

NAGPRA Consultation and the National Park Service

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An Ethnographic Report On

**Pipe Spring National Monument
Devils Tower National Monument
Tuzigoot National Monument
Montezuma Castle National Monument
Western Archeological and Conservation Center**

Final Report

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) became law on November 16, 1990. NAGPRA addresses the rights of lineal descendants and members of American Indian Tribes and Native Hawaiian groups to certain human remains and cultural items with which they are affiliated.

Congressional intent in passing NAGPRA was to initiate a dialogue between Native Americans and the museums and Federal agencies that possess human remains and artifacts originating with these people (101st Congress Senate Report 2d Session 101-473). NAGPRA places strong emphasis on the recognition of the sovereignty of Indian tribes and the authority of tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations to define the significance of items within their cultures. The concepts of cultural affiliation, sacred objects, funerary objects, and objects of cultural patrimony defined by the law will be applied to objects in collections through a collaborative effort between tribes or Native Hawaiian organizations, museums, and Federal agencies. While the interaction and consultation between native groups and museums or agencies must proceed on a case-by-case basis since the types of objects that fit in these categories differ from one group to another (West 1993), the process by which NAGPRA will be carried out is outlined in the legislation and the regulations that accompany the law. The process is necessarily cooperative; neither group can proceed without the other.

NAGPRA redefines in a fundamental manner the relationship between federally funded museums, Federal agencies, and native groups. It marks "the beginning, not the end, of a dialogue between museums and native groups about the treatment, care, and repose of ethnographic and archaeological collections" (Haas 1991: 46).¹ The legislation follows decades of extreme concern about the treatment of Native American burial sites. The

¹ "The passage of...[NAGPRA] brings to an end one phase in the relationship between Indians and museums and brings another during which relationships will undergo many additional changes" (Thompson 1991: 36).

intent of Congress in passing NAGPRA was to change past practices:

The purpose of [the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, in part,] is to protect Native American burial sites and the removal of human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, objects of cultural patrimony on Federal, Indian and Native Hawaiian lands. The Act also sets up a process by which Federal agencies and museums receiving Federal funds will inventory holdings of such remains and objects and work with appropriate Indian tribes and native Hawaiian organizations to reach agreement on repatriation or other disposition of these remains and objects (H.R. Report No. 5237, 101 Congress, 2d Session 14, 1990).

Some museums, such as the Field Museum of Natural History, the Denver Museum of Natural History, the Florida Museum of Natural History, the Bishop Museum, the Colorado Historical Society, the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, the Museum of New Mexico, and the Illinois State Museum, did not wait to be forced by legislation to change their collection policies. Prior to NAGPRA these museums had adopted policies with regard to repatriation requests. In addition to responding to such requests, these museums were hoping to develop better relationships with native groups (Boyd and Haas 1992: 253).

At a two-day conference on NAGPRA sponsored by the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in August 1993, several issues of concern for Native Americans, museums, and Federal agencies were raised. Among these was identifying cultural affiliation. The summaries of NAGPRA-related objects were constructed by museum and agency staff members with different amounts of experience and knowledge about the culture of native groups. The constructs of cultural affiliation, sacredness, and cultural patrimony can only be used accurately in consultation with native groups when the discussion centers on specific objects. In some native groups, however, the divulging of religious information is a violation of strongly held cultural and religious beliefs. One social scientist at the NMAI conference maintained that tribal authorities must be protected from having to violate their religious and cultural traditions to accomplish the function of identification of cultural affiliation (Basso 1993). The lack of a provision in NAGPRA that information provided in the consultation processes between Native Americans and museums or Federal agencies must be kept confidential was of concern to the NAGPRA Review Committee and was addressed in their September 1993 meeting (McKeown, personal communication). The final NAGPRA regulations will include language that will allow museum officials and Federal agencies to take such steps as necessary to ensure that information provided to them by

the representatives of native groups will be kept confidential, pursuant to other Federal legislation.

Tribal authorities face a formidable task in confirming cultural affinity for objects in collections. American Indian and Native Hawaiian items currently held by museums and Federal agencies may be hundreds or thousands of years old. They originated in areas that may be geographically distant from where tribal groups now live and to which tribal groups may no longer even have access. Tribal groups may not know where their items are or the history by which the items came to be in the possession of a museum or Federal agency. Items originally taken from a single geographic location are frequently held in many places. Tribes may be required to consult with many facilities about the proper mode of exhibition and treatment of those items. When collections contain items of different types, such as human remains and sacred objects, tribal groups may have multiple consultations at a single facility. In such cases, different elders, spiritual leaders, or officials may be needed to identify the items or conduct specific ceremonies. Realistically speaking, most tribal groups will not have the infrastructure to adequately work with all the many museums and Federal agencies that possess their human remains and materials. This will necessarily lengthen the time required for the NPS to complete consultation, and require NPS personnel to expend a correspondingly greater amount of effort on the process.

Museums and Federal agencies also face particular challenges in carrying out the requirements of NAGPRA. They must provide evidence concerning the cultural affiliation and significance of items in their collections. A specific process of determining cultural affiliation is needed, especially since the potential for error in determining cultural affiliation and significance is greater if collections are handled on a piecemeal basis. The key to assuring the greatest degree of accuracy possible depends on museums and Federal agencies establishing consultation relationships with native groups. Information they gather in the NAGPRA process can also benefit the scientific integrity of their collections. Yet, they may not have the resources to meet the requests of the native groups culturally affiliated with their collections.

To meet some of the financial needs in implementing the requirements of NAGPRA, a grants program for tribal groups, museums, and Federal agencies has been approved by Congress, but a huge gap exists between the costs of implementation of NAGPRA and the funds available. The Association of American Museums has estimated that the cost of repatriation for museums will be \$30-\$50 million over five years. The line-item appropriation for the NAGPRA grants program in the administration's 1994 budget request was \$2.75 million.

Because of the lack of resources, the mechanism by which tribes are notified of culturally affiliated materials threatens to overwhelm them and compromise the intent of the NAGPRA process. Large or culturally prominent American Indian tribes will receive hundreds of NAGPRA consultation requests. For example, the National Park Service's Archeological Assistance Division estimates that the Hopi Tribe will receive over 2,000 such consultation requests. Smaller tribes are also receiving hundreds of consultation requests, and these tribes do not have the people or financial resources that larger tribes have. For example, Acoma Pueblo has received over 300 NAGPRA consultation requests. The lack of financial resources limits Acoma Pueblo to just one part-time person to coordinate these requests. The lack of financial resources for both tribes and the NPS will obviously slow down the NAGPRA process.

NAGPRA provides a basic implementation framework and establishes deadlines by which museums and agencies must complete specific mandated tasks. One key deadline was November 16, 1993. By that date summaries of collections that may contain objects of cultural patrimony, sacred objects, or unassociated funerary objects were to be completed by museums that receive federal funding and all Federal agencies that have cultural resource collections. According to the "Interim Guidance on Writing a Scope of Collection Statement" issued by the Department of the Interior in July 1992, these summaries were to include an estimate of the number of objects in a collection or portion of the collection, description of those objects, and information relevant to identifying lineal descendants and cultural affiliation. Inventories of collections of human remains and funerary objects associated with human remains must be completed by November 16, 1995. These must include descriptions of human remains and associated funerary objects and must establish the cultural affiliation between these objects and present-day American Indian Tribes and Native Hawaiian groups where possible. Upon request of a native group, a museum or Federal agency shall supply additional available documentation to include:

[A] summary of existing museum or Federal agency records, including inventories or catalogues, relevant studies, or other pertinent data for the limited purpose of determining the geographical origin, cultural affiliation, and basic facts surrounding acquisition and accession of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects subject to this section (25 U.S.C.A. § 30003(b)(2)).

In the event a claim made by a native group for items included under NAGPRA leads to litigation, these summaries can be admitted as evidence (Federal Rules of Evidence 801(d)(2)).

Collection summaries from all federally funded museums and Federal agencies were to be submitted to the NAGPRA program office of the Archeological Assistance Division of the NPS prior to November 16, 1993. The NAGPRA program office received collection summaries from over 600 institutions (McKeown, personal communication, 1994). In the case of the NPS itself, the agency's summary was compiled and mailed to 759 federally recognized American Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations. NAGPRA requires that museums and Federal agencies begin consultation with culturally affiliated native groups concerning their collections by the time the summaries are completed (25 U.S.C.A. § 3004(b)(1)(B)). Because some of the collection summaries have proved to be incomplete or in error, some tribes are now requesting complete inventories of collections held by the NPS.

On May 28, 1993, the Department of the Interior published proposed regulations for implementing NAGPRA. Though NAGPRA originally mandated the publication of the regulations within one year of the passage of the Act, the National Park Service received neither authorization nor funding for the production of the regulations until after that date. A change of administration led to two freezes on the publication of any Federal regulations, and review by both the Bush and Clinton administrations contributed to the delay. The final regulations are expected in the summer of 1994.

The NAGPRA Milieu

Prior to the passage of NAGPRA, archaeologists, collection professionals, and Native Americans carried out an extensive discussion of the issue of repatriation of human remains and associated funerary objects as evidenced in the published literature (e.g. Bahn 1989; Blair 1979; Del Bene 1990; Deloria 1989; Echo-Hawk 1986; Enriquez 1986; Goldstein and Kintigh 1990; Meighan 1984, 1986, 1990; Neiburger 1990; Preston 1989; Swisher 1989a, 1989b; Tonetti 1990; Zimmerman 1981, 1985, 1989). A broad range of viewpoints were espoused, along with some noticeable actions being taken by a few museums across the country. This pre-NAGPRA discussion can be grouped into three categories: the archaeology/science view, the Native American view, and the legal view. Most of the discussion occurred in the first two categories, with proponents of each using a legal perspective or argument when it best served their purposes. Even within these views, there are differences of opinion concerning the "right thing to do" with human remains and funerary objects stored in museums.

Among archaeologists, one viewpoint was that, given the lack of detailed social information about prehistoric populations, museum

curation of human remains might be the most respectful way of treating the remains (Brace 1988). Another view was that scientific study of human remains and objects is the highest form of respect (Hanson 1989; Meighan 1984, 1986). These views are not shared by all archaeologists, however. Some have written that they have no right to dig up burials of any kind, under any circumstances (Klesert and Powell 1993).

The pre-NAGPRA museum curator perspective was often embodied within the archaeology/science view. Here again, there were considerable differences of opinion, with some museum curators actively working with native groups on repatriation issues (Horse Capture 1991). Others, however, took a much more defensive stance, claiming that native groups would receive entire museum collections, leading to "destruction [of] irreplaceable museum materials" (Meighan 1992a:45).

The Native American view of the repatriation debate was often completely opposite that of the archaeologists and curation professionals. The Native American view revolved around charges of racism and selective "grave robbing" (Deloria 1989; Echo-Hawk and Echo-Hawk 1991:68). Denial of religious freedom because of an inability to access sacred objects held in collections was also an often-used point in the native groups' discussions of repatriation. Susan Harjo stated that even the negotiations surrounding the NAGPRA legislation were polarized:

In these negotiations, those of us on the Indian side had an image of the non-Indians not wanting us to have some of the most important things in our history and religions. And the image on the other side was no doubt us going up and down museum hallways with shopping carts (cited in Hawkins 1991:41).

While all native groups agree that repatriation of human remains, funerary and sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony is a worthwhile endeavor, there are diverse views on how repatriation should be accomplished. Individuals who view repatriation as a detrimental endeavor have devoted considerable space in the literature to the issue. There is no universal approach to the repatriation of native human remains. Tribal groups differ in their reverence for the dead. The Mojave, for example, "consider treatment of postcremation remains to be of little significance" (Price 1991:2). Other native groups view archaeology as desecration and ceremonial disposition as the only option (Bowman 1989: 149; Meighan 1984:210-211; Ubelaker and Grant 1989:254).

With the passage of NAGPRA in June 1990, all of the arguments for and against repatriation became essentially moot (Thompson 1991:37). The legislation states that repatriation of human remains and associated

funerary objects will happen if native groups affiliated with these remains ask for them. Repatriation of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony will also happen if affiliated groups ask for them and can show that the museum or Federal agency has no "right of possession." There has been considerable discussion in the literature of how this process will be carried out (e.g. Boyd 1991; Byrne 1993; Deloria 1992; Dobkins 1992; Gulliford 1992a, 1992b; Haldane 1992; Monroe 1993; Monroe and Echo-Hawk 1991; Pinkerton 1992; Raines 1992; Roth 1991; Suagee and Funk 1993; Tivy 1993; Welsh 1992). The result of this discussion is the conclusion that the definitions contained in NAGPRA are relatively broad because the objects themselves will take a variety of forms. Despite the extreme views of some writers (Meighan 1992a, 1992b), most collection professionals appear to be working positively to implement NAGPRA.

Definitions

Associated and Unassociated Funerary Objects

According to the legislation, associated funerary objects are:

...objects that, as part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, are reasonably believed to have been placed with individual human remains either at the time of death or later, and both the human remains and associated funerary objects are presently in the possession or control of a Federal agency or museum, except that other items exclusively made for burial purposes or to contain human remains shall be considered as associated funerary objects (25 U.S.C. 3001(3)(A)).

Unassociated funerary objects are:

...objects that, as a part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, are reasonably believed to have been placed with individual human remains either at the time of death or later, where the remains are not in the possession or control of the Federal agency or museum and the objects can be identified by a preponderance of the evidence as related to specific individuals or families or to known human remains or, by a preponderance of the evidence, as having been removed from a specific burial site of an individual culturally affiliated with a particular Indian tribe (25 U.S.C. 3001(3)(B)).

The identification of associated funerary objects is quite simple. If the museum or Federal agency still has the body from the burial, then the cultural items that came from that burial are "associated funerary objects." Unassociated funerary objects are those that came from a burial, but for some reason the museum or Federal agency no longer has possession of the body. In addition, however, "unassociated" refers to "objects that, as part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, are reasonably believed to have been placed with individual human remains either at the time of death or later" (25 U.S.C.A. § 3001(A)(B)). This means that if a collection contains, for example, several ceremonial points of a type only found in burials, but there is no information as to whether they came from a burial, these items should be classified as potential unassociated funerary objects until consultation occurs with the culturally affiliated native groups.

Congress did not attach specific definitions to the concept of "preponderance of the evidence." Neither does the draft regulations released in May, 1993. Since "preponderance of evidence" especially is being used to limit what objects will be discussed with American Indian tribes, we offer the following discussion for consideration by the NPS.

The simplest definition of "preponderance of evidence" is one that means the "majority" of the evidence. For this simplest definition to work, some kind of evidence is needed. It is reasonable to assume that the types of evidence Congress said could be used to establish cultural affiliation could also be used to define objects fitting into the NAGPRA categories.

The types of evidence...may include, but are not limited to, geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, anthropological, linguistic, oral tradition, or historical evidence or other relevant information or expert opinion (101st Congress Senate Report, 2d Session 101-473:9).

There must, however, be evidence to bring to bear on the problem. For example, if an archaeology report definitively states that an object came from beneath a house floor in a food cache, then it is not a funerary object. Archaeological information about the types of objects found in mortuary contexts can also provide evidence. However, if there is no data on where the object came from, then you cannot automatically rule out that it is a funerary object because there is no evidence to the contrary. If tribal elders state that the object came from a burial, and there is no evidence to the contrary, then the "preponderance" or "majority" of the evidence is that the object came from a burial.

The lack of documentation about an object means there is nothing known about the object, therefore there is no evidence. It follows then that the lack of documentation about an object cannot be used to establish a preponderance of the evidence. If nothing is known about the item (i.e.

where it came from, when, by whom, etc.) then the NPS has two choices: information about uncataloged material can be acquired and studies can be conducted to build up evidence about the object, thereby helping define whether it should be included as part of NAGPRA consultation, or the object can be included in the consultation and the Indian people or Native Hawaiians can offer oral tradition and cultural expert opinion to the discussion. Decisions about the most appropriate approach will take into account the availability of time, personnel and financial resources.

Naturally, if complete documentation is available for an object, the question of preponderance of evidence will never come up. Some museums, notably the Wheelwright Museum in Santa Fe, have actively pursued such documentation. The NPS, however, is not as fortunate, due to severe budgetary and staff constraints in the curation divisions. As of FY93, 59% of the collections held by parks were uncataloged, which means there is no readily attainable documentation on what the objects are, where they came from, when, by whom, etc.

There is nothing in the legislation, the draft regulations, or Congress' intent regarding the law that ranks experts nor says some kinds of evidence are more valuable than others. Therefore, if an archaeologist says a pot appears to be of Anasazi origin, and tribal elders say it definitely was made by their ancestors, the archaeologist's statement does not count for more than the tribal elders' statement.

Some archaeologists subscribe to the view that if a funerary object is separated, for whatever reason, from the human remains it was buried with, it then ceases to be a funerary object and is transformed into a mere material cultural remnant:

Certainly the non-associated materials were once associated with the individuals or sites but, they are no longer. They have been changed to being material cultural remnants rather than personal attentions. This is unfortunate and often the result of pot-hunting and other illegal or unethical practices—usually by private citizens. However, it is a reality and, it is also reality that these objects (vast in number) constitute much of what is known of many cultures (Thompson 1990).

Many archaeological collections were made at a time of lax or non-standard record keeping. The result today is that museums and Federal agencies will have difficulty identifying funerary objects in the absence of data pointing to human remains. Consultation with native groups becomes extremely important in these instances (Boyd and Haas 1992: 265). Since NAGPRA affects living people and current cultural practices, professionals who have experience studying and analyzing living cultures are the best qualified to lead NAGPRA research teams.

Sacred Objects

NAGPRA stipulates that the term “sacred objects:”

...shall mean specific ceremonial objects which are needed by traditional Native American religious leaders for the practice of traditional Native American religions by their present day adherents (25 U.S.C. 3001(3)(C))

While it has been argued that since there are present-day practitioners of native religions, then they must already have those objects they need (Merryman 1988), Congressional intent regarding renewal was made clear:

It is the intent of the Committee to permit traditional Native American religious leaders to obtain such objects as are needed for the renewal of ceremonies that are part of their religions (H.R. Rep. No. 877, 101st Congress, 2d Session 14, 1990).

Archaeologists and curators working for museums and Federal agencies are broadly interpreting the definition of “need.” In the broadest sense, sacred objects are those that native people have used in some ceremonial activity. In the narrowest sense, the definition of sacred objects is being applied only to those objects that are absolutely essential to the continued practice of the ceremony (Boyd and Haas 1992: 265). Some archaeologists have also questioned whether native groups need every item of a category (all crystals, every eagle feather, etc.), or if they need only one item from a set of items (one crystal from a set of twelve for example) to conduct a ceremony (Balsom, personal communication, 1993).

Just as with funerary objects, however, museums and Federal agencies may not be able to identify sacred objects unless they have practitioners of the native religious ceremonies on their staffs. Therefore, consultation with current practitioners of the ceremonies is essential to achieving accurate definitions of the sacred objects and categorizing potential sacred objects contained in the collections. This was recognized by Congress during the testimony regarding passage of NAGPRA:

Members of the scientific community express concern that if Native Americans are allowed to define terms such as ‘sacred object,’ the definition may be so broad as to arguably include any Native American object. In an effort to respond to this concern, the Committee has carefully considered the issue of defining objects within the context of who may be in the best position to have full access to information regarding whether an object is sacred to a particular tribe or Native Hawaiian group. Many tribes have advanced the position that only those who practice a religion or whose tradition it is to engage in a

religious practice can define what is sacred to that religion or religious practice. Some have observed that any definition of a sacred object necessarily lacks the precision that might otherwise characterize legislative definitions, given that the definition of sacred objects will vary according to the tribe or religious practice engaged in by the tribe, and pointing to the difficulty that would arise if one were charged with defining objects that are central to the practice of certain religions, such as defining the Bible or the Koran. (101st Congress Senate Report, 2d Session 101-473:6-7)

Many Native American objects have multiple uses. This is obviously the case with funerary objects, since it is rare to find objects made solely for burial purposes. Instead people were buried with their important pots, jewelry, weapons, etc. This aspect of multifunctionalism of objects holds for sacred objects as well. It is possible that an object used during a religious ceremony might also have a secular function. While Congress clearly intended that sacred objects must have been used in a religious ceremony and have current religious significance (101st Congress Senate Report, 2d Session 101-473:7), they also recognized that "...an object such as an altar candle may have a secular function and still be employed in a religious ceremony" (101st Congress Senate Report, 2d Session 101-473:7). This means that an object used in religious ceremonies cannot be automatically excluded from the NAGPRA process just because the object was capable of having other secular functions. When complete documentation is available for an object, evidence such as acquisition information and archaeological context data will assist practitioners of native religious ceremonies provide accurate assessments of sacred objects.

Objects of Cultural Patrimony

Objects of cultural patrimony have been defined in NAGPRA as:

...an object having ongoing historical, traditional, or cultural importance central to the Native American group or culture itself, rather than property owned by an individual Native American, and which, therefore, cannot be alienated, appropriated, or conveyed by any individual regardless of whether or not the individual is a member of the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and such object shall have been considered inalienable by such Native American group at the time the object was separated from such group (25 U.S.C. 3001(3)(D)).

This definition makes it necessary to consult with native groups who have a possible cultural affiliation with the items suspected of being objects of cultural patrimony (Boyd and Haas 1992: 266). The best-known

examples of repatriation of native objects have been ones defined as objects of cultural patrimony, such as the Zuni War Gods (Merrill, Ladd, and Ferguson 1993). The War Gods stored at the Smithsonian prior to their repatriation to the Zuni Tribe were acquired by Frank Cushing and Matilda Cox Stevenson during their extensive work for the Smithsonian at Zuni. The Zuni have defined all the instances of losing War Gods as theft. While the Smithsonian catalog records do not provide much detail on how the Smithsonian (or Cushing and Stevenson) acquired these sacred objects (Merrill, Ladd, and Ferguson 1993: 540), Stevenson provides a written account of a technique used at Zia Pueblo in New Mexico that gives us a glimpse at how objects of cultural patrimony were acquired during a period of American history when museums competed with each other to acquire objects for their collections (Monroe 1993:29):

When Mr. Stevenson discovered that the Sia held ceremonials with snakes he induced the vicar of the snake society to conduct him to the locality for that special rite. Leaving Sia in the early morning a ride of 6 miles over sand dunes and around bluffs brought the party, including the writer, to the structure known as the snake house, hid away among chaotic hills. Every precaution had been observed to maintain secrecy. The house is a rectangular structure of logs (the latter must have been carried many a mile) and some 8 by 12 feet, having a rude fireplace; and there are two niches at the base of the north wall near the west end in which the two vases stand during the indoor ceremonial. Though this house presented to the visitors a forlorn appearance, it is converted into quite a bower at the time of a ceremonial, when the roof is covered and fringed with spruce boughs and sunflowers and the interior wall is whitened. Some diplomacy was required to persuade the vicar to guide Mr. Stevenson to the cave in which the vases are kept when not in use. A ride half a mile farther into chaos and the party dismounted and descended a steep declivity, when the guide asked Mr. Stevenson's assistance in removing a stone slab which rested so naturally on the hillside that it had every appearance of having been placed there by other than human agency. The removal of the slab exposed two vases side by side in a shallow cave. A small channel or flume had been ingeniously made from the hilltop that the waters from *ti'nia* might collect in the vases. These vases belong to the superior type of ancient pottery, and they are decorated in snakes and cougars upon a ground of creamy tint. Mr. Stevenson was not quite satisfied with simply seeing the vases, and determined if possible to possess one or both; but in answer to his request the vicar replied: "These cannot be parted with, they are so

old that no one can tell when the Sia first had them; they were made by our people of long ago; and the snakes would be very angry if the Sia parted with these vases." Whenever opportunity afforded, Mr. Stevenson expressed his desire for one of them; and finally a council was held by the ti'āmoni and ho'naaites of the cult societies, when the matter was warmly discussed, the vicar of the Snake society insisting that the gift should be made, but the superstition on the part of the others was too great to be overcome. Mr. Stevenson was waited upon by the members of the council; the ho'naaite of the Snake society addressing him: "You have come to us a friend; we have learned to regard you as our brother, and we wish to do all we can for you; we are sorry we cannot give you one of the vases; we talked about letting you have one, but we concluded it would not do; it would excite the anger of the snakes, and perhaps all of our women and little ones would be bitten and die; you will not be angry, for our hearts are yours."

The night previous to the departure of the party from Sia the vicar of the Snake Society made several visits to the camp, but finding other Indians present he did not tarry. At midnight when the last Indian guest had left the camp he again appeared and hurriedly said, "I will come again," and an hour later he returned. "Now," said he, "closely fasten the tent, and one of you listen attentively all the while and tell me when you hear the first footstep;" and he then took from the sack one of the vases, he being in the meanwhile much excited and also distressed. He would not allow a close examination to be made of the vase, but urged the packing of it at once; he deposited a plume offering in the vase, and sprinkled meal upon it and prayed while tears moistened his cheeks. The vase was brought to Washington and deposited in the National Museum (Stevenson 1894: 8991).

It is unclear why the vicar chose to part with the sacred vase in light of the tribal council's opposition to the action and the sadness it evoked in him. What is clear, however, is that the social memories of Puebloan peoples keenly recall the pain of revealing sacred secrets and losing religious objects. Suina (1992) discusses the negative consequences Pueblo people experienced when first the Spanish and then the American governments attempted to control Pueblo people by regulating their religion. Suina reiterates that these fears have not vanished even in the current political climate of Indian self-determination.

Virtually all museum and Federal agency collections held in the country contain items acquired from present-day tribes during the historic

period of the last 100 years. While some holders of such collections have chosen to reveal their contents to native groups even when these collections number in the thousands of objects (Erickson 1993), others have not yet divulged their collection contents.

Cultural Affiliation

NAGPRA defines cultural affiliation as:

...a relationship of shared group identity which can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group (25 U.S.C. 3001(2)).

Cultural affiliation determinations are necessary steps before a museum or Federal agency can begin the required consultation with native groups. While NAGPRA does not specify the degree of investigation museums and Federal agencies must conduct to establish cultural affiliation, nor does NAGPRA require them to conduct specific cultural affiliation studies, it may very well take substantial effort to establish which groups are culturally affiliated with objects in the collection (Boyd 1991: 429). To date, most museums and Federal agencies are trying to satisfy the requirement of establishing cultural affiliation by relying on the catalog and accession records of the collection. These records are rarely the best, however, being described as "cryptic, inaccurate, and misguided" (Boyd and Haas 1992: 267).

Cultural affiliation is a key component of NAGPRA, without which consultation with native groups is impossible. It is important that personnel making cultural affiliation identifications seek out the expertise of Native American people and not rely solely on the catalog records.

Right of Possession

The right of a museum or Federal agency to have in its possession an unassociated funerary object, sacred object, or object of cultural patrimony will in many cases help delineate the options available to the collection holder and the native groups. NAGPRA defines the right of possession as:

...possession obtained with the voluntary consent of an individual or group that had authority of alienation. The original acquisition of a Native American unassociated funerary object, sacred object or object of cultural patrimony from an Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization with the voluntary consent of an individual or group with authority to alienate such object is deemed to give right of possession of that object, unless the phrase so defined would, as applied in section 7(c), result in a Fifth Amendment taking by the United

States as determined by the United States Claims Court pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 1491 in which event the "right of possession" shall be as provided under otherwise applicable property law. The original acquisition of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects which were excavated, exhumed, or otherwise obtained with full knowledge and consent of the next of kin or the official governing body of the appropriate culturally affiliated Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization is deemed to give right of possession to those remains (25 U.S.C. 3001(13)).

The key point in this definition is the voluntary consent of someone who had "authority of alienation." The term "authority of alienation" means that an individual had the right to sell or give away an object to another party. Whether the person or group had authority of alienation is to be determined using the cultural rules of the native group at the time of alienation of the object. Therefore, if an object is acquired from a native group in 1890, then the group's rules of ownership of 1890 will be used to determine the question of alienation authority.

The question of right of possession (sometimes called "legal title") will not be asked unless a native group makes a repatriation request. To make such a request, the native group must demonstrate a "burden of proof" of cultural affiliation. This is done by the native group first confirming that they are culturally affiliated with the object, and confirming that the object fits into one of the NAGPRA categories of sacred object, object of cultural patrimony, or unassociated funerary object according to their culture.

If a native group shows this burden of proof, and the museum or Federal agency wants to keep the object instead of repatriating it, then the museum or Federal agency has to show a burden of proof that they have right of possession. This proof must consist of an unbroken chain of possession, ultimately leading back to an individual or group that had authority of alienation for the object. The reality for museums is that very few objects will be able to meet this right-of-possession burden-of-proof requirement due to the lack of complete collection records.

Federal agencies cannot use the "right of possession" or "legal title" argument to release them from the requirement to go through a NAGPRA process on their collections. Federal agencies can own objects, but they still have to notify native groups that they have them, and they still have to make a NAGPRA-related determination concerning their ultimate disposition based on cultural affiliation and the NAGPRA definitions of the types of objects covered by the legislation. In addition, possession of a Federal permit to conduct excavation work on Federal land cannot be used to release archaeologists, museums, or Federal agencies from NAGPRA requirements concerning the collections.

Summaries and Inventories

Inventories of human remains and associated funerary objects, and summaries of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony are to be completed by each museum and Federal agency as part of the process of implementing NAGPRA. As is clear from the legislation and the above discussion, these inventories and summaries will benefit by the occurrence of some dialogue between the museum or Federal agency and native groups believed to be culturally affiliated with the collection. A dilemma often occurs for the museum or Federal agency preparing these summaries and inventories. Does the museum or agency choose items from its collections it thinks fit NAGPRA definitions and then consult with the native groups only about those items? Or, instead, does the museum or agency identify the categories of items it thinks might contain objects that fit NAGPRA definitions, present these categories (with examples of objects that help define the category) to the native groups, and then allow the native groups access to the rest of the collection to see if there are other categories or objects that should be included in the consultation process?

The consultation process is actually being done both ways, since NAGPRA does not specify the details of how the inventories and summaries are to be compiled. Some museums, such as the Arizona State Museum in Tucson, are listing every object in their collection, and then presenting the entire list to native groups so that the native experts can help them define which objects should be considered under NAGPRA (Erickson 1993). Some curators feel that museum or agency staff should define what is a funerary object, sacred object, or object of cultural patrimony, and then those items will be presented to native groups.

Given the difficulty museums or Federal agencies are having in deciding if some objects are unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony without the help of native people, it would seem that the latter approach (of staff defining and limiting what native groups can see) would prove to be somewhat inaccurate. It also could serve as a mechanism for museums and Federal agencies to keep certain items out of the "public," i.e. native, view.

A preferable process would appear then for the museum or Federal agency to put together its "best guess" concerning the objects in its collections, and then call upon the native groups for help in refining the list, giving the native groups access to the entire collection to help in their determination. An alternative approach would be that of the Arizona State Museum where the entire collection is included in the consultation process from the very beginning. This latter approach puts an enormous burden on the tribes to assess thousands or millions of objects, but eliminates the

necessity of the archaeologists and curators of making an initial decision on those thousands or millions of items. Either approach will help engender good relationships between the holder of the collection and culturally affiliated groups. It will also have the by-product of adding to the science behind the descriptions and classifications of the objects in the collection. By adding the knowledge of the people whose ancestors (or in the case of some "ethnographic" collections, immediate relatives) made the objects, the archaeologists and curators in charge of maintaining the collections will have a more complete and accurate description of their holdings than they have now.

The NPS park system's initial response to the summary requirement of NAGPRA was to issue the "Interim Guidance on Writing a Scope of Collection Statement" in July 1992 requiring all NPS units with museum property to include within their Scope of Collection Statements a section entitled "Summary of Unassociated Funerary Objects, Sacred Objects, and Objects of Cultural Patrimony." In that section, NPS units were asked to list the number of objects, object type, geographic location, acquisition type, acquisition information, and cultural affiliation for any objects they identified within those three categories. The Scope of Collection Statements and addenda were to be submitted to the Washington Office of the NPS by November 2, 1992. These statements were sent back to the parks and regions in the summer of 1993 for revisions. Following this review the statements were compiled into the Servicewide Summary of Unassociated Funerary Objects, Sacred Objects, and Objects of Cultural Patrimony. This servicewide summary was mailed to 759 American Indian and Native Hawaiian groups in late November 1993.

Consultation

The draft regulations for the implementation of NAGPRA prepared by the NPS in May 1993 state that museum and Federal agency officials shall consult with lineal descendants when they are known, and officials and traditional religious leaders identified by Indian tribes and Native American organizations from whose tribal or aboriginal lands unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony originated. In addition, officials and traditional religious leaders that are, or are likely to be, culturally affiliated with the objects are also to be consulted.

The regulations regarding consultation cover every NAGPRA related object in the collections, no matter where it originated from or where it is kept today. If a pot is found on land that is owned by a American Indian tribe, but the pot was clearly made by a member of a different tribe, then both tribes will be consulted. Likewise, if a pot is found on tribal land, but that land was aboriginally used by a second tribe, then both tribes will be consulted. If the pot in the latter example was made by a tribe different

than the tribe who owns the land it was found on, or who aboriginally used the land upon which it was found, then all three tribes will be consulted.

Purpose of Study

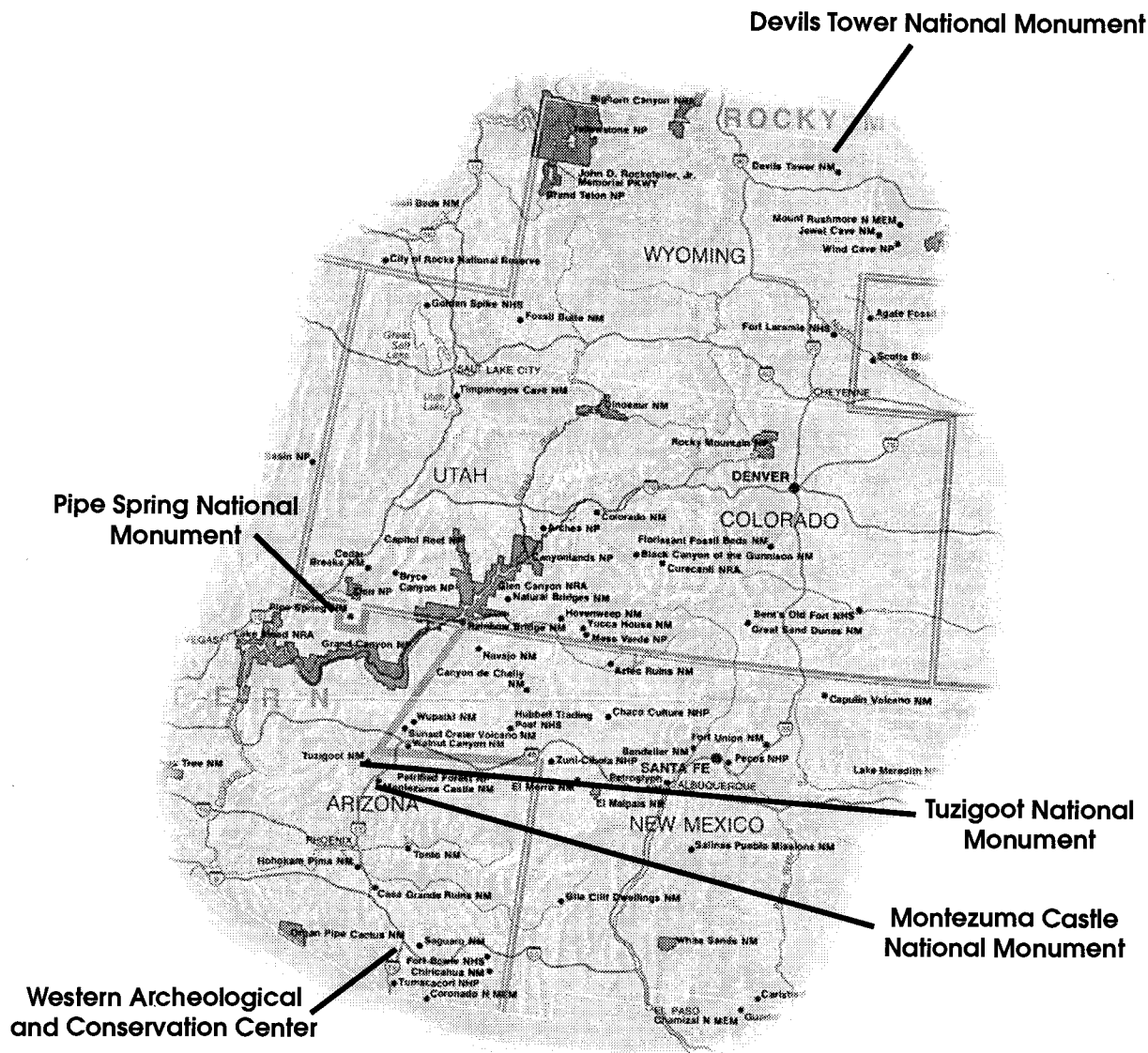
This study is one of the responses by the National Park Service to requirements in NAGPRA. The study was commissioned by the NPS Applied Ethnography Program in Washington, D.C., to identify individuals and tribes affiliated with the objects of cultural patrimony, sacred objects, or unassociated funerary objects at five NPS units, review those unit summaries, assist park or center staff in initiating consultation regarding those objects, and conduct a case demonstration consultation for Pipe Spring National Monument. The project was administered under Cooperative Agreement #8100-1-0001 between the Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service and the University of Arizona. While this study was specific to NAGPRA-related issues, the NPS does stipulate in its Management Policies (1988) that consultation with Native Americans will occur with regard to cultural resource issues. NAGPRA is not the only consultation arena the NPS is currently involved in with Native Americans.

The NPS chose the five units to be included in the study from the Rocky Mountain and Western Regions: Devils Tower National Monument in Wyoming, Pipe Spring National Monument, Tuzigoot National Monument, Montezuma Castle National Monument, and the Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, all in Arizona.

Because this was an ethnographic study, emphasis was placed on the ethnography, ethnohistory, and oral history of American Indian groups to determine the cultural affiliation of the collections. The consultation conducted at Pipe Spring National Monument required the use of ethnographic methods throughout, including group interview techniques. Knowledge of the cultural anthropology and ethnography of the Pipe Spring area was deemed crucial to the success of the consultation, so study team members with extensive experience with the involved Southern Paiute and Hopi tribes were chosen to conduct this consultation.

Components of a NAGPRA Process

During the course of the case demonstration at Pipe Spring National Monument, we have identified four major components in the NAGPRA process: summary lists, cultural affiliation, visitation, and tribal recommendations. This study incorporates these four components throughout.



The Summary Lists

Before any consultation can occur with culturally affiliated native groups, items held in the museum or Federal agency collection should be prepared. NAGPRA specifies that a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony was to have been completed by November 16, 1993. Museums and Federal agencies are now supposed to be conducting their consultations with the identified culturally affiliated tribes concerning the items on the summary list.

Neither NAGPRA nor the draft regulations for its implementation prepared by the NPS specify what "types" of collections, such as "ethnographic," "archaeological," or "historical," should be included in the summary list process. All types of collections may contain objects that are

governed by NAGPRA. To only include "archaeological" collections, for example, artificially eliminates the inclusion of many objects that may fit the definitions of sacred objects or objects of cultural patrimony. An example of the latter are the famous Zuni War Gods returned to the Zuni Tribe from the Smithsonian. The War Gods the Smithsonian held in its collection were acquired from the Zuni by Frank Cushing (Merrill, Ladd, and Ferguson 1993:540) and housed at the Smithsonian as part of its "ethnographic" collection. Including only "archaeological" collections eliminates the possibility that native groups will learn of possibly important sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony. Burials are always classified as "archaeological," even when they are the graves of known individuals, so funerary objects do not suffer from this division of collections into "ethnographic" and "archaeological" categories.

As stated above, the NPS prepared and submitted the summary list for the agency. This servicewide summary contained the minimal information the NPS decided it was able to provide: the number of items, a label for the items (such as basket, pot, flakes, etc.), where and how the items came to be in the collection (gift, loan, purchase, excavation), the date of acquisition, and the culturally affiliated tribe or tribes. At some locations, NPS personnel also attempted to identify archaeological and ethnohistorical information related to the items. NAGPRA does not clearly define the depth of information that should be on these summaries. However, the legislation does require the museum or Federal agency to provide as much information as it has upon the request of a native group. In some instances, there may not be any additional information; in others, there is quite a lot of additional information regarding the items included on the summary lists.

During the course of this study we discovered that the level of understanding on how to compile the summary list varied greatly at the parks. The staff assigned to this task also varied considerably in their knowledge and experience with both the collections and the cultural anthropology of Native Americans. We found what some NPS curators have known for some time: knowledge and experience with collections at each park changes as fast as park personnel changes, and there is little or no training available in collections and archives management because of the lack of funding (Wilson 1994:1). The majority of park curators are collateral duty staff with only minimal training in curatorial methods. In FY93, 60% of the collections held at parks were managed by staff that did not meet OPM standards for independent management of collections. Despite these inherent limitations, NPS unit staff at the five units included in this project appear to have given their best efforts to the task of creating the summaries.

Because of the time limitations imposed on the process, the initial drafts of the summary lists for the NPS units varied considerably in their accuracy and completeness. The item descriptions on the summary lists sometimes did not tell us what objects actually were (“one pot” turned out upon examination to be a “cremation urn” for example), and photographs were not readily available, if at all. In order for the study team to determine the cultural affiliation of the collections held at the five study units, we deemed it necessary to see the items. We therefore decided at the outset to make a short visit to each of the study units to view and photograph the items included on each unit’s summary list, and to examine the records of the unit to help determine the cultural affiliation of items in the collection.

For consultations to proceed smoothly, the summary lists must be as accurate, full, and up-to-date as possible. When we arrived at each NPS unit to view and photograph the summary list items, we were in many respects proceeding in a manner similar to a group of tribal representatives coming in to view items the unit defined as NAGPRA related. In our judgement as professional ethnographers, we felt that the questions we asked at each NPS unit in trying to establish cultural affiliation, such as “Where did the item come from?” and “What was the context in which it was found?” would be similar to questions that would be asked by native groups. We immediately ran into difficulties. None of the summary lists for the five study units was accurate. We found associated funerary objects listed on the summary instead of being set aside for the inventory. We found that items contained on the summary lists were missing in the collection. We found items, in some cases entire subsections of collections, had been systematically kept off the summary lists. And, for the items that were included, we found there was no consistency in the summary lists’ contents. We needed to have accurate lists in order to photograph the items, and to accurately define the cultural affiliations of the items. We therefore had to expend more time than originally planned in reviewing the summary list of each NPS study unit. In some cases, our field findings and recommendations concerning the lists were used by the unit to revise their summary lists before the September 1993 submission deadline. In any event, the NPS compiled whatever final summary list the agency had from the NPS units into the final *Servicewide Summary* that was subsequently sent to Native Hawaiian organizations and to American Indian tribes across the country.

Cultural Affiliation

Cultural affiliation determinations are necessary steps before a museum or Federal agency can begin the required consultation with native groups. The emphasis of the cultural affiliation definition is on present-day native groups, therefore making it more productive to determine

cultural affiliation by using ethnohistory and ethnography techniques. The approach we used in this project was to start with the living people and work backward in time to the historical or prehistorical population. This was more effective for establishing cultural affiliation as defined in NAGPRA than the approach of describing the details of the objects and work forward in time to some living population. Especially in cases of known connections between present-day native groups and historical and prehistorical groups, as is the case at Pipe Spring National Monument, this approach to cultural affiliation will be faster than a study of the objects.

The ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and archaeological literatures are important for adding details to the ultimate source of NAGPRA-related cultural affiliation data: the native people themselves. Native groups have a long history of retaining and passing on cultural information from one generation to the next. This information sometimes takes the form of tribal histories, and many tribes now employ one or more of their members as tribal historians. More often cultural information is embodied in the minds of the group's elders. The only way to gain access to this wealth of cultural information is through ethnographic techniques.

If a museum or Federal agency cannot determine the cultural affiliation of a specific item in their collection that has been defined as a part of NAGPRA, then they will have to make some decision about which native groups they will ask to help them determine the cultural affiliation. Even if a final cultural affiliation determination cannot be made for an item, the professionals with experience working with Native Americans can help narrow the field of possible groups down to something more manageable than every recognized native group in the country. The Devils Tower National Monument case is a good example of where the tribal affiliation of the collection was narrowed from over 30 to just 10 through the use of ethnography and ethnohistory.

There are other approaches to cultural affiliation. One such approach was done in a pre-NAGPRA project designed to determine the cultural affiliation of human remains and associated funerary objects from the Joshua Tree National Monument collection (Schroth et al. 1992). This project used an archaeological and osteological analysis approach in determining cultural affiliation. Ethnohistory and ethnography were not used significantly in the project, and the archaeologists conducting the project did not engage in interviewing or consultation with tribal elders. The Joshua Tree project stands as an example of the archaeological/physical anthropology approach to determining cultural affiliation.

Some archaeologists feel that more sophisticated archaeological techniques and analysis, such as usewear analysis, comparative analysis, ceramic identification, DNA amplification, neutron activation analysis,

and various dating methods are necessary for cultural affiliation determinations. We disagree with this position for two reasons. First, all of these techniques rely on archaeological interpretation, an approach just as one-dimensional as using oral history alone would be. Second, the techniques require more time and money than other simpler approaches, resources most park staff do not have in abundance. The NAGPRA legislation does not require that cultural affiliation be determined using such exhaustive techniques and analysis. Congress' intent is clear:

"The Committee intends that the 'cultural affiliation' of an Indian tribe to Native American human remains or objects shall be established by a simple preponderance of the evidence. Claimants do not have to establish 'cultural affiliation' with scientific certainty....Where human remains and funerary objects are concerned, the Committee is aware that it may be extremely difficult, unfair or even impossible in many instances for claimants to show an absolute continuity from present day Indian tribes to older, prehistoric remains without some reasonable gaps in the historic or prehistoric record. In such instances, 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 gaps in the record (101st Congress Senate Report, 2d Session 101-473:9).

Visitation to the Collection

Seeing the items in question is necessary for the ethnographer to make a determination of cultural affiliation. The summary lists were never meant to be adequate by themselves in providing all the information needed to establish cultural affiliation with living people. After a potential cultural affiliation determination has been made, then the museum or Federal agency is required to begin consultation with the culturally affiliated groups regarding the possible disposition of the items.

Initially, the viewing of the items by native people can be accomplished with photographs or video. Before any final recommendations are made, however, most native groups will want to see the actual items. This can be accomplished most efficiently by having representatives of the culturally affiliated groups visit the storage location of the collection. After such a visit, the group will have all of the visual information they will need and will know if they will need other kinds of documentation (such as excavation records and accession information) before they make their recommendations or repatriation requests.

Recommendations from Culturally Affiliated Tribes

In the case of the summary lists, consultation with culturally affiliated groups was to begin by the time the summaries were completed on November 16, 1993. In the case of the inventories of human remains and associated funerary objects, consultation is to be used to construct the inventories themselves. This consultation will be a structured process with several orderly steps (see Chapter 7). As stated above, the consultation will begin with the museum or Federal agency providing visuals of the items contained on the summary list. (In the case of the inventories of human remains and associated funerary objects, visuals of the human remains may not be appropriate. The native groups will be able to make this determination.) Meetings will then be held with the native groups to allow them to see the items and make their recommendations. These meetings should happen in an orderly fashion and not be conducted in a piecemeal fashion with no agenda. The native people have far too many NAGPRA consultation requests already to be going to meetings that are unorganized and do not lead anywhere. Time limitations hold true for the museums and Federal agencies as well.

The conclusion of the consultation should result in official recommendations being made by the culturally affiliated groups concerning the items included under NAGPRA. These recommendations will vary, with repatriation being only one of three options ("no change" and "different storage and handling" being the other two—see Chapter 7 for more details). Within the repatriation option, internment of objects is only one of four options (placement in a tribal or consortium facility, placement in a non-tribal facility, and ongoing ceremonial use being the other three). In some cases, burial of these objects is not appropriate and will not be recommended by the native groups. The Zuni War Gods are a good example of sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony that were not buried in the first place (Merrill, Ladd, Ferguson 1993), so there is no need to "re-bury" them.

Methods and Chronology of Project Events

Methods Used During This Project

This project has several different products, ranging from cultural affiliation essays, to an annotated bibliography, to collection list assessments, to consultation process results. These various products required different methods to produce them. In general, we relied on the fields of

anthropology and ethnohistory, along with our own expertise in designing and carrying out consultation processes to guide the methods of the project. Ethnography and ethnohistory were used extensively in the construction of the cultural affiliation information for each of the National Monument units. We relied on the ethnographic, historical, ethnohistorical, and archaeological literature to help us identify those American Indian groups that are most likely to be affiliated with each park unit. The collections at the five park units included in this study represent four distinctly different situations and required four different approaches. (1) The WACC collection included holdings identified by the WACC curation staff as NAGPRA-related. Those holdings are an eclectic assortment of materials acquired by WACC and are not tied to the geographic location of WACC as an NPS unit. From those objects, the probable geographic origin and historical context from which they came had to be determined first. From that information, we moved forward to identify particular Native American groups with cultural affiliation to the objects. (2) The Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monument collections included items taken from known, documented archaeological investigations at those monuments. Both monuments were created as NPS units to preserve and display the archaeological features that dominate those two sites. Nevertheless, there were multiple ethnic groups that occupied the region throughout history. Therefore, we used an ethnohistorical technique called "upstreaming" wherein we begin with the American Indian ethnic group that occupied the region when Euroamericans invaded it in the 1860s, then discuss the identity of the American Indian inhabitants who were encountered by Spanish explorers in the late sixteenth century, and finish with a discussion of the American Indian inhabitants of the region prior to those centuries. After a discussion of the entire area and a brief historical overview of each monument, we identify modern tribes that are potentially affiliated with both the prehistoric and historic groups. (3) The collection at Devil's Tower National Monument consists only of items brought from elsewhere; none originated on Devils Tower property. Nevertheless, Devils Tower is a significant geographic feature that occupies a central position in the creation stories of several Plains Indian tribes. Many of the items in the Devils Tower collection were transferred to the Monument from other locations and originated with Plains tribes. However, there is little documentation available about most of the items, so we began with the items and used ethnographic and ethnohistorical data about them to reduce the potential affiliates from more than 30 possible tribes to only ten. (4) The collection at Pipe Spring National Monument was acquired primarily from the area around the monument. That monument was created to memorialize non-Indian presence in the region, and has not had extensive archaeological investigations. Many of the items in the collection were donated as gifts, frequently from private collectors, and were not

accompanied by extensive documentation. We began by identifying the groups that had occupied the site and identified modern tribes that are potentially affiliated with those groups.

We had only eight weeks to make a preliminary determination of cultural affiliation for the park units. Consequently, we relied heavily on computer databases, on-line library catalogs, and experts guiding us to the literature. In addition to the on-line library catalogs accessible via the Internet, members of the research team traveled to and used the resources of the University of Arizona library, the Arizona Historical Society library, the Arizona State Museum library, the University of Oklahoma library in Edmond, Oklahoma, and the Newberry Library of the American Indian in Chicago. Research team members also used the literature sources available to them from WACC. During the visits to each park unit, the research team used the available documents at the park. The park unit documents are not very extensive, however, and did not figure prominently in the literature search.

Maps contributed only a limited amount of information to this project. None of the maps that show cultural boundaries of Native American groups indicate joint use areas. This is especially the case for maps based on the "cultural area" concept first formulated by Alfred Kroeber. The map that is currently being recommended for use by the Archeological Assistance Division of the National Park Service is based on the Land Claims cases of the 1950s. As such, the areas outlined on the map are those that were decided during the land claims cases to have been occupied by the individual tribal groups. For the southwest, there are no joint use areas indicated; instead large splotches of white (i.e. unoccupied) separate groups. The Land Claims decisions specifically ruled out any joint use areas, and this map reflects that philosophy.

For complete cultural affiliation studies to be done, some use of oral history should be considered. Only in the case of Pipe Spring National Monument, the selected NAGPRA consultation demonstration case, was oral history used to further identify the cultural affiliation ties to objects held by the Monument in its collection.

We did not use archaeological techniques for determining cultural affiliation. We did use the results of archaeology, as reported in the literature, to draw conclusions about potential cultural affiliations. However, none of the archaeological techniques mentioned earlier in this chapter will determine if an object is a funerary object, a sacred object, or an object of cultural patrimony. The archaeological context information can help determine if an item is a funerary object ("Did this come out of a burial?"), if such information is available either in the catalog records or archaeology reports. The ethnographic literature, oral history, and interviews with

tribal elders and tribal religious leaders can determine if an item is a sacred object or an object of cultural patrimony. Unfortunately, archaeological analysis techniques, dating methods, etc., will not. Such techniques may help in determining cultural affiliation, but we did not consider them because we did not need them. The archaeological literature, ethnography evidence, oral history, and tribal elder interviews were sufficient in determining whether a group was culturally affiliated with items in a collection.

This study started with the NPS's servicewide summary of objects in collections held by the different NPS units. The servicewide summary is the list that has combined the NPS units' summary lists into one computer printout. As ethnographers charged with making the connections between living people and the items contained on this summary list, the authors perceived that the NPS servicewide summary raised many questions concerning provenience and cultural affiliation. The authors therefore decided that to determine cultural affiliation, it would be necessary for the study team to visit each collection and assess those items included on the summary lists from an ethnographic perspective, bearing in mind Native American concerns and rights under NAGPRA.

During these visits, the research team assessed each collection in terms of location, accessibility, and completeness for future NAGPRA consultation with American Indian people. For the latter assessment, it was necessary for the researchers to compare each NPS unit's catalog records and inventory of holdings (if available) with the servicewide summary prepared by the NPS. During the collection visits, it became apparent there was sometimes a discrepancy between the catalog records and inventories and the servicewide summary, so the research team put together a short assessment of each individual Monument's summary list.

In the cases of WACC, Montezuma Castle, and Tuzigoot, the research team's assessment was communicated back to the NPS personnel responsible for putting the units' summary lists together for the servicewide summary. This was facilitated by Dr. Stephanie Rodeffer, the Contracting Officer's Technical Representative (COTR) for this project and Chief of the Museum Collections Repository Division at WACC, who accompanied the research team to both Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments, and interacted with the team at WACC. When Dr. Rodeffer heard the general difficulties encountered with the units' summary lists, and saw firsthand some of the problems and errors, she was able to communicate the problems to her staff, who then modified the WACC, Montezuma Castle, and Tuzigoot summary lists to reduce errors, particularly with regard to objects associated with burials.

Chronology of Project Events

This project ran from August 2, 1993, to March 1, 1994, with the initial months focused on establishing cultural affiliation, and the final months devoted to the consultation at Pipe Spring National Monument and preparation of this report. Between August 2 and August 25, the research team concentrated on ethnohistory for the five NPS units and made visits to the collections held at WACC. A collection visit was made to Pipe Spring National Monument on August 30, 1993. The next day, September 1, a collection visit was made to Montezuma Castle National Monument. Prior to seeing the collection, the research team met with Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot personnel to brief them on the project, the expected results, and the plan of action. On September 2, a collection visit was made to Tuzigoot National Monument. Between September 3 and September 15, several visits were made to WACC, and most of the collection status statements were formulated in this two-week period. The text for an interim report was prepared between September 15 and October 1. Editing and production tasks consumed the time from October 1 until October 6. On October 7, an interim report was submitted to the NPS to help with the goal of acquiring as much cultural affiliation information as possible for the five units prior to the submission of the servicewide summary by the NPS on November 16, 1993.

Efforts to further the cultural affiliation component were continued on October 15, 1993, when a collection visit was made to Devils Tower National Monument. The first consultation activity for Pipe Spring National Monument occurred on October 25, with a collection visit by Kaibab Paiute tribal officials and elders occurring that day.

On November 17, 1993, the preliminary review draft of the study report was submitted to the Contracting Officer's Technical Representative. On that same date, Drs. Evans and Stoffle made a three-hour presentation to NPS personnel in Washington, D.C., of the project's findings and our conclusions up to that point.

The Hopi Tribe made a collection visit to Pipe Spring National Monument on November 30, 1993. A collection visit was made by the Shivwits Paiute Tribe on February 4, 1994. A tribal consultation meeting was held on February 23, 1994, between the involved tribes and Pipe Spring National Monument. Recommendations for the disposition of the items held in the Pipe Spring National Monument collection resulted from that meeting. Following this tribal consultation meeting, the Review Draft of the study report was prepared and then submitted to the NPS Contracting Officer's Technical Representative on March 1, 1994. Final changes were made in June, and the final version of the report was printed in June 1994.

Organization of this Report

The chapters that follow this introduction outline the cultural affiliations for the objects held in the collections at the five NPS study units. For each of the five NPS units, we attempted to determine which American Indian tribes are affiliated with the items based on existing literature. We did not attempt an exhaustive literature review for any of the five study units. Instead, we reviewed readily available literature and standard ethnographic and ethnohistorical sources. Once we had determined that a native group was likely to be culturally affiliated with an object in a collection, we went on to another, rather than document each instance of mention of that group with that type of object. This approach is in keeping with the requirements of NAGPRA regarding readily available information, and also models the approach most NPS units and collection managers will most likely follow. These collection managers do not have the time, nor the access to extensive literature sources, to do exhaustive reviews, which are not required by the legislation anyway.

Chapter 5 on Pipe Spring National Monument does contain somewhat more information concerning the monument and its history, due to the requirement that we conduct an actual NAGPRA consultation on its collection. Details on this consultation have been separated out into Chapter 6. The final chapter, Chapter 7, contains the recommendations and conclusions of the study. The recommendations are both those of the study team, regarding ways of ensuring the success of NAGPRA consultation, and those of the tribal groups consulted about specific objects during the course of this study.

Several documents of interest to the general reader appear in the Appendices, including the legislation and the draft regulations.

Chapter 2

Western Archeological and Conservation Center

Background

The Western Archeological and Conservation Center was established in 1952 to fulfill laboratory and storage needs for parks and monuments in the Southwest. Following congressional approval, the National Park Service purchased a private research facility, the Gila Pueblo, in Globe, Arizona. By 1958, the lab had been named the Southwest Archeological Center and had opened for business. The center functioned as a base for conducting archaeological research and stabilizing ruins, as well as a site for storing and curating research collections (Fenner et al. 1993).

The center in 1971 entered into a cooperative agreement with the University of Arizona and the Arizona State Museum, and in 1972 the center's personnel and collections were relocated to various buildings in Tucson. A new facility was constructed in 1979, and in 1981 the name was changed to the Western Archeological and Conservation Center (WACC).

The National Park Service designated the collections management division of the center as the Museum Collections Repository in 1985. Its previous role of assisting national parks and monuments with the curation of archaeological and ethnographic collections was expanded to include services for historical documents, natural history materials and other archival collections. WACC is designated as repository for multiple National Park Service units.

Summary of NAGPRA-Related Items and Collection Concerns

The WACC summary list includes items from six general geographic locations. Personnel at WACC prepared their summary lists using information stored in the Automated National Catalog System (ANCS).

This database, constructed before the advent of NAGPRA to hold the catalog and accession information of the items stored at the center, facilitated the task of creating the summary list. WACC personnel searched the database for such keywords as "ceremonial," "sacred," and "burial." Some additional manual searching of records also occurred to construct two different summary lists. The first, completed in October 1992, was revised based on the findings of the authors and Dr. Stephanie Rodeffer, Chief, Museums Collection Repository, in their collection visits to Tuzigoot and Montezuma Castle National Monuments. This revised summary list was completed in September, 1993, and was the list submitted for the servicewide summary. In establishing cultural affiliation of the items included on the lists, WACC archaeologists and curators relied on their understanding of the objects and their sites of origin.

The major method used by WACC to construct the first summary list of October 1992—searching their computer database—suffers from a shortcoming common to computer database searches. The database only contains those keywords, fields, and data that were deemed appropriate at the time the database was constructed. Since the WACC database was defined and built before the advent of NAGPRA, the inclusion of keywords and fields that match up with NAGPRA definitions is a fortunate accident. As the WACC personnel were the first to point out, the data they entered into the computer database is only as good as that which was written on the accession and catalog records held at WACC. The WACC personnel also apparently made the decision to limit the first WACC summary list only to items that came from burials. This effectively eliminates other items held in the collection that may fit the definitions of NAGPRA, but did not come from burials. The heavy reliance on the database searches to identify objects to include on the summary list also leads to the inclusion of human remains and associated funerary objects on the summary that is supposed to be for unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony. Specifically, the inclusion of two cremation urns that still hold human remains (WACC #461 and #17) on the summary list is an error. The human remains and associated funerary objects should be reserved for the later human remains inventories.

During the revisions of the summary list (September, 1993), additional keywords were used to help correct errors in the first summary list of October 1992. WACC personnel also evaluated the WACC ethnographic collections during the NAGPRA assessments. The final list includes three ethnographic items, two fetishes and a basket, that fit the NAGPRA categories.

Potential Cultural Affiliations for the Summary List Items

The WACC personnel divided the summary list items according to the archaeological classification or general geographic area from which the objects originated. We have elected to repeat those categories in this report to provide consistency with WACC's summary lists. The categories are (1) Prescott, (2) Roosevelt Lake Area, (3) Laguna Pueblo, (4) Mimbres, (5) Phoenix and Bylas, and (6) Pueblo Near Hovenweep.

Prescott Items

Items in the collections at WACC include four "Hohokam/Prescott" objects. Harold Gladwin many years ago coined the term "Hohokam" to refer to the material culture remains characteristic of much of southern and central Arizona. Taken from the Piman language, Hohokam translates as "those who have gone before," which is to say "our ancestors." In other words, the Hohokam were ancestral Northern Piman-speaking Native Americans. (See Chapter 3 for further discussion of the Hohokam/Northern Pima relationship.)

Material culture items from a number of excavated sites demonstrate that Northern Piman-speakers expanded northward up the Verde River and its tributaries during pre-Columbian times (Weed and Ward 1970; Gumerman and Haury 1979:75; Downum 1992:13). The relationship between the Northern Piman-speaking Hohokam in the Verde River watershed and the people whom archeographers¹ label the "Prescott Branch" is not at all well understood. The dingy plainware ceramic vessels characteristic of the Prescott Branch, sometimes decorated with poorly executed black clustered chevrons and a few other designs, differ from the more refined ceramic vessels characteristic of the Northern Piman-speaking Hohokam, but differ even more from the precisely painted ethnic Hopi ceramic vessels fired in a uniform oxidizing atmosphere and traded widely to non-Hopis.

It is possible to hypothesize that the human beings who produced Prescott Gray Ware ceramic vessels were upland Piman-speakers marginal to the cultural elaboration (including ceramic) that occurred in the riverine

¹ The term "archeographer" was proposed by the archaeologist Deetz to refer to those who attempt "the writing of contexts from the material culture of past actuality" (Deetz 1988; Dobyns 1991b, 1993). This term is neither an affectation or a combination of the words "archaeologist" and "ethnographer." Dr. Dobyns, author of Chapters 2, 3, and 4 of this report considers himself to be an archeographer, and is using the term as a label for someone writing about an ethnographic context based on material culture data.

oases along the major streams—the Gila, Salt, and Verde Rivers. The hypothesis that makers of Prescott Gray Ware vessels were culturally Hohokam-Pimans is supported by items such as the Prescott Black-on-gray jar cataloged as WACC #461. The human bone remnants still within the jar attest to its being a cremation urn in the long continued Hohokam cremation cultural pattern. The authors learned that WACC #461 is a cremation urn only by visiting WACC and examining the vessel. WACC's summary list did not so identify this vessel, even though it is precisely the type of object that most emotionally upsets Northern Piman and other Native Americans and is at the core of NAGPRA. This oversight may have been a result of the database search method or the artificial (for NAGPRA purposes) divisions into "archaeological" and "ethnographic" categories.

It seems impossible to discern any connection between the plainly pre-Columbian Prescott Branch and the Yuman-speaking Yavapai peoples who inhabited much of former Prescott Branch territory after about A.D. 1750. The Yavapais made very few vessels of Tizon Brown Ware (Dobyns and Euler 1958), which is readily distinguished from both Prescott Grey Ware and Northern Piman-made ceramic wares.

The primary groups that have a demonstrated connection to this collection are the Gila River Indian Community and the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community.

Roosevelt Lake Area Items

WACC personnel included 59 ceramic vessels, jewelry, shell, baskets, paint, and stone tools from the Roosevelt lake area on the summary list. These items came to WACC in 1956 as a "gift". Native American occupation of the Roosevelt Lake area included a Northern Piman-speaking ("Hohokam") component. The area also included what some archeographers have called a "Salado" component. The "Salado" term refers primarily to a particular combination of ceramic vessel types rather than an actual human group or "tribe." Several archeographers have suggested that the "Salado" label be discarded as meaningless, a position the authors support with regard to cultural affiliation determination decisions. "The only constant about Salado is its inconsistency" (Lekson 1992b:336). Earlier, the only common element in "Salado" was the ceramic type Gila Polychrome (Nelson and LeBlanc 1986:13) and "its evil mutant twin, Tonto Polychrome" (Lekson 1992a:18). Gila and Tonto Polychrome vessel remains have been recovered from Classic period sites in Tonto and Phoenix Basins, Safford Valley, Sulphur Springs Valley, southwestern New Mexico, and Casa Grande. "It is generally present as an overlay on local assemblages, however, indicating that there is no single 'Salado' ceramic assemblage" (Doyel 1993:60). We argue for a Hohokam, and therefore,

northern-Piman cultural affiliation for objects originally classified as "Salado." As Lekson wrote "The notion of Salado as *deus ex machina* to the Phoenix Basin is now obsolete" (Lekson 1992b).

In the upper Salt River area—which Harold Gladwin originally defined as the "Salado" heartland—compounds, enclosing walls, cobble masonry, and extended burials all "normally thought to be Salado features," turn out to have been associated with "a Hohokam red and plain pottery assemblage" (Doyel 1976:8).

In the once densely populated lower Salt River Valley, the Gila and Tonto Polychrome ceramics that Gladwin used to define "Salado" culture have been recovered from only one-quarter of the massive ruins, and constituted but 1.5 percent of the sherds recovered. Plain red wares came into use before the massive structures were erected.

Hohokam materials accompanied associated inhumations. One key ceramic component of Gladwin's conceptualization of a distinctive "Salado" culture is the type labeled Gila Polychrome, one of the most widely distributed types in the Greater Southwest. Vessels recovered include ones made locally and others acquired from external sources. Fig. 2.1 illustrates a complex Gila Polychrome jar. Fig. 2.2 shows a polychrome bowl representative of those archeographers have used to hypothesize a "Salado" culture. A Tonto Polychrome jar used as a mortuary urn that was excavated from the Safford Valley contains an historic pearl colored glass bead (Schroeder 1992:202). The users of Tonto Polychrome ceramic vessels therefore "survived into the Protohistoric period (circa A.D. 1550) if not the Historic period"

(Schroeder 1992:204). As for the massive structures themselves, "It is not difficult to postulate derivation of the Classic period construction techniques from those used by the Hohokam in the pre-Classic periods" (Weaver 1976:20-22).

Finally, in the Agua Fría-New River drainage, "out of the five indicators of Salado, four... do not lend themselves to an argument for a Salado occupation" and a fifth is ambiguous (Gumerman and Weed 1976:107). In the Tucson basin, Grebinger perceived only "Hohokam" development. "There has been no need to invoke the Salado" (Grebinger 1976:42).

Setting aside the term "Salado" as not being helpful in determining cultural affiliation, the key site for interpreting Native American

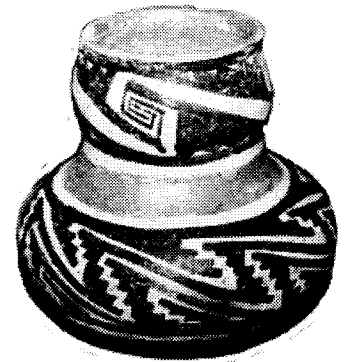


Figure 2.1. WACC #5 – Gila Polychrome jar

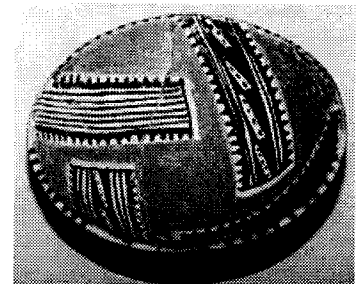


Figure 2.2. WACC #255 – Polychrome bowl.

occupation of the Roosevelt Lake area in terms of present-day peoples appears to be Tonto Ruin. Tonto Ruin can be interpreted in at least two ways, (1) as a Jócome site, or (2) as a Northern Piman. We think the evidence lies with the second interpretation.

To classify Tonto Ruin as a Northern Piman site requires a researcher to assume that Northern Piman ("Hohokam") territory extended up the Salt River a short distance east from the Salt River Valley, and to assume that the ruin in a rockshelter functioned for the Roosevelt Lake Piman population as a redoubt-storehouse in much the same way that Casa Grande functioned for lower Salt-Gila River Valley Pimans ("Classic Hohokam") (Dobyns 1988:50-51). The reliance on giant cactus products revealed by excavation at Tonto Ruin (Caywood 1962:11, 20, 42) arguably supports the hypothesis that the economy of the people using Tonto Ruin closely resembled that of historic Northern Piman speakers who relied heavily on cactus fruit.

To classify Tonto Ruin as a Jócome site requires a researcher to assume that Jócome territory extended north from the Chiricahua Mountains, where it was documented in 1695, to the Salt River, where it is not documented. Once making this assumption, however, the researcher would then have to make the assumption that Jócomes relied very heavily on giant cactus fruit available along the Salt River, as the Tonto Ruin excavations indicate, although no giant cactus grew in the Chiricahua Mountains.

The Jócomes whom Spanish colonial documents reported during the final decade of the sixteenth century became extinct during the initial quarter of the eighteenth century. The few Jócomes survivors absorbed by invading southern Apacheans became culturally Apachean.

On the other hand, Northern Piman-speaking peoples have survived in the Gila-Salt River watershed. The Salt River Indian community and Gila River Indian community are both present-day polities composed of Northern Piman-speaking individuals. The governments of both of these communities possess a valid concern for physical residues of arguable habitation of the Roosevelt Lake area by their ancestors.

Laguna Pueblo - Window Rock Items

A few objects in the WACC collections were recovered by archaeologists from a pipeline survey corridor between Laguna Pueblo and Window Rock, Arizona. Objects from all or portions of this corridor would most likely be culturally affiliated with four native groups: Laguna Pueblo, Acoma Pueblo, Zuni Pueblo, and the Navajo Nation. A corrugated

ceramic vessel included in this collection is shown in Fig. 2.3. This undistinguished vessel illustrates the need for assistance from native groups in identifying the cultural affiliation of many objects now held by the NPS. Fig. 2.4 shows an incomplete bowl the archaeologists removed from what was labeled on the box as "Burial #1 association." The archaeologists labeled the bowl as "Red Mesa Black-on-gray."



**Fig. 2.3. WACC #826–
Corrugated gray pot.**

Laguna Pueblo

Laguna Pueblo includes individuals from several areas who came together after the Pueblo Revolt of the 1700s. Clearly Laguna Pueblo is concerned about historic material culture remains of Laguna agriculture, pastoralism, hunting, gathering, and ceremonial activities within the pre-conquest territories occupied by the people of the Pueblo. Therefore, Laguna Pueblo concerns include the corridor from Laguna Pueblo west to Window Rock.

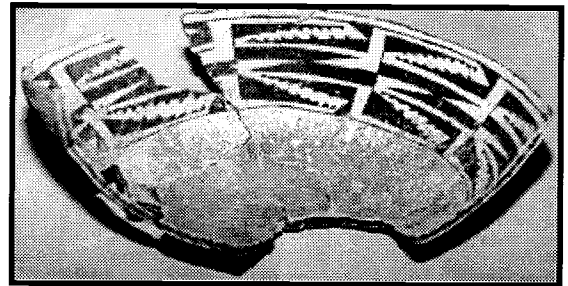


Fig. 2.4. WACC # 831–Black-on-gray“Red Mesa” interior

Acoma Pueblo

Acoma Pueblo's concerns about the Laguna Pueblo-to-Window Rock corridor extend at least from its pre-conquest historic border with Laguna Pueblo on the east to its pre-conquest border with Zuñi Pueblo on the west. However, the presence of overlapping use areas throughout this area make it impossible to draw strict boundaries of concern.

Zuñi Pueblo

Zuñi Pueblo's concerns include the Laguna Pueblo-to-Window Rock survey corridor. Zuñi warriors contested Navajo domination over the terrain near Window Rock and the United States Army's Fort Defiance into the late 1850s in alliance with federal forces. Before the Puebloan depopulation during the sixteenth century, Zuñi-speaking outlying settlements gardening, grazing, plant collecting, hunting and shrine areas (Ferguson and Hart 1985:20, 24, 36, 40, 42, 44, 50, 64) extended well into present-day Arizona, as reflected in the recent federal reservation of land in Arizona for Zuñi pilgrims who periodically walk to a shrine ruin. The pilgrimage path lies south of Window Rock, but it emphasizes Zuñi habitation in the area prior to Navajo colonization with sheep flocks.

Navajo Nation

The Navajo Nation's concerns about the Laguna Pueblo-to-Window Rock corridor extend along the entire corridor, in terms of historic Navajo material culture remains reflecting the historic expansion of Navajo population from its sixteenth century sacred homeland to its nineteenth century pre-conquest territory. With the San Francisco Peaks, Navajo/Paiute Mountain, and Mount Taylor demarcating as border landmarks, the latter area very clearly included the survey corridor from which came the items stored at WACC.

Mimbres Items

Two ceramic vessels are classified as Mimbres. There is some uncertainty concerning the chronology of the people whom archeographers label "Mimbres." Peckham (1990:8-9) identified "Mimbres" as a Province of Mogollon. He dated the Mogollon termination between A.D. 1400 and 1450. Brody (1990:211) concluded that the custom of "killing" ceramic vessels reached Zuñi "directly or indirectly" from the Mimbres people. Archeographers tend to classify Mimbres as Puebloan people inhabiting an environment marginal for horticultural production. Most chronologies of the Mimbres people end during pre-Columbian times. A case can be made on the basis of the stratigraphy of one eastern New Mexico site that Mimbres people survived into at least the early sixteenth century because Mimbres Bold Face, also termed Mangus Black-on-White, was traded to inhabitants of the Sierra Blanca region east of the Rio Grande as late as Rio Grande Glaze times (Kelley 1984).

Late in the seventeenth century and early in the eighteenth century, colonial Spaniards encountered Jócomes, Janos, Sumas, and Mansos inhabiting portions of what had been Mimbres territory two centuries earlier. Ethnohistorians have not agreed what language or languages these peoples spoke. Colonial records contain little information concerning the cultures of these four groups. They were decimated by Old World diseases during the Columbian Exchange (Crosby 1972). Survivors were absorbed by southern Athapascan peoples who invaded their aboriginal territory beginning in approximately A.D. 1680 during and immediately after the "Pueblo Revolt" of that year. Jócomes, Janos, Sumas, and Mansos are not mentioned in colonial reports after approximately A.D. 1705 (Spicer 1962:233).

It is possible that the Jócomes, Janos, Sumas, and Mansos descended from the pre-Columbian Mimbres people, but no scholar has yet demonstrated such descent. Only the coincidence of territory indicates a connection between the pre- and post-Columbian peoples. Such Jócomes,

Janos, Sumas, and Mansos as were absorbed by intrusive southern Athapascans became linguistically Athapaskan and culturally Apachean. Their descendants arguably retain no shred of Jócome, Jano, Suma, or Manso cultural heritage, much less Mimbres cultural heritage.

Phoenix and Bylas Items

The WACC summary list includes ceramic vessels from the Phoenix area and from the Bylas area. Identification of these pots as "Hohokam" points to the present-day reservation governments as having legitimate concerns about these vessels. We take the position that the Gila River Indian Community and the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community include the surviving descendants of the "Hohokam-Piman" people who in previous centuries occupied most of the riverine oasis habitat below the Mogollon Rim in Arizona.

One plain brown ware pot included in this group is a cremation urn that was found in the Phoenix area. Human bone remains are still inside this Hohokam urn. Fig. 2.5 shows how WACC personnel indicated their awareness that respect for the cremation is appropriate by covering the urn with a cloth on its storage shelf. The WACC summary list did not identify this vessel as a cremation urn.

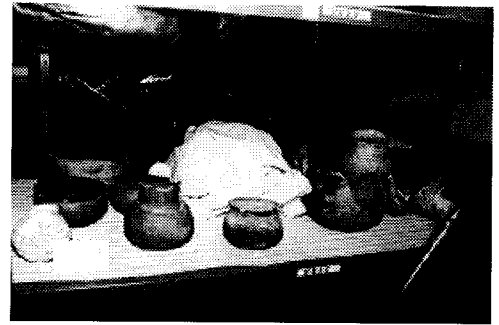


Figure 2.5. WACC #17 – Cremation urn on storage shelf at WACC.



Figure 2.6. WACC #1815 – Plainware pot.

Item from Pueblo Near Hovenweep

The WACC collections include a ceramic vessel collected from a pueblo type ruin on a farm north of Hovenweep National Monument. Given the relatively early date of Anasazi occupation of the area, and the dearth of information available concerning the artifact, it seems appropriate to classify the object simply as ancestral Puebloan. In other words, we are unable at this time to identify any specific present-day Pueblo population as descended from the ancient Puebloan folk who made and used the pot in question. This plainware pot is shown in Fig. 2.6.

Addresses of Potential Culturally Affiliated American Indian Tribes

Mr. Harry D. Early, Governor
Pueblo of Laguna
P. O. Box 194
Laguna, NM 87026

Mr. Reginald T. Pasqual, Governor
Pueblo of Acoma
P. O. Box 309
Acoma, NM 87034

Mr. Robert Lewis, Governor
Pueblo of Zuñi
P. O. Box 339
Zuni, NM 87327

Mr. Peterson Zah, President
Navajo Nation
P. O. Box 308
Window Rock, AZ 86515

Ms. Mary Thomas, Governor
Gila River Indian Community
P.O. Box 97
Sacaton, AZ 85247

Mr. Ivan Makil, President
Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community
Route 1, Box 216
Scottsdale, AZ 85256

Chapter 3

Middle Verde River Valley

Archeographic interpretation of American Indian occupation of the Middle Verde River Valley, where Montezuma Castle National Monument and Tuzigoot National Monument are located, is difficult because at least three ethnic groups have exploited the valley or its margins. This chapter summarizes changes in American Indian occupation of the area before taking up the two national monuments. The summary presented here necessarily analyzes the history of archeographic interpretation of artifacts and structures examined in the area.

The discussion will be presented in reverse chronological order, employing the ethnohistorical technique called "upstreaming." That is, the American Indian ethnic group that occupied the middle Verde Valley when Euroamericans invaded it in the 1860s and whose descendants govern several small reservations in the valley or nearby are discussed first. Second, the identity of the American Indian inhabitants of the middle Verde River valley encountered by Spanish explorers in the late sixteenth century will be discussed. Third, the identity of the American Indian inhabitants of the middle Verde River valley prior to those centuries will be discussed.

Background

Yavapais in the 1860s

Euroamerican prospectors discovered placer gold in the Prescott highlands in 1863. Their strike resulted in a small gold rush to the area, creation of the Arizona Territory, and colonization of the headwaters of the creek tributaries of the Verde River. Within months, intrepid Euroamericans ventured into the middle Verde River valley to raise farm products to sell to miners in the Prescott highlands or to the Union army contingent at Whipple Barracks just outside Prescott. When the prospectors in the Prescott highlands invaded the core territory of the Northeastern Yavapai people, their territory included the headwater

streams of the Verde River, and the upper and middle reaches of the main stream (Gifford 1932).

The newcomers confused native ethnic identities by calling Yavapais "Mojave-Apaches," "Yuma-Apaches," or simply "Apaches." Twentieth-century ethnographic research clearly distinguished Athapascan-speaking Apaches from Yuman-speaking Yavapais. The Northeastern Yavapais inhabited the Prescott highlands and the northern and middle Verde River valley south to the East Fork. Southeastern Yavapais inhabited the east side of the Verde River Valley south of the East Fork, and Salt River Canon east of the Verde River to Western Apache territory (Gifford 1936).¹ Although ethnic Apaches undoubtedly raided into the Verde River valley during the United States wars of military conquest of Arizona's native peoples, they resided further east of the valley.

The nineteenth-century Yavapai presence in the middle Verde River valley has seduced numerous historians and other scholars into drawing the simple inference that Yavapais had lived there throughout historic times (Schroeder 1959:51).² Consequently, the "Yavapai Question" must be confronted in the present analysis.

One basic premise of this present discussion is that Arizona's American Indians changed through historic times, both culturally and territorially. Ethnic Hopi habitation demonstrably contracted from more than 30, far-flung fifteenth-century Tusayan villages to a few late seventeenth-century Black Mesa edge villages (Dobyns 1991a:191, 194; Brody 1990:46). Northern Piman riverine *ranchería* habitation consolidated on the Gila and Santa Cruz Rivers during the eighteenth century under colonial Spanish pressure (Dobyns 1976:20; Spicer 1962:131). Piman speakers left the outlying San Pedro and Verde River Valleys they occupied earlier.

Southern Athapascan speakers invaded southeastern Arizona in the wake of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. By the first decade of the eighteenth century, the Apache vanguard absorbed surviving Jócomes, Janos, Sumas, and Manos who earlier ranged between the Río Grande and the San Pedro River and apparently the Gila River headwaters (Spicer 1962:233, 235).

¹ Western Yavapais lived from the Santa María-Bill Williams River south nearly to the lower Gila River, and from the western slope of the Prescott highlands and White Tank Mountains west to the lower Colorado River.

² Schroeder (1959) considerably overstated reality. "There is general agreement among historians and anthropologists that these people and their traits fit the Northeastern Yavapais of the middle Verde Valley." Other authors making this assumption include Rogers (1945:193 n.30).

Ethnic Sumas resided in Socorro and Senecú pueblos on the lower Río Grande as late as 1760 (Tamarón 1953:196197).

Historic territorial changes apparently were greater among Yuman-speaking peoples than any other. A key event in Yuman history was the desiccation of the pre-Columbian Blake Sea in southern California. It seems to have dried up or become too saline to drink around A. D. 1450 (Rogers 1945:191), less than a century prior to Fernando Alarcón's exploration of the lower Colorado River in A.D. 1540. Yuman-speaking peoples that had lived on the shores of the Blake Sea invaded the lower Colorado River Valley. "Of necessity the Colorado valley, from Black Canyon south to the delta, had to provide the major haven for these migrating desert groups" (Rogers 1945:193). Consequently, Alarcón reported endemic intergroup warfare between the riverine peoples. Reporting his conversation with a native, Alarcón (1904:392) wrote "Hee [sic] answered that they had warre [sic] and that very great, and upon exceeding small occasions."

Two centuries later, a colonial Spanish explorer reported six Yuman-speaking peoples residing along and militarily contesting the lower Colorado River. They included the Mojave, Northern Panya or Hal Chedom, Quechan, Kahwan, Halyikwamai, and Cocopah. The Southern Panya or Kavelt Chedom had already been forced off the Colorado and up the lower Gila River (Garcés 1900).

The eastward Yuman thrust into the lower Colorado River Valley may well have displaced to the east the Northeastern Pai or Arizona Upland Yumans. Ceramic remains excavated from Willow Beach indicate riverine residence and/or visiting by ancestral Northeastern Pai about A. D. 750 (Schroeder 1961:46, 61). Northeastern Pai may have exploited natural resources in the desert Cerbat and Walapai Mountain ranges east of the Colorado River at that time. Artifacts indicate that the Northeastern Pai migrated onto the Colorado Plateau only some time after A. D. 1300 (Dobyns 1974:208). The early sixteenth-century displacement eastward of Yuman speakers who invaded the lower Colorado River Valley may well have propelled ancestral Northeastern Pai onto the Colorado Plateau.

The Northeastern Pai or Arizona Upland Yumans include the ethnic groups administered by the U.S. government as Walapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai. Linguistic evidence shows that these administrative populations are closely related. In the early 1950s, linguists found that spoken Havasupai differed by only five percent in vocabulary from Walapai, and that Yavapai differed by only eight to nine percent (Briggs 1957:61; Winter 1957:20).

That linguistic finding allows an estimation of approximately when Yavapais separated from the Walapai-Havasupai. The federal government

established separate reservations for Walapais and Havasupais early in the 1880s. Growth of the small city of Flagstaff on the Santa Fe Railroad through which train service began in 1882 and tourism development on the south rim of the Grand Canyon soon after 1900 directed Havasupai interactions eastward. Mine camps and the railroad town of Kingman and Hackberry directed Walapai interactions westward. The five percent divergence in vocabulary occurred, in other words, during some 70 years. The Yavapai divergence being twice as great may be estimated as having taken some 140 years on the assumption that it occurred at the same rate as the Havasupai-Walapai divergence. Subtracting 140 years from 1955 yields an estimated 1815 date for Yavapai separation from Walapai-Havasupai.

Other data indicate a somewhat earlier separation date. Western Yavapai oral history elicited in the 1930s estimated that the separation had occurred some two centuries earlier (Gifford 1933). On the other hand, one colonial Spanish record suggests that separation took place somewhat later. A Franciscan missionary sent a native to scout out and report the ethnic situation west of the Hopis. In 1752, Juan Menchero reported that his native scout estimated the Cohnina population as approximately 10,000 persons divided into eleven bands living 30 leagues west of the Hopis (Dobyns 1974:19; Schroeder 1953a:47; Twitchell 1914:II:230-231). *Kohnina* was and is the Hopi language label for the Northeastern Pai (which does not differentiate between the administrative populations) (Dobyns 1974:13). Menchero's report gives the impression that his native scout considered the Cohnina a single ethnic group at that time. Thirty Spanish leagues was the correct distance between the westernmost Hopi pueblo and the eastern frontier of Pai territory as indicated in Francisco Garcés' 1776 report that 37 leagues separated the easternmost Pai ranchería from Oraibi Pueblo (Garcés 1900:II:346-347, 353-354).

Known ceramic evidence indicates that ethnic Yavapais had not long occupied the territory in which Euroamerican newcomers encountered them. Several archeographers—M. J. Rogers, A. H. Schroeder, R. C. Euler, H. F. Dobyns—have searched diligently and long for remains of Yavapai ceramic vessels with markedly little success. As Rogers (1945:195) phrased the situation, "The Yuman archaeology of western Arizona... is notable for its poverty and spottiness... so meager that one could readily be led to believe that the Eastern Yumans had not held the territory longer than for a few generations."

None of the Northeastern Pai made ceramic vessels frequently. Consequently, the dearth of known Yavapai ceramic artifacts reflects that cultural pattern. Yet Walapai-Havasupai former habitation and resource utilization sites typically are readily identifiable from ceramic artifacts.

Logically, therefore, Yavapais indeed had not long occupied their mid-nineteenth-century territory.

At least one aspect of Arizona Upland Yuman technology also indicates the recency of this ethnic group's colonization of the Colorado Plateau and the Prescott highlands. Arizona Upland Yumans fashioned rather rudimentary housing. Sometimes they broke off small tree branches with leaves or needles and broke off bushes to fashion windbreaks. The Northeastern Yavapai oral history recorded pole frameworks with three layers of thatching; first star bush, next Johnson grass, finally bear grass or juniper bark (Gifford 1936:271). Johnson grass is an historic Columbian Exchange invader (Kearney and Peebles 1942:152). Yavapai oral history did not, therefore, reach many years into the past as far as its thatching use is concerned. Oral history thus furnishes another clue that Yavapai residence in environmental niches colonized by Johnson grass may not have preceded the plant by many years. Western Yavapai living on the lower Colorado River claimed to have copied the riverine Yuman semi-subterranean house roofed with willow rafters resting on cottonwood posts. Southeastern Yavapai preferred living in rock shelters or shallow caves during the winter. They did construct beehive-shaped huts thatched with arrowweed or bear grass (Gifford 1932:203).

The best of historic Yavapai houses did not lend themselves to being painted with aboriginal mineral pigments and brushes. Yet the colonial exploration historian Balthasar Obregón (1928:330) reported but months after Espejo's visit to the middle Verde River valley that with the pigments the natives quarried on Mingus Mountain, "they paint their blankets, houses, and pottery and also themselves." Members of the Espejo expedition had seen New Mexico Pueblo houses painted like Aztec houses in central Mexico (Espejo 1966:220), so there might be an element of inference in Obregón's report. On its face, that report stated that middle Verde River valley natives lived in houses that could be painted with mineral pigments, implying stone or dried earth walls surfaced with plaster which could be painted.

If the late historic Yavapais descended from ancestors who erected the stonewalled structures along the middle Verde River valley, then they necessarily would have had to lose the skills required to build with stone, and the cultural imperatives for doing so. Such cultural regression or disintensification has been extremely rare, if not unknown, even under conditions of precipitous depopulation during the Columbian Exchange (Dobyns 1991b:546-552).

The Yavapai language as late as the 1930s employed different terms to designate the Yavapai (with a term that glosses "the people") from the aboriginal inhabitants of ruins in their historic territory (Gifford 1936). The distinction was clear enough to allow Yavapais and Tonto Apaches to

supplement their reservation-based subsistence by excavating in the ruins to find ceramic vessels to swap for groceries (Schroeder 1960). This is a very important point, inasmuch as the Arizona Upland Yuman peoples all greatly feared the *kwidjati* (soul or ghost) of deceased Yuman-speaking persons. The historic Arizona Upland Yuman peoples cremated the bodies of deceased individuals, along with their personal possessions, in fact, to help persuade the *kwidjati* to journey on to the afterworld without lingering to recruit (that is, kill) any companions. For Yavapais to excavate ceramic vessels from human interments, they necessarily classified the persons whose skeletons they disturbed as belonging to a non-Yuman-speaking ethnic group.

Some time after the Yavapai migrated into the middle Verde River valley, they adjusted their oral history to relate themselves to natural features of the valley landscape. One component of ethnic oral history incorporated into the ethnic origin legend placed the origin of the Yavapai people in a lake within historic Northeastern Yavapai territory. The oral history as elicited early in the twentieth century was not precise as to the body of water. The published English-language translation of the origin legend identified the lake as perhaps near the base of the Red Rocks (near modern Sedona) or Montezuma Well (Gould 1921:319-320). As elicited during the Depression, the Northeastern Yavapai origin story also placed the first generation at the bottom of a great hole in the Redrock country, "perhaps Montezuma's Well, the narrator suggested" (Gifford 1933:349). The Western Yavapai origin myth also had the ancestral people climb from an underworld through a hole to the upper world. "Hearing a noise, one of them had someone look down the hole (Montezuma well—*Hakeskaiva*, breaking up water). They noticed that the water was welling up nearly to the rim" (Gifford 1933:403-404).

By 1981, the uncertainty that Yavapai oral historians expressed concerning the location of the hole through which ancestral Yavapais climbed to this world was ignored. An article written for a popular, rather than a scientific, readership stated flatly that Yavapais and Tonto Apaches trace their origins to Montezuma Well (Stein 1981). The perpetuation of what this report classifies as misinformation continues since the article appears in a booklet currently sold at both Montezuma Castle and Tuzigoot National Monuments.

The Piman Hypothesis: Espejo met Northern Pimans in 1583

Some colonial documentary evidence indicates Northern Piman habitation in the middle Verde Valley during the latter sixteenth century. In 1583, Antonio de Espejo with a small force followed Hopi guides along

the native trading path southwest to the middle Verde River valley. Espejo's party likely descended from the Colorado Plateau to the valley via Beaver Creek, passing Montezuma Well with its main canal and already abandoned pueblo. When the local natives, who initially fled, finally halted and awaited the Spaniards near the Verde River, they built a hut of branches. "Six paces from it was a large painted cross, with four small ones on the sides." The men, women, and children sat in a row singing their desire for peace. "They had crosses of colored sticks on their heads," and gave the Spaniards "ores as a sign of peace and many of them came to show us the mines" on Mingus Mountain. Moreover, these natives gave the Spaniards "bowls of mescal with piñon nuts" to eat. Pérez de Luxán's laconic report documents native use of ceramic bowls to serve food, and their conceptualization of processed *Agave* hearts as well as piñon nuts as food appropriate to serve important guests. The native maize fields were reportedly near a marsh, perhaps modern Peck's Lake (Pérez de Luxán 1966:197).

These natives guided Espejo and his followers to their Mingus Mountain quarries. The Spaniards saw "Many mountain people... with crosses painted on their heads, even the children." Displaying Christian style crosses to mounted Spaniards was an early contact period Piman behavior that Lower Pimas had quickly learned from Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in 1536 to neutralize the threat of enslavement by colonial slave hunters. Ordered to persuade Lower Pimas who had abandoned their towns to flee from slave hunters to return, Núñez Cabeza de Vaca urged them to rebuild their settlements. "Among these houses they should rear one to God, placing at its entrance a cross like the one we had, and when Christians came, they should go out to receive them with crosses in their hands." If the natives so received Spaniards and gave them food, "the Christians would do them no harm, but be their friends" Núñez Cabeza de Vaca assured them (Núñez Cabeza de Vaca 1922:179-180; Núñez Cabeza de Vaca 1944:69). Soon a Spanish official reported that the refugee Lower Pimans were reoccupying their towns, and "the Indians sallied forth to receive them with crosses in their hands" and fed them (Núñez Cabeza de Vaca 1944:70, 1922:181).

During the years between 1536 and 1583, this lifesaving message of crosses and food had been transmitted from the southern frontier of the Pimería to its northern frontier in the middle Verde River valley. The frontier Northern Pimans in the Tuzigoot area knew how to greet threatening Spaniards with pacifying symbols—Christian crosses—although they had never before seen a Spaniard. As exploration historian Balthasar Obregón wrote only a few months after the event, these "naked people...wore crosses by instructions from the other people farther back so that they would not be harmed" (Obregón 1928:330). In the context of Obregón's brief paragraph on this colonial encounter, the other people

farther back were Pimans, inasmuch as Obregón had Espejo's party reach "to the confines of the valleys of Señora," which Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (1922:172) had identified as Primahaitu, that is, Piman speakers. The motivation that Obregón identified—"so that they would not be harmed"—also related the middle Verde River valley behavior back in time to Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's instructions to the Lower Pima endangered by Spanish colonial slave hunters.

Nothing in Obregón's paragraph justifies Schroeder's (1952:112) chain of inferences that (a) the natives were Yavapais in contact with riverine Yuman speakers and, (b) they "picked up the use of the cross from their western neighbors" after Fernando de Alarcón, (c) "had introduced the cross to the lower Colorado River groups in 1540." As already indicated in this discussion, there is no evidence that Yavapais yet existed in 1540 or in 1583. Moreover, while it is true that Alarcón displayed a cross to Cocopah and Quechan and perhaps Halyikwamai and Kahwan ancestors in 1540, there is no evidence that those riverine Yuman peoples used the cross symbol in any manner, in contrast to Piman-speakers.

Serving mescal to important visitors may well have been customary Northern Piman behavior. The Lower Pima cultivated *Agave* when Spanish missionaries first visited them (Dobyns 1988:50-51; Pérez de Ribas 1944 (1645):II:150) So-called "Classic" Hohokam or Northern Pimans cultivated *Agaves* in the Santa Cruz, Gila, lower Salt, and at least lower Verde River Valleys (Fish et. al. 1985:107-108). Consuming cultivated *Agave* clearly was important to ancestral Pimans until mid-nineteenth century (Wampler 1984:31). The 1583 Spanish record of middle Verde River valley natives serving mescal perhaps reflects Piman *Agave* cultivation there. Edible *Agave* flourishes sufficiently on the Mogollon Rim slopes that wild plants cannot be ruled out as the source of the 1583 mescal.

Balthasar Obregón reported another significant 1583 Spanish observation about the middle Verde River valley natives. As already quoted, Obregón (1928:330) wrote that they painted their blankets with mineral pigments quarried from Mingus Mountain. Even Schroeder (1952:112-113) conceded that only Obregón and Farfan, who revisited the Mingus Mountain quarries in 1598, mentioned middle Verde River valley natives wearing blankets. The reason is plain. The natives of the middle Verde River valley in 1583 and 1598 were not ancestral Yavapais but cotton-growing, blanket-weaving and blanket-wearing Northern Pimans. Nineteenth-century Yavapais planted so little maize that it was not "to be considered as a staple food" (Schroeder 1952:111). Nineteenth-century Northern Pimans raised cotton in sufficient surplus to sell blankets to Mestizo purchasers in the villages of northern Sonora, as well as their Maricopa allies (Ezell 1961:22, 30; Dobyns et al 1960; Escudero 1849:142-

43). The Verde River Valley ancestors of the late historic Gila River Pimas almost surely raised cotton, spun, and wove it into blankets to wear and to export.

Archaeologists agree that Hohokam occupied the middle Verde River valley from remote prehistoric times. Most students of Verde River Valley prehistory have attributed Hohokam presence there to migration northward along the stream from the Gila-Salt River basin (Fish, Pilles, and Fish 1980:152; Breternitz 1960; Colton 1939b; Pilles 1976; Schroeder 1975). The obvious alternative hypothesis is that Hohokam behaviors diffused northward, altering the culture of an indigenous population. This interpretation has been neglected, even though available evidence does not very well satisfy criteria for inferring human migration (Fish, Pilles, and Fish 1980:163; Haury 1958:1). Residual evidence of turquoise mosaic manufacture at both large and small Prescott area sites unearthed by Spicer and Caywood (1936:66) supports the diffusion-and indigenous-development interpretation rather than the migration hypothesis. So does the perception that the "earliest sites excavated in the Verde already contain multiple Hohokam traits" (Fish, Pilles, and Fish 1980:168).

Regional archaeologists have interpreted luxury goods including shell jewelry and decorated ceramic vessels as evidence of American Indian trade or in the latter instance local potters copying exotic vessels rather than the products of "immigrant potters" (Fish, Pilles, and Fish 1980:164). Northern peripheral Hohokam cotton production for trade to Puebloans has also been inferred on the basis of artifacts such as spindle whorls (Gumerman and Spoerl 1980:146).

The analytical concepts and models that archeographers have employed to analyze Hohokam-Piman artifacts happen to hinder the analysis of Verde River valley native cultural change, especially in settlement patterns and architecture (Fish, Pilles and Fish 1980:165). Archeographers have, therefore, relied upon mounds, Casa Grande type "ball courts," and community rooms as indices of Hohokam settlement in the middle Verde River valley. Archeographers have typically interpreted post-A. D. 1150 structures in this valley as structures left by Pueblo people, despite the apparent association of a "ball court" with a large "pueblo" (Fish, Pilles, and Fish 1980:166; Schroeder 1949:55-57). Most archeographers have not considered the alternative hypothesis that indigenous Hohokam-Pimans built stone-walled redoubt-storehouses on readily defendable points, and that these structures were built during the same period of population pressure on a finite horticultural food production base that Gila-Salt River basin Hohokam-Pimans built massive earthen-walled redoubt-storehouses. These latter structures were built in a riverine floodplain environment where construction stone was not

conveniently accessible. In support of this hypothesis we add that Gumerman and Spoerl (1980:140) pointed out that Hohokam people built houses that varied greatly, and that “where stone is locally available for building purposes, it was used in construction.” Pueblo peoples were not, in other words, the only ones who constructed stone buildings.

The ceramic utility vessels fashioned by potters indigenous to the middle Verde River valley differ only slightly from those produced by Hohokam-Piman potters in the Gila-Salt River basin. The wares grouped under the “Prescott Branch” label can be distinguished from wares made and used by Gila-Salt River basin Hohokam-Pimans. However, these wares are not technologically or aesthetically so different that they cannot be classed as the products of northern Hohokam-Pimans who simply did not share in all of the conventional understandings common to the downstream folks. The Prescott Branch ceramic wares differ markedly from ethnic Hopi and ethnic Zuni wares, both technologically and aesthetically. The ceramic artifacts may be interpreted, therefore, as supporting the diffusion-and-indigenous-development interpretation. Therefore, both the ceramic artifacts and the sixteenth-century Spanish documentation support the interpretation of stone redoubt-storehouses on the points overlooking the middle Verde River valley as the work of Hohokam-Pimans who minimized the labor required to create redoubt-storehouses by building with stone available on site. For Middle Verde valley Hohokam-Pimans to have emulated people who built earthen walled redoubt-storehouses on the Gila-Salt River alluvial flood plain—where clay was available on or near the site but rock was not—would have been a foolish waste of finite human energy.

Schroeder (1954:106-107) failed to consider the variability of materials that Hohokam employed for construction when he labeled stone walls at three sites near Mayer on a tributary of the Verde River “pueblos” despite the overwhelming predominance of Wingfield Plain ceramic sherds at those sites. Archaeologists have since recognized Wingfield Plain as a variation of Hohokam plain ware. Even Schroeder recognized that the stone-outlined structures had been quite like those of the historic Pimans at Haivan Pit on the upper San Pedro River (Di Peso 1953:42, 44, 128), although he did not resist also comparing them to historic Yavapai wickiups.

The “Sinagua” Hypothesis

Southwestern regional archeography passed through a stage of naming supposedly prehistoric cultural groups. To an extent that is disconcerting in terms of the NAGPRA mandate for identifying culturally affiliated peoples, archeographers based their hypothetical groups upon ceramic artifacts. Typically, the labels that archeographers coined make

difficult the analytical task of identifying present-day American Indian ethnic groups with earlier American Indians who left material remains of their former activities.

During the latter nineteenth century, archeographers drew the obvious conclusion that ancestral Puebloan populations built and occupied structures closely resembling those surviving Pueblo peoples inhabited at the time (Peckham 1990:6-8). J. O. Brew confused Puebloan archeography by borrowing the Athapascan "Anasazi" ("enemy ancestors") as a label for ancestral Puebloan peoples (Peckham 1990:10, 12). Some investigators such as Frank H. Cushing projected an ethnographic Puebloan social and cultural model to non-Puebloan material culture and structures. Other archeographers proliferated labels for American Indian creators of structures and artifacts that cannot readily be identified as Puebloan.

Initially Winifred and Harold Gladwin wrote about a red-on-buff (ceramic) "culture" (Gladwin and Gladwin 1929a, 1929b, 1930, 1935) on the Sonoran Desert. Soon Harold Gladwin labeled the people who produced red-on-buff pots "Hohokam" (Gladwin 1937:12, 14-18). He borrowed that label from the Piman language. It glosses into English as "those who have gone before," or simply "our ancestors." Gladwin and his associates established a cultural change sequence for several centuries by excavating the Snaketown site on the Gila River Indian Reservation (Gladwin, Haury, Sayles, and Gladwin 1937; Cordell 1984:59-67).

Emil W. Haury joined the label-writing movement by distinguishing a "Mogollon" culture primarily from ceramic artifacts (Haury 1936; Cordell 1984:70-75). Mogollon objects are arguably well within the Puebloan tradition (Peckham 1990:9).

Harold S. Colton joined the label-writing movement (Colton 1938) by distinguishing a "Sinagua" culture, also primarily from ceramic artifacts (Colton 1946). Colton's colleague L. L. Hargrave had already proposed a "Patayan" ("meaning 'old people' of the Hualapai Indians") culture, including Cohonina, Prescott, and Cerbat Branches (Colton 1945:119; Hargrave 1938:44). Malcolm Rogers (1939) preferred the historically accurate "Yuman" label. Colton soon reinforced the Patayan and Cerbat Branch concepts (Colton 1939a). All were defined based on ceramic artifacts. The reasoning typically employed in the labeling is well exemplified by Colton's (1945:120) remark that "pottery of the Sinagua Branch... has quite a Patayan aspect and perhaps that means a common ancestor." Albert H. Schroeder belatedly joined the label-writing movement, claiming that there had been an early ceramic "Hakataya" culture in western Arizona (Schroeder 1957, 1979). Other regional archeographers considered the material remains too diverse to be appropriately labeled by a single cultural label (McGuire 1982:221-222).

They continue using the Patayan label (Cordell 1984:78). Moreover, recent research confirms Rogers' chronology (Waters 1982). To a significant degree, archeographic analysis of the material remains produced by the supposedly pre-Columbian peoples grouped under the labels listed diverted attention from the scientific task of relating twentieth-century American Indian peoples to their pre-Columbian ancestors.

Archeographers clearly have not reached a consensus concerning the Sinagua concept. Colton (1939, 1946) classed Sinagua as a Mogollon branch. McGregor (1936, 1937, 1960) classed Sinagua as Patayan. Schroeder (1979) classed Sinagua as Hakataya (Cordell 1984:80). This lack of conceptual consensus suggests that the classification of material remains, particularly ceramic wares, needs much additional research and analysis.

For present purposes, the Sinagua label is directly pertinent to the identification of present-day American Indians with cultural affiliation concerns for the Tuzigoot ruin and artifacts. A summary of the "Sinagua" that Christian E. Downum wrote for sale at parks and monuments identifies Northern Sinagua ruins on the Colorado Plateau as "pueblos"—the Old Caves, Pollock, Kinnikinnick, and Topachovi ruins. Moreover, Downum concluded that: "Most evidence indicates that the remaining populations moved northward to the Hopi mesas" (Downum 1992:25). Thus, Downum broke the conceptual barrier archeographers earlier built against associating material remains with present-day American Indian peoples.

Also, Downum emphasized a "Southern Sinagua" variant in the Verde River Valley. "For a variety of reasons, a description of southern Sinagua history is difficult" (Downum 1992:25). The major reason for that difficulty is the faulty conceptualization of the "Sinagua" concept itself. Nonetheless, an archeographer can argue that the middle Verde River valley population labeled "Southern Sinagua" cannot be reliably identified as having assimilated with any surviving twentieth-century American Indian ethnic group.

Chronology. Pilles claimed that the native peoples appear to have abandoned the middle Verde River valley about A. D. 1425 for unknown reasons (Pilles 1981:16). That date is demonstrably at least two centuries earlier than actual abandonment.

The very Hopi trade wares at Tuzigoot and the sites downstream on the Verde and Salt Rivers suggest that the Tuzigoot area was inhabited into at least the early seventeenth century. The key types are Sikyatki Polychrome, Jeddito Black-on-yellow (Fig. 3.1),³ Bidahochi Polychrome (Fig. 3.2),⁴ and Winslow Polychrome (Fig. 3.3).⁵ The principal specialists on

Hopi ceramics dated the transition from Sikyatki Polychrome (and Jeddito Black-on-yellow) to mission-period San Bernardo Polychrome vessels as having occurred about A. D. 1625 (Wade and McChesney 1980:19, 1981:43; Brody 1990:186). Since the first Franciscan missionary did not reach a Hopi village until a few years after 1625, the transition must have taken place somewhat later. The first missionaries who undertook to convert Hopis to Christianity arguably did not achieve miraculous success overnight. It took them some years to persuade Hopi potters to begin decorating their Jeddito Yellow Ware vessels with curvilinear San Bernardo Polychrome style designs. A transition at A. D. 1650 seems more likely than 1625 (Dobyns 1991a:195).⁶ Some archeographers consider Jeddito Black-on-yellow vessels recovered from Awatovi Pueblo to have been produced as late as its destruction in 1700 (Dean and Ravesloot 1993:99-100). Tuzigoot, like the sites downstream where Sikyatki Polychrome and Jeddito Black-on-yellow ceramics have been recovered, could, therefore, have been inhabited until mid-seventeenth century. Caywood and Spicer (1935b:99) reported additional evidence that some 10 percent of the excavated interments at Tuzigoot were relatively recent. Matting made of bear grass or cattail had been used to wrap 41 bodies and some organic matter or traces thereof survived. Even a "minute fragment of cotton cloth" was recovered from one grave. "A small bow was found buried with a young



Fig. 3.1: TNM Acc. # 0001, Cat. #0047–Jeddito Black-on-yellow

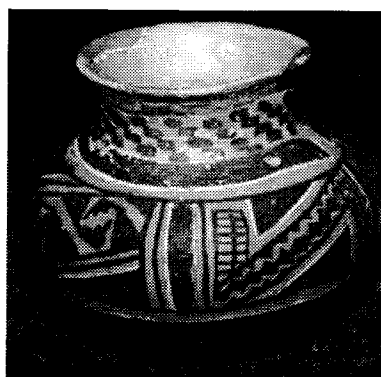


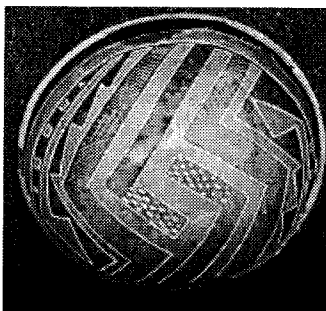
Fig. 3.2: TNM Acc. #0002, Cat. #0347–Bidahochi Polychrome

³ The interpretive display at Tuzigoot National Monument includes two Jeddito Black-on-yellow bowls (Catalog No. 47 and 1080), jar (No. 46), flared rim small cup with strap handle (No. 472, previously 17 and 47). Bowl No. 47 is recorded as from Group 1, Burial 11.

⁴ The Tuzigoot National Monument interpretive display includes a Bidahochi Polychrome bowl (Catalog No. 936) and jar (No. 347).

⁵ The Tuzigoot National Monument interpretive display includes two Winslow Polychrome bowls (Catalog No. 58 and No. 349) and a jar (No. 73).

⁶ We include Winslow Polychrome among the ethnic Hopi trade ceramics documenting occupation at Tuzigoot until the mid-seventeenth century on the basis of Dobyns' (1991a) revision of the chronology of Little Colorado River Hopi gradual abandonment of villages and migration to Black Mesa pueblos until A.D. 1650. See also Brody (1990:57), Plates 23, 24, "Sikyatki polychrome style... fifteenth to sixteenth century."



**Fig. 3.3: TNM Acc. #0001,
Cat. #0058–Winslow
Polychrome**

child” (Caywood and Spicer 1935b:101). Organic materials could not long survive the exposure to oxygen and water characteristic of the soil on which Tuzigoot was constructed.

The Hopi-and-Piman Hypothesis

An alternative hypothesis would identify Tuzigoot as a bi-ethnic Hopi and Northern Piman trading center, survivors of which amalgamated into both the historic Black Mesa Hopis and the middle Gila River Pimas. Hopi trade ceramics recovered from middle Verde River ruins make clear that ethnic Hopis traded at least occasionally with the native inhabitants of the river valley. Itinerant Hopi traders quite likely carried heavy trade vessels from the Black Mesa pottery-making villages to the middle Verde River valley, inasmuch as Hopi traders were reported historically equally far west among the Truxton Canyon Band Walapais (Garcés 1900:II).

The defensive siting of many ruined structures in the area attests, on the other hand, to aboriginal conflicts. It is not clear whether violence occurred between ethnic groups, or between residents of settlements inhabited by members of the same ethnic group. The hypothesis that Hopis and Northern Pimans alternately traded and fought must be kept in mind.

Hopi traders visited the middle Verde River area to trade during the 1860s (Lamb 1993). Toward the end of the twentieth century, Hopis have visited Tuzigoot, Montezuma Castle, and Montezuma Well for ceremonial purposes and continue to visit both castle and well. Some 16 Hopi clans reportedly claim Montezuma Well as their ancestral site (Anderson 1989). Some archeographers interpret Jeddito Yellow Ware at the middle Verde Valley sites as evidence of Hopi habitation, rather than trade (Anderson 1992). The plainwares that abound in the middle Verde River ruins attest that their inhabitants were evidently not ethnic Hopis, although they imported a few beautiful vessels of Jeddito Black-on-yellow, Winslow Polychrome, and Bidahochi Polychrome.

Montezuma Castle National Monument:

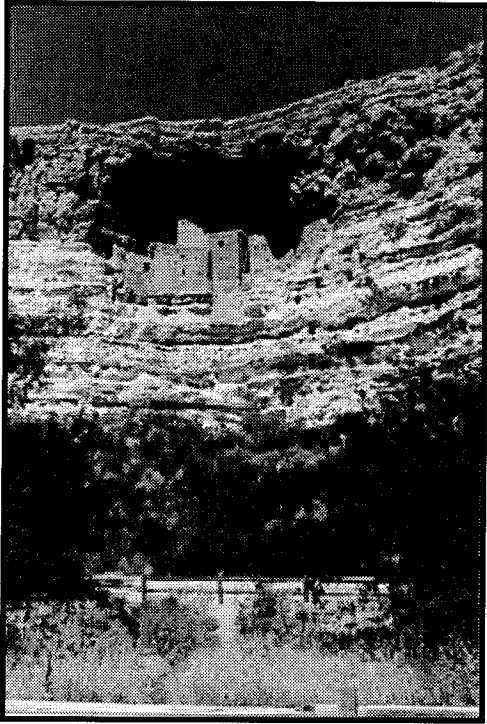


Fig. 3.4: Montezuma Castle

Montezuma Castle was among three sites that in December 1906 joined Devils Tower on the newly established list of national monuments. Because Congress had left the choice of sites to be set aside under the Antiquities Act up to the President, Theodore Roosevelt took “scientific” to include environments both natural and built, i.e., noted for their geologic (hence scenic) as well as cultural significance (Runte 1979:72).

Montezuma Castle, a cliff dwelling located in central Arizona’s Yavapai County, was established as a monument to protect it from further deterioration. The pueblo is within a 100-foot limestone cliff overlooking Beaver Creek Valley, a branch of the Verde River Valley. A projecting ledge shelters the structure itself. Montezuma Well, a separate area 4.5 miles from the castle, was added to the monument in 1947.

Background

History of the Montezuma Castle Archaeology Efforts

Materials in the collection at Montezuma Castle National Monument generally came from the area around the monument at the confluence of Beaver Creek and the Verde River. This introduction provides a summary of the activities that occurred in the area following European entry into the region and from which human remains and materials in the Montezuma Castle collection have come.

Spanish explorers became the first Europeans to visit the area around Montezuma Castle National Monument. Antonio de Espejo’s 1583 expedition probably traveled down Beaver Creek and probably visited Montezuma Well, 4.5 miles northeast of the castle (Schroeder and Hastings 1958:31). One report on Espejo’s journey mentioned an irrigation canal supplied from a pond.

The ruins of Montezuma Castle were mentioned by Antoine Leroux of Lt. A. W. Whipple's railroad route surveying party in 1856 (Whipple 1856). The United States had gotten the Verde Valley after the war with Mexico and established Camp Verde above Beaver Creek in 1865 (Munson 1981). Until that time, no settlements were established near the monument. The army camp was not regularly occupied until 1866 by which time there were settlers in the valley. Army personnel and settlers in the area visited Montezuma Castle and Well beginning in the 1860s (Mindeff 1896; Schroeder and Hastings 1958:31). The army camp was moved a mile south to its present location at Camp Verde, about four miles down Beaver Creek from the Castle, between 1871 and 1873 (Mindeff 1896, Lummis 1897, Munson 1981).

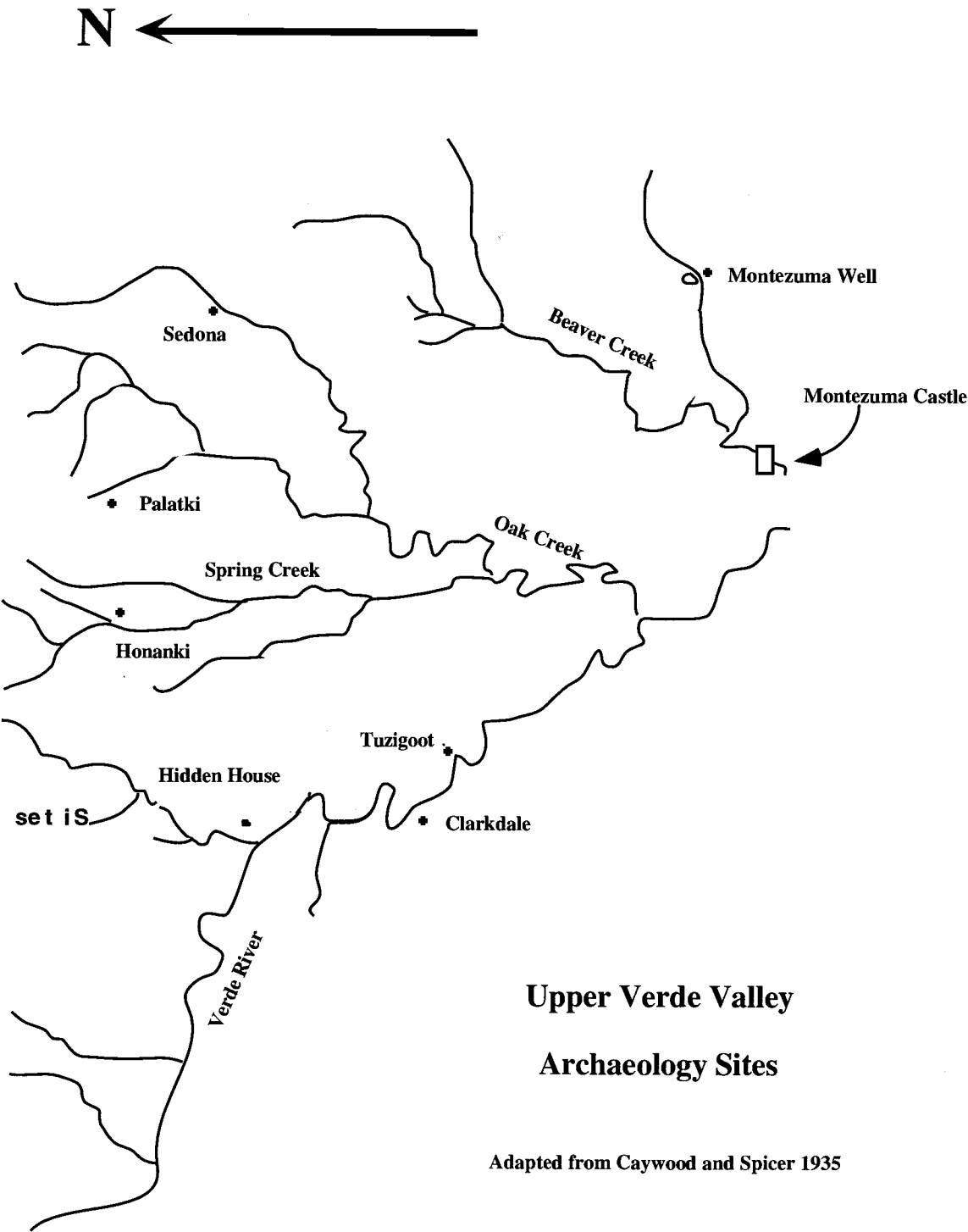
In 1871, a United States Geological Survey party visited Montezuma Well, and in 1878 Dr. W.J. Hoffman from that survey published descriptions of the Well and a large cliff ruin on Beaver Creek (Tenth Annual Report of the Hayden Survey for 1876, Washington 1878:477-478, cited in Mindeff 1896 and Fewkes 1898). By 1880, at least one pioneer visitor had scratched an inscription in Montezuma Castle (Schroeder and Hastings 1958:31).

Dr. Edgar A. Mearns of the U.S. Army stationed at Camp Verde took pot hunting expeditions into the Verde Valley. He reported that on his visit to Montezuma Castle in 1884 it was evident that nothing more than a superficial examination of the ruins had been made. In 1886, he excavated at the castle, but his finds are not reported (Mearns 1890, Fish and Fish 1977) other than antelope bones (Mearns 1907).

The location and general characteristics of Montezuma Castle became known to readers of Arizona's territorial newspapers by 1891 (Arizona Enterprise, Sept. 5, 1891). "It is several stories high...inaccessible from above and ladders are necessary to reach it from below. It is in a fairly good state of preservation" (Arizona Daily Citizen, Aug. 29, 1891). Euroamerican residents of Arizona Territory at that period typically dug up and carried off human bones and artifacts from the ruins of American Indian settlements they visited. There is, therefore, no way to determine a century later how selective tourist relic collecting biased the residual record of American Indian residence at or near and use of Montezuma Castle. At the very least, early relic collectors left later professional excavators largely limited to buried—which is to say burial—evidence because they carried off nearly all artifacts exposed on the surface of rooms, slope, creek-side fields, etc.

Cosmos Mindeff, an archaeologist for the Bureau of American Ethnology, carried out the first professional archaeological survey in the Verde Valley in 1892 (Mindeff 1896). Mindeff paid attention primarily

Map 2: Upper Verde Valley archaeology



**Upper Verde Valley
Archaeology Sites**

Adapted from Caywood and Spicer 1935

to the architectural structures and layout of the villages. Mindeleff's pioneering conceptualization was a little more than descriptive classification of bottom land villages, defensive villages, caveate lodges, boulder-marked sites, and irrigation works.

In 1895, the National Museum invited Jesse Walter Fewkes to collect objects illustrating the archaeology of the Southwest. He was "specially urged to make as large a collection as possible," and the choice of location was left to him (Fewkes 1898:527). Fewkes collected over a thousand specimens cataloged under 966 entries. While Fewkes described Palatki and Honanki cliff ruins in the Red Rock country, he also visited both Montezuma Castle and Well. Having only a Puebloan cultural model in mind, Fewkes regarded the Montezuma Well site as "rather a place of religious rites than of former habitation, possibly a place of retreat for ancient priests when praying for rain or moisture, or a shrine for the deposit of prayer offerings to rain or water gods" (Fewkes 1898:547). He described the place and showed sketches of the ruins to some of the old priests at Walpi about a month after his visit and reported that:

"[t]hese priests seemed to have legendary knowledge of a place somewhat like it where they said the Great Plumed Snake had one of his numerous houses. They reminded me of a legend they had formerly related to me of how the Snake arose from a great cavity or depression in the ground, and how, they had heard, water boiled out of that hole into a neighboring river. The Hopi have personal knowledge of Montezuma Well, for many of their number have visited Verde valley, and they claim the ruins there as the homes of their ancestors. It would not be strange, therefore, if this marvelous crater was regarded by them as a house of Palulukon, their mythic Plumed Serpent" (Fewkes 1898:547-548).

Fewkes also found evidence of at least two kinds of petroglyphs that he attributed to two distinct peoples, the Apache Mohave and the agriculturists who build the cliff homes and villages of the plain (Fewkes 1898:548). Fewkes noted differences in Montezuma Castle and Honanki (Fewkes 1898:552). He did not report taking any objects from the area.

In 1896, S.L. Palmer Jr. and his family dug up several burials, including a child mummy, below Montezuma Castle. Palmer (1940) reported that the ruins appeared to him to have been thoroughly excavated by that time. Part of the Palmer collection was transferred to Montezuma Castle National Monument from Mesa Verde in 1947.⁷ The first repairs to the Castle were done in 1897 (Miller 1897, Lummis 1898). In 1904, John Summers dug up a baby burial from the Castle (Wells and Anderson 1988).

Montezuma Castle was proclaimed a national monument December 8, 1906 by Presidential Proclamation 696 (34 Stat. 3265) as authorized under the Antiquities Act of June 8, 1906. Martin Jackson was appointed Custodian of the monument on December 16, 1921, and contracted for repair and improvement work to be done the following year. Additional stabilization work was done on the Castle in the summers of 1923, 1924, and 1925. In 1923, while cleaning a room floor that had been previously torn up by vandals, the workers found a baby burial. The infant had been buried in a dress of woven cotton cloth (Pinkley 1928).

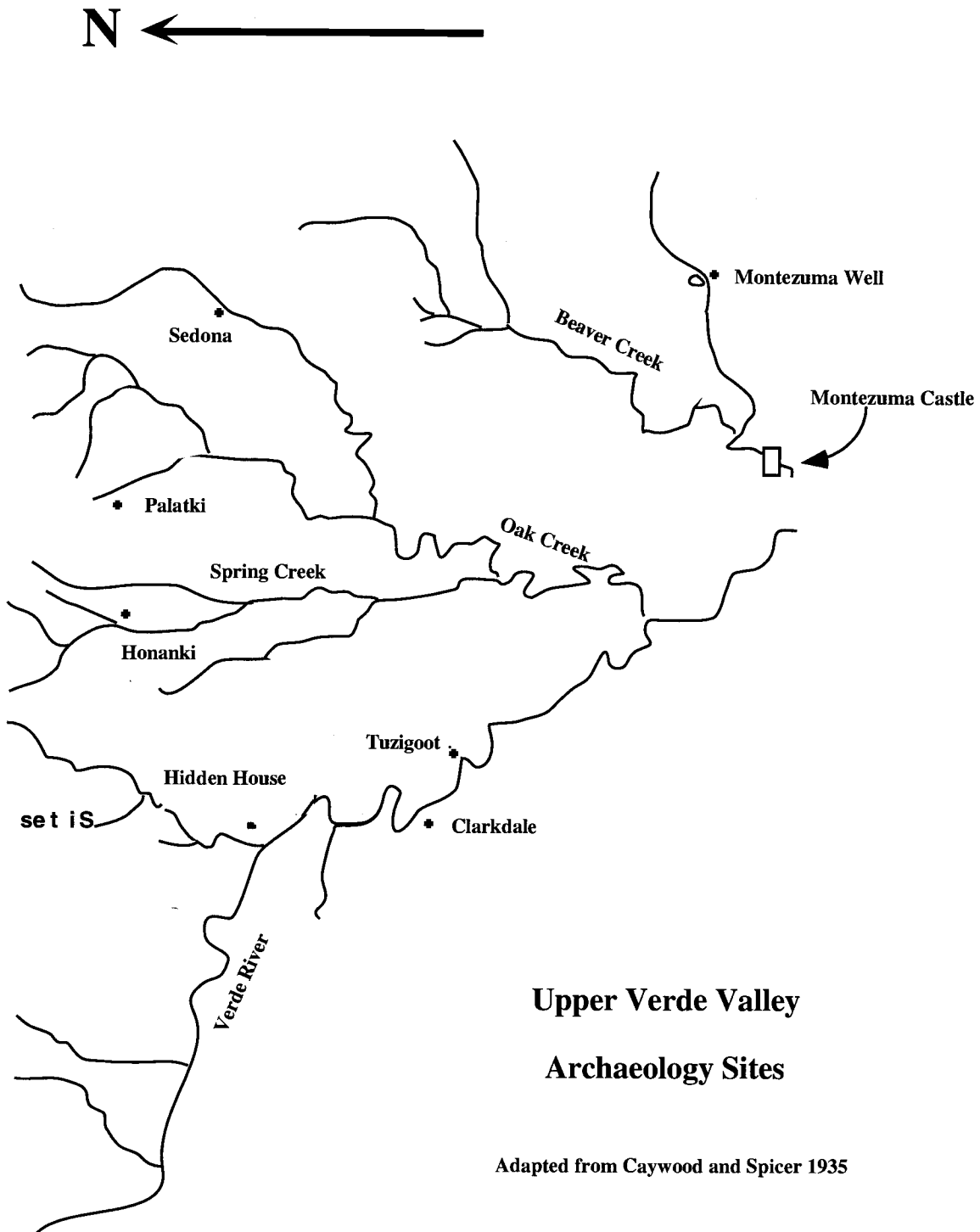
The Jackson family lived at the Jackson Homestead a mile down the creek from the Castle and pothunted in the area. They built a house near the Castle in 1926. The living room of the house served as an exhibit room for displaying items of archaeological interest, including the mummy of a boy that was found at Clear Creek Ruin (Jackson 1960).

George Boundy excavated several floors in Castle A at the monument during 1927, but no report of this work is available (WACC nd, Jackson and Van Valkenburg 1954:9). Mrs. Martin Jackson in 1927 reported an infant burial in the Castle (Pinkley 1928). Vandalism of the ruins in the Verde Valley was especially prevalent in the 1920s and 1930s (Fish and Fish 1977). Earl Jackson became the first full-time employee at Montezuma Castle in 1928 (Jackson 1960). Martin Jackson took over as full-time custodian later that year, and the Jacksons built a museum at the monument. They apparently collected five objects that year, including jewelry, a basket, and textiles.

In 1933 and 1934, Earl Jackson (1933) supervised excavations and restoration of Montezuma Castle section A by ten, and then five, depression agency CWA laborers. Sally Pierce (later van Valkenburg) served as laboratory technician. Most of the effort was directly toward clearing debris from rooms to floor level and temporarily restoring one room (Jackson and Van Valkenburgh 1954:8; Kent 1954). Several burials were excavated near the Castle, including cyst graves situated under ledges and sealed with limestone slabs.⁸ In what was considered the most important burial uncovered, a Thunder Bird pendant made from a clam shell (*Glycimeris* sp.), 85 pieces of turquoise and strip of bark were found with the skeletal remains of a woman. Besides the pendant, turquoise ear rings and disc-shaped beads were uncovered. Two ceramic bowls were also discovered next to the body. A deep, undecorated red bowl (probably Tuzigoot Red) rested over the left hand. A large Bidahochi Polychrome bowl was three inches from the left fibula (Jackson and van Valkenburgh 1954:24-25, 36, 41, Photos 44, 45A, 46B). Although the excavation report

⁷ See photograph in archives at WACC (1896a; WACC Accession No. 125).

Map 2: Upper Verde Valley archaeology



text says that no other artifacts were encountered in this interment, a photograph of the partially cleared skeleton shows what may be a pressure-broken, extremely small-necked plainware jar (*olla*) at the skeleton's left shoulder (Jackson and van Valkenburgh 1954:25, Photo 26). Another bowl reportedly was found outside the grave but directly over the feet (CWA file 1934).

In 1934, Atwell was commissioned by the National Park Service to survey and map the Clear Creek Ruins near Camp Verde (Fish and Fish 1977).⁹ Kent (1954) studied 61 textile specimens in 1938 taken from Castle A (Wells and Anderson 1988). The following year, Earl Jackson (1939a) conducted a stabilization project that resulted in cultural material being removed. World War II diverted NPS personnel from this monument, so that neither research nor stabilization took place during the war years.

In 1947, Earl Jackson made a surface collection, and Steen stabilized portions of the castle (Hastings 1946; 1947a; Wells and Anderson 1988). That same year, a basket that Earl Jackson identified as "Apache" was discovered (Hastings 1947a, Hastings 1947b; Wells and Anderson 1988). The monument also acquired four items on loan, including ceramics.

Several small projects at Montezuma Castle in 1986 resulted in artifact additions to the WACC inventory. One project was at Montezuma Castle. Another project involved clearance for road construction. Another salvage excavation removed an exposed infant burial and associated artifacts from the castle. At the request of the park superintendent, the archaeologists reexcavated the child burial that had been excavated by Jackson (Jackson 1939b) and was on display under glass within a wall of the monument (Tagg 1986). Lisa Huckell conducted an archaeobotanical study of material associated with the burial.

In 1988, four NPS archaeologists excavated from 11 April to 8 May, generating 250 pages of field records, five maps, and photographs (Accession No. 621). Ceramic artifacts ranged from Hohokam Red-on-buff sherds to historic Black Mesa Hopi Jeddito Yellow Ware. A single Tizon Brown Ware sherd suggested historic Yavapai occupation (Wells and Anderson 1988).

⁸ Kathryn Bartlett carried out a skeletal study of burials recovered in 1933 (WACC Accession No. 125).

⁹ That year, the monument acquired 27 items including ceramics, shell jewelry, and stone, from a "field collection."

Montezuma Well

William Bach excavated at Montezuma Well in 1936 (Wells and Anderson 1988). An additional 366 acres were added to the National Monument February 23, 1937, and the purchase of Montezuma Well from private owners and addition to the monument was authorized by an Act of Congress October 19, 1943 (57 Stat. 572). Following that addition, in May 1948, a diver named Mr. H.J. Charbonneau was sent down to explore the bottom of the well and learn its depth (Schroeder and Hastings 1958:27). Though Mr. Charbonneau was searching especially for ceremonial objects thought to have been thrown into the Well, none was found. Heavy amounts of silt on the bottom of the Well made searching difficult (Schroeder 1948).

David A. Breternitz (1960) in 1958 excavated at Montezuma Well, uncovering evidence of Hohokam-Piman colonization. Material recovered was deposited at WACC (No. 125, 455). In 1960, Edmund Ladd conducted a salvage excavation at the Swallet Cave Ruin in the Well that had been badly vandalized. Burials were found in the back next to the cave wall in Rooms 3, 4, and 6 (Ladd 1960). Then in 1964 Richert conducted stabilization and salvage work in Swallet Cave, encountering no interments (Ladd 1964; Wells and Anderson 1988).

George Fischer conducted an underwater exploration of the Well in 1968 (Fischer 1974). The excavations at the Well produced 689 items, primarily potsherds. Worked obsidian and chert flakes, fired clay, charred animal bones and stone were also found. A single fragment of human bone was found (Fischer 1974: 20). The collection was labeled as typical of a late Sinagua site with a low proportion of tradeware. Fischer concluded, "No material identifiable as relating to the earlier Hohokam or later Yavapai-Apache occupation of the Verde Valley was in the sample" (Fischer 1974: 20). (That conclusion is based on early inappropriate ethnographic models of Puebloan and Piman architecture.) "Nor were any modern Hopi remains located, even though archaeologists stationed in the Verde Valley (including Fisher and Cummings) have observed Hopi visitors in recent years" (Fischer 1974: 41). In 1988, four NPS archaeologists recovered sherds of Apache Plain: Rimrock Variety of A. D. 1750 from four locations near the Well (Wells and Anderson 1988).

Summary of NAGPRA-Related Items and Collection Concerns

As of August 2, 1993 personnel at Montezuma Castle National Monument had identified a number of objects of possible concern to Native Americans. These include (a) five items of textiles, jewelry, and

basketry removed from Montezuma Castle in 1928, (b) eleven objects from the Jackson homestead donated prior to 1933, (c) a textile confiscated in 1927, (d) a ceramic vessel excavated in 1937, (e) four ceramic vessels or organic objects loaned in 1947, (f) 27 ceramic vessels, jewelry, shell, and stone objects acquired in 1934, (g) one pot from Osborn ruin obtained in 1933, (h) three pots transferred from Tuzigoot National Monument in 1981, and (i) one jewelry item transferred from Wupatki National Monument in 1981.

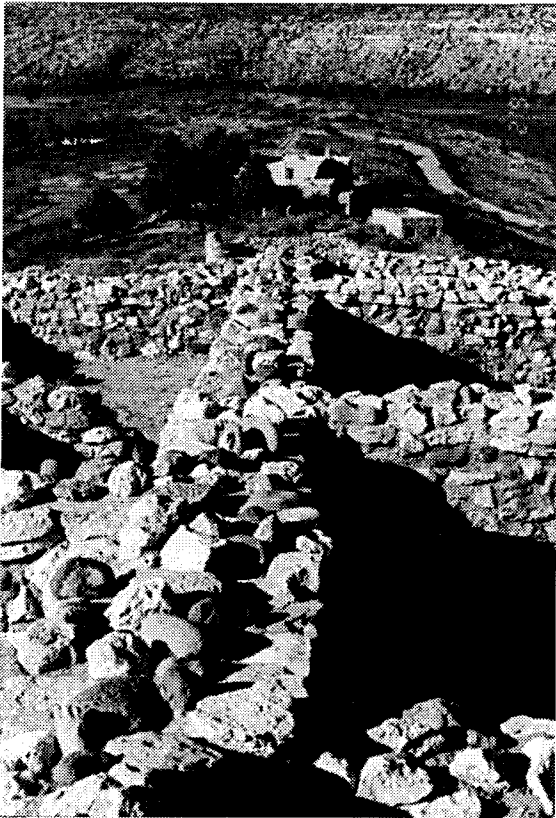


Fig. 3.5: Tuzigoot National Monument

The typed catalog records at Montezuma Castle National Monument allowed the identification of nearly all the artifacts lumped into the general categories of the National Park Service's list of items thought to be subject to provision of NAGPRA.

Tuzigoot National Monument

The hilltop pueblo known as Tuzigoot, another important complex in the Verde Valley, was proclaimed a national monument in 1939. Its establishment followed excavation with some restoration in 1933-34 by Dean Byron Cummings of the University of Arizona and two graduate students, Louis R. Caywood and Edward H. Spicer. The archaeologists' finds led enthusiastic local residents to donate to the federal government 42 acres including the ridge covering the Tuzigoot

site and a museum housing a collection of artifacts from the excavation (Butcher 1951:255, Lister and Lister 1983:146).

The name "Tuzigoot" is an Apache name meaning crooked water. The place name derives from a crescent-shaped lake near the site. The ruin itself sits on top of a limestone and sandstone ridge that juts 120 feet above the flood plain on the north side of the Verde River in central Arizona.

Although there were other fourteenth-century towns in the vicinity, Tuzigoot was the most promising site to excavate. It had been looted less

than other nearby sites because by the time white settlers moved into the area, it sat on private land owned by the United Verde Copper Company. Also keeping away looters was windblown sand, rock and debris that completely covered the ruin prior to excavation.

Background

Monument Archeography

Tuzigoot can be interpreted in at least four ways depending on how one views the objects recovered there. Tuzigoot can be classified as (1) an ethnic Hopi frontier trading outpost, (2) an ethnic Northern Piman frontier trading outpost, (3) a "Southern Sinagua" trading center exhibiting both ethnic Hopi and ethnic Piman cultural influences, or (4) a "Southern Sinagua" trading center inhabited by people whose genetic relationship to present-day Hopis and Pimans simply cannot be inferred from their residual physical and material remains.

Although the stone-walled ruin on the hill has been interpreted as the structural remains of Western Pueblo habitation (Upham 1982:60-61), the physical structure of the Tuzigoot ruin appears inconsistent with the inference that it was constructed by ethnic Hopis or cultural Puebloans. Tuzigoot was constructed of stone rubble, not of flagstone laid in the style characteristic of puebloan Anasazi. The striking difference between Tuzigoot boulder wall construction and that at more surely ethnic Hopi former pueblos may be seen in photographs published by Downum (1992), Hodge (1986), and Brody (1992).¹⁰

Tuzigoot can be viewed as the best preserved defensive storage structure built on a hill in the lower Sonoran vegetation zone (Sauer and Brand 1931). The boulder walls of Tuzigoot have caused National Park Service personnel notable difficulty with maintenance, in contrast to

¹⁰ Tuzigoot on page 7 top photograph, in contrast to Lomaki (p.2), Wukoki at Wupatki National Monument (pp. 3, 9 top photograph), even Palatki (p. 7 lower right photograph), the amphitheater at Wupatki National Monument (p. 16), Crack-in-rock site at Wupatki National Monument (pp. 21 top photograph, 23), and Lomaki at Wupatki National Monument (p. 30). The same contrast is also shown in photographs in Hodge (1986) with a near view of Tuzigoot walls (pp. 16, 18, 19) and Wukoki (p. 47). The Puebloan carefully made stone wall norm is also illustrated by photographs in Brody (1990) for Chetro Ketl (p. 108, Plates 44, 45), Guadalupe Ruin (p. 113, Plate 49), the Tower Kiva at Chetro Ketl (pp. 130-131, Plate 55), and passageway there (p. 146, Plate 74), Antelope House (pp. 134-135, Plate 59), and White House Ruin (pp. 172-173, Plates 101, 102) in Canyon de Chelly, Pueblo del Arroyo in Chaco Canyon (p. 140, Plate 61), Pueblo Bonito (p. 140, Plates 62, 63; p. 144, Plate 71), Casa Rinconada great kiva (p. 145, Plates 72, 73).

stability typical of puebloan Anasazi flagstone walls. "The original construction is poor so that while Tuzigoot appears to be a massive site it is inherently weak. Water seepage from one level to another also results in severe erosion at the foundation line. Tuzigoot has always been a difficult ruin to maintain" (Tuzigoot National Monument 1968: 244).

Excavators have also encountered structural remains of pole-and-thatch huts on the Verde River flood plain near the hill on the summit of which Tuzigoot's stone rubble walls have been reconstructed and stabilized by National Park Service personnel. These domestic structures raise significant doubts concerning the interpretation that the stone walls on the hill at Tuzigoot are Puebloan in origin. The pole-and-thatch huts near riverine fields arguably indicate that the local population lived in flimsy domestic housing, but stored its dried food products and valuable trade goods in stone-walled redoubt-storehouses on the hill. Classic period Hohokam great house sites constructed on broad, level flood plains also served as storage facilities (Dobyns 1988). At Pueblo Grande, for example, excavators opened "rooms containing caches of axes, pottery, masses of mica tempering material, beads and seeds" (Schroeder 1953:177). The total cultural remains pattern at Tuzigoot was, in other words, rather more Northern Piman than Puebloan.



Fig. 3.6: TUZI Acc. #0012, Cat. #1062 – Tuzigoot Plainware

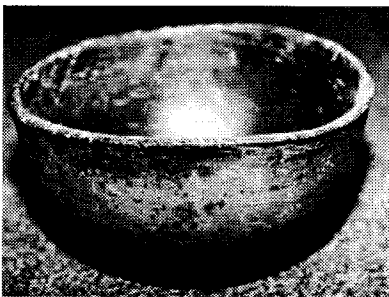


Fig. 3.7: TUZI Cat. #0969 – Verde Brownware

The interpretation that Pimans built and used Tuzigoot is bolstered by the nature of the utilitarian ceramic ware there. The utilitarian vessels were made from plainwares—Tuzigoot plainware (Fig. 3.6) (Pilles 1981:16) and Verde Brownware (Fig. 3.7)—which are very similar to Gila-Salt River basin "Hohokam" plainware. Only a very small percentage of vessels and sherds recovered at Tuzigoot was made by ethnic Hopi potters at the Sikyatki production center and exported to Tuzigoot. Indeed, the proportion of such obvious trade goods at Tuzigoot appears to be not significantly greater than the proportion recovered from "Classic Hohokam" redoubt-storehouse towns in the Gila-Salt River basin.

The whole Tuzigoot complex may be interpreted as a Northern Piman-speaking trading center (Dobyns 1984) near the northern frontier of "Hohokam" expansion in the Verde River Valley proper. A known historic Hopi trading path from the Black Mesa villages crosses the plateau and descends the Mogollon Rim escarpment to the vicinity of Tuzigoot (Colton 1964), attesting to the

latter's having formerly functioned as a trading center, whatever the ethnic identity of its inhabitants was. A stretch of the aboriginal Pacific Ocean-Río Grande Trail connected Tuzigoot with the Northern Panya trading center in the Blythe Valley on the lower Colorado River. Foot paths parallel to the Verde River connected Tuzigoot with the "Hohokam" great house sites in the Gila-Salt River basin.

Colonial documentary evidence summarized above indicates Northern Piman habitation at Tuzigoot or in the middle Verde Valley very near it during the latter sixteenth-century.

History of Archaeology Excavations at Tuzigoot

Items in the Tuzigoot collection generally came from within a ten-mile radius of Clarkdale, Arizona, in the upper Verde Valley (Map 2). This section provides a summary of the activities that occurred in the area following European entry into the region and of the archaeological investigations from which Tuzigoot human remains and materials have come.

Spanish incursions into the Verde Valley were recorded in 1583 and 1598 and 1604 (Pérez de Luxán 1929:106, Cummings 1966:12, Schroeder 1952:113, Bartlett 1942: 30, 32). Permanent Euroamerican settlement in the area did not occur until the mid-1800s. Initial settlement followed explorations into the Valley (Whipple 1854:93, 1856:14-15, Schroeder 1952), and colonists originally grew crops for sale primarily to miners in the Prescott highlands or to the army quartermaster officer at Whipple Barracks, residence of the officer commanding the district of Arizona. Urbanization reached the middle Verde River valley finally as a result of copper mining development and expansion at deposits near Jerome (Dunning 1959). The copper deposits had been quarried by Indian people for centuries, but the founding of United Verde Copper Company (UVCO) in 1883 brought major changes to the area. The company acquired much of the land in the valley. The copper smelter was built and operated in Clarkdale beginning in 1918, and much of the bottomlands were used as a tailings pond for the smelter (Hartman 1976). UVCO employees traveled across and explored much of the region, and at times they discovered and excavated human remains and artifacts. Many prehistoric sites were vandalized after the arrival of large numbers of settlers into the area (Hartman 1976, Fish and Fish 1977, Tagg 1986). In 1935, Phelps-Dodge Corporation bought United Verde Copper Company.

The Tuzigoot ruins were discovered near Clarkdale. Modern research began in 1932 with exploration by UVCO engineer Clarence King and archaeology students Louis R. Caywood and Edward H. Spicer. UVCO

granted permission for Caywood and Spicer to supervise excavations by depression work relief program personnel between October 31, 1933 and June 1, 1934 (Caywood and Spicer 1935). At that time 37 different ruins were visited. Five pueblos in the immediate vicinity of Clarkdale were discovered and determined to have been contemporaneous population centers. Of these, the Tuzigoot pueblo, the Tuzigoot Extension Ruin, and the Hatalacva pueblo were excavated (Caywood and Spicer 1935). Caywood and Spicer unearthed 86 rooms of an estimated 110 and tested refuse deposits around the main pueblo. An "unusually fine collection of artifacts was unearthed.... Among the clay artifacts are bowls, pots, giant storage ollas, ladles and pot covers, some with designs, others plain.... small modeled clay figures depicting human beings, deer and birds.... The turquoise and shell jewelry that adorned many burials comprises one of the finest collections of its kind in the pueblo country" (Butcher 1951:256). The Laboratory of Tree-ring Research in 1961 dated some wood specimens from the original excavation. The earliest phase of the architecture likely falls in the twelfth century with the two expansion periods of the site occurring about A.D. 1200 and in the late 1300s (Lister and Lister 1983:147; see also Tilden 1968:434, Yeager 1947:24).

Four hundred and eleven burials including both human remains and funerary objects were discovered. Some burials were excavated completely, others were only partially removed, and some were left in place or discarded (Hartman 1976). A museum was established on the site in 1936. Materials were also taken to the Smoki Museum in Prescott (Caywood and Spicer 1935, Reid, personal communication, 1993).

How pioneer Verde Valley archaeologists Caywood and Spicer dealt with excavated human skeletal remains is directly pertinent to NAGPRA concerns. According to Caywood, they "apparently foresaw the issues of today; upon completion of their excavation they reburied nearly all the Tuzigoot remains in the slope below the prehistoric pueblo, very close to the original cemetery (Louis Caywood, personal communication)." As a result, fewer "than 10 % of the osteological remains are in archeological storage today" (Anderson 1992:1-2). Plainly, Caywood and Spicer did not foresee NAGPRA. Just as plainly, they behaved with an awareness of American Indian beliefs and concerns about human skeletal remains not characteristic of later archaeologists.

The Caywood and Spicer decision to rebury some nine out of ten excavated skeletons was not numerically trivial. The CWA excavators had exposed skeletal components of 429 persons in 411 interments (Caywood and Spicer 1935b:94). Ceramic vessels were typical burial items. The CWA excavators had uncovered 154 ceramic vessels in 115 burials (Caywood and Spicer 1935b:100-101).

Also during 1933 and 1934, the cave dwellings at Hidden House that were occupied in the same time period as Tuzigoot were excavated. A burial was found over two circular cysts and was completely removed from the cave. Clothing, containers, bows and arrows, and a pendant were recovered. Artifacts found there showed no clear indication of contact with the Hohokam (Dixon 1952: iv). The body was reburied by Yavapai Indians in 1934, so all artifacts are unassociated (Dixon 1952). Many of the human remains from the other excavations were reburied as well.

The entire hill containing the Tuzigoot pueblo was deeded to the Verde School District by the Phelps-Dodge Corporation and then donated to the federal government. Tuzigoot National Monument was established July 25, 1939 through a Presidential Proclamation. The initial monument occupied 43 acres, and another 15 acres were added in 1966. Vandalism damaged ruins throughout the Verde River Valley, and it continued even after the monument was established (Jackson 1939a). The new monument in 1939 acquired 278 items including stone, jewelry, ceramics, and organic materials" as a gift. The "gift" apparently was the transfer of display artifacts from the school district to the new monument.

In the 1939, 1940, and 1941, several additional burials and both funerary and nonfunerary objects were discovered when they became exposed by erosion or stabilization projects that took place there. Smiley (1940) in 1939 discovered a child burial. In 1940 and 1941, Smiley and Cotter discovered five previously unexcavated burials and a broken storage vessel when walls collapsed and they stabilized walls (Hartman 1976, WACC photo file). Stabilization projects and salvage work on the ruins were conducted through the 1970s.

No new burials were discovered during that period, but some pots and artifacts were collected during a 1956 excavation (Peck 1956, 1959). Peck excavated a stratigraphic test trench in 1958 (Peck 1959; Hartman 1976; WACC Accession No. 685). In 1966, a borrow pit for an access road yielded no artifacts. A Yavapai camp outside the pit was identified but left undisturbed (Hartman 1976). Some salvage excavation was carried out in the upper trash area on the eastern slope of the hill topped by Tuzigoot ruin (Schroeder 1967; Tagg 1986). During 1968 stabilization work, an archeologist encountered two sub-floor storage vessels (Hartman 1976; WACC Accession No. 492; Tuzigoot Accession No. 65).

In 1973, George Gumerman completed a survey of the farms and marsh just north of Tuzigoot and found two sites (Gumerman 1973). One site was very badly vandalized, but a significant amount of cultural material was taken from the other site and taken to Prescott College (Hartman 1976). In 1983, an infant burial was discovered below a room in the Tuzigoot pueblo during the installment of floor drains there (Tagg 1986). No associated objects were found with the burial (Jones in Tagg

1986:132). An archaeological survey to inventory the cultural resources within the Tuzigoot National Monument and a proposed land acquisition area adjacent to the monument were conducted on 18-27 March 1986 (Tagg 1986).

Summary of NAGPRA-Related Items and Collection Concerns

The summarized collection from Tuzigoot National Monument contains 366 items from four locations. (One item from Mesa Verde is not discussed here.) Among them are ceramic vessels, jewelry, and organic materials from the ruin acquired in 1939; stones, jewelry items, ceramic vessels from Hatalavca also acquired in 1939; bone tools and organic items obtained in 1939; ceramic vessels and jewelry items from the Clarkdale smelter donated in 1958; and one jewelry item excavated from the ruin in 1952. These items came primarily from the original 1933-1934 excavations of the Tuzigoot pueblo, the associated Hatalacva pueblo, and the Hidden House cave dwellings.

The case exhibit strategy employed at Tuzigoot National Monument effectively masks from viewers the original context in which Caywood and Spicer's crews recovered objects. One clear example is the interment of a man whom Caywood and Spicer labeled a "priest." An alternative explanation for the material wealth interred with the person in question is that he was a very successful trader, or perhaps a very powerful political leader. He wore no fewer than thirteen shell bracelets on his left arm. On his right arm he wore an armlet made with 560 black stone beads and 140 turquoise beads shaped like pendants. Turquoise-mosaic frogs with pipestone centers reposed near the skull's one-time ears. The skeleton wore a red and black stone necklace. A 24-foot long string of shell beads

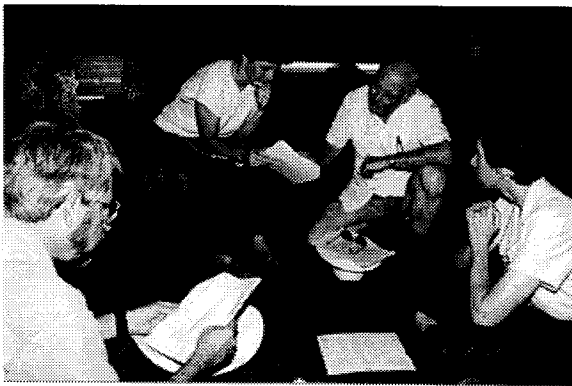


Fig. 3.8: U. of Az. research team reviewing collection lists (l. to r. – Richard Stoffle, Diane Austin, Henry Dobyns, and Stephanie Rodeffer-NPS/WACC)

was laid across the dead man's feet. The burial party furnished the grave with four ceramic vessels, probably filled with food for the deceased. These included a Jeddito Black-on-yellow bowl (see Photo 3.1), a Jeddito Black-on-yellow jar, and two plain ware bowls. "A person with such a quantity of wealth must have been a most important character in the life of the village" (Caywood and Spicer 1935a:3,5).

The thematic exhibit strategy of Tuzigoot National Monument has dispersed the items from this burial among several display cases. The interment provenance of four ceramic vessels, 560 black stone beads and 140 turquoise beads in an armlet, two turquoise-mosaic frogs, a red and black stone necklace, and 24 feet of shell beads must be reconstructed in order for concerned American Indians to make informed decisions concerning them.

Additional items were acquired from excavations near Clarkdale. With the exception of a Yavapai camp that was discovered but not disturbed in 1966 (Hartman 1976), all material found at Tuzigoot appears to have come from the prehistoric or early historic period.

Potential Culturally Affiliated American Indian Tribes

Yavapai

When Euroamericans invaded the middle Verde River valley in 1863, Yavapais lived there. After a dozen years of armed interethnic conflict, federal government officials in 1875 forcibly removed Yavapais to San Carlos Indian Reservation (SCIR). A generation later, U. S. Office of Indian Affairs officials allowed Yavapais dissatisfied with life on that reservation to leave it. Most Yavapais who left SCIR moved to the Verde River watershed. They survived by working at unskilled jobs and some subsistence gardening and hunting. The federal government later reserved several small tracts of land where Yavapais now govern and reside. Federally recognized The groups governing these lands are the (1) Yavapai-Scott Indian Tribe, (2) Camp VerdeYavapai-Apache Tribe, and (3) Fort McDowell Mohave-Apache Indian Community. The reserved area at Camp Verde is near Montezuma Castle National Monument. The Yavapai have a long history of expressed concern for the cultural resources in the Verde Valley and have been in consultation with NPS personnel for many years. The first reburial at Tuzigoot was done in 1934 by Yavapai Indians.

Hopi

As already indicated, J. W. Fewkes interpreted Montezuma Castle in Puebloan terms during the final decade of the nineteenth century. The Puebloan interpretive model was the only one available to Fewkes at that

time. Numerous archeographers have continued to employ a Puebloan interpretive model for middle Verde River valley structures and artifacts.

Among them, Nelson (1929) wrote a travelogue of a visit to Montezuma Castle and Well and mentioned that "cradles have been found made of a succession of interlaced cedar handles" (Nelson 1929:23) and "found in the cliff dwellings was a perfectly round mirror of pure jet, about five inches in diameter, which gives a perfect reflection" (Nelson 1929:23) and "it is interesting to note that a compact made of pure hematite for putting 'that schoolgirl complexion' on the skin you love to touch, was found" (Nelson 1929:23). Nelson said that the people who lived there were Hopis. He also comments on the fine beadwork noting that government scientists say "the beadwork is greatly in advance of that of any other portion of the hemisphere" (Nelson 1929:24). He also discusses the petroglyphs, the baskets, weaving, pottery, and stoneware (Nelson 1929:2425). A brief paragraph on burials is included at the end of the chapter (Nelson 1929:26).

There is currently ethnic Hopi visitation to both Montezuma Castle and Montezuma Well to conduct rituals. Some Hopi clans identify their origin as being the Montezuma Well site, linking this origin to Hopi mythic concern with that body of water, just as the Northeastern Yavapai origin myth attests to Yavapai mythic concern. That Hopi ritualists still make pilgrimages to deposit prayer plumes below Montezuma Castle with the cooperation of local Park Service personnel (Glenn Henderson, personal communication, 1993) attests that the structure holds supernatural significance to ethnic Hopis.

The stone-walled ruin on the hill at Tuzigoot has been interpreted as the structural remains of Western Pueblo habitation (Upham 1982:60-61). If that interpretation is correct, then the nearest Western Pueblos today are the Hopis living in villages along the southern edge of Black Mesa and at the base of the escarpment. The Hopi Tribal Council is the government body representing those Hopis.

Northern Pimans

In the introductory section of this chapter, we present historic evidence that Northern Piman speakers inhabited the middle Verde River valley in 1583. Archeographers have concluded that Hohokam (ancestral Northern Pimans) colonized the area several centuries earlier. They typically view the Verde River Valley as a commodity exchange route via which striking Tusayan ceramic vessels were carried south in exchange for marine shell and probably perishable goods (Doyel 1991:226, 239; Geib and Callahan 1987; McGuire and Downum 1982). Archeographers uniformly interpret

so-called “ballcourts” as quintessential Hohokam-Piman structures. Their abundance in the Verde River Valley (Wilcox 1991:265)—twenty-two percent of those currently known—attests, therefore, that the valley at one time constituted a major component of Hohokam-Piman riverine territory. It is, therefore appropriate to recognize Northern Piman concerns over their cultural patrimony at Montezuma Castle and Montezuma Well.

Material culture evidence for seventeenth-century occupation at Tuzigoot indicates that present-day American Indians predictably possess significant concern over at least certain artifacts and human interments there. The possible interpretation of Tuzigoot as a Northern Piman center identify the Salt River Indian Community Council and the Gila River Indian Community Council as having potential concerns about artifacts there.

Addresses of Potential Culturally Affiliated American Indian Tribes

The following names and addresses are those of the potential culturally affiliated American Indian tribes identified in the previous sections.

Ms. Patricia McGee, President
Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe Board of Directors
530 East Merritt
Prescott, AZ 86301-2038

Mr. Theodore Smith, Sr., President
Yavapai-Apache Community Council
P. O. Box 1188
Camp Verde, AZ 86322

Mr. Clinton Pattea, President
Mohave-Apache Community Council
P. O. Box 17779
Fountain Hills, AZ 85268

Ms. Mary Thomas, Governor
Gila River Indian Community
P.O. Box 97
Sacaton, AZ 85247

Mr. Ivan Makil, President
Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community
Route 1, Box 216
Scottsdale, AZ 85256

Mr. Ferrell Secakuku, Chairman
Hopi Tribal Council
P. O. Box 123
Kykotsmovi, AZ 86039

Chapter 4

Devils Tower National Monument

Given the prominence of Devils Tower as a feature on the land, it is no surprise that the tower occupies a central position in several Indian tribes' creation stories. The tower's unique beauty, its prominence as a landmark during the days of early Euro-American exploration, and a need to create a sense of cultural nationalism, led President Theodore Roosevelt to set it aside by Presidential Proclamation as the first national monument on 24 September 1906 (Harrington 1939:170; Runte 1979).

Roosevelt made use of the then-newly created Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities. The passage of this act was revealing: it showed that the efforts to protect unique objects of cultural and historical interest, largely in the West, were "strongly motivated by the search for cultural identity" (Runte 1979:73). Nineteenth-century intellectuals in the United States were keenly aware that the nation could not trace its origins to antiquity, and this was a source of embarrassment. The Antiquities Act provided a mechanism to create what was felt to be lacking: national antiquities—glossed as "national monuments." These antiquities came to include both monumental landscapes and prehistoric built environments. In both cases, the monuments served as resources to parallel the Old World's status claims rooted in Western Civilization; the national monuments became "visible symbols of continuity and stability in the new nation" (Runte 1979:11-12). As such, they provided an important source for national identity. (See Muir 1901 to get a sense of how national landscapes were viewed.)

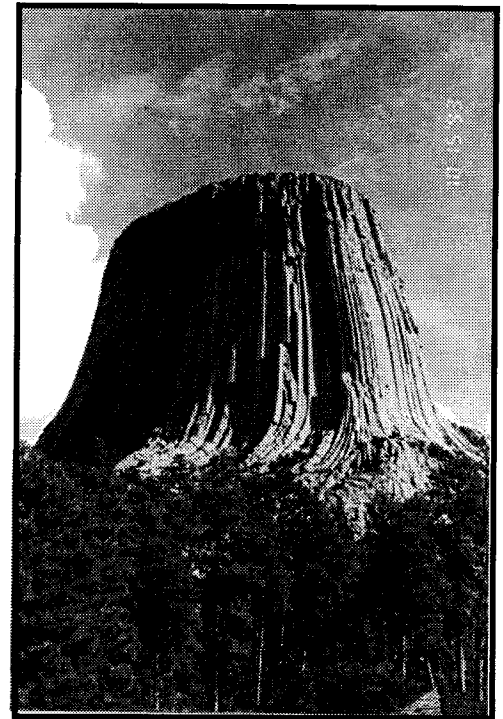


Fig. 4.1: Devils Tower

The imposing quality of Devils Tower served as a qualified symbol of national stability. The fluted stone column is an imposing monolith of volcanic rock. The tower, which from a distance looks like a huge tree

stump, rises above the plains and rolling hills in northeastern Crook County, Wyoming. The surrounding scenery exhibits features of both the Black Hills and the Great Plains (Albright and Taylor 1928:164, Darton and O'Hara 1907:1, Effinger 1934:1, National Park Service 1985:1, Runte 1979:72, Tilden 1968:132-134, Yeager 1947:32-34).

A Euroamerican expedition first reached Devils Tower in 1859-60, but it was named on a map published in 1858 based on explorations carried out in 1855-57. The map included the Lakota "Mato Tepee" translated as "Bear's Lodge" (Harrington 1939:171). In 1893, local ranchers William Rogers and Willard Ripley drove stakes into one of the laccolith cracks that enabled them to climb to the butte's summit in June. The ranchers took advantage of the national symbolism associated with Independence Day, became entrepreneurs, and reportedly collected \$300 from a crowd that gathered to watch Rogers ascend the ladder and unfurl a large flag on the summit (Harrington 1939:173). On July 4, 1895, the ranchers varied the program by having Rogers' wife make the climb (Harrington 1939:174).

Now, Devils Tower annually attracts about 450,000 tourists from around the world. It is also a primary destination for rock climbers with 6,057 climbers recorded in 1993. The dilemma for the National Park Service is how to best resolve the resulting conflicts between climbers who view Devils Tower as a public resource that they can use as they see fit, and the American Indians who view Devils Tower as a sacred site and place of religious power and spirituality.

Background

The natural stone peak known in English as "Devils Tower" holds great religious importance for several American Indian peoples which shared post-horse Great Plains culture. Some 31 tribes shared the post-horse Great Plains cultural pattern, and occupied the territory that anthropologists label the "Plains culture area." A thorough review of the ethnographic literature revealed that ten of those historic tribes shared the cultural traits typifying the area surrounding Devils Tower (Wissler 1917:206-207; Ewers 1958; Scaglione 1980:24-26):

The 10 tribes ranged, at one time or another during historic times, over the western portion of the northern Great Plains. The western Northern Plains area lay east of the Rocky Mountains, extending northward into the valley of the Saskatchewan, southward to the Yellowstone River watershed, and eastward to an arbitrary north-south line on the Great Plains (Ewers 1967:168).

Table 1: Tribes Associated with Devils Tower

1. Arapaho
2. Assiniboine
3. Blackfeet, including (a) Pikuni or Piegan, (b) Kainah or Blood, and (c) Siksika or Blackfoot (Ewers 1958:5)
4. Cheyenne
5. Crow
6. Gros Ventre
7. Kiowa
8. Kiowa-Apache
9. Sarsi
10. Teton-Dakota (Wissler 1917:206-207)

Federal policies carried out by the War Department (Army) and Department of the Interior (Office of Indian Affairs) during the late nineteenth century split the Arapaho and Cheyenne into northern and southern components involved in governing reservation or other ethnic group assets hundreds of miles apart. "Indian War" fission of these American Indian peoples was facilitated by their traditional fluidity of political and social structure. "The band rather than the tribe was the basic year-round residential unit" (Ewers 1967:171). Devils Tower figures in the traditions of some of the Northern Plains peoples, and it is for some the major goal of religious pilgrimage. Several major recorded pilgrimages are outlined in the following pages.

Three American Indian Legends About Devils Tower

Cheyenne

Cheyenne speakers refer to the "Devils Tower" as *Nakeove* which glosses as "Bear Peak." Cheyenne share with other northern Plains peoples essentially the same legend accounting for the creation of the striking stone formation. Children played *nakonistoz*, or "bear play." Karl Schlesier (1987:50) claimed that the game's rules derived from proto-Tsistsistas (Cheyenne) bear hunting rules observed earlier and farther north. One player assumed the role of a bear in a den. The others approached carrying a pole and poked it cautiously into the den. Touching fur, they twisted the split, pointed end to try to "catch" the animal so as to pull it into the open. While preparing, the group of players discussed loudly a list of animals that might be in the den, terms for bear being

forbidden. Finally, one player uttered one of the forbidden terms, and the bear would charge the other players and overpower them.

According to the legend, the celestial female bear *maheonhovan* descended to earth to punish one group of players near the Black Hills. She destroyed an entire population of a Tsistsistas encampment except for one girl. As this girl fled, a powerful helping spirit threw up obstacles to try to halt the vengeful celestial bear. The celestial bear even bested the *Manohotoxceo* ("Seven Brothers," that is, the Pleiades) when they intervened. Then the girl's prayers obtained effective supernatural intervention: a mountain grew under their feet. Its sides were so smooth and steep that the pursuing celestial bear could not climb it. Each time she tried, her claws gouged grooves into the butte's sides. Narrators differ as to whether the youngest brother killed the celestial bear, or whether she followed the Pleiades into the sky and still pursues them.

Kiowa

During historic times, the Kiowa were forced by more powerful mounted Plains tribes southward from their aboriginal homeland in the Black Hills and neighboring territory. At the end of the nineteenth century, Kiowa oral history nonetheless preserved memory of prior residence in the north when their ancestors used dogs as pack animals because they still owned "but a few horses." The Kiowa were then allied with the Crows and Arikara. One Kiowa "mythic legend" accounted for the origin of the Black Hills "and another deals with the noted Bear Lodge or Devils Tower Tsó-ai, 'tree rock,' i.e. monument rock, near Sun Dance, Wyoming, which they claim is within their old country" (Harrington 1939).

Ethnographer J. P. Harrington (1939:162-63) was struck by the fact that Kiowas in Oklahoma preserved oral traditions of their ancestral residence in the Black Hills and before that on the head of the Missouri River and a legend accounting for both the creation of *Ts'ou'a'e* or Bear Butte and the Pleiades constellation. The traditional homeland was 650 miles distant and "not seen by any living Kiowa or by the grandfather of any living Kiowa and yet vividly remembered in name and legend." The Kiowa legend attributed the northwestward leaning of the butte to Bear Woman's attacking and jumping against it from the southeast. The Kiowa applied the single name *Ts'ou'a'e* to Bear Butte, and a different term to less spectacular buttes (Harrington 1939:169).

The Kiowa legend tells of a single family encamped to gather wild plums. The daughter painted herself in the morning, and then went off into the woods where a bear licked the paint off. After discovering this liaison, the father mobilized hunters to kill the bear. Not long afterwards, nearly grown-up children played the bear game on a river sandbar. They heaped up sand, and then made a pit in it, placing wild plums on heap or

in the pit to mark the "bear's den." The child who was "it," played the bear's role. The girl who had let the bear lick off her paint warned her younger sister that she would become a true bear after a certain amount of turning. Indeed, after the requisite turning, she became a bear and attacked her playmates and the encamped adults. She made her younger sister do the chores, until one day she sent the younger girl to kill a cottontail rabbit. Crying because she did not know how to kill a rabbit, the girl met six brothers on the war path. One of them killed a rabbit for her and admonished her to be prepared to demonstrate to her ursine sibling how she had slain it and to collect sharp things such as awls to scatter about the tepee. The younger sister did as instructed, collected a load of firewood and dropped it on the bear girl's leg. That caused the bear girl to start for her sibling, who fled to the six brothers. The bear girl stepped on some of the sharp objects, but none penetrated between the middle toes of her feet, her only vulnerable spots.

When the bear girl had nearly overtaken the seven fugitives, they met an old sick bison. He instructed them to slaughter him, and throw organs behind them. Then a rock told them to circle it four times and stand on top and say "Rock, rise up!" They did, and it rose as the girl repeated the request. The bear girl hurled herself against the rock, causing it to lean. "As she would drop back, her claws would descend down the sheer sides" to create the vertical cracks in the butte.

After the younger sister had four times commanded the rock to rise, one of the brothers mortally wounded the bear girl by shooting her with an arrow in the middle cleft of her paw. By that time, it was easier for the fugitives to reach the sky than to descend. The eldest brother shot seven arrows skyward, and the last hit the sky. The girl and six brothers then became the Pleiades (Harrington 1939:174-176).

Kiowa neighbors included the Flatheads, northern Arapaho, Gros Ventres, Blackfeet, Shoshoni, and Sarsi, as well as Dakota. "Several prominent men of the Kiowa tribe... are of Sarsi descent" (Mooney 1898:160). It is likely that Sarsi who remained in the northern Plains shared Kiowa religious attitudes toward Tsó-ai.

Teton-Dakota

The Dakota legend concerning Devils Tower explains the origin of the butte. Three bears attacked three maidens picking wild flowers. The women climbed a rock seeking safety, but the sharp-clawed bears also climbed it. Seeing the women's predicament, the deity had the rock grow higher and higher. Finally, the exhausted bears fell hundreds of feet to their deaths at the base of the butte. The tough maidens fashioned a rope from their flowers and lowered themselves safely to the ground below (Albright and Taylor 1928:165). The grizzly bears' claws scratched the

butte into its striking and characteristic basaltic columns. Logically, the Dakota labeled the butte *Mateo Tepee* or "Grizzly Bear's Lodge" (Tilden 1968:133). According to Harrington (1939:169), Lakota language had three additional terms for Devils Tower: 1) *Witchátchepaha* or "penis mountain," 2) *Hinyánkaghapaha*, or "mythic-owl mountain," and 3) *Wanághipaha*, or "ghost mountain."

Summary of NAGPRA-Related Items and Collection Concerns

The Servicewide summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony lists the following artifacts at Devils Tower National Monument:

Table 2: Servicewide Summary Items for Devils Tower

A) 11 pipes with stems	G) one turtle charm
B) a stone hammer or club	H) two eagle feather fans
C) a ceremonial stone	I) one lizard charm
D) a model shield	J) two Indian dolls
E) a pendant	K) one beaded bag
F) one flute	

American Indian tribes inhabiting the northern Great Plains have, during historic times, created catlinite pipes both for commercial sale and for ceremonial use. "Some pipes were venerated as extremely sacred" (Lowie 1954:57). Tobacco, however, was reserved for ceremonies "and other solemn functions" (Lowie 1954:27). They have created dolls for sale and for ritual purposes. They have created eagle feather fans for ceremonial use. They have created carved stone "charms" both for commercial sale and for native ceremonial purposes. Without precise information about the origin of each artifact at Devils Tower National Monument, it may well be impossible to distinguish artifacts made for sacred purposes from those made for sale outside the originating cultural group. Probably no religious traits distinguish the ten tribes under discussion from other Plains-area cultural groups (Ewers 1967:173). Under these circumstances, it seems advisable for the National Park Service to

call upon expert American Indian peoples to help assess the objects contained in the collection at Devils Tower National Monument.

As of this writing, we do not know if the nature of the collection kept at Devils Tower and the information available about it is typical of the situation at other NPS units. The Devils Tower collection items all came from elsewhere—they did not originate on Devils Tower property. In most cases, the items included on the servicewide summary were given to Devils Tower in the 1930s by non-Indian people. Most of these donated items came from one family who lived in Deadwood, South Dakota, at the time of the donation in 1937. It is neither known where these donors got the items from originally nor under what circumstances. This does not automatically mean the NPS has legal title, however, under the regulations of the NAGPRA legislation (see Chapter 1). Since there is no way of knowing under what circumstances the donor obtained the items, it is safest for the NPS to include them as part of the NAGPRA consultation, which the agency has done by including these items on the servicewide summary.

Accession and catalog records were checked by the authors. In addition, information about five of the objects in the Devils Tower collection was obtained from the Registrar at Harpers Ferry Clearinghouse. These items are discussed specifically below. The photographs that illustrate this chapter are the items included in the collection at Devils Tower National Monument.

Five categories of items included by Devils Tower on the servicewide summary are transfers from Harpers Ferry Clearinghouse. Three fans, made out of seven eagle feathers, came to Harpers Ferry by way of Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument in 1976, after Little Bighorn Battlefield got them from a judge in Montana (Figs. 4.1 and 4.2). The eagle feathers had been seized from Dora Moore of Lodge Grass, Montana, in 1974 in violation of the “eagle act” (Coleman 1994). Two of the eagle feathers are separate feathers but with similar beadwork on the bases. Five of the eagle feathers are stacked together in a fan, with leather and beadwork at the base. The eagle feathers held at Devils Tower are actually part of a group of twenty-two eagle feathers that were transferred



Fig. 4.1: DETO Acc. #169, Cat. #1263 – Eagle Feather Fan,

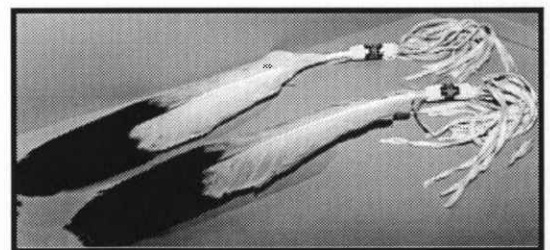


Fig. 4.2: DETO Acc. #169, Cat. #1264 – Eagle Feather Fans

from Little Bighorn Battlefield, fifteen of which are still at Harpers Ferry (Accession #4142).

The beaded turtle arrived at Harpers Ferry from Fort Necessity

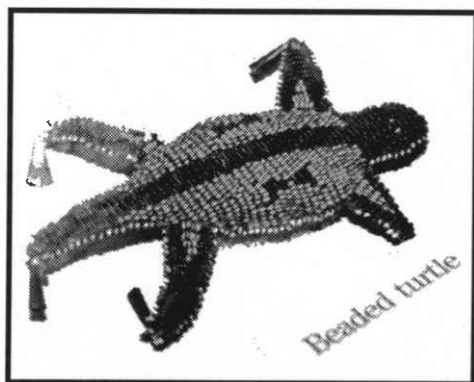


Fig. 4.3: DETO Acc. #158, Cat. #0358 – Beaded turtle

National Battlefield in Pennsylvania in 1970 (Fig. 4.3). We did not inquire as to how the turtle came to be at Fort Necessity. It was transferred to Harpers Ferry in 1970, and then transferred to Devils Tower in 1983. The curators at Harpers Ferry thought it was old, probably early nineteenth century and of a southern Cheyenne style. They also thought it was a personal fetish, of a sensitive nature (Coleman 1994). We now identify it as a umbilical cord container (Maurer et al. 1992).



Fig. 4.4: DETO Acc #158, Cat. #356, 357 – Dolls

Two dolls, representing a male and a female American Indian adult, were transferred to Harpers Ferry from the Midwest Regional Clearinghouse in Lincoln, Nebraska in 1975 (Fig. 4.4). NPS curators identified the items as being Plains-style dolls, in a style produced after the turn of the century. The dress was identified as being of Cheyenne or Arapaho style (Bates 1982).

The lizard charm is a beaded amulet done in a typical Lakota-Assiniboine style (Fig. 4.5). However, the lizard amulet kept in the Devils Tower collection was apparently loaned to the Monument in 1961 by the Nebraska State Historical Society in Lincoln, Nebraska. No records were available for the study team at the time of the visit to the Monument to indicate where or how the Historical Society originally acquired the item or why it was labelled as Cheyenne.

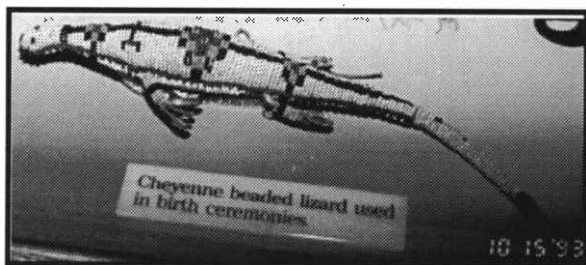


Fig. 4.5: DETO Acc.# 136, Cat. #193 – Lizard charm

The “eleven” pipes with stems is a typographical error on the servicewide summary. When Dr. Evans made a visit to photograph the collection, he was only able to find two pipes with stems (Figs. 4.6 and 4.7).

The model shield is made from buckskin and decorated with black and white feathers. It was most likely made specifically for a museum exhibit and was received from the “Western Museum Laboratories in Berkeley,

been specifically made for a museum exhibit, the NPS could consider dropping it from NAGPRA consultation. However, it is currently on the list and models can be recreated and sanctified for ceremonial reasons. Therefore, we have included ethnographic information about shields in this chapter of the report to provide NPS personnel all the information they might need regarding the objects on the summary list.

The “ceremonial stone” is part of the donation made by the family from Deadwood, South Dakota, in 1937. It is most likely an historic Indian art piece.

The “stone hammer or club” is also from the Deadwood donation (Fig. 4.8). While ceremonial hammers are known to exist among the ten American Indian tribes we discuss in this chapter, this particular one is not distinguished enough to make an exact cultural affiliation determination.

The “pendant” was according to the catalog records made with a “simulated beadwork” design “with a buckskin fringe.” The catalog record stated that the item had been deaccessioned in 1982 (no reason given), but it was still included on the servicewide summary. This item is not in the collection at Devils Tower.

The flute is of a Lakota-style common in the early 1900s (Fig. 4.9). It is similar in style, but not as finely finished as flutes made throughout the Indian world today. This flute is made of wood, metal, and leather. This item is part of the Deadwood donation in 1937, but no other information is known about the item.

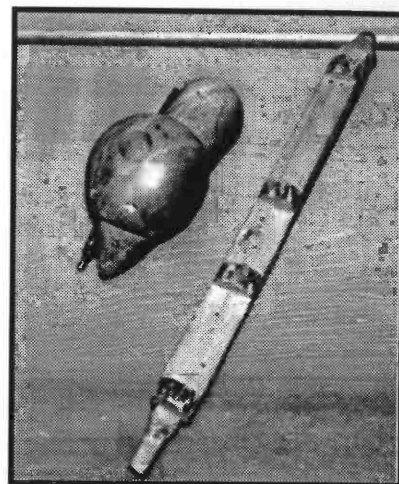


Fig. 4.6: DETO Acc. #54, Cat. #32 – Pipe

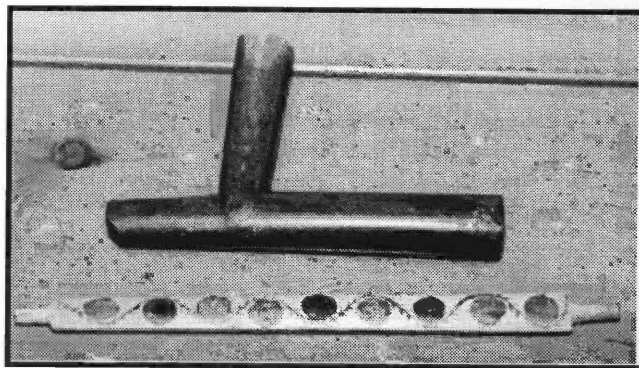


Fig. 4.7: DETO Acc. #54, Cat. #01 – Pipe

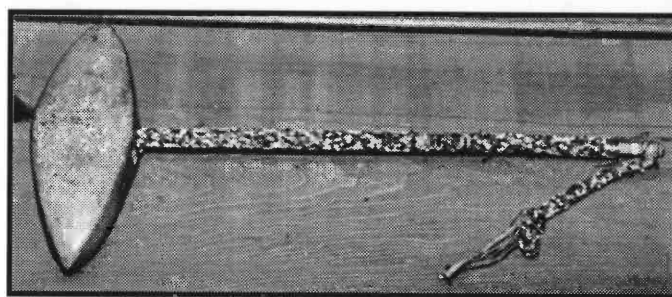


Fig. 4.8: DETO Acc. #54, Cat. #36 – Stone Hammer

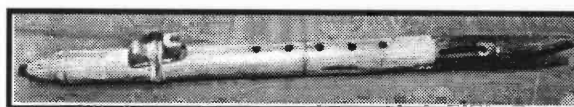


Fig. 4.9: DETO Acc. #54, Cat. #28 – Flute

The “beaded bag” is not a Plains-style item. The catalog record indicates a Northwest Coast origin, but the item was donated by a non-Indian person in 1939 living in Wyoming. It appears to be an item that easily could be defined as made for tourists.

Potential Cultural Affiliations of the Collection Objects

The following sections present in brief form basic information about some of the classes of artifacts that would be included in the NAGPRA process. Sources cited are more illustrative than exhaustive. These paragraphs are designed to give NPS unit personnel a brief understanding of why a particular object may be defined in one of the NAGPRA-related categories.

Table 3: Examples of Objects of Cultural Patrimony and Potentially Sacred Artifacts for Ten Northern Great Plains Tribes

Tribe	Pipes	Fans	Cloths	Lizard charms	Turtle charms	Flutes	Other
Arapaho	yes	yes				whistle	
Assiniboine	yes	yes				yes	shield
Blackfeet	yes			yes		whistle	skull; shield
Cheyenne	yes		offerings	probable		yes whistle	skull* shield
Crow	yes	yes				whistle	doll; shield
Gros Ventre	yes	yes			probable		shield
Kiowa	yes	NAC	shawls			whistle	shield; skull*
Kiowa-Apache							shield
Sarsi	yes	yes	in bundle			whistle	shield
							skull*
Teton-Dakota	yes					yes	shield; skull

NAC=Native American Church

* bison

The following historical associations may be drawn between specific objects in the Devils Tower collection as reported on the NPS servicewide summary. The manuscript from which the Denig material was published is estimated to have been written in 1854.

Arapaho

Pipes. At the turn of the twentieth century, Arapaho oral history recognized five former “tribes” which had amalgamated into the surviving Arapaho and Gros Ventre. Each of the five remembered tribes reputedly spoke its own dialect of Algonkian. The Arapaho proper and one of the other tribes (*Baasawuune’na*) reportedly quarreled “over the sacred tribal pipe and a similar sacred lance” which belonged originally to the Baasawuune’na. The Baasawuune’na pipe and lance keeper married an Arapaho woman and lived with her people. “The present condition of alliance, and of possession of the pipe by the Arapaho, has come about through intermarriage” (Kroeber 1902:7). Thus, the pipe has clear mythic meaning to the Arapaho people.

The Gros Ventre and Arapaho ethnic groups both historically treasured Flat Pipe bundles opened in order to use the respective Flat Pipes in important rituals. The standard interpretation of the separation of an ancestral single ethnic group into Arapaho and Gros Ventre places it on the northeastern periphery of the Great Plains, probably during the seventeenth century. “The presence of a similar Flat Pipe bundle, ritual, cosmology, and linguistic affinity, points to the antiquity of this constellation of symbols” (Hatton 1990:23).

The Arapaho claimed to have been generally at peace with the Comanche and Kiowa, but hostile to their other native neighbors (Kroeber 1902:3). When the Osage and Pawnee negotiated peace with the Arapaho, friendship was made by means of a pipe (Kroeber 1902:8).

“Smoking the pipe plays as large a part in the life of the Arapaho as among other Prairie tribes. Their most sacred tribal object is a pipe, that, according to their cosmology, was one of the first things that existed in the world.” Most Arapaho pipes were made from catlinite, but sometimes black stone was carved into small pipes (Kroeber 1902:21).

Eagle Feather Fans. Old Arapaho men often used eagle-wing fans “for the good of all (the tribe). They use them as shades for the eyes when they cannot see very well.” Old men used eagle-wing fans for mundane purposes—driving flies away, brushing off dust, fanning oneself when perspiring, patting oneself when filled with food. On the other hand, these fans have been used since Clotted-Blood (a mythical character) gave one

to his father." Younger Arapaho men sometimes made fans from the tail feathers of either eagles or hawks. Eagle-feather fans are also utilized in the rites of the Native American Church (Kroeber 1902:22). A photo taken about 1890 shows a chief wearing a Ghost Dance shirt carrying an eagle feather fan (Maurer et al. 1992:33 Fig. 20).

Assiniboine

Assiniboine belief in and practice of ethnic religion declined during the first seven decades of the twentieth century. Then in the mid-1970s, comparatively youthful Assiniboine adults initiated a resurgence in traditional religious activities on both the Fort Peck and Fort Belknap reservations (Miller 1987:175). They possessed what may be viewed from one point of view as an advantage. "Assiniboine elders do not feel bound, as Gros Ventres do, to do things exactly as their ancestral ritual authorities did" (Fowler 1987:228).

Pipes. Many and various pipes were made by the Assiniboine (Denig 1930:407). The peace pipe was used within the tribe, to "lull suspicion," and in the context of intertribal relations (Denig 1930: 400, 403-404). An Assiniboine elder concerned with preserving ethnic oral history and traditions claimed that his people fashioned pipes "from one of the tubular branching vessels of the heart of the buffalo" in the earliest remembered times (Dusenberry 1960:58).

When the ethnic Assiniboine religious revival started, the younger Assiniboines who were "disturbed by the lack of transition of religious knowledge, began to take pipes to the oldest Assiniboine religious leaders in the traditional way of asking for help" (Miller 1987:228). In 1980, Assiniboines involved in the ethnic religious revival named Robert Four Star to a long vacant chief's position. "He in turn fed the others in the circle of the pipe" (Miller 1987:227).

Funerary practices. Denig's description of burial among the Assiniboine is informative regarding the types of items associated with funerals.

When a warrior dies the body is straightened and dressed in full war dress, as for battle, the face being painted red. It is then wrapped up in a blanket, which is again enveloped in scarlet cloth, or his flag, if he has one; then his bow, quiver, sword, gun, powder, horn, battle ax, war club, tomahawk, knife, and his medicine or charm are laid alongside and the whole baled with the body in his buffalo robe, being the one on which his coups on his enemies are painted.... the persons who pay this attention to the corpse know they will be well

paid by the relatives of the deceased, as it is the greatest honor one Indian can confer on another and is a claim on the patronage of the relatives during their life.... The clothing, arms, medal, or other trinkets not bequeathed are deposited with the body, and as the sanctum of the dead is never disturbed nor these articles renewed, they must present a sure criterion whereby to judge of their state of arts and arms at the time of the interment as far as it is possible.... (Denig 1930:570-71).

The wrapped and otherwise prepared corpses were either scaffolded on trees or interred on a hill. In either case, the implements were included in the grave. The reason for this, according to Denig, "is that they are supposed to be necessary to his being in the world of spirits. It is a very ancient custom, perhaps coeval with their existence" (Denig 1930:573).

Shields. Shields were among the traditional costume of warriors. Eagle feathers adorned the shields, which were typically constructed from a piece of dried raw bull's hide. The hide itself was thick, round and about 18 inches in diameter. Feathers were sewed or tied near the edge in addition to there being two or three in the center of the shield. Frequently the surface of the hide was painted with an animal figure, which could be real or imaginary. The shield itself was impervious to arrows (Denig 1930:553).

Flutes. Denig provides a fairly lengthy description of the Assiniboine music on the flute. "The instrument is made of wood, about the length and size of an octave flute, and the mouth on the principle of a whistle. There are four finger holes above and one underneath for the thumb. No tune or anything approaching it can be produced from this instrument, yet they can sound different calls in a shrill tone. It is played in several of their dances as an accompaniment to singing, not, however, producing any sound accordant with the voice. The principal purpose for which it is made and used is love making. By the various notes the following intelligence can be conveyed by the man outside to the woman inside the lodge, without any of the inmates except her knowing for whom they are intended, as the whistle can be distinctly heard at the distance of 100 yards or more: 'I am here waiting for you,' 'I am watched,' 'Remain,' 'I will come again,' 'Meet me tomorrow,' and several other communications of a like nature. The meanings of these different sounds are agreed upon and understood by the parties beforehand.... Songs and this whistle are used in their serenades and dances" (Denig 1930:512).

Animal charms. The use of animals among the Assiniboine typically did not represent tribal organization and only occasionally represented kinship affiliation. More typically, according to Denig, individuals adopted the animal insignia to use as their medicine or charm. "Most

Indians have a charm of this kind, either in consequence of some dream or of an idea that the figure has some effect in carrying out his views regarding war, the chase, or the health of his family. These are assumed for his own purposes, whether real or imaginary, to operate on his own actions or to influence those of other Indians" (Denig 1930:412).

This charm or fetish may consist of anything resembling animate, inanimate, or imaginative creation. It was typically carried inside of several envelopes of animal skin and placed in a painted, fringed or otherwise decorated rawhide sack. Ordinarily the object was taken out only in secret, and prayers and invocations were made through it as a medium to the spirits with whom the individual wished to communicate. According to Denig, "They are aware that the object has no intrinsic power, but its virtue lies in their faith of their ceremonies as exhibited through this charm as a visible medium to the supernatural" (Denig 1930:495).

The charm, or medicine, are described as being among the important objects that are buried with a warrior when he dies.

Eagle feathers (Eagle feather fan). Even in the 1850s, Denig observed that "eagles are scarce and difficult to catch" (Denig 1930: 589). This difficulty increased the value of items, both in monetary and in spiritual terms. Denig provides an assessment of the U.S. dollar equivalent of a mounted warrior's dress. The total cost of the dress came to \$171 (keep in mind this was the 1850s) with over half of that total (\$90) attributed to items which contained eagle feathers: war-eagle feather cap; and feathers of the war eagle on shield, lance and horse. In a sense, however, it was an exercise in ethnocentrism to put a price on these items, for as Denig points out, if a trader wanted to purchase a warrior's dress he would have great difficulty doing so "even by paying the above prices in merchandise, of which they always stand in need; indeed, they seldom can be induced to part with them on any terms unless forced to sell to supply some reverse by loss of property which has happened to their families. The reason is that they are scarce, difficult to replace, and also it is the wish of the warriors to wear them during their lives on all public occasions and to be clothed with them when they die" (Denig 1930:589).

Earlier in the manuscript, Denig points out that the tail feathers of the eagle are the only mark of rank (Denig 1930: 553).

Blackfeet

Pipes. Displaying contents of a sacred Beaver bundle, a Blackfeet ritual leader picked up the pipe and tobacco, holding each up and chanting about it. He addressed the sacred spirit of the sun as smoking with him.

"He arose and danced, holding up the sacred Pipe and blowing upon his medicine whistle... remarked that his Pipe was very old, having been handed down through many generations" (McClintock 1910:98). The ceremonialist filled the sacred Pipe again after cycles of Otter and Mink and Woman songs (McClintock 1910:97).

Being a Medicine Pipe Keeper is expensive. Consequently, some men leave their homes and camp out alone when tribal representatives are seeking a Keeper. When the representatives offer the Pipe to a man, "he dare not refuse, lest sickness or even death come to him, or to some member of his family. The Medicine Pipe was given to the Blackfeet long ago, when the Thunder struck down a man. While he lay on the ground, the Thunder Chief appeared in a vision, showing him a pipe" (McClintock 1910:253). Blackfeet actually transferred the Medicine Pipe with elaborate ritual, chanting the appropriate song cycles (McClintock 1910:262).

One Blackfeet mythic account of the origin of the sacred medicine pipe cast the thunder-struck man in the role of the cultural hero overcoming a powerful supernatural. Thunder struck man and his wife while they were sitting in their lodge. When the man recovered his senses, his wife was gone and he realized that Thunder had stolen her. The man then set out to find Thunder's home. He came upon Raven's lodge of stone, and Raven provided the man with a wing and an arrow. The hero then confronted Thunder in his stone lodge, pointed the raven wing to temporarily incapacitate Thunder, and then shot the arrow through Thunder's lodge to establish that he was the stronger. Thunder allowed the hero to recover his wife and presented him with his pipe. "It is medicine" (Grinnell 1962:113-116). That is, Blackfeet believed that Thunder's pipe protected them from their enemies and from sickness (Bancroft-Hunt 1981:94).

Like other Northern Plains peoples, the Blackfeet employed the calumet for affirming pacific relations with other ethnic groups. In December of 1855, for example, Blackfeet leaders met Cree representatives in the hall of Edmonton House. The negotiators for both peoples "placed the calumet (or sacred pipe) upon the table, forming an angle, after which the pipes were lighted and handed round by one of the Blackfeet to each of the Crees." Calumet smoking did not, however, constitute the entire peace affirmation ceremony in the trading post context. After the pipe smoking, another Blackfeet gave each Cree "a lump of sugar, first touching his own lips with it, and then applying it to the lips of the other." A third Blackfeet kissed each Cree, and a fourth Blackfeet shook hands with each Cree (Woolsey 1989:24). By mid-nineteenth century, both a key Euroamerican commodity and Euroamerican gestures had joined the native calumet in affirming pacific interethnic interaction.

During the great economic depression, Blackfeet men who made stone pipes using both modern and traditional tools destined some to

"ceremonial smoking and by some Indians for pleasure smoking. They are also sold to interested Whites" (Ewers 1939:58).

Lizard Charms. Blackfeet children wore charms around their necks to ward off sickness. "For boys the charms were in the shape of a snake and for girls a lizard" (McClintock 1930:20).

Model shields. Shields were common but were more often regarded as charms than as defensive weapons. Shields were made from the breast hide of the buffalo bull. The hide was soaked on the ground with boiling water, shaped over a mound of earth, weighted and left to dry. The edges were then trimmed, and a design painted on the inner surface typically in black, red and green. The design was fashioned after the dream of the maker. As many as 28 eagle feathers were attached to a strip of red cloth around the circumference of the shield.

Cheyenne

Pipes. Cheyenne religious leaders and participants in sacred ceremonies smoked sacred stone pipes in numerous ritual contexts including announcing the impending renewal of the Arrows (Powell 1969:II:482) and many times during the ceremony (pp. 486, 516, 518). When one Cheyenne man requests ritual guidance and instruction from another, he carries a pipe to the prospective teacher. The prospective instructor smokes the pipe to signal that he accepts the responsibility (Powell 1969:I:335). Like other northern Plains peoples, Cheyennes used pipes to petition persons believed to possess power to exercise it for the benefit of the group. One oral history related how adults gave four little boys four pipes to present to Stands in the Timber to persuade him to call bison during a period of hunger. Stands in the Timber smoked the four pipes in sequence, passing each around for others to smoke until the tobacco in it was consumed. The next morning hunters found numerous bison (Grinnell 1926:172-173).

When two Cheyenne men vowed that they would fast on the summit of *Nowah'wus* (Bear Butte in South Dakota) in 1961, "they carried the pipe to Willis Medicine Bull" who agreed to instruct and lead them. When the pilgrims halted part way up the butte, Medicine Bull "filled the pipe and offered it" (Powell 1969:I:422). He also instructed the two fasting pilgrims to fill the pipe and offer it to Maheo and to Sweet Medicine.

During the mid-1965 pilgrimage to the Sacred Mountain, the fasters halted on a small knoll part way to the summit. There Willis Medicine Bull led them in a ceremony that included offering a sacred pipe to Maheo and the Sacred Person at each cardinal direction. Then "Medicine Bull rested

the pipe bowl upon the earth, while the Arrow Keeper and his three companions inhaled smoke from it four times." This is "the pipe that never fails to bring a blessing" (Powell 1969:I:425).

There was a time, according to Cheyenne oral tradition, when a man rising in the morning sallied forth from his tepee with a pipe in hand to offer it toward the Sacred Person at the Southeast (*Essenta'he*), then the sacred one to the southwest (*Sovota*), then the guardian of the northwest (*Onxsovon*), and finally the Sacred Person at the northeast (*Notamota*), colored black and symbolizing death among other things (Powell 1969:II:436).

On the other hand, Cheyenne began selling pipes no later than the 1830s. George Catlin acquired at least three. One of them "I obtained from a Shyenne [sic], but it no doubt was made by a Blackfoot" (Ewers 1979: 24, 48). By that time, Cheyenne also acquired pipes from Euroamerican traders (Catlin 1973:II:2). Cheyenne believed that if a curer sold his "medicine pipe," however, he lost his power (Grinnell 1923:II:137).

Cloths. Cheyenne leave "offering cloths" at sacred shrines, especially on top of *Nowah'wus*, the Sacred Mountain (Bear Butte, South Dakota). (Another spelling is *Noaha-vos*, and another gloss is "The Hill Where the People Are Taught" (Weist 1978:9). In Tsistsistas (Cheyenne) cosmology, "Mountain peaks are especially sacred places because there the deep earth and the near sky space come into direct contact" (Schlesier 1987:4). The Rev. Peter J. Powell (1969) has documented Cheyenne quests for power at *Nowah'wus* from the final days of United States military conquest of the Cheyenne people until the last half of the twentieth century. Those Cheyennes about to undertake the arduous forced march south under military escort in 1878 left offering clothes tied to branches of trees growing on the summit of the peak (Powell 1969:I:413).

When four elderly Cheyenne men made a pilgrimage to *Nowah'wus* in 1939, one left an offering cloth on the summit (Powell 1969:I:416). The eldest pilgrim had captured George A. Custer's guidon in 1876 on the Little Bighorn battlefield, and had lived to become a healer.

In September of 1945, the Cheyenne sacred Arrow bundle was opened at the base of *Nowah'wus*, and the Mahuts exposed "upon a bed of sacred white sage and offering clothes" (Powell 1969:I:419). Four pilgrims fasted half way up the slope. One dreamed that a rider charged past him and down the side of the butte without any damage to man or mount (Powell

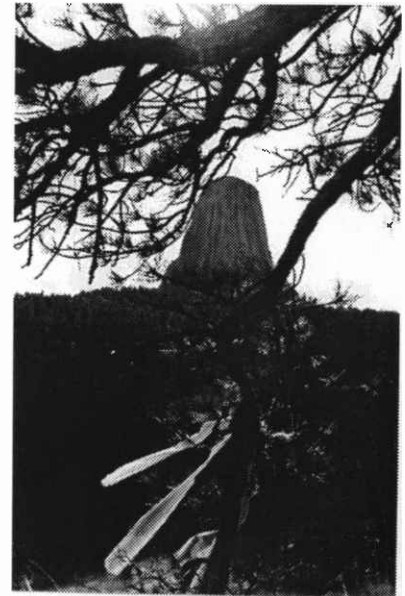


Fig. 4.10: Prayer Cloths

1969:I:418). Cheyenne men still sought visions, in other words, on their Sacred Mountain, illustrating the continuity of ethnic belief and behavior.

The pilgrims to Sacred Mountain in the fall of 1950 carried approximately 75 offering clothes with them, gifts from Cheyennes unable to make the pilgrimage. The pilgrims tied the offering cloths to shrubs and trees atop the Sacred Mountain (Powell 1969:I:420).

In view of the Cheyenne cosmological perception of the relationship between supernaturally powerful sky and peaks, it is not surprising that offering or prayer cloths are tied to trees near the base of *Nakeove*, ("Bear Peak," or "Devils Tower"). Representative prayer cloths observed during the present investigation of the national monument appear in Fig. 4.10, with Devils Tower in the background.

Lizard charms. A lizard possesses great mythic and ritual importance for the Cheyenne people. When the fasting pilgrims to *Nowah'wus* were painted yellow for their final ascent in 1965, a sun symbol was painted on each man's chest, a moon symbol on each man's right shoulder blade, a dark lightning mark around each man's nose "and a lizard was painted on either side of each man's nose. This design represented the Maiyun who takes the form of this tiny reptile, which has great power to resist the elements" (Powell 1969:I:425). Maiyun are perceived by Cheyenne in numerous forms, and the class as a whole is thought to be beneficent. Among the exceptions are "the underwater monsters. These creatures resemble great horned snakes or lizards, with their bodies partly or wholly covered with hair." A monster inhabiting a body of water causes waves that sometimes drown people. Such a monster also may swallow a person (Powell 1969:II:439). Northern Cheyenne Chief Dull Knife owned an amulet that looks like a lizard with two feathers attached to its head, collected at Fort Reno, Oklahoma, in 1885. "Warriors sometimes carried amulets whose power had been received in dream visions" (Maurer et al. 1992:137).

Flutes. Apart from the flute as such, the Cheyenne employed eagle-wing bone whistles to summon the powers during ceremonies (Powell 1969:I:335). Cheyennes made their war whistles from the humerus or the ulna of either an eagle or a sandhill crane. Cheyenne perceived the latter as courageous, because a wounded bird would fight to protect itself, even attacking a person who approached it.

The whistle-maker cut off both ends of the bone, notched it near the mouthpiece, and stopped it with pine gum to deflect air blown through the whistle and produce the shrill sound. Young men made flageolets from juniper wood and often played them when courting or simply for their own pleasure (Grinnell 1923:I:204-05).

Shields. Cheyenne warriors viewed their shields as perhaps their most important piece of equipment. Elderly specialists who possessed "special spiritual power" fashioned shields from dried bull-hide that turned an arrow or a ball fired from a smoothbore musket. As important as utility, "most shields were believed to possess strong spiritual power" (Grinnell 1923:I:187, 192-93). Older men of discretion owned most Cheyenne shields. Cheyenne viewed group-owned shields as the most powerful category. Shields made and decorated according to an individual's vision were perceived as less powerful, and some unpainted shields lacked power and although they performed the physical function of warding off projectiles. Cheyennes fashioned both group and vision shields with "elaborate ceremony" and used them ceremoniously. Indeed, the responsibilities of shield ownership prompted some men to dispose of their shields on a hill top or in a stream. "A shield thus relinquished by its owner was never disturbed; no one would dare touch it, knowing that if he did so bad luck would surely follow" (Grinnell 1923:I:188-189). Such native perception of supernatural power inherent in many shields carries fairly clear implications that such shields fall into the sacred classification of the NAGPRA.

Some Cheyenne shields were carried by successive warriors. Grinnell (1923:I:193-94) thought that a shield he acquired had been made around 1780. Its maker, Oak, gave it to his son who gave it to a man killed at Fort Robinson in 1879. That man gave it to a boy shortly before the Cheyenne outbreak from the post, and Grinnell acquired the shield from that person after he reached adulthood. Whether the shield actually was made in 1780 or not, it had four consecutive native owners.

Euroamericans not sharing native beliefs about shields frequently have treated them as trophies. After the massacre on the Washita River on November 27, 1868, Bvt. Maj.-Gen. George Armstrong Custer collected the shield of Northern Cheyenne Chief Little Rock, slain by Custer's command (Maurer et al. 1992:115).

Other Sacred Objects. Cheyenne ritual leaders employed a number of additional sacred objects in various rituals. Prominent among them is a bison skull. A bison skull was placed at the opening of a half-moon circle of sacred "man" sage for a man sacrificing his chest muscles (Powell 1969:I:335).

A bison skull is used in some Cheyenne rituals conducted at *Nowah'wus*. The ritualists taking the 1961 pilgrimage to the Sacred Mountain carried a bison skull (Powell 1969:I:422). Again, on the 1965 pilgrimage, Willis Medicine Bull "prepared the buffalo skull, the sacred symbol of Is'siwun's presence among the people. He offered the prayers, made the four forward motions, and moved the skull so that it faced

where the fasters would rest." Then the fasters and priests sat in a half-circle around the bison skull.

A bison skull forms an integral part of the altar in a medicine lodge among the Cheyenne, based upon a mythic model (Powell 1969:II:469). On the second day of the *Massaum* ceremony ("Contraries Dance"), a woman—the wife of the man offering the ceremony—ritually carried a bison skull into the lodge (Grinnell 1923:II:291). Later that day, the chief ritualist used a new short-handled axe to hack at the soil. Having loosened the earth, the ritualist picked it up in handfuls and removed it, creating a depression in which the bison skull was to rest. He fitted the skull and removed more soil until he was satisfied with the trench he excavated (Grinnell 1923:II:295). The cosmological rationale for the trench was Tsistsistas belief that bison originally came out of the earth (Grinnell 1923:II:296). On the fourth day of *Massaum*, the ceremonialist filled the nose and eye-sockets of the bison skull with grass, and later he and the sponsor's wife symbolically and literally painted the bison skull (Grinnell 1923:II: 300-303).

A decorated bison skull surmounted the earth crescent altar in the Cheyenne Sun Dance dance enclosure (Liberty 1980:167). A young man wishing to sacrifice skin to obtain power did not have to do so only in the ritual context. At any time, he could have several bison skulls attached to slits cut in the skin of the back and drag the skulls behind him as he circled an encampment until older men cut off the drawn out skin (Grinnell 1923:I:83). During pre-reservation times, a young man also might carry a bison skull to a hill top and then stand on it from sun rise to sun set staring at the sun without drinking or eating (Grinnell 1923:I:84).

Crow

Pipes. "Crow" or Apsáalooke legend associates the historic separation of Apsáalooke from Hidatsa with tobacco seed and maize seed. After the separation, the group that planted sacred tobacco seeds near "Cloud Peak, in northern Wyoming" became the Apsáalooke. That term glosses as "children of the large-beaked bird," not specifically the crow (Frey 1987:11). To a people to whom tobacco is sacred, the pipes in which tobacco is smoked are logically also not artifacts of ordinary daily life.

Apsáalooke planted their tobacco seed in a very ceremonial manner. A female "Medicine-bearer" led the ritual, backed by musicians and dancers. The woman in charge offered a pipe charged with tobacco to each man. Typically, everyone declined because "to take it was possibly sacrificing one's life on behalf of the growth of the Tobacco; some catastrophe was sure to befall the smoker if the crop failed." Ultimately, one man took the

pipe, smoked, and passed it to the other men. Then the women picked up the bags, the men their drums, and everyone sang and danced four numbers before resuming their trip to the tobacco field (Lowie 1935:290).

The Apsáalooke acquired a specific sacred pipe from the Hidatsa, most likely in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The Apsáalooke danced a specific sacred pipe dance for this pipe. The pipe was associated with curing physical ailments. Typically, persons who were ill vowed to dance to the pipe if they recovered (Lowie 1935:269-270).

About 1871, at least one Gros Ventre family attended the Crow Sun Dance. Miffed because his three-year-old daughter was not given a bison tongue during the great feast, Gros Ventre curer and pipe-keeper Bull Lodge carried out a ceremony that the Crow dance sponsors interpreted as causing a severe rain shower that flooded out their ceremony. The Crow Sun Dance organizer then carried to Bull Lodge "a pipe filled with Kinnickinnic, a blanket, two robes, and a number of cooked buffalo tongues to give to the pouting child" (Horse Capture 1980:83). The case exemplifies how the Northern Plains cultural pattern of very formal etiquette that symbolized a request for action with a filled pipe crossed ethnic boundaries.

Eagle Feather Fans. Native Apsáalooke curers administer medicines that possess demonstrative curative qualities, but always in association with power (baax pee). The function of imminent power in curing is manifested in "pulsating" eagle feather fans. The curer (*akbaalía*) "touches up" an ill person with his eagle feather fan. The curer "feels" the power pulsate through the fan into the patient, who feels "cooled." When the curer feels the throbbing diminishing, he jerks the eagle feather fan away from the patient's body and throws the illness away to the east (Frey 1987:74-75).

Other Sacred Objects—Dolls. The Apsáalooke Sun Dance lodge has a small buckskin Sun Dance doll tied to it (Frey 1987:17). This "doll" has mythic origins and represents the moon. The owner of a traditional doll bundle was requested by a "whistler" to become his "father" and therefore in control of Sun Dance proceedings (Lowie 1935:304). The discovery of medicine dolls was in Apsáalooke oral history ascribed to a man named Andicio'pe. Fasting on a high peak, he heard a little bird tell him to look toward a mountain, I'auuxpee, where he saw seven men with a woman in front of them holding a doll before her face. Andicico'pe memorized the songs that the drummers among the envisioned men sang. The envisioned beings moved nearer to the faster, and the woman—representing the moon—withdrew the doll from its bundle and it became a screech-owl. After landing on the woman's head, it flew to Andicico'pe and perched on his chest. "Suddenly one of the men loaded and cocked a breech-loader, stepped toward the boy and sang a song." He fired at the screech-owl, which entered him and hooted inside. Then Andicico'pe

envisioned a Sun Dance lodge and Lady Moon handed the doll to the Whistler (Lowie 1935:302-303). The musket incident in the oral history clearly places the origin of the Apsáalooke Sun Dance during historic fur trade times.

At least some Sun Dance dolls were not supposed to be handled by women. A widow who inherited such a doll sold the bundle containing it to ethnographer Robert H. Lowie for \$80, and he deposited it in the American Museum of Natural History (Lowie 1935:299-300). Thus, the Apsáalooke people appear not to have been unanimous concerning the sacredness of Sun Dance dolls.

Shields. Like other Northern Plains warriors, Crow men painted their battle shields in accord with their individual vision experiences. One example depicts a female bear in an aggressive stance (Bancroft Hunt 1981:82). Warriors normally kept their shields covered when not in use, because they were sacred. Before exhibiting a shield, a Crow warrior typically burned wild carrot root for incense in which he held his shield while he raised and lowered it four times. Then he removed the buckskin covers (Lowie 1954:167-68).

Buffalo Calf recorded on his shield collected about 1870 "his vision of a stormy sky and a hawk." Wolf Lies Down's shield showed an eagle image representing a thunderbird, a mythical figure that "appears consistently in vision-inspired art" (Maurer et al. 1992:112, 114). His son conveyed the shield to a Euroamerican about 1860.

Gros Ventre

The ethnic group here labeled Gros Ventre has been referred to during historic times by several names: Atsina, Rapid Indians, and Fall Indians, as well as Gros Ventre. They call themselves the *A'aninin*, which glosses "White Clay People" (Horse Capture 1980: 11).

Pipes. Ethnographers Alfred Kroeber, John Cooper, and Regina Flannery interviewed elderly Gros Ventres in 1901, 1939, and 1940, respectively. The Gros Ventre individuals, who were youthful in the nineteenth century, described religion as integral to their identity as a people. Religious beliefs and rituals shaped and validated the group's social, political and military actions. Pipes occupied a central role in the religious structure of the Gros Ventre. In fact, Gros Ventres told Cooper, "The Pipes seemed to hold the tribe together" (Fowler 1987:27).

Pipes have long been among the sacred objects that comprised medicine bundles. These bundles symbolized creation and the Gros Ventres' "mandate for existence within the moral universe. The nature of

the pipe is thus akin to a child, representing life, potential, and possibilities for the future," writes Hatton (1990:17). Fowler offers a similar observation:

They represented the Gros Ventres' special relationship with the Supreme Being or Great Mystery Above, a relationship that was the basis for health and happiness. The most powerful and the oldest bundle was the Flat Pipe. According to Gros Ventre belief, that pipe bundle was given them when the world was created. The bundle represented their link with, obligation to, and blessing from the Mystery Above. The Flat Pipe's sacred objects, songs, and origin narratives represented the events of creation and the instructions and knowledge given the first Gros Ventre people about how to make their living, get along with one another, and obtain supernatural aid. Three seasonal Flat Pipe rites were essential to the people's prosperity. The rituals associated with the bundle both ensured and sanctioned success in the hunt, horse raid, and battle, and in the pursuit of wealth and a good life in general" (Fowler 1987:27).

The fundamental ritual significance of sacred pipes to the Gros Ventre is evident in their origin legend. When the creator *Nix'ant* set about making the present world, "He had the chief pipe" (Kroeber 1907:59). Having flooded the earth, *Nix'ant* and the pipe floated on a buffalo-chip. Crow flew to survive but became tired. *Nix'ant* invited Crow to alight on the pipe and rest, which Crow did. After *Nix'ant* scraped a bit of earth from inside turtle's feet, he sprinkled it on the flood waters to create land. "Then *Nix'ant* took out from his pipe two long wing-feathers" which he used to sing to expand the land surface (Kroeber 1907:60). When *Nix'ant* grew tired of living with only Crow and the pipe, he created human beings. "The pipe he gave to a tribe which he called *haa'ninin* (the Gros Ventre)" (Kroeber 1907:61). Thus, "from the beginning of time, the Gros Ventre have known and have appreciated the significance of the Sacred Flat Pipe." They held three seasonal rites annually with it (Dusenberry 1961:19). "The pipe symbolizes the Gros Ventre mandate for existence within the moral universe" (Hatton 1990: 17).

In addition to the importance of the Flat Pipe bundle was the Feathered Pipe bundle—also a symbol of the tribe's relationships with the Great Mystery. Both medicine bundles were so important that priests, called "keepers," were trained to care for them and perform the related rituals. Not only did the keepers prophesy, cure, obtain supernatural aid for the Gros Ventres in making war, hunting, and obtaining horses, but they also used their authority "to generate consensus and cooperation among the people" (Fowler 1987:28). This role even applied to migration

periods: "When the Gros Ventres moved their camps, the people followed the Flat Pipe keeper...." This can be understood in part by considering the Gros Ventres' concept of authority as based on ideas about relations with the supernatural; authority roles were legitimized by acquiring sacred knowledge attained in age-grade ceremonies. Leadership responsibility generally increased with age. This age-group system provided a basis around which the Gros Ventres organized their society. The central symbol of this age-group system was the offered pipe, which in turn symbolized the pipe bundles.

The reservation period for the Gros Ventres began in the 1860s and was secured in 1887 when they ceded most of their territory to the federal government. Federal agents discouraged, and at times even banned, native religious activities (Fowler 1987:53). The material conditions of the Indian people led to the disappearance of many customs; for example, the age-grade ceremonies, at which gifts were once exchanged, were no longer performed, according to Fowler (1987:54). Nevertheless, other practices persisted despite the harsh circumstances and decline in resources. In the early years of reservation settlement the pipe bundles and their rituals continued to be central to Gros Ventre life (Fowler 1987:55). They provided opportunities for public generosity. The ambition to have enough property to be able to give generously to others was a value that underwrote such public giving.

During post-horse times, transferring wealth became associated with wielding ritual authority. Consequently, Gros Ventre pipe keepers were prosperous and generous men supported by their well-to-do relatives (Fowler 1987:34). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, after a long series of military and biological disasters sapped the strength and morale of the Gros Ventre people, they continued trying to fulfill their ritual responsibilities toward their pipe bundles even after they gave up their age-grade ceremonies (Fowler 1987:56). Gros Ventre belief itself programed the termination of the supernatural power of the Feathered Pipe. The keeper called Bull Lodge reportedly stated that from the beginning of its historic trajectory, the Feathered Pipe was to have but four special keepers. He viewed himself as the last of the quartet, so that "the Feathered Pipe and its purpose for the tribe has run its course. There can be no more supernatural power attached to it. I pity my son the feathered pipe, for its days are ended." Bull Lodge predicted that the Feathered Pipe would have not more than two or three owners after him (Horse Capture 1980:97).

One individual, known as The Boy, in 1948 told Flannery that Gros Ventres "still have the pipe and everything it means to the Gros Ventres even though most are Catholics or Protestants today" (quoted in Fowler 1987:112). According to Fowler, "The pipes symbolized the chosen status

of the Gros Ventres spiritually, as well as their proud history" (p. 112. See photo of Gros Ventre children's choir, St. Paul's Mission, Hays, Montana, 1938. "The banner represents the two sacred pipes giving way to the Christian cross and at the same time honors the pipes." p. 112).

When Gros Ventre soldiers were about to depart for duty in the Pacific Theater, Gros Ventre ritualists prayed with the proper pipe to Last Child, a supernatural being—little water snake—with power over water (Cooper 1956:15). The Flat Pipe bundle was opened on occasion as a prayer for curing an ill person (Cooper 1956:36). The Flat Pipe was carved from wood (Cooper 1956:70) rather than stone. It was "actually smoked only when it was being ritually transferred to a new keeper and when some individual had vowed to smoke it (Cooper 1956:78).

Political and ritual contexts in the late 1960s and 1970s provided an arena in which the Gros Ventres' "quest for primacy" over Assiniboinés and métis began to be acted out (Fowler 1987:121). In some respects, attempts to revive the Flat Pipe ceremony are part of the quest for primacy. Similarly, the tradition of pipe ceremonies, though variable in modern history, remains an important aspect of Gros Ventre identity. Fowler writes:

Their sacred responsibility for the pipes, in the Gros Ventres' view, makes them unique among peoples. The most important distinction between Gros Ventres and Assiniboinés, who have no tribally owned medicine bundles, one elderly woman explained, is simply that 'we have two pipes.' One elderly man felt strongly that spiritual leaders of other tribes should not be allowed to participate in pipe bundle matters: "Only a Gros Ventre can do pipe ceremonies because they are Gros Ventre ceremonies" (Fowler 1987:122-123).

In 1961, a researcher commented: "No understanding of the tragedy being experienced by the older Gros Ventre today can be appreciated unless one has a clear-cut picture of the significance of the Sacred Pipes in Gros Ventre life" (Dusenberry 1961:18). At that time, only five elderly men could be considered as keepers of tribal knowledge and tradition. Three were then more than 80 years old, and the other two were nearly 80 (Dusenberry 1961:26). "The ritual of the Sacred Flat Pipe was buried with its last official Keeper" (Dusenberry 1961:29).

Yet in the 1980s, one older Gros Ventre man made a claim concerning the significance of the Gros Ventre flat and feathered pipes. "The Assiniboiné, Crow, Blackfeet, Cree, and all the surrounding tribes have great respect for the flat pipe and the feathered pipe. They claim that these two pipes are the most powerful pipes in the country" (Belgard and Miner

1982:177). A Gros Ventre editor wrote that "there are two very sacred objects among our people, the Feathered Pipe and the Flat Pipe" (Horse Capture 1980:15).

It is worth noting that many Gros Ventres young and old, according to Fowler, "have attributed their problems to neglect of the pipes" (Fowler 1987:123). Whereas the unique tradition of the pipes is a tremendous source of pride for the Gros Ventres, the pipes also are cause for controversy—about whether to build a house for them, and about whether to revive pipe ceremonies. Fowler reports that in public meetings held to discuss claim and treaty money, the Gros Ventres frequently raised the topic of the pipes, partly due to the financial aspects of their care (Fowler 1987:123).

Eagle Feather Fans. A Gros Ventre daughter's recounting of an incident in her pipe-keeper, curer father's practice describes his use of an eagle feather fan about 1871. The Gros Ventre family was encamped with the Crow while the latter performed their Sun Dance. When Crow hosts failed to serve the then-three-year-old daughter any buffalo tongues, she was miffed. Her father, Bull Lodge, then engaged in ritual activities that disconcerted Crow interpreted as causing a severe rain storm that flooded out the ceremony. Crow representatives carried gifts to the Gros Ventre father to persuade him to call off the storm. Bull Lodge burned incense, and began singing. "When he had sung it three times, everyone noticed that the sound of the rainfall on the tepee was lessening." Bull Lodge sang for the fourth time, and then "called for his eagle wing fan." His wife "took the eagle wing fan down from where it was hanging in the tepee. Bull Lodge held it over the incense for a moment, then drew it away. He did this four times." Then Bull Lodge stood, faced the west, and held the eagle wing in his right hand outstretched just above eye level. "He motioned to his right with the wing, then he returned it to the point before him, then he passed the wing to the left." Bull Lodge so motioned with the eagle wing four times, then sat down again. "A short time later the rain stopped completely and the sun came out. So the sun dance was allowed to continue to its completion" (Horse Capture 1980:84).

Turtle. The generic Turtle appeared in the Gros Ventre origin legend as the creator's indispensable bringer of mud from the depths of the primordial flood waters. By scraping bits of that mud from Turtle's feet, the creator was able to sprinkle it on the water and create land for later human beings (Kroeber 1907:60). The inference of possible sacredness of a turtle carved in stone to the Gros Ventre is clear.

Shields. The Gros Ventre warrior's shield was typically fashioned and given symbols after the man's crucial vision experience. For example, Feathered Pipe keeper Bull Lodge made his distinctive shield after seven vision experiences starting when he was 17 years and ending when he

was 23 years of age. Bull Lodge initiated and led war parties for a decade, carrying "the shield given to him when he began his fasting experiences" (Horse Capture 1980:64).

Kiowa

Pipes. Chiefs who led war parties smoked pipes with chiefs who stayed at home in order to "allay any antagonism between them" (Parsons 1929:98). Pipe smoking was an important part of Kiowa Sun Dance ritual (p. 106).

Eagle-Feather Fan. Kiowa participants in the American Indian Church carry an eagle-father fan in the left hand as a symbol of having seen an eagle in a vision (LaBarre 1938:71).

Cloths. During the sixth day of the Sun Dance, women relatives of the four men chosen as *taimetoky* or leaders "throw things out to the crowd—shawls, moccasins, buckskin dresses, etc." (Parsons 1929:103).

Shield. Only a man having a "shield of distinction" was entitled to make the vow to sponsor a Kiowa Sun Dance. The *tai*me shield itself "seems to have been acquired through a vision experience" (Parsons 1929:98). *Tai*me shields were exposed leaning against the dance lodge on the tenth day of the Sun Dance (p. 107). Shield "served as mantles of supernatural protection" which a warrior acquired by a "personal spiritually revelatory experience during a vision or dream" (McCoy 1990:2).

Bison skull. After each Sun Dance, the Kiowas left behind the bison skull that they had used in the rite (Parsons 1929:107, 105).

Kiowa-Apache

Eagle feathers. Kiowa-Apache dancers make use of staffs in ritualized ways during certain dances, and these staffs are "decorated with eagle feathers fastened in pairs at three places on each staff." The ritualized aspect of the dance is expressed in several aspects, including the ordering of the staffs, i.e. the northernmost dancer always holds a specific staff (Beatty 1974:28).

Flutes. If Beatty's account (1974) is accurate, the Kiowa-Apache did not use flutes. The instruments that were used to make music included two large bass drums, placed in the center of the dance floor; bells worn by male dancers on the leg just above the calf muscle; and whistles blown by

a couple of dancers when they “feel good” (Beatty 1974:27). It is possible, however, that Beatty’s whistle is actually a type of flute.

Shields. Kiowa-Apaches held shields in much the same religious awe as did the Kiowa. “An individual dreamed of a shield of a certain kind and was instructed by a supernatural power how to decorate one like it” (Brant 1953:197). At one time, probably in the mid-nineteenth century not long before final military conquest, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache between them had about 50 shield patterns (McCoy 1990:3).

Sarci

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Athapascan-speaking Sarci inhabited a territory directly north of Blackfeet country (Jenness 1938:2). They acquired an abundance of horses early in the nineteenth century, and allied themselves with Blackfeet in the military contest for Northern Plains pasturage, hunting territory, and trading post access (Jenness 1938:3). The Sarci suffered a nineteenth-century demographic bottleneck caused by at least one crushing defeat by the Cree, starvation following the disappearance of bison, and especially epidemic smallpox in 1836, 1856, and 1870, when they were living in the United States and lost a reported 1,500 dead (Jenness 1938:6-7).

Pipes. Like other Northern Plains tribes, the Sarci employed pipe symbolism in their Sun Dance. A few hours after a woman declared her sponsorship of a dance, her husband “called an old man into his tepee, handed him a pipe, and invited him to become the confessor. The old man held the pipe over a smudge of white sage, pointed it north, east, south, and west, and finally lit it. Both men then smoked” (Jenness 1938:49). When the participants moved to the Sun Dance locale, “the Sun Dance woman took up the pipe from the back of the lodge, and... handed it to one of the old men. He held it up and prayed over it, then handed it back. She... passed it on to one of the workers, who lit it and returned it, through her, to the old man... and the pipe circulated from hand to hand” (Jenness 1938:50).

The Sarci especially prized two medicine-bundles, one of them containing the medicine-pipe. They sold a less-esteemed medicine-pipe bundle in the latter nineteenth century to the National Museum of Canada (Jenness 1938:76). “A medicine-pipe bundle changed hands for one of two reasons. Either some one vowed to purchase it, when the owner could not refuse his assent; or the owner himself grew tired of his possession and foisted it on to some other Indian, for a price” (Jenness 1938:86). The person who made such a vow signaled his intent with a pipe and tobacco.

Eagle-wing Fan. One of the sacred Sarci medicine bundles included in 1920 "an eagle wing used as a fan in the sweat-lodge" (Jenness 1938:81).

Cloths. In 1920, one of the Sarci sacred medicine bundles contained, among other things, a woman's shawl (Jenness 1938:81).

Other Sacred Objects: Bison skull. Sarci Sun Dance participants moved four times. On the fourth day, at the chosen site, workers erected a sweat lodge with "a buffalo skull, painted half red, half black, with white sage in the eye-sockets, to place on the pile of earth at the back" (Jenness 1938:51).

To the traditional Sarci, "Every shield possessed religious significance, because no warrior might make or carry one unless he had obtained the right from a vision, or by purchase from a man who himself had obtained it in a vision" (Jenness 1938:94). Transferring a shield involved "strict ritual."

Teton Dakota

Pipes. The Teton Dakota smoked tobacco both ceremonially and recreationally. Hosts customarily offered a smoking pipe to visitors. Teton Dakota employed the calumet only for peace making ceremonies, and considered it sacred (Ewers 1938:55; Catlin 1926:I:235). The Teton Dakota considered the stem rather than the bowl sacred (Ewers 1938:54). Euroamerican traders profited from stone pipe manufacture. By the final decade of the nineteenth century, American Indians fashioned probably less than one percent of the pipes made (Ewers 1938:54). This historic change in pipe production introduced considerable ambiguity in the accurate identification of Teton-made sacred pipes as distinguished from pipes made for recreational smoking or sale to collectors. Fortunately for accurate identification, many pipes produced for sale to tourists have a long, detachable stem.

Special Keepers cared for special Teton Dakota pipes, which were kept in bundles. A moralistic legend accounted for its origin. Two young men out hunting encountered a woman carrying a pipe on her left arm. One young man suggested raping the woman. The other young man said, "No." The woman laid the pipe on a buffalo chip, laughed, and sat down. The aggressive hunter threw her prostrate, but as he started to attack her, a mist enveloped them. When the mist lifted, only the skeleton of the man remained, while the woman was unchanged. She reassured the frightened moral hunter, and told him to announce to his people that a sacred pipe was coming to them. He did, and the elders had a large tepee erected. The woman appeared on a hilltop, and "lightning flashed in every direction about her." In the tepee, the woman again laid the pipe on a buffalo chip, and pronounced several admonitions. "This pipe will be your chief deity."

When the woman left, she transformed herself into a five-year-old bison and then disappeared. Early in the twentieth century, a chief reputed to be about 93 years of age kept the pipe. An historical addition to the pipe's legend claimed that in 1875 George A. Custer swore by the pipe that he was not going to fight Indians again. "He who swears by the pipe and breaks oath, comes to destruction, and his whole family dies, or sickness comes upon them" (Dorsey 1906:326-29).

Members of Teton Dakota culture use pipes to carry out various aspects of important rituals, such as the Vision Quest and the Sun Dance. An individual who wishes to seek a vision approaches a medicine man. To cement the bond between them—a bond that is meant to lead to a long relationship of religious and moral tutelage—the individual makes or buys a pipe to present to his new mentor. This sets the tone for a discussion of his intention to seek a vision. The medicine man may accept or decline the offer of the pipe. If he accepts, a period of guidance and instruction begins. Eventually this period will give way to the actual Vision Quest, at which time the man (or occasionally woman) seeking a vision takes his pipe, climbs a sacred hill, and prays to supernatural forces (Grobsmith 1981:68).

The Vision Quest is a ritual integral to the construction of Lakota identity. In addition to learning lore and moral teachings, individuals who seek visions "often regain clarity of purpose in their lives and a secure identity as a member of their tribe." Men and women may seek a vision for a variety of reasons: to give thanks, to ask for spiritual guidance, or simply to pray in solitude (Grobsmith 1981:68-69).

Sacred pipes may also be incorporated into the Sun Dance—"the supreme rite of intensification for the society as a whole" and "a declaration of individual bravery and fortitude" (Grobsmith 1981:69). The Sun Dance before the twentieth century served as a symbolic enactment of the capture, torture, and release of the enemy. "Young men went through the Sun Dance annually to demonstrate their bravery as though they themselves had been captured and tortured, finally struggling to obtain their freedom" (Grobsmith 1981:70). The connection between the act of piercing an individual's flesh with thongs attached to ropes and the individual's subsequent breaking free no longer carries such a direct meaning, according to Grobsmith.

There are several key points in the ceremony when the pipes come into play. The initial preparation for the Sun Dance involves the selection of a tall, straight cottonwood tree, which is used as the Sun Dance pole. When the ceremonially selected and felled tree is brought to the Sun Dance lodge, a hole is dug into the ground. Tobacco offerings, buffalo fat, and a sacred pipe may be placed into this hole before the tree is hoisted and then tied with ropes and banners (Ibid.).

During the Sweat Lodge ritual, which typically continues for the first three days of the four-day ceremony, "spectators observe the symbolic presentation, acceptance, and return of the sacred pipe between candidate and mentor." The following day, often a Sunday, the piercing takes place (Grobsmith 1981:71-72).

Lakota ritual leaders continue using "medicine" pipes in ceremonies evolving in response to present-day conditions. At a memorial service held on the tenth anniversary of the 1973 native occupation of Wounded Knee, then-93-year-old ceremonial chief Frank Fools Crow pointed his "medicine" pipe in the four cardinal directions, toward the sky and the earth, before praying for a sign of supernatural remembrance of American Indians (Wall and Arden 1990:22).

Certain Lakota individuals have collected and curated peace pipes that once belonged to historically important political leaders. Mathew King of Kyle, South Dakota, claimed to have the peace pipes of Red Cloud, Black Bear, and Noble Red Man (his grandfather). "The Pipe mediates between man and God" (Wall and Arden 1990:30-31), according to King. Such Lakota behavior minimizes the likelihood that pipes that have made their way into National Park Service displays and collections are historically or ritually significant. Pipes held by the Park Service are likely to have been made and sold as curios to newcomers.

Pipe bowls: The Teton's favorite material for pipe bowls was catlinite. Named after George Catlin, this soft claystone was quarried in southwestern Minnesota. Indian use of the quarry is believed to date back to relatively recent prehistoric times (Ewers 1938:53). Some bowls were carefully carved into animate forms and later were "tastefully inlaid with pieces of metal" (Ewers 1938:54). ✓

Pipe stems: The broad, flat pipe stem was made of ash wood. The stem holes were drilled and uniformly made from the stalk of young ash. Ewers describes the stems as decorated with tufts of dyed horsehair and wound with strips of dyed porcupine quills; feathers adorned the sacred calumet. "It should be noted that the stem, not the bowl, was considered the sacred part of the Siouan calumet" according to Ewers (he cites West 1934).

Shields. At the level of inquiry that George Catlin carried out in the 1830s, he perceived and reported succinctly the supernatural significance of Dakota shields. Catlin (1926:I:271) described how one warrior "having got his particular and best friends (who are limited for the occasion) into a ring, to dance and sing around it and solicit the Great Spirit to instill into it the power to protect him harmless against his enemies." Drawing upon later oral tradition, Lowie (1954:105) wrote that "Dakota shields were invested with protective power mainly because of the symbolic designs and trimmings on them."

Upon death, according to Ewers (1938:71), "a warrior's favorite horse was killed, and his arms, clothing, pipe, or other personal effects were placed near the deceased." The dead were usually placed in trees on a scaffold or buried on a high hill.

The sole defensive weapon of the Teton was the thick buffalo-hide shield, carried on the left arm by a simple buckskin strap. Ewers describes the shield as consisting of "a fire-hardened buffalo hide base, covered with the dressed skin of buffalo, elk, or deer, the edges being characteristically bordered with eagle feathers. Shields averaged about 17 inches in diameter. They furnished adequate protection against lances or clubs, but could not withstand the power of bullets from improved firearms. However, even in the early days, the shield owner relied for protection on the mystic design painted on the cover rather than the thickness of the hide itself" (Ewers 1938:41).

Ewers notes that "actual shields of buffalo hide are rarely found in museum collections, but native-made reproductions are common" (Ewers 1938:41). (According to Ewers, a detailed discussion of the Dakota shield can be found in Wissler 1907. Catlin 1867 describes Teton shield-making, Vol. 1, p. 241. Illustrations of shields appear in Catlin 1867, Wied-Neuwied 1906, and Wissler 1907.)

The pan-Plains sacredness of shields to their makers and users is particularly patent among the Teton Lakota. Buffalo Society dancers carried their shields during dances. Membership in this society "was limited to men who had received dream visions of the buffalo" (Maurer et al. 1992:126).

Stone hammers or clubs. According to Ewers, "Clubs used in combat at close quarters were, under aboriginal conditions, fitted with stone heads. The club with stone ball head wrapped in buffalo hide was used by the Dakota" (1938:39). (More details are offered in Wissler 1910, p. 163 and Fig. 103).

Ceremonial stones. There are numerous possible uses for ceremonial stones. Ewers notes that medicine men used sacred stones, among other items and herbs, to treat the sick. (Densmore 1918, pp. 208–283, describes the work of Teton medicine men and includes illustrations of sacred stones, e.g. Plates 29 and 30.)

Flutes. Flutes with three to six holes in the side were noted in the nineteenth century (see Catlin 1876, Vol. 1, p. 243, Plate 101.5, Fig. g). They were played in a standard manner—blown at the end and fingered on holes (Ewers 1938:65).

Eagle feather fans. Ethnologists have reported the sacred nature of eagle feathers for Lakota people for 100 years:

“Wherever found, the eagle was regarded as sacred among the Indian tribes both east and west, and its feathers were highly prized for ornamental and ‘medicine’ purposes, and an elaborately detailed ritual of prayer and ceremony was the necessary accompaniment to its capture....The feathers most valued were those of the tail and wings.” (Mooney 1896:982).

At the end of the Sun Dance, an eagle feather fan may be used in a brief contemporary ritual called the Blessing Ceremony. “Two lines form, one of Sun Dancers and one of spectators. Each dancer touches the top of the head of a spectator, sometimes fanning them with a ceremonial eagle feather fan, and says a prayer for the spectator” (Grobsmith 1981:74).

Pendants. By the second half of the nineteenth century, Teton dress had undergone a fair amount of transformation. Among these changes was the practice by some Indians of wearing a variety of silver and brass ornaments obtained from the whites (Ewers 1938:25).

Moccasins. Teton men and women both wore moccasins made generally of hard soles, three pieces, and decorated with quillwork or beadwork designs (Ewers 1938:22, 24). (Described and illustrated in Wissler 1910, p. 140, Fig. 83; Wissler 1927 provides patterns of moccasin decorations).

An overview of Teton beadwork is provided in Ewers (1938:61). Plate No. 93 shows Dakota designs used in beadwork and quill embroidery.

Skulls. The ceremonial importance of bison skulls in the current somewhat Pan-Northern Plains Dakota version of the Sun Dance appears in the performance at Big Mountain on the Navajo Indian Reservation. American Indian Movement leader Clyde Bellecourt is one non-Navajo participant in this Sun Dance. Bellecourt has danced with half a dozen bison skulls trailing on the earth behind him on thongs tied to two pegs lodged between his shoulder blades (Benedek 1992:4). No Navajo have hunted bison for well over a century, so the bison skulls employed in this Sun Dance orchestrated by Dakota ceremonialist Leonard Crow Dog evidently are curated Northern Plains skulls. They attest to the ceremonial significance of these objects to the Dakota.

Addresses of Potential Culturally Affiliated American Indian Tribes

The following addresses are the business addresses for the potential culturally affiliated tribes discussed in the above sections.

Northern Arapaho

Mr. Harvey Spoonhunter, Jr., Chairman
Arapahoe Business Council
P. O. Box 217
Fort Washakie, WY 82514

Kiowa

Mr. Hershell Sahmaunt, Chairman
Kiowa Business Committee
P. O. Box 368
Carnegie, OK 73015

Dakota

Mr. Craig Bourland, Chairman
Cheyenne River Sioux Tribal Council
P. O. Box 590
Eagle Butte, SD 57625

Cheyenne, Northern

Mr. Llevando Fisher, President
Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council
P. O. Box 128
Lame Deer, MT 59043

Cheyenne, Southern and Arapaho

Mr. Eddie Wilson, Chairperson
Cheyenne-Arapaho Business Committee
P. O. Box 38
Concho, OK 73022

Blackfeet

Mr. Curly Bear Wagner, Cultural Coordinator
Blackfeet Nation
P. O. Box 850
Browning, MT 59417

Crow

Ms. Clara Nomee, Chairperson
Crow Tribal Council
Box 159
Crow Agency, MT 59022

Assiniboine

Mr. Caleb Shields, Chairman
Fort Peck Tribal Executive Board
P. O. Box 1027
Popular, MT 59255

Mr. William T. Main, President
Fort Belknap Community Council
Box 249
Harlem, MT 59526

Gros Ventre

Mr. William T. Main, President
Fort Belknap Community Council
Box 249
Harlem, MT 59526

Chapter 5

Pipe Spring National Monument

Pipe Spring National Monument was chosen as our NAGPRA consultation case demonstration because of our familiarity with the area and its residents, and the relatively small size of the collection held at the Monument. Because this is a case demonstration, we have divided the discussion of Pipe Spring into two parts. The first is this chapter which gives a brief ethnographic and historical overview of the Monument, and a brief assessment of the collection. The second part is contained in Chapter 6 where the consultation process is discussed, along with tribal review of the collection objects and preliminary tribal recommendations.

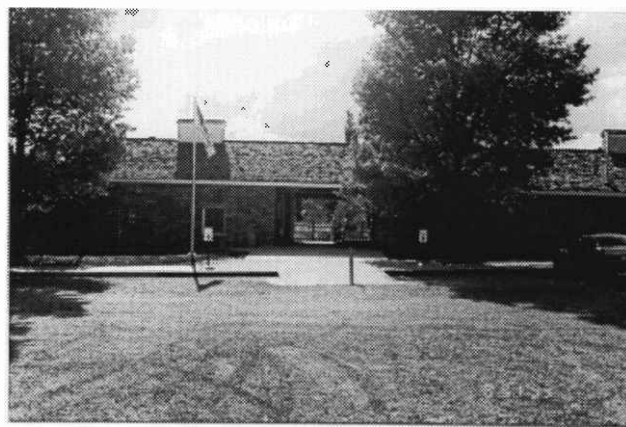


Fig. 5.1: Pipe Spring National Monument

Since we were to conduct the consultation at Pipe Spring, rather than simply identify who might be involved, we necessarily had to have more information concerning the collection items, such as where they came from, how they came to be in the collection, and how they came to be on the servicewide summary. The detail included here is not meant to single out Pipe Spring National Monument, since we believe that *all* parks and monuments will have to eventually go through a similar process of information gathering. In this case Pipe Spring National Monument has less of a work load for being chosen as the case demonstration, since we did the information gathering (with the help of the park staff), and then conducted the actual consultation.

Background

Pipe Spring National Monument is located just south of the Utah border in the Arizona Strip. Humans have occupied the Arizona Strip since at least 7,000 B.C. (Altschul and Fairley 1989). Puebloan peoples' occupation of the Arizona Strip has been documented from the Basketmaker II period (300 B.C.) to the Pueblo III period (1225 A.D.) (Altschul and Fairley 1989:107-140). Southern Paiute people have lived in

this northern Arizona-southern Utah region since the Pueblo II period (1150 A.D.) (Altschul and Fairley 1989:147; Shutler 1961:29). Radiocarbon dates place them in the area by 1285 A.D. (Jones 1986). Their ethnic group boundary has been defined by travelers' observations in the late 1700s (Bolton 1950), by Euroamerican settlers diaries and official government surveys in the mid-1800s (Little 1881; Powell and Ingalls 1874), and by oral history interviews in the 1930s (Kelly 1934, 1964; Stewart 1942) and in the 1980s (Bunte and Franklin 1987; ERT 1987). All of these sources of boundary information document that the lands currently occupied by the Shivwits Paiute, the Kaibab Paiute, and San Juan Paiute people are part of the traditional territory of the Southern Paiute Nation.

Efforts by Euroamerican scholars to define a boundary and an origin time for the Southern Paiutes are perceived by Paiute people themselves to be less important than their cultural knowledge, oral history, and religious beliefs about traditional ethnic territory and the events by which the people came to inhabit it. According to traditional Paiute beliefs, Paiute people were created in these traditional lands. Through this creation, the Creator gave Paiute people a special supernatural responsibility to protect and manage the land and its resources. In Euroamerican terminology, this land is their Holy Land (Spicer 1957:197, 213).

Prior to the invasion of Euroamerican settlers in the northern Arizona-southern Utah region, Kaibab Paiute people irrigated gardens of maize, beans, and squash near permanent water sources as well as gathered natural plants and hunting or collecting all the fauna available in their ecologically diverse territory (Chavez 1976; Euler 1966; Powell 1957). In the early 1930s, Isabel Kelly recorded that Pacakwi, a local Kaibab chief, owned Pipe Spring and Moccasin Spring (five miles north of Pipe Spring) (Kelly 1964:12).

While the Southern Paiute people were aware of and had contact with early Euroamerican exploration in the region, loss of access to ecological zones and resources began in earnest in the 1860s with the advent of Mormon settlement throughout the southern Utah region. Euler (1972), Stoffle and Evans (1976), and Turner (1985) provide detailed accounts of social, cultural, and ecological impacts of planned Mormon settlements, unregulated mining, and tens of thousands of cattle, sheep, and horses. Mormons, with their structured notions of community, soon established an outpost at Pipe Spring as integral to their economic plan (Knack 1993:215, Stoffle and Evans 1976, Yeager 1947:173). Within two years of their arrival, the Mormons had "expropriated all perennial water sources in Kaibab territory" (Knack 1993:215).

The Mormons who first recorded visits among Southern Paiutes gave Pipe Spring its current English-language name. Following the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints doctrine, Jacob Hamblin, the pioneer Mormon missionary, believed Native Americans descended from one of

the Lost Tribes of Israel. In 1856 (Tilden 1968:494) or 1858 (Albright and Taylor 1928:160, Yeager 1947:173), he and twelve men set out for Hopi country (Yeager) or Navajo country (Tilden) and stopped at the Yellow Rock Spring en route. Yeager provides an account of the incident that resulted in the name change:

One of Hamblin's brothers, after being chided for his marksmanship, bet that he could shoot the bottom out of his companion's pipe at 25 yards, without breaking the stem or bowl, which he proceeded to do. Hence Pipe Spring (Yeager 1947:174).

The desert grass surrounding the gushing spring lured the Mormon converts James and Elizabeth Whitmore, with their two children, to set up a cattle ranch on the Paiutes' prime water (Lavender 1984:7), despite the spring being owned and used by Kaibab Paiute people. An encounter in 1868 involving the Navajos (Knack 1993:215) resulted in Whitmore's death. The Mormons became aggressive. In 1870 they purchased Pipe Spring from Whitmore's widow, claimed the place as an outpost for their mission, and erected a rock fort completely surrounding the water (Lavender 1984:26).

Brigham Young, successor to Mormon church founder Joseph Smith as Latter Day Saints Church head, sought to create a self-sustaining empire known as Deseret. The outpost at Pipe Spring was designated as a locus for raising the church's dairy and beef cattle. Here, cheese-makers worked beginning in 1871; their products fed those building the Mormon temple in St. George (Lavender 1984:30, Yeager 1947:174). The fort that still stands at Pipe Spring National Monument was built between 1868-71 and given the name "Winsor Castle."

Winsor Castle in 1871 became the first telegraph station in Arizona and an important link in the telegraph line network designed to provide communications throughout the Mormon church's far-flung empire. It also became a sanctuary for some wives during the years when the U.S. government attempted to eradicate the Mormon doctrine of polygamy under the Edmunds Act. The extra wives went "underground" so that when government officials arrived, they would only find one man and one woman living under a single roof (Yeager 1947:175). "After all, there was no case unless more than one wife was found under a man's roof, and there is more than one old-timer living in the vicinity who admits that Pipe Spring kept him out of jail" (Yeager 1947:176).

Pipe Spring National Monument, which includes several historic buildings on 40 acres near the Grand Canyon in northern Arizona, was established in 1923 after more than a half century of conflict among Native Americans, Mormons, private individuals and the government. At issue were ideas about ownership of property, about boundaries of the nation-

state, and about moral conduct within the national territory. Also at stake were resources: water, land, and cattle.

To prevent their holdings from being confiscated by or sold at an unfair price to the U.S. government under the Edmunds-Tucker Bill of 1887, the Mormons decided to sell much of their land (Lavender 1984). Knack (1993:215) offers a different twist to the story: "By 1879, overgrazing had denuded the natural vegetation and profits had plummeted so the church sold two-thirds of Moccasin Spring and all of Pipe Spring to a local stock-raising cooperative." During the next quarter century, private citizens held title to Pipe Spring.

While ranch barons enjoyed their heyday, Kaibab Paiutes survived but became further dispossessed from their traditional lands. They fell into hunger and poverty. In 1907, the federal government withdrew from the public domain a tract of land twelve by eighteen miles for the relief of the Kaibab Paiutes (Knack 1993:217). Ten years later an executive order made the Kaibab Paiute reservation permanent.

Private landowners continued to challenge the reservation land base and the assertion of federal control over Kaibab Paiute range land (Knack 1993:226). Conflicts over the use of water persisted. In 1916 the land surrounding Pipe Spring was established as a Public Water Reserve open to livestock and travelers (Lavender 1984:43).

This same year the nation's national parks and monuments were placed into a unified system under the directorship of Stephen Mather. Mather took a trip in 1920 and visited Pipe Spring. The influential Mormon cattle rancher and landowner Jonathan Heaton, whose family had challenged federal government actions with regard to Kaibab Paiute traditional lands and water in numerous ways, convinced Mather that Pipe Spring had great historical value and should be established as a monument "commemorating the part Mormons had played in the opening of the West" (Lavender 1984:45, see also Knack 1993:228). The Heaton family sold their "interest" in Pipe Spring to the Park Service for \$5,000, and in 1923 it and the 40 acres around it were withdrawn from the Kaibab Paiute reservation and established as a national monument. The Presidential Proclamation specified that "the Indians of the Kaibab Reservation shall have the privilege of utilizing waters from Pipe Spring for irrigation, stock watering and other purposes" (Harding 1923; see also Knack 1993:223). Yet, conflicts over water and land continued between the Kaibab Paiute tribe and local Mormon ranch families. It was not until the U.S. Land Claims payment was made available to the tribe in the early 1970s that the Kaibab Paiute people had sufficient resources available to begin building an economic base.

Summary of NAGPRA-Related Items and Collection Concerns

A majority of items in the Pipe Spring collection are eighteenth and nineteenth century Euroamerican materials. However, Monument personnel have created a Summary of Native American Items in Collection Storage list (a list specific to Pipe Spring National Monument and constructed solely from catalog records; referred to hereafter as the Pipe Spring Collection List). To assess the collection at Pipe Spring National Monument, we attempted to match the servicewide summary list of objects from Pipe Spring with the Pipe Spring Collection List. This proved somewhat problematic since neither the servicewide summary list nor the form that Monument personnel filled out to create the servicewide summary contain accession or catalog numbers. In addition, the park staff who had completed the servicewide summary request were not available for our collection visit. We therefore had to scan the Pipe Spring Collection List looking for a type of item (such as a basketry water jug) that had the same information as on the servicewide summary. When a potential match was found, we located the item in the locked cabinets, removed it, and photographed it on a nearby table.

We initially divided the Pipe Spring National Monument section of the servicewide summary into sets, corresponding to the groupings that appeared on the servicewide summary list. When matches were found, notations were made to a copy of the Pipe Spring Collection List that refer to these "set" designations, along with photo roll and frame numbers. Further notes were taken as needed to help describe the items or the process by which an item was located in the collection.

Terry Strong, the Maintenance Chief for Pipe Spring National Monument, was present during our entire interaction with the collection on the initial visit. He also was able to provide us with copies of the Pipe Spring Collection List and the Pipe Spring Scope of Collections statement. On subsequent visits, Acting Superintendent Mary Davis let us see the catalog and accession records. She was also able to tell us how she filled out the initial servicewide summary. This information was helpful in adding further detail to the information known about the Pipe Spring collection.

Information Gaps in the Pipe Spring Collection

The goal of learning as much as possible about how the collection came to be at the Monument was so that we could answer intelligently the questions we anticipated the involved tribes would ask when they made

their collection visits during the consultation process. There are many examples of items in the Pipe Spring National Monument collection that could be unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony, but the lack of acquisition or provenience information makes a final determination difficult, and in some cases impossible. In addition, there are many examples of *types* of items in the collection being included on the servicewide summary, but not all items of that type being included on the summary. Examples include pipe bowls, baskets, clothing, and pottery discs. When acquisition provenience and contextual information is lacking for an item, and when a type of item (such as pipe bowls) has been included on the servicewide summary, all instances of that type should be included as part of the NAGPRA consultation.¹

Given the level of information known about the objects at the time the park staff completed their summary forms, the objects that were included were appropriate. Some examples of items that did not make it onto the servicewide summary are:

- Pottery ornaments (Accession # 0155, Catalog # 0671, 0672). There was no information about the location or time these items were collected or by whom they were collected. In the absence of that type of information and because they may have come from a burial, the inclusion of these items in the consultation process will allow Native American consultants to make the assessment that these objects are not unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony.
- Three “war hammers” (Accession # 0155, Catalog # 0662, 0663, 0664). The designation of “war hammer” is obviously a misnomer. These implements are stone axe heads. There is nothing inherent in the concept of “stone axe heads” to indicate items of this type would not fit into the NAGPRA categories. It has been suggested by NPS archaeologists that wear pattern analysis might indicate what the axe heads had been used for. This is true, but in lieu of any data as to where they came from we still would not know if they had been buried as part of a Paiute “Cry” ceremony. In lieu of provenience data, there is less potential for error if the items are included in the consultation process where the Native American consultants can make the assessment that the items are not unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony.

¹ By lack of accession information we mean that more needs to be known about where an item came from than a catalog record simply saying “donated by person X.” As stated in Chapter 1, this does not establish right of possession and is therefore not adequate for NAGPRA purposes.

As pointed out by Wilson (1994:2), the lack of acquisition and provenience data is typical of many museums, and not just NPS collections, particularly with regard to American Indian items collected or donated prior to the use of legal documentation.

- One basket (Accession # 0341, Catalog # 1927). This basket is of historic Paiute origin and should be included as part of the NAGPRA consultation process.
- Shelfcase 1-shelves D and E contain numerous pieces of pottery, sherds, etc. These items are not cataloged and consequently do not appear in the Pipe Spring catalog records.
- Manos and metates. The Pipe Spring collection contains numerous manos and metates. Due to the nature of Southern Paiute funerary practices, manos and metates as types of objects can be included among items buried during the Cry ceremony. In lieu of provenience information, Native American consultants should make the determination of whether these manos and metates are unassociated funerary objects.

The above examples are included here precisely because no one knows where they came from. As discussed in Chapter 1, not knowing where something came from is not an excuse for excluding the item from the NAGPRA consultation process.

Collection Storage

The collection at Pipe Spring National Monument is stored near the visitors center and residence area in a building with no central heating, ventilating, or air conditioning system. A small fan is used to ventilate radon gas. A wood burning stove in an adjacent maintenance room, used to heat the building in the winter months, poses a risk to the building, staff, and collections as well (Wilson 1994:1). Some of the collection items are stored on open shelving within the collection room. The more fragile items, along with small items, or those considered to be more valuable, are stored in locked cabinets sitting on wood framing above the concrete floor. This framing is used to protect the cabinets and their contents in case of minor flooding and facilitate housekeeping and pest management tasks.

While the collection area may meet the curatorial standards as published and practiced by the NPS, the conditions were not adequate for consultation with tribal elders without a few minor modifications. The Monument has no space for the viewing or photographing of the collection items, such as a curatorial workspace. Nor does the monument have a visitor center conference room. We had to clear a small metal table of farm implements to make space to photograph the items during our initial visit to the collection on August 30, 1993. Later, during the collection visits by the involved tribes, Monument personnel had cleared space in the collection room, and provided tables and chairs.

Potential Cultural Affiliation of Objects at Pipe Spring

We did not go to exhaustive efforts to establish cultural affiliation for each item contained in the collection at Pipe Spring National Monument. The acquisition information does not allow for this in many cases. We already knew that Southern Paiute people would be involved in the consultation because of their historical ties to the site and the presence of the Kaibab Paiute reservation completely surrounding the Monument. A review of the archaeology of the Arizona Strip region has placed Virgin Anasazi populations residing in the area prior to 1400 A.D. (Altschul and Fairley 1989). We included the Hopi Tribe in our list of potentially involved tribes because of the tribe's stated connection to the Virgin Anasazi population. To the best of our knowledge, the Hopi Tribe is the only Pueblo group that claims cultural affiliation with Virgin Anasazi sites in the Arizona Strip region (Secakuku 1994). The Hopi Tribe is also already involved in consultation with the NPS regarding human remains being held in the collection at Pipe Spring National Monument.

After reviewing the collection at Pipe Spring we limited our list of potentially involved tribes to the Kaibab Paiute, the Shivwits Paiute, the San Juan Paiute, and the Hopi Tribe. All but two of the basketry items appeared to us to be of Paiute manufacture, and probably historic Paiute. At the time, we reasoned that while Kaibab Paiute people have a long history of living at and using Pipe Spring, historic ties to Shivwits and San Juan people through marriage could have resulted in baskets made by these people ending up at Pipe Spring. We also reasoned that since some of the items in the collection were dug up by a former NPS custodian (see Pipe Spring catalog records for items in Accession #155, including 1990 interview notes, and Chapter 6 for more details), there was no reason to think the items would not be considered by the Paiute elders worthy of their consideration.

During our initial collection visit all but two of the pots and bowls appeared to us to be of possible Paiute origin. The two painted bowls did not, and were probably taken from the Puebloan ruin located on reservation land immediately south of the Monument. These two bowls justified having the Hopi Tribe involved in the consultation. We emphasize that only whole (or reasonably so) pots and bowls were included in our examination (see photographs in Chapter 6). We did not include sherds or fragments.

A third and final cultural affiliation consideration for involving these particular tribes in the consultation process was that both the Kaibab Paiute Tribe and the Hopi Tribe were already in a consultation process regarding human remains kept at Pipe Spring National Monument. Interestingly, these human remains have the same accession number as several of the items included on the servicewide summary.

As mentioned previously in this report and in Chapters 6 and 7, we did not feel it was necessary under the provisions of NAGPRA to be completely exhaustive regarding a native group once we had determined they should be involved in the consultation. It is easy enough to sort out during the tribal collection visits, with the help of the tribal representatives, who is ultimately affiliated with which objects.

Addresses of Potential Culturally Affiliated American Indian Tribes

Kaibab Paiute Indian Tribe

Gloria Benson, Chairperson
Kaibab Paiute Indian Tribe
HC 65 Box 2
Fredonia, Arizona 86022

Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (contact point for Shivwits Paiute band)

Alex Shepard, Chairperson
Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah
600 North 100 East Paiute Drive
Cedar City, Utah 84720

San Juan Paiute Indian Tribe

Evelyn James, President
San Juan Paiute Indian Tribe
P.O. Box 2656
Tuba City, AZ 86045

Hopi Tribe

Ferrell Secakuku, Chairman
Hopi Tribal Council
P. O. Box 123
Kykotsmovi, AZ 86039

Chapter 6

Native American Consultation at Pipe Spring National Monument

This chapter describes the consultation as it occurred at Pipe Spring National Monument. By describing the process in detail, it should become apparent who, how, and when consultation should be conducted to fulfill the requirements of NAGPRA.

In October 1993, we contacted the Kaibab Paiute Indian Tribe, the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, the San Juan Paiute Tribe, and the Hopi Tribe to inform them of the beginning of a consultation with Pipe Spring National Monument concerning the items in the collection. Because of numerous scheduling conflicts, it was not possible to have a consultation group meeting (see Recommendations in Chapter 7) before the tribes made visits to the Monument collection. A consultation group meeting was held in late February before the end of the study.

The initial tribal contact was in the form of a letter explaining the nature of the consultation and the proposed schedule of activities. Included in this initial letter was a set of photographs of the items from the Pipe Spring collection that would be discussed as part of the NAGPRA consultation. These photographs were beneficial in informing the tribes in advance what types of items their elders would see in the collection, and in giving tribal officials a chance to discuss before the visit who should be asked to observe the collection. The Hopi Tribe said the photographs allowed them to pick the appropriate elders for the visit, and enhanced their elders' ability to have an understanding of the items to be discussed.

Kaibab Paiute Indian Tribe

On October 25, 1993, Dr. Evans conducted a meeting with tribal officials and elders of the Kaibab Paiute Indian Tribe whose reservation completely surrounds Pipe Spring National Monument. Evans discussed the NAGPRA legislation with the tribal leaders and elders, and gave them

a brief overview of what to expect at the Monument during their collection visit. Several of the elders were uncomfortable with the idea of viewing the collection due to Paiute beliefs regarding items that potentially came from burials. Although at the time only two items on the list were known to be unassociated funerary items, several of the elders identified other items from the photographs they felt potentially originated from burials local to the Kaibab Paiute reservation.

The Monument staff had prepared the collection storage room by moving some large bulky items elsewhere, and providing tables and chairs. After the elders were seated and comfortable, the Acting Superintendent, with the assistance of Dr. Evans, began removing items that had been included on the servicewide summary list from the storage cabinets. The items were not viewed in any particular order; the goal was for the elders to view all the items by the end of the day. Each item was brought to the elders one at a time. After the elders had viewed the item, asked questions, and made comments, that item was returned to its storage location, and the next item brought to the table.

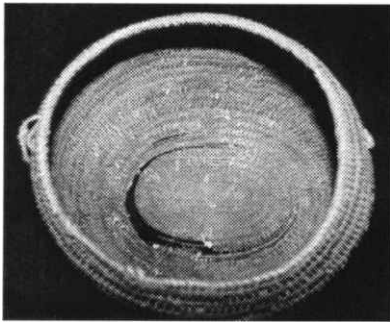


Fig. 6.1: PISP Acc. #0149, Cat. #0648 – Utility basket

Not everything held in the Pipe Spring collection was perceived as being sacred or even significant by the Kaibab elders. For example, several baskets were identified by the elders as “laundry baskets.” The elders recognized the baskets as a type often made for local non-Indian residents. One such resident was Margaret Heaton, mother of Leonard Heaton, the former custodian of Pipe Spring National Monument. Mrs. Heaton lived in Moccasin, and as one elder put it, “She had a lot of kids and needed a lot of laundry baskets.” Margaret Heaton loaned one of these laundry baskets (Acc. # 0149, Cat. #0648, Fig. 6.1) to the Monument in

1931. In 1960, Leonard Heaton arranged for the NPS to buy this and other items from her.¹

While some of the items included in the collection at Pipe Spring National Monument were not viewed as especially important by the Kaibab elders, there were several items that were. These items also tended to elicit more stories from the elders of the early history of the region. Two of these items are pieces of cradleboards (Acc. # 0394, Cat. # 2237, # 2238, Fig. 6.2, 6.3). Both of these items were found in the Monument collection during a 1976 inventory by the National Park Service. No information

¹ According to a letter written by Heaton to his supervisor at Zion National Park on January 22, 1960, Margaret needed to buy new appliances for her house, so had decided she wanted Pipe Spring National Monument to buy several items she no longer had use for. Included among the farm implements was this basket. Margaret was later paid \$175 for the lot (Heaton 1960).

concerning the ultimate origin of the cradleboard pieces is available in the Monument records. The Kaibab elders identified the two pieces as having come from different cradleboards. The smaller piece (Cat. #2238) "was done in a hurry. They didn't put any edging on it," referring to the lack of any fiber binding around the edges, which marks a finished cradleboard. The larger piece (Cat. #2237) "was made more recent. The piece of wood was a later design element." The elders felt the second piece could have been made in the 1950s based on the presence of the flat piece of wood tied across the middle of the cradleboard.

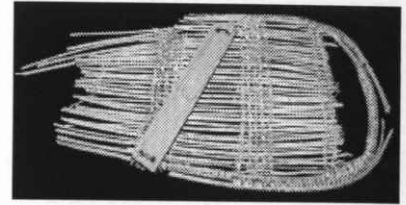


Fig. 6.2: PISP Acc. #0394, Cat. #2237 – Cradleboard

The Kaibab elders felt both cradleboards potentially came from burials. Paiute people placed cradleboards in special locations after the death of a child. One Kaibab elder told a story of how a Paiute man went to the ridge that runs from the Monument north toward the Mormon community of Moccasin and left a cradleboard there after the death of one of his children. Later, the elder said, unidentified members of the Moccasin community took the cradleboard from its location and kept it.

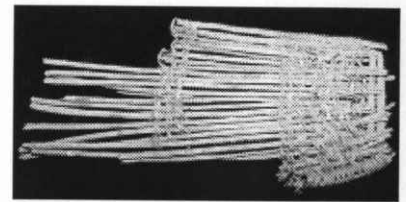


Fig. 6.3: PISP Acc. #0394, Cat. #2238 – Cradleboard piece

A few pieces of pottery are included in the Pipe Spring collection. Some of these are considered by archaeologists to be "Anasazi" in origin, while others are either Numic (i.e. Paiute), or unidentified. The Kaibab elders did not have much interest in what they considered to be the "Anasazi" pots. However, they were interested in pots they themselves identified as having been made by Paiutes, such as one found in the Kanab, Utah area (Acc. # 0389, Cat. # 2180, Fig. 6.4).

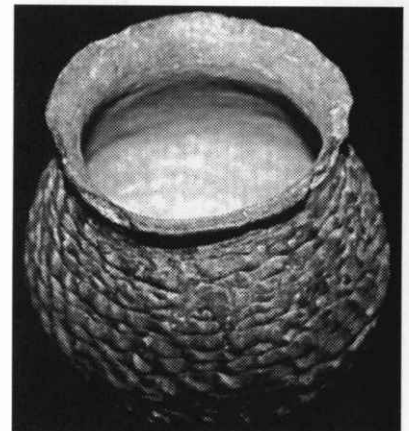


Fig. 6.4: PISP Acc. #0389, Cat. #2180 – Cooking pot

The disturbing feeling generated by viewing the collection items led one elder to tell stories about past atrocities against Indian people in the local area, including two stories she had heard as a young child. One story was related to the Mountain Meadows Massacre. This was an infamous historical incident where Mormon settlers from southern Utah, disguised as Indians, killed 154 members of a wagon train bound for California (Brooks 1950). The Kaibab elder's story was that a young Paiute boy found a coin and other artifacts at the Mountain Meadows site that had belonged to members of the wagon train. Upon learning that the boy had found some items, unidentified Mormon settlers had taken the items from him and had told him that it was dangerous for him to have

the items. The Kaibab elder's story emphasized the feeling among Paiute people that the boy would have been killed had he kept the items.

The second story emphasized the death of Paiute people caused directly by Mormon settlers. Genocide stories abound among Paiute people and the Kaibab elder chose to relate a story about unidentified Mormon settlers who killed Paiute people, decapitated them, and sent the heads to Salt Lake City. The elder was under the impression that these heads were still held by Mormons in Salt Lake City in an undisclosed location.

The Kaibab elder was expressing her feelings, through the use of the stories, that it is improper and perhaps dangerous for people to own or even view items that could have come from burials. During this initial period of story-telling, the elders did not express this feeling directly to Dr. Evans. However, through careful listening and extensive knowledge of the ethnohistory and ethnology of the region, it became apparent to him that at least some of the elders were afraid that something bad would happen to them, either from angry spirits or angry local Mormon residents, if they were placed in contact with museum collection items they felt came from burials.

As the collection visit continued with the Kaibab elders, they became more and more reticent about the items they were observing. Finally, the elder who had begun telling stories started retelling the stories that had been told earlier in the day. This time however, she kept adding the statements that these items were connected to burials and that people did not have a right to keep them, nor was it safe to be around them. Finally, in a completely agitated state, she said, "These things belong to the dead! They don't belong to you."

This final episode of story-telling and anguish occurred near the end of the list of items to be viewed by the elders. Dr. Evans quickly went through the remaining couple of items with the elders. Meanwhile, one of the members of the group tried to rephrase what the elder had been trying to relate. She explained that for Paiute people, burials and things associated with burials were sacred and not to be disturbed. The items had been put there for the dead person's use and should have stayed in place. She said that disturbing such areas and items was simply not something Paiute people did, and it brought about great anguish and foreboding when someone else did it. She explained that the elders would have to be fanned with eagle feathers and smoke to protect them from the experience of having been in contact with items they felt had come from burials. These items were not something the elders wanted to have around, or have anywhere near them, such as on display in a tribal facility.

The next day, following the collection visit by the Kaibab elders, Evans searched through the catalog and accession records filed at Pipe Spring

National Monument. After searching the records, it became obvious that many of the items in the collection had been acquired by Leonard Heaton, a former custodian of the Monument and resident of Moccasin, either from his family or through his own efforts. One notable entry in the catalog records states that he dug up some Indian burials just south of "the highway" in 1939. This may correspond with a known puebloan site that overlaps both Monument land and Kaibab Paiute reservation land. According to statements made by Heaton in 1990, he dug up four human skulls from this site. The authors' conclusion is that items that are part of Accession #155 (the accession that includes the skulls) are associated funerary objects and should be separated from the other items included in the consultation.

The findings of Dr. Evans' search validate the belief of many Kaibab Paiute people regarding a former custodian of Pipe Spring National Monument who many Kaibab people believe to have been a "pot-hunter" during his tenure at the Monument in the first half of the 20th century.² Most of the items in the Pipe Spring collection are attributable to this former custodian. Since he dug up burials himself, by his own admission, the Kaibab elders feel that many of the items in the Pipe Spring collection came from burials found in the area.³

Two other sets of items in the collection are unassociated funerary objects. The first set is the red and green paint (Acc. # 0466, Cat. # 2493, 2494, Fig. 6.5). This paint was found at "an Indian burial site in Moccasin City" according to the catalog record. The acquisition date was March 27, 1940. No information concerning any other items from this burial or the disposition of the body is mentioned.

The second set of items consists of the seashell and the mother-of-pearl fragments (Acc. # 0465, Cat. # 2491, 2492, Fig. 6.6). According to the catalog records these items were found "buried with an Indian skeleton at Indian burial site in Moccasin City." They were identified by Leonard Heaton and acquired by him in 1931. No mention of other items or the disposition of the skeleton is made in the records.

² The Kaibab Paiute elders, being the people who have the longest residence history at Pipe Spring, have numerous stories of the Monument, including ones of how the former custodian of the Monument would scare young Paiute children by keeping human skulls inside the doors to the Monument. We did not feel it necessary to relate in this report all of these stories, since the point is that the elders are deeply affected by not only the objects, but their perception of how they were collected.

³ It is widely believed by local residents in the southern Utah area that not only was there nothing wrong with digging up Indian burials sixty years ago, but that there is nothing wrong with doing so now. The National Park Service is currently engaged in a campaign to educate southern Utah residents that it is illegal as well as improper behavior for them to dig up archaeology sites as a hobby, a behavior that is still ongoing today as it did in the early 1900s (Mary Davis 1993, personal communication).

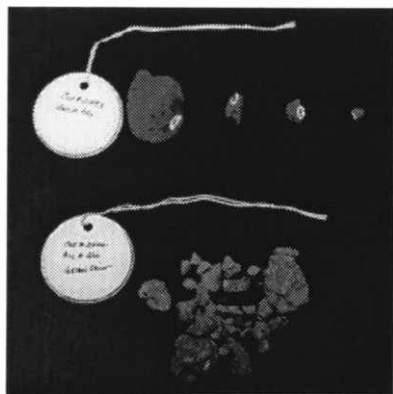


Fig. 6.5: PISP Acc. #0466, Cat. #2493, 2494 – Red and green paint

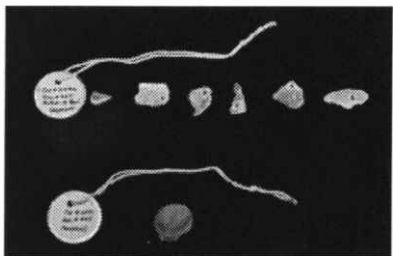


Fig. 6.6: PISP Acc. #0465, Cat. #2491, 2492 – Mother-of-pearl fragments and seashell



Fig. 6.7: PISP misc. manos



Fig. 6.8: PISP misc. metates

At least one other probable unassociated funerary item is a small pot of obvious Paiute origin found near Kanab, Utah (Accession #0389, Cat. # 2180, Fig. 6.4). According to a letter from the donor to the NPS in 1976, the pot was found during some excavation work conducted by a Civilian Conservation Corps crew near Kanab in the 1930s. This is a type of pot found in burials in an areawhere there is a high incidence of human burials. The letter gave no information about what was or was not found with the pot. Unless further information is discovered concerning this pot, we recommend that it be included in the consultation as a potential unassociated funerary object.

The Pipe Spring collection contains numerous assorted manos (Fig. 6.7), metates (Fig. 6.8), points and flakes (Fig. 6.9), and potsherds (Fig. 6.10). The Kaibab Paiute elders reviewed these items and classified them as not being in the NAGPRA categories.

Hopi Indian Tribe

Representatives from the Hopi Indian Tribe made a collection visit to Pipe Spring National Monument on November 30, 1993. The representatives were members of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Program, and the group consisted of two elders and two program staff members (Fig. 6.11). The Hopi Cultural Preservation Program consists of full- and part-time staff, plus a group of 25 elders who are members of the various religious societies at Hopi. Prior to making the collection visit, the program staff was able to use the pictures we had sent them of the items in the Pipe Spring collection to choose which of the 25 elders would be the best to send to the Monument.

The Hopi representatives arrived on the evening of November 29, at which time they met with Dr. Evans and were briefed on the nature of the project and the specifics regarding the visit. Discussion of the items contained in the collection was postponed by the Hopi representatives until they had a chance to see the objects.

On the morning of November 30, the Hopi representatives, Dr. Evans, and Acting Superintendent Mary Davis met at the Monument for the collection visit. The nature of the visit, however, was considerably different from the previous one with the Kaibab Paiute elders. The Hopi representatives met with Dr. Evans and Mary Davis for three hours before any of the items were removed from the storage cabinets for inspection. During this three-hour discussion, the Hopi representatives asked questions concerning the history of the Monument, the history of the immediate area, the history of the relationship between Mormon settlers and non-Mormon residents of the area, and the history of the collection. They also asked numerous questions about the collection, the archaeology of the area, and the archaeology of specific sites they were familiar with. In recounting the archaeological history of the region, Dr. Evans continually used the word "Anasazi" in reference to the prehistoric Puebloan population of the region. The Hopi representatives suggested that instead of him using the Navajo word "Anasazi" to refer to these Puebloan peoples, he should use the Hopi word "Hisatsino." This appears to be a more accurate word, and will be used when referring to "Anasazi" items identified by the Hopi representatives.

The first and most often asked question was, "Where did these items come from?" As one Hopi elder put it, they needed to know where the items came from to tell what they were (i.e. sacred, utilitarian, etc.). Unfortunately, there is almost no provenience information available on the Pipe Spring collection. Almost none of the identified Native American items in the collection actually came from Monument property (with the possible exception of the items in Acc. #155 from the puebloan site that extends across Monument and reservation land). In addition, many of the Native American items were dug up by Leonard Heaton and other Mormon residents of the area from unknown locations. The rest were "donated" by local Mormon residents from southern Utah and northern Arizona. Of these latter items, only two have any kind of location information available: the "Dodd pot" (Acc. # 0389, Cat. # 2180, Fig. 6.4) found near Kanab, and a "laundry basket" (Acc. # 0043, Cat. # 0229) from southern Utah (this latter item was initially cataloged as a winnowing basket. The basket was on display in one of the rooms of the fort and we did not see it during our initial visit. Park Staff

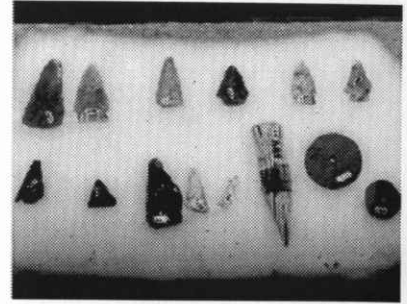


Fig. 6.9: PISP misc. points

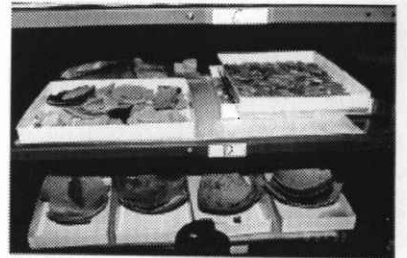


Fig. 6.10: PISP misc. sherds



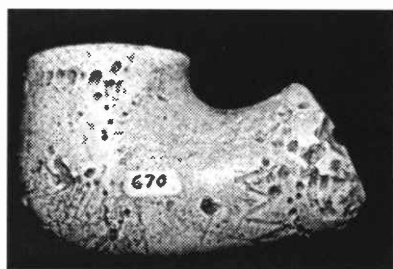
Fig. 6.11: Hopi Cultural Preservation Program members

located the basket and it has subsequently been identified correctly as a Paiute basket given as a wedding gift to the Heaton family).

After the initial three-hour question-and-answer period concerning the history of the Monument and the collection, the Hopi representatives were ready to begin viewing objects. As with the Kaibab Paiute elders, no particular order was imposed on which items were viewed first. Mary Davis, with the assistance of Dr. Evans, removed each item from the storage cabinets and brought them to the table for inspection.

The Hopi representatives were able to identify several of the items in the collection, and provide some more ethnographic information concerning them than the Monument had in its records. Both seashells and red and green paint were identified as items currently being used in religious ceremonies. The Hopi representatives felt the paint (Fig. 6.5) and seashells (Fig. 6.6) held by the Monument were significant because they were found in burials. They wanted to know where the exact location of the burials were, and what had happened to the bodies. Both Dr. Evans and Mary Davis had to answer they did not know any more than what the catalog records said, which was that they were found in Moccasin. One Hopi elder identified red paint (*suda*) as being used in current religious ceremonies at Hopi, and green paint as "green feather paint" (*pahosqua*), also used in religious ceremonies. Green paint is not particularly common, and the elder commented that the burial must have been an important person "because not everybody knows the use" of green paint.

The white pipe bowl (Acc. #0155, Cat. #0670, Fig. 6.12) was examined and found to have a lightening bolt carved in it (visible in the photograph), and a cross on the opposite side. The pipe was identified as having been made from a "very fine" clay.



**Fig. 6.12: PISP Acc. #0155,
Cat. #0670— Pipe bowl**

A ceramic bowl (Acc. #0155, Cat. #0669, Fig. 6.13) was identified as an Hisatsino bowl, similar to the "medicine bowls" the Hopi currently use. The elders identified it as a ceremonial bowl because of the type of markings on it. They said it was probably a burial bowl, and that there was probably a water jug in the same burial. The use of the painted design to identify the type and use of the bowl is significant since many of the ceramics we have seen throughout the NPS

collections contain unique and clear designs. It is interesting that the Hopi elders identified this bowl as being a probable funerary object, since it is from the same accession as the four human skulls known to have come from the site that overlaps Monument and reservation land.

The elders identified a ceramic jug (Acc. # 0155, Cat. # 0658, Fig. 6.14) as a water jug of the type that would have been put with a medicine bowl in a burial. They also identified another ceramic piece (Acc. # 0155, Cat. # 0682, Fig. 6.15) as a water jug. One piece from this same accession was identified as a type of water jug that would have been used to store water in a house (Acc. # 0155, Cat. # 0681, Fig. 6.16).

A fourth water jug (Acc. # 0189, Cat. # 0903, Fig. 6.17) and another ceremonial medicine bowl (Acc. # 0189, Cat. # 0902, Fig. 6.18) were also identified by the Hopi representatives as Hisatsino. The elders said that there were other uses for this type of medicine bowl while the owner was alive, such as making *piki* bread dough or stew. The bowl would have been used as a burial bowl, along with a water jug, and probably buried with the body with food in it.

The elders identified one pot (Acc. # 0389, Cat. # 2180, Fig. 6.4) as being a type frequently found on Hopi land. Unlike the medicine bowls, this is a less significant ceramic piece.

One pot (Acc. #0394, Cat. #2213, Fig. 6.19) was identified as a cooking pot because of the presence of grease on it.

Several items in the Pipe Spring collection were identified by the Hopi representatives as not being Hopi. These included two baskets (Acc. #0394, Cat. #2189, 2190, Figs. 6.20, 6.21), the two cradleboard pieces (Acc. #0394, Cat. #2237, 2238, Figs. 6.2, 6.3), and the winnowing tray (Acc. #0148, Cat. #0647, Fig. 6.22). The Hopi elders said the Hopi word for this type of tray is *tsayanpi*, and that the Hopi had winnowing trays, but their type was considerably different from this one.

After viewing all of the items from the servicewide summary that are available at Pipe Spring National Monument, the Hopi representatives also viewed other items in the collection. These items included the manos and metates, the pot sherds and flakes, the farm implements, and some of the non-Indian artifacts dating from the Mormon settler period of the Monument.

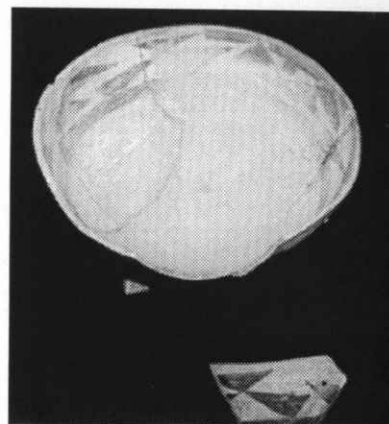


Fig. 6.13: PISP Acc. #0155, Cat. #0669 – Ceramic bowl

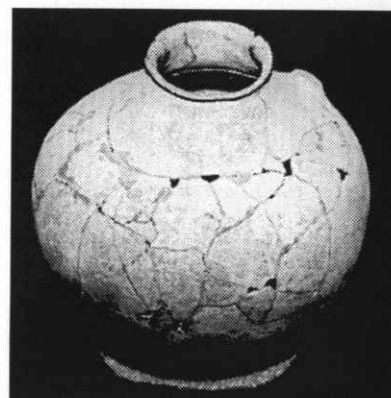


Fig. 6.14: PISP Acc. #0155, Cat. #0658– Water jug

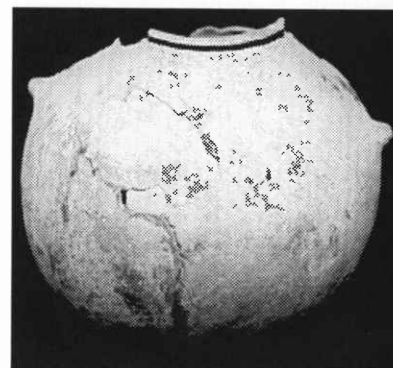
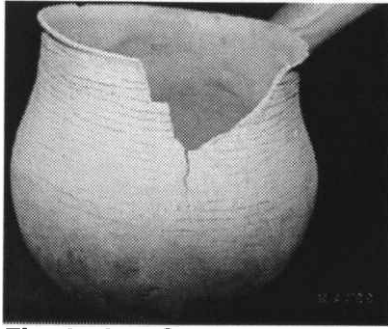
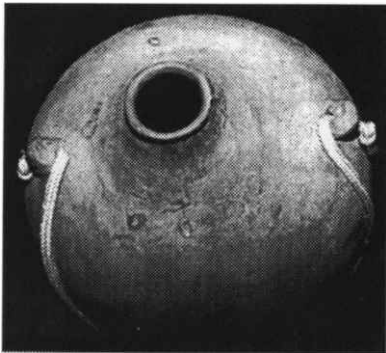


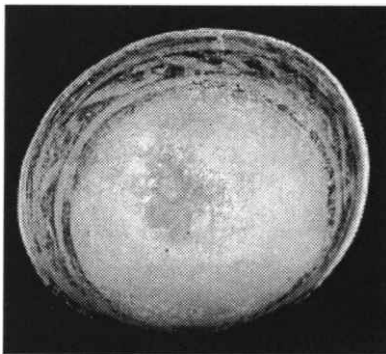
Fig. 6.15: PISP Acc. #0155, Cat. #0682– Water jug



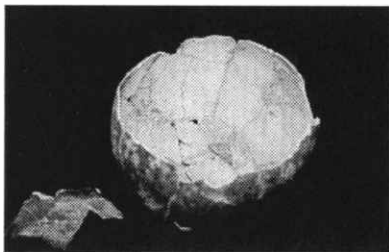
**Fig. 6.16: PISP Acc. #0155,
Cat. #0681 – Water jug**



**Fig. 6.17: PISP Acc. #0189,
Cat. #0903 – Water jug**



**Fig. 6.18: PISP Acc. #0189,
Cat. #0902 – Medicine bowl**



**Fig. 6.19: PISP Acc. #0394,
Cat. #2213 – Cooking pot**

During the viewing of these latter items, a discussion was held concerning the identification and curation of items by the National Park Service and museums in general. Examples of the difficulty of curators with little experience in American Indian material culture are present in the Pipe Spring collection. One item held at Pipe Spring National Monument, but not yet accessioned as part of its collection, is a Paiute cradleboard covered with a print cloth. During a previous NPS inventory, a curator mistakenly identified this cradleboard as a "snowshoe." The Hopi representatives asked to see this item, and when Mary Davis retrieved it, they immediately agreed that it was in fact a cradleboard, not a "snowshoe." Mary Davis then retrieved an item from the Mormon part of the Pipe Spring collection that had everybody wondering what it was (they were curtain wall pins to hold curtains open).

Everyone agreed that curators have a difficult task, but reiterated a recurring point: identification of American Indian material culture items should be done by experienced, knowledgeable people, preferably Native Americans. The Hopi representatives agreed that the NAGPRA process was one mechanism to correct past mistakes in identification and labeling, but also pointed out that those past mistakes would be perpetuated in the NAGPRA process if Indian people were not allowed to view the entire collections, rather than some small part of the collections deemed important by an archaeologist or a curator. The number of identification and curation mistakes we have discovered during this project would add empirical data to the Hopi representatives' view.

Shivwits Paiute Band

The Shivwits Paiute Band is one of five bands that make up the Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah. The Shivwits people are related both culturally and through kinship to the Kaibab Paiute people. Throughout their history

individuals have lived in both places, frequently intermarrying. Several Shivwits people currently live on the Kaibab Paiute reservation. For the purposes of the collection visit by the Shivwits people, some Shivwits elders came from the Shivwits reservation, and one came from the Kaibab Paiute reservation.

The procedure for the Shivwits collection visit followed that of the Kaibab and Hopi visits. After a presentation and discussion of the history of the collection, how items came to be there, and where they came from in general, each item was brought to the table for evaluation by the Shivwits elders.

The winnowing tray (Acc. #0148, Cat. #0647, Fig. 6.22) is "like one my grandmother made." The elders said Paiute people are still making winnowing trays in this style to collect pine nuts.

A water jug (Acc. #0120, Cat. #0536, Fig. 6.23) was identified by the Shivwits elders as similar to baskets made by women into the 1920s. They said that San Juan Paiute people still make water jugs, but not in this style. The Shivwits elders did not think the water jug was very old because of the style in which it was made.

One Paiute basket held in the collection (Acc. #0149, Cat. #0648, Fig. 6.1) is made in a style similar to that done by Mabel Drye (now deceased). This type of basket would have been used to gather fruit or berries.

Another basket (Acc. #0149, Cat. #0649, Fig. 6.24) was identified as a "laundry basket." The handles indicated to the Shivwits elders that this was used for "laundry." Baskets of this type were often sold or traded for food in the Hurricane and St. George area.

The black pipe bowl (Acc. 0155, Cat. #0666, Fig. 6.25) was identified as being similar to one made from a green stone that one of the Shivwits elders owns. The Shivwits elders remembered Paiute people using pipes like these when they were children. The Shivwits elders thought the white pipe bowl (Acc. #0155, Cat. #0670, Fig. 6.12) was possibly made from horn of some kind.

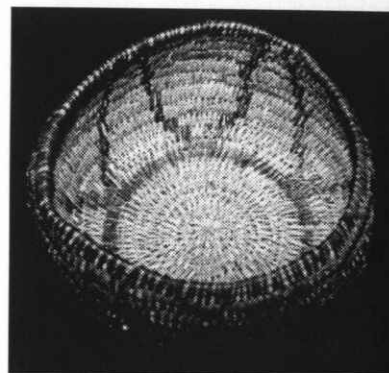


Fig. 6.20: PISP Acc. #0394, Cat. #2189 – unidentified basket

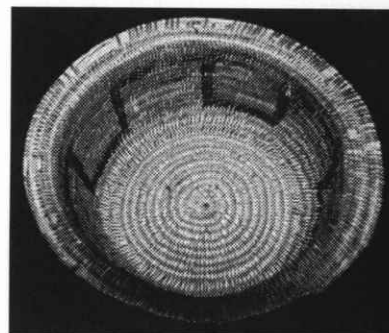


Fig. 6.21: PISP Acc. #0394, Cat. #2190 – unidentified basket

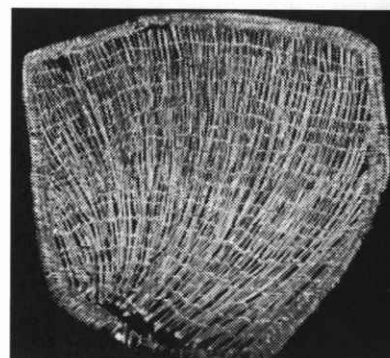


Fig. 6.22: PISP Acc. #0148, Cat. #0647 – Paiute winnowing tray



Fig. 6.23: PISP Acc. #0120, Cat. #0536 – Basketry water jug

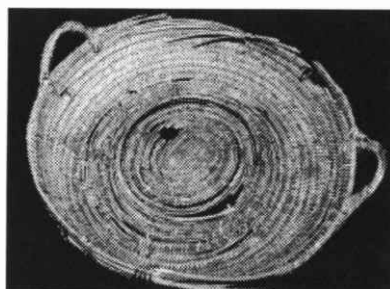


Fig. 6.24: PISP Acc. #0149, Cat. #0649 – “Laundry”



Fig. 6.25: PISP Acc. #0155, Cat. #0666 – Black pipe bowl

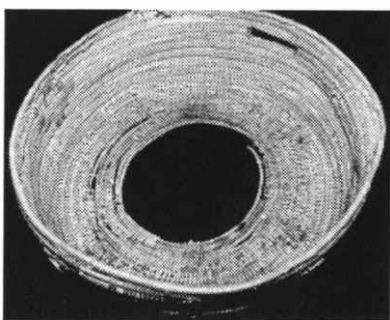


Fig. 6.26: PISP Acc. #0166, Cat. #0711 – “Laundry” basket

The Shivwits elders said that one of the painted pots in the collection (Acc. #0155, Cat. #0669, Fig. 6.13) is not a Paiute pot.

One pot (Acc. #0155, Cat. #0681, Fig. 6.16) was identified as being a Paiute pot. One Shivwits elder did not think it was very old. It was identified as a “Paiute” pot because of the material it is made from, and the style of the construction. The Shivwits elder identified the clay as being a mixture of white and red, giving the pot its present color. She said that it looked like pots she used to make when she was younger.

A second pot (Acc. #0155, Cat. #0682, Fig. 6.15) was identified as being similar to pot #681 (Fig. 6.16). The Shivwits elders identified the pot as having been made from the same type of clay and made with the same technique.

The basket labeled as Acc. #0166, Cat. #0711 (Fig. 6.26) was identified as another “laundry basket.” One elder’s mother used to use the “swastika” design on her baskets. This style of basket is also used as baby baskets sometimes. Mabel Drye used to make baskets of this type, but the construction technique was also being used by other Paiute women in the 1920s and 1930s.

Items labeled Acc. #0189, Cat. #0902 and #0903 (Figs. 6.17, 6.18) were identified as not being Paiute.

The “Dodd” pot (Acc. #0389, Cat. #2180, Fig. 6.4) was identified as being a Paiute pot. One Shivwits elder identified the black coloring of the pot as an indicator it had been fired “outside,” rather than in an oven-like structure.

Items catalogued as Acc. #0394, Cat. #2189 and #2190 (Figs. 6.20, 6.21) were identified as not being Paiute. The item catalogued as Acc. #0394, Cat. #2213 (Fig. 6.19) is “probably not Paiute.”

The Shivwits elders thought these two cradleboard pieces (Acc. #0394, Cat. #2237, #2238, Figs. 6.2, 6.3) were part of the same cradleboard. They felt the pieces are definitely Paiute in origin, and similar to cradleboards made by Mabel Drye and other women of her generation.

The red and green paint (Acc. #0466, Cat. #2493, #2494, Fig. 6.5), the mother-of-pearl fragments, and the seashell (Acc. #0465, Cat. #2491, 2492, Fig. 6.6) were all considered significant by the Shivwits elders. Several of them would not examine the items too closely for fear of the spirits attached to them.

During the collection visits by the Kaibab Paiute, Shivwits Paiute, and Hopi elders, other items in the collection were examined. This included uncataloged sherds, fragments, Mormon farming tools, etc. No other items were judged to be NAGPRA-related by the tribal elders.

Consultation Group Meeting

A consultation group meeting was held on February 22, 1994 at Pipe Spring National Monument. Representatives from the Kaibab Paiute Indian Tribe, the Hopi Tribe, and the Monument attended the meeting. The meeting was conducted by Dr. Evans as part of this study.

Dr. Evans presented a brief synopsis of the project up to the time of the meeting, and then went over in detail the definitions for NAGPRA-related objects. Following three hours of discussion that included NAGPRA, human remains and repatriation, and consultation procedures, the Kaibab Paiute representatives presented a written set of recommendations for the collection held at Pipe Spring National Monument. The Hopi representatives said they were not prepared to give recommendations and would have to discuss the issues with their program director and other members of the cultural preservation program. When they have recommendations, the Hopi representatives said they would forward these to the NPS.

The following section presents the recommendations made by the Kaibab Paiute Indian Tribe.

Kaibab Paiute Recommendations

- 1) A full-time collection person/curator must be recruited to oversee and care for the collection. It is in need of intense documentation, care and curation. It is believed that the Pipe Spring collection has been neglected long enough. The collection as a whole, needs extensive care and a process formulation is required.

- 2) Because of the lack of accurate documentation for collection items, there were some instances where it was unknown what happened to items. Our elders would like to know if this process can encompass Zion National Park because it is possible that the missing items may be at Zion. The reason being, to eliminate the chance that items from Pipe were borrowed and not returned.
- 3) Long-term, the Kaibab Paiute Tribe would like to suggest to the Park the idea of co-management, especially for collections. It is our position that if the National Park Service cannot care for the monument and its collection properly, then we should have the opportunity to care for the collection.
- 4) Regarding the NAGPRA consultation process in general terms, we find the process much more beneficial if a third party is involved to better facilitate the ongoing mechanics. Historically, Tribes and the Park Service have had some animosity in their relationship.

Specific recommendations for items in the collection are below:

- 1) CAT. #2493 & 2494 (Green and Red Paint) [Fig. 6.5]

CAT. #2491 & 2492 (Seashell & Fragments) [Fig. 6.6]

Our elders believe that these items may have a connection with a burial in Moccasin. They would like the items repatriated and once returned, reburied.

- 2) CAT. #681 (Ceramic Pot) [Fig. 6.16]

CAT. #2180 (Ceramic Jug) [Fig. 6.4]

Would request that these items returned to the Tribe.

- 3) CAT. #666 & 670 (Pipe Bowls) [Fig. 6.12, 6.25]

Because they were found near Pipe Spring and our people lived along this area, we would like these to be returned to the Tribe. (Or possible co-management).

- 4) CAT. #903, 658, 669, 2213, 902 [Figs. 6.13, 6.14, 6.17, 6.18, 6.19]

Co-management between the Park and our Tribe, if the Hopi do not want to repatriate these items. Items may remain in Park Service possession.

Chapter 7

Recommendations

Categories of Potential Error in the Servicewide Summaries of Collections

We derived the following categories of potential error in the servicewide summaries from our review of the collections at the five NPS units included in this study. The potential error in the Pipe Spring and the Devils Tower collections is difficult to assess because the collections lack provenience information for most of the items. In instances where there is no provenience for an item, there is an increased burden on the American Indian consultants to initially identify the sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony.

There are seven different categories of potential error in the collections of the NPS. These categories are:

- Category 1: Items listed on the servicewide summary as unassociated funerary objects but are actually *associated* funerary objects, since the NPS unit has the human remains in its collection.
- Category 2: Items listed on the servicewide summary and in the NPS unit's catalog records or inventories but not found in collection.
- Category 3: Items listed on the servicewide summary but not in the NPS unit's catalog records or inventories.
- Category 4: Potential NAGPRA items on the NPS unit's collection list but not on the servicewide summary.
 - (a): A type of item is on the servicewide summary, but other items of the same type are not (pipe bowls, for example). When there is no provenience data for any of the items, this arbitrary exclusion is unwarranted.
- Category 5: Potential NAGPRA items in the NPS unit's collection but not on the NPS unit's collection list and not on the servicewide summary.

- (a): Items that could be categorized as potential Native American origins, but not on either list (e.g., buckskin clothing).
- (b): Items probably categorized as "Anglo" but potentially have Native American origins (boots, saddles, hats, etc.).

Category 6: Errors in curation and cataloguing.

Category 7: Errors in transcription of the information to the servicewide summary form.

Category 1 error occurs when an item has been listed on the servicewide summary as an unassociated funerary object, sacred object, or object of cultural patrimony, but actually is an *associated* funerary object. This error occurred at four of the five collections included in this study: Pipe Spring, WACC, Montezuma Castle, and Tuzigoot. The WACC personnel revised the lists for WACC, Montezuma Castle, and Tuzigoot, and most, but not all, associated funerary objects were removed from the servicewide summary forms for these three NPS units. Unless these errors are corrected, they will be compounded when the NPS begins its inventory of associated funerary objects. Such errors will also make the consultation with involved tribes more difficult, because according to the NPS draft regulations, consultation about unassociated funerary objects is supposed to occur separately from consultation about associated funerary objects (Section 10.8(C)(2), Section 10.9(C)(2)).

Category 2 errors are serious for a NPS unit when Native American NAGPRA visitation to the collection is arranged. If an item has been listed on the servicewide summary, and is included as an active item in the NPS unit's catalog records, it should be in the collection. If it is not, then an error has occurred. This error could potentially prove to be a point of embarrassment when Native American consultants visit the collection under NAGPRA and ask to see that particular item. Some NPS units actively manage their collections and regularly inventory the collection holdings. Other NPS units do little more than store the items, rarely using the collection unless something like this project comes along.

Category 3 errors are similar to category 2 in terms of the potential for embarrassment. Usually, the Native American consultants who visit a collection because of NAGPRA have received a copy of the servicewide summary. If a NPS unit has listed an item on that summary, but it is not listed in the unit's catalog records, then it becomes necessary to find the object. If the item cannot be found, it must be learned if it has disappeared

without any corresponding notation in the collection management files, or that the item's inclusion on the servicewide summary list was in error and that the unit never had such an object to begin with.

A subcategory of potential error is possible within Category 3. This is when a group of objects has been listed together on the servicewide summary, but only some items in the group could be found in the collection at the NPS unit. For example, on the Pipe Spring National Monument section of the servicewide summary, a water jug was grouped with a winnowing basket. The water jug was found in the Pipe Spring catalog records (Accession #0120, Catalog #0536) and was located in the collection and photographed (Fig. 7.1). The winnowing basket was not in the Pipe Spring catalog records, nor could one be found in the collection. No other basketry water jug was listed in the Pipe Spring catalog records, nor was one found in the collection, so we assume that the water jug cataloged as #0536 was the one referred to on the servicewide summary.

Category 4 errors occur through omission, i.e., an item is listed as part of the NPS unit's collection and is a potential unassociated funerary object, sacred object, or object of cultural patrimony, but the item has not been included on the servicewide summary. With collections that have good management records, it is possible to figure out the reason the item was not included on the servicewide summary. However, in cases where there are no records, missing records, or no provenience data available, then it is difficult to reconstruct the events that led to a decision not to include the item.

A subcategory of potential error in Category 4 occurs when a *type* of item has been listed on the servicewide summary, but other items of the same type in the collection are not listed on the servicewide summary. Note that this type of error occurs when no provenience data exists. For example, two pipe bowls listed on the servicewide summary for Pipe Spring were also in the Pipe Spring catalog records, and were located and photographed in the collection (Accession #0155, Catalog #0666, 0670; Figs. 7.2, 7.3). However, another pipe bowl was discovered in the collection that was in the Pipe Spring catalog records (Accession #0475, Catalog #2517; Fig. 7.4) but was not included on the servicewide summary. None of the three items have any provenience data. (However, two of the pipe bowls have the same accession number as the skulls kept in the Pipe Spring collection.) The third unlisted pipe bowl is cataloged in the Pipe Spring catalog records as of "unknown" geographic location, "unknown" acquisition type, "unknown" acquisition date, and "unknown" cultural affiliation. Lacking any provenience data, if pipe bowls are included on the servicewide summary, then all pipe bowls should be included, not just some of them. Another example from Pipe Spring National Monument is the case of basketry. Many baskets have

been included on the servicewide summary but not all. One basket (Accession #0341, Catalog #1927; Fig. 7.5), probably of historic Paiute origin, is in the collection and in the Pipe Spring catalog records, but was not included on the servicewide summary. Lacking any acquisition or provenience information, all baskets should be included in the NAGPRA consultation process if one basket is.

spacing?



Fig. 7.1: PISP Accession #0120, Cat. #0536, Basketry water jug

Category 5 is an area of potential error that occurs when a NPS unit's collection contains potential NAGPRA consultation items, but these items have not been defined as "Native American" in origin. Consequently, the items do not appear on the servicewide summary.

Specifically, this potential error can occur when items in a NPS unit's collection have been explicitly classified as "Anglo" or "non-Indian" when the item was owned and used by American Indians.

This type of potential error is especially prone to occur when the items are from the historic period. It is quite common for historic period items such as saddles, boots, hats, tin cans, metal work, etc.



Fig. 7.2: PISP Accession #0155, Cat. #0666, Pipe bowl

to be automatically classified as "non-Indian," or "Anglo." The collection at Pipe Spring National Monument contains items of this type (Fig. 7.6). Indian people have owned and used and buried items of Euroamerican influence for hundreds of years. Without acquisition or provenience data, these items should not automatically be classified as non-Indian. There can be other reasons for not doing so as well. For example, the Pipe Spring National Monument contains many items such as boots, saddles, wagon parts, etc. Some of these are connected to the Mormon occupation of the spring area, and some are not.

Kaibab Paiute people were living at the spring long before the Mormons arrived, and continue to live there today, having never left the area. During the last 150 years of contact with Euroamericans, the Paiute people were introduced to various material goods. They adopted the most useful of these and used them. When the owners of these items died, the items were buried as part of the funeral ceremony (the Cry), just as a deceased person's items had been buried for hundreds of years previously. After Euroamerican contact, and especially after the invasion of the Mormon colonists into Southern Paiute territory, the burial items included boots, saddles, hats,

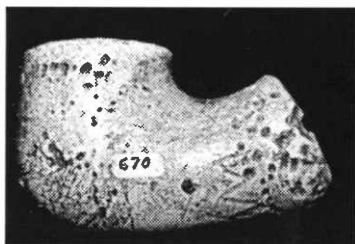


Fig. 7.3: PISP Accession #0155, Cat. #0670, Pipe bowl

blankets, etc. In addition, Southern Paiute funerary practices include a one-year mourning ceremony when more items that belonged to the

deceased are buried as part of the funeral ceremony. These items also are classified as funerary items. Without any acquisition or provenience data to the contrary, these “non-Indian” items should also be included as part of the NAGPRA consultation process. We note here that this kind of error is not common, but it does occur.

Category 6 errors occur because of mistakes made in the cataloging and curation process. For example, at Pipe Spring, a curator mistakenly identified a Paiute cradleboard covered with a print cloth as a “snowshoe” and the cloth as having been sewn on to protect the “snowshoe frame.” Also at Pipe Spring, in a 1985 inventory of the collection, the curator could not find some items listed in the catalog records, so he assigned the missing items’ catalog numbers to other items in the collection for which he could not find catalog records. The result is that for at least some items, the collection history is confused.

Category 7 error is the easiest to identify and correct. These are simple errors in transcription or typography. All the lists for the NPS units involved in this study contained such errors, and they need to be corrected to prevent items from being left out of the NAGPRA consultation process. For example, at Devils Tower National Monument, the person who compiled the list to be included as part of the servicewide summary used tick marks as she counted items in the collection. When the list was typed, the tick marks for pipes (||) were translated as “eleven” instead of the actual number of pipes, which is two.

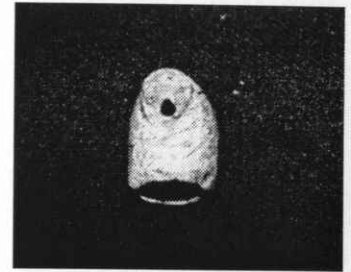


Fig. 7.4: PISP Accession #0475, Cat. #2517, Pipe bowl



Fig. 7.5: PISP Accession #0341, Cat. #1927, unknown basket

Recommendations

NAGPRA Consultation Recommendations

NAGPRA requires a government-to-government relationship between Native American tribes and Federal agencies. The requirement of a government-to-government relationship in practice means that NAGPRA consultation should be formal. While details will necessarily differ among

NPS units, the formal nature of the process is important and should be built in from the beginning of the consultation. This formal process requires that the consultation take place in the context of face-to-face meetings. Sending out long computer-generated lists of artifacts with instructions to the tribe to indicate which ones are important *as the only consultation with the tribe* will not be conducive to a productive NAGPRA consultation process. Such an approach confuses everyone involved, produces no new useful information, and contributes to the mistrust and apathy many Native Americans already feel toward the NAGPRA process. The following sections outline the major elements that make up a complete consultation process.

Preparation of a Comprehensive Object List

First, a detailed comprehensive listing of the items to be included in the consultation should be prepared. The servicewide summary is not adequate by itself for this listing since it does not include major categories of objects and in many cases is not very accurate. The servicewide summary can be used as a starting point, however. Each park summaries

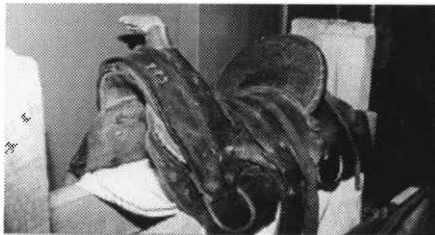


Fig. 7.6: Unidentified saddle at Pipe Spring

was written as an addendum to the park's Scope of Collection Statements (SOCS). NPS Management Policies require each park service unit to review the SOCS at least every two years and update it as necessary. Revised guidance on writing SOCS will be issued by the NPS in August 1994 to require all SOCS to be revised in 1995. The comprehensive list of items to be included in the consultation with Native Americans can be developed as park service units revise the addenda their SOCS. Information about the objects on the revised park summary can

be assembled and included as supplementary documentation to the SOCS. That information should include everything that is known about the object—where it came from, when it was obtained, and under what circumstances. It should also include any applicable information from other NPS units if the item was transferred from, or is being held for, another park or monument. This information should not be difficult to obtain (we received the eagle feather information from Harpers Ferry after just one telephone call), but to trace the items ultimately to their origin may take some detective work. In the cases of items received from individuals, it may be impossible to trace the ownership chain.

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This background work will serve two purposes: 1) it will help the NPS determine whether they have legal title to the items ("right of possession"); and 2) it will provide valuable provenience information that is currently not part of some of the catalog records.

When in doubt, the NPS unit staff should probably include on this comprehensive list objects they are not sure about. As stated throughout this report, archaeologists, curators, and anthropologists do not know enough about native religion and actual ceremonial practice to make a final determination on some objects. For example, in an ethnographic assessment of the Petroglyph National Monument in New Mexico, Pueblo religious leaders identified petroglyph symbols as images that could not be owned by individuals, therefore making the current trend of non-Indian people copyrighting them as a violation of Pueblo cultural and religious tradition (Evans, Stoffle, and Pinel 1993). The Pueblo religious leaders identified petroglyph images as sacred and connected to current ongoing religious ceremonies being conducted by the Kiva societies and connected to images in the kiva ceremonies. Therefore, from the Pueblo religious viewpoint, petroglyphs and other examples of rock art would be items that should be included in NAGPRA consultation.

NPS unit staff included some objects they were unsure should be included on their summary lists. As shown in the Pipe Spring consultation demonstration, including these objects did not add to the effort required by the consultation process. Including all objects in the consultation process *does not* mean that those items will be repatriated. It does mean that the NPS unit has met the requirement of the NAGPRA legislation.

Visual Documentation of Objects

After the listing is prepared, good quality photographs of each item should be taken. This will involve taking each item out of its storage drawer or off its storage shelf and photographing on a suitable background, from various angles, and with suitable lighting. Items in display cases should be removed from the case before being photographed. Existing photographs can be used if they are available.

In some cases, certain items should not be seen by some people, such as uninitiated men. For some extremely important types of items, certain ceremonial preparation may be necessary before the tribal representatives can safely see the item. By giving the involved tribes a set of photographs of the items to be considered during the consultation, errors of protocol can be avoided more easily.

Some native groups do not want particularly sensitive objects photographed. If a collection manager is aware of such a feeling, or is unsure, it is a simple matter to ask the native groups in the first contact letter (see below) if photographs of those objects should be presented. If the answer is affirmative, the photographs can be sent in a second packet. In any event, it is a good idea to place the photographs in their own envelope and label them "confidential."

Video is a good method to document objects because NPS personnel can talk about the objects and convey information that might otherwise be difficult to communicate to lay people in written documents. Most tribal offices have video tape players available to them. However, it might be difficult for some tribes to arrange to show the video tape to the proper elders and tribal cultural experts. Therefore, any NPS unit using video should have a backup plan in place to provide selected photographs if this situation should arise.

Video can be more expensive to produce than photographs since it usually involves an outside film team. Photographs, on the other hand, are easy to produce and relatively cheap, since existing NPS staff can take the photographs. We found we could quickly take photographs of the objects of more than sufficient quality for NAGPRA consultation purposes.

As an example of this point, the Kaibab Paiute Indian Tribe does not have a video player readily available to the office, although individuals own them. The Hopi Tribe, on the other hand, has video equipment available, but the elders and tribal experts the Cultural Preservation Office needed to show the Pipe Spring collection photographs to members of their cultural preservation program who were literally "out in the field" since it was harvest time. The photographs we sent were much more useful to the Hopi Tribe than a video tape would have been.

Tribal Contact for Consultation Meetings

The NPS fulfilled its tribal contact obligations under NAGPRA by sending the servicewide summary to 759 native groups. The tribal contact discussed in this section occurs when the NPS unit has received a consultation or repatriation request from a native group.

Before beginning such a consultation the NPS units need to contact the potentially affiliated tribes. In cases where the NPS unit already has a consultation process underway with native groups (perhaps for planning or other resource-related purposes), then these groups can help provide cultural affiliation information. Determining cultural affiliation may be possible from existing records, or it may require a separate cultural affiliation effort on the part of NPS personnel or outside experts. Since the NAGPRA legislation requires that consultation occur with culturally affiliated tribes, the absence of a cultural affiliation determination will mean that the NPS unit will have to consult with all native groups who ask, whether or not they are actually affiliated with the object. It is much more advantageous for the NPS unit to determine at least potential cultural affiliation before becoming involved in the consultation process, rather than listing "unknown" as the cultural affiliation of objects.

The initial contact with the potentially involved American Indian tribes can be done by letter, followed by telephone calls. Initial contact letters usually include information about what the NPS unit would like to have occur, an introduction of key personnel, and a proposed time for a face-to-face meeting. The best initial contact letters are short and to the point, and they should be sent to the elected head of the tribal government (usually the President, Chairperson, or Governor). The visual documentation should be included in this first contact letter.

Follow-up telephone calls to the person who was sent the initial contact letter help ensure that the tribal official received the communication and allow for additional information exchange between the interested parties. Since everyone involved with the consultation process, both tribal officials and NPS personnel, are busy and may be trying to juggle numerous NAGPRA requests, a follow-up letter briefly outlining the points covered in the telephone calls is usually helpful for keeping the records straight.

The NPS unit should expect only a simple response from each contacted tribal group. The only response that is reasonable to expect at this early juncture is a "Yes, we think we're affiliated, and we'll attend the meeting," or "No, we are not interested."

The NAGPRA consultation requires a formal government-to-government relationship. Therefore, all communication regarding NAGPRA consultation should derive from the NPS unit or its designated representatives. If the NPS unit staff is not initiating the consultation (because of the use of consultants or other NPS personnel), the NPS unit should initially inform the involved Native American tribes who will be initiating the consultation.

Consultation Meetings

After contacting the potentially affiliated tribes concerning the initiation of consultation, the NPS unit should begin preparing for the consultation meetings. The subject matter, and in many cases, the specific collections, are much too complex to be handled sufficiently in one or two meetings. The initial meeting will serve the purpose of identifying the scope of the NAGPRA-related items in the collection and establishing the agenda for future meetings.

The NPS personnel present at the consultation meetings should be ones capable of answering a variety of questions from the tribal representatives similar to the ones we asked as ethnographers: "Where did this come from. When? Who dug it up? Why was this included on the list? Why wasn't *this* included on the list?" In addition to archaeological and

curatorial personnel, the NPS unit should also consider including an ethnographer at the consultation meeting who is experienced with the current tribal groups.

The initial meeting will have a relatively short agenda. After the introductions of key NPS personnel (and any outside consultants that may be required), a discussion should be opened up about how the consultation process should be structured. One of the best ways for NAGPRA consultation to occur is through the use of a consultation group consisting of representatives from the involved tribes and key NPS personnel.

The use of a NAGPRA consultation group is especially helpful when there is more than one involved tribe connected to the collection. The group will probably be composed of the designated tribal representatives who have been appointed by their tribal governments to deal with all NAGPRA related issues. Therefore, these people will have the most knowledge and background on NAGPRA. The group should be structured and interact with the NPS unit according to an agreed upon set of rules that are specified in writing. It should be chaired by one of the Native American representatives, with key NPS personnel as members of the group. All repatriation decisions should come out of this group. In this way the involved tribes become self-policing, guarding against inappropriate demands of individuals or outside groups.

If there is time after the introduction of the NAGPRA process and the formation of the NAGPRA consultation group, a presentation can be made of the items from the collection (or a sample if the collection is large) that will be considered under the NAGPRA guidelines. This presentation is best done using slides initially, rather than the items themselves. The slides should include the images that were earlier sent to the tribes and any others deemed necessary to adequately present the objects. Again, the use of photographs will forestall any difficulty resulting from someone seeing or coming in contact with an item that is restricted for them.

We do not recommend that each of the items be brought out of storage and put on the table at this first consultation group meeting: that should be left for the individual tribes' collection visits. However, some tribal representatives may want to see where the items are stored so they can convey some sense of the objects' current context to their elders and tribal cultural experts.

If there is not enough time for a presentation of photographs (or a video tape) of the objects, then it is best left to the second meeting, rather than trying to rush through the visual images. The tribal representatives

will need time to study each image and reflect on who will be the best person in their group to provide information concerning its possible use, importance, and disposition.

The last agenda item for the initial meeting will be to set the schedule for the individual tribes' collection visits. Differences between the tribes regarding schedule and who should view which parts of the collection should be resolved by the consultation group, not by the NPS. If the NPS starts dictating who should see what and when, it will most likely be taken very badly by the tribal government representatives present at this first consultation meeting.

The Collection Visits

Collection visits may require extensive logistical planning. If collections are physically in more than one place, then the NPS should prepare for the tribes to make collection visits to each of the locations. Since some collections are extensive, the involved tribes may need more than one visit. We found during the Pipe Spring National Monument consultation that it took most of one day to quickly go through a set of 37 objects. Given our experience in scheduling collection visits for Pipe Spring National Monument, and our experience with other consultation efforts, we would anticipate that the collection visits could stretch over a period of six months or more.

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Each tribe will be making separate collection visits to allow for privacy in their viewing of the actual items. Each tribe should be asked to send no more than four representatives on any given collection visit. The NPS will want one, but no more than two, staff members present at each collection visit. By keeping the total group size down, a quicker and more efficient visit can occur.

Consultation Group Recommendations

Following the completion of all the tribes' collection visits, another consultation group meeting should be scheduled. The attendance at this consultation meeting will reflect the feelings of the involved tribes. Some groups may ~~have decided~~ they are not culturally affiliated with the objects once they have seen them firsthand. New information may also be provided that indicates that native groups not at first included should be brought into the consultation process.

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The letters the NPS sends to the involved tribes concerning this consultation meeting should clearly state that the tribes will be expected to present their recommendations involving the collection. Some recommendations may already have been made during the collection

visits. If so, the NPS should make these recommendations available to the entire consultation group. We strongly recommend against making private “deals,” especially if the recommendation involves repatriation.

The recommendations will most likely be in one of three categories, only one of which is repatriation. These categories are:

- No change. The objects stay where they are, with no change in their disposition.
- Different storage methods or handling. Ownership stays with the collection holder, but requirements or restrictions are put in place that limit what can be done with the objects and who can see them.
- Repatriation to the culturally affiliated group.

Within the repatriation category, there are four subcategories:

- Curation in a non-tribal facility, but with ownership and final disposition resting with the culturally affiliated group. This recommendation may occur when the tribal group would like the items to be repatriated, but do not currently have adequate facilities for curation. Similar procedures are currently being implemented by several museums across the country.
- Placement in a tribal museum, archive, or curation facility. This includes consortium facilities maintained by more than one tribe.
- Repatriation for use in religious ceremonies.
- Reinterment.

The consultation group should be allowed to work out any conflicting recommendations made by the involved tribes. This will allow the final recommendations to be American Indian in origin, and not the dictates of a government agency.

Setting

The NAGPRA consultation process is a formal government-to-government relationship and set of procedures. Because of the formal nature of the process, the setting should also have a certain degree of formality to it, at least initially. For this reason, holding meetings outside at picnic tables in the tourist visited areas is probably not going to be very productive. Each NPS unit will have more success if they structure the physical setting of the meetings to include conference tables set in a circular pattern, in a room that can either be closed or in some way kept

aside from the other business of the NPS unit. If the meetings are held in a general conference room, other NPS staff should be asked to refrain from entering the room until after the meeting is over.

We have found in the past that the best consultation meetings have built-in times for when the tribal representatives can hold a discussion among themselves. During at least one, and preferably two or more times during a long meeting, the non-Indian and NPS personnel present should leave the room for up to an hour. This allows some time for the tribal representatives to mitigate any difficulties that may have come up, or simply to discuss among themselves what has occurred to that point. A discussion time such as this is also a good mechanism to use when specific recommendations are needed from the NAGPRA consultation group later in the consultation process. For these tribal discussions to work, the meeting room will function best if there is a door that can be closed.

A space that would adequately meet the needs of a consultation meeting is often lacking at NPS units due to their small size. Many NPS units do not have conference rooms or similar large spaces. Even though in some cases, such as WACC, the largest space is the collection storage area itself, we recommend not meeting in these areas. Most American Indian people will be uncomfortable meeting in the same room with human remains and burial items, or in the same room where they perceive such items to be.

Later in the consultation process schedule, when actual NAGPRA-related items are being viewed by the NAGPRA consultation group and tribal representatives, a physical setting where the objects can be viewed and handled should be set aside. Tables for the objects will be needed, along with seating for any tribal elders who may be attending. In many cases the meeting room itself may suffice for this viewing of the objects. At some NPS units where the collections are kept in special storage areas, other arrangements may have to be worked out. Viewing objects in display cases in the visitor center along with hundreds of tourists will probably not be appropriate for a formal NAGPRA consultation process. The NAGPRA consultation group will be helpful in working with the NPS unit to structure the object viewing arrangement.

Schedule

NAGPRA consultation is going to be a long and complex undertaking. While museums and Federal agencies have deadlines imposed by the legislation, native groups do not. It is conceivable that some native groups may require several years to respond to the hundreds of NAGPRA notifications they have received. In addition, some NPS units may have hundreds or thousands of items that need to be considered by the NAGPRA consultation group, tribal elders, and tribal representatives.

While few NPS units are faced with the huge collections some museums have (the Maxwell Museum contains two *million* items from Chaco Canyon), a series of meetings stretching over several years may be necessary to accomplish the requirements under the law. Because the issues are complex, and the items under discussion may be emotionally and culturally charged, it will serve the NPS units' needs best if the NAGPRA consultation is not rushed. This does not mean that each unit should only hold meetings every six months. Instead, the NPS unit should perhaps hold meetings once a month for a year. The NAGPRA consultation group will help determine the frequency and duration of future meetings. In addition, the nature of the collections will help determine how many meetings will be required. If a collection only has six items to be considered under NAGPRA, then three meetings (one initial meeting, one item-viewing meeting, and one repatriation decision meeting) may be all that are required to fulfill the goals of the NAGPRA consultation. On the other hand, if a collection contains millions of items, it will necessarily take more meetings over a longer period of time to conduct NAGPRA consultation. In our experience, the best results have occurred when there are multiple meetings, with short agendas, spread over a period of several months.

In a recently documented case of the return of the Zuni War Gods, the process of negotiation with the Smithsonian took nine years (Merrill, Ladd, and Ferguson 1993). While no one was involved with the process every day for nine years, this is still a significant length of time for people to stay focused and current on the process. NAGPRA will help speed up the consultation process with the involved tribes because the time limits of the legislation will not allow museums and Federal agencies to procrastinate with their initiation of the consultation. It will probably not take nine years to complete the consultation for the five NPS units included in this study, but it will require that NPS personnel stay committed to the process for several years. However, since NAGPRA fundamentally changes the way museums and Federal agencies interact with native groups, what is learned in the process can be used to modify NPS operating principles, thereby making future NAGPRA-type consultations easier and faster to resolve.

Cost

In almost all cases, the tribal groups with whom the NPS units will be working do not have the personnel or financial resources to deal effectively with NAGPRA. As mentioned earlier in this report, the expected costs for NAGPRA will be well into the millions, just for the museums and federal agencies. Some tribes will eventually be struggling with dozens of NAGPRA related consultations all across the country. It becomes imperative then that the costs of the meetings be reimbursed to

those who are attending. For the NPS personnel, this is done through the normal course of job assignment. For the tribes, however, many of which will have to choose someone specifically to handle the NAGPRA consultation request from the NPS unit, there are no financial resources to apply to the process. In addition, costs will be incurred by tribes when tribal elders visit collections. Large collections will require more meetings, which will require more financial reimbursement. The NPS unit should determine how this financial cost will be reimbursed to the tribe before beginning the NAGPRA consultation. Different mechanisms are being tried by museums and federal agencies across the country, all with the same goal: to make it financially possible for the involved tribes to deal quickly and effectively with dozens of different NAGPRA consultation requests. Those NPS units that deal with cost issues early in the process will have an easier time during NAGPRA consultation.

The NPS will also incur costs. Currently, most of the NPS units do not have staff available or funding to conduct extensive NAGPRA-related activities. While some funds are being made available every year to NPS units, the demand far outstrips the supply. NPS units will have to be creative in their approaches. The coordination of NAGPRA-related activities with existing NPS requirements will be critical. For example, the preparation of comprehensive information regarding objects to be included in consultation as part of the SOCS review process has already been discussed. Similarly, efforts to photograph items for consultation should be coordinated with other NPS requirements for visual documentation of collections. Unfortunately, lack of funding is specifically addressed in the legislation as a nonviable excuse for not following the NAGPRA regulations. This provision is specifically stated for museums and Federal agencies; no such provision is addressed to native groups.

Documentation

Because of the “learning curve” some NPS unit staff will be working with regarding their collections and the requirements of NAGPRA, and the potentially long length of time required to complete basic NAGPRA consultation, it is vital that NPS units document everything they do. Each NPS unit and each regional office should begin a set of NAGPRA-related files now and not wait until they are into a consultation process. By having a basic documentation structure in place, the units can prevent the loss of “corporate memory” that occurs when personnel are transferred, replaced, or added.

What should this documentation include? For starters, it should include copies of the legislation, the regulations, and all relevant documents from NPS headquarters in Washington, D.C., and the regional offices. It should include all NAGPRA-related documents from all three

major areas of expertise in the NPS: curation, archaeology, and anthropology (the Applied Ethnography program). It should include copies of this report and reports like it now being prepared in the NPS. The documentation should include copies of all letters that have NAGPRA-related topics, and all letters about any object in the collection. It should include notes of all meetings, most especially any consultation group meetings that occur as part of a consultation process.

A very important piece of documentation is one that details what decisions were made with regard to objects, and how those decisions were made. One of the most frustrating aspects of working with the park collections was the lack of documentation on how an object was or was not put on the NAGPRA summary lists. We immediately ran into the problem of different personnel, missing records, no documentation, etc. that every park system will face without a systematic and detailed attempt to document what park staff are doing.

The documentation may also include photographs and ethnographic notes, but care should be exercised to insure confidentiality of any information given by tribal elders, unless they specifically give approval for the dissemination of their information. Even where approval has been given, reasonable confidentiality might prove to be a useful policy given the exploitation of beliefs and knowledge by some "New Age" adherents and entrepreneurs (Pinel and Evans 1994).

Each NPS unit will have other specific and detailed documentation needs, such as copies of court cases concerning objects in their collections, original archaeology reports, especially where excavation was conducted prior to the establishment of the NPS unit, and real property and personal property transfer documentation. Additional documentation needs will become evident as each NPS unit moves through the NAGPRA requirements.

Naturally, each NPS unit will have to keep its documents for several years, if not forever, since there is no time limit for native groups to respond to the requirements of NAGPRA.

Consultation Recommendations for the Five Study Units

While general consultation recommendations can be made that can serve to guide the efforts of different NPS units, each of those units will proceed differently because they have different size collections, different kinds of objects, and different native groups involved. This section outlines our additional thoughts on how each specific NPS unit included in this study can accomplish NAGPRA consultation.

Pipe Spring National Monument

The only thing that remains for the Pipe Spring National Monument is for an official decision to be made with regard to recommendations made by the involved tribes. Once a decision is reached, this decision should be communicated back to the tribes. If repatriation is the decision, then the final regulations will have detailed steps on the documentation needed for compliance with the law. In addition, the curatorial divisions of the NPS may have additional procedures regarding deaccessioning items and revising catalog records.

Devils Tower National Monument

The nature of the collection kept at Devils Tower is going to dictate how the NAGPRA consultation will occur. As outlined in Chapter 4, the items included in the collection all came from elsewhere—they did not originate on Devils Tower property. In most cases, the items included in the servicewide summary were given to Devils Tower in the 1930s by non-Indian people. Most of these donated items came from one family who lived in Deadwood, South Dakota, at the time of the donation. It is neither known where they got the items from originally nor under what circumstances. This does not automatically mean the NPS has legal title, however, under the regulations of the NAGPRA legislation. Since there was no way of knowing if the donor obtained the items legally, it was safest for the NPS to include them as part of the NAGPRA consultation, which the agency has done by including these items on the servicewide summary.

The comprehensive listing of NAGPRA-related objects at Devils Tower should include all the relevant information from other NPS units, such as Harpers Ferry, Little Bighorn Battlefield, and Ft. Necessity. This information should not be difficult to obtain (we received the Harpers Ferry information after just one telephone call), but to trace the items ultimately to their origin may be impossible, and will definitely take some effort. This background work will serve two purposes: 1) it will help the NPS determine whether the NPS has legal title to the items; and 2) it will provide valuable provenience information that is currently not part of the Devils Tower catalog records.

Taking good quality photographs of the items will require that the display case in the visitor's center be opened and the items taken out. The Devils Tower staff were understandably reluctant to do this when we made a collection visit to the Monument in October 1993.

As stated earlier, the NPS servicewide summary served as the NPS's notification to native groups of NAGPRA-related items held at parks and monuments. If any tribes respond to this summary by requesting consultation for the Devils Tower items, then the consultation process will have to be started in full.

Once the initial contact letters concerning the consultation, photographs, and tribal responses are received, the NPS staff can begin to prepare for the consultation group meetings and the collection visits. At Devils Tower, the first priority is that adequate space be provided for the meetings and visits. The consultation group meetings can be held at the Monument offices if a room large enough to accommodate as many as 30 people is available. If not, then other space will have to be found.

Each tribe will make separate collection visits, however, so probably no more than four people from any given tribe will be viewing the items at one time. The Monument will want one staff person, but no more than two, to also attend each collection visit. Therefore, space for five to six people and tables will be required. While ~~the storage room~~ the collection is currently in ~~may meet~~ ^{the} the curatorial standards of the NPS, it is not appropriate for NAGPRA consultation. However, next door to the collection storage room is a large room where chairs and a table could be placed for the collection visits.

The Monument may or may not want to remove the items from the display case for the collection visits. It probably is not necessary to do so, but the Monument should be prepared to open the case if the tribal representatives request it.

After all of the collection visits have been completed, some tribes may have dropped out of the process because the items are not ones with which they are culturally affiliated. Other tribes may have joined the process because of receiving the NPS servicewide summary. The consultation group should reflect the current membership to allow for the inclusion of new information that the consultation process will generate.

The collection-related decisions of the Monument and the NPS will depend on the recommendations that are made by the tribes. In some cases, it might be quite easy to implement the recommendations, such as differential access, different storage methods, or even different storage locations. Repatriation requests will have to be evaluated by the NPS individually, and further dialogue with the tribe making the repatriation request will be necessary.

Tuzigoot, Montezuma Castle, and WACC

These three NPS units will have to coordinate their NAGPRA consultation processes for two reasons: (a) the culturally affiliated tribes are the same for each unit (although WACC has more total groups); and (b) WACC currently holds most of the items from Tuzigoot National Monument and Montezuma Castle National Monument. Since it will be difficult (if not impossible) to move the hundreds of items these three units hold collectively, it would be better for them to conduct their NAGPRA consultations jointly.

The task of categorizing museum collections can be very difficult. WACC personnel spent a significant amount of time producing the summary lists. Yet, while there are a handful of items included on the WACC list that archaeologists sometimes categorize as "ethnographic," (prayer sticks and cigarette holders, for example), most of the ethnographic items stored at WACC were not included on the summary. The reasons for this are complex, and apparently include very narrow interpretations of multiple-function objects. We would suggest WACC personnel double-check these items to make sure the acquisition data warrants leaving the objects out of any NAGPRA consultation process.

Meeting space is often a problem at NPS units. WACC is fortunate in having a large building with ample meeting space. From our experience of taking elders and tribal representatives through collections at Pipe Spring National Monument and Chaco Culture National Historical Park, we conclude that it would be better *not* to meet in the actual storage area at WACC.

The collection visits for the objects stored by WACC, Tuzigoot, and Montezuma Castle will require extensive logistical planning. If the NPS is not able to transport items from Tuzigoot and Montezuma Castle to WACC (or vice versa), ~~than~~ the NPS should prepare for the tribes to make collection visits to each of the three NPS units. Since some of the collections at each location are extensive, the involved tribes will more than likely need more than one visit. Care will have to be taken by all NPS personnel to make sure they don't inadvertently include human remains during these collection visits. Two cremation urns, with human remains still in them, were included on WACC's list of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony because the urns had been cataloged but the human remains had not. Efforts to identify and correct errors early in the process will greatly reduce problems in the future.

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Because of the number of items included in the collections at WACC, Tuzigoot National Monument, and Montezuma Castle National Monument, the NAGPRA consultation will require extensive time

commitments from NPS personnel. Once WACC begins consultation, native groups will probably want a full listing of the collection and full access to it for review. WACC personnel should be prepared to respond to this kind of request.

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This book, written by two park rangers, is largely anecdotal. Its tone is humorous though to the 1990s reader may be offensive. The authors talk about Native Americans in a zoo-like manner, likely reflecting prevalent attitudes of the era. The book includes basic descriptions of national parks and monuments.

Benedek, Emily,

- 1992 *The Wind Won't Know Me: A History of the Navajo-Hopi land dispute*. New York: A. A. Knopf.

Benedek is a journalist who has written another book about the federal government difficulties removing Navajo intruders from ancestral Hopi territory. For purposes of this report, it is useful for Benedek's apparent eyewitness description of a Sun Dance held at Big Mountain and led by Dakota ceremonialist Leonard Crow Dog.

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A comparison of Walapai, Havasupai, Yavapai, Quechan, Mojave, and Maricopa dialects spoken by 32 informants who translated English sentences into their own dialects.

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This basic guide book, prepared under the auspices of the National Park Service, includes numerous photos and brief descriptions of parks.

Caywood, Louis P. and Edward Spicer

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This article in a general readership magazine highlights what Caywood and Spicer thought would interest nonprofessional readers. For NAGPRA purposes, it allows at least partial reconstruction of the burial provenance of jewelry and interment offerings of one extremely wealthy individual whom Caywood and Spicer labeled a "priest."

Colton, Harold S.

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Cordell, Linda S.

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A general synthesis of Southwestern United States archeography by a leading archeographer, long on the faculty of the University of New Mexico.

Dean, Jeffrey S., and John C. Ravesloot

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A revision of the Casa Grandes chronology proposed by C. C. DiPeso in 1974. The authors date the beginning of Gila and Tonto Polychrome production after A. D. 1300.

DiPeso, Charles C.

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Doyel, David E.

- 1993 Interpreting Prehistoric Cultural Diversity in the Arizona Desert. Pp. 3964 in *Culture and Contact: Charles C. CiPeso's Gran Chichimeca*, edited by A. I. Woosley and J. C. Raveslout. Dragoon: Amerind Foundation.

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A synthesis of research findings concerning the range of commodities exchanged by "Hohokam" and their neighbors through time and space.

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- 1938 *Teton Dakota Ethnology and History*. Berkeley: United States National Park Service, Western Museum Laboratories.

This work is designed to bring together the previously scattered sources on Teton Dakota for the use of museum technicians and artists involved in planning museum exhibits. As such, the monograph is written as a compact compilation of factual ethnology and history of the Teton Dakota. Emphasis is placed on the material culture of the tribe. Illustrations include parks and monuments in Teton country, prehistoric movement of Siouan speaking peoples, subdivisions of the Teton, among others.

Ferguson, T. J. and E. Richard Hart

- 1985 *A Zuni Atlas*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

A collection of 44 maps with new cartography by Ronald Stauber and Troy Lucero. The most authoritative atlas available mapping Zuñian historic resource exploitation (gardening, grazing, hunting, plant collecting, mineral quarrying, extra-Halona:wa worship, etc.). Many data presented in this atlas were volunteered by Zuñians seeking equitable federal treatment for their ethnic group.

Fowler, Loretta

- 1987 *Shared Symbols, Contested Meanings: Gros Ventre Culture and History, 1778-1984*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

This history of the Gros Ventre pays particular attention to the dynamics of reservation culture and society, to conflicting as well as shared interpretations. The author focuses on Gros Ventre cultural identity and the ways it has acquired meaning in the past and recent present. The evolution of Gros Ventres' culture within the context of their relations with white society and other Indians is also examined.

Geib, Phil R., and Martha M. Callahan

- 1987 Ceramic Exchange within the Kayenta Anasazi Region: Volcanic Ash-tempered Tusayan White-ware, *The Kiva* 52(2):95-112.

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Gladwin, Harold S., Emil W. Haury, E. B. Sayles, and Winifred Gladwin

- 1937 *Excavations at Snaketown: Material Culture*. Globe, AZ: Gila Pueblo, Medallion Papers No. 25.

Primary report on excavation findings in the older section of the former Gila River Pima village of Ska' Kaik, Many Rattlesnakes. This may be considered the type-site for pre-Classic Hohokam.

Grinnell, George Bird

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This massive study is one foundation for Euroamerican understanding of the Cheyenne people. Inasmuch as Grinnell was able to interview individuals who lived in pre-reservation times, the oral history that he recorded was considerably attenuated by the time later scholars studied the Cheyenne.

- 1926 *By Cheyenne Campfires*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Fluent English translations of Cheyenne war reminiscences, and other happenings remembered in oral history.

Grobsmith, Elizabeth S.

- 1981 *Lakota of the Rosebud: A Contemporary Ethnography*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

This ethnography takes as its point of departure the notion that Native Americans have not remained static. The author writes about the complex, adapting cultures of the Lakota Sioux reservation community, a community of variety and adaptation. Topics covered include history, tribal political structure, community life, religion, language, cultural revitalization, etc.

Haury, Emil W.

- 1936 *The Mogollon Culture of Southwestern New Mexico*. Globe: Gila Pueblo Medallion Paper No. 20.

During the period when differentiating and naming prehistoric Native American macro-cultures flourished, Haury in this monograph labeled the "Mogollon" and defined its territory and cultural characteristics.

- 1958 Evidence at Point of Pines for a Prehistoric Migration from Northern Arizona. In *Migrations in New World Culture History*, R. H. Thompson, ed. Tucson: University of Arizona, Social Science Bulletin No. 27. Pp. 1-6.

Pertinent to the present analysis because Haury explicitly stated general residual evidentiary criteria for inferring human migration.

Lekson, Stephen H.

- 1992 Para-Salado, Perro Salado, or Salado Peril? Pp. 334-336 in *Proceedings of the Second Salado Conference*, edited by Richard C. Lange and Stephen Germick. Phoenix: Arizona Archaeological Society, Occasional Paper.

A short, irreverent, waffling comment on the history and abuse of the "Salado" concept.

McGregor, John C.

- 1936 Dating the Eruption of Sunset Crater, Arizona, *American Antiquity* 2(1):15-26.

Dating the eruption of Sunset Crater is crucial to archeographic interpretation of numerous physical residues of Native American exploitation of areas near the San Francisco Peaks as having been

created by immigrants supposed to have taken advantage of the fertility of fresh volcanic soil.

- 1937 *Winona Village*. Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, Bulletin 12.

McGregor unearthed at Winona Village convincing residual evidence of Hohokam influence or actual colonization of an area that later became part of the ethnic Hopi Tuskwa (Tusayán) province.

McGuire, Randall H.

- 1982 Problems in Culture History. In *Hohokam and Patayan: Prehistory of Southwestern Arizona*. R. H. McGuire and M. B. Schiffer, eds. New York: Academic Press. Pp. 153-222.

An admission of at least some of the shortcomings as of 1982 in archeographic interpretations of residual physical evidence of Native American habitation in the United States' portion of the Sonoran Desert.

McGuire, Randall H., and Christopher E. Downum

- 1982 A Preliminary Consideration of Desert-Mountain Trade. In *Mogollon Archaeology*. P. H. Beckett, ed. Santa Fé: Acoma Books. Pp. 205-225.

As labeled, an incomplete analysis of commodity exchange between Native American peoples inhabiting lowland and upland environments.

Maurer, Evan M., with Louise Lincoln, George P. Horse Capture, David W. Penney, and Peter J. Powell

- 1992 *Visions of the People: A Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life*. Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

An excellent pictorial presentation of selected Plains artifacts and clothing. Photographs of objects are accompanied by text documenting their provenances very precisely.

Mearns, Edgar A.

- 1907 *Mammals of the Mexican Boundary of the United States*. U. S. National Museum Bulletin 56, Part 1. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Mearns drew on his personal experiences at Camp Verde and elsewhere in Arizona Territory and elicited reminiscences from Anglo-American colonists to expand his analysis of mammals along the boundary to the Territory.

Muir, John

1901 *Our National Parks*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

This book, written by probably the best-known conservationist in the history of the twentieth century, captures the attitudes toward the national parks. It is also a stark reminder of how the environmental movement largely erased Native American claims to land by depicting it as an uninhabited wilderness without history—a wilderness there for the pleasure of so-called “tired, over-civilized people.” Of Yellowstone National Park, Muir writes, “No scalping Indians will you see. The Blackfeet and Bannocks that once roamed here are gone” (p. 51).

Nelson, Ben A., and Steven A. Leblanc

1986 *Short-Term Sedentism in the American Southwest: The Mimbres Valley Salado*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

A conceptual analysis of selected prehistoric physical residues in one southwestern New Mexico valley. Necessarily, conceptual analysis involves terminological refinements and innovations.

Pilles, Peter J., Jr.

1976 Sinagua and Salado Similarities as Seen from the Verde Valley, *The Kiva* 42(1):113-124.

A comparison of selected traits of the archeographers' constructs "Sinagua" and "Salado," emphasizing the Verde Valley rather than the Colorado Plateau area supposed to have been "Sinagua" territory.

Rogers, Malcolm J.

1939 *Early Lithic Industries of the Lower Basin of the Colorado River and Adjacent Desert Areas*. San Diego: San Diego Museum Papers 3.

A basic report on Rogers' years of survey and test excavation in desert areas formerly exploited by Yuman-speaking peoples. While Rogers

analyzed much lithic evidence for relatively early human exploitation of desert resources, he consistently focused his analysis of ceramic residues on the valid research problem of relating them to the historic Native American inhabitants of the area.

Runte, Alfred

- 1979 *National Parks: The American Experience*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

The author probes into the historical influences that led to the creation of the national parks. He considers the human motivations behind their development in this interpretive history. The research is admirable and the readability is high. Topics covered include nationalism, heritage, conservation, art, the politics of conservation, the idea of the national park, monumentalism.

Schlesier, Karl H.

- 1987 *The Wolves of Heaven: Cheyenne Shamanism, Ceremonies, and Prehistoric Origins*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Schlesier pursued the thesis that certain physical residues on the northern Great Plains of considerable antiquity can be identified with the proto-Tsistsistas or proto-Cheyenne. He asserts that his reciprocal services to the Cheyenne have motivated key traditionalists to share with him oral history not revealed to any other non-Tsistsistas.

Schroeder, Albert H.

- 1949 Cultural Implications of the Ball Courts in Arizona, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 5(1):28-36.

An argument for relating northern "ball courts" to historically and prehistorically different and characteristic ball games south of Arizona.

- 1954 Four Prehistoric Sites near Mayer, Arizona, which Suggest a New Focus, *Plateau* 26:3 (January) 103-107.

A very brief description of four sites seriously disturbed by pot hunters, with the author's speculations concerning the cultural affiliation of the former inhabitants.

- 1975 The Hohokam, Sinagua, and Hakataya. n.p.: Imperial Valley College Museum Society Publication, Occasional Paper No. 3.

A monographic presentation of Schroeder's perception of Hohokam-Piman prehistory as related to that of Colton's artificial construct "Sinagua" and Schroeder's own artificial construct "Hakataya."

- 1979 Prehistory: Hakataya. In *Southwest*, Alfonso Ortiz, Vol. 9 of Handbook of North American Indians, Gen. Ed. W. C. Sturtevant. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution. Pp. 100-107.

A summary, in encyclopaedia essay format, of Schroeder's Hakataya concept.

Schroeder, K. J.

- 1992 Mortuary Analysis of a Small Salado Cemetery Near Safford, Arizona. Pp. 201-205 in Proceedings of the Second Salado Conference, edited by Richard C. Lange and Stephen Germick. Phoenix: Arizona Archaeological Society, Occasional Paper.

An analysis of 3 ceramic vessels, one Tonto Polychrome cremation urn containing an historic glass bead, one Protohistoric Maricopa cremation urn, and a brownware corrugated cremation urn containing a Gila Polychrome brown sherd.

Tilden, Freeman

- 1968 *The National Parks*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

The author sets out to "interpret" the national parks in this volume, a revised and enlarged edition of the classic book on the national parks published in 1951. National monuments and historic sites are included. The book purports to serve as a reminder of the importance of conserving the parks "because of their value in ministering to the human mind and spirit."

Wall, Steve, and Harvey Arden,

- 1990 *Wisdomkeepers: Meetings with Native American Spiritual Elders*. Hillsboro, OR.: Beyond Words Publishing, Inc.

A coffee-table sized volume of color photographs of Native American ritualists accompanied by text glowingly sympathetic to them.

Wampler, Vance

- 1984 *Arizona Years of Courage 1832-1910, Based on the life and times of William H. Kirkland*. Phoenix: Quail Run Publications.

A biography, including bits of Kirkland's records of first-hand observations. In January, 1856, Kirkland reported Gila River Pima growing "mescale."

Weist, Thomas D.

- 1978 Editor's Introduction. In *The Cheyennes of Montana* by Thomas B. Marquis. n.p.: Reference Publications.

A brief history of the Northern Cheyenne, emphasizing the period of reservation life.

Wilcox, David R.

- 1991 Hohokam Social Complexity. In *Chaco and Hohokam: Prehistoric Regional Systems in the American Southwest*, P. L. Crown and W. J. Judge, eds. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press. Pp. 253-275.

One of a series of arguments by Wilcox that prehistoric Hohokam society was hierarchical. It touches on craft specialization, "ball courts," platform mounds, towers, death rites, and cultural landscapes.

Winter, Werner

- 1957 Yuman Languages I: First Impressions, *International Journal of American Linguistics* 23:1 (January) 18-23.

A comparison of lexical similarities and differences between Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Mojave, Maricopa, Quechan, Cocopah, Diegueño, and Campo Yuman dialects in terms of 100 lexical items.

Yeager, Dorr

- 1947 *Your Western National Parks*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

This book provides a narrative through the national parks. The author worked in many national parks as a naturalist, and so his focus is largely on physical characteristics, the wilderness, and the animals that inhabit the parks. He occasionally offers historical anecdotes.

Appendix