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America's Tribal Cultures— A Renaissance in the 1990s

Patricia L. Parker

In his article in this issue, John E. Cook, regional director, National Park Service Southwest Regional Office says, "I believe that the 1990s will prove to be the Decade of the American Indian." Judging from the articles in this volume, the 1990s will certainly be a time when American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians invest tremendous energy in strengthening their traditional lifeways. Already, American Indian tribes across the Nation, recognizing the danger of losing precious cultural sites and traditions, are putting scarce resources into developing archeological programs, cultural centers, and museums. As the articles on the Ak-Chin Him Dak and the Pueblo of Pojoaque Cultural Center show, each of these is a unique endeavor, tailored to the philosophy and values of the tribe that will use it.

While tribal people are working within their tribes or Native groups to protect their historic places and cultural traditions, they are also joining together in a national organization, Keepers of the Treasures—Cultural Council of American Indians, Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians. This organization is itself extraordinary. Its articles of incorporation dedicate it to "support and assist preservation, maintenance and revitalization of past and present cultural lifeways unique to American Indians, Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians." Acting President Cecil F. Antone provides an update on the Keepers of the Treasures organization in this volume.

Federal agencies are intensifying their efforts to work with American Indians, Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians to address the effects of agency activities on historic properties and traditional cultural practices. Robert Laidlaw describes how American Indians can participate in the consultation and planning processes of the Bureau of Land Management. TSgt. Judy Brown of the U.S. Air Force describes a reburial ceremony by the Quapaw Indians of ancestors recovered during archeological testing. The ceremony was a first for the Air Force, but will be followed by many more as agencies begin to implement the provisions of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990.

While protection of American Indian graves and the return of human remains and grave goods have captured public attention, American Indians and Alaska Natives are also gaining access to songs and chants recorded many years ago. In her article, "The Songs Come Home," Judith Gray of the American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, tells how tribal people are able to receive the songs of their ancestors and elders through the Federal Cylinder Project.

The expanding efforts of National Park Service regional offices to involve American Indians in many aspects of their operations is traced by John Cook. Mr. Cook's paper is augmented by the article by Tanna Chattin, NPS assistant regional director, communications, Southwest Region. Ted Birkedal, Sande Faulkner, and Susan Morton describe how the National Park Service Alaska Regional Office provides training and outreach in cultural research management to Alaska Natives through a variety of programs. Their articles also show how National Park Service activities, particularly research in

Alaska history and prehistory, are enriched through the direct involvement of Alaska Native people.

State Historic Preservation Offices have developed ongoing, positive, dialogues with Indian tribes. Dave Schwab of Montana and Fred Chapman of Wyoming explain how their tribal consultation programs have developed over the past decade, and what the benefits have been.

While American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians are shaping their cultural heritage programs to meet the individual needs of their tribe or community, they also seek training to make their efforts more effective. Neal Crozier of the Bureau of Indian Affairs describes an archeological field school for young people of the Kodiak Area Native Association. Alice Sadongei of the Smithsonian Institution's Office of Museum Programs describes a series of workshops for tribal museum and cultural center staff held as part of the Smithsonian's preparations for the new programs of the National Museum of the American Indian. Shauna Holmes of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation discusses how the Council has created special courses in Federal preservation law tailored to the needs of Indian tribes.

Collectively, the articles in this issue give some sense of the range and scope of efforts that are underway by Indian tribes, Alaska Native groups, Native Hawaiians, Federal and state agencies, and others to preserve and enhance the traditional cultural resources of Native America—both tangible resources like historic properties and artifacts and intangible resources like songs and religious practices.

Inevitably, though, a short publication like this one can at best skim the surface of what is going on, to capture a small sample of the creative energy that typifies the cultural heritage efforts of American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians today. The National Park Service report, *Keepers of the Treasures, Protecting Historic Properties and Cultural Traditions on Indian Land*, sent to Congress by Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan, Jr. in September 1990, is another source of information on tribal cultural heritage projects and programs. *Keepers of the Treasures* was prepared in the Interagency Resources Division, by the staff of the Preservation Planning Branch.

Another sample is represented by the projects being undertaken by Indian tribes and Alaska Native groups with National Park Service assistance under the Historic Preservation Fund tribal grant program. In fiscal years 1990 and 1991 the National Park Service provided almost \$1,250,000 for cultural heritage projects by Indian tribes and Alaska Native groups. There are 51 projects now in process, including oral history, language retention, historic properties survey, computerized databases, ethnobotany, and documentation of song and ceremony by audio and video recording. The range and scope of these projects is impressive, as is the investment made in them by tribal people.

It is our hope, in the decade to come, to develop the tribal grants program into an important source of assistance to Indian tribes and Alaska Natives in the preservation of their historic properties and cultural traditions. We are well aware, however, that the tribal grants program, and indeed the National Park Service can only be small parts of the overall picture. Other agencies, other programs, other institutions will continue to play important roles, and it is our desire to work in partnership with them. Most importantly, we want to work in partnership with, and support the goals of, American Indian, Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian organizations themselves. It is these organizations—both tribes and other groups operating locally—and organizations like *Keepers of the Treasures* operating nationally and internationally, that give direction, meaning, and power to the movement to preserve their cultural legacy.

Patricia L. Parker is deputy chief, Preservation Planning, Interagency Resources Division. She is the author of *Keepers of the Treasures—Protecting Historic Properties and Cultural Traditions on Indian Lands*, and is the primary staff administrator of the Historic

Preservation Fund grant program to Indian tribes and Alaska Natives. Dr. Parker coordinated this issue of *CRM* and was the guest editor.

A Model Cultural Center at Pojoaque Pueblo

Winonah Warren

The Administration for Native Americans (ANA) at the Department of Health and Human Services funds Native American Tribes, groups and organizations to become self-sufficient through projects that address economic, governance and social issues. ANA also participates in the Discretionary Funds Program (CDP) which funds Native American entities to develop research and demonstration models promoting increased family and individual self-sufficiency through social and economic development while improving the quality of programs and services and encouraging innovation and choice through the marketplace.

In 1990, ANA developed a priority area entitled "Development of a Model Cultural Center" which was included in the CDP program announcement last spring. This priority area was in response to what is being seen as a cultural renaissance throughout much of Indian Country today. As stated in the announcement, the purpose was to develop a model cultural center which would explore new income-producing careers for Native Americans, serve as a living museum while preserving and enhancing cultural aspects, define the tourist market and identify non-Federal resources that can be tapped in developing such centers.

The Pueblo of Pojoaque was one of the four cultural centers selected for funding under the CDP program. It is the smallest of all of the Pueblos, and is one of six Tewa speaking villages in the northern Rio Grande Valley, whose inhabitants date back to around A.D. 900. Archeological studies indicate a large prehistoric population in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. For hundreds of years, the village struggled to maintain its traditions against encroaching cultures. Centuries of war and displacement were followed by a smallpox epidemic in 1890 that devastated the Pueblo. By 1900, Pojoaque Pueblo was abandoned. The old church was torn down by non-Indians and the people of Pojoaque left to live with other Tewa tribes.

Between 1912 and 1932, the Pueblo was not an organized community. Although the majority of the people remained in the area, Indian land was being used for open grazing by non-Indian ranchers. In 1933, the land of Pojoaque was returned to its people. Under the Indian Reorganization Act, 14 members of the Tapia, Viarrial, Romero and Montoya-Gutierrez families were awarded lands that had been in the hands of Mexican families. In 1946, the Pueblo became a federally recognized Indian reservation of 11,603 acres. With great determination and pride, the people of Pojoaque regained their tribal arts, and, in the early 1970s, danced in a public ceremony for the first time in more than a century.

Now, Pojoaque is regarded as one of the most progressive of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos. Included in the consortium of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos are the tribes of Tesuque, Nambe, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, San Juan, Picuris and Taos which together total approximately 10,000 individuals. Much of the impressiveness of the Pueblo of Pojoaque is attributable to the intense involvement of Governor Jacob Viarrial who is immensely popular with the people of the Pueblo, and has been voted back into office for eight consecutive years. The governor also possesses highly successful political skills in the state and Washington, DC, and is dedicated to his people and their self-sufficiency both economically and culturally.

When the Pueblo of Pojoaque applied for funding under the CDP program in 1990, the Poeh Center was already in existence. The Poeh Center began as a vision of George Rivera, a multi-talented young sculptor who is dedicated to the revitalization of the traditional culture, beliefs and history of the Tewa people as well as the Pojoaque. At the Poeh Center, artists of the Tewa Pueblos are creating a place to express their traditional ties

to Tewa culture and beliefs through their art. Poeh means "path" or "pathway" in the Tewa language. It symbolizes the emerging path, a path of traditional ways, like stream water flowing freely in a natural direction or pattern. Poeh is the philosophy or traditional path one should follow in life.

There are six major elements or goals to be achieved by the Pojoaque in the development of the model cultural center. The first is to involve 800 artisans from the Northern Pueblos in the creation of a Tewa philosophy-based resource center. There is ongoing dialogue between Tewa pueblo artists and the tribal governments in order to form common understanding of the Poeh concept. Plans are underway to develop a brochure to further inform pueblo people and visitors to the mission of the center. A dance group, the "Won ki Ivi Shadende" performed traditional dances and songs at the Nambe Falls Spiritual Unity of Tribes gathering in July 1991. Pottery classes are being taught by Cordi Gomez, a famous artisan from Pojoaque, who stresses the traditional process from beginning to end.

The second goal of this project is to house the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Arts Council. Meetings occur on a regular basis to address this. Some of the coordination stemming from these meetings has resulted in classes in red willow basket making and embroidery.

A third element is retrieving collections from the Smithsonian as well as other museums and universities, while also assisting the other Northern Pueblo tribes in archiving collections. A photo exhibit entitled "Then and Now—Pojoaque Pueblo in Perspective" has been funded by the New Mexico Endowment for the Humanities, and historic Pojoaque photos have been located at the Museum of New Mexico, the State Records Center and the Smithsonian.

Additionally, some family photos have been identified in the Pojoaque Pueblo community and will be duplicated for the exhibit. The exhibit will travel to the American Studies Foundation at Los Luceros, to the Maxwell Museum and the Pueblo Indian Cultural Center Cultural Center in Albuquerque as well as to the Montoya State Building in Santa Fe. A 50-page catalogue will be published with an introduction by Tewa scholar Dr. Alfonso Ortiz.

Other significant activities in the museum area include panel discussions on reburial and repatriation issues and how they impact on museum policy. Panelists include: Jo Ann Track, assistant curator of the Millicent Rogers Museum; Maureena Manyfingers, president of the Institute of American Indian Arts Museum Association; Alan Downer, historic preservation officer of the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department; and Barton Martza, board member of the Zuni Museum Committee. Contact has been made with 20 major museums across the country and a compilation of artifacts has been established. The center has acquired some collections through purchase and donation and has consulted with both the state museum archaeologist and the Institute of American Indian Arts.

The Poeh Center will provide museum training for the community funded by a grant from the National Park Service's Historic Preservation Fund grants program to Indian tribes and Alaska Natives. The Poeh Center will sponsor three weekend workshops led by instructors from the Institute of American Indian Arts Museum. These workshops will address a regional need for museum expertise in areas of exhibit techniques, archival and collections care and management, and exhibit preparation. Other museum-related activities include field trips to local museums and educational institutions.

A video presentation for the Poeh Center is planned as part of the project. The video will be 15 to 20 minutes long and will include an introduction to the six Tewa speaking Pueblos; goals of the project; progress thus far in cultural preservation, design and cultural symbolism of the center; and the impact of contributions.

A fourth goal to be achieved through this project is to expand the already successful visitor information center into a full scale cultural center, including the construction of new facilities. This expansion was completed in September 1991. It will complement the existing Pueblo enterprises which are accessed from a heavily traveled highway, well advertised and marked. In addition to the high quality visitor information center, all

designed attractively in adobe style, is a gas station, barber shop, laundry facility, grocery store and office space. A mobile home community is also included in the existing commercial enterprise entity, and plans are underway to add storage sheds (now under construction). Recreational facilities for the mobile home community are part of longer range planning.

The fifth goal of the project is to create 50 jobs annually. Given the success of this project thus far at the end of the first of three years, it is highly probable that this goal also will be reached.

The sixth and final goal of this project is to document the development of the model cultural center in a report and to distribute 350 copies to other Indian tribes nationwide.

ANA believes that the determination and creativity of the people of the Pueblo of Pojoaque will ensure that the multi-faceted Pojoaque cultural center project will serve as an inspiration and model for Indian peoples throughout the Nation.

Winonah Warren, a member of the Shinnecock Indian tribe in New York State, works for the Administration for Native Americans in Washington, DC.

Keepers of the Treasures—Cultural Council of American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians

An Update on the New Tribal Organization

This has been an eventful year to date. Since the meeting cosponsored by the Osage Nation and the National Park Service held in December 1990 on the Osage Reservation, at the direction of the tribes in attendance, it was agreed that a new tribal organization would be formed and Keepers of the Treasures would become its name.

In fulfilling this mandate, several events have taken place in order for the organization to become a reality.

In January, a small delegation was greeted in Washington, DC, by the various funding agencies that may assist in the development of the Keepers of the Treasures. As a result, these agencies provided a very positive response. In fact, our delegation was extremely pleased with the response from Mr. Rick West and Mr. Dave Warren from the National Museum of the American Indian. They indicated that once Keepers of the Treasures was organized they would like our organization to assist them in the consultation process in the preparation and development of the National Museum of the American Indian.

As a follow up to the meetings held in Washington, DC, the Heard Museum and the Gila River Indian Community, co-sponsored a meeting in Phoenix, Arizona May 15-16, 1991. In attendance were various tribes that proceeded to organize and prepare the necessary information in order to be recognized as a corporation. Those in attendance felt the need to continue meeting in preparation for the next National Park Service Historic Preservation Fund grant meeting, which will be co-hosted by the Keepers of the Treasures, and seemed pleased that the progress was being made. We were very fortunate to have Mr. Dean Suagee from Hobbs, Straus, Dean and Wilder, a Washington DC law office, to assist in developing the information required for incorporation. Subsequently, on June 7, 1991, the "Keepers of the Treasures" organization became incorporated in Washington, DC.

A follow-up meeting was held in Albuquerque, New Mexico to finalize and approve interim by-laws, elect interim officers, appoint committees and transact business in preparation for the first organizational meeting to be held this fall or winter.

I'm very pleased with the progress that has been made with the organization. I commend the initial board of directors for devoting their time and effort to be part of an organization that will benefit all tribes in their pursuit of continuing their rich cultural heritage. Special thanks to Ms. Bonnie Wadsworth for her work in Washington, DC, in promoting "Keepers of the Treasures." I hope to see everyone at the up-coming meeting.

Sincerely,

*Cecil F. Antone
Acting Chairperson*

Cecil F. Antone is the director of Land Use Planning for the Gila River Indian Community. He is acting chairperson for the Keepers of the Treasures organization. For further information about Keepers of the Treasures contact Bonnie C. Wuttunee-Wadsworth, Director, Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Museum, P.O. Box 306, Fort Hall, Idaho 83203; 208-237-9791. Ms. Wadsworth is acting secretary of the Keepers of the Treasures.

The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation Offers Training for Native American Groups

Shauna J. Holmes

The regulations of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (36 CFR 800) implementing Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act establish a process of consultation among Federal agencies, State Historic Preservation Officers, American Indian tribes, Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians, and other interested parties. The process involves identifying historic properties, determining effects of Federal or federally-assisted activities on historic properties, and avoiding or mitigating adverse effects. Because Indian tribes and other Native Americans are specified in the regulations as recognized participants in this Section 106 review process, the Council observed in *Keepers of the Treasures* that tribal participation in the review process can provide important opportunities for the protection of historic properties of significance to them.

Tribal participation in the review process can provide more effective consideration of traditional cultural properties, as well as greater opportunity for ensuring culturally appropriate treatment of human remains and funerary objects and disposition of tribal objects recovered during mitigation efforts. Regular participation by tribes in the Section 106 process can also create a forum for forging partnerships with others interested in advocating preservation issues.

Despite these potential benefits, tribes generally do not participate fully in Section 106 review. Reasons include a lack of awareness by agencies of potential tribal interests, frequent failure of Federal agencies to notify or seek the involvement of tribes with legitimate interests in historic properties subject to effect, differing views on tribal sovereignty, and tribes' mistrust of Federal and state agencies. Also, in the Council's view most tribes are not well informed about the Section 106 process and how they can participate in it.

Consequently, the Council observed that "tribal participation in Section 106 review can be improved by providing Indian tribes with adequate and culturally sensitive training opportunities." It recommended training in the Section 106 process that is targeted to Indian tribes, addresses tribal concerns on tribal and ancestral lands, and is offered near reservations. Demonstrating the Council's commitment to implementing its own recommendation, the Council has begun developing and offering courses specifically for Native American groups through a recently established cooperative arrangement with the University of Nevada, Reno (UNR). In February 1991, the Navajo Nation was the first tribe to benefit from the Council's new capacity to offer such special training when the Council and UNR held "Introduction to Federal Historic Preservation Law for the Navajo Nation" and "Preparing Agreement Documents under 36 CFR Part 800: A Seminar for the Navajo Nation" in Window Rock, Arizona, the capital of the Navajo Nation. The two courses immediately followed nationwide distribution of the *Keepers* report and were an effort to respond directly and effectively to an identified need.

The three-day introductory course for the Navajo Nation, while similar in overall scope to the Council's standard three-day course, emphasized archeological issues, concerns surrounding traditional cultural properties, coordination with other pertinent authorities like the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, and the Navajo Nation Cultural Resource Protection Act, and tribal participation in Section 106 review. While focusing on matters specific to the Navajo Nation's handling of historic preservation responsibilities under its P.L. 93-638 contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the course also addressed the roles tribes can

play in agency compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act on non-Indian lands. Training slide shows were tailored to southwestern and Native American resources and undertakings, and Dr. Thomas F. King, the instructor, wrote a new case study for the class that addressed resources, situations, and issues relevant to the Navajo and neighboring tribes.

Following the course, one Navajo Nation archeologist said, "I enjoyed the fact that the course was tailored to the Navajo Nation and to problems encountered on the reservation." Another commented, "It was good that issues that face many Indian tribes throughout the U.S. were brought to attention." Other participants appreciated the frank discussion, the instructor's knowledge of the subject, Council staff participation, and the usefulness of the case study workshops in the learning process.

A two-day advanced seminar in Section 106 review followed the introductory course. While it focused on preparing agreement documents under Section 106, it too was tailored to the specific needs of the Navajo Nation and featured new case studies for the class exercises. A tribal archeologist observed that "the actual hands-on experience of developing a determination of no adverse effect and a Memorandum of Agreement was very beneficial." During the unit about writing Programmatic Agreements (PAs), the group critiqued a draft PA with the Indian Health Service developed by staff archeologist Tom McCulloch of the Council's Office of Program Review and Education. Under a separate contract, the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department had arranged for Dr. King to review its program and make recommendations for improvement. The two classes were coordinated with this review, minimizing travel costs and making it possible to relate instruction very specifically to the needs and character of the Navajo program.

The Navajo Nation invited representatives of the Zuni and Hopi tribes to attend the courses, and also welcomed a visit from Robert Gasser, Arizona's Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO). Gasser talked to the classes about the SHPO's role in the Section 106 review process, recently enacted state laws, traditional cultural properties, involvement of Native Americans in consultation, and research designs for archeological data recovery. He affirmed the Arizona SHPO's willingness to work flexibly with other participants in the Section 106 process. The courses also provided representatives of the three tribes, the SHPO, and the Council an opportunity to discuss a range of issues of mutual concern. These include the relationships between tribal sovereignty and the role of the SHPO in the Section 106 process, and means of ensuring intertribal consultation during review of undertakings both of the Navajo reservation and elsewhere in the vicinity.

At the request of Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Anchorage Area Office, the Council and UNR have scheduled a three-day course in Anchorage for Bureau staff and representatives of Alaska Native Groups and Corporations in October 1991. In addition to providing an overview of the Section 106 review process, the class will address issues relating to allotted lands and legislation unique to Alaska, such as the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act and Alaska Native Interest Land Conservation Act, as they pertain to compliance with Section 106. A Programmatic Agreement signed in 1988 by the Council, the Bureau of Land Management, and the Alaska State Historic Preservation Officer for Alaska Native Allotments under these two statutes will provide a focus for some of these discussions.

While the Council's ability to offer special courses for tribes and other Native Americans is constrained by the availability of staff and instructors for planning and presenting such courses, it can accommodate a limited number of requests in any given year. Class size would vary from 25 to 40, depending on the curriculum presented, and the requesting tribe or agency would need to provide onsite classroom facilities and cover instructional costs.

An increasing number of tribal representatives have also been attending the Council's introductory and advanced open enrollment courses. The Council cosponsors its three-day course, "Introduction to Federal Projects and Historic Preservation Law," with the General

Services Administration Interagency Training Center, and also cosponsors a two-day course,

"Preparing Agreement Documents under Section 106 of NHPA," with the University of Nevada, Reno. Fourteen introductory courses and five advanced courses will be offered at locations around the country in 1992. Those who want information about open enrollment or special courses can write or call the Council's Training Coordinator, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Room 803, Washington, DC 20004; 202-786-0505.

Although there is some support within the BIA for the Council's effort to provide special training for tribes, as evidenced by the Anchorage Area Office's request for a course in Alaska, resistance has been encountered elsewhere. One course scheduled for tribal and BIA agency officials, for instance, was canceled after the area archeologist expressed dismay that the Council was providing training for the tribe. The Council continues to explore ways to meet tribal needs for training opportunities while remaining sensitive to BIA's concerns regarding its trust responsibilities. Hopefully, future cooperation among the Council, National Park Service, and the Keepers of the Treasures tribal preservation organization—as well as individual tribes, regional tribal organizations, BIA area offices, and SHPOs—will help to address the many training needs faced by American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians in caring for their cultural legacy.

Shauna J. Holmes, training coordinator for the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, works in the Council's Office of Program Review and Education.

New Training Opportunities for American Indians at the Smithsonian Institution—The American Indian Studies Program

Alyce Sadongei

The National Museum of the American Indian and the Office of Museum Programs of the Smithsonian Institution are working cooperatively to respond to the training needs of tribal cultural institutions. As Congress developed the enabling legislation for the creation of the National Museum of the American Indian, tribal communities voiced a need for the development of training programs in museum practice. Not only was training needed to staff the new National Museum of the American Indian, but tribal communities looked to the National Museum of the American Indian for leadership in developing and implementing training programs that could be useful for existing tribal cultural facilities. Since the Office of Museum Programs provides training programs in museum practice and theory to museum professionals in the field as well as to Smithsonian staff, it became "home" for the American Indian Museums Studies program.

The American Indian Museum Studies program was developed in the fall of 1990 to respond to the training needs identified by tribal communities. It offers courses in museum practice and cultural programming and provides summer internships for Native students. The internships offer practical museum and research experience using the resources of the Smithsonian Institution. A scholarship is offered to the interns to help defray the costs of living in Washington, DC.

American Indian Studies Program Training Courses

Topics for the first three courses were established meeting with American Indian individuals involved in community cultural activities. To the extent possible, training courses are held on reservations that have museums or cultural centers to promote existing tribal facilities and to draw on their expertise.

Participants for these courses are selected on a competitive basis. A letter of application is required in which applicants explain why they need the course and how they plan to use the information they will learn. Tuition fees are waived for the courses and participants are offered scholarships to help defray a portion of the costs of travel and subsistence.

The American Indian Studies Program's First Training Course

The first training course, "Mission and Governance: Planning for Tribal Cultural Facilities," had as its target audience individuals working in tribal cultural facilities and those interested in beginning such a facility. An announcement describing the course and faculty with instructions for application, were mailed out to approximately 2,000 American Indian individuals, tribes, schools and museums, cultural centers and organizations. The mailing list comprised individuals who inquired about the training course, lists compiled by other Federal agencies, recommendations from American Indians in the Smithsonian and lists generated from the Office of Museum Programs.

Enrollment was limited to 20 in order to provide the best learning experience for participants and faculty. Participants were selected based on the following criteria: affiliation with tribal controlled cultural resource management efforts; evidence of organized

thinking about governance and planning; ability to articulate need and anticipated benefit from the course; potential to share information learned in the course with other tribal communities in their local or regional area; one applicant per community; and, national geographic representation.

Response to this first training was enthusiastic and overwhelming. The individuals selected to participate in the course represented 20 different tribes from 13 states. Job titles of participants ranged from museum directors and tribal enrollment clerks to tribal educators and development/land use planners.

The course proceeded in a sequential manner beginning with the concept of a museum and moving on to planning, governance, staffing and managing a museum, legally establishing a museum and fundraising for construction.

The faculty included: Greig Arnold (Makah) Tribal Council, Makah Nation, Lucille Dawson (Narragansett) director, Eastern Division, Administration for Native Americans, Norman Down, consultant, Makah Nation, Tom Hill (Seneca) director, Woodlands Indian Culture Centre, Ann Renker, director, Makah Cultural and Research Center, Rina Swentzell (Santa Clara), architectural historian, W. Richard West, Jr. (Cheyenne), director, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

The course began with Rina Swentzell leading a discussion on the nature and origin of museums. The session explored the philosophical assumptions of museums and their similarity to and difference from tribal concepts of preservation, permanence and the past. Participants were encouraged to reflect on their tribal values and how they are expressed in the mission statement of their museum or cultural center.

Tom Hill followed the discussion on values and purpose of museums. His session examined the significance of a mission statement and how all decisions regarding policy and programs must relate to and support the museum's mission. Participants completed a work plan after discussing the importance of planning and how that relates to mission. Slides of exhibitions at Woodlands Cultural Centre illustrated how program and content of exhibitions must all reflect the mission of the museum.

The second day of the course dealt with issues of governance and staffing of a museum. Greig Arnold, former director of the Makah Cultural and Research Center, shared how the Makah museum determined its own style of governance after unsuccessfully trying to adopt a conventional board structure. The participants also learned how the Makah Cultural and Research Center works with its tribal council.

A session on staff management and development, led by Ann Renker, focused on a number of issues surrounding the staffing needs of a cultural institution. These included developing staff qualifications, using consultants and the specialized needs of tribal cultural facilities. The Makah Cultural and Research Center was used to illustrate the staff and management issues covered in the session.

After two very full days, the third day of the course was reserved for a tour of community resources and mid-week evaluation. Many of the participants had never been to Neah Bay. Having an opportunity to see the landscape and important cultural sites that were integrated into the museum helped participants to see how the museum embodied the community.

The fourth day of the course focused on legal issues and fundraising. The session, led by W. Richard West, Jr., defined legal issues facing museums in general and tribal cultural facilities in particular. He fielded specific questions from participants regarding questions of legality and their institutions.

The last session focused on the ever present concern of how to raise money for the planning and construction of a museum. First, Lucille Dawson identified funding sources that would pay for each aspect of development that was covered in the course. She also distributed current guidelines for many Federal grants. Then, participants learned about the process of raising funds for construction using the assistance of a consultant. Norman Down, a consultant with the Makah Nation who was directly involved with the fundraising and construction of the present facility, offered candid and practical advice on how to work

with architects and funders. Participants learned about the various aspects of building a museum using the Makah Cultural and Research Center as a case study.

The session concluded on the fifth day with participant evaluations. Overall the participants felt that the sessions contained useful information. Almost as important as the information covered in the course was the opportunity to meet other museum personnel and cultural administrators and that sharing experiences among colleagues was very helpful.

This first training course was unique in that instruction in museum practice was given by a primarily Native faculty to a Native audience. Laced through the standard discussion of a mission statement was acceptance and validation of individual tribal ways of thinking. This was evident throughout the other sessions as well. Another distinction of the course was that participants were given traditional and emergent examples of museum development. There is not one single way to develop a museum, particularly for tribal communities.

The American Indian Studies program in the Office of Museum Programs is planning a complete curriculum of courses to offer tribal communities. A needs assessment to further determine training needs is being planned along with formal methods of evaluation and dissemination. It is hoped that through these training courses, tribal communities can continue to manage, interpret and define their own cultural resources.

Alyce Sadongei (Kiowa/Tohono O'odham) is the curriculum manager in the Office of Museum Programs, Smithsonian Institution. She was recently hired to lead the American Indian Museum Studies program and other curriculum projects.

Tribal Cultural Heritage Programs in Alaska

S. Neal Crozier

Despite the confusion surrounding "tribes," "reservations," and "sovereignty," many Native Alaskans are engaging in progressive cultural heritage preservation programs on their lands. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) is supporting these programs in a number of ways. With Native participation, the BIA is conducting two major efforts involving cultural resources. One effort is to investigate the cultural significance of Native cemetery sites and historical places selected by regional corporations under ANCSA. The other is to inventory, and mitigate, where necessary, archeological sites on trust and restricted properties when fee simple status is anticipated or when ground disturbing activities are proposed.

The ultimate goal of the BIA is to enable Native organizations to become self sufficient in all matters involving cultural heritage documentation and preservation. A number of Native corporations and associations are well on their way to achieving this. Today, almost half of the regional corporations have cultural resource policies or programs in place and many village corporations and non-profit Native associations are intensely involved with preservation issues. These range from establishing regional museums, archeological excavations, educational programs, cultural heritage conferences, cataloging historic documents and photographs, arts and crafts, Native language courses, and publications. The vastness of the state often masks the true accomplishments that are taking place in small villages throughout rural and urban Alaska.

Cultural heritage programs were slow to emerge due to the unsettling land claims issues, and the fact that the corporations (tribes) were officially recognized only 20 years ago. Now that most of these issues have been resolved, a positive attitude and an awareness of the fragility of these non-renewable resources have materialized. The Alaska Natives have always had an appreciation for their cultural history, but without outside assistance it was difficult for them to engage in large scale preservation or cultural education programs.

The BIA has been providing a wide variety of traditional, technical and program services to the Alaska Native people and their cultural resources for more than 10 years. While direct research is not specifically within the BIA's mission in Alaska, most programs require some research for needs assessments, baseline data, or reporting requirements. The research focuses on two frequently overlapping areas—anthropological/ cultural resources and subsistence use of natural resources. Native organizations and individuals are intimately involved in all BIA programs.

Unlike our counterparts in other areas of the country, the BIA in Alaska does not contract its archeological program, but handles all field investigations with staff archeologists. Thus, the cooperation and coordinated effort with land-holders is particularly important, and their participation in decisions affecting cultural resources obligatory.

Over the years, the Bureau has been involved in education, such as archeological field schools, speaking to the public and to professional organizations, student aid, and youth programs. My position as the BIA area archeologist in Alaska for the past eight years has afforded me the opportunity to work closely with Native cultural resource managers. With Native archeologists, I conducted resource damage assessments resulting from the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill, and continue to assist Native leaders to obtain funds to study and restore the integrity of damaged sites. Some Native groups are leading the way in the burial repatriation effort, and the BIA is giving all possible assistance in this worthwhile endeavor.

One of the more successful joint BIA-Native programs involved an archeological field school with students from the Kodiak Area Native Association (KANA). Five youths, ages 15-18, camped at the isolated site on Kodiak for approximately two months. More than 50% of a multi-component, 1,300-year-old dwelling structure was excavated. The students not only learned archeological methods and techniques, but also absorbed field camp operations and participated in evening discussions regarding daily activities. Despite bear problems and some of the worst weather on record, all students stayed to the end, and successfully completed the university accredited course.

Recognition of the field school was state-wide, and progress was followed in the media. Both the BIA and KANA benefited greatly from the project, not only in terms of education, but also in the acknowledgment that such programs can work for the enhancement of cultural resources through cooperation between the Federal Government and a Native organization. The Bureau is planning another archeological field school with a different Native association in the near future.

KANA is also working with the BIA to finalize a Cultural Resource Management Concept Plan for the Kodiak Archipelago. I reviewed an early draft; a final draft is expected shortly.

Another encouraging and positive sign concerns the final disposition of artifacts excavated from restricted Native allotments. The allottee is the owner of all artifacts collected by the BIA. Yet, in every case to date, the owner has chosen to allow the Bureau to curate the objects, house them under a long term loan agreement and to ultimately donate them to a local museum when such a facility is available. This little known fact shows the trust that is growing steadily between Natives and cultural resource personnel in the government.

This is the first year that the Bureau's archeological section has opened discussions with a Native association regarding student employment during the summer. The newly formed Doyon Foundation in Fairbanks is seeking to place Native college students in positions related to their interests with the government. We hope to fill one or two seasonal openings with youths in this constructive and beneficial program. As the cultural resources investigations wind down for the BIA in Alaska, having a core of qualified Natives to continue the research is of paramount importance.

More and more Native corporations and associations are filling cultural resource positions and several have made significant strides toward self determination of their resources. In the very near future, many of these entities will have the expertise and funds to carry out all phases of their cultural heritage preservation programs. Their intimate knowledge of the resources can only enhance subsequent research and further the cause of historic protection.

Alaskan "tribes" are becoming more knowledgeable and more determined to document and preserve the past. Unfortunately, it is usually the negative stories about the BIA and Natives that make the news. Much positive work is being accomplished and the progressive thinking of Native groups and individuals should be a guide for others in the arena of cultural heritage preservation.

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Federal Agency Management and Native American Heritage Values

Robert M. Laidlaw

The effectiveness of the Native American community as champions of their cultural and religious identity has resulted in permanent changes in Federal programs of cultural resource management and historic preservation. Relationships between Federal agencies and Native American communities are being redefined by new legislation such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (P.L. 101-601) and American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA P.L. 95-341). These laws and their implementing regulations will dramatically increase Native American involvement in and effect on agency decisionmaking. A review of legislation currently before Congress suggests that Native Americans will continue to play a significant role in Federal agency decisionmaking.

It is essential that agencies develop programs to identify and address Native American cultural and governmental concerns related to Federal land and resource management. Such programs must support an ongoing dialogue between agencies and Native Americans that is both positive and effective.

The active management of government-administered lands and resources by Federal agencies can directly affect the ongoing use and practice of traditional American Indian culture and religion. Agencies such as the Fish and Wildlife Service and the agencies of the Department of Defense administer large blocks of land under withdrawal from general public use. These lands, managed as military reservations and wildlife sanctuaries, often restrict general public access and many categories of use. By contrast, "public lands" and forests administered by agencies such as the Bureau of Land Management and Forest Service support a broad spectrum of activities including recreational development and use, wilderness management, mining, wildlife management and other programs. These public lands constitute the majority of the federally-administered lands in the western United States. The patterns of Federal administration and classification on public lands involve a variety of Native American cultural and religious issues (Anderson 1983). Predominantly, these issues involve physical access to locations on public lands and/or the collection, use and protection of regulated resources.

Access by traditional Native Americans to locations of religious significance can be a particularly difficult issue for some Federal agencies (Winter 1983). Often age, infirmity, or distance makes access by motorized vehicle the only practical means for some Native Americans to reach locations of religious importance on publicly-administered lands. However, in areas designated as sensitive riparian habitat, or under management for wilderness values, access by motorized vehicle may be prohibited.

Ironically in such circumstances, management for the protection of sensitive natural resource values, so important to many traditional Native Americans, can potentially prevent access to places of religious significance.

Perhaps the most substantial issue involving Federal agency resource managers and Native American communities is the collection and use of plants and animals for religious purposes. Many species of religious significance are regulated under the Endangered Species Act and related authorities. The collection of resources such as plant products, minerals, and gemstones may be regulated by complementary statutory authority and/or agency policy.

Applying Federal regulatory procedures is often particularly problematic when Native American collection activities are not exclusively associated with religious practice. Collecting foodstuffs, basketry materials, and natural pigments can seldom be defined as purely "religious practice." Although these activities may have a religious component, it is in the more secular context that potential conflicts may most often occur. Many Federal

resource-managing agencies have attempted to distinguish tribal religious practices from secular "cultural" use (Stambor 1983). However, this distinction has been identified in many analyses (Buckley 1981, Federal Agencies Task Force, 1979) as more an artifact of Euro-American value systems than an attribute of tribal religions. Appeals for ongoing access and use of federally-administered resources by Native Americans continually emphasize the inextricable connection between religion, culture and the land.

The collection, excavation, study and disposition of Native American cultural materials and human remains by Federal agencies have long been an area of conflict between Native Americans and Federal cultural resource managers. "Human remains," "funerary objects," Native American "sacred objects," and "articles of cultural patrimony" include, for the most part, materials long considered "Federal property" within the scope of cultural resource programs of Federal agencies. "Ownership" of these materials was vested by the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act with Native Americans, not government agencies. Agency programs will be substantially, and permanently altered in response to this new law. Federal resource managers now find themselves in the role of "trustee," managing cultural properties in which Native Americans have a substantial (if not pre-eminent) interest. Opportunities exist to build upon the "trust" relationship that exists between Federal agencies and Native Americans in other program areas, and extend these roles to the administration of Native American cultural properties.

Native American cultural and religious issues often cannot be appropriately addressed through the traditional techniques used by Federal cultural resource managers to protect historic properties. By and large Federal agency historic preservation programs have evolved to assure the consideration of the effects of Federal actions upon cultural resources and minimize potential damage to and loss of historic properties. Mechanisms to consider culturally appropriate "uses," "traditions" and "practices" have been effectively absent from most Federal agency cultural resource management programs.

Cultural resources are managed by Federal agencies for their protection and, in the case of compliance activities, the "mitigation" of impacts on them. An implicit assumption of this approach is that damage or destruction of resources may be incrementally reduced through generally accepted professional practices, e.g., archeological excavation, photo recordation, and stabilization.

The concept of incremental reduction of "effects" of an agency's actions is based upon the environmental guidelines set forth in the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and its implementing regulations (Code of Federal Regulations, 40 CFR 1500). By contrast, AIRFA addresses fundamental Native American constitutional rights and represents a legislative reaffirmation of guarantees protecting free exercise of religious practice. Infringement of constitutional guarantees cannot be "mitigated" by the same techniques used to reduce impacts on historic properties.

In many cases, mechanisms already exist within the structure of Federal agencies to respond with flexibility to a wide range of Native American cultural concerns. The challenge is to identify these mechanisms and the administrative authority by which such solutions may be accomplished, and to demonstrate the value of proposed solutions to agency decisionmakers. A key to effectively addressing Native American cultural and religious issues is to do so in the *planning* of resource management and within the fundamental procedural guidelines that regulate agency operations.

The most practical means of addressing any persistent set of issues within a Federal agency is to regularize and internalize it as an aspect of the agency's ongoing programs. For example, the planning system common to all Federal land management agencies may be effectively employed as a tool to involve the Native American community in agency decisionmaking. The planning process provides a mechanism to identify Native American interests prior to project or action-specific review by agencies and the opportunity to identify and resolve resource management issues before they become conflicts.

Ethnographic data collected during the initial stages of planning inventory may be summarized and used to identify management issues and Native American community

concerns regarding potential conflicts. Tribal government officials and traditional cultural leaders should be identified in initial planning review and consulted in subsequent agency actions that could affect sensitive cultural values or tribal lands. The planning process also provides opportunities for developing programs to protect and enhance Native American concerns as one component of Federal land management mandates.

By removing Native American cultural and religious freedom issues from treatment as purely "resource management" issues, agencies may make significant steps toward accommodating these values under existing laws and regulations. Such accommodation is consistent with multiple use mandates of Federal resource-administering agencies, and can be accomplished in a manner which maintains the "neutrality" of the government with respect to particular religious interests (Suagee 1982). Although the term "mitigation" is still frequently used to describe agency options in this context, it takes on a new meaning in response to Native American cultural values. In many cases "mitigation" involves "accommodation" of subsistence activities, collection of crafts material, or religious and ritual practice: a very different concept than that applied to material cultural resources (archeological sites, historic structures, etc.).

There are several components of any agency resource and management program essential to successfully address Native American cultural and religious concerns. These include:

- an affirmative and continuing program of Native American community contact and consultation;
- effective internal communication among relevant agency professionals and;
- a mechanism for issue analysis and the development of management options.

There are compelling reasons for seeking culturally appropriate solutions to the Native American heritage management and religious freedom concerns associated with federally-administered lands and resources. The apparent and practical benefit in addressing Native American religious freedom and cultural heritage issues is realized for the agency in a reduction of project time frames and agency exposure to adverse legal actions. Federal projects have been delayed and, in some cases, stopped completely by legal actions based upon traditional cultural and religious values. This environment has provided a catalyst for change.

The participation of the Native American and other ethnic communities in the national dialogue on historic preservation and cultural property management has enriched our perspective and will continue to stimulate the evolution of the definition of "cultural resources".

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Native Americans and Cultural Resource Management—The View From Wyoming

Fred Chapman

Over the past decade, many cultural resource specialists at work in the Rocky Mountain Region have noted a steady increase in Native American interest and participation in cultural preservation issues. The vigorous and unanticipated response to the Historic Preservation Fund Grant Program to Indian Tribes and Alaska Natives, the growth and influence of a variety of Indian rights advocacy organizations, and tribal sanction of specific individuals—usually spiritual or traditional leaders—for dealing with cultural resource matters of tribal concern, all clearly paint a picture of increased Native American activism concerning the treatment of tribal spiritual sites and traditional use areas threatened by government actions and private enterprise.

Increasing sensitivity to and endorsement of Native American values by Congress and Federal agencies has proceeded concurrently with this renewed activism. Over the past 13 years, Congress has passed the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the Archeological Resources Protection Act, the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act, and the Department of the Interior Appropriations Acts of 1990 and 1991 which included appropriations for Historic Preservation Fund grants to Indian tribes and Alaska Natives. Congress also directed the National Park Service to study and report on funding needs for management, research, interpretation, protection and development of sites of historical significance on lands.

Federal agencies have responded to these progressive legislative initiatives by proliferating guidelines concerning consultation with Native Americans and the treatment of human burial remains. The National Park Service published National Register Bulletin 38, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties*, and the funding needs survey report to Congress, *Keepers of the Treasures—Protecting Historic Properties and Cultural Traditions On Indian Land*, sent to Congress by Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan, Jr., in September 1990.

The Wyoming View

Meaningful Native American participation in cultural resource preservation issues is a relatively recent Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) to help develop tribal cultural resource programs and establish Section 106 compliance procedures suited to the needs of the Northern Arapaho and Eastern Shoshone of the Wind River Indian Reservation. In what was certainly perceived as just another episode of unwanted bureaucratic intrusion, the BIA and SHPO efforts to establish contact were summarily rejected by tribal council members, who appeared to be disinterested in the bureaucratic techniques of cultural resource management.

Then, in the fall of 1988, the Bighorn National Forest introduced plans for access road and facility improvements to the Medicine Wheel National Historic Landmark due to dramatically increasing tourism. The Medicine Wheel is located at an elevation of about 9600 feet in the Bighorn Mountains of north central Wyoming. The salient feature of the Landmark is a circular alignment of large rocks that measures about 80' in diameter and contains 28 rock "spokes" that radiate from a prominent central cairn. Diagnostic artifacts and radiocarbon dates from nearby archeological deposits give evidence that the area was used by prehistoric people as early as 7500 years ago. To most Indian tribes in the region, the Medicine Wheel is revered as a uniquely important and powerful spiritual site that figures prominently in tribal oral and ceremonial traditions.

Native American traditional leaders protested the planned facility improvements during a series of public meetings sponsored by the Forest Service in late 1988. The Native

Americans expressed the belief that construction at the Landmark would disturb, or possibly destroy, the spiritual integrity of the Medicine Wheel.

Several Native American representatives later disclosed that a Federal official had taken them aside and threatened that the Forest Service could "bulldoze the Medicine Wheel" in the face of tribal objections as long as the agency followed certain regulatory procedures. Confused by the bewildering array of applicable environmental and cultural resource laws and regulations, Northern Arapaho tribal elders from the Wind River Indian Reservation contacted the Wyoming SHPO in February of 1989. The elders requested and received technical assistance from Wyoming SHPO staff regarding Federal laws pertaining to the treatment and protection of sacred sites and traditional use areas. It became clear at that time that the Native Americans and the SHPO shared very similar preservation goals with respect to the Medicine Wheel.

Since that time, relations between the Wyoming SHPO and Indian tribes in the region have steadily improved, often in spite of radically different world views, but always with the understanding that our shared preservation goals can best be accomplished through cooperation and teamwork. In March of 1991 the Wyoming SHPO established a Native American Affairs Program in order to accommodate increasing requests for technical assistance and liaison services by tribal authorities and government agencies. Program personnel now confer regularly with Native American traditional and spiritual leaders to find effective ways to communicate their concerns to the appropriate Federal and state agencies. The Wyoming SHPO also advises Federal and state agencies regarding their legal responsibilities to consult with Native Americans pursuant to the National Historic Preservation Act, the Archeological Resources Protection Act, the National Environmental Protection Act, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.

For the most part, Federal agencies in Wyoming have responded positively to the introduction of a "new" consulting partner. Most Bureau of Land Management districts and National Forest offices regularly solicit comments regarding Federal undertakings from the appropriate tribal authorities. Government cultural resource specialists, archeological contractors, and project proponents have attempted, with mixed success, to respect Native American values by finding acceptable ways to reduce impacts to sacred sites. At the Legend Rock Petroglyph site in central Wyoming, for instance, state and Federal land management agencies modified visitor facility construction plans in order to avoid disturbing a "spirit trail" identified by an Eastern Shoshone spiritual leader. Unfortunately, as cultural resource specialists know, simple avoidance techniques are not always consistent with agency land development objectives or Native American traditional values.

Problems and Opportunities

It is clear that existing cultural resource laws and regulations point the way but do not adequately address the cultural preservation concerns of Native Americans in a manner acceptable to all cultural resource professionals. The National Historic Preservation Act, for example, prescribes methods to help Federal agencies deal with impacts to significant cultural resources. Mitigating project impacts to spiritual sites or traditional use areas such as spirit trails, vision quest sites, or ceremonial plant gathering areas presents an unyielding dilemma to a bureaucracy accustomed to dealing with the material content and dimensional integrity of a lithic scatter. If a suspected sacred site is located within a project impact area, agency officials may solicit Native American comment without fully recognizing that site recordation, National Register evaluation, and the required assessment of project effects cannot be accomplished by the agency staff archeologist. In this example, Native American authorities necessarily become involved in the Section 106 process not merely as an "interested party", but as professional cultural resource consultants with specialized knowledge of Native American sacred sites.

Do all Native Americans possess sufficient knowledge to represent their respective tribes' interests concerning cultural preservation issues? The answer is no. With whom should government agencies be consulting? For years, Federal agencies in Wyoming sent project notices to elected tribal council members. Tribal councils never responded to the agency comment requests and the government agencies gradually suspended formal contact with the tribes. It is important to understand that most council members are elected to promote tribal economic interests. The tribal council membership failed to respond to Federal agency solicitation because archeological sites (containing ancestral objects), sacred sites (such as the medicine wheel and rock art panels), and burial grounds (whether prehistoric or contemporary) were the inviolate domain of the traditional religious leaders. Today, almost every tribe in the region endorses specific individuals to represent tribal cultural preservation concerns. Understandably, these individuals are nearly always respected traditional elders or spiritual leaders rather than elected tribal officials. With regard to cultural resource management issues, the Wyoming SHPO advocates that government agencies contact both the elected tribal council chairperson and the appropriate traditional leaders. Doing so fulfills agency responsibilities to maintain government to government contact while at the same time ensuring that the correct tribal representatives are notified.

In Wyoming and elsewhere in the Rocky Mountain Region, standardized procedures for consultation with tribal authorities are evolving sporadically. Due to the considerable number of Federal projects undertaken annually, Federal agencies are faced with the task of reasonably selecting projects for tribal review in the absence of applicable guidelines. Native American authorities concede that they don't want to review every Federal undertaking, but neither Federal officials nor Native American traditional leaders are always certain which projects warrant tribal consultation.

In general, the Wyoming SHPO has recommended that Native American authorities should be routinely contacted in advance of projects large enough to warrant an Environmental Assessment or EIS. We also recommend tribal consultation for any undertaking that involves rock art, apparent sacred sites, land within or adjacent to reservation boundaries, and Native American burials (either historic or prehistoric). The repatriation of prehistoric burial remains encountered during archeological fieldwork, an issue often brokered by the Wyoming SHPO, has been a continual source of confusion and aggravation to both the professional and Native American communities. At present, the repatriation of burial remains is negotiated on a case-by-case basis. The protagonists appear to agree on a flexible policy in which burial remains are first studied, then repatriated. However, most Indian authorities believe that scientific studies proceed too slowly, and many archeologists and physical anthropologists feel that repatriation occurs too quickly.

It has been the experience of the Wyoming SHPO that effective consultation with tribal representatives can only occur after some degree of credibility has been established by government cultural resource specialists. This can be a very daunting task due to harsh tribal attitudes towards anthropologists in particular and bureaucrats in general. In the context of cultural resource management and historic preservation, Native Americans are apt to form working relationships with individuals rather than organizations. This situation naturally creates problems for many regulatory and advisory agencies, since team management, political rectitude, and "company" loyalty are stressed. An Eastern Shoshone traditional leader once observed that he was confused by the fact that although certain Federal agency archeologists appeared to be genuinely respectful of his beliefs, agency decisions nearly always supported commercial interests at the expense of spiritual sites and other cultural resources. The natural reaction of the Shoshone traditional leader was to mistrust the archeologists rather than the management environment in which the decisions were made.

The issue of Native American mistrust of archeologists and anthropologists inevitably leads to the question of confidentiality. Most tribes in Wyoming and Montana are extremely reluctant to divulge information about sacred sites. Some tribes, like the Eastern Shoshone

of west central Wyoming, provide information because their spiritual leaders have concluded that Shoshone sacred sites will be gradually destroyed unless white people are informed about them. In contrast, the Kootenai of northwestern Montana are strictly prohibited from discussing their sacred sites to anyone outside their tribe and have reportedly allowed sacred sites to be physically destroyed rather than provide information that might have helped to preserve sites in the first place. In all cases where sensitive information regarding sacred sites is divulged by Native American consultants, the confidentiality of that information must be respected. At the Wyoming SHPO offices in Cheyenne, sensitive documentation is kept in a locked file cabinet and can only be accessed by a select number of SHPO personnel.

Cultural resource managers do not necessarily have to understand Native American culture or values in order to establish effective and sensitive consultation procedures with tribal authorities. After all, how many resource specialists have been trained to record and evaluate the integrity of a spirit trail or the religious dimensions of a rock art panel? The intent of Federal cultural resource laws and regulations pursuant to Native American consultation is clear: Native American spiritual sites and traditional use areas are cultural resources that deserve the same consideration as historic buildings or archeological sites.

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The Archeological Assistance Program in the NPS Alaska Regional Office

Susan Morton

The thousands of archeological sites scattered throughout the state are a tangible connection to the past for today's thriving Native cultures and an irreplaceable resource for learning about the rich cultural heritage of Alaskan Native people. The unusual degree of cultural continuity and political awareness in many Alaskan Native village communities gives these groups an added stake in protecting the archeological record of their own past.

The Archeological Assistance Program is working with Native groups and educators in the state to make the vast amount of information already gathered through archeological research about Alaskan Native available to the people whose heritage it represents. It offers assistance and advice to help them develop stewardship programs to protect these from vandalism and looting for commercial gain.

Several years ago, the Archeological Assistance Program, in cooperation with Native corporations, other Federal agencies, state and municipal agencies, and Exxon Company, USA, began a public education campaign called "Save Alaska's Past." The highlight of the campaign is Alaska Archeology Week, an outreach program to educate and inform the public about Alaska's archeological resources and to encourage their protection.

In 1991, the second annual Alaska Archeology Week was held April 28 through May 4. Public lectures, slide shows, films, tours of archeological sites and museums, and children's programs were held in 10 communities around the state. Programs held by Native groups for archeology week included a site preservation workshop for land managers and the public held by the Alutiiq Cultural Center of the Kodiak Area Native Association, and a slide show put on by the Unalaska Aleut Development Corporation on a recently excavated burial cave in the Aleutian Islands.

A children's program held at the Anchorage Museum of History and Art in conjunction with the Crossroads of the Continents exhibit featured Herbert Anungazuk, an Inuit whaling captain from Wales, in the Alaska Regional Office. Herbert gave a presentation on symbolism in material culture and hunting magic to the children who were fascinated with his firsthand knowledge and experience, and his interpretation of prehistoric whaling implements from the Bering Strait area.

Another facet of the "Save Alaska's Past" campaign is a project to develop archeology curriculum materials for use in public schools in the state. Work is currently underway by the National Park Service and Exxon Company, USA to develop materials that will be suitable for schools in Native villages as well as larger towns and cities. For the last three years thousands of cleanup workers, crews of fishing vessels contracted by Exxon for clean-up activities, and other associated personnel have come in contact with coastal previously protected by their unknown locations. This increased public contact has put these resources at risk of being looted and vandalized. There has already been a dramatic increase in looting in the area.

Some of the resources already damaged are owned by Native corporations in the Kodiak area who seek assistance from the Service in addressing the problems caused by the spill. Representatives from such Native corporations attended an archeological resources protection class held by the Service in Anchorage. The Service also cooperates closely with the Kodiak Area Native Association to exchange information on looting incidents and trafficking in Alaskan artifacts.

The Archeological Assistance Program designed archeological resource protection posters and brochures that were sent to every school in the state. The reaction from educators, especially in bush schools, was overwhelming. They were especially excited

about using the posters in bilingual education programs because they incorporate Alaskan Native words for heritage in the design.

The poster and brochure are also used to publicize the Archaeological Resource Crime Hotline, an 800 number that rings at the Alaska Regional Office law enforcement specialist's desk. The hotline has been used by individual Alaskan Natives and groups to report damage to archeological resources. Callers are directed to the appropriate authority in cases not under National Park Service jurisdiction.

Taken together, these activities have opened new lines of communication and cooperation with Alaska Native communities and groups throughout the state and provide a unique opportunity for the National Park Service to extend technical assistance and build new relationships of mutual benefit.

A Quapaw Reburial

Judy A. Brown

The old man scanned the vacant field, drinking in every inch. He measured each step, frequently testing the path with his cane to keep from slipping on the mud and wet grass. He cocked his head a little a couple of times, as if he was listening to something very far away or trying to capture a faint voice. When he pointed to a spot with his cane, two of the young men accompanying him began to dig. When he was satisfied with their progress, they stepped back and waited. Several people stood in clusters of two or three, talking in quiet tones as though visiting a church.

A few yards away, another man struggled to keep a fire going in a small iron pot to make coals for the ceremony. When he brought the coals to the hole, the group gathered at a slight distance to avoid intruding on the ceremony that would soon begin.

The old man knelt down and gently laid a small bundle in the earth. When he rose, the younger man handed him an eagle feather, and he spoke softly into the wind. He scooped up several handfuls of earth and sprinkled them over the bundle he had placed in the hole. Then he put cedar boughs into the pot, creating a smoke that was thick at first, but thinning as the wind sent it skyward.

The old man fanned the smoke with the eagle feather, dispersing it even more, like he was hurrying the spirit on its journey. After fanning it around the grave, he shared the smoke with the others in his parties who scooped the smoke with cupped hands and breathed it in. He fanned it over them, one at a time, and then over himself.

Then he told the young men to cover the hole. Part way through, he stopped them long enough to empty the charred coals from the small pot into the half-filled hole. He added a handful of tobacco and motioned them to finish their task.

When he stepped away, the observers moved closer to discuss the significance of the ceremony. Bob Whitebird, the last full-blood male Quapaw, had just ceremonially reburied bones belonging to 10 of his ancestors, Indians who had lived on Eaker Air Force Base about 3,000 years ago.

This was the first reported time the Air Force was involved in the re-burial of bones taken during environmental assessment. The bones were removed during the 1988 study of Eaker as a potential site for the Peacekeeper Rail Garrison program. The discovery of the bones and other artifacts eventually played a part in the decision not to place the missile project here lest other still-buried graves and artifacts be destroyed.

While the ceremony was the first of its kind for a Federal agency, it certainly was not a common occurrence for Mr. Whitebird and the three Quapaw tribal representatives either. "Everyone has burial ceremonies, but no one has reburial ceremonies. You never expect to have to do it twice," noted Dr. David L. Carmichael, one of the archeologists who studied this site.

But 78-year old Mr. Whitebird was philosophical about the situation. "It is a Quapaw ritual to consult with the family so that their wishes are carried out," he said. "But we can't do that. It's hard to know exactly what to do because we don't know what their rites were. I have been called on many times to perform ceremonies. They are always a bit different to what I was taught. I just go ahead with what I think is appropriate for the occasion."

Each nuance of the ceremony held significance for the Quapaw. The eagle feather used by Mr. Whitebird had been passed to him by the family of the last hereditary Quapaw Chief, and was the symbol of his authority, according to George Romick, tribal representative and Mr. Whitebird's nephew.

The ceremony itself was taken from Quapaw customs centuries old. Use of cedar boughs to create the smoke for purification comes from the evergreen tree which symbolizes the continuity of life. Even the timing was important, because Quapaw funerals are almost always conducted in the morning. The tobacco also held significance, but its

meaning has been forgotten. "It's always been done that way," said Mr. Whitebird with a shrug and a chuckle.

Heeding the wishes of American Indians has not always been the primary order of business for the government. A recently enacted law is expected to change things though.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (Public Law 101-601), passed in November 1990, states that any person caught with illegal artifacts can face up to one year in jail or a \$5,000 fine. "It puts teeth in the laws against pot hunting," said Dr. John Sabol, a cultural resource manager who has specialized in Native American rights. Preserving sites from pot hunters is a sensitive issue for Native Americans. "Vandalism of archeological sites is astronomical," said Carrie Wilson, tribal representative. "The Quapaw identify with the tribes who were here and have taken responsibility for the care of these bones. The key is that Indians are vital, living people who want to take care of their own," she said.

Because of the new law, thousands and thousands of bones in museums will have to be returned to their tribes. "It is important to Indians to have these remains returned to the soil," Ms. Wilson said.

TSgt. Judy A. Brown witnessed the Quapaw reburial ceremony. She works in the public affairs division at Eaker Air Force Base, Blytheville, Arkansas.

Montana's Maiden Conference

Dave Schwab

In 1986, the Montana State Historic Preservation Office started an outreach program to increase tribal participation in cultural resource management in Montana. I visited each of the Indian reservations in the state to meet tribal political and cultural representatives from the 11 tribes in Montana to talk through current issues, to offer assistance, and to listen to tribal concerns and suggestions about cultural resource management.

My visits to the reservation communities were particularly informative. In almost every instance, tribal representatives expressed frustration at the lack of information they had about cultural resources and they felt that Federal and state agency consultation with tribes needed to be expanded and improved. They wondered what happened to the bones and artifacts recovered during archeological excavations. Tribal representatives also expressed concern that standard archeological reports submitted under government contracts were unintelligible for nonprofessionals and thus had little meaning or value for them. Some representatives expressed concern about the impacts to culturally significant prehistoric sites from archeological excavation, especially since the results of the studies seldom reached the tribes. A primary concern was the issue of Native American burials and their treatment within the discipline of archeology and cultural resource management.

While Indian tribes in Montana share many concerns about cultural resource management, each is unique culturally, politically and in their development of cultural programs. Several tribes have active cultural committees or culture boards. These are generally made up of elders, traditionalists and spiritual leaders. In many instances liaison positions have been established within the tribal government for individuals to relay the concerns and opinions of the cultural committees to the elected tribal officials.

The Flathead Reservation of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes has active cultural programs which have been in operation for over a decade. Other tribes review cultural issues in an ad hoc manner, referring questions of concern to recognized cultural leaders for their opinions. In a few instances, tribes have no formal cultural committees and no established procedure for dealing with cultural issues. These groups generally rely solely on the tribe's political officials to make decisions of cultural concern.

As our outreach effort continued, we also received feedback from archeologists about the issues and concerns they felt needed to be addressed on the topic of Native American participation in cultural resource management. We sent out questionnaires and conducted interviews. Many archeologists and cultural resource managers were supportive of the concept, while some were more cautious. A number of archeologists responded that tribes had been generally unresponsive to their consultation efforts in the past and improved communication was desirable. Others feared that tribal concerns and perceptions about archeology were incompatible with Federal guidelines and that increasing tribal involvement in cultural resource management would open up a "pandora's box" which could be detrimental to the practice of archeology in Montana.

The primary need we found during our outreach program was for increased and improved communication between cultural resource managers and tribal representatives. Historically, the lack of contact and interaction between the two groups had fostered misunderstanding and mistrust. Hence the Montana State Historic Preservation Office, the Billings Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Lewistown District of the Bureau of Land Management decided to hold a statewide conference in June 1987, to bring tribal representatives together with professional archeologists and cultural resource managers.

The idea of holding such a conference was not new. A similar gathering had already been held in Oregon. Thus we could review what we thought was successful and unsuccessful about the Oregon format and then tailor a gathering to fit the special climate

and needs of Montana. We soon realized that the conference setting was key to a successful exchange. After discussions with tribal representatives and professional archeologists, we decided to hold the gathering in an outdoor camp setting, away from the formal and stuffy trappings of a typical conference. I believe this decision was critical to the success of the gathering. Participants were able to more freely exchange ideas and hold prolonged discussions in the relaxed atmosphere of an outdoor setting.

We settled on an old Boy Scout camp located in the Judith Mountains, Camp Maiden. This camp was located at the site of Maiden, a historic mining camp in central Montana. Camp Maiden had been suggested as an ideal location for the meeting. However, although it was located in a beautiful natural setting, the camp facilities turned out to be extremely rugged and in an advanced state of disrepair. To make matters worse, many of us arrived at the site in the midst of an extremely intense thunderstorm, amidst a downpour of rain and a sea of mud to find our accommodations. Most cabins had leaky roofs, wooded mattress-less bunks and no doors that shut. Intermittent thunderstorms continued for almost the duration of the meeting, adding to the "special atmosphere" of the first Maiden conference. Fortunately, the large dining and meeting hall was comfortable and dry and it became the focal point of our two-day gathering.

The conference at Camp Maiden was designed to be primarily an introductory session. Tribal representatives, agency managers and archeologists each had an opportunity to introduce themselves, identify their areas of responsibility or aboriginal concern, and discuss their agency and tribal programs. Participants were encouraged to outline their ideas, recommendations, and concerns about increasing tribal participation in cultural resource management.

Session breaks and meal time gave people an opportunity to personalize their acquaintances and to engage in relaxed discussion. On the evening of the first full day of activities, musical entertainment was provided to the "captive" audience as a means to further the level of relaxation and interaction. During breaks in the weather, archeologists and tribal representatives tossed atlatl darts or shared knowledge on the finer points of flintknapping.

The impact of this face-to-face meeting was extremely positive. After two days in the beautiful natural setting, and after weathering the thunder, lightning, rain and mud, a camaraderie developed and friendships were established that have endured and prospered in passing years. I believe there was a shared realization at the completion of the two-day gathering that many differences of opinion and problems remained, but some very important first steps had been taken at Camp Maiden.

The first Maiden Conference had 50 participants representing 5 Indian tribes in Montana and most of the major state and Federal agencies involved in cultural resource management. While most participants viewed the gathering as educational and successful, not all tribes or Federal and state agency representatives who were invited chose to attend. Perhaps the conference's success was due to the fact that those who did attend already recognized the need for improved communication and were prepared to work together to achieve that goal.

At the final wrap-up session, all participants at Camp Maiden agreed that it would take participation by representatives from all the Indian tribes and pertinent government agencies in Montana to ensure full and consistent tribal involvement in cultural resource management issues statewide. They recognized the need to continue the Maiden conference process in the future and decided that participation by elected tribal government leaders and high-level Federal and state agency managers and supervisors in future negotiations would be necessary to bring about desired improvements.

Since the first gathering at Camp Maiden, the event has continued on a biennial basis at various locations around the state. Subsequent meetings held in 1988 (hosted by the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes at Flathead Lake) and 1990 (at Eastern Montana College in Billings) focused on a range of topics including burial site protection, impacts of noxious weed spraying on traditional plant collecting, identification and management of

sacred sites, the role of the National Register of Historic Places in site protection; Federal cultural preservation law and its interpretation by the courts, culturally appropriate public education programs and efforts, site information and collections management, and planning cooperative efforts.

Today, most tribes in Montana have cultural program directors or spokespersons who are formally recognized by tribal governments as points of contact for cultural resource issues. Many Federal, state, and private archeologists have developed valuable working relationships with cultural representatives whose tribes have concerns within their jurisdictions. At the same time, Indian tribes in Montana have become increasingly sophisticated in their knowledge and participation in cultural resource management and are more active than ever in advocating preservation of significant cultural and spiritual sites on and off the reservations.

Meanwhile, steps continue to be taken to bring Indian people and professional archeologists together to explore issues of common concern in archeology and historic preservation. For example, a committee representing the Montana Archaeological Association and Montana Indian tribes worked together for several years to prepare mutually acceptable burial protection legislation. The resulting legislation which was endorsed by both the Montana Archaeological Association and Montana Indian tribes was recently passed by the Montana legislature. The Montana Archaeological Society's 1990 joint meeting with the Alberta Archaeological Society at Waterton National Peace Park was titled "Kunaitupii" or "Coming Together" and brought Indian people and archeologists together to discuss sacred sites, burial remains and a range of other pertinent issues.

Recently, a statewide lecture series sponsored by the Montana Archaeological Association and the Montana Committee for the Humanities teamed tribal cultural leaders together with professional archeologists to give public presentations on topics in Montana archeology to various communities throughout the state. In northwestern Montana, the Kootenai National Forest created a temporary position for a Kootenai cultural and spiritual leader to work with the forest's cultural resource staff as an advisor. Other Federal agency archeologists have invited tribal leaders to their regional offices to conduct cultural sensitivity training for office staff and have presented courses in archeology designed specifically for Indian people.

Clearly, philosophical differences about cultural resource management continue among the various tribes and government agencies in Montana, and we probably have more than our share of disagreements and potential conflicts. Some conflicts, such as the issue of natural resource development in areas considered by the tribes to be sacred lands, have been particularly perplexing and exacting. Yet by encouraging gatherings like the Maiden conference and the special projects and programs cited earlier, Montanans strive to create an atmosphere of mutual respect and increased understanding which makes negotiations on tough and sensitive issues less strenuous and more productive. In the process, we have also learned that Indian tribes and archeologists share much in common.

Improving the climate for tribal participation in cultural resource management in Montana has clearly been an educational process for all participants. In many respects it has been an emotional roller coaster ride and a true test of our mutual determination to succeed. But it has also been an extremely rewarding process when consensus is reached and when joint objectives are realized. Through that process many archeologists have come to recognize, better understand, and appreciate the tribes' sense of affinity with archeological sites, sacred landscapes and material remains. In many cases the special knowledge of the tribes about particular sites in Montana have been incorporated directly into the interpretation and management of cultural properties on public and private lands. In turn, tribal representatives have developed an increased interest in archeology and its potential value as a tool in their efforts to preserve traditional culture.

In my opinion we are experiencing an important and necessary innovation in archeology in the United States and Canada which is of historical significance. Increased tribal involvement in aboriginal archeology is logical, inevitable and ultimately desirable.

These are trying but exciting times. Cultural resource managers and tribal representatives have an opportunity and responsibility to set the tone for this transition. As this process continues new legislation and guidelines will be necessary to address the specific needs and concerns of Indian people in cultural resource management. Yet I am optimistic that when a new equilibrium is achieved the future study of the past will be revitalized with a new relevance and sensitivity for all humanity.

Dave Schwab is Montana's state archaeologist in the Montana State Historic Preservation Office in Helena, Montana.

It's All One Story— A Look at Research in Alaska Today

Ted Birkedal

In the summer of 1947, when I was a year old and another continent away, several Nunamiut Eskimo families were camped at a mountain lake near the headwaters of the Killik River on the treeless north side of the Brooks Range. At that time, the Nunamiut still followed the cycle of the seasons as wide-ranging nomadic hunters. The caribou supplied coverings for their tents, warm skins for their clothes, and most of their food in the form of fat and meat. When they threw their nets in the lake to catch char and cod, the nets were weighted with caribou antler sinkers. Little, if anything, went to waste; the women pulverized the caribou bone into tiny bits on flat-sided river rocks and boiled the resulting bone mash to extract fat for the high-energy grease cakes favored by the men who often covered 40-70 miles in a single day's hunt.

Today, only a few subtle signs indicate the presence of the former camp. Here and there remnant patchworks of bleached willow twigs that once cushioned the tent floors are visible if one is observant and knows what to look for in the scruffy mantle of dwarf birch that covers the site. Rich growths of moss now hide the concentration of crushed bone that yielded the fat for the grease cakes, and an occasional large river cobble marks the spot where the bone was pulverized. Two small piles of caribou antler sinkers and carved wooden floats show where fish nets fell to the ground when the pole racks that once held them collapsed.

Also left behind, buried in a low rise at the camp's edge, lies a small boy who died that summer. He and I would have been about the same age today, yet he lived and died in the midst of a lifeway that would have been familiar to only my most ancient Norwegian ancestors. A group of these ancestors also once camped beside a mountain lake—just above a highland valley known as Birkedal (Birch Valley). They, too, hunted caribou, or more properly reindeer as this animal is called in Europe, but that was 9500 years ago and the campsite they left behind is the oldest archeological site in Norway.

Study of the traditional Nunamiut lifestyle has value to each of us, no matter our individual ethnic origins, for all of humankind ultimately has its roots in the hunting and gathering way of life. Thus, the Nunamiut cultural experience can be considered part of our common heritage. Through the living memories of Nunamiut elders and the campsites of their youth, we are able to gain insights into our own pasts that are not possible through archeological inquiry alone. For the Nunamiut themselves, the study of the old ways serves as a source of cultural pride and identity for a people who have been thrust into the industrial age in the span of a single generation, and who must contend with the intense stresses and strains that typically accompany such a rapid transition.

The story of the Nunamiut camp related above was gathered in the course of a multi-year ethnoarcheological project centered on the northern mountain valleys of Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve. This project represents a cooperative venture between the Simon Paneak Memorial Museum and the National Park Service. Located in the central Nunamiut village of Anaktuvuk Pass in the heart of Gates of the Arctic National Park and Preserve, the Simon Paneak Memorial Museum has acquired fame as "America's Farthest North Museum." Supported both by the North Slope Borough (a Native Alaskan borough) and the local Nunamiut community of Anaktuvuk Pass, this fine, small museum is dedicated to the preservation of Nunamiut history, traditions, and material culture. Museum co-director, Grant Spearman, a 13-year resident of the village, is the project's principal investigator and driving force.

The National Park Service's contribution to the project lies primarily in the provision of logistical support (float planes, river rafts, equipment, and supplies). In addition, the park assigns its senior rangers to accompany and assist Mr. Spearman on his ethnoarcheological expeditions. This exposure gives the rangers a new view of the park and enlists them as enthusiastic advocates for ethnographic and archeological resources. They begin to see the park through Nunamiut eyes and the special knowledge they obtain in both cultural and natural resources allows them to become better stewards of the park and acquire a deeper understanding of the park's present-day Nunamiut residents and subsistence users.

It should also be emphasized that Mr. Spearman records all archeological sites encountered during the field phase of the project. Further, he helps the rangers with wildlife observations, archeological protection monitoring, and other more typical "rangering" duties such as the clean-up of modern float-trip campsites located along the rivers. Overall, this cooperative project represents a successful integration of ranger activities with research.

This year I was able to join Mr. Spearman, Park Superintendent Roger Siglin, and North District Ranger Jon Peterson in a reconnaissance of the Killik Valley. We documented a variety of historic and prehistoric era sites and made in-field management decisions on the treatment of two important sites under direct threat from erosion and illegal surface collection. One of these sites, a Paleoarctic temporary camp that may date as early as 8000 B.C., was first discovered by Mr. Spearman last year. It is an extremely unique find because it contains preserved food bone and occurs within a stratigraphic context—a rarity for Northern Alaska.

This summer, the National Park Service will transport several Nunamiut elders to their former campsites in the Killik Valley so that detailed on-site oral histories can be taken on the construction, arrangement, and use of the camps. Revisiting the camps stimulates the recall of actual times, places, and people; as used here, the site serves as a ground truth to the memory, and the quality and detail of the oral accounts greatly increase. The elders enjoy the outings and the opportunity to re-live old times; much as veteran soldiers enjoy visiting the battlefields of their youths. Most importantly, the elders value the chance to pass on their knowledge of the traditional heritage to future generations of Nunamiut. This knowledge is clearly precious for it embodies the accumulated observations and cultural wisdom of hundreds of previous forebears. Because the elder generation of Nunamiut were the last of their people to fully practice the ancient hunting and gathering lifestyle, this generation is the last effective living repository of the special knowledge associated with the old way of life—they are truly the "keepers of the treasures."

In recognition of the value of traditional Native Alaskan knowledge and the fact that the parks of Alaska Region are as much cultural as natural landscapes, we have been pursuing an active program of collaborative research with other groups besides the Nunamiut. In a joint venture with the Smithsonian Press, we will be publishing an ethnography of the Dena'ina Athabaskans of the region of Lake Clark National Park and Preserve in the Fall of 1991. The production of this report has enjoyed the full support of the Native community and one of the two co-authors, Andrew Balluta, is a Dena'ina elder.

Another ethnographic project is drawing to a close in northwest Alaska. The goal of this study, which is being conducted by a team of University of Alaska anthropologists is to produce a regional ethnography of the three adjacent park areas of Cape Krusenstern National Monument, Noatak National Preserve, and Kobuk Valley National Park. Working closely with the Athabaskan groups that once made their home in the northern part of Denali National Park and Preserve, we have just finished a report on the Native place names and ethnohistory of this area.

In Bering Land Bridge National Preserve, a particularly exciting project has been stimulated by the proposed creation of the Beringian Heritage International Park in cooperation with the Soviet Union. This project, known as the One Man's Heritage Project, seeks to tap the natural and cultural knowledge of Gideon Barr, one of the most

knowledgeable and respected elders of the Inupiat Eskimo of the north coast of the Seward Peninsula.

The physical focus of the research is an historic winter reindeer herding village that is now being lost to severe coastal erosion. A multi-disciplinary team of researchers, composed of historical architects, ethnographers, archeologists, videographers, and professional civil surveyors are recording every aspect of cultural life associated with the village and its environs. One of the members of the research team is a noted Russian ethnographer of Siberian Native peoples, for this project is envisioned as the first phase of a long-term program of parallel cultural studies that will eventually encompass both sides of the Bering Strait.

Another member of the research team is Herbert Anungazuk, a former whaling captain in his home village of Wales, Alaska. His role in the project is as translator and general research assistant. Mr. Anungazuk is a new permanent employee with the Division of Cultural Resources, Alaska Regional Office, where his main duties lie in liaison with Native Alaskans on cultural resource issues. One of his responsibilities is to insure that the results of our various research projects are made available and understandable to the Native people of Alaska.

Martha Olympic, another of our Native Alaskan employees and a participant in the region's Cooperative Student Program, is in Siberia for the summer where she is receiving special training as a member of a Soviet archeological excavation team on the Chukotka Peninsula. She is the first National Park Service employee to be involved in such an exchange with the Soviet Union and we hope that she represents the future, a future where Native Americans and professional anthropologists and archeologists join ranks to preserve the treasure of the past for the future.

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National Register Programs in the NPS Alaska Region

Sande Faulkner

Alaska's historic resources are virtually all associated with Native Alaskans in some way, from prehistoric village sites to areas from which Aleuts were relocated during World War II. Of the 44 National Historic Landmarks in the Alaska Region, 35 are associated with Alaska Natives. There are 17 of these landmarks designated for Native American significance, 10 are Russian American associated directly with Alaskan Natives, and 8 are in the World War II in Alaska historic context that addresses the effect of World War II on Alaska Native people. National Register properties also reflect the strong heritage of Alaska Native people.

Regional office staff provide technical assistance concerning National Historic Landmarks and National Register properties to Alaska Native communities who value them. The Ninilchik Traditional Council invited Alaska Regional Office staff to address the community on preservation concerns in response to development near the Holy Transfiguration of Our Lord Orthodox Chapel, a National Register property. Regional office staff also provided technical assistance on preservation issues concerning the Holy Assumption Orthodox Church National Historic Landmark which serves the community of Kenai and the Kenaitze Indians.

As part of the Defense Environmental Remediation Project (DERP), the U.S. Corps of Engineers, through a cooperative agreement with National Park Service, funded a preservation plan for the City of Unalaska on Amaknak Island. Home to the Aleut people for thousands of years, Amaknak Island rests within the protective arms of the much larger Unalaska Island in the Aleutian Chain. Three National Historic Landmarks reflect part of the rich cultural heritage of the community.

However, the community and its cultural resources have been subject to severe impacts for many years. Unalaska is the only deep water port in the Aleutians, and was subject to Russian colonization effort, World War II, and is now absorbing the impacts of the Bering Sea fishery. According to recent estimates, more than \$75 million was spent for development in a single year in this community of approximately 2,900 permanent residents.

In 1990, the Alaska Regional Office and the Unalaska Aleut Development Corporation entered into a cooperative agreement to conduct a cultural resource inventory of the town center. The following year, the Unalaska Historical Commission and many others in the community worked with Service staff to produce the *Unalaska Preservation Plan*. Hopefully, the plan will serve as a tool to help preserve the integrity of not only the National Historic Landmarks, but cultural resources of state and local significance as well. Last year, Unalaska became a Certified Local Government. Because this program encourages networks of assistance among communities, State Historic Preservation Offices, and the Service, it is especially important in Alaska, which has a small preservation community scattered over vast land areas. Characteristically, in the past, preservation activity at the local level focused on single resource problems with little carry over from one to another. Local communities can improve this situation by becoming Certified Local Governments which have historic preservation commissions to advise local governments on the effects of proposed changes on historic properties, and qualify for special Historic Preservation Fund grants from the State Historic Preservation Office.

North Slope Borough became Alaska's first Certified Local Government in March 1987. The North Slope Borough Commission on Inupiat History, Language & Culture has used Certified Local Government grants from the State Historic Preservation Office to fund an archeological field school and to prepare and print educational brochures. The Borough

enjoys an excellent working relationship with the State Historic Preservation Office and has been effective in Section 106 project review. In August 1991, the Alaska Regional Office hosted a workshop for the Certified Local Government coordinators in the state.

Alaska Native communities are active participants in the National Park Service Historic Preservation Fund grant program to Indian Tribes and Alaska Natives. In Fiscal Year 1990, 2 of the 15 grants awarded nationwide were to Alaska Native corporations—the Kodiak Area Native Association and the NANA Regional Corporation. The Kodiak Area Native Association Alutiiq Lost Village study will contribute important information concerning the abandonment of prehistoric village sites—a basic question in Alaska prehistory. The results will break new ground for both the Native community and the scientific community. The NANA Regional Corporation Inupiat Place Name project will produce a regional map and a series of village maps depicting Inupiat place names. Place names will be gathered from Inupiat elders, correct spellings will be verified and each name properly interpreted. The place names, their locations, and the traditions surrounding them will be used in the schools in the region.

During the Fiscal Year 1991 grant cycle, 4 of the 36 grant awards were to Alaska Native groups for projects involving oral history, documentation of ceremonies, preservation planning and language retention.

Assisting Alaska Native communities to participate in the grant program has been mutually beneficial. The regional office prepared and distributed a packet of information to assist in writing grant proposals and responded to many requests for technical assistance from Native communities as they prepared their grant applications. This established new contacts within the Native community. Reading and reviewing the proposals from Alaska made us aware of the expressed cultural heritage needs of Alaska Native Communities.

In September, the Alaska Regional Office hosted a workshop for Alaska Natives that provided training in curation of Arctic collections, offered discussions on repatriation and the National Park Service grant program to Indian tribes and Alaska Natives.

Because of all these efforts we are now better able to understand the problems facing Alaska Native communities as they try to preserve and protect their historic properties and cultural traditions—not just in or near parks or Landmarks, but throughout the region.

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The Songs Come Home—The Federal Cylinder Project

Judith Gray

In 1976 the President signed the American Folklife Preservation Act, providing for the establishment of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress. The Center was charged with helping to preserve and present American folklife, defined as the "traditional, expressive, shared culture" of various groups in the United States. In the words of Public Law 94-201, "it is in the interest of the general welfare of the Nation to preserve, support, revitalize, and disseminate American folklife traditions and arts."

In its first few years, the Center began carrying out documentation projects in several locations: Chicago, south-central Georgia, Paradise Valley in Nevada, the Blue Ridge Parkway, Rhode Island, and Montana. At the same time, the staff conceived a project to work with materials already in the Library's Archive of Folk Culture,¹ namely the one-of-a-kind wax cylinder recordings placed in the Library of Congress over the years since the mid-1930s. The Federal Cylinder Project was inaugurated in 1979 to preserve, document, catalog, and disseminate the information contained in these early field recordings.

The core of the cylinder collections was the material assembled by employees of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology², plus the cylinders and disc copies donated by pioneer ethnomusicologist, Helen Heffron Roberts. To these were added cylinders acquired by the Library in 1970, or discovered in the 1980s as a result of a survey of Federal agencies and general publicity about the Cylinder Project. The Archive of Folk Culture now includes approximately 10,000 cylinder recordings from private individuals and institutional sources as well as from other agencies of the U.S. Government. Of these, 7500 to 8000 document the sung and spoken traditions of American Indian communities. Among them are the earliest known field recordings: Passamaquoddy songs and narratives by Noel Josephs and Peter Selmore recorded by Jesse Walter Fewkes in Calais, Maine, in March 1890. They were transferred to the Library from the Peabody Museum at Harvard University.

After an initial concentrated effort to copy all the cylinder programs on preservation tape, the Cylinder Project focused on cataloging the individual collections. This task was not at all straightforward given the number of institutional and individual hands through which some of the cylinders had passed. In many cases, documentation had been separated from the recordings; in others, misleading labels were attached. The sorting and cataloging continues, even as the staff carries out the project's final phase: making these recordings available directly to the communities of origin.³ In 1985 the Cylinder Project received a grant from The Ford Foundation to facilitate the dissemination work. Since that time, staff members have contacted or visited over 100 Indian communities and have been contacted by many others in search of relevant materials that might be at the Library.

Before the dissemination process began, Cylinder Project staff met with a panel of Native American scholars, museum professionals, and cultural specialists to discuss methods and to contact people as well as to anticipate problems. Some of the latter emerge from the very nature of cylinder recordings. In the first decades that the cylinder machine was available, ethnologists, linguists, and early ethnomusicologists saw it as the ideal tool to help preserve traditions and languages they feared would otherwise disappear. Many recordists focused on the ceremonial lives of the people they visited. Thus many of the cylinders contain sacred songs; these are often genres that would not normally be heard out of context or by the uninitiated. In most cases, the early recordings were made openly with apparent community consent, but some were gathered under what would now be considered questionable circumstances. Paul Radin, for example, approached converts to the peyote religion in order to collect songs belonging to traditional societies—songs that

adherents would not record for him. Francis LaFlesche brought consultants from Oklahoma to Washington, DC, in order to remove them from the influence of neighbors who objected to his recording of ceremonial songs. By today's standards, many of the songs now preserved on cylinders would, or should, never have been recorded. Moreover, disparate song genres are often found side by side on the tapes: peyote songs, medicine bundle songs, social dance songs, lullabies, and sun dance songs. The mixture is problematic in some communities where, for example, bundle owners would not want outsiders to hear bundle songs. But here they all are—part of the heritage of many communities, requiring respect and responsible handling.

Other potential dissemination problems stem from institutional realities. As the advisory panel and project staff recognized, the fact that the American Folklife Center is a Federal agency means that initial contacts for dissemination purposes must be at the level of the federally recognized Indian governments. As would be the case in any community, however, the local government is not necessarily the entity that has an interest in, or is the logical recipient of, historical materials belonging to a religious society or a particular family. In some situations, Cylinder Project staff have made efforts to reach not only the most visible cultural agencies but also the smaller or more traditional settlements on a reservation, to let more individuals know that copies of early recordings might be available as the result of a dissemination visit.

The panel and project staff decided to make cassettes rather than reel-to-reel copies for dissemination. Archivists prefer open reel recordings, but in this case, accessibility was the primary consideration. We were aware that many locations had no open-reel machines for playback or for duplication purposes. We also knew that we could not make available an unlimited number of copies, given our resources and the need to be consistent; we could only give copies to the specific communities on the specific reservations from which the recordings had come. We could, however, let other interested persons know the location of the official dissemination copies, so that they might request copies from those in whose custody the tapes had been placed.

Another topic of the initial advisory panel meeting was community control over dissemination events and publicity. We decided that in initial letters and phone calls, a Cylinder Project staff member would ask a community to designate one or more contact persons; we would then consult with those persons to determine if it would be helpful to make a visit and, if so, what services or activities were desirable. We received a wide range of requests. Consequently, on dissemination visits we have found ourselves making formal or informal presentations before audiences large and small—at powwows, at school assemblies, at tribal council meetings, at private homes. Also on the dissemination visits we have consulted with tribal leaders or persons interested in cultural conservation activities with regard to current programs, archiving requirements, potential funding sources, and networks of people with similar concerns; and we have met with elders to review the early recordings and update the cataloging information.

If asked, we drafted sample press releases concerning the recordings being given to a specific community for use in tribal or other local media. But each community had the option to choose whether dissemination events were public or private, publicized or not. This policy sometimes ran slightly counter to the overall desire of the Folklife Center to spread word of its activities and thus to reach others who might use Center and Library resources. It also meant that we could not approach potential funding agencies with a specific list of events their dollars would facilitate, a fact that worked against a grant application in at least one case. Further, our wish to be guided by the community has occasionally given us the appearance of bypassing networks of regional, state, or local cultural specialists, thus causing temporary tensions.

But the dissemination phase of the Cylinder Project has proceeded. This is clearly one of those ideas whose time has come. Even as we began working with the Federal collections, The Lowie Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, began trying out several dissemination strategies with cylinder collections in that institution.

More recently, the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University have been assisting Indian people to identify and reclaim copies of recordings there. Meanwhile, the Smithsonian Institution is carrying out parallel projects with some of its photograph collections, and various museums have facilitated repatriation of significant ceremonial items.

How has the dissemination of Cylinder Project materials turned out? What happens to the collections once they are back in their communities? Not surprisingly, the answers to these questions contain some minuses along with the pluses. Almost everyone we have contacted has been enthusiastic at first about the potential benefits of having the early recordings back in their communities. However, sometimes community members suspect hidden costs or strings. Also, sometimes the enthusiasm wanes once people hear the actual recordings. This is due, in part, to the medium itself. Audiences today are not prepared for the differences between cylinder recordings and modern recordings. Cylinder recordings do not gain charm and patina over time like old photographs do. People are often put off by the surface noises or other technical problems that obscure some of the sound, making song texts difficult to decipher. Further, some persons have cherished hopes that certain specific songs and narratives were recorded, only to be disappointed that such recordings do not exist.

If disappointment is great enough, if we have not reached those most interested in trying to work with cylinder recordings, or if there is some controversy attached to the recordings themselves or to the fact that they are coming back, the cassettes may simply remain on a shelf untouched after being presented to the community—or they may disappear altogether. Whether cylinder recordings still have a role to play in contemporary Indian lives is a matter for Indian people and communities alone to decide. Such matters cannot be settled from without; neither can the impact of dissemination efforts be measured in the short run.

What we have found is that those who are willing to listen repeatedly through whatever noise level may be present are often able to make use of the materials. Many anticipate that the recordings will help them reclaim something that has been lost. Occasionally this is the case. More often those who are knowledgeable in the traditions of their communities find it possible to sing along with the recordings, and thus receive verification that, despite all the acculturation pressures over the years, the traditions, the songs, *have* survived. And this is a source of considerable pride. Though some are hesitant about having their ancestors' recordings made public, relatives and descendants of singers are usually pleased and excited to be able to hear family members. The past is uniquely brought to life when they can hear the actual voices.

Several communities such as the Kiowa have used the early recordings as part of oral history projects with elders, stimulating their memories of song or narrative contexts. On a broader scale, the return of early Omaha recordings assembled by Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, Jr., has fed into the tribe's ongoing efforts to reclaim cultural material that has been separated from the Nebraska community. The existence of these 90-year-old recordings of Hethu'shka songs helped facilitate a refocusing and revitalizing of the Hethu'shka Society (a group of honored veterans) as a recognized conservator of traditional values. The Omaha tribal council and tribal historian cooperated with American Folklife Center staff members on an LP and cassette release (AFC L71, "Omaha Indian Music") of selected early songs, some copies of which were given to graduating Omaha high school students as a reminder of their living traditions. Hethu'shka Society members also traveled to Washington, D.C., to sing some of those same songs in a noontime performance on the Library's Neptune Plaza.

The early recordings can thus provide the stimulus for a short-term individual project or become part of a much larger ongoing tribal program. They have also been used as a focal point for applications to agencies that fund cultural retention or archival projects and thus may contribute to the process of building projects into programs.

But the cylinders are important regardless of how much information listeners can actually extract from them. For communities that have passed their traditions from generation to generation orally, the very existence of recordings now a century old is powerful proof, an emblem, of the persistence of their culture. In the words of one tribal council member at a dissemination presentation:

"The songs are very much alive today in our hearts. And these songs are going to grow with us, with our little children. These are beautiful songs that have come home...and maybe this is the time, the way the Creator worked it out, that these songs are returning home, so that we can draw strength from it, so that we can think back, for the love of this reservation and our people...This is what being [an Indian people] is all about."

Thus the sounds of the past come alive in the present and nourish the future.

Notes:

1. Originally called the Archive of American Folk-Song when it was established in 1928, it became part of the Folklife Center in 1978 and was renamed to reflect the increasing breadth of its collections and concerns.
2. In the early 1940s the cylinders had been transferred to the National Archives, then in 1948 to the Library where the cylinder programs were copied on discs, the preferred preservation medium of the day.
3. Over the years, other individuals and organizations have been able to purchase copies of many of these collections by means of the custom phonoduplication services provided by the Library's Recording Laboratory. Current fees are \$70 per hour. Depending on the circumstances, permissions may be required before an order can be filled.

Judith Gray, a folklife specialist in the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress, has been with the Federal Cylinder Project since 1983. Trained as an ethnomusicologist at Wesleyan University, she is part of the team currently assembling a reference guide to the American Indian materials in the Library's collections.

Ak-Chin Him Dak—A New Model for Community Heritage Management Opens to Public

Nancy Fuller

The newly-constructed Ak-Chin Indian Community Him Dak celebrated its grand opening on June 29, 1991, amid a crowd of more than 500 community members and friends. The Him Dak, an Ak-Chin word which means our way of life, is a new kind of community museum and archives. The day-long ceremonies began Saturday morning with speeches by Ak-Chin dignitaries and congratulatory messages and gifts from representatives of national and international cultural organizations. Festivities included a ribbon-cutting ceremony, lunch and tours of the new building, traditional music and dance performances, and a Chicken Scratch Dance that lasted until 7:00 the following morning.

The Ak-Chin Indian Community consists of 550 people who are descendants of Akimel O'odham (Pima) and Tohono O'odham (Papago) Indians. They live on a 21,800 acre farm located approximately 30 miles south of Phoenix, Arizona at the northern edge of the Sonoran Desert. The reservation was created by Executive Order in 1912. A community council, which operates under Articles of Association adopted in 1961, is the governing body. Ak-Chin Farms is the community's major business, producing cotton, grain and vegetables for national and international markets. The community also operates a construction company and a commissary, and provides health and welfare services including full-time police, fire and ambulance protection.

Interest in creating a tribal museum started more than 14 years ago when the Ak-Chin began clearing land to expand field operations. Excavations conducted in accordance with Federal archaeological mitigation regulations yielded more than 700 boxes of valuable artifacts. The materials were transferred to a Federal repository in Tucson because the Ak-Chin did not have the facilities or the expertise to care for them. Community members objected to the removal of the objects and decided to build a museum so that the artifacts could be kept on the Ak-Chin reservation. The findings of human remains, Hohokam era housing remnants and domestic tools produced strong emotional reactions in the Ak-Chin and rekindled community interest in their past. The feelings reinforced the community's sense of continuity with the land and helped legitimize their unique cultural identity.

In 1987, the Ak-Chin embarked on a dynamic process of learning about museums and archives as institutions that could help them preserve and transmit their culture. When it became apparent that the traditional museum model did not serve their community's needs, the Ak-Chin decided to create a cultural institution based on an ecomuseum approach and to establish a complementary educational program to ensure its continuity.

The Him Dak is the first museum in the United States to be established from the ecomuseum concept. An ecomuseum is a new model for a community museum that originated in France. It is organized around a holistic, integrated concept of territory, culture and people. Its goals are cultural identity and community development.

Through new interpretations of traditional museum functions—identification, preservation, study and interpretation—the Ak-Chin Him Dak is conceived as a tool for cultural survival and generation during a time of profoundly changing tribal lifestyles. It is designed to be an interactive learning center providing a vehicle for dialogue between generations and cultures, and linking the knowledge and values of the past with the present. The programs, exhibitions and collections focus on those ideas and events that are important to the Ak-Chin people—their land, history, language, customs, ceremonies, archives, artifacts, and relationships with one another and with non-- Community members.

The process of planning and organizing the Ak-Chin Him Dak has attracted interest from other tribal groups and museum personnel. The methodology consisted of a two-pronged community education plan.

The first part was designed to promote an awareness of the multiple roles and functions a museum could have in tribal life, and to build cooperation and consensus for the museum throughout the community. The plan called for tribal leaders, elders, project staff and advisors to visit museums and archives in the United States and Canada to see existing models firsthand, and to get a sense of the problems and potential solutions that accompany the operation of such facilities. The goal of this phase of training was to convey a vision of a community museum as a place to serve community needs, and to establish a community image of the Ak-Chin actively performing museum and archives work. During their investigation, they looked at the interrelationship of culture to the other factors in a community such as geography, politics, generations, neighbors, and economics. Then, they examined how the expressions of their culture were reflected in the Ak-Chin Indian Community. Finally, they studied ways that their culture could manifest itself and be reflected in a community operated facility.

The second part of the training focused on the creation of community leadership. It began with training for six community members selected to be ecomuseum staff. Designed in collaboration with Central Arizona College, the non-traditional program led to an associate's degree in general studies with an emphasis on museum and archives management. The curriculum, tailored especially for Ak-Chin, was based upon individual aspirations, tribal goals, state education requirements, and professional standards. The academic program employed a process model of training, allowing students to learn technical skills necessary for operating an ecomuseum as well as to acquire a basic liberal arts education. Teaching strategies included a mix of classroom instruction, on-the-job training, field experiences, site visits and personal growth activities. The aim of this phase of the community education plan was to put in place those conditions for learning that would enable community members to carry out public programs, research, and documentation services, and to produce exhibitions in a manner consistent with Ak-Chin's lifestyles.

As they neared completion of the planning and organizing phase of the new museum, staff members decided to name the ecomuseum, the Him Dak. The decision is significant as one measure of the community education plan's success. It shows the growth and development of the staff's understanding of a museum's role and function in the daily life of the Ak-Chin and confidence in their ability to shape it. Equally important is the fact that they named their ecomuseum with a word from their own language. That action marks an important milestone in the evolution of the community's thinking about appropriate ways to express and communicate their culture. Selecting the name asserts Ak-Chin's identity as separate and distinct from other cultures, and the museum as a unique institution created by and for their specific community needs.

Lena Enos, an Ak-Chin elder expressed the community's gratitude to the staff at the opening ceremonies this way: "Our lives have become complicated since we left the old ways. I am thankful that the ecomuseum staff sacrificed their time to learn to run this museum."

For further information about the Ak-Chin Him Dak and ecomuseums see:

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The Cultural Legacy of America's National Parklands

John E. Cook

The concept of a national park is a distinctly American idea. And like our evolving society, it has experienced considerable growing pains along the way. Beginning with the establishment of Yellowstone in 1872, governmental initiative was largely concerned with preserving and protecting the finest examples of our Nation's wild and scenic resources, geographic grandeur, and inspiring landscapes. Social and humanistic concerns were pragmatic and confined to enhancement of public access to and appreciation for these inspiring natural resources. Visitors and park staff came to comprise the de facto cultural presence for our newly protected landscapes.

The understanding and interpretation of aboriginal cultures related to our vast western parklands was not a compelling subject during the formative years of the National Park System. Indian wars were still fresh in memory. And the lingering question of broken treaties and confinement to reservations was a nagging societal flaw in fulfillment of our young Nation's Manifest Destiny. - Indeed, the two involvements appeared mutually exclusive; that is, the achieving of a system of truly pristine national parks seemed predicated upon the vacating of any antecedent cultures. Anything less might have proven troublesome, or at least distracting. The intervening century since Yellowstone's creation has brought a maturing of national attitudes toward the subject. Manifest Destiny (flaws and all) is a bygone chapter in our history. We've witnessed the debate and passage by Congress of a civil-rights act, which has become a model for social justice to the rest of the world. Equal employment opportunity and affirmative action have become the bedrock of organizational hiring practices—with accountability for end results in government.

Many federal statutes pertaining to interests of American Indians have been redefined through judicial review or superseded by new and often more enlightened legislation. And we have seen enacted into law such benchmark statutes as the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act and the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971, each experiencing its own growing pains but each finding its special place in our Nation's social and legal fabric.

With the 75th anniversary of the National Park Service at hand in 1991, it is an appropriate time for a hard second look at this important subject. An enlightened and productive connection between the management of our national parklands and the American Indian cultures that harken back to those same cultural landscapes is eminently achievable. Only the process needs to be defined.

In returning to the Southwest Region for my second assignment as regional director, I've come to look upon Service management goals and American Indian interests in a somewhat altered light. What made the difference was my four-year tenure as Alaska's first regional director, following the setting aside by Congress in 1980 of over 44 million acres of parklands. The new and expanded parks, monuments and preserves in Alaska spanned not only the pristine geography of our largest state but also, and more importantly, its varied and complex cultural landscapes. Many of the newly-established park areas bore the same relationship to Alaska's native Aleut, Inupiat, and Athabascan peoples as did the lands of Wyoming and Montana to the Indians there prior to the creation of Yellowstone National Park or—in a real sense, even prior to the Indian-versus-military conflicts of the 1880s and 1890s.

Although the intense dependency of Alaska Natives upon subsistence use of wildlife, fishery, and plant resources has no direct equivalent in the "Lower Forty-Eight," the sociocultural and ceremonial relationship to the land have strong similarity. This native-to-land relationship has undergone further strengthening as alarming encroachments by

government and nonnative interests have occurred. Inexcusable and often damaging intrusions onto important ceremonial sites (many of them unrecognizable to the untrained eye) have often brought a quiet bitterness to Alaska's native people, who would otherwise feel instinctively hospitable toward non-native visitors in those harsh and threatening northern environs.

Displacement of culturally unique place names, due to nothing more than convenience to a survey, mapping, or planning effort, is one of the most tragic losses to cultural identity. Along with dilution of language, the loss of kinship with special features of one's homeland severs a support that has no ready replacement in today's non-native setting. It also deprives the coming generations of an insight into the character (and perils) of a landscape that was settled over centuries of endurance and learning and loss.

Worse yet is the erasure of place names with official sanction. Alaska's cultural landscapes have been heir to the irresistible urge of many early geographers and explorers to name a prominent landscape feature after their boss or sponsor (or lady friend), not even questioning as to an original place-name and its cultural meaning. Old sourdough gold-panners may presumably be excused, since their often colorful place names (or corrupted versions of aboriginal names) did not have direct access to official government publications. How much of this cultural-landscape information has been irretrievably lost across our entire Nation is impossible to estimate.

An important part of the solution to this dilemma in Alaska's parklands lay in intensifying our involvement with native people at all levels, from top organizational and political leadership to a village seal hunter out on the pack ice of the Bering Straits. Innovative efforts included working with native organizations to develop cultural landscape maps, which were based upon information from village elders. Such place name maps now are a one-of-a-kind source for making long overdue corrections to existing maps and publications.

Another important initiative took the form of "cross-training." As National Park Service personnel and village people gained reciprocal trust, individuals interested in agency training came forward and eventually became candidates for positions in the Service. But the training was a two-way effort, with Service managers gaining substantial information that would in turn prove instrumental in nurturing a more sensitive and constructive relationship with Alaska's native people and the landscapes and wildlife resources of their ancestral homeland.

These experiences, in both timing and substance, translate well in support of the many initiatives now underway in the Southwest Region of the National Park System. Consultation and co-support are now standard operating procedures, with cross-training as an adjunct benefit. American Indians of the region are full-fledged participants in agency actions of all kinds relating to park management.

The All Indian Pueblo Council played a key role in supporting legislation by the 100th Congress for establishing the new Petroglyph National Monument near Albuquerque, New Mexico, and continues to participate in advising the National Park Service in matters of interpretation of Pueblo Indian culture. Establishment of El Malpais National Monument near Grants, New Mexico, also benefited from extensive consultation with the Ramah Navajos as well as the Pueblos of Acoma, Zuni, and Zia. It is only through full and forthright exchange of ideas and information that such constructive support has evolved.

Numerous parks and monuments within the region were established originally because they contained cultural resources of national or international significance relating to American Indians. Chaco Canyon (Chaco Culture National Historical Park) in New Mexico is as prominent and widely recognized for its massive ancient Anasazi Ruins as Grand Canyon National Park in Arizona is for its unique geologic and scenic character.

Management of cultural resources in the Southwest carries with it socioreligious as well as economic responsibilities that demand a highly specialized form of public interaction with Indian communities. The American Indian Religious Freedom Act, for example, effectively removes as a barrier to the exercise of Indian religious rites and

ceremonies the designation by Congress of lands as a national park or monument. Managers, therefore, must provide for Indian ceremonial activities in an environment that will not be diminished by routine park visitation, while still assuring proper protection of the natural and cultural resources the park was authorized to protect. Fajada Butte in Chaco Canyon was closed for stabilization and repair of an ancient Anasazi solstice marker, a group of Navajo elders was afforded special access to the remote site to perform a seasonal religious ceremony in privacy.

It is also important to note that almost the entire Park Service work crew performing repairs to the Fajada Butte Site are Navajo Indians. The Southwest Region has initiated a first-of-its-kind training course, given in the Navajo language, as part of recruitment efforts for maintenance workers. An opportunity for training American Indians in federal law enforcement was initiated during 1990 by the National Park Service in conjunction with the Gallup campus of the University of New Mexico. Other new training opportunities are also being explored with Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff and Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute in New Mexico.

At Navajo National Monument in Arizona, Navajo Indians hold the key positions of superintendent, chief of maintenance, and administrative technician. The chief of the Interpretation and Resource Management Division is a Pueblo Indian.

At Canyon de Chelly National Monument, also in Arizona, the superintendent and 80% of the staff are Navajo. This park unit also has the unique distinction of operating under a Joint Management Plan (in lieu of the usual General Management Plan), approved and signed by the Navajo Nation and the National Park Service.

The NPS Southwest Regional Office in Santa Fe, New Mexico, has American Indians in such key positions as assistant regional director for Communications, regional curator, and chief of the Division of Indian Affairs. With this integrated workforce, the cross-training concept reaches its ultimate goal: that is, to assure the proper protection and interpretation of cultural resources in a manner that has the full involvement and advisement of the American Indian communities.

Solid working relations come to bear most when the issues at hand are deeply sensitive. Indians have pleaded for decades that burial remains of their ancestors and sacred grave goods not be exhibited in museums and park visitor centers and have requested that ceremonial and religious objects taken from archeological excavations be returned to their proper heirs. To remedy this long-standing dilemma, Congress enacted in 1990 the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act, which declares that Indian remains and funerary objects are the property of the Indians most closely related to the buried remains and objects.

In the Southwest Region, activities relating to burial remains has already taken a steady course toward curative measures. A case in point is the archeological field survey and three-year archeological excavation project now entering its final year at Burnt Mesa in Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico. The project has operated successfully under two standing tenets: All human remains and burial objects, once identified, will remain intact and undisturbed; and consultation with all Indian organizations with interests in Bandelier National Monument will be maintained in an on-going and forthright manner.

Bandelier management also ensures that sacred and ceremonial sites within the monument, such as the Shrine of the Stone Lions, are made private for Indian worship during religious events. Many of the monument's more remote ceremonial sites receive additional protection by having foot trails routed around and away from the sites for purposes of protection as well as ceremonial privacy.

These operating procedures have helped to support good working relations with Indians of the Acoma Pueblo near El Malpais National Monument. In June 1988, an NPS resource survey of cave formations led to the discovery deep within a lava tube of a cache of pottery burial objects consisting of two Indian bowls and a "olla," or water vessel, all dating to approximately 1090 A.D. Following a technical evaluation of the pottery, the people of the Acoma Pueblo were notified of the discovery and asked to meet with NPS

representatives to discuss final disposition of the objects. The meeting successfully concluded with the burial objects being turned over to the Acoma Pueblo.

Both the spirit and letter of the Native American Grave protection and Repatriation Act were carried out to the satisfaction of all concerned and ahead of schedule.

But what actual progress do we have to show in the parks, where historic and prehistoric resources, Indians, and park rangers all converge? For many park visitors, a memorable part of their experience is attending a fireside talk or going on a conducted nature walk or perhaps an impromptu discussion with a park ranger or interpreter. It is through these encounters, as well as through visitor center exhibits and movies, and from informative signs along the trails, that a park's unique story is told. It is the process by which a complicated historic event or geological or ecological process is made understandable to the visitor. We call it "interpretation," and it is one of the most important visitor-related services we perform.

Reflecting the composition of our society, the great majority of national park interpreters are non-Indians, despite the best efforts in minority hiring. Their culture, imparted through school teachers and textbooks, its movies and traditions, its political institutions and ethical teachings, has engendered a particular point-of-view, or an interpretation of history and of their relationship to the American landscape. The dominant American culture has always perceived history on this continent as something that began with European settlement on the East Coast in the early 1600s and proceeded to roll west for 300 years, conquering a wild continent and creating a new Nation. The non-Indian view of the land has been a comparatively materialistic one.

This world view is diametrically different from that of the American Indians. Indians place a value on the land and on places of traditional importance that survives to this day as highly personalized. People do not own the land, in the traditional Indian view. Rather, they are part of it. They take from it what they need, but they do so with respect and deference. This attitude strongly prevails today among the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest.

It is not surprising, then, that when an NPS interpreter describes the lifeways of American Indians or tells of a battle where Indians and Europeans or Anglos clashed, the story told runs the risk of a biased perspective.

A story in a recent issue of *Contact*, the Southwest Region's quarterly interpretive newsletter, explored the cross-cultural implications of interpreting Indians and Indian cultures. The story described situations in which unintended bias has influenced park interpretative programs and suggested ways to achieve culturally neutral and ethnologically-sensitive interpretation of American Indians. One means currently being employed is the review by cultural anthropologists of interpretive programs, exhibits, and publications. Some imbalances have been found, and are undergoing correction.

A giant step toward more professional and enriching interpretation of Indian cultures in the Southwest Region is the major concern of the newly formed Council for American Indian Interpretation, impaneled in the Spring of 1990. The council's mission and agenda is discussed in an article by NPS historian William E. Brown in the December 1990 issue of *Legacy*, the journal for the National Association for Interpretation. Appropriately, the council's symbol and letterhead logo is a seated figurine surrounded by attentive children. Known as "The Storyteller," the striking figurine represented was crafted by Mary Trujillo, an Indian from Cochiti Pueblo, near Santa Fe.

Today, Indians are involved in all phases of park planning and interpretation. If the National Park Service is to do its job correctly and meet both the spirit and the letter of its congressional mandate, we must ensure that a solid and trustworthy cross-cultural bridge be established and that visitors understand the delicate human history inherent in the many parks and monuments under our charge.

One noteworthy effort in the Southwest Region relates to the newly established Poverty Point National Monument, a former state park to be transferred to NPS jurisdiction from the State of Louisiana in 1991. The monument preserves a grouping of earthen

mounds constructed by a culture that flourished between 2000 and 1000 B.C., contemporary with but far removed from the civilization of Egypt.

These vanished mound-builders have no known descendants. And no present-day tribe has an oral tradition identifying ceremonial or religious linkage with the great mounds. Yet contacts with the nearby Tunica-Biloxi tribe suggest that they feel some degree of guardianship responsibility. A desire has been expressed to monitor NPS administration of Poverty Point for the sake of distant kinship: "They were Indians and we are Indians, and they are not here to watch over their home." The National Park Service will consult with the Indian group that undertakes this responsibility.

Perhaps the most delicate issue facing both the American Indian communities and the National Park Service is that of making peace with the upcoming Christopher Columbus Quincentennial Commemoration, scheduled for 1992. Such upbeat descriptive terms as "jubilee" and "celebration," given the American Indian's experience with the aftermath of Columbus's voyage of discovery, tend to strike a cold chill into any discussion of interpretive efforts for the event.

The Service will call upon its sound working relations and cross-cultural bridges with the Indian communities for an easing of tensions and some *rapprochement* in this 500th-year commemoration. As a start, an agreement has been signed between the NPS Southwest Region and the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution for a partnership effort in ensuring a fair and sensitive balance in the public interpretation of history relating to European entry into the New World. Emphasis will be placed on dissemination of accurate information, training, and joint assurance of unbiased representation, both for the historical events and for the role and sentiments of American Indians.

The National Park Service, like its Indian neighbors, has come a long way in gaining full realization of cultural values inherent in day-to-day affairs and responsibilities. The real challenge is to constructively blend our efforts. The guiding star we must trust along the way is that of full involvement and truthful partnership with American Indians and a belief in the common ground of pride in our collective heritage.

I believe that the 1990s will prove to be the Decade of the American Indian. The last year of the outgoing decade puts 100 years between us and the tragedy at Wounded Knee and the terribly low ebb of Indian pride that followed. And so to properly begin anew, we must all work toward a rekindling of spirit and self-image. We must all strive to overcome the loss beheld in the eyes of the Lakota Medicine Man, Black Elk, when he saw in those blizzard-buried dead at Wounded Knee a people's beautiful dream dying.

In place of a romanticized or skewed portrayal of our Nation's Indian heritage, we should all dedicate ourselves to truth in history and to cooperation in its telling. Opportunities abound for the cultures of American Indians to take their rightful place in our National Park System. Where else can the story of America's cultural and inspiring landscapes better be told? We've learned a great deal from a hard look at history, and the guidance is clear. The time is now at hand for a true and lasting joining of hands.

John E. Cook is Director, National Park Service, Southwest Regional Office. Mr. Cook's article is reprinted with permission from *National Forum*, the Phi Kappa Phi journal, Spring 1991.

John E. Cook— Profile of Leadership in NPS-American Indian Relationships

Tanna Chattin

In 1989, the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs issued its final report and legislative recommendations resulting from its investigations into American Indian policy. The opening chapter of that report states:

"This year we celebrate the 200th anniversary of George Washington's inauguration as the first President of the United States. We also celebrate the Bicentennial of the first treaty under the Constitution with American Indian Tribes. These two events are not coincidental. At the birth of our constitutional democracy, our Founding Fathers chose to recognize the original inhabitants of America as independent, self-governing nations which long predated European settlement. In calling for agreements by treaty with Indians, President Washington and the founders pledged that the United States would deal with the continent's native people with consistency, fairness and honor."

Southwest Regional Director John E. Cook has attempted to employ the tribal self-government premise in all Indian-related activities in which he has been involved. In 1969, when he was general superintendent of the Navajo Lands Group, he wrote a report for the Director of the National Park Service recommending establishing government-to-government relationships between the Service and American Indian communities. Four years later he was able to put his own recommendations into motion when he was brought into Washington, DC, as the associate director for Park System Management, a title which also embraced serving as the Indian liaison officer. Mr. Cook hired former South Dakota Congressman Ben Reifel, as the first, and only, special assistant to the Director for Indian affairs.

At the same time, Southwest Regional Director Frank Kowski established an Office of American Indian Technical Assistance headed by Bill Fields, a Cherokee. In 1977, Cook transferred to the Southwest Region as regional director fresh from his policymaking stint in Washington, DC, where he continued and reinforced the funding of the Southwest Indian Technical Assistance Office. Cook dedicated funds and expertise toward tribal cultural preservation and tourism-related development for southwest tribes.

When tapped in 1979, to become the first regional director of Alaska, he took the same commitment to the land of the midnight sun establishing a Native Liaison Office headed by Ellen Lang, a Tlingit from Sitka. Lang's success in establishing a Tlingit Cultural Center at Sitka National Historic Site still stands as an example of the positive role that can be played by park managers in cultural conservation. Lang, now Ellen Hays, is today a tribal leader in the effort to develop cultural conservation programs among American Indian tribes and Alaska Native groups.

Another interesting twist of the coyote path took Cook back to his Cherokee roots in 1983, when as superintendent of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, he was able to give genuine meaning to the government-to-government relationship by involving the Eastern Cherokee in a decision-making partnership for management of their sacred sites situated within NPS boundaries.

Three years later, Cook again moved to the Southwest Region as regional director, the position he holds today. He immediately put additional teeth into the Indian Program Office by enlarging the emphasis from technical assistance to the diplomacy employed between governments. When Bill Fields retired after building many successful relationships with

southwest tribes, Cook advanced Edward Natay, Santo Domingo Navajo, into the position and gave him the mandate to consult with tribes in the region in all matters concerning Service management of their ancestral lands.

These steps have made the Southwest Region an important participant in the development of Servicewide, and government-wide, policies and programs on such subjects as the display of sensitive Indian artifacts; the removal from public display of religious sacraments; the repatriation of burial remains and objects; and the temporary closure of sacred sites for religious purposes. Cook has also involved his assistant regional director of communications (Ms. Tanna Chattin, Cowlitz-Quinault from Washington State) in the review of interpretive materials which incorporate Indian history and culture.

Interpretation, Cook believes, is the key to disseminating the whole truth of history. In perhaps the most innovative initiative designed to enhance government-to-government relationships, Cook promoted establishment of a unique interpretive organization dedicated to that task. The Council for American Indian Interpretation (CAII), was established at the grass roots level to acknowledge tribal concerns regarding interpretation of American Indian cultures and their sacred land issues. CAII is now affiliated with the National Association of Interpreters and encourages membership beyond National Park Service employees and solely American Indians to include all others committed to its goals.

The Southwest Region's record of leadership in American Indian relationships has been widely recognized. For example, during Cook's 1990 trip to Austria and Saudi Arabia, his foreign counterparts pursued question after question (much to Cook's surprise) about the National Park Service's relationships with American Indians. This year, Ed Natay, the director of the southwest regional Indian Program Office, was invited to Australia to lecture on government-to-government relationships involving indigenous people.

The Southwest Region joins the WASO Cultural Resources directorate in expanding methods to enlist tribal governmental perspective in the stewardship of our Nation's special land areas while strengthening National Park Service relationships with those governments. The 200-year-old Federal promise is being upheld in the grey and green service.

Tanna Chattin, Southwest Regional Office assistant regional director, communications, has enjoyed a 15-year career in Federal Government programs working in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and in the Indian Program Office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. She joined the National Park Service in 1988. Earlier experiences include a minority scholarship to Columbia University and five years as a general assignment reporter for KIRO-TV, (CBS) in Seattle, Washington.