on the Pajarito Plateau and existing Pueblo communities. Religious associations are indicated by the religious use by modern Pueblo peoples of sites, resources, and landscapes within the park. Contemporary associations may be either historic or religious—or both—or may not recognizably fall into either category, but rather

consist of lands or resources used for traditional purposes such as plant collecting, pottery making, or the gathering of raw materials for crafts. Geographic associations exist by virtue of geographic proximity.

A general consultation took place on September 16, 1998, at the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe. Here, park representatives and consultants met with representatives of the Pueblos of Acoma, Cochiti, Laguna, Nambe, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Clara, Taos, Zia and Zuni and a representative of the Navajo Nation. The authors submitted an executive summary of the first phase of this study to consulting tribal governments. Park representatives presented the consulting Pueblos with a detailed briefing statement concerning the proposed elements of the park's resource management covering the period 1999-2003. Tribal representatives proposed the formation of a consultation committee—a focus group or core group, made up of representatives from tribes having historic, traditional, religious, or contemporary associations directly having a traditional association with the monument; the park committed to supporting regular group meetings. Representatives of Cochiti, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and Zuni agreed to form a consultation committee to advise the park on matters relating to current and potential effects of management on sites, properties, and other resources having cultural and religious significance. Representatives also came up with a set of preliminary recommendations relating to tribal concerns and the management of the park.

The new Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee held a series of meetings in 1999 and the spring of 2000. The park and the committee both agreed that consultation and management recommendations would be the province of the six committee members, while five other tribes that had asked to be kept informed (the Pueblos of Acoma, San Juan, and Zia; the Hopi Tribe; and the Navajo Nation) would be advised of committee activities and recommendations. The committee drafted a role and function statement. They then agreed that committee membership would consist of designated tribal representatives, with methods of delegation left to the discretion of each tribe. It was also agreed that the committee would meet no less often than twice a year, and that the park would issue an annual update to the six member Pueblos each February, to ensure that the new Pueblo government would be informed about the existence, functions, and recent history of the committee.

During the series of meetings, the committee discussed a wide range of issues, including the management and preservation in the Tsankawi unit of the park; the park's Piñon/Juniper Restoration Project (in which erosion prevention is designed to preserve archeological sites by preventing the destruction of the historic environment); cavate preservation; prescribed burns; monitoring of fire effects and ecosystem health; the re-establishment of bighorn sheep; a parkwide soil survey; and the parkwide archeological survey project.

As a result of the meetings, the Bandelier National Monument Tribal Consultation Committee made specific management recommendations to the National Park Service. The Committee recommended that the National Park Service:

- Establish a general agreement between the committee and the park;
- Establish and periodically review a role and function statement for the committee;
- Maintain confidentiality with all project information;

Visitors going into cavates (alcove sites) on the cliff face of Frijoles Canyon, Bandelier National Monument. Photo courtesy Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Cactus on the narrow area of the Tsankawi Mesa, which is the source for the name of the place—"Tsankawi." Photo courtesy Jake Barrow.

- Obtain funding to sustain cultural resources working groups, such as the consultation committee;
- Protect site-specific information from disclosure under federal law;
- Issue summary information and draft correspondence every February to advise the six Pueblos represented on the committee about the history, role, and functions of the committee, and to ensure continuing consultation;
- Provide training to tribal representatives, such as internships, through the NPS, universities, and museums, in the areas of resource management, fire management, cultural and natural resource surveys, and related areas;
- Share resource management and inventory reports with the committee;
- Continue to provide tribal access to areas of traditional use and concern throughout the park;
- Notify committee member tribes, and wherever possible ensure their involvement in the planning and implementation of surveys of vegetation and other natural and cultural resources, and where possible, issue survey results;
- Distribute the final report of the project to all 19 New Mexico Pueblos and to other Pueblos and tribes that have specifically asked to be kept informed;
- Incorporate site information and research on previously recorded sites into existing park review processes;
- Distribute the minutes of committee meetings to committee members and to the five additional Pueblos and tribes that have requested further information and consultation; and
- Advise tribes with no known traditional affiliation to the park that request consultation on specific management issues and specific sites or areas of traditional use and concern to request on-site consultation with the park superintendent and staff, and coordinate consultation with and through the tribal consultation committee to the fullest extent compatible with federal and tribal law.

The consultation report concluded with a discussion of the historical, religious, geographic, and contemporary associations between the park and existing tribal communities, with particular emphasis on the Pueblos of San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Cochiti, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Zuni, as well as discussions about the Pueblos of Acoma, San Juan, and Zia; the Hopi Tribe; and the Navajo Nation.

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Thomas Merlan is a historian, historic preservation specialist, and current president of the board of directors of Human Systems Research, Inc., a non-profit anthropological research organization with offices in Las Cruces and Tularosa, New Mexico.

Loren Panteah was the acting director of the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office during the second phase of the project, and represented the Pueblo of Zuni at the meetings referred to above.

Myron Gonzales is director of the Environmental and Cultural Preservation Office of the Pueblo of San Ildefonso, and represented the Pueblo at the meetings referred to in this article.

Office of American Indian Trust Responsibilities—Intermountain Region, National Park Service

Role

The primary role of this office is to interpret policy and facilitate communications (consultation) between park managers and tribal governments in fulfilling trust and government-to-government relation responsibilities.

Function

The following are the primary functions:

Trust Responsibilities. Consistent with the federal government's trust responsibilities, provides professional advice and technical assistance to park management in establishing and maintaining legal government-to-government consultative and collaborative relationships with sovereign Indian tribes. To ensure that park and regional managers understand the concept of trust responsibilities, provides guidance and training on fulfilling this fiduciary obligation. Is available to work with park managers to be cognizant of tribal protocols and values, and tribal positions and agendas on sensitive issues needing resolution that are common to the National Park Service and Indian tribes.

Government-To-Government Relations. The office facilitates cooperation, communications, and consultation between parks and tribes, and may represent the park manager or Regional Director when requested. The lead for government-to-government relations is the responsibility of each park manager.

Tribal Self-Governance. P.L. 103-413 permanently establishes tribal self-governance throughout the Department of the Interior. The office establishes and maintains complete legislative background, and regulations. Pertinent information on Department and Service policy, and a list of participating (compacted) tribes, are readily available to park personnel.

NPS Ambassador/American Indian Liaison. The office coordinates activities that deal with tribes and tribal colleges, and represents the region on topics not related to a specific park. The office identifies and brings the right people and entities together to discuss issue(s) and reach resolution or understanding. Included is communication between tribes and parks to provide access to and use of sacred sites for traditional cultural purposes. May represent the Regional Director on larger region and strategic issues.

Oversight and Policy Compliance. Provides advice on compliance with NPS policy, regulations, laws, court decisions, treaties, and executive orders for their implication upon park management decisionmaking. Works directly with park managers and American Indian governments in NPS planning and implementing program activities that may affect tribal cultural and religious values.

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. Responsible for assisting superintendents, as requested, in facilitating NAGPRA consultation activities with tribes.

Congressional Inquiries/Coordination. Responds to requests of Indians and for tribes on behalf of the Regional Director.

Interface with WASO American Indian Liaison Office. Assists the Washington Office when requested, is available for details and consultation to strengthen NPS American Indian programs.

Tribal Grants Programs (i.e.: Historic Preservation Fund proposals and awards). When requested, represents the region in the development and implementation of the NPS Tribal Historic Preservation Fund and the Keepers of the Treasures organization.

Other functions could be performed subject to the accomplishment of primary function responsibilities and the availability of time and resources.

National Park Service
Intermountain Region
American Indian Trust Responsibilities Offices are located at:
Ed Natay—Intermountain Support Office - Santa Fe, Box 728, Santa Fe, NM 87504; phone 505-988-6876
Barbara Sutteer—Intermountain Regional Office, 12795 West Alameda Parkway, P.O. 25287, Denver, CO 80225; phone 303-969-2511

John R. Welch, Nancy Mahaney, and Ramon Riley

The Reconquest of Fort Apache

The White Mountain Apache Tribe Reclaims Its History and Culture

Despite worldwide notoriety as the fierce military masters of the wild western frontier, the great Apache Nation is one of the least understood North American indigenous peoples. Weary of the caricatures and stereotypes perpetuated by the popular media market, the White Mountain Apache Tribe has launched a series of ambitious initiatives to regain control over—and responsibility for—their past. The overarching goal of these efforts is not simply to salvage or preserve what remains of Apache culture and history, but to revitalize the best and most useful elements of their past, to guide the Apaches through the present and into the future. The Apache people are creating opportunities to use their heritage to make their lives better, both materially and spiritually. Their elected and cultural leaders are committed to finding innovative and meaningful uses for their culture, language, and history in the areas of economic and community development.

Work being done in pursuit of this goal emphasizes cultural perpetuation rather than preservation. Like many other indigenous peoples across the globe, American Indians face serious problems stemming from poverty, disenfranchisement, and substance abuse. AIDS, adult-onset diabetes, obesity, illiteracy, child and elder abuse, and other ills are rising faster on reservations than in non-Indian communities. The Apache are much younger, poorer, more fertile, and more likely to die before their time than the U.S. population at large. What follows is a case study of how the White Mountain Apache of the central Arizona uplands are fighting these trends.

White Mountain Apache scouts, c.1916. Apache scouts worked for the U.S. Army from 1871 until 1949. Photo courtesy Lori Davisson Archive, White Mountain Apache Heritage Program.

A Place in History

The tribe's plans for bringing the past into the present and countering more than a century of Anglo-authored accounts of Apache history and culture focus on Fort Apache. Made mythic by Hollywood, the deteriorating old fort sits above the confluence of the east and north forks of White River, just south of Whiteriver, the seat of government for the White Mountain Apache Tribe. It represents both pain and triumph. The U.S. Army sought to subjugate a proud people, and when the military abandoned the fort in 1922, Congress turned it into an Indian boarding school, intended to "civilize" the heirs of an ancient and amazing tradition by stripping away their language and culture. But neither the Army nor the Bureau of Indian Affairs was successful in breaking the Apache spirit.

Had the decision been made to bring in bulldozers, many individual Apache would not have missed the place. But with the 1993 adoption of the Master Plan for the Fort Apache Historic Park, the White Mountain Apache Tribal Council decided to capitalize on the fort's name recognition and convert Fort Apache from a symbol of oppression into a place to both explain their history to outsiders and serve the ongoing needs of their community. This far-sighted action once more demonstrated the long history of patience, flexibility, and persistence that has allowed the White Mountain Apache people to bend like willows without losing strength or sacrificing core values.

Heritage Conservation Technician Mark Altaha working on Kinishba, a partially restored ancestral Pueblo village protected by the Heritage Program. Photo by John R. Welch.

Today, Fort Apache has become a forum for celebrating Apache survival and sharing Apache perspectives on their culture and history. In 1997, the tribe opened Nohwike' Bagowa—the new Apache Cultural Center and Museum. The museum's main exhibit features beautiful Apache basketry, and ancillary exhibits have featured work by noted Apache artists, including Michael Lacapa and Allan Houser (Houzous). While visiting the 288-acre historic site, which includes 27 historic buildings, the tribe's guests are invited to tour the c. 1871 log cabin that housed General George Crook and Army Surgeon Walter Reed. Sandstone and wood frame buildings that served as officers' quarters from the 1880s through the 1920s line one side of the huge parade ground. Buildings that make up the Theodore Roosevelt Indian Boarding School—imposing symbols of federal authority—border the other sides of the parade ground.

A visit to Fort Apache should also include a walk through a restored Apache village or a 13th-century Pueblo ruin; a trip to the stables and barns that supported the U.S. Cavalry field operations; and a viewing of petroglyph panels on the sheer, sun-bronzed basalt walls of the canyon below the fort. Apache guides are available to tour guests through the park or to take them to scenic, culturally rich areas of the reservation that are otherwise closed to outsiders. Those intrigued by the more remote past may visit the partially restored, 800-year-old Kinishba ruins a few miles from the fort. Action-minded adventurers can make arrangements for canyoneering along lower Cibecue Creek during warm and dry weather. Trained Apache guides can explain the many uses of native plants, discuss the natural history of the region, and offer insights into the culture of a people with intimate and complex connections to the land. Future interpretive exhibits at Fort Apache will for the first time offer the Apache side of the too-often-sensationalized history of the post and its amazing legacy.

At no other place has an American Indian tribe adopted a frontier military outpost that was established to control them, and, on its own initiative, decided to re-embrace that place and use it to promote their interests. Through a unique integration of physical restoration and social reconciliation, the White Mountain Apache Tribe is asserting its understanding of Fort Apache as a significant, though still- foreign, place within an Apache landscape. The tribe has set the course for a new phase of history.

Putting History in its Place

It makes sense that the pragmatic and courageous White Mountain Apache Tribe should turn a painful history to their advantage. In contrast to the violent resistance of Chiricahua Apache war leaders like Cochise and Geronimo, White Mountain Apache leaders responded to non-Indians who invaded their country with shrewd caution and restraint.

Although the Fort Apache vicinity was home to both Apache and Pueblo peoples for countless generations prior to the arrival of Europeans, the fort's recent history begins in July of 1869, when Major John Green led an expedition into the White Mountains, seeking a place for a military post that could be used to keep the White Mountain Apache out of the increasingly unmanageable hostilities erupting farther to the south. However, the White Mountain people had shown courtesy and hospitality to the few non-natives who had wandered through their territory, and relied more on foraging and farming than raiding, like the Chiricahua Apache, whose territory lay in the direct path of white settlement.

Now on a search for White Mountain bands and on a mission to destroy their crops and prevent them from providing corn and supplies to hostile bands, Green had invaded. He rode into the heart of the White Mountain Apache territory and set about burning Apache cornfields. But to his surprise, the Apache greeted him as a friend, insisting that they wanted peace. Meetings with local band leaders led Green to select the site for what was to become Fort Apache, the place the Apache call *Tlokhagai* ("Where the White Reeds Grow"). Green described it in glowing terms:

> It seems this one corner of Arizona were almost a garden spot, the beauty of its scenery, the fertility of its soil and facilities for irriga-

tion are not surpassed.... This post would be of greatest advantage for the following reasons: It would compel the White Mountain Indians to live on their reservation or be driven from their beautiful country which they almost worship. It would stop their traffic in corn with the hostile Tribes.... It would make a good scouting post, being adjacent to hostile bands on either side.

In recognizing the strength of the Apache ties to their lands, Green had glimpsed a fundamental truth about Apache culture. In his book, *Wisdom Sits in Places,* Keith Basso, who has worked among Apache for more than 40 years, explains that the Apache have named countless springs, hills, meadows, outcroppings, and other landscape features. Many of these places are linked to stories about the ancestors who conferred the name, and many of these stories poignantly and elegantly refer to central elements of Apache culture and morality. A deep knowledge of places thus remains essential to the maintenance of Apache society. Perceiving the terrible power of the invaders, White Mountain Apache leaders resolved to do what was required to retain control over most of the landscape that was—and still is—the greatest source of Apache knowledge, wisdom, vitality, and sovereignty.

Favorably impressed by the White Mountain Apache and seeking to keep this formidable group out of hostilities brewing elsewhere in Arizona Territory, Green's expedition resulted in the establishment of Fort Apache, and also in a significant twist in federal policy. By the time fort construction began in May of 1870, the purpose of the post had shifted from conquering the White Mountain Apache to protecting their land from the incursions of white settlers. Beginning in 1871, many White Mountain warriors enlisted as scouts for the Army, generally fighting loyally and effectively alongside white soldiers, typically against other Apache bands with which they were rivals before the Army's arrival.

The soldiers, usually led by White Mountain scouts, divided their time between building the fort and patroling the rugged region for hostile bands. Apache leaders struggled to control their warriors and deal with the whites. Several times, soldiers and white settlers attacked peaceful White Mountain bands, perhaps mistaking them for Chiricahua and Tonto Apache bands. Each time, Apache chiefs kept the fighting from spinning out of control. These and later events tested the White Mountain Apache commitment to peace. In 1875, the Indian Bureau decided to force the White Mountain Apache to move to San Carlos, to cut reservation expenses and open more land to settlement. Many Apache refused to move, and even after most of them reluctantly relocated, many continued to slip away and live in the places that knew them.

Resentment over forced relocation helped fuel a religious movement led by a former scout named Nockaydelklinne, who promised the return of dead chiefs to evict the white invaders. Warriors from mutually hostile bands were drawn to his ceremonies, and even enlisted Apache scouts grew restless. Late in August of 1881, the U.S. Army sent a detachment accompanied by Apache scouts to arrest Nockaydelklinne on Cibicue Creek, but shooting broke out, the scouts mutinied, and the soldiers killed Nockaydelklinne and his wife and son. Enraged warriors attacked the soldiers who escaped back to the fort after losing one officer and six enlisted men to wounds. The warriors briefly besieged the fort, which marked the only Apache attack on a fort. The Cibecue incident triggered several months of unrest, including an outbreak by Chiricahua bands that had been living peaceably on the Fort Apache Reservation. White Mountain warriors who participated in the Cibecue fight were ultimately subdued in the

Crown Dancers perform at the grand opening of Nohwike' Bagowa, the Cultural Center and Museum at Fort Apache. The facility is dedicated to preserving the wisdom of the past to serve the needs of future generations of the White Mountain Apache people. Recent exhibits include work by illustrator and storyteller Michael Lacapa, and the late Chiricahua artist, Allan Houser. Photo by John R. Welch.

Battle of Big Dry Wash, the last serious armed conflict between the Cavalry and White Mountain Apaches. Following a controversial mutiny trial that presented only vague testimony against the former scouts, the Army executed three White Mountain Apache in Globe.

Despite these setbacks, the White Mountain Apache preference for peace prevailed. White Mountain scouts played central roles in subduing Geronimo's Chiricahua. After the Chiricahua surrendered in 1886, the military value of Fort Apache declined quickly, leaving more time for construction of the many Army structures and facilities that served the Army until the post was shut down in 1922. The fort continues to operate as a boarding school—initially established to "civilize" Indian children removed unwillingly from their homes. Today, the school is becoming a center for the study and appreciation of Apache culture. Students attend classes in the Apache language and learn songs and ceremonials, and community members can attend lectures, demonstrations, and open-air performances.

A Future for the Past

Tribal members are well on their way toward making Fort Apache once again a distinctly Apache place, with an increasingly complete set of stories, meanings, and uses. The tribe has already cobbled together almost $5 million worth of grants and projects to rescue the fort's historic structures. The White Mountain Apache Tribe is committed to using Fort Apache's name recognition and national significance in order to draw attention to Apache perspectives on Apache history and to celebrate cultural survival and local traditions.

Since publication of the master plan, nine of the fort's 26 historic buildings have been restored and assigned new roles. With the most imminent threats to individual structures addressed, the tribe has initiated a series of interpretive and site development projects intended to return Fort Apache to active duty—this time in support of, instead of against, the Apache community. To remake Fort Apache into a source of Apache pride and employment, the tribe has obtained grant support for diverse projects; chartered a 501(c)(3) corporation—the Fort Apache Heritage Foundation; and forged or expanded partnerships with the World Monuments Fund, the National Park Service, and Arizona State Parks.

Fort Apache is now an official Save America's Treasures project, as recognized by the White House Millennium Council. Additionally, the Rivers and Trails Conservation Assistance Program of the National Park Service is providing technical support for an ambitious interpretive planning effort made possible by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The representation for the public of Fort Apache as a place with multiple, distinctive histories is the central theme to be explored in the interpretive planning process. The process will be completed in 2001, and will provide the basic plans for relating previously unavailable White Mountain Apache perspectives on regional culture and history.

Reconciliation and Historical Reconstruction

The White Mountain Apache Tribe ushered in the next chapter in the history of Fort Apache with the first annual Great Fort Apache Heritage Reunion. On May 20, 2000, more than 4,000 people who share in the history and legacy of the fort and care about local history and culture came together to launch community involvement in the Fort Apache revitalization effort.

Presentations of song and dance were intermingled with violence-free historical re-enactments by military groups and personages, including General George Crook. Participants were encouraged to join formal and informal reconciliation programs, such as the listening post, where

A commemorative procession of tribal, military, and spiritual leaders opened the first annual Great Fort Apache Heritage Reunion. Photo by John R. Welch.

Review stand at the Great Fort Apache Heritage Reunion, featuring White Mountain Apache Chairman Dallas Massey, Vice-Chairman Frank Endfield, Father Ed Fronske, Fort Huachuca Commanding Officer Col. Michael Boardman, Mary Kim Titla, and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. Photo courtesy Kareem Productions.

people shared memories and feelings about the fort and the boarding school. The objective was to encourage Apache and non-Apache alike to confront their ambiguous, even hostile sentiments and to think about the relationship between history and the future. Engaging a reconciliation effort was a necessary first step in building community consensus regarding the historical messages contained in the complex history of a place that heralded so many dramatic changes for the Apache people.

Over the course of the next year, program staff will be interviewing community elders and tribal leaders to determine how Fort Apache can best serve and represent the White Mountain Apache community. In addition to standard military history, the stories to be told at and through Fort Apache will likely include references to boarding school experiences—both painful and triumphant—and to the still-unfolding saga of Apache-American relations.

Conclusion

As a new foundation for cultural education and community representation, the White Mountain Apache Tribe has rejected caricatures of their forebears and embraced their historical identity as a diverse group of foraging-farming peoples that briefly impeded Manifest Destiny. At the same time, the popular draw of stereotypical images of the Apache as the fierce military masters of the frontier Southwest is recognized as a potentially effective marketing tool for promoting tourism during an economically critical time. The struggle to balance economic development with accurate, thoughtful, and useful presentations of the past will be played out at Fort Apache in the years to come. The White Mountain Apache Tribe has decided to bring their past with them into the future, and is committed to continuing Fort Apache's role as a context for cross-cultural interactions and the resulting production of history.

John R. Welch began working on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation in 1984, completed Ph.D. studies in anthropology at the University of Arizona in 1996, and today serves as the White Mountain Apache Tribe's Historic Preservation Officer.

Nancy Mahaney holds B.A. and M.A. degrees in anthropology and museum studies from the University of Colorado, Boulder, and Arizona State University. She serves the White Mountain Apache Tribe as Museum Director and Interim Fort Apache Heritage Program Director.

Ramon Riley was born on the Fort Apache Reservation, helped to establish the tribe's Apache language radio station and Tribal Employment Rights Office, and serves as the tribe's Cultural Resources Director and NAGPRA Coordinator.

The Fort Apache Historic Park is open every day from 8:00 until sunset. The White Mountain Apache Cultural Center is open Monday through Friday from 8:00 a.m. until 5:00 p.m. From Memorial Day through Labor Day, the Cultural Center is open Tuesday through Saturday. For additional information, please call the Cultural Center and Museum at 520-338-4625. The Fort Apache Heritage Foundation can be contacted through the Historic Preservation Office, P.O. Box 507, Fort Apache, Arizona 85926; 520-338-3033.

Dennis G. Playdon and Brian D. Vallo

Restoring Acoma

The Pueblo Revitalization Projects

Cornerstones Community Partnerships has been engaged for over a decade in assisting communities in the restoration of their traditional buildings and in the cultivation of leadership among younger people. The restoration process focuses on the retention of skills and the conservation of cultural values. The Acoma project will restore the vast adobe church and convento, and some significant cultural "houses." Cornerstones is also engaged at Acoma in the construction preparation of new houses to be built in traditional ways. Far from a one-sided partnership, the immense exchange of learning taking place through this endeavor underlines the need for leadership from a culturally rooted people in an increasingly placeless world.

Acoma

The Pueblo of Acoma in New Mexico is notably among the oldest urban settlements in the United States. Continuously inhabited for at least a millennium, "Sky City" (7,000 feet above sea level) retains its original architecture of houses built on top of a mesa, isolated and defensible in the magnificent arid landscape. To the northeast of the mesa is the equally magnificent "Enchanted Mesa" or *K'atzim*, thought to have once been a place of occupation by the Acomas. Oral history describes the migration of the Acoma people in search of *HaK'u*. Acoma (pronounced either Eh-Ko-Ma or Ah-Ko-Ma) is derived from the Keresan word *Hak'u*. It was prophesized from the beginning that there existed a place ready for the people to occupy. *Hak'u* means, in one sense, to prepare or to plan. However, there remains a great difference of opinion about the age of the Acoma Nation. While traditional Acoma oral history reflects on a time far beyond our imagination, a time of creation and emergence on to this world, the Acoma people have always known of a special place called *"Hak'u,"* a spiritual homeland prepared for their eternal settlement. Recent excavations on Acoma Mesa tend to suggest that Acoma was inhabited before the time of Christ. Archeologists agree that it has been continuously occupied from at least A.D. 1200. The Acomas claim always to have lived on their mesa, hospitably receiving wandering tribes to share their valley, which at one time, had plenty of water and was excellent for farming. Acoma remains today a part of the continuum that originated its settlement. The deep cultural meaning of the city remains unaltered in the context of the altered daily lives of its 21st-century inhabitants. The anchors that bind this society to its place were forged, in great part, through the act of settling—a process that is integral with Acoma cosmology and social organization. Evolving with this process is the presence of the earth as a part of the people, both living and dead, the place of origin. Embodied in the land and its earthen structures are the histories and traditions of a people.

Today, approximately 5,200 people live on the Acoma lands. These lands are owned collectively by the people. The people are governed by an interdependent system of authorities wherein no particular body can be considered dominant, except in its specific field of authority. The people, therefore, have a large degree of individual responsibility in the rulings of the tribe. The Caciques (or Antelope Clan) are the highest-ranking body within the tribe having responsibilities that include the assigning of land and houses. There is little distinction between "religious" and "secular" matters. The most prominent bodies that represent the law are the tribal council and the tribal administration.

The contiguously formed settlement, 20 miles east of the Continental Divide, was constructed of earth and stone from the surrounding lands and with logs from the sacred Mount Taylor to the north. The earliest European contact[1] with Acoma in the 16th century provided descriptions of a rock called *"Acuco."* They reported seeing "a village of about 200 houses, from two to four stories high, situated on inaccessible mesa almost 400 feet high: with cornfields and cisterns on the summit; with cotton, deerskin and buffalo hide garments; with domesticated turkeys, quantities of turquoise, etc."[2] The stepped houses were set

View of Acoma.

in continuous rows facing slightly east of south. Built of an aggregate of stone and mud and plastered with straw reinforced mud, these buildings are remarkable examples of an "energy efficient" architecture.[3] The stepped houses exactly conform themselves to the movement of the sun and the prevailing winds from the west. The entire complex, appearing to be much like the rocky mesa, is virtually invisible from any distance away. Food crops of corn, squash, and beans were grown in the fields below. Water cisterns are located in the open, on top of the mesa. No other water or source of electrical power now exists here. The kivas (ceremonial chambers) are a part of the contiguous architecture, accessible only by ladders to rooftop doors. By the early 17th century, the Spanish missionaries had established the massive adobe San Esteban del Rey[4] church and convento.

The rows and clusters of houses have been built to also incorporate plazas—meeting places, both formal and informal, private and public. Thus, upon closer inspection, the settlement possesses many attributes of a world city, having the elements and relationships seen in city building throughout history. Primary among these is the existence of its public institutions, civic and religious buildings, and communal spaces. As in the typology of medieval cities, its defenses and boundaries (the mesa) are a major representation of its architectural character. (See below a description of the meeting house.)

San Esteban del Rey

As one of the first of the Pueblo churches of New Mexico, San Esteban remains the largest, and, some would argue, the most architecturally perfect of the group. Considering the 1629 beginnings of the San Esteban del Rey mission at Acoma, the enormity of the construction task can only amaze the modern builder. The 21,000-square-foot mission complex, with church and convento, was constructed over a period of about 14 years. Its architecture, typical of the region, is clearly traceable to its European origins. The church itself is a massive 275,000-cubic-foot edifice, one of the largest of its kind in North America. All materials, clays, stone, wood, nails, grasses, yucca, water, and selenium were carried by the Acoma and their pack animals to the top of the 350-foot-high mesa; some materials, such as the high timbers for the 35-foot-long vigas were transported,[5] without touching the ground, from Mount Taylor, 30 miles away.

The problem of transporting not only materials, tools, and hardware, some all the way from Mexico City,[6] was superseded by the problem of the control of the design and the occupation of the land. Missionary activity was a form of land occupation in the Americas in the sense that European values of land use were imposed in much the same way as had been carried out in Europe over the centuries. The origins of hegemony were in this sense often primarily constructive acts, as was the perceived mission of the church. This hegemonic approach to saving souls had its origins in the age-old practice of "superposition."[7] Historically, it is those societies that managed to assimilate this form of domination that would best survive over time.

San Esteban del Rey was built as a mission compound comprising a church building and adjoining convento, or priests' living quarters. It was situated on the south side of the mesa, facing due east, separated in both position and orientation from the stepped houses on the north rim. The church itself is an adobe structure consisting, typically, of a single nave space, choir and sanctuary, sacristy, and baptistery. The walls were in places over 7 feet thick at the base and rising 34 feet vertically, diminishing to approximately 18 inches at the parapets. Flanked by two adobe and stone towers, rising another 15 feet above the parapets, the east façade belongs to an architectural typology imported from Rome. The raised altar, *reredos* (altar screen), and *guarda polvo* (altar canopy) were lit by a clerestory window. Two windows on the south side of the nave lit the main interior. The adjoining convento was a cloister with a predominantly closed ambulatory, priests'

rooms, and a schoolroom/mirador on the second floor. Up to 20 priests could be housed here. Significantly, the placita was used for the planting of corn and fruit trees.

Counter-Reformation rules of church design were consistently applied throughout the Americas and brought to North America via New Spain. These include Renaissance systems of proportion, and in the case of San Esteban, a superbly faithful application of Humanist proportional methods for achieving mathematical perfection in architecture. Its nave, from the narthex to the sanctuary (i.e., the high volume perceived upon entry), is proportioned in a 1:1:3 ratio, an equilibrium that is intuitively understood by anyone standing at its entrance. The generating measurements[8] are 50 varas (one cordel) long and approximately 16 varas wide. The height of the towers is 16 varas. The use of the inclined earthen floor rising toward the altar completes the typology. These simple architectures of the missions retain the purity of the Renaissance ideal, subsequently obscured during the 17th century in Europe.[9]

The hegemony in the Americas of this European invention has, over the centuries, been beautifully assimilated and overlaid by the Acoma culture. The building of the church complex, initially under the direction of architect priest Fray Juan Ramirez of Oaxaca, is still told of as a time of domination and hardship for the people of Acoma. Many deaths are reported during construction, and those who perished were buried in the walls and floor of the church. The severity of their methods bred much resentment and remains today a part of the oral history of the Acoma people. Little recognized in America, however, are the underlying principles of the Italian Humanist effort to equate architectural meaning and mathematical perfection on Earth with God.[10] By basing the design of churches on this formula, the hidden meaning of this construction was designed to influence those who encountered it.

Well known among the Acoma people, however, are long established methods of building intrinsic to the people, and an expertise with materials that continues unchanged today. The unparalleled beauty of the Acoma pottery is evidence of a people gifted with a particularly highly developed spatial sense, ability to finely craft materials, and an unerring visual acuity. Perhaps little recognized today are the ancient building forms that predate the European systems brought to Acoma, whose orderly architectural systems formed the basis for an easy assimilation of the mathematically perfect orthogonal plan.[11]

The Acoma People and Cornerstones Community Partnerships

In the spring of 1998, the Pueblo of Acoma approached Cornerstones with a request for a comprehensive conditions assessment of the San Esteban del Rey. Conducted under a grant from the Andy Warhol Foundation, the assessment[12] re-appraised the present condition of the building through several months of testing and detailed observation. The 1934 Historic American Buildings Survey drawings were amended to reflect present conditions. The collection of data was done in partnership with the *gaugashti* (caretakers of the church). In presenting findings and recommendations for a comprehensive restoration, the report emphasized the need for a community-based effort together with a youth training program in earthen conservation. Much emphasis is placed on the teaching of the young by the experienced. The exercise of their talents is an intrinsic part of conserving traditional structures and is the major focus of the partnership now formed between the tribe and Cornerstones. One of the primary emphases of the current tribal administration is the retention of the Acoma language. The Language Retention Program within the schools has been a huge success over the past year. The desire to restore Keres as a primary language within the community has engaged the children and helped them focus

Houses in the Pueblo of Acoma.

upon their own traditions. In the near future, these students will also participate in some building restoration work, thereby connecting the preservation of their own language with the overall goals of preservation at Acoma.

A major event in 1999, the initiative by the White House Millennium Council in conjunction with the Save Americas Treasures program and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, spearheaded an effort to plan a major restoration of San Esteban. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's visit to Acoma in April of that year, assisted by Cornerstones, generated a momentum for the project that is being carried forward daily. Documentation for the restoration work, based on the Cornerstones conditions assessment report, is under way with a planning grant, again from the Save Americas Treasures program.

From left, Richard Moe, president, National Trust for Historic Preservation, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, and Governor Lloyd Tortalita in the Pueblo of Acoma during the Save Americas Treasures visit in April 1999.

In the interim, however, Cornerstones has joined the tribal administration in several emergency repairs that will become a part of the comprehensive restoration work. Carried out together with the *gaugashti*, this work has included major repairs to the schoolroom/mirador in the convento. Because of the severe deterioration of walls, floors, and roof, all parts of the fabric required restoration, now nearing completion. Mud plastering and wood restoration carried out with traditional methods will complete this work.

In 1999, Cornerstones received a grant from the Environmental Protection Agency for the construction of "sustainable" buildings using traditional methods and materials. These proposed sites included both ancient and new structures. A primary aim is to engage both young and old in the restoration of traditional methods of building, a process that is quickly vanishing in the face of inexpensive, quick frame construction. The grant included a third partner, the Department of Architecture at the University of Pennsylvania, also a strong contributor in Cornerstones' work at the Zuni Pueblo. This exchange has enriched the discussion and outcome of traditional building methods applied to restoration and new design. Joined now by the Department of Landscape Architecture at Cornell University, the design for new housing, under the guidance of the Pueblo of Acoma Housing Authority, is proceeding toward construction. Piloting this construction will be two adobe model houses on the new site—a demonstration of the quality that can be attained through traditional methods.

Parallel with this effort, the EPA grant targeted two structures on the mesa itself for restoration. Emergency roof work has been completed on the meeting house; a civic building largely used for ceremonial purposes. At a period in the late-19th century, the meeting house stood isolated as the nearest structure to the church. Its nave-transept configuration is clearly derived from the Christian architectural type and, therefore, from the ancient civic basilica. It is reputed to have been built by the missionaries as a meeting place with visitors from afar. Over time, the meeting house has been used as a courthouse by the Acoma people, and as a place of inauguration of Acoma officials. In many senses, the meeting house is a place where both cultures have come together. Further repair and restoration will continue with Cornerstones' assistance. A second structure for restoration has yet to be identified under the terms of the EPA grant.

At the heart of this work is the engagement of people in the traditions of the past. In a sense, the buildings themselves are a by-product of this central focus. This effort is not limited to building only, but also to the connective role played by education in general. To this end, the connection between the Keresan language and the Acoma people is seen as not separate from other traditional ways, such as building. The restoration process is not first about monuments, but rather about preserving the past as a present condition. The annual preparation for the feast of San Esteban del Rey was preceded by a flurry of preparation known as "church work." In the past, many people came with their families to prepare the mission for the feast day. This year, a great

The gaugashti (caretaker of the church) with Acoma crew restoring the meeting house.

effort was put forward to re-mud the mission. San Esteban del Rey was a great spectacle on September 3, a reminder of the process that has engaged the community for centuries.

Notes

1 Captain Alvarado, dispatched from Zuni by Coronado in 1540.

2 White, Leslie, *The Acoma Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology*, Annual Report 47, 1929-30

3 Knowles,R . *Energy and Form*, MIT Press 1978

4 Garcia-Mason,V., *Acoma Pueblo*, A. Ortiz, ed. *Handbook of North American Indians* Vol.9 Smithsonian, 1979. "As the seat of a Spanish mission the Pueblo is called San Esteban de Acoma: the original patron saint appears to have been the Protomartyr Saint Stephen, but the Pueblo's saint's day is now celebrated on September 2, the feast of Saint Stephen, King of Hungary (Dominguez 1956:188-191)"

5 Acoma oral history.

6 The Supply and Service of the New Mexico Missions in the Seventeenth Century, *New Mexico Historical Review*, 5(1): 93-116;(2):186-210;(4):386-404

7 For a discussion of "superposition," see Ivey, James, *New Mexico Historical Review*, 73(2):122-152

8 The principal means of measurement was the vara (approximately 33 in.), as determined by standard measuring instruments (the vara stick, as well as the cordel which was 50 varas in length or approximately 140 ft). The friars designed their buildings originally in plan, and with the use of these units of measurement were apt to proportion various parts of the structure to one another. Pratt, Boyd C., *The Religious Structures of New Mexico: A Historical and Architectural Review*, 1993

9 Playdon, D.G: based on current proportional studies connecting the New Mexico Mission churches with the mathematical ideals of the Italian Renaissance.

10 Wittkower, Rudolf. *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, Alec Tiranti,1962

11 Crouch, D. "Santa Fe," *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks*, Garr, D., ed., Garland Publishing Inc., 1991 (ref. Kubler, J. 1972) "At Santa Fe as elsewhere in Spanish America, Italian Renaissance ideas of city layout, expressed as early as 1554 in the rebuilt urban fabric of Mexico City, were imposed upon an 'Indian Civic armature which was found to be highly suitable' and in fact more easily acceptable to these ideals than contemporary European models." p. 399.
Orthogonal systems are those based upon right angles.

12 Cornerstones Community Partnerships, San Esteban del Rey Church and Convento, *Conditions Assessment Report*, July 1999.

Dennis G. Playdon is Program Manager, Cornerstones Community Partnerships, west central New Mexico.

Brian D. Vallo is Director, Historic Preservation Office, The Pueblo of Acoma.

Photos by Dennis G. Playdon.

Grants

The National Park Service awards grants to assist federally recognized tribes in preserving and protecting their significant cultural resources and traditions. The long-term goal of the Historic Preservation Fund grants to Indian Tribes, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians is to assist tribes in building sustainable preservation programs.

For information concerning this program, contact Bob Ruff at the Tribal Preservation Program, Heritage Preservation Services, 1849 C Street, NW, NC200, Washington, DC 20240, telephone 202-343-9572, e-mail bob_ruff@nps.gov. Information is also available off the web site at <www2.cr.nps.gov>.

Other sources: Nonprofits may seek grant information from the Foundation Center headquarters in New York City at 1-800-424-9836 or 212-620-4230, web address <http://fndcenter.org>.

Allen Bohnert

Three Groundbreaking Conferences

Ancestral Peoples of the Four Corners Region

The Ancestral Affiliation Symposiums were the first conferences to bring together diverse tribes, the scientific community, and federal agencies to discuss their interpretation of affiliation. The conferences served as a forum for a full exchange of traditional knowledge, research hypotheses, and the interpretation of data. They increased understanding among all participants of each other's perspectives, and promoted cooperative efforts in determining cultural affiliation.

Premises/Purposes

Three breakthrough Affiliation Conferences on Ancestral Peoples of the Four Corners Region organized by the National Park Service Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe (IMSF), and the Fort Lewis College (FLC) Center of Southwest Studies were held in early 1998.

The conferences grew out of a previous IMSF Anasazi affiliation project, which was designed to augment the research and consultations already conducted by the National Park Service in compliance with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA).[1] The emphasis of the original project—and subsequently of the conferences—related to determining affiliations for the archeological Anasazi culture.

Among its mandates, NAGPRA requires completion of the inventory of human remains and associated funerary objects "... in consultation with tribal government ... and traditional religious leaders" (25 USC 3003, Sec. 5). NAGPRA regulations (subpart D)[2] state:

> A finding of cultural affiliation should be based upon an overall evaluation of the totality of the circumstances and evidence pertaining to the connection between the claimant and the material being claimed and should not be precluded solely because of some gaps in the record (10.14.d).
>
> And:
>
> Evidence of a kin or cultural affiliation between a present day individual, Indian tribe ... and human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, objects of cultural patrimony must be established by using the following types of evidence: geographical, kinship, biological, archeological, anthropological, linguistic, folklore, oral tradition, historic, or other relevant information and expert opinion (10.14.e).

All Intermountain Region national park units completed the inventory of human remains and associated funerary objects. However, certain affiliation determinations were made on the basis of limited literature research, with the assumption that further research and consultation would be necessary. Land managing agencies, universities, and museums all struggled with Anasazi affiliation questions—and this becomes readily apparent when the determinations of affiliation for NAGPRA inventories covering remains and funerary objects attributed to the Anasazi are examined. Serious disagreements among tribes and Anasazi scholars about the Anasazi culture, with contradictory hypotheses presented in the literature, added yet another dimension to the issues. Also, it is not a simple matter for tribes to arrive at consensus on Anasazi affiliation issues. National parks and others continue discussing affiliation issues with southwestern tribes. The wide scope of the issues and the importance of consistently-arrived-at affiliation determinations clearly called for additional affiliation work.

To assist in identifying and evaluating NAGPRA-related affiliation evidence more consistently and thoroughly, internal National Park Service funding was obtained to examine the current state of knowledge about Anasazi cultural affiliations on a regional, interdisciplinary, and systematic basis. The original discussions about how to achieve such a goal considered the possibility of interviewing representatives or experts from each of the tribes claiming affiliation with the Anasazi and academic experts from disciplines listed in NAGPRA regulations as potentially contributing to affiliation decisions. A

review of NAGPRA inventories and notices of inventory completion published in the *Federal Register* for Anasazi cultural heritage resources further emphasizes the immensity of the geographic area in which the Anasazi lived and the extent to which Anasazi resources have been dispersed. Further reflection made it quickly apparent that both completing the interviews and the necessary research were not feasible.

Questions concerning NAGPRA affiliation with the Anasazi culture potentially impact a large number of National Park Service units and tribes. For example, human remains and collections from Anasazi sites were reported on the 1993 NAGPRA summary and the 1995 inventory for a number of parks. The parks ranged from Aztec Ruins National Monument, New Mexico; Canyonlands National Park, Utah; Pipe Spring National Monument and Wupatki National Monument, Arizona; to Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument, New Mexico. Additionally, there are several National Park Service units either within or adjacent to the core Anasazi culture area that, although not holding NAGPRA-inventory-related material, would benefit from the study. The study of archeological cultures that are adjacent to the Anasazi, such as Fremont, Sinagua, and Mogollon, became part of the discussion to help understand the linkages between tribal views of their past and the way the past has been categorized by anthropologists. Parks reporting such related materials on their NAGPRA inventory or summary included Dinosaur National Monument, Colorado; El Morro National Monument, New Mexico; and Montezuma Castle National Monument and Tonto National Monument, Arizona.

American Indian tribes claiming affiliation with the Anasazi were contacted and, if they chose to, they participated in the conferences. Tribes contacted included all of the Pueblos, the Apache tribes, the Navajo Nation, the Ute tribes, and the Southern Paiutes of the Four Corners area. Additional tribes known to be affiliated or potentially affiliated with the adjacent archeologically-defined cultures were also considered, including the Gila River Indian Community, Salt River Pima Maricopa Indian Community, Kiowa, Ak Chin Indian Community, Tohono O'Odham, Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai. Although not known to have claimed affiliation with the Anasazi, they were also contacted about discussing possible relationships.

The large number of parties ancestral to the Anasazi culture or having an interest in Anasazi affiliation further supported the notion that the original project strategy was not practical. It would take years to complete the interviews, and neither the time nor the personnel were available.

It was under these circumstances that the idea of conducting a series of conferences evolved. The conferences were inclusive and interdisciplinary, providing a forum for in-depth discussion of diverse and sensitive topics. The interdisciplinary nature of the participants was considered critical to the success of the project. The conferences can be seen as an outgrowth of the NAGPRA inventory completion process, and as indicative of National Park Service efforts to obtain the best available and best possible affiliation information.

The purposes of the conferences encompassed those of the original project, and included further examination of:

- the basis for the "Anasazi culture concept," from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives, as used by archeologists and others, including the perspectives of Indian tribes;
- the empirical lines of evidence used to arrive at varying interpretations of prehistoric "cultures," and descriptions of divergent interpretations of the "same" or similar affiliation data;
- data documenting cultural affiliation between the Anasazi and contemporary American Indian tribes and Pueblos, using all lines of evidence.

Past Perspectives

The Anasazi, Mogollon, Fremont, Sinagua, Hohokam, Salado, and other archeological cultures do not readily correspond to the perspectives of the past held by the descendants of these cultures. They are what archeologists call a normative cultural concept, whereby the material culture of the past is prized in order to create discrete "packages" having well-defined boundaries in time and space. It was assumed that, when such units were constructed in the 1930s during the heyday of archeological culture history, these cultural units corresponded to some prehistoric social unit. However, it is now clear that such assumptions were not always justified. Human groups are dynamic and ever-changing social units, and archeological material culture does not always reflect the complex dynamism characteristic of human groups.

The construct "Anasazi" was originally used by archeologists as an organizational concept for

San Ildefonso Pueblo polychrome jar. Maria and Julian Martinez, potters. Photo courtesy Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe.

cultural/historical interpretation. However, it became implicitly synonymous with some form of past social organization, defined along broad ethnic lines. The tradition is found throughout the present-day Four Corners region of the United States, and begins prior to 2300 B.C. The word "Anasazi" is a Navajo word, formed from two roots: *anaa,* which means "enemy" or "surrounding," and *sazi,* which means "ancestors" or "old ones."[3] Archeologists initially believed that the Anasazi tradition represented the archeological remains of modern Pueblo peoples. Internal Basketmaker and Pueblo temporal divisions reflect this perspective. As noted above, while cultural affiliation with modern Pueblos is not in question, fundamental questions concerning the affiliation of other southwestern tribes with the Anasazi and adjacent archeological cultures or traditions remain.

Conference Format

Owing to the geographical and temporal spread of the Anasazi tradition, conference organizers decided to convene three conferences, acknowledging the fact that any division of the tradition to facilitate discussion was essentially arbitrary. The organizing committee discussed temporal, geographical, ethnic, and topical bases for dividing the tradition, along with an optimum number of participants, into manageable units. However, all of these implicitly carry a priori assumptions about what the tradition means—something we wished to avoid, if possible. Therefore, for practical organizational purposes, the three conferences were arranged as Eastern Anasazi, Western Anasazi, and a final synthetic conference. Each conference included smaller, moderated sessions, concentrating on specific issues. Given the need to be flexible, we anticipated modifying the conference format. Conference organizers agreed that the danger of too little flexibility was greater than the danger of too much.

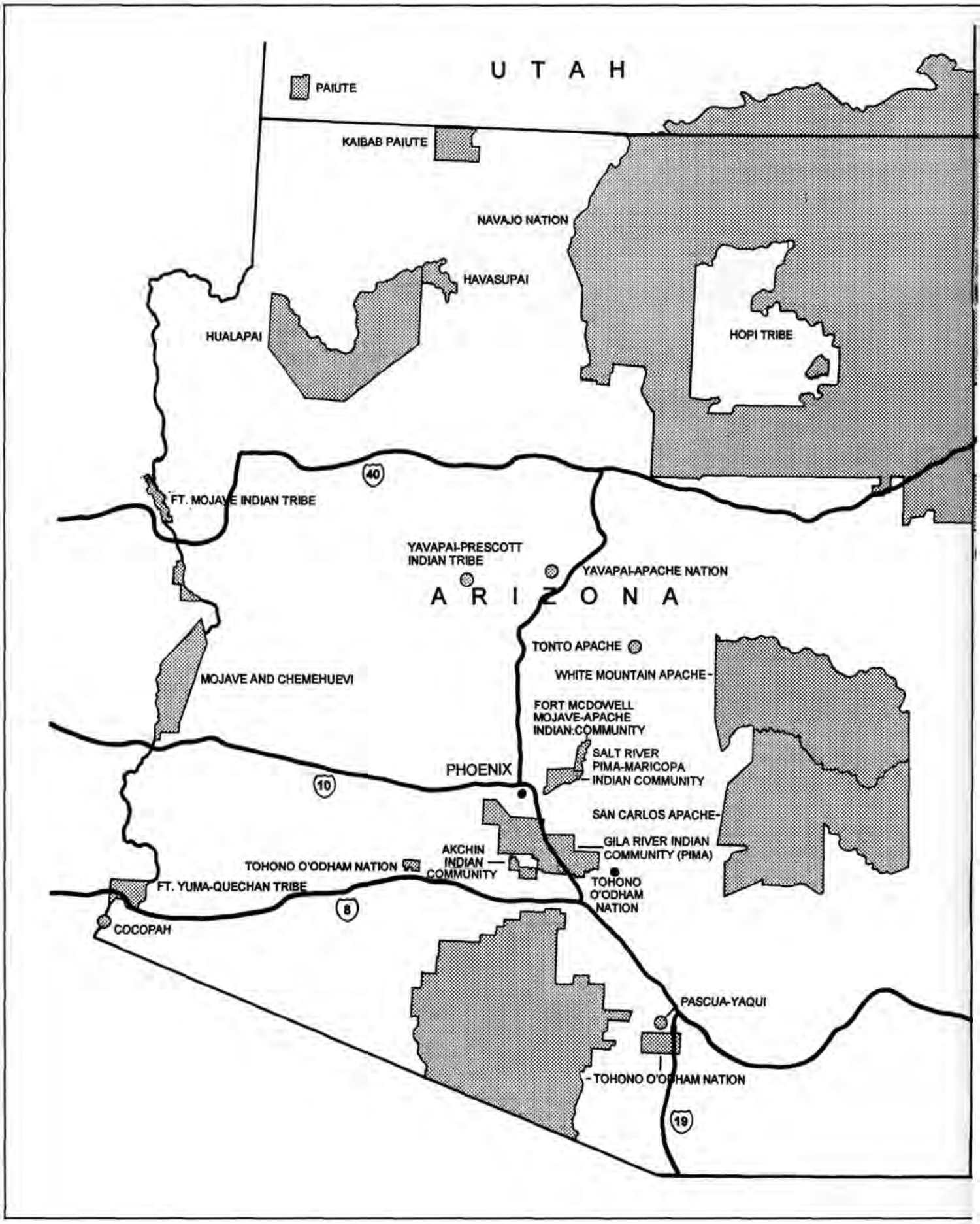
The first conference was held on January 23 and 24, 1998. The plenary session set the scene, and gave participants the opportunity to voice concerns or hopes about the conference. The conference included three concurrent workshops, designed for open dialogue. These covered Methodological Issues in Assigning Cultural Affiliation, Ethnicity in the Cultural Record, and Specific Affiliation Projects. No formal papers were presented. Each presenter was allowed 15 minutes to make an informal oral presentation, so that discussion could occur as soon as possible. We hoped that using this informal approach, rather than an academic lecture format, would encourage participants to dialogue.

While this was partially achieved, two shortcomings detracted from the conference's success. The first was a concern on the part of government and tribal representatives that, despite every effort to the contrary, academic speakers monopolized the discussion and used too much technical jargon. The second shortcoming, of particular concern to tribal representatives, was that concurrent workshops prevented participants from attending all workshops.

These concerns were addressed in the second conference, held on February 20 and 21, 1998. The conference was in a hotel conference room to avoid the academic setting. Two workshops were set up, which would be held once on Friday afternoon and then repeated on Saturday morning, so that all participants could attend both workshops. However, there was, again, too much academic jargon, and the small workshops, although encouraging discussion, excluded the whole group from knowing what was stated during a concurrent session.

The final conference was held on April 10 and 11, 1998, at Fort Lewis College. All tribal representatives who wished to attend did so. A small group of academic specialists was selected so that the conference would not be dominated by academic discussion. Before the April conference, National Park Service personnel met representatives from Acoma and Zia Pueblos to solicit advice on how to organize this conference and the topics to place on the agenda. No concurrent sessions were organized, and participants met in one large room.

Continued on page 30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YAVAPAI-APACHE NATION
ARIZONA
TONTO APACHE
WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHE
MOJAVE AND CHEMEHUEVI
FORT MCDOWELL MOJAVE-APACHE INDIAN COMMUNITY
SALT RIVER PIMA-MARICOPA INDIAN COMMUNITY
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SAN CARLOS APACHE
GILA RIVER INDIAN COMMUNITY (PIMA)
AKCHIN INDIAN COMMUNITY
TOHONO O'ODHAM NATION
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TOHONO O'ODHAM NATION
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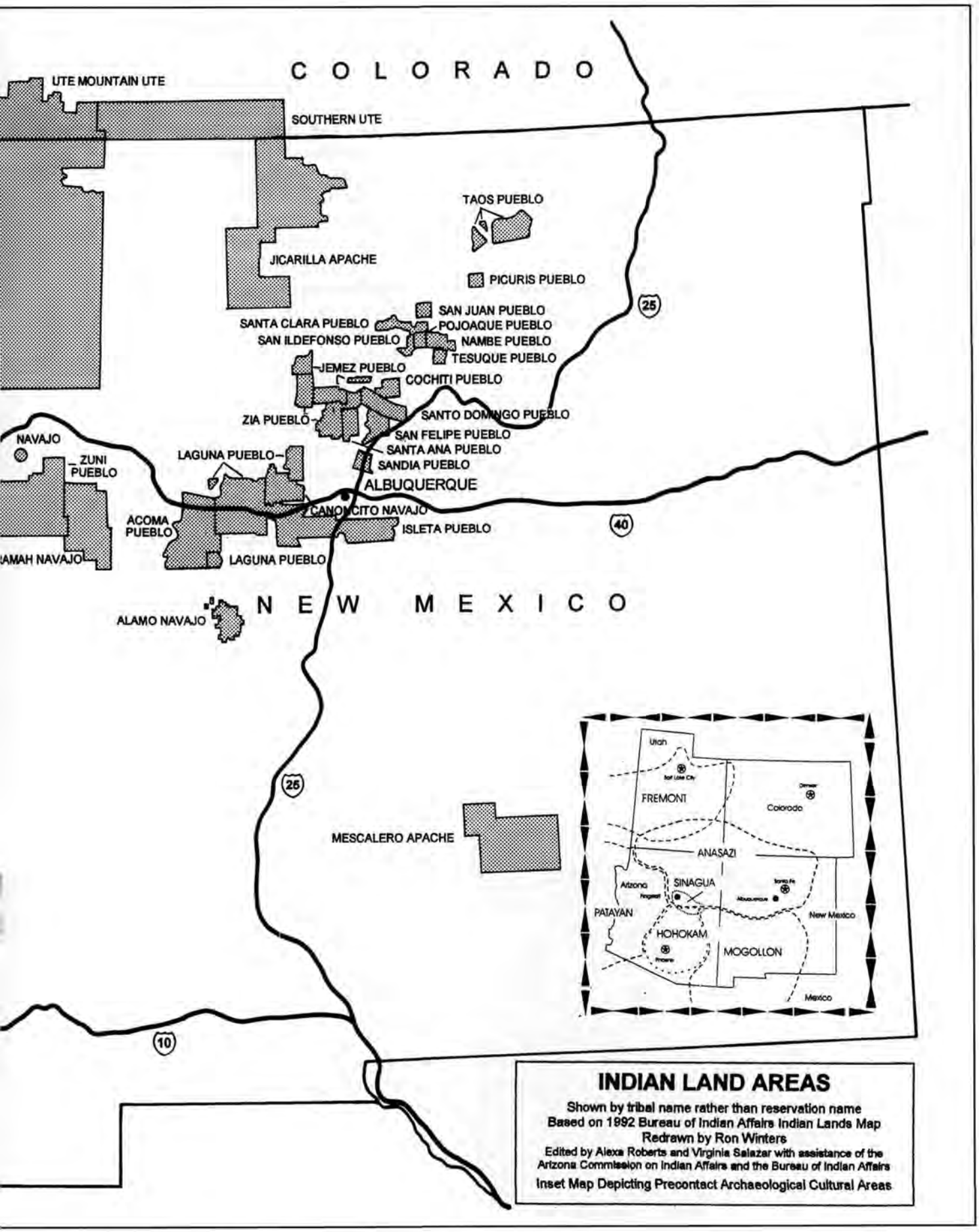

INDIAN LAND AREAS

Shown by tribal name rather than reservation name
Based on 1992 Bureau of Indian Affairs Indian Lands Map
Redrawn by Ron Winters
Edited by Alexa Roberts and Virginia Salazar with assistance of the Arizona Commission on Indian Affairs and the Bureau of Indian Affairs
Inset Map Depicting Precontact Archaeological Cultural Areas

All conference workshops and discussions were recorded, and the recordings transcribed. At the beginning of each conference, it was noted that participants could ask for the recorders to be turned off at any time. Drafts of the transcripts were sent to each participant for review. Few recommended changes were received. The final transcripts were combined with the written version of "presented" papers into three volumes, one for each conference. All volumes were sent to each participant, regardless of the number of conferences attended. One set of audio cassettes is stored at the Center of Southwest Studies at Fort Lewis College, and a second set is stored at the National Park Service Intermountain Support Office in Santa Fe.

Issues

Conference organizers expected approximately 30 attendees at each conference; however, over 60 attended, suggesting that the topic was timely. The conferences brought together representatives of different constituencies in an atmosphere of mutual respect. The total number of tribal representatives attending all three conferences was 75. A total of 66 government agency representatives and 51 academic scholars attended all three conferences.

Progress was made toward further identifying the complexities involved in making correct determinations of cultural affiliation to the Anasazi archeological tradition. Participants also identified and discussed areas of agreement and disagreement. Several major discussion themes, illustrating tribal, academic, and government agency perspectives, permeated the conferences:

Cochiti Pueblo polychrome storage jar. Agapina Quintana, potter. Photo courtesy Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe.

- Several participants referred to the potential for undue intrusions into sensitive realms of American Indian culture, in the name of determining cultural affiliation for NAGPRA purposes. The seriousness and sensitivity of merely discussing affiliation information and the importance of confidentiality were stressed.
- Tribal governing officials need to become more directly involved in and knowledgeable about the effects and consequences of NAGPRA. It would be to a tribe's benefit if members became experts in archeology or anthropology; however, this can present a serious dilemma, because individuals with such training sometimes find it difficult to be fully accepted and to have all possible options for community involvement remain open to them.
- It was recognized that NAGPRA implementation is straining tribes that do not have the infrastructure or the "cultural constructs" for such an effort. There was no consensus among tribal representatives and academic representatives on the multiple claims of affiliation to the Anasazi. This was particularly evident for Navajo affiliation claims. Archeological evidence has not supported a Navajo presence in the Southwest prior to about the first half of the 15th century; however, Navajo representatives provided oral-history information supporting an affiliation.
- It was acknowledged that government agencies, museums, and universities are responsible for making determinations of cultural affiliation through consultation with potentially affiliated tribes, based on the preponderance of the evidence. Tribal self-identification simply cannot be relied upon in meeting NAGPRA mandates.
- Dangers for tribes when they participate in affiliation discussions were mentioned. Participants must understand the consequences of gaining or giving knowledge. Institution representatives must understand the consequences of merely asking certain questions. Not participating may also be detrimental to a tribe, because all evidence may not be brought to bear on affiliation questions. It must be understood that internal tribal discussions about and tribal research into affiliation are often "in progress" and evolving, just as they are with federal agencies. Another potential danger for tribes in situations in which consensus about claims of affiliation has not been

achieved is that NAGPRA implementation may pit tribes against one another.

- The complexities of NAGPRA implementation were illustrated, particularly as they pertain to affiliation. The mere fact that there are more than 500 tribal entities and over 1,000 museums, universities, and government agencies provides opportunities for variability.
- Concerns were raised about variability in *Federal Register* notice information. Comparisons of those data with similar data from other sources such as affiliation studies were presented. Affiliation data from *Federal Register* notices were compared to data contained in broad-based affiliation studies for a larger administrative unit such as a national park containing resources or remains referenced in the *Federal Register* notices. Such variability might not be surprising, because published notices cover inventory completion and intent-to-repatriate actions, covering specific objects or remains, rather than for the generic resources or inhabitants of an area or place. Lists of affiliated tribes included in an area-wide affiliation study might legitimately vary from the list of tribes found on a *Federal Register* notice covering human remains and associated funerary objects. A subset of the generic tribal listing could be affiliated under NAGPRA, because of occupational or other data.

  Variability was also recognized in terms of the lines of evidence used to reach affiliation conclusions for *Federal Register* notices and for published general affiliation studies. For NAGPRA inventory purposes, a line of evidence, such as biological anthropology, may not have been available, and no new studies were undertaken. Nevertheless, except for biological data, there was consensus that all lines of evidence should be used in making determinations of affiliation.
- It was recognized that oral traditions and traditional histories of descendant people were necessary in the study of their ancestral pasts. The value and validity of oral tradition, on its own terms, were debated, along with issues related to who validates affiliation information. Related discussions called for expanded efforts to interweave traditional histories with the histories developed by archeologists and anthropologists. Important discussion indicated that determining cultural affiliation continues to be an active process—a process that includes oral tradition as an equal line of evidence. In this regard, oral tradition, along with other lines of evidence, was discussed as having a role in supporting Hopi, Zuni, and O'Odham affiliations with archeological cultures below the Mogollon Rim.
- Additionally, there was a call to reconsider the interconnectedness and movements of people in the past and the interconnectedness of movement from the past to the present—both in space and in time—movement by many peoples rather than a linear progression by individual groups, as some see NAGPRA requiring. A suggestion was made that NAGPRA call for considering the present and moving toward the past, rather than looking at the past first, as archeology typically does. This is based on the notion that NAGPRA mandates determinations of affiliation based upon a shared group identity that can be reasonably traced between a present-day Indian tribe and an identifiable earlier group.
- Questions were raised concerning the archeological constructs of Anasazi or Ancestral Puebloan, Fremont, Mogollon, Antelope Creek Phase, Basketmaker, and Sinagua. Questions were raised about whether or not these ever served as an identified cultural grouping in the past. In this regard, it was suggested that it is time to reconsider how the past has been defined, in that concepts such as Anasazi or Fremont are of little utility in making cultural determinations under NAGPRA. It might be more beneficial to look for smaller units—something like Mimbres. It was also suggested that we simply drop terms such as Anasazi or Mogollon and use Ancestral Puebloan. However, these terms also have cultural connotations and would be unacceptable to other tribes claiming affiliation.
- By using archeologically-defined cultural designations such as Anasazi, Fremont, or Hohokam, we may exclude the possibility of recognizing other affiliations from the beginning. For example, potential affiliations of the Wichita to the east or with the Paiute to the west would not be investigated, or Zia would simply be excluded from any consultations with archeological cultures that did not make black-on-white pottery. Multi-directional influences are not adequately addressed by these designations. It was suggested that such designations do not adequately recognize the

dynamics and interrelatedness of past populations around the Four Corners region—nor do they recognize internal community diversity or the time depth of clan histories, as opposed to tribal histories.

- Ethnicity was the focal point of several discussions. The recognition of ethnic groups in the archeological record and the continued use of eastern and western Pueblos were addressed. It was suggested that there were at least two ethnic groups during Basketmaker II (c. 2000 years ago), representing an east-west differentiation based primarily on discrete assemblages of material culture traits. It was noted that such assemblages of material culture traits may not correspond to Basketmaker II ethnic groups.
- Further discussion related to the presence or absence of clans among the Pueblos, with evidence for clans in the western Pueblos and not the eastern Pueblos. Such distinctions were recognized in the archeological records of several hundred years ago. These may have some bearing on affiliation, at least the degree of affiliation, a modern tribe might have to components of the Anasazi culture.
- Specific affiliation studies elicited discussion calling for equal treatment for all potentially affiliated tribes. Issues related to incomplete information becoming a public reference were noted.
- Tribal representatives recommended placing less emphasis on differences. The need for researchers to give at least equal weight to tribal commonalities was expressed by tribal members.
- For ancestral remains in the NAGPRA category of "unaffiliated," the perspective of indigenous peoples at the conferences was that there is no such thing as culturally unidentifiable (unaffiliated). A common position was that ancestral remains are not to be disturbed. It was agreed that all available lines of evidence should be used in the determination of cultural affiliation. However, tribal representatives felt that the biological data should be used as a last resort, if at all.

Results

Substantial efforts were made to ensure that all academic disciplines and tribes that would potentially provide cultural affiliation evidence, as well as other stakeholders, were represented. Such interdisciplinary participation was critical to the success of the conferences. This was accomplished, although only one physical anthropologist and one linguist accepted an invitation. By adopting flexibility in the format for the conferences, we tried to ensure that tribal representatives had every opportunity to participate and to lead the discussions. As noted earlier, this was only partially achieved. The April conference in particular was much more successful in creating the right atmosphere for open and honest dialogue.

It was clear before the conference plans were completed that no prescriptive results in terms of affiliation between contemporary tribes and the Anasazi cultural tradition should be expected. Real successes will be longer-term in nature, further building upon the discussion described above. While this is certainly the case, it is also reasonable to infer that these conferences continue to help ensure compliance with legal mandates, ethical requirements, and the spirit of NAGPRA.

Finally, the conferences suggest that, while more effort is needed, the problems of correctly assigning NAGPRA-mandated cultural affiliation are not intractable. The momentum gained by the conferences can be put to good use. To this end, this author organized a panel and presented a brief synopsis of the three conferences at the 1999 Pecos Conference. Panel presentations were given by conference participants Petuuche Gilbert, Acoma Pueblo; Dan Simplicio, Pueblo of Zuni; and Virgil Swift, Wichita and Affiliated Tribes. During November 1999, three other conference participants—Philip Duke, Fort Lewis College; Dean Saitta, Denver University; and Cel Gachupin, Pueblo of Zia—presented a paper at the Chacmool Conference in Calgary, Alberta, on the causes for optimism that came from these conferences.

Notes

1 25 U.S.C. Sec. 3001-13, (1990).

2 43 CFR Part 10 (1996).

3 Robert W. Young and William Morgan, *The Navajo Language, A Grammar and Colloquial Dictionary*, (Univ. of NM Press, 1980), 114.

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NAGPRA and Beyond

Cooperation Leads to Precedents at the NAGPRA Review Committee Meeting

Precedent-setting cases were brought before the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) Review Committee at their 16th meeting, December 10-12, 1998, in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The cases represented collections from three national parks in the Intermountain Region—Bandelier National Monument and Carlsbad Caverns National Park in New Mexico and Guadalupe Mountains National Park in Texas. This article describes the park cases and the recommendations that resulted from the presentations to the NAGPRA Review Committee (hereafter referred to as the Review Committee). These precedent-setting recommendations were the repatriation of projectile points and repatriation of culturally unidentifiable human remains. Under the law and its regulations, projectile points are not generally considered to fit the definition of sacred objects that can be repatriated. Disposition of culturally unidentifiable human remains is a section of the law and regulations that has not yet been written by the NAGPRA Review Committee and has been the subject of considerable controversy.

The Review Committee is a seven-member, private-citizen board established under the law. The role of the Review Committee is to facilitate the informal resolution of disputes relating to these NAGPRA regulations among interested parties that are not resolved by good-faith negotiations. Review Committee actions may include convening meetings between parties to disputes; making advisory findings as to contested facts; and making recommendations to the disputing parties or to the Secretary of the Interior as to the proper resolution of disputes consistent with these regulations and the Act. The meetings are typically held twice a year and deliberations of the cases are open to the public.

Case One

The first of the park cases presented related to the claim for repatriation of 53 projectile points, as sacred items, from Bandelier National Monument. Bandelier began NAGPRA consultations with all culturally affiliated tribes in November 1993, when the park summary listing of sacred objects, objects of cultural patrimony, and unassociated funerary objects was sent to each of the 21 tribes potentially affiliated with park lands and resources. Subsequently, an item-by-item inventory of human remains and associated funerary objects was sent to the same tribes.

In 1996, in a proactive consultation effort, Bandelier held a general consultation meeting with representatives from each of the culturally affiliated tribes. This meeting was to serve as an introduction to the NAGPRA process for the tribes and to enable viewing of the collections that had been previously listed as sacred items. Three facilities house the Bandelier collection: the park, the Santa Fe repository, and the Western Archeological and Conservation Center (WACC) in Tucson, Arizona. For viewing by tribal representatives, Bandelier sacred items were brought from the park, and from park collections housed in Santa Fe. The park offered an opportunity to travel to Tucson to view the rest of the Bandelier sacred items housed at WACC. Six tribal consultants traveled to WACC to view the collections—two representatives each from the Cochiti Pueblo, San Ildefonso Pueblo, and Hopi/Tewa tribes. The representatives from the Pueblo of Cochiti identified 94 objects as potential sacred items; 53 of them were projectile points.

In 1997, Bandelier National Monument received a tribal resolution from the Pueblo of Cochiti seeking repatriation of the 94 objects, including the 53 projectile points. Forty-one of the sacred items being sought by Cochiti Pueblo clearly met the definition of sacred objects under NAGPRA, and were repatriated following the NAGPRA process. Bandelier staff continued consulting with Cochiti Pueblo and the National Park Service Archeology and Ethnography Program in Washington, DC, the office responsible for national NAGPRA implementation, about the

repatriation request for the 53 projectile points. The Archeology and Ethnography Program advised Bandelier that the projectile points could not be considered sacred items under the law and, therefore, could not be repatriated. The projectile points were excavated from different locations within park boundaries and were collected for potential additional research purposes. Archeologists believe that the primary purpose for the creation of projectile points was for utilitarian uses.

Governor Henry Suina felt strongly that the repatriation request submitted on behalf of the Pueblo of Cochiti did meet the NAGPRA definition of sacred items. The Review Committee agreed to hear Governor Suina's complaint and his dispute with the opinion presented by archeologists that projectile points are solely utilitarian. He made a presentation that clarified the importance of the projectile points for on-going traditional religious practices at the Pueblo. His presentation was made with great concern for safeguarding traditional religious knowledge. Many tribes fear that too much information must be revealed before sacred items can be repatriated. Governor Suina's impressive presentation brought support from the entire NAGPRA Review Committee for Cochiti Pueblo's repatriation request. A recommendation was subsequently made to the Secretary of the Interior that the Review Committee agreed with the assertion of the Pueblo of Cochiti that the 53 projectile points are indeed sacred objects, as defined by NAGPRA, and should therefore be repatriated.

Repatriation is the legal means by which the government can transfer ownership of property to a federally recognized tribe. Each repatriation is unique, based on the consultation that occurs between the agency and the tribe(s) involved. In this instance, through consultations with Cochiti Pueblo, Bandelier staff developed an agreement for the method of repatriation, which included delineating who would be present and where and what time the repatriation would occur.

The Notice of Intent to Repatriate was published in the *Federal Register* on April 23, 1999. After the required 30-day review period of the *Federal Register* notice, Bandelier Superintendent Roy Weaver and Native American Liaison/Museum Curator Gary Roybal repatriated the projectile points, which were now recognized as sacred objects.

The context for determining cultural affiliation began in 1987 when the park initiated consultations with Pueblo communities in regards to the Bandelier Archeological Survey and Testing Project. This consultation effort assisted the park in establishing cultural connections and cultural affiliations to lands and resources administered by Bandelier National Monument.

Following four years of ongoing consultation on the archeological project, in November 1993 the summary of all sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony and unassociated funerary objects under NPS control was completed and sent to all federally-recognized tribes, as required by NAGPRA. This bureau-wide summary included 160 objects recovered from Bandelier, which are curated in three facilities: at the park, in the Santa Fe repository, and in Tucson at the Western Archeological and Conservation Center. Consultation with tribes was not required prior to completion of the summary.

Two years later, in November 1995, the inventory listing of 48 human remains and 10 associated funerary objects was distributed by the park to 21 culturally-affiliated Indian tribes as required by the Act.

The following year, a general consultation meeting with all potentially affiliated tribes was held in Santa Fe. The second day of this meeting included the viewing of the previously determined Bandelier sacred objects from the park and the Santa Fe repository.

In May 1996, Cochiti, San Ildefonso, and Hopi/Tewa tribal consultants made a trip to the National Park Service Western Archeological and Conservation Center to view and identify sacred objects from the Bandelier collection. The three Cochiti tribal consultants identified 94 objects as potential sacred objects; of those, 53 were projectile points. Four months later, in September 1996, a letter was sent to the Pueblo of Cochiti from Superintendent Weaver regarding the identification of 94 objects for potential repatriation (the 53 projectile points are included). The Pueblo of Cochiti emphasized the desire to proceed to the next step in the NAGPRA repatriation process.

In April 1997, Cochiti Pueblo representatives met with Bandelier staff to discuss the list of objects identified by their tribal consultants in 1996 for potential repatriation. At this meeting, the Bandelier staff suggested the following option: Cochiti may want to discuss the selected items with Cochiti tribal members who participated in the previous consultation meetings, and be offered the possibility of viewing the objects prior to seeking

repatriation to determine if all listed items are still wanted for repatriation. The same month, the park received a letter and tribal resolution from the Pueblo of Cochiti. The documents stated their assertion of cultural affiliation to the 53 projectile points and four additional sacred objects identified as coming from the Bandelier National Monument, ancestral homelands to the Pueblo of Cochiti. It also stated their request to repatriate the projectile points and four additional sacred objects. Governor Lawrence Herrera and Lieutenant Governor Jose L. Cordero signed the Tribal Resolution, dated April 21, 1997. In addition, in 1998 a *Federal Register* notice was published and the four sacred objects meeting the definition of sacred objects in NAGPRA were repatriated to the Pueblo of Cochiti.

Gary Roybal was designated to draft a separate *Federal Register* notice for the 53 projectile points. During that time, in writing the draft notice, Mr. Roybal consulted with Francis P. McManamon, Washington, DC, Archeology and Ethnography Program; staff of the Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe; and park staff. After many reviews, a final draft was submitted to the Archeology and Ethnography Program for their review. It was approved in the spring of 1999.

In December 1998, the consultation process led to the NAGPRA Review Committee meeting in Santa Fe, New Mexico. At that committee meeting, Cochiti's Governor Henry Suina made an impressive presentation on behalf of the Pueblo of Cochiti regarding the claim raised by the Pueblo of Cochiti relating to the repatriation of the 53 projectile points in the possession of Bandelier National Monument. After careful review of the information provided by Bandelier National Monument and the Pueblo of Cochiti, the NAGPRA Review Committee recommended that the park accept the Pueblo of Cochiti's assertion that the 53 projectile points in question are indeed sacred objects, as defined by NAGPRA, and proceed with the repatriation process.

On April 3, 1999, a *Federal Register* notice of intent to repatriate cultural items in the possession of Bandelier National Monument, National Park Service, was published. The same month, letters were received by Francis P. McManamon, Departmental Consulting Archeologist, from three United States Senators (John McCain, Jeff Bingaman, Pete V. Domenici). The letters were regarding the Pueblo of Cochiti's repatriation claim, brought under NAGPRA, for 53 projectile points from the Bandelier collection. The letter also emphasized that officials of the National Park Service determined that the objects met the NAGPRA definition of "sacred objects."

In June 1999, the National Park Service published a notice in the *Federal Register* of April 23, 1999, concerning an intent to repatriate cultural items from Bandelier National Monument. The first document omitted a number of culturally-affiliated Indian tribes. This second notice includes corrections in the list of Indian tribes. The process concluded on July 23, 1999, when a historic event took place at Bandelier National Monument. Superintendent Weaver, along with Native American Liaison Gary Roybal, presented the 53 projectile points to Lieutenant Governor Cippy Crazyhorse and tribal consultant Tony Herrera of Cochiti Pueblo.

Case Two

The second case involved repatriating culturally unidentifiable human remains to multiple tribes with joint claims of cultural relationships to the human remains and the region. At the time, regulations had not been written on the disposition of culturally unidentifiable human remains.

In 1995, Carlsbad Caverns and Guadalupe Mountains National Parks initiated efforts to identify which American Indian tribes should be consulted regarding park collections that were subject to NAGPRA. An Ethnographic Overview and Assessment completed in 1996 for both parks focused on the ties to park lands of the Mescalero Apache Tribe and the Tigua of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo. This report documented the significant and long-term cultural and historical relationships of these two tribes with the southern Guadalupe Mountains region.

Beginning in 1995, curators at both parks began attending regional NAGPRA meetings. At those meetings, several other tribes indicated that they also had historical, cultural, or religious ties to lands now within the two parks. Between 1995 and 1997, the parks hosted a series of 11 consultation meetings with the individual tribes that had identified themselves as having ties to the Guadalupe Mountain region. These one-on-one meetings demonstrated that the parks had to consult with tribes other than those lying in closest proximity to the parks today. The Hopi and Zuni Pueblos had migration routes that brought their ancestors through southeastern New Mexico and west Texas; Western Apache tribes, historically from Arizona and western New Mexico had traveled

through the Guadalupes on their way to the buffalo plains of west Texas; the Kiowas and Comanches from the southern Plains had used the Pecos River and Guadalupe Pass on their trading and raiding routes from the Plains into Mexico; and Zia Pueblo in northern New Mexico has particularly strong cultural ties to Carlsbad Cavern itself.

During these individual consultations, each tribe expressed strong concerns over the status of their ancestors' remains in the parks' museum storage. Some of these individuals said that the associated artifacts had been stored in park collections since the 1930s, with no scientific examination since their original excavation. Without a scientific justification for maintaining the individuals in museum storage, the management teams of both parks agreed that the most appropriate course of action was to seek the repatriation of the individuals and their ultimate re-burial in a secure location.

A major obstacle to repatriation was the fact that all of the human remains and funerary objects from the parks are classified as culturally unidentifiable under NAGPRA. As written, NAGPRA requires a determination of cultural affiliation before materials can be repatriated. Human remains from two of the sites were identified as coming from the Archaic period, between 6000 B.C. and A.D. 500. Individuals from a third site had so little associated documentation that a determination of cultural affiliation could not be assigned. The parks and tribes discussed the possibility of additional studies to determine a cultural affiliation of the remains; however, any method to determine this affiliation would likely involve some sort of destructive analysis or other handling or examination that would be objectionable to the tribes.

Consultation meetings were held in 1997 and 1998 between the parks and representatives of the 12 affiliated tribes to discuss how a repatriation of the human remains could occur. The primary focus of these meetings was to do what all parties agreed was "the right thing," and to work together to make returning the individuals to their original resting places possible. The result of the two meetings was the development of a set of principles with which to guide the parks and tribes in pursuing the repatriation. The key principles were:

These are Native American human remains and funerary objects that should be returned to their original resting places.

The tribes are seeking the repatriation of the human remains and funerary objects through a joint claim as tribes with cultural relationships to these human remains and the Guadalupe Mountain region.

The tribes would not seek to establish a definitive cultural affiliation of any of the remains, but if a cultural affiliation could be determined, it would most likely be with one of these 12 tribes.

In May 2000, with Review Committee approval obtained, the two parks and the tribes met again to discuss the specific details of the repatriation and the ultimate return of these individuals to the earth. Continuing the cooperative spirit of previous meetings, the group reaffirmed their commitment to doing what they all feel is right. Two days were spent discussing logistics and some very difficult issues surrounding the repatriation, the re-burial, and the security of the re-burial locations. Other issues, including additional remains originally from the parks located in a museum in Pennsylvania, have surfaced, which may require a second presentation before the NAGPRA Review Committee this year. The goal of the tribes and parks is the completion of the repatriation and re-burial of these individuals by the spring of 2001.

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Jeff Denny is the Cultural Resource Program Leader at Carlsbad Caverns National Park. He is responsible for implementing NAGPRA and consulting with tribes.

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Louie Hena and Kurt F. Anschuetz

Living on the Edge

Combining Traditional Pueblo Knowledge, Permaculture, and Archeology

Early Pueblo peoples did not just sit back passively and wait for the rain to fall to make a living.[1] Exciting new research, blending Pueblo traditional knowledge, permacultural teachings, and archeological and other social science findings, is shedding light on how the Pueblos interacted with their often-difficult southwestern environments, and is yielding compelling new insights into the region's dynamic historical ecology and the active roles that the people played in shaping their worlds.

A Landscape of Edges

Archeological research reveals that the scale and sophistication of the agronomic and hydrological accomplishments of early Pueblo farmers were far greater than what investigators have traditionally recognized in their constructions of the past. Over the past two decades, archeological and historical investigations of late pre-Columbian and early Historic period (A.D. 250-750) fields in north-central New Mexico's northern Rio Grande Valley have helped to identify and expand explanations of indigenous Pueblo farmers' integration of diverse technologies into their farm production. Researchers have documented field remnants that extend from the edges of the region's permanent streams deep into the juniper and piñon woodland habitats that dominate the foothills of the Sangre de Cristo and Jemez Mountains defining the physical edge of the Rio Grande rift country.

Benefited by the adoption of a cultural landscape perspective—which social scientists define as the essential interaction of nature and culture[2]—these studies emphasize how the Pueblos designed and maintained their fieldworks to harvest and conserve water. For example, the Pueblos routinely irrigated across broad expanses and into their planting areas through the diversion of seemingly minor sources of runoff moisture from natural drainage courses. The findings also provide a context for reassessing the accounts offered by 16th- and 17th-century Spanish chroniclers who described the northern Rio Grande Valley as a virtual "Garden of Eden"—even though their Iberian prejudices led them to criticize the Pueblo people as lazy and hapless farmers.[3] Ethnocentrism obscured their ability to recognize the sophistication and elegant cunning with which the people applied their technologically simple farming practices.

Studies demonstrate how the early Pueblos reduced the inherent subsistence risks of living at the proverbial economic edge. They allow researchers to assess the people's development of the economic technologies and social organizations needed to dampen the environmental vagaries that constantly threatened their farmland

"Not letting the fires burn out," Picuris Pueblo, New Mexico, community garden. Photo by Louie Hena, 1998.

production. They show us how Pueblo people enhanced the ground's ability to absorb water coming from rainfall and snow melt, throughout the year, to meet the needs of their cultigens. Using refined techniques for processing and assessing field sediment samples in pollen analyses, researchers recognize that the existing definition of agriculture as the production of domestic cultigens does not capture either the structure or strategy of indigenous Pueblo farming. An expanding body of fossil pollen evidence suggests that northern Rio Grande Pueblo farmers managed a variety of weedy species (e.g., purslane and goosefoot) and cactuses (e.g., prickly pear) alongside their corn, beans, squash, and cotton plants.

Edge as a Way of Life

The thousands of acres of old fields throughout the northern Rio Grande Valley attest to much more than just the great ingenuity of the Pueblo people in occupying and transforming the broad physiographic edge between valley bottom and mountain top for farming. Through examining the archeological traces of the old fields and waterworks and fossil pollen assemblages, Pueblo environmentalists and farmers are able to identify methods used in the past that resemble permacultural techniques recently adopted by some community members working to sustain their peoples' agricultural traditions.

As defined by Bill Mollison, the founding figure of the contemporary permacultural movement, permaculture is a philosophy and an approach to land use that weave together climate, annual and perennial plants, insects, animals, soils, water management, and human needs into an integrated, productive ecological community.[4] Edge is a key idea used in this discipline to convey how interfaces between unlike niches enhance the concentration of productive energy through the interaction of diverse but complementary parts. Such interactions are essential for creating and sustaining the healthy functioning of a system.

In permaculture, edge effects usually refer to the physical creation of ecological microhabitats characterized by biodiversity and heightened productivity among mutually beneficial plants, animals, insects, and soil microorganisms. In relating permacultural lessons back to their ageless codes of stewardship, Pueblo people quickly recognized that their communities historically created and maintained edge effects to sustain not only their farmland production but also their community traditions. The benefits of edge effects are therefore not limited to just the material world. Edges apply equally to diverse ideas of how the world is and what people's relationships within the world should entail to maintain sustainable lifeways.

As conveyed eloquently by Gregory Cajete, an educator from Santa Clara Pueblo, the Pueblos (and many other traditional land-based communities) have developed comprehensive understandings of spiritual ecology that outline how people should interact with their worlds in their daily lives to sustain community across the generations.[5] Within Pueblo permaculture programs, the idea of "living at the edge" is increasingly being promoted as a metaphor for a positive way of living that respects the ecology of community and place.

Pueblo Cultures at the Edge

The Pueblos' old fields and waterworks lapsed into obscurity when they fell into disuse during the 17th and 18th centuries. Spanish colonial, Mexican, and U.S. governments sequentially enacted policies that effectively removed people from their homelands and disrupted indigenous lifeways and subsistence practices. Traditional farming based on land-extensive practices incorporating

Flowering Tree Institute permaculture workshop, Santa Clara Pueblo, New Mexico, where "the old becomes new again," with elders sharing their memories with younger generations. The Flowering Tree Institute is the oldest permaculture demonstration project on Native American lands. Photo by Louie Hena, 1998.

Modern river cobble and wire basket gabion imitating the design and function of centuries-old indigenous terraces under construction at Tesuque Pueblo, New Mexico. Photo by Louie Hena, 1996.

long fallow cycles to allow habitats to renew their productivity was no longer feasible as the Pueblos became increasingly circumscribed to their small community grants. The Pueblos readily embraced animal-drawn plows, the hybridization of indigenous seeds stocks with varieties introduced from Mexico and the East, and the import of cultigens for the Old and New Worlds that are foreign to North America's northern Southwest to increase the land's production capacity. Some new crops, such as wheat and chiles, also easily won favor within Pueblo lifeways for the welcome diversity they brought to people's diets and economies.

Pueblo communities have passed their stewardship principles from one generation to the next through living traditions that inform the people "how they became who they are today."[6] Relying upon constant reference and the reaffirmation of their heritage through their oral traditions, songs, prayers, and ceremonies, many Rio Grande Pueblo communities have sustained coherent identities despite the great environmental, economic, social, and political changes that have occurred in the people's everyday lives over the past four centuries. Nonetheless, the Pueblos' loss of access to major parts of their homelands and their accompanying large-scale adoption of new agricultural technologies have contributed to their forgetting information specific to the old fieldworks and waterworks lying just beyond the limits of their villages.

As a consequence, the long-neglected cobblestone terrace walls and gridded fields became curiosities. Pueblo people sometimes speculated that these rock alignments were the ruins of old houses that their ancestors neither completed nor occupied. Questions about why earlier generations would have constructed these structures across such broad expanses of communities' existing grant lands were not considered relevant by many. Queries requiring the explanation of empirically observed detail, such as those characterizing Western scientific traditions, often simply did not need to be asked, because community traditions provided frameworks for understanding all that Pueblo communities needed to know about their past.[7]

World War II established the foundations for the potent trend toward the global economic, social, and cultural homogenization that characterizes the beginning of this new millennium, and now the northern Rio Grande Pueblos are facing yet another round of forceful challenges to their ability to sustain their community identities. Even though the defining lessons embodied in Pueblo traditions remain above question, many communities now recognize that a significant threat to their cultural survival resides in their increasing sense of disconnection from their past. For example, in the Community Preservation Program's Agriculture at Santa Clara Pueblo, program staff observe that "the words Pueblo and Agriculture are almost synonymous."[8] They further note that, throughout the long history of Santa Clara Pueblo, the people have defined an intimate relationship with the land, its waters, and other natural resources to sustain their living as farmers. Given the great importance of farming in the community's traditions, they view the wide-scale disappearance of agricultural lifeways since the mid-20th century with alarm.

Perspectives Meeting at the Edge

On the one hand, the emergence of landscape perspectives in social science research has enhanced both the relevance and usefulness of information obtained through archeological and historical inquiry to people from traditional

communities. This approach facilitates dialogue between groups with cultural/historical links to an area and the archeologists working there because it recognizes how the past is relevant to the present. Although the landscape approach is a contributing factor to the establishment of new collaborative efforts, the Pueblos' formal introduction to permacultural principles is currently fueling an interest in archeological and historical findings. The coming together of Pueblo traditional knowledge, permacultural teachings, and archeological and other social science findings along a common intellectual edge helps the communities restore and again sustain their ageless traditions. In thinking about edges as interfaces rather than as impermeable boundaries, Pueblo people are embracing another indispensable permacultural principle: "The Problem is the Solution."[9]

Viewing northern Rio Grande archeological and historical information through permacultural perspectives, Pueblo people quickly understood that even though the word permaculture is quite new, its underlying principles are very old. Additionally, when one community member noted with satisfaction that "Everything old is new again," he recognized that today's efforts are reintroducing codes of stewardship to his community that his ancestors had previously incorporated into every aspect of their everyday lives. He also comprehended that remnant fieldworks and waterworks in the valleys and hills surrounding his home represent kinds of historical texts created by his ancestors to complement the oral traditions, songs, and prayers that he learned during childhood and that today, as an adult, he recites to his children. The stories embedded in these surviving archeological traces tell much about the lives—and lifeways—of earlier generations of Pueblo people. They can help unfold the layers of meaning embedded in Pueblo traditions that the people today have begun using within their communities for their own purposes, including efforts to promote and sustain a sense of identity.

Building Understanding and Relationships Across the Edge

The renewed collaboration among archeologists and Pueblo community members through landscape and permacultural perspectives represents another step showing how the science of archeology can serve Pueblo communities today. While globalization remains a potent challenge, Pueblo people express excitement with their rediscovery of misplaced old tools that they can use in their struggle to sustain their community identities in the face of ever-building pressures for economic, social, and cultural homogenization. By using archeological information, the people are renewing an appreciation of the resourcefulness and wisdom of their ancestors in developing methods and strategies for sustaining community. People view the agronomic and hydrological accomplishments of their earlier generations with pride—the ancient Greeks, Egyptians, and Romans were not the only peoples in the distant past to have made important technological contributions. Moreover, they cite the age-old fieldworks and waterworks as practical examples of Pueblo doctrines of respect, sharing, and caring. Through the collaboration of community members, permacultural principles, and archeological information, the Pueblos are redefining permaculture from the specific idea of "permanent agriculture" to a general process of "permanent culture." This transformation of contemporary ideas echoes a combined adage and admonition passed from elder to youth: "Don't let the fires burn out."

A 14th- and 15th-century stone-mulched field on a mesa near the contemporary Hispano village of Chimayo, New Mexico. The stone border and four-inch thick layer of gravel fill inside the plot conserved moisture from melting snows and falling rains throughout the year and warmed the soil for planting and seed germination in the spring. Photo by Kurt F. Anschuetz, 1997.

Other benefits derived from these collaborations flow toward the scientific community. The Pueblos' introduction of permacultural perspectives to archeological and historical studies is helping social scientists to develop new theories and methods for evaluating how the northern Rio Grande Valley's Pueblo peoples maintained their livelihoods in an ever-changing environment. Community representatives have already shared insights that are helping archeologists to recognize, measure, assess, and interpret material traces that they have either not recognized or not considered relevant within the scope and design of their traditional studies of the Pueblos' past. Pueblo collaborators are providing intellectual frameworks that challenge many archeologists' common-sense views—for example, farming is not just a warm-season economic activity, and the residential withdrawal of people from a locality is neither necessary nor sufficient evidence of its final abandonment.

The Pueblos' participation in scientific enterprise is helping to forge perspectives that enable investigators to ask qualitatively different, but testable, questions about the past. In this atmosphere of exchange and cooperation, the information being compiled possesses the potential to help transform the scope and content of the archeological constructions of northern Rio Grande Pueblo history and culture. We will increasingly see constructions of the past that are populated with peoples who were creative agents in the shaping of their landscapes rather than with faceless blobs who responded unthinkingly to whatever environmental vagaries befell them. Perhaps the archeological community and the greater public alike will finally be equipped to acknowledge Pueblo landscape innovations and to convey respect for accomplishments based on keen observation, deductive reasoning, and long-term commitments to community and place.

Notes

1 Kurt F. Anschuetz, *Not Waiting for the Rain: Integrated Systems of Water Management for Intensive Agricultural Production in North-Central New Mexico.* Ann Arbor: Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1998). Timothy D. Maxwell and Kurt F. Anschuetz, "The Southwestern Ethnographic Record and Prehistoric Agricultural Diversity," in *Gardens in Prehistory: The Archaeology of Settlement Agriculture in Greater Mesoamerica*, edited by Thomas W. Killion (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992, 35-68.

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7 Tessie Naranjo, "Thoughts on Migration by Santa Clara Pueblo," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 14 (1995):247-250.

8 Santa Clara Pueblo Preservation Program, *Agriculture at Santa Clara Pueblo* (Santa Clara Pueblo: Cultural Preservation Program, 1995):33.

9 Bill Mollison, *Permaculture: A Designer's Manual* (Tyalgum, Australia: Tagair Publications, 1988):35.

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American Indian Liaison Office

Mission: To improve relationships between American Indian tribes, Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians, and the National Park Service through consultation, outreach, technical assistance, education, and advisory services.

Created in February 1995, the American Indian Liaison Office reports to the Director of the National Park Service. Staff include Patricia L. Parker, chief; Emogene Bevitt, program analyst; Ronnie Emery, historian [on detail]; Leslie Harmon, administrative clerk.

The American Indian Liaison Office developed a new National Park Service workshop on the "Foundations of Indian Law and Policy" to provide information necessary to improve relationships between the National Park Service and American Indian tribal governments. Over 350 superintendents and other program managers have taken the two-day workshop since 1997.

National Park Service relationships with Indian tribes are increasing in complexity in response to new statutes, executive orders, and administrative policies.

Indian tribes seek greater involvement in NPS planning and management decisions, and desire a greater tribal presence in units of the national park system that were once tribal lands.

The number of professionally staffed tribal natural and cultural resource agencies have increased over the past decade, presenting more opportunities for cooperative resource conservation between tribal governments and nearby parks.

Program Objectives

- Assist National Park Service field and program managers to carry out relationships with American Indian Tribes and Alaska Native groups on a government-to-government basis
- Educate National Park Service field and program managers concerning Indian Self-Determination, Tribal Self-Governance, and effective means of working with tribes.
- Help ensure that American Indian, Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian concerns are considered in policies, regulations, and programs that affect them.
- Assist and promote American Indian participation in carrying out National Park Service policies, programs, and activities.
- Work with other National Park Service Indian offices, Indian offices in other agencies, tribes, intertribal organizations and other National Park Service partners in pursuing the above objectives.

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Alexa Roberts

Sand Creek Massacre Site Oral History

Protecting Tribal Intellectual Property

In the early dawn hours of November 29, 1864, more than 700 troops under the command of Colonel John M. Chivington attacked an encampment of Cheyenne and Arapaho men, women, and children as they slept in their lodges on the banks of Sand Creek, Colorado. By midday, the soldiers had slaughtered more than 150 of the unarmed tribal members.

The story of the Sand Creek Massacre—one of the most defining events in the history of the Cheyenne and Arapaho people and of U.S. federal/tribal relations—is well known from a multitude of documented sources (NPS 2000). The Cheyenne and Arapaho oral histories of the massacre are not as well known, at least to the non-Cheyenne and Arapaho world. In 1999, however, an oral history project designed to assist the efforts of the National Park Service (NPS) to precisely locate the Sand Creek Massacre site began recording a small number of the existing Cheyenne and Arapaho oral histories about the massacre that are indelible in tribal memory. The recording of such sensitive and proprietary intellectual property raised many issues related to the control of oral information—especially in a federal and very public context—and about the importance of federal/tribal collaboration.

On October 6, 1998, President Clinton signed the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site Study Act. The Act directed the NPS to identify the location and extent of the massacre site, and to determine the feasibility of designating it as a unit of the national park system. In preparation for the passage of the Act, Colorado Congressman Bill Schaffer wrote to NPS Director Bob Stanton clearly stating Congress' expectation that a collection of tribal oral histories would be a primary line of evidence to be used in NPS efforts to locate the massacre site. In response to Congress' direction, as well as to NPS policies, previous Sand Creek Massacre research efforts, and consultations with the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes, the NPS worked with the tribes to collect oral histories as a major component of the effort to locate the site.

Cheyenne and Arapaho tribal representatives' immediate concern with participating in an oral history project revolved around the confidentiality of sensitive information. They were particularly concerned about the potential for NPS appropriation and publication of tribal intellectual property. Before the project began, tribal and NPS representatives drafted a memorandum of understanding (MOU) regarding government-to-government relations in the implementation of the Act, including, among other provisions, language on the collection of oral histories. The MOU specified that methods and protocols for the collection of oral histories would be developed jointly by the NPS and the tribes, and that the tribes may impose appropriate

Hubert Warren, Northern Arapaho Sand Creek Oral History Project team member, interviewing Josephine White. Photo by Sara Wiles.

confidentiality restrictions to protect sacred or culturally sensitive matters. In addition, each tribe would be provided with originals or copies of all materials produced by the oral history documentation.

Subsequent to the development of the MOU, some of the involved tribes also entered into cooperative agreements with the NPS, allowing funding directly to each tribe that wished to conduct its own oral history project. The Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho Tribes decided to enter into cooperative agreements and conduct their oral history projects internally, while the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma agreed to have the NPS conduct the oral history work in close cooperation with tribal representatives. Through these flexible arrangements, each tribe was able to oversee the collection of oral histories from tribal members by the most culturally appropriate means.

The Northern Arapaho Tribe determined that tribal members would conduct their own oral history project. The tribe entered into a cooperative agreement with the NPS, and initiated the Northern Arapaho Sand Creek Oral History Project in April 1999. The tribe requested NPS assistance in conducting a brief oral history training workshop for tribal project representatives, which was followed by interviews with two elderly tribal members who are knowledgeable about the Sand Creek Massacre, as well as a briefing of the Tribal Business Council on the project and obtaining their approval to proceed. Tribal representatives posted newspaper and public notices of the training and invited tribal members at large to participate in the training and provide oral history accounts.

The project began with team members explaining the extremely sensitive and sacred nature of the stories that were about to be elicited from Sand Creek Massacre descendants and the importance of the project to the Northern Arapaho people and future generations. NPS and tribal personnel then held training dealing with oral history methods for project team members. After a presentation to the Northern Arapaho Business Council, at which the Council members expressed full and enthusiastic support for the oral history project, interviews were conducted with two tribal members.

Project team members interviewed, in the Arapaho language, a direct descendant of a Sand Creek Massacre survivor, and, in English, a knowledgeable woman who is among the oldest living tribal members. Both interviews were taped and the interviewees photographed specifically for the purposes of the oral history project and tribal archives. Notes were kept as the interviews were being taped. Both interviewees were compensated for their time by the tribe through the funds provided by the cooperative agreement.

In July 1999 and February 2000, project team members interviewed two more tribal members. In September 2000, NPS staff joined Northern Arapaho Sand Creek Oral History Project team members to transcribe the tapes, with interpretation and editorial assistance from the Arapaho project team. Again, project team members initiated the session with a discussion of the sanctity of the stories told by the interviewees and a reminder that the most important underlying premise of the Northern Arapaho Sand Creek Oral History project is to protect the interviewees and their stories. Participants were reminded that the first people the stories belong to is the interviewees, and that their intellectual property rights must be guarded at all times. To help ensure this confidentiality, the tribe applied copyrights to all photos, interview tapes, and transcripts. The interviewees and project team members felt that establishing copyright would allow the information from the interviews to be used by the NPS for the purposes of the site location and special resource studies, while still ensuring that the information belongs to the people who provided it. The Northern Arapaho Tribe retained all original tapes and photos for tribal archives, with copies provided to the NPS for inclusion in the project report and to the State of Colorado for state historical archives. With these protection measures in place, the tribe felt comfortable with the publication and public distribution of tribal members' oral histories of the Sand Creek Massacre.

In contrast to the Northern Arapaho Tribe, the Southern Cheyenne Tribe elected not to enter into a cooperative agreement with the NPS for the collection of oral histories. Instead, it asked the NPS to collect the oral histories in collaboration with tribal representatives. The project

Sand Creek. Photo by Tom Meier.

was conducted during two week-long sessions in June and August 1999, from a home base at the Cheyenne and Arapaho Elderly Nutrition Center in Clinton, Oklahoma. Tribal representatives initiated the oral history project by posting public notices about the project and asking people to come to the center and contribute their stories if they wished. In addition, specific individuals previously recommended as potentially knowing stories of Sand Creek were contacted and asked to provide interviews.

The NPS, the State of Colorado, and Southern Cheyenne tribal members recorded a total of 12 interviews during the two sessions. Tribal representatives explained the purpose of the project and its benefits to the tribe at group meetings and to individual interviewees, and interviewees were asked on tape if the stories they provided could be transcribed and reproduced in a public document. Any information or statements that interviewees wished not to become public were not recorded or documented in any way. Each interviewee was given a small gift based on customary practices, including cloth, fruit, tobacco, and other items.

Following the interviewing sessions, NPS staff transcribed the tapes and sent copies of the written transcripts to the official Southern Cheyenne representatives to the site location project, and who also oversaw the oral history project. Interviewees then had the opportunity to review and edit their statements before publication to ensure the accuracy and confidentiality of sensitive information. Following final transcription, original interview tapes were returned to each interviewee and copies were provided to the NPS and the states of Colorado and Oklahoma for their official historical archives. Through this collaborative oral history project process, Southern Cheyenne tribal representatives felt comfortable that individual tribal members' intellectual property had been protected and that the information presented in the NPS final report was acceptable for public distribution.

In June 1999, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe entered into a cooperative agreement with the NPS for collecting oral histories and other purposes.

The project began with the tribe's Sand Creek Descendants Committee creating a list of 33 potential interviewees who may have stories of the massacre. This list was not intended to be comprehensive, but rather to serve as a baseline from which to begin. It was fully expected that all interviewees, even if they did not have stories themselves, would recommend other knowledgeable people, and the list would grow.

In December 1999, tribal members initiated the project by video taping interviews about the Sand Creek Massacre with several knowledgeable tribal members. The following month, NPS staff joined Northern Cheyenne representatives in Lame Deer, Montana, to assist Sand Creek Office staff with the remaining interviews of individuals identified by the Sand Creek Descendants Committee. The project began with a day of background preparation, including discussion of the appropriate protocols in consulting with highly respected elderly tribal members.

Of the original 33 potential interviewees identified by the committee, all but eight were contacted, in addition to nine additional people who were not on the original list who were also recommended during the course of contacting people. Of all the people contacted, a total of 12 provided stories that were audio taped during the week. Five additional interviews were recorded on videotape during the tribe's work in December 1999, and one written narrative, along with a painting depicting the massacre, was contributed, for a total of 18 recorded stories, narratives, and interviews.

Nearly all interviews were arranged in advance, with tribal and/or NPS project members visiting the potential interviewee once to explain the project and ask if the person would like to give a story, and if so, returning at a later date to record it. Small gifts of food, cloth, and tobacco were given to each person asked, regardless of whether or not they had a story or wished to tell one. The tribe also provided small cash honoraria to individual interviewees.

A portable tape copier was brought along during the interviews so that, at the completion of the interviews, a copy of the tape could be immediately provided to the interviewee. Providing copies of tapes at the time of the interview helped to establish some level of trust about the project, because many people mentioned that they had been interviewed in the past for other purposes and had no idea what became of the material. Copies of tapes were also made for the NPS, with the original tapes being housed at the Sand Creek office. All interviewees were asked on tape for permission to use the stories in the NPS report to Congress and all interviewees gave approval. No particular question format was followed, showing respect to storytellers by allowing them to simply tell their stories uninterrupted. At the conclusion of the story, more specific questions were asked if appropriate. Four stories were told entirely in Cheyenne and the remaining eight were told in English, sometimes mixed with Cheyenne.

A second oral history project session was scheduled in Lame Deer, Montana, in February 2000, to begin the collaborative process of transcription of the taped stories recorded in the Cheyenne language. Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek office staff were extremely concerned about the accurate interpretation of the Cheyenne language stories when they were translated into English. Some elderly Cheyenne speakers expressed concern that, as has often happened in the past, the rich meanings of the Cheyenne words would be lost with too casual an approach to translation. Some people talked about how the Cheyenne people have been misrepresented in treaties and other legal processes because of interpretations of Cheyenne in English translations that do not convey the real meanings of the Cheyenne language. Much of the Cheyenne language used in the stories was an old, traditional form of the language requiring laborious translation. The first transcription of 30 minutes of one Cheyenne language story, for example, took 13 hours to complete.

After all the stories were transcribed, NPS and/or tribal project members returned to visit all interviewees and brought hard copies of all transcribed stories for them to review, along with a laptop computer to be able to make any editorial changes on the spot. The Sand Creek office also developed an additional written consent form to ensure that the stories were only reproduced with each individual's complete knowledge and approval. Original consent forms and original tapes were retained by the Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek office, with copies provided to the interviewees. Copies of tapes and consent forms were also provided to the NPS and the Colorado Historical Society.

Each tribe involved in the Sand Creek Oral History Project approached the documentation of tribal oral histories in a slightly different way. Through flexibility and attention to a collaborative process between the tribes, the NPS, and the State of Colorado, project members were able to ensure that oral histories were collected in as sensitive and culturally appropriate way as time and funding permitted. Equally important, individual tribal members' intellectual property was protected as much as possible in the context of a very public project in which the oral history transcripts were both published and posted on the Internet. Through this process, the documentation of tribal oral histories expanded the record of the Sand Creek Massacre, adding not only to the knowledge of the American people, but serving as a lasting legacy for Cheyenne and Arapaho youth and future generations.

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Theresa F. Nichols

Reburying History

Backfilling at Aztec Ruins National Monument and the Power of Consultation

Dialogues between national parks and associated Indian tribes are helping parks to understand and appreciate tribal concerns and thereby improve the quality of the management of their cultural and natural resources.

One outstanding example of the power of consultation is a collaboration taking place between the National Park Service (NPS) at Aztec Ruins National Monument—an Ancestral Pueblo site in northwest New Mexico, near the town of Aztec—and associated Southwestern American Indian tribes. In the following article, we will focus on two major projects involving consultation: the backfilling (i.e., the replacement of earth after an archeological excavation to prevent erosion of the site) of the park's West Ruin; and the repatriation of cultural items under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and their subsequent reburial.

It should be noted that consultative relationships have a relatively short history in the NPS. Chaco Culture National Historical Park—a larger NPS area to the south that is culturally, temporally, and geographically related to Aztec Ruins—began consulting with southwestern tribes in 1990. The park's initial efforts subsequently grew into regular twice-yearly meetings. Aztec Ruins staff attended some of these meetings, and frequently considered input that tribal representatives directed toward Chaco staff in similar actions planned at Aztec Ruins.

In 1997, the two parks officially began using the same American Indian consultation committee, because both areas share similar management issues and the same tribes are interested in both areas. As many as 25 southwestern tribes are invited to the meetings, including all the Pueblo tribes of New Mexico, the Hopi Tribe, the Navajo Nation, the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, and the Southern Ute Tribe. Some 30 representatives from as many as 15 different tribes have been known to attend a single meeting. Meetings provide an important forum in which officials from both parks can present cultural and resource management issues, interpretive projects, and other concerns, and elicit tribal input.

The first plan presented to the committee was for the backfilling of the West Ruin—a 900-year-old multi-story building containing about 450 masonry rooms, which is the primary exhibit for the 65,000 visitors who come to Aztec Ruins annually.

When archeologist Earl Morris excavated much of the structure in the late teens and early 1920s, he found many rooms protected by an overburden of fill. Windblown dirt, collapsed roofs, wall fall, and other debris that had accumulated over centuries had served to protect most of the building from the deteriorating effects of weather. However, after Morris removed this stabilizing environment, he exposed the stone masonry and mud mortar to the effects of precipitation, freeze-thaw cycles, gravity, and differential fill levels between adjacent rooms. This exposure set into motion a continuing cycle of deterioration, stabilization, and repair by park workers—and deterioration beginning the cycle again.

In its 1989 General Management Plan, the park proposed to backfill portions of the site. This action would reduce the amount of exposed masonry and more effectively preserve the architecture. The project would take seven years or longer to complete, depending on funding.

However, backfilling portions of the structure would alter the appearance of and access to rooms, and be of concern and interest to many tribes. Through prior consultation, the park had learned that Aztec Ruins is a sacred ancestral site for many southwestern tribes, at which their ancestors are buried, and that they believe that the place is still inhabited by those ancestors. Several tribes mention Aztec Ruins in their migration stories, and specific clans trace their roots to the site. Some cite Aztec Ruins in particular ceremonies or regard it as the origin place for specific

ceremonies. Thus, consultation was essential, so that the tribes could learn about the project and provide input for the park's consideration.

In 1998, during the spring consultation meeting held in the town of Aztec, park staff presented the backfilling project to the Chaco Culture and Aztec Ruins American Indian Consultation Committee. The park distributed the draft Backfilling Plan to all the tribes on the committee for review. The plan described the rationale for backfilling, and indicated the targeted areas and their treatment. During the meeting, staff requested the tribal representatives' general concerns, and also focused on specific issues. One tribal representative echoed the sentiment voiced by tribal representatives at previous meetings about preferences that the park do nothing to preserve the site, and instead let the structure continue its cycle of deterioration and return to the earth. This sentiment arises from the Puebloan belief that all things, including buildings, have a life cycle that emerges from and moves back into the earth. Thus, preserving structures and artifacts frozen in time for future generations is not a desire common to Pueblo people. However, through previous consultation, the tribal representatives knew that preservation and maintenance were mandates of the National Park Service. Therefore, several tribal representatives indicated that reburial of portions of the structure, rather than continued wall repair, more closely corresponds with their belief that structures should return to the earth. Thus, from the perspective of some tribes the project was not in conflict with their beliefs.

One of the issues discussed involved the drainage path for the backfilled rooms. Surface water needed to be drained out of the rooms and away from the structure. To accomplish this, the park considered two options. The first option would route drains in the fill of each room so that the drains would travel subsurface and exit below the foundations of the walls, some two-to-four feet deep. The second option would route drains higher in the room fill, so that drains would pass through holes in walls where needed. The first option could disturb unexcavated deposits and possible burials. The second option would destroy original wall fabric in some places. The park presented the two options to the tribal representatives, who clearly preferred that the park avoid ground disturbance and breach walls where necessary. Based on the committee's input, the park abandoned the option of using deep drains and designed more shallow drainage systems within rooms that used existing wall openings and required some penetration of walls.

The second plan, presented to the committee at a later meeting, involved inadvertent discoveries that might result from the backfilling. NAGPRA regulations require that agencies, in consultation with tribes, develop a plan of action regarding the treatment, recording, and disposition of any inadvertent discoveries or planned excavations that might result from any park action. The park asked for and considered tribal concerns in finalizing this plan.

At the same time that the park began the backfilling, it was in the process of repatriating the remains of 125 individuals and 176 associated funerary objects to the Pueblos of Acoma, Zuni, and Zia—a very important action for the park and the tribes. Consultation committee representatives had repeatedly expressed their desire that their ancestors who were being stored in boxes be returned to the earth as quickly as possible. Repatriation was the necessary step to allow this reburial to occur. After transferring custody of the items to the three tribes through repatriation, the park and the repatriating tribes worked closely together to accomplish the reburial at the park. Together, they developed a scope of work, and set a date for reburial. The park transported the remains from National Park Service repositories in Santa Fe and Tucson. One mild day in the winter of 1999, with the participation of religious and tribal leaders representing several tribes, the remains were finally re-interred. The park and the Pueblos of Acoma, Zuni, and Zia worked hard—together—to plan and accomplish this re-interment action.

The park learned during these projects that consultation is much more than a legal requirement. Indeed, productive consultation is a dialogue among individuals having varied personalities and diverse backgrounds, who work hard to achieve mutual understanding. Mistakes are made, disagreements arise, misunderstandings sometimes occur, and the process can consume more time than expected. But when the individuals continue to participate in an atmosphere of mutual respect, actions can be achieved that have far-reaching implications for the tribes and the care of the park.

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Nina Swidler, David Eck, T. J. Ferguson and Leigh Kuwanwisiwma,
Roger Anyon and Loren Panteah, and Klara Kelley and Harris Francis

Multiple Views of the Past

Integrating Archeology and Ethnography in the Jeddito Valley

Project sponsors and researchers continue to be challenged to ascertain public concerns, and to incorporate these concerns into cultural resource management investigations. As is often the case with development projects in the southwestern United States, Native American tribes are one of the most vocal segments of the public. Frequently, tribal concerns are not synonymous with either national interests or mainstream archeological thought, but rather relate to matters of self-identity and cultural continuity. Recognizing this, sponsors and researchers must structure research to uncover, understand, and act upon concerns voiced by tribes. Many southwestern tribes are highly motivated to represent their own interests, and have acquired the necessary expertise to fully participate in research projects.

Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team (ZCRAT) and project archeologist exchanging information. From left, Loren Panteah, Smith Cachini, Sr., John Bowannie, and Eldrick Seoutewa, ZCRAT; David Eck, Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise (ZCRE); and Roger Anyon, Heritage Resource Management Consultants; July 1997. Photo by Nina Swidler, courtesy the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department.

This paper provides an example of effective consultation and collaborative research with and among tribes in a case study designed to explore issues dealing with the identification, evaluation, and interpretation of historic properties.

Project Overview

The study involves cultural resource investigations associated with the construction of Jeddito Road, located on the Navajo Indian Reservation in northeastern Arizona. The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Federal Highway Administration provided funding for the Navajo Nation to develop and administer this project. The Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise (ZCRE) was contracted to conduct the investigations, and funding was provided for tribal participation.

During the assessment phase, the Navajo Nation invited the Hopi, Zuni, Acoma, and Zia Pueblos to help identify places of concern and to propose management recommendations alongside archeologists. Only the Hopi Tribe and Navajo residents of the Jeddito community agreed to participate. These investigations identified 15 cultural resources along the 1.2-mile-long road. Archeologists recorded nine sites, and tribal consultants identified six traditional cultural properties, historical sites, or in-use properties.

For many projects, active tribal involvement could end at this point. However, the Navajo Nation devised a pilot study to continue and expand tribal involvement, the goal of which was to document tribal opinions about the same research issues that the archeologists were studying. To accomplish this, the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department, ZCRE, and the Navajo, Hopi, and Zuni tribes together designed a prospectus that augmented the research design previously developed by archeologists to mitigate adverse effects of the project on historic properties.

The prospectus identified a series of topics related to the research issues of environment and economy, population and demography, social organization, and regional relationships. Tribal cultural advisors focused on four related topics: tribal use, occupation, and connections to the project area through time; tribal interpretations of excavated archeological sites; how tribally controlled ethnohistoric research can or should be used in cultural resource management investigations; and management recommendations. Each tribe, along with its consulting anthropologist, decided how best to address these topics. The anthropologists examined existing literature and conducted interviews with tribal cultural advisors to record tribal interpretations of the archeology.

In addition, cultural advisors from two tribes and the Navajo community visited the ongoing archeological excavations when most of the structures and related artifacts were visible. Later, advisors from all tribes reviewed a sample of excavated artifacts to interpret the functions and meanings of material culture and their context. Finally, the cultural advisors, tribal officials, and consulting anthropologists met to address research issues, and prepare and review draft reports.

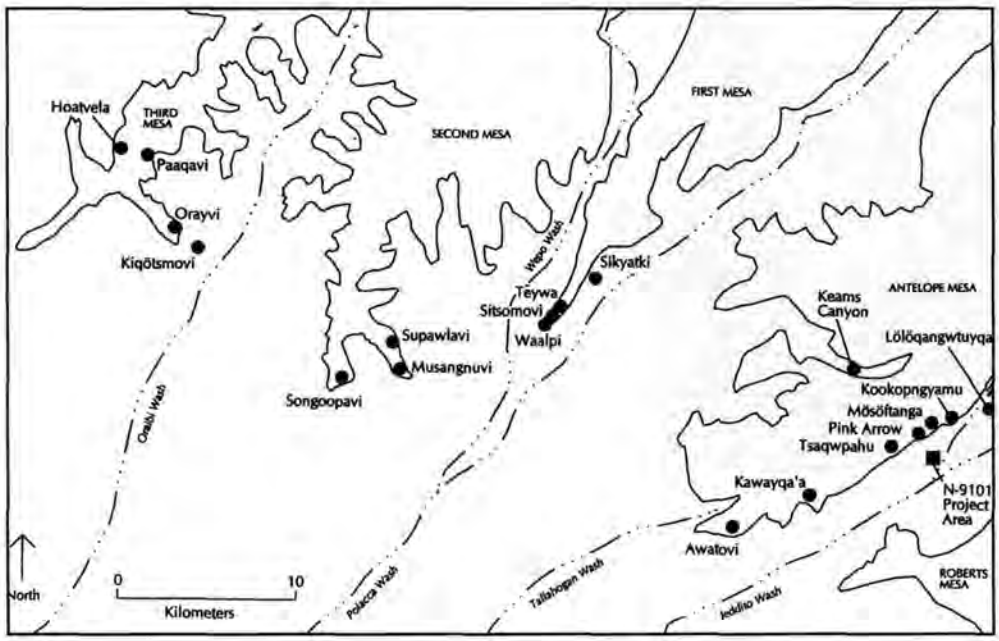
Summary of Investigation Results

Restricted space precludes presentation of a complete summary of project results. Thus, we have chosen to briefly summarize archeological interpretations about the research issues and follow with individual tribal perspectives about these and related topics. Not surprisingly, while the archeologically-derived interpretations point to general explanations of the use or function of built environments and artifacts, tribally-derived information provides specific and human detail to these reconstructions of past lifeways. The authors are currently working on a longer article that will more fully address these and other aspects of the investigations.

Archeological Interpretation of Life in the Jeddito Valley

Archeologists believe that these sites were the homes of at least two groups of people whose culture they term "Anasazi," referring to a suite of material culture complexes found in the Four Corners region of the American Southwest. One group, living here between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1200, may have been related to people living in the Cibola area to the east. These occupants seem to have purposefully abandoned their homes, removing their belongings and burning the structures. A second group, living here between A.D. 1100 and A.D. 1300, may have been more closely affiliated with people living near the Little Colorado River to the southwest. These occupants left useable artifacts on the floors of the unburned houses when they moved away. Other, more recent artifacts and features suggest continued, nonresidential use from A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1500, probably for agricultural purposes.

The occupants were agriculturalists who also collected wild foods. Some archeological evidence points to year-round, sedentary occupation, while other data suggest repeated use, perhaps seasonally. Clear evidence of social organization is lacking, but the presence of multiple dwellings at each site suggests that an extended family group or groups of families lived here. One large, well-constructed structure at each site may have served an integrative or ceremonial purpose.



Relationship of the Jeddito Road (N9101) Project Area to ancestral and modern Hopi villages. Courtesy the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office.

Hopi Footprints in the Jeddito Valley

The Hopi believe that the inhabitants of these sites were Hisatsinom (ancestral Hopi). Research identified 21 clans that settled in or migrated through the Jeddito Valley and Antelope Mesa. These clans are affiliated with the Hopi, Tewa, Zuni, Laguna, and Hano

Toneta Hamilton points out migration design elements during Hopi Artifact Study, September 1997. Photo by T. J. Ferguson, courtesy the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office.

peoples, revealing the multi-ethnic character of ancient migrations. One Hopi cultural advisor pointed out that Awatovi was the main village occupied in the Jeddito area. He suggested that clans occupied smaller, temporary settlements in the Jeddito Valley, waiting for permission to join the Awatovi community or other large villages on Antelope Mesa. Eventually the Hisatsinom migrated to the villages still occupied on the Hopi Mesas.

Hopi cultural advisors commented on many aspects of the archeological record. For example, the manos and metates at the sites provide good evidence that the people were agriculturists who grew corn. They suggested that a feature identified by archeologists as a storage room was actually a corn grinding facility. The Hopi interpreted the function of a room hearth that incorporated two compartments, explaining that one enclosure would have been used for the fire, while the other would contain coals, serving as a long-lasting heat source useful for keeping food warm. In the floor of another pit structure, Hopi advisors identified four small holes as loom holes, and two holes located behind the deflector as ladder holes underneath the structure's roof entry. Given these features, they concluded this structure was a kiva, or ceremonial structure. They identified another feature as a kiva, based on architectural features including a bench, wall niches, a possible *sipapu*, and possible loom holes. A paint bowl in the artifact assemblage supported their interpretation. Hopi advisors identified another feature as an outdoor oven.

Hopi potters discussed the similarities in technological style between ancient and contemporary Hopi ceramics, and firing techniques in relation to the clay deposits in the Jeddito Valley. Hopi and Tewa potters can still "read" the designs on ancient pottery from the Jeddito Valley. For example, Tonita Hamilton, a Hopi-Tewa potter, pointed out the migration design on a black-on-white jar.

The Hopi cultural advisors expressed concern about the way that archeologists use the concept of "abandonment." They explained that archeological usage makes it seem as though entire peoples ceased to exist, and also implies that they have relinquished a claim to an area when they move. However, the Hopi still claim the Jeddito Valley as part of their ancestral homeland, and recognize it as an area where their

ancestors are buried. In this sense, they have never abandoned the area.

The Hopi advisors made it clear that contemporary archeological research in the Southwest cannot be divorced from social, political, and moral issues. Hopi articulation of these issues clearly situates archeological research within an administrative and intellectual context that has significant impacts on the living descendants of the people that occupied the excavated sites.

Diné (Navajo) Research in the Jeddito Valley

The Diné refer to the people who lived at these sites as Anaasází—the Diné name for the people who inhabited the land before most Diné clans arrived. The Diné usage is much more general than the archeologists' usage of the word "Anasazi." Diné consultants and published narratives agree that many Diné ceremonial stories and procedures originated at *Anaasází* sites when *Anaasází* were actively using those sites. For example, Tala Hooghan (meaning "flat-top hogan")—the Diné name for the site of Awatovi—is an important place in Diné oral tradition.

Opinions differ on how these stories and ceremonial procedures came to Diné. Some Diné say that certain Diné clans existed in Anasazi times and that other clans left various Pueblos such as Jemez, Hopi, and Zuni to join Diné. Two clans most commonly linked to *Anaasází*s—

ZCRAT (from left, John Bowannie, Smith Cachini, Sr., Octavius Seowtewa, Eldrick Seoutewa, and Loren Panteah) and David Eck, ZCRE, discuss a roasting feature (A'lo:kya) at Site AZ-O-10-35, July 1997. Photo by Roger Anyon, courtesy the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office.

Tchii'nii (meaning "Red Running to Water People") and *Kiiyaa'anii* (meaning "Towering House People")—are large and widespread. These clans include the originators of many Diné ceremonial repertoires and absorbed people from Tala Hooghan.

Diné stories center on Tala Hooghan during the heyday of the large *Anaasází* settlements in Chaco Canyon and Aztec, located about 200 miles east, between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1300. The stories place Tala Hooghan on travel routes to the Pacific Coast and Mexico, and suggest that inhabitants of the sites were involved in the long-distance exchange of ceremonial items. For example, they mention turquoise that came from Chaco and Aztec and was traded via northern Black Mesa to Tala Hooghan. Plants and feathers, and perhaps shells, were obtained from the subtropical southland and traded through Tala Hooghan and Canyon de Chelly, finally arriving in the Chacoan area. While excavations did not reveal evidence of turquoise, subtropical plants, or feathers, archeologists unearthed locally produced beads. Perhaps these were imitations of shell beads that came to Tala Hooghan but failed to trickle into its backwaters to sites such as those that were excavated.

Diné cultural advisors stressed that development projects must avoid *Anaasází* sites and human remains whenever possible. Government agencies should routinely consult Diné ceremonialists and local residents about the protection of *Anaasází* sites, artifacts, and graves, both on and off of Navajo Nation lands. This is because the Diné associate stories and ceremonies with certain archeological sites, and improper contact with *Anaasází* things can bring misfortune on Diné. Similarly, the recording of ceremonies or stories is generally inappropriate because it can cause harm if not controlled by the proper ceremonial setting or season. Finally, the advisors also believe that Diné and neighboring tribes need formal agreements through which to consult each other about sensitive cultural resources and to govern access to sacred places on each other's lands.

Zuni Research in the Jeddito Valley

The Zuni believe that the inhabitants of the sites were A:shiwi (ancestral Zuni). The narratives relating A:shiwi migrations form the basis of the Zuni perspectives about cultural context and culture history. Along their migration, somewhere in the Little Colorado River valley, the A:shiwi split into several groups. One group migrated northward from the Little Colorado River valley, through the general Jeddito Valley area and the Four Corners region, eventually arriving at *Halona:I:tiwana* (meaning "the middle place"), or Zuni Pueblo.

The Zuni cultural advisors also offered interpretations of many aspects of the archeological record, some of which can provide testable hypotheses. The similarity of many features and artifacts to those still used at Zuni today enabled them to readily infer food preparation practices and specific manufacturing activities. For example, the Zuni identified a roasting pit, known as *A'lo:kya* in the Zuni language, that is still used for steaming corn, piñon, and squash. The advisors suggested that a set of artifacts with ground surfaces may have been used as an arrow shaft straightener. They made inferences about minerals and mineral grinding slabs, including the means by which minerals and organic materials are processed into paint, and how paint is prepared to give it bonding qualities. The advisors interpreted a grinding slab with multiple ground areas and differential grinding patterns as a *heshi* (bead) abrader slab. They later demonstrated the *heshi* manufacturing process in the lab. Ceramic designs were also interpreted, such as a series of interlocking half-cloud symbols representing clouds in motion. The advisors regarded other artifacts as religious items used ceremonially or during migrations. These include certain axes and projectile points that may have been parts of altars or shrines, and other items associated with

the northward migrations that are still used by Zuni societies.

The advisors believe that the archeological data show that the A:shiwi both farmed and hunted, and built sites for year-round residence. Worn and broken artifacts suggest that the people left in an orderly way. The Zuni advisors also noted that some religious items were left behind. This recalls the Zuni migration narratives that tell how the A:shiwi traveled with purpose, and did not look or go back once they left a place.

The advisors believe that similar projects in the future have potential benefits, especially if Zuni advisors participate from project inception through conclusion. In this way, the Zuni can conduct research alongside archeologists. Zuni advisors can also ensure that researchers apply culturally appropriate means of conducting investigations at places lived in and used by the A:shiwi.

Conclusion

This study illustrates that, although all of the tribes consider the cultural landscape significant, many details of history differ considerably. Not surprisingly, however, tribal interpretations of some of the artifacts and sites are analogous. In some cases, tribal and archeological explanations are also quite similar. Combining tribal narratives and interpretations with archeological data results in a more intimate rendering of history, and enables us to more easily imagine the vitality of life at these sites. Native American and archeological interpretations of the past are complementary, and when they are taken together, they offer significant information that enriches our understanding of the past.

This case also illustrates that, although involving tribes in data collection and interpretation may result in multiple, and perhaps incompatible, perspectives that confuse the recitation of history, it also offers a vehicle for communication that may result in building a bonded constituency that can collaborate and advocate as a larger force. We now see that tribes are and will continue to be proactive in directed research projects. Finally, although political winds often conspire to drive tribes into adversarial positions—among one another, and within the archeological discipline—it is possible to set aside political and philosophical differences to address a common goal.

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Loren Panteah is a member of the Zuni Tribe. He served on the Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team; and from 1998 to 1996, he was Zuni Tribal Archeologist and Director of the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office.

Klara Kelley has a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of New Mexico and 27 years experience as a practicing anthropologist.

Harris Francis has 13 years of experience as an American Indian cultural rights consultant and a lifetime of experience as an American Indian (Navajo).

The Tribal Historic Preservation Office

Pursuant to Sec. 101(d)(2) of the National Historic Preservation Act, a federally recognized tribe may assume all or any part of the duties of a state historic preservation officer with regard to tribal land.

Tribal land is defined as all lands within the exterior boundaries of the tribe's reservation and any dependent Indian communities. The National Park Service Heritage Preservation Services Program provides guidance and technical assistance to those tribes interested in assuming these duties. For more information, contact Bryan Mitchell at 202-343-9558 or by email at <bryan_mitchell@nps.gov>.

Alan Downer

The Navajo Nation Model

Tribal Consultation Under the National Historic Preservation Act

The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) requires federal agencies to ensure that tribal values are taken into account as part of the nation's preservation program. Both the Act and the implementing regulations for Section 106 of the Act (36 CFR Part 800) require federal officials to consult with tribal governments about federal undertakings that may affect places of concern to a tribe both on and beyond tribal lands. Some federal officials profess concern about the difficulty of identifying and consulting with the appropriate tribal governments in this context. For more than a decade, the Navajo Nation has been consulting with other tribal governments on the potential effects of federal undertakings on Navajo Nation lands. Our experience demonstrates that tribal consultation can be both manageable and meaningful.

Why is the Navajo Nation consulting with other tribes? The Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department (HPD) assumed Bureau of Indian Affairs' (BIA) staff responsibilities for the management of cultural resources on Navajo lands (years before formal recognition as a Tribal Historic Preservation Office [THPO] under section 101(d)(2) of the Act), under an Indian Self-determination and Education Act contract. Thus, for federal undertakings on Navajo Nation lands for which the BIA is the lead agency, HPD conducts the work previously carried out by BIA staff. In this capacity, HPD staff prepare all of the documents and make recommendations to the Navajo Regional Director on all decisions for which she is responsible pursuant to 36 CFR Part 800. (For the purposes of Section 106, the Regional Director makes the decisions for the federal agency based on HPD's recommendations.)

Consultation: Meaning and Operation. From our perspective, which is shared with every tribal official I have ever met, a consultation does not mean notification. Consultation is conferring between two or more parties to identify issues and make a good faith attempt to find a mutually acceptable resolution of any differences identified. It is an interactive process of seeking advice or information, and exchanging views.

In a Section 106 context, federal agencies must address two essential questions:

Which tribes have concerns about a particular undertaking or area?

What are the individual tribe's concerns?

There are two ways to seek answers to these questions. It can be done on an individual project-by-project basis, or it can be accomplished programmatically. Each agency must decide which is the best route to take given their circumstances, but in either case, consultation is not—and should not be—trivial.

Our experience suggests that many consultation efforts are seriously hampered by at least two problems. First, agencies and tribes do not know and understand—and perhaps do not care—what the others' concerns are. Furthermore, neither have staff, or enough staff, devoted to consultation efforts. The latter is particularly problematic for many tribal governments. Each tribe has to deal with multiple agencies, each of which may be seeking an immediate response to a letter notifying them about an undertaking. Agencies often ask tribal governments to provide expert-level opinions, and information about the identification of specific places of concern and the effects the undertaking may have on those places. And agencies typically expect a response before the tribe has set foot in the project area to check things out. Every federal agency claims to be operating on fewer resources than it needs to get the job done. But virtually all tribes are operating on staffing and funding levels that are stretched thinner than any federal official can even imagine.

Agency notification letters are routinely routed to tribal bureaucrats sitting in offices

behind computers. The administrator must seek answers to the questions posed by experts who are usually not employed by the tribal government. For example, the critical Navajo experts are practicing chanters or elders who are conducting their life in a traditional fashion. Other experts may be the elected politicians serving the Navajo people at the community or central government level. We must also consider the views of individuals living in the chapters nearest a proposed project area.

No tribal expert would claim to be expert about everything of concern to the tribe. They often do not have telephones—or necessarily even ready access to them. The tribal administrator must nevertheless identify appropriate experts, seek their opinions, evaluate the responses, and convey the approved tribal response back to the agency.

Similarly, while agencies are generally better funded then tribes, agencies are often faced with contacting and initiating meaningful dialogue with several tribes that may have different concerns, or concerns that directly conflict with one another or other interested parties.

Sometimes tribes do not consider these factors. At other times, tribes are reluctant or unable to take the initiative to become an active player in consultation. Agency staff frequently question whether their letters or telephone messages were received, and why the tribe has not responded. In any case, agencies have to learn that consultation takes time, expertise, and, often, money.

How the Navajo Nation Consults with Interested Parties. After several years of dealing with consultation on a case-by-case, project-by-project basis, HPD decided to develop a programmatic approach to consultation. In 1993, the Navajo Nation compiled a list of tribes with known historic ties to a general area that is now the Navajo Nation, as well as tribes within the region that might have any interest in undertakings on Navajo lands. We were deliberately inclusive, and attempted to cast as wide a net as we reasonably could. The result was that HPD initially contacted 34 neighboring tribes and two inter-tribal organizations. We explained that we anticipated that there would be extensive construction and improvement to new and existing roads throughout the Navajo Nation. HPD's initial contact was by letter. For many tribes, we made repeated attempts to get an initial response by mail. We also followed up with telephone calls and faxes.

All of our communications asked the tribes if they had historic, cultural, traditional, or sacred properties or other interests that lie within the exterior boundaries of the Navajo Nation, and if they would like to be considered an interested party to this huge undertaking. The effort to elicit expressions of interest from other tribes was extensive—probably more extensive than was strictly required by either law or regulation—but this was a prototype effort, and greater rather than lesser effort was warranted. Furthermore, it is the Navajo Nation's view that inclusion and consideration of as many identifiable interests as is reasonable in the consultation process is sound in both principle and practice. Early identification of interests is more likely to lead to a result that takes all of those interests into account and leads to a broadly acceptable resolution.

As project planning proceeds, design alternatives are eliminated, and each advance in planning reduces the amount of flexibility in consideration of alternatives, which increases the likelihood that interests cannot be accommodated later in the development process.

Our efforts to identify and communicate with concerned tribes involved repeatedly posting letters, and following up repeatedly with faxes and phone calls. After about 18 months of effort, we concluded that we had gotten the responses we were going to get—at the time. Five tribes told us that they considered themselves descendants of the Anasazi (the archeologists' name referring to the pre-Columbian people living in the Four Corners region of the United States), and that they were therefore concerned about all Anasazi sites. These tribes asked to be consulted about each undertaking on a project-by-project basis; they would afterward decide how much effort they wanted to expend on an individual project basis. Four tribes informed us that they had concerns about particular areas and asked to be consulted about undertakings occurring within them. All these tribes provided some level of tribal history in support of their desire to be involved, including the fact that they had historically resided in or used areas now within the exterior boundaries of the Navajo Nation, and the fact that they have traditional cultural properties here. The Navajo Nation does not dispute these claims in any way. In fact, Navajo Nation policy is committed to protecting traditional cultural properties of other Native American groups on lands under its jurisdiction.

The history of the project-by-project consultation effort is mixed. Only nine of the 34 tribes initially contacted expressed a desire for any real involvement in Section 106 consultations. Of these nine, only three tribes routinely tell us that they are interested in the cultural resources work related to the undertaking, but they do not want to take an active part. Instead, their main concern relates to NAGPRA issues—the respectful treatment of human remains, and associated funerary objects. Three tribes have been more involved on a variety of projects, including conducting their own assessments of the area of potential effect of certain undertakings and preparing reports of their findings. One of these tribes has occasionally been directly involved in the reinterrment of human remains. The other tribes are rarely involved, because, so far at least, few undertakings have occurred in the area with which they are concerned.

While the efforts taken up front were considerable, the net result is a process that works fairly smoothly today. The tribes with the greatest concerns are involved as they deem appropriate. The process provides for consideration of their interests in project design and development, and accommodates those concerns. It is important to note that the Hopi Tribe is perhaps the most actively involved tribe in this process. The fact that if we are able to accommodate the concerns of the Hopi Tribe—even given the state of high tension the exists between the Navajo Nation and the Hopi Tribes—this demonstrates that consultation is not to be feared. It is also important to note that the Navajo Nation does not view consultation as in any way a derogation of Navajo tribal sovereignty. Although extensive efforts are made to identify and resolve any concerns other tribes may have, ultimately the Navajo Nation makes the decision on how to proceed. All of the tribes involved in this process understand and acknowledge this reality.

Conclusion

The Navajo Nation's experience demonstrates that consultation can be made to work if the agency seeking to consult is committed to the process; if the process will be, especially during start up, time consuming and require intensive efforts; if it provides a workable basis for identifying and resolving conflicts and cultural heritage issues with project development needs; and if it can promote functional, working relationships on heritage issues, even among parties engaged in significant disputes on other fronts or areas.

In addition, our experience clearly demonstrates that not all tribes are interested in everything in their general vicinity. Tribes will exclude themselves unless they have real, substantive interests or concerns. Casting a wide net in attempts to identify interested tribes does not result in tribes seeking to consult when they have no reasonable basis for interest; and if there are reasonable ways to identify tribes with real concerns, they will be identified and can be consulted to meet both the letter and the spirit of the law.

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U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Cultural Resources (Suite 350NC)
1849 C Street, NW
Washington, DC 20240

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Cultural Resources
Washington, DC

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G-83