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Santa Barbara

Excavating Archaeology's Historical Legacies:
The Emergence of Archaeology and the Colonial and Racial Foundations of Indigenous Representation

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in History

by

David Garnett McIntosh

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June 2022

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Excavating Archaeology's Historical Legacies: The Emergence of Archaeology and the Colonial and Racial Foundations of Indigenous Representation

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by

David Garnett McIntosh

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I acknowledge that this dissertation was largely researched, written, and approved on the unceded Native ancestral lands of the Chumash people.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the help and support of my four committee members. I am incredibly for their help and guidance over the past five years. Lynn Gamble continued my awareness of archaeology, while Gerardo Aldana helped me fit this understanding within a larger framework of science. Harold Marcuse aided with not only dissertation feedback and consultation on public history projects but simultaneously provided substantial feedback for my job application materials. And last but not least, never have I had a better cheerleader, coach, or mentor than Paul Spickard. His contributions to my dissertation, career, and life more generally are beyond compare.

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At the archive perhaps most central to my dissertation, that of the Amerind Foundation, I am grateful to Eric Kaldahl for his help and generosity. Thanks also go out to Melissa Lawton at the Museum of Northern Arizona, Maggie Dwenger at the Arizona State Museum Archives, Brendon Asher and Samantha Bomkamp at Blackwater Draw, and Eduardo Gamboa at Casas Grandes.

Finally, I must thank History Associates as well as UCSB's Department of History and Graduate Division for their generous financial support in conducting my research. Without their aid, my access to many of these archives would have been impossible.

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ABSTRACT

Excavating Archaeology's Historical Legacies: The Emergence of Archaeology and the Colonial and Racial Foundations of Indigenous Representation

by

David Garnett McIntosh

Archaeology is a complex discipline that has contributed to the public understanding of the history of the United States and its lands in varied ways. Not the least of these aspects is the degree to which it has been culpable in encouraging outdated colonial trends in perceiving Native peoples. Archaeology has become part of how those in the U.S. and elsewhere conceive of and understand those peoples who occupied the continent long before the arrival of Europeans. Of course, past or present, most archaeologists were and are not primarily tasked with public engagement. Nevertheless, the discipline's scholarship has engaged, and continues to, with the public in a top-down manner with theories and conclusions, filtered through various institutions, that public audiences ultimately consume. Until quite recently, the narratives archaeology has produced often did not consider Native perspectives. Instead, the interpretation of the Native past has been largely conceived of by the descendants of Native peoples' conquerors. This dissertation explores implications for this fact as well as the historical legacies that enabled this approach.

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The author at age six with an unidentified Native man.

Preface

A couple of weeks before my seventh birthday, my parents and I embarked on a vacation trip from our home in Ohio to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. We took yearly vacations, typically in the family station wagon, almost exclusively to various parts of the southeastern United States. I recall being particularly excited about this vacation because it was the very first time I would meet real "Indians."[1] I cannot pretend to remember everything or in the correct order, but there are still many thoughts that remain clearly in mind these years later. By that age, I had learned all about "Indians" in school, having completed first grade, especially their role in the first Thanksgiving. In planning for the trip, I remember being genuinely uncertain as to whether actual living and breathing "Indians" still existed at all. The excitement of meeting them face to face for the very first time as I anticipated the coming trip still stands out in my memory. Perhaps needless to say, the people and places I encountered were not all as I had expected.

After spending several days in the Tennessee cities of Pigeon Forge and Gatlinburg, which at the time seemed to me no less than a Disneyland-like experience, I remained anxious and excited for our planned journey to progress to the Cherokee "reservation." The drive through the majestic National Park was utterly lost on me as I eagerly awaited the next stop on our trip. Friends back in Ohio had told me about a frightening but amusing footbridge crossing over a river (the Oconaluftee) upon first pulling into town. However, my excitement fixated entirely on what would be my first encounter with a "real" "Indian," the people who I now know and respect as the traditional and ancestral caretakers of the lands on which, for instance, I now write.

As we pulled into town and parked our car, one of the very first images I remember

seeing was that of a tipi, which welcomed visitors to “Indian country.” (I recall seeing the tipi again just outside of Chief Saunooke’s Trading Post during a return visit years later, but a 2021 exploration using Google Maps’ Street View does not indicate its continued presence.) For a small fee, visitors were invited to have a Polaroid photo taken of themselves with an “authentic” “Indian” “chief” who, quite evidently to my six-year-old mind, must have made the tipi his home. My noticeable and palpable excitement was too much for my parents to refuse, so I excitedly introduced myself to the noticeably darker-toned gentleman who greeted me with a gruff salutation. My enthusiasm exponentially amplified as he pulled out, without my request, an “authentic” “Indian” headdress for me to wear for our photo. Not only was I seeing and interacting with a “real” “Indian” for the very first time in my life, but the idea of donning the Cherokee’s “authentic” regalia also made me feel as if I were an “Indian” too.

As he adjusted and fitted the headdress for me, I noticed a handful of striking features that were inconsistent with what I was inculcated to believe about “Indians.” I turned slightly to glance into the tipi. I felt embarrassed to intrude into his privacy but was too curious to know what the inside looked like. My shame rapidly turned into befuddlement. I was surprised to find that it was not a “real” tipi. Although the outer covering was decorated, it was fashioned out of a cloth or canvas material and certainly not with “buffalo” hides. The interior construction was entirely fabricated out of austere wood panels that held the tipi’s form, doubtlessly plywood. The poles used to erect the frame looked as if they had been purchased from the local lumberyard instead of hand-hewn with a stone ax. The inside was bare and empty. There was no floor covering, no bed, no fire, no clothes, nor any other evidence that it was a home. The only exceptions to its hollowness were a plain black

lunchbox and a Stanley coffee thermos, both of which resembled almost identically the ones my father took to his job every day at the steel mill. “Indians drink coffee?” I puzzled. This quick glimpse must have only lasted for a second or two despite the abject confusion it caused. The subsequent contemplation slowed my awareness of time to the point that I almost missed the opportunity to look at the camera. Nothing I had just witnessed was reconcilable to the decided order of the world as I knew it. As I turned to smile, I caught a glimpse of the back of his regalia. Instead of being an actual shirt, what he was wearing instead fastened in the back like a hospital gown. That image reminded me at the time of my ill-fitted plastic Superman Halloween costume from the year before. The smile on my face in the photo still conveys to me—and has ever since—a profound feeling of disillusionment and confusion. Had I met a “real” “Indian” or not? Everything about the experience felt “fake.” It was only after the Polaroid finished developing that I noticed the can of Pepsi directly to his left. To my already countless list of questions, I added, “What sort of ‘Indian’ drinks Pepsi?”

* * * * * * * * *

Although I did not and could not comprehend the source of my confusion at the time, the questions confronting me were, in fact, questions of authenticity. Meeting an Native person in the flesh did not conform to the preconceived notions I had established from my brief formal education, nor what I had learned from elsewhere. At that young age, I presumptuously believed that I held a somewhat dependable grasp on who the Native peoples of the Americas were, never mind my initial confusion that any still existed at all. While I relied upon and had access to limited sources, each provided a somewhat similar model for

whom these peoples were supposed to be. I assumed that they would conform to the ideas I had been indoctrinated with by nearly every possible source I encountered. The sources upon which I relied all presented a standard narrative: “Indians” were static and unchanging; “Indians” lived in the past; “Indians” were primitive people; “Indians” were unwilling or unable to join modern society; “Indians” were an obstacle to the creation of the great country into which I was born; “Indians” were passive; “Indians” were at the mercy of modern civilization; “Indians” were a dying race of people; et cetera, et cetera. In my mind, that visit could have represented a first-time-last-time opportunity to glimpse the original inhabitants of these lands before they were gone forever.

I did not come to these conclusions about Indigenous Americans on my own. Instead, they were presented to me from various sources and reinforced in subsequent encounters. Aside from primary school, the resources available to me included library books, an outdated set of encyclopedias, cable television, and—on special occasions—a museum visit, which presented the opportunity to witness the material remains of “extinct” cultures directly. Exterminated is a more apt description. Nevertheless, the smattering of museums I had visited in my home state and elsewhere had not disabused me of these falsehoods and, more than likely had reinforced wrongheaded stereotypes about indigenous peoples. For instance, the Cherokee never lived in tipis, but in catering to a predominantly White audience, those in the tourist industry were compelled to adhere to common (mis)conceptions of “Indian” culture and the fallacies that went along with them. The ubiquitous narrative asserted that the indigenous had no culture, no history, were not “using” the lands forcibly taken from them, and, by extension, had no claims to the continued stewardships and occupation of lands that would eventually become the United States. This dangerous, insincere, and outrageous

narrative served—and continues to serve—to accomplish a distinct purpose: the justification of ethnocide and White EuroAmerican settler colonialism.

I would be overjoyed to assert that this narrative has been corrected, but such is not the case. As recently as April, former Pennsylvania senator and 2012 U.S. presidential candidate Rick Santorum repeated this narrative in televised remarks to the conservative group Young America's Foundation, drawing the ire of all who understood that his comments were demonstrable historical inaccuracies.[2] This narrative underscores the fantasy of White supremacy while viewing the indigenous as a lost cause that is beyond grace, either in this world or in the next. At a time when White replacement conspiracy theory is again becoming a mainstream notion, falsities that undermine the humanity of vulnerable groups should not be allowed to continue contaminating the minds of the broader public. Nevertheless, as subtle as it may sometimes be, this story is precisely what remains on prominent display in many of our country's museums, public lands, and media sources.

The source of these fictions would be complex to unravel. Doing so would undoubtedly take more than a mere dissertation to illuminate. Nevertheless, since that July 3rd in Cherokee, North Carolina, one of the origins responsible for myths about indigenous peoples and their past has become increasingly clear to me. The academic discipline of archaeology in the U.S. is unquestionably accountable in part for these histories' continued prominence in public and private spaces. Due to the nuances of disciplinary boundaries, history is not "History" (with a capital "H") unless it comes directly from written text. Almost exclusively, those written texts are in colonizer languages. For instance, the Mayans used written language that we can now comprehend, yet the study of their past and culture is never contained within the disciplinary auspices of history. Although there is no evidence for

written languages among the various nations and peoples that inhabited the continental U.S. over the millennia in which they have resided here, that is not to say they do not have a history—capital H or not. Moreover, lack of evidence is not evidence for lack of. That is to say, although archaeologists have uncovered no evidence of writing by any Indigenous American groups, that does not necessarily mean it never existed at all. Perhaps scholars have failed to probe for, and thereby failed to recognize, what recorded history can look like and can mean outside of Western frameworks of knowledge. Even if there never were written Indigenous languages before Sequoia created one for the Cherokee in the same sense we conceptualize today, their histories have been written into the landscape and other cultural texts or retold through oral histories in ways that Western civilization is no longer to comprehend. The use of writing for documenting and preserving the spoken or unspoken word has made the prospect of remembering and retelling history from memory unfathomable to much of Western society. Due to the perceived absence of a historical record, the contributions to (mis)understanding the Indigenous American past—and, by extension, their present—made by archaeologists in the U.S. are beyond measure. Until conquistadors, explorers, and settlers came into contact with Native peoples of the U.S. and began to write down Eurocentric perspectives of those encounters, no reliable (in Western terms) history for these peoples exists. Instead, we are compelled to rely upon the material record, carefully studied and interpreted by archaeologists, in order to understand a past that was destroyed and erased by settler colonialism. This erasure continues in places where narratives of the pre-colonial indigenous past are framed in ways that belie the richness and temporal depth of their peoples' relationship with the lands that citizens of the U.S., privately or collectively, now legally own and enjoy. Those erasures and silences present to the public

a story about this nation that is not only inaccurate and fictitious but that does measurable harm to living peoples in the present while also bolstering a pseudoscientific White supremacist narrative of this country and its origins.

Spaces dedicated to educating the public commonly reinforce the myth that North America was un- or underutilized by peoples who possess no history and no culture. In 2021, I visited the New Mexico State Museum in Santa Fe. Among their permanent exhibits is "Telling New Mexico History." This gallery contains twenty-five rooms spread across two floors and three exhibit spaces. I was shocked and dismayed to discover that the pre-colonial Native past of "Telling New Mexico History" consisted of simply one very tiny room with fourteen artifacts on display. As I initially progressed to the next room, I was astonished to find myself gazing upon a conquistador helmet and chest of armor. Was the pre-colonial indigenous past, one we now understand extended back at least 23,000 years in New Mexico, represented merely by a handful of artifacts?[3] Yes, it was. Further in the exhibit, one small display was dedicated to the 1680 Pueblo Revolt and, later, another to indigenous boarding schools. As this exhibit made clear, New Mexico's history is all about the Anglos who "civilized" it.

Various temporary or rotating exhibits in other parts of the museum highlight indigenous cultures from time to time, but the tacit message presented in the main permanent exhibit is that the indigenous past is not a part of New Mexico's history. Indeed, the space dedicated to the pre-colonial history of New Mexico may as well have been vacant. This approach may very well be linked to how disciplinary boundaries operate in terms of interpreting what is and what is not History (again, big "H"). But in a government managed and administered space dedicated to educating public audiences about the past, I find this

reasoning irrelevant. Effectively, the "Tell New Mexico's History" exhibit teaches the public that the history of New Mexico before Europeans arrived was essentially nonexistent. Public displays such as this one at the New Mexico History Museum perpetuate a myth that justifies the theft of lands, the murder of thousands upon thousands of human beings, and the ethnocide of innumerable indigenous cultures. Narratives similar to the one presented there do enduring damage to society as they train the public to continue marginalizing peoples who, at least since the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830, have been almost exclusively marginalized by White EuroAmericans.

Archaeologists use their data to tell stories, and as in all sciences—which archaeology attests and aspires to be—their conclusions are subject to revisions and updates. These stories might be classified as "prehistory," but those nuances are lost on a broader public audience. Terms such as "history" and "the past" are synonymous to the general public in ways that are incompatible with academic distinctions. The New Mexico History Museum, intentionally or not, conveys to visitors a portrayal of the state's past that is dishonest and disgraceful. The marginalization of Native peoples of the U.S. continues to the present day, I argue, due to a widely held political and public idea that the indigenous peoples—due to their lack of history, culture, and development on par with Western states—are undeserving of consideration despite the enormous debt they are owed. These perspectives need to be re-informed. These narratives need to be re-aligned. These "facts" need to be revisited. These "histories" need to be revised. It is imperative that scholars—even though many rarely concern themselves with broader public audiences—archaeologists, museum curators, and others with direct or indirect influence on public perceptions of our lands' past truly comprehend how their work can influences or support White nationalist pretenses. Only

through understanding how archaeology has contributed and still contributes to misleading narratives can the discipline genuinely begin to make positive progress towards correcting fictions that, while not exclusively their doing, is their obligation as scholars and social scientists to help correct. Basic human decency demands it.

Notes

1. The pronounced employment of quotation marks and my overindulgence in their use over these first two pages is intended both to avoid the anachronistic application of vocabulary as well as to present terms and concepts in a manner congruent with how I thought of them at age six.

2. Santorum stated, "We birthed a nation from nothing. I mean, there was nothing here. I mean, yes we have Native Americans but candidly there isn't much Native American culture in American culture."; Tim Fitzsimons, "Rick Santorum says 'there isn't much Native American culture in American culture'," *NBC News* online, April 26, 2021, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/rick-santorum-says-there-isn-t-much-native-american-culture-n1265407.

3. Matthew R. Bennett et al., "Evidence of Humans in North America During the Last Glacial Maximum," *Science* 373, no. 6562 (2021): 1528-1531.

Chapter: Introduction

Roughly a year after President William Howard Taft signed legislation making the Arizona Territory the forty-eighth and final continental state admitted to the Union in 1913, visiting east-coast businessman and entrepreneur William Shirley Fulton found a small ceramic pot. This lime-encrusted piece of pottery was likely a product of the *Huhugam*, known to archaeologists as the "Hohokam." He unearthed it while walking near Mingus Mountain in the central part of the state.[1] Fulton presumably did not realize it at the time, but he was in violation of the 1906 *Antiquities Act*, which restricted the removal of Native artifacts from federal lands. The U.S. government enacted this regulation to protect antiquities from looting by adventurers, explorers, and pot hunters. The area where Fulton found the "first pot" was designated as the Prescott National Forest in 1908 and was thereby off-limits to such activity. Nevertheless, this discovery ignited a passion that would endure for the rest of his life. Several years later, during one of his many scouting expeditions to Arizona for his father-in-law's copper mines, Fulton explored Texas Canyon, AZ, so named for the heritage of its early pioneers from Coleman County, located in the central, rural part of the Lonestar state. He immediately fell in love with the striking geological formations of gigantic granite boulders characteristic of this southeastern Arizona canyon while also becoming captivated by stories of the Pre-European settlements located there. Consequently, in 1930 at the age of fifty, Fulton retired as Chairman of the Board from the Waterbury Farrell Foundry and Machine Company in Connecticut and purchased about 1,600 acres in Texas Canyon. He built a seasonal home there the following year and named it the F.F. Ranch.[2] Fulton did all of this so that he could focus on his recently found fascination: the

archaeology of the Southwest.

As early as 1929, even before Fulton purchased this Arizona property, he began excavations in Idaho with support from the Museum of the American Indian in New York City.[3] Fulton's interests and archaeological acquaintances expanded, and it was not long before he made the acquaintance of George Gustav Heye, the founder and director of the museum. Heye's museum held the most extensive collection of Native art and artifacts from the U.S. than anywhere else in the world. As easterners who shared an enthusiasm for the peoples of the Southwest, the two became friends; Heye invited Fulton to become one of the museum's directors.[4] By 1936, Fulton's own collection of artifacts in Arizona had grown so large that he constructed a small, three-room museum to house and displayed them. At Heye's suggestion, Fulton filed articles of incorporation in the State of Connecticut in 1937 as a non-profit research institution named The Amerind Foundation to be operated in Arizona.[5] This enterprise allowed him to continue his archaeological collection efforts entirely within the boundaries of federal law.

This dissertation explores the foundations of academic, private, and public archaeology in the United States during the late 1800s and 1900s. In the following chapters, I demonstrate how archaeology was shaped by the boundaries it defined around itself as an academic discipline of study. Crucial to this history are the many non-academic archaeologists, private institutions, museums, and societies and organizations that made up the whole of archaeology itself.

Fundamental to the academic discipline today are the early endeavors to refine archaeology as a "science" in the same sense as the natural scientific disciplines. The

recurring negotiation and gatekeeping that persisted in the discipline defined boundaries for both what archaeology was and what archaeology was not, for what archaeology would be and what archaeology would become. Because archaeology as a discipline historically focused primarily on the anthropological ~~*Other*~~, many of these negotiations, for better or for worse, were at least minimally racial in nature. The interpretation of the "prehistory" of North America engendered the mitigation of pseudoscientific approaches to understanding the past. Because archaeology has such a robust public-facing component—the state of which remains true until this day—the ideas and histories which were the discipline's products entered into public thought via various traditional means: popular press publications, museum exhibitions, the development of state and federal monuments and parks as educational centers, as well as many others vectors of public consumption.

There are several essential points to make about the development of archaeology in the United States. Archaeology endeavored to become a science in the same way that scholars consider the natural sciences of chemistry, astronomy, and physics. Fundamental to how the discipline formed was its self-defining claim of being "science." This fact has several implications. In contemporary U.S. society, Science (capital "S") is viewed as somehow more tangible and reliable than other approaches to academic study, such as that of the Humanities. Science has a certain materiality. One finds it difficult to disagree with data and other evidence merely based on personal opinions or feelings because, at its core, science is based on the tangible: numbers, statistics, and facts about nature which are seemingly incontrovertible to Western science. A second implication is that as the discipline defined itself as a science, it too defined what archaeology was and what it would become. The borders of the discipline were defined by adherence to scientific thought. Archaeologists

rebuffed and just as quickly dismissed studies that did not observe this mainstream vision of inquiry. The third implication was that for archaeology to become reified as a discipline with definable boundaries and goals, there had to be an ~~*Other*~~ to finalize the essential dichotomy between the scientific subject and the scientific archaeologists themselves. This foremost detail meant that the more archaeology could define and delimit itself, the more that archaeology could do to distinguish the Native peoples of the U.S. as an ancient race: a primitive, backward, unadvanced, and uncomplex ~~*Other*~~; and, the more it set itself apart as a discipline that was indeed a science. In the beginning, archaeology was defined just as much by what it was, by what it was not—prescribing what archaeology was not meant describing the subjects of their study, namely the Native peoples of the U.S., as antithetical to advanced EuroAmerican science and thought. The Native peoples archaeologists studied were foils for the reification of the discipline. Archaeologists cast the Native peoples of the U.S. as a racialized ~~*Other*~~ with no significant past, resulting in the need for Western archaeological science to generate a complete and accurate understanding of the history of human existence on the continent.

The study of archaeology as an academic mode of inquiry into the varied aspects of humankind's presence is, in part, an offspring of the more general discipline of anthropology. Archaeology is known primarily to the public as the study of artifacts and other aspects of material culture, though the subject of research is more directly about people, lived experiences, and specific moments in time. Similarly, related anthropological subfields focus their attention more narrowly upon culture (ethnology), biology (biological anthropology), and language (linguistic anthropology). Nevertheless, each subdiscipline, including archaeology, eschews the fetishization of the material in favor of learning about the peoples

and cultures those artifacts represent, or so it has claimed.

Scholars commonly pay little attention to the consumption of their research to a broader public audience, and academic anthropologists are rarely different. Nonetheless, today, in 2022, the arrival of virtual digital worlds presents a pressing issue with which archaeologists and other anthropologists must grasp: the assumptive interpretations made by publicly-facing content creators are reliant upon intermediate sources that are themselves both dependent upon, and buttressing to, the academic discipline itself. Frequently filling in this gap between scholarly inquiry and the public are various sources of "gray literature." Examples of this knowledge production include public press and science media companies (e.g., *National Geographic*), private foundations and museums (e.g., The Amerind Foundation), the government, and private cultural resource management firms. The liminal published and unpublished gray literature is composed by academics and non-academic alike yet does not meet the benchmark of academic rigidity characteristic of scholarly standards, including the peer-review process. Regardless, these sources are a byproduct of professional archaeology while synchronously serving as a valuable reference source for academics and the public alike.[6] The problems inherent to this schema are visible through the Pre-European narratives presented to the public— "publics" would be a more apt term since I am not assuming a single, homologous group—through the key areas I aim to explore. A dependence on gray sources, which are replete in archaeology, bolsters the possibility of creating potentially harmful archaeological narratives due to their distance, spatially and temporally, from academic rigor. While academic archaeologists may not necessarily be concerned with the public dissemination of their interpretations, their conclusions are often appropriated in order to justify depictions and representations of the anthropological ~~*Other*~~.

Several key problems I identified with interpretation in archaeology include the reliance upon outdated literature; the ignorance of outmoded practices; and the "black boxing" of foundational assumptions about the discipline's relationship with race, racism, multiculturalism, and the accepted canon. The confidence in these problematics becomes exaggerated the farther away from the "vetted repository of archaeological knowledge" this information flows. (See Figure I.1.). These modes of information flow represent one or more series of translations in each subsequent re-conception between differing frameworks of knowledge. By the time properly vetted knowledge and theory reaches the public, it has undergone a substantial transformation from traditional scholarly thought that does not merely involve simplification and degradation of nuance. Complicating the matter further is the irregular and unconventional knowledge flow from the public *upstream* into gray literature through field schools, public workshops, and other avenues. It should be observed that an ever-changing and evolving social and cultural milieu tints the underlying lens through which each of these frameworks of knowledge resolves the veracity of scientific conclusions.

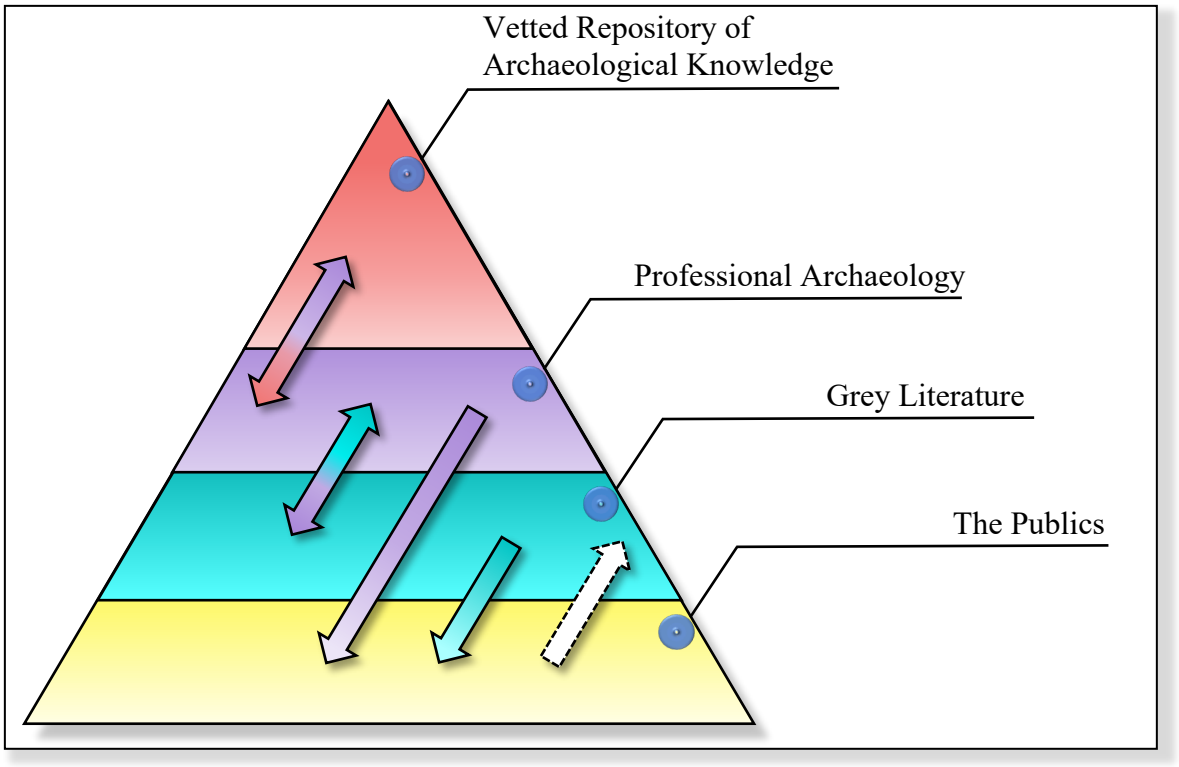


Figure I.1. This diagram illustrates five modes of information flow between four distinct, increasingly expansive and simplified frameworks of knowledge: (1) bi-direction flow between vetted repositories of archaeological knowledge and professional archaeology; (2) bi-directional flow between professional archaeology and gray literature; (3) unidirectional flow from professional archaeology to the publics; (4) unidirectional flow from gray literature to the publics; and (5) the irregular and unconventional flow from the publics to gray literature.

There are abundant archaeological sites in the U.S., especially in the Southwest. Archaeology has always been co-shaped by an engaged public through field schools, archaeological societies, private museums, private fieldwork due to the amount of work that needs to be undertaken. Part of this is the difference between the applied and research distinctions in the field, but the research arm depends significantly on the practical side. It is almost absurd to think of a distinction between the two. There is undoubtedly a bit of elitism

on the side of the academics in their claim to new knowledge (refer to Edgar Lee Hewett's work at Chaco Canyon in Chapter One). Indeed, there exists a definite distinction between those whose utmost priority is engaging with the scholarly conversation and advancing the discipline's theoretical knowledge versus those merely conducting excavation work. This disparity is because the academics are the ones primarily responsible for contributing to vetted knowledge. Their filter acts as a gatekeeper to what knowledge is admitted inside the stores of trusted knowledge. They may disqualify certain knowledge or ignore certain knowledge; after a period of being ignored, such knowledge might as well have been expelled.

The study of the past through material remains

In practice, archaeology has evolved from much earlier attempts to study the past through material remains, an objective reflected in the word's etymology. "Archaeology" (alternatively spelled archæology or archeology) derives from the Greek *ἀρχαιολογία*: the study of the archaic or ancient past.[7] In many cases, these remains represent peoples' discarded rubbish; a fact recognized and established by archaeologists.[8] When archaeologists find artifacts, they typically are not in a usable, or even recognizable, state. Peoples who once used these items discarded them for any number of reasons. While some sites could contain the refuse of potentially tens of thousands of people, others could be only from a couple of hundred, while others still may merely be what was leftover by a few households. In some cases, archaeological sites of interest are merely lithic scatters—a spot where someone sharpened points as they were hunting and then moved on. These temporary non-residential

sites are prevalent among hunter-gatherer groups. Archaeologists also examine monuments and ceremonial religious centers. Ritual has been a part of human existence for a very long time, longer than even before organized religion.[9] Of course, burials are also highly significant for archaeologists to try to piece together to understand how people in the ancient past viewed the spiritual world. With each of these examples, archaeologists use the data they collect to try to gain a more complex understanding of the lives that experienced the human past.

Most notably is that archaeology is a subfield of anthropology: the study of humanity and culture. In 1958, Gordon Willey and Philip Phillips forcefully asserted, "[a]rchaeology is anthropology or it is nothing."[10] Like anthropology, archaeology is the study of culture, albeit through material remains. Although archaeological research focuses on artifacts from the past such as ceramics, ethics, floral and faunal remains, human burials, and other recovered items of note, archaeologists employ those items merely as tools to gain a window into the past. An archaeologist's genuine concern is the lived experiences that went along with those materials and the specific moments in time that ultimately led to their disposal and abandonment.

As a subject of study, archaeology, when undertaken properly, tends to be an expensive endeavor. For that reason, some of the first proto-archaeologists of the Western world were adventurers, explorers, intellectuals, and others with a lot of resources. They could afford to go to these sometimes far-off locations and hire help to carry their equipment and undertake the work.[11] Today, archaeology remains incredibly expensive, which is why archaeologists rely so extensively on grant money.

The majority of archaeology in the U.S. in the present day is not undertaken for

original research. Instead, most archaeologists' work is completed as Cultural Resource Management (CRM) projects. For example, as construction crews dig foundations for a new building, they come across a cache of ceramics, spearpoints, trade goods, or even a human burial. To the dismay of the construction companies, laws in the United States protect those sorts of sites.[12] The work halts while cultural resource management archaeologists examine the site. A CRM archaeologist may be part of the core work crew in areas with a history of cultural artifacts.

There is another branch of archaeology called historical archaeology. Historical archaeologists look at the remains of the ancient past in the context of a period when there were written records. So, for example, when National Park Service archaeologists started completing excavations in Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, they were examining activity that took place in the 1600s and 1700s.[13] There are written documents in English from that period that require minimal translation. Historical archaeologists use those written documents and combine them with the artifacts recovered from the ground in order to come up with a more complete picture of the history.

Archaeology's approach to understanding the past shares similarities with some of the earliest attempts to understand history through the examination of material remains. The earliest recorded attempt at this approach dates to the sixth century B.C.E. At that time, Babylonian King Nabonidus and his daughter En-Nagaldi-Nanna started examining the stepped pyramid Ziggurat in the Sumerian city of Ur and the ancient city of Agade.[14] Though they would not be considered archaeologists in the proper sense, the pair understood they could learn about history by examining the artifacts that were left behind by the people who came before them. They placed their finds in a special room in the palace where others could

view them and appreciate their beauty, similar to a modern-day museum.

The Western world is replete with examples of those who were fascinated by the remnants of earlier societies. By the height of the Roman Empire, there were well-known sites throughout the Mediterranean, already ancient by that time, including the Great Pyramids and the Valley of Kings. Especially wealthy Romans would visit these various locales to admire these fabulous works of the past.[15] In turn, during the Renaissance in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Europe became captivated with ancient Rome and ancient Greece. Those who could afford it went on the Grand Tour at age twenty-one, viewing art, natural wonders, and ancient ruins from the past.[16]

Modern archaeology grew out of a movement that developed around the beginning of the 1700s, antiquarianism.[17] Antiquarians were not archaeologists, and their hobby was collecting rather than digging. They certainly were not scientists since the term had not yet been coined or entered into colloquial use.[18] The artifacts that caught antiquarians' attention were not scientifically studied so much as they were simply admired. The most remarkable finds were placed in royal collections as there still existed no museums yet. These antiquarians were fascinated with the past and enthralled by the collection of artifacts. In 1707, The Society of Antiquities in London held their first meeting, formed by antiquarians who had a keen interest in the past.[19] A short time later, in 1759, the British Museum was founded, where some of these artifacts were ultimately placed, and many remain today.

The first organized digging occurred in 1738 in the ancient Roman cities of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae. Because of how the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 C.E. buried these cities with lava, mud, and volcanic ash, many of the artifacts, materials, buildings, and even human remains were found largely intact. This fact meant that there were

a lot of nearly pristine materials available for collection and study. However, as it happened, the artifacts were not extensively studied but were looted by excavators, including Roque Joaquín de Alcubierre, who undertook work on behalf of the Bourbon monarchy. The choicest finds were shipped back to foreign countries for inclusion in their newly formed royal museum collections, where the spoils of colonialism were showcased to the Western world.[20] At this point, during the 1700s, Mesopotamia and Egypt were largely ignored. Part of that had to do with the fact that the area was under the control of the Ottoman Empire, which was not generally friendly with European states. But it also had a little to do with racism against the Arab people. Nevertheless, Europeans were fascinated by Egyptian hieroglyphs. What could they possibly mean? What were these words that no one could seem to translate? When Napoleon came into power at the end of the 1700s, one of the first things he did was march into Egypt due to his desire to control the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean.[21] There exists a famous but inaccurate legend about Napoleon shooting the nose off of the Sphinx. The truth is, historians do not know what happened for sure to its nose and beard, but they were already gone long before Napoleon arrived.[22] One of the historical events that did occur was an officer in Napoleon's army, Pierre-François Bouchard, found an exceedingly consequential artifact, the Rosetta Stone. The Rosetta Stone was monumental in understanding and deciphering ancient Middle Eastern languages because it had the same message printed three times in three separate languages. One of those languages was ancient Greek. Since scholars of the time knew how to read ancient Greek, they were able to take that and translate the accompanying hieroglyphic and Demotic scripts.[23] The recovered artifacts were shipped it back to foreign lands. This sort of activity happens again and again and again. Objects are removed from their locations of origin and

placed into museums or relic rooms of more politically and economically powerful states. The Rosetta Stone remains at the British Museum in London to this day. Although Egyptian authorities have begged for it back for decades, the museum refuses because it is simply too big of a draw for their many tourists.[24]

Understanding how cultures develop

Charles Darwin's renown as the author of the theory of evolution by natural selection overshadows some of his other significant contributions to science. Published in 1859, Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species* demonstrated that organisms developed from less complex into more complex organisms over long periods of time. He later broached the topic of *Homo sapiens* until 1871 in *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*.[25] His ideas were challenging for people to accept at the time. Many believed the earth was only 4,000-6,000 years old, and there were many, scholars and laypeople alike, who did not believe that humanity actually had enough time on this earth to evolve from a species such as apes. Darwin's theories, while popular, were not widely accepted by science for another eighty-five years.[26] Nevertheless, his book initially sold out in a few days and went through six editions. However, the scientific community remained unconvinced. Even though many thought evolution probably did occur, they distrusted Charles Darwin's ideas. Evolution, according to Darwin, was completely random and driven by a process operating at the level of the individual that he called natural selection.[27] Various philosophers and scholars before Darwin contemplated the possibility that species arose from earlier and more primitive forms.[28] Unlike others before him, Darwin popularized evolution, however; and, his writings

gave rise to Social Darwinism, the theory of cultural evolution, which was defended and promoted by other scholars.[29]

Herbert Spencer and Lewis Henry Morgan were two key intellectuals responsible for championing Social Darwinism, the hypothesis that if biological organisms could evolve, so, too, could cultures. Cultures and, by extension, societies could evolve from less complex into more complex in a manner analogous to organisms. From the Western perspective with Victorian notions of progress, Social Darwinism explained how primitive peoples using stone tools finally evolved into great nations like Britain as their societies grew more complex. Moreover, Britons of the Victorian age viewed their society as truly the apex of civilization. Herbert Spencer published *Principles of Biology* in 1864, though he had previously discussed biological evolution and cultural development in earlier publications including *Social Statics, or The Conditions essential to Happiness specified, and the First of them Developed* in 1851.[30] Spencer also coined the phrase "survival of the fittest," often mistakenly attributed to Darwin.[31] The fact is, the phrase became so synonymous with evolution that Darwin felt compelled to include it in his sixth edition.[32] Leaning on Spencer's ideas, a short time later, in 1877, Lewis Henry Morgan published *Ancient Society*. In this book, Morgan hypothesized that there existed three major phases of human society: savagery, barbarism, and civilization. No one was more important to the way Americanist archaeology developed in the U.S., especially the Southwest, than Morgan.

These ideas, and others like them, developed alongside pseudoscientific racism that sought to demonstrate that Western Europe was the pinnacle of human achievement. Studies that adhered to these theories, all of which attested a biologically-based White superiority, were ultimately demonstrated to be false by later and more scrupulous scientists.[33]

Nevertheless, at the time, Western scientists and the greater public accepted Social Darwinism and similar ideas about how culture progressed, almost taking the logic for granted as common sense. Among other racial science concepts, cultural evolution was clearly fundamental to how archaeology developed as a discipline.

In developing the study of archaeology in the southwestern U.S., the work of Adolph Bandelier and Frank Hamilton Cushing laid the groundwork. They were both working in the burgeoning field of ethnology, studying other cultures and other peoples. Bandelier and Cushing went into the southwestern United States, where many Native peoples were still living on ancestral lands, and studied them intently. Cushing arrived at *Halona Idiwan'a* (more commonly known as Zuni Pueblo) in 1879, intending to stay for three weeks but instead remained for nearly five years. Cushing learned the *A:shiwi* language, dressed in their clothing, and recorded their oral traditions; eventually, the A:shiwi made Cushing a war chief.[34] Meanwhile, Bandelier traveled from pueblo to pueblo during the years 1880-1892. He studied the social organization of Native peoples and tried to piece together their histories through interviews, the examination of Spanish records, and the exploration of ancestral sites.[35] Both Cushing and Bandelier learned about the Native peoples' cultures and how they were different from Western societies, studying religious and spiritual beliefs, sustenance patterns, and many other intimate details of everyday life. This pursuit was not in the name of these ethnologists' own prosperity but rather for "science."

Without sufficient written sources, science dictated that the most reliable way to understand Pre-European societies was through archaeology's material analysis and methodology. One of the ways archaeologists got around the challenge of having no written documentation was by relying on different sources for their data. They conducted work in

laboratories to understand the artifacts they recovered; read secondary sources written by others on a particular topic, peoples, or artifact; and completed translations from firsthand accounts. During the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, the Spanish explorations in the southwestern continental United States provided firsthand accounts of what North and South America looked like during first contact. Spanish Conquistadors and Friars provided early U.S. archaeologists with historical contexts for the Southwest through travel journals written by themselves or chroniclers as well as written Native records maintained by Friars in the missions. Together, they provided a wealth of information for the Southwest's first archaeologists.[36] Moreover, the examination of remaining Mesoamerican Codices, found scattered throughout various locations in Europe, provided tantalizing firsthand accounts of Native societies at the time of, and immediately prior to, European contact.

Many scholars of this period, including John Lubbock, believed that some societies were more primitive than others.[37] From the perspective of scholars like Lubbock, "primitive" peoples, such as those indigenous to North America, had not developed "great societies," had not built "great civilizations," and had not mastered technology in the same ways that Europe and the United States had. This prejudice was illustrated by the hypothesis of the "Mound Builder race." In the Midwest and eastern United States, the presence of great earthen mounds posed a peculiar conundrum.[38] (See Figure I.2.) Lubbock and others believed it was impossible for consanguineous Native peoples to have been responsible for their construction because modern populations were not developed enough and had not attained a sufficient level of societal complexity to envision and execute such a massive undertaking.[39] This notion was undoubtedly a racist one. Instead, the mounds must have been the product of some other unknown, vanished peoples. Some scholars attributed these

earthworks to the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, "a hypothesis strengthened by Joseph Smith and the Mormon movement."[40] Regardless, no one could surmise who that lost race was or where they had gone, so they were referred to as the Mound Builders. At the Twenty-Seventh Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1878, Lewis Henry Morgan proposed that they originated, of all places, in the U.S. Southwest. "Although these tribes had disappeared at the epoch of European discovery, and cannot be classed with any known Indian stock…. The nearest region from which they could have been derived is New Mexico."[41]



Figure I.2 The Great Serpent Mound, in my home state of Ohio, is over 1,300 ft. long. (Serpent effigy Mound Cincinnati, Mississippian, Fort Ancient Culture. https://library.artstor.org/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822001458841).

By the end of the nineteenth century, there was an increasing problem in archaeology, especially in the United States Southwest. That crisis was the decimation of cultural resources by looters, explorers, and pot hunters. These treasure hunters were locating ancestral sites and taking everything they could carry away, especially masterfully decorated large ceramic pots, trade items that were handsome or made of precious metals, and any other artifacts that would fetch a considerable price. Essentially, looters made off with anything that had value.[42] They were not interested in the science or study of these artifacts. Looters and pot hunters were not interested in the people who had fashioned them. Instead, they were merely interested in finding items to sell to private collectors. In response, the United States passed the *Antiquities Act* in 1906, which outlawed the removal of cultural artifacts from U.S. lands.[43] While this curtailed the removal of Native artifacts, it did not stop the activity altogether. One man, Richard Wetherill, went from a looter and pot hunter to a fairly knowledgeable guide for Eastern scientists and researchers, including Aleš Hrdlička and Frederic Ward Putnam, coming from organizations such as the Smithsonian Institution and Harvard University. Wetherill would take them to the sites, tell them what he knew, described his experiences, and help hire local Native guides and laborers to assist with excavation and research. Additionally, he helped conduct excavations under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History, where items from Western sites were shipped for study, cataloging, and display.[44]

Towards a scientific study of the past through material remains

In the early 1900s, Alfred Kidder decided that if archaeologists were going to collect the stone tools and ceramics, and other artifacts, their work should be approached scientifically. This proposition required a classification system. Early archaeologists needed to develop a way to figure out how one piece of stone or ceramic technology was different from another, how they were connected, how they progressed, and how they developed. He wanted to categorize artifacts, put them in order, and place them into object families so they could be better understood and studied. Kidder conducted the first excavation using the stratigraphic method at Pecos Pueblo, NM, from 1914 to 1929. While there, he invited leading archaeologists and ethnologists to Pecos for a three-day conference in 1927 to discuss Southwestern archaeology. Together, they established a "system of nomenclature" for phases of what we call today the Ancestral Puebloan culture.[45] These classifications remain in common use today and include Basket Maker I, II, and III; and Pueblo I, II, III, IV, and V. With the data organized in such a way, archaeologists went about the task of writing Culture Histories for the Native peoples of the U.S. Southwest they studied.

However, when all of this study was going on, no one had a good idea how old these sites were. If they were three hundred years old, three thousand years old, or even twenty-five thousand years old was anyone's guess. Clark Wissler, Curator of Anthropology for the American Museum of Natural History, approached astronomer Andrew Douglass with the problem. Douglass, who was studying sunspot activity, was exceptionally knowledgeable of the examination of tree rings. Wissler asked if it would be possible to develop a chronology of tree rings for the Southwest.[46] Using that chronology, perhaps archaeologists could count backward in time to date wood found at archaeological sites. Archaeologists had recovered many pieces from ancestral sites all over the Southwest, as wood was used as fuel for fires

and as a primary building material.

Although Douglass initially surmised the research and study would take five years, fifteen passed before he had answers. Since moisture is typically more abundant in the spring, primary tree growth occurs during that time and results in lightly colored, large cells. When it becomes drier later in the year, darker colored growth consisting of smaller cells—with thicker walls—result in a marked difference in the representation of rings from one year to the next. Using the "bark date" (i.e., the cutting year,) a tree's age could be determined by counting the rings inwardly until reaching the core, the tree's first year of growth.[47] Variations in the size of the rings correspond directly to the conditions under which any given year of growth occurred.[48] In 1929, Douglass announced that of the sites in question, some dated back to the year 900 C.E., while others were dated as recently as 1300 C.E.[49] This development allowed archaeologists to piece together a chronology not just of the individual locations but the artifacts that they found at those locations, such as ceramics, which were often decorated distinctly and sometimes ornately.

The Cultural-Historical approach, using archaeology to define cultures and differences between them in order to define a chronology and history, reigned the discipline for over seventy years. However, in 1948, Walter Taylor, in his published Ph.D. dissertation, formulated an immense critique of the discipline in *A Study of Archeology*. He argued it was not enough that archaeologists collected artifacts, put them into categories, and placed them into chronological order. He did not view that approach as genuine science. Instead, Taylor believed the discipline of archaeology had become nothing more than glorified collecting. Taylor proposed that archaeologists begin collecting *all* available data, including animal bones, food remains, pieces of grain and pollen, charred corncobs, coprolites, ceramics,

human remains, and stone tools. Essentially, he expected archaeologists to collect everything except the dirt itself. More extensive data would lead archaeologists to ask more significant questions, but Taylor did not have a firm grasp of what those questions might have been. His status as a rookie archaeologist did not help matters, and veterans lambasted his ideas.[50] By 1962, Lewis Binford, having read and relied heavily on Taylor's book, popularized a new approach, ushering in a new approach to archaeology, one that he derisively called the *New Archaeology*, now commonly known as Processualism.[51] This approach asserted that if archaeologists had better data, they could pose better research questions not simply about individual peoples but more complex problems concerning human nature in general. Instead of writing histories of individual cultural groups and peoples, Binford attested that archaeologists should pose grandiose questions about humanity more broadly.

The Processual approach defined the field of archaeology during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Yet, a growing number of scholars, including Ian Hodder, Michael Shanks, and Christopher Tilley, grew disillusioned with this method.[52] Part of the reason was due to Processualism's focus on gaining an understanding of human behavior, broadly defined. This methodology meant that individual agency, lives, and moments in time were shrouded by generic implications for humanity. The first Postprocessualists in the late 1980s and early 1990s sought to reclaim the discipline by re-shifting its focus back to understanding culture through particular lived experiences.[53]

Gatekeeping archaeology

The focus of Part Three of this dissertation is archaeologist Charles Di Peso. In the

1950s, 60s, and 70s, Di Peso worked on a site in northern Mexico called Paquimé. He wanted to show a connection between the peoples of the U.S. Southwest and those of Mesoamerica, such as the Toltecs, the Mayans, and the Aztecs. In comparison to the people of the Southwest, he saw many similarities, as did numerous other archaeologists. They had ball courts, worked intensively with turquoise, and made extensive use of colorful macaw feathers, among other traits.[54] Indeed, Di Peso, and several others before him, believed there must have been some sort of connection. The archaeological concept of diffusionism proposed that ideas and technology spread from one people to another through interpersonal contact and trade.[55] It was through this theoretical lens that Di Peso excavated the site of Paquimé—sometimes referred to under the regional name of Casas Grandes—with the fieldwork taking over three years and unable even to complete excavation of a majority of the site. The lab analysis, translations of Spanish sources, writing up the report, publishing the result took Di Peso an additional fourteen years.[56] He ultimately wrote and issued an eight-volume site report that discussed the history of Paquimé and included all of his data. At the time, it was the most extensive and exhaustive site report ever published.

William Shirley Fulton, with whom this chapter began, established The Amerind Foundation in order to extend his commitment to research into the Southwest's Pre-European past. During the first several decades of the foundation's history, the focus was on self-sponsored excavations and investigations. The culmination of these efforts first began in 1958, when Executive Director and Chief Archaeologist Charles Di Peso began excavation at Paquimé. The most noteworthy outcome of this effort was the publication of the extravagantly conceived, lavishly illustrated, eight-volume *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca*, published by The Amerind Foundation in 1974. The first

three volumes of the publication were intended mainly for public consumption. They contained what Di Peso described as an archaeo-historical narrative, heavily embellished by Mesoamerican Codex-inspired figures that decorated the pages and provided a visual medium to the story.[57] Illustrator Alice Wesche, under the direction of Di Peso, caricaturized and differentiated Native peoples in a way that cast them as a racialized ~~*Other*~~, decidedly distinct from their European counterparts. (See Figure I.3.)

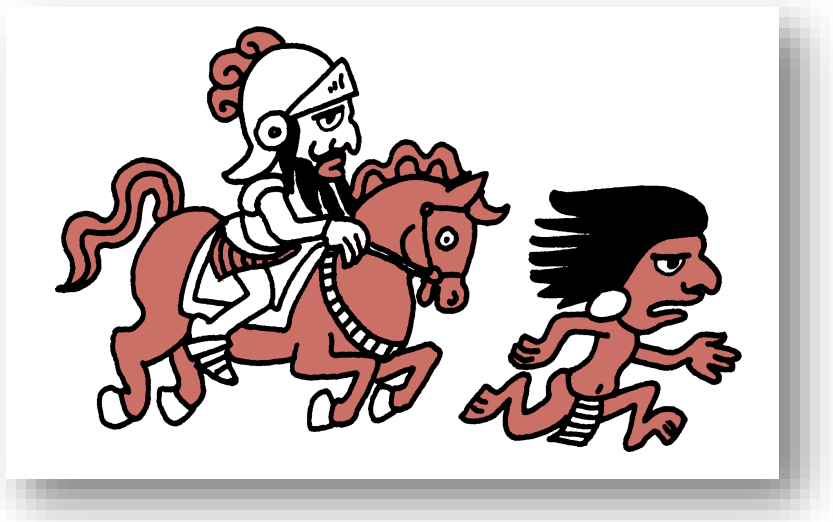


Figure I.3. Digital image of drawing detail of Spaniard figure pursuing an Indigenous figure *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca* Vol. 3, page 800. Courtesy of The Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Alice Wesche, Illustrator.

The problem of archaeology and representation

Due to the rise of Social Darwinism and the acceptance of racial pseudoscience during the formative years of archaeology as a discipline, foundational assumptions about

human difference, progress, and social complexity remained linked to prejudiced beliefs regarding the anthropological ~~*Other*~~. As the discipline evolved, leaders in the field began to recognize the inherent bias in their perspectives and approaches. Recently, these have led to the emergence of post-colonial critiques of archaeology as well as the development of decolonizing archaeological methodologies. However, I contend remnants of the imperial past remain perceivable, especially when examining how this knowledge gets disseminated to a public audience. Furthermore, Western interpretations and depictions of the "prehistoric" anthropological ~~*Other*~~, specifically Native peoples of the U.S., continued expressing outmoded colonial and imperial ideas related to progress, culture, and evolution throughout the second half of the twentieth century; I argue the public witnesses these inconsistencies to the present day.

This dissertation examines the foundations of U.S. archaeology and its conceptual connections to ideologies and perspectives that were instrumental to the formation of the discipline. Archaeologists composed narratives of the past in minute detail by piecing together multiple lines of evidence, including analytical data from artifacts, oral and written accounts, and ecological data. Their interpretations outlined disparate peoples' daily lives, sense of place in the world, foodways, art, spirituality, and political and social organization. When placed into the proper historical context, it is apparent archaeology was built around and relies upon Western knowledge systems and methodologies, with its practice retaining a strongly colonial history.

Of course, many archaeologists have come to recognize that the discipline is based on, and generally reflects, the values of Western cultures. As Di Peso's efforts demonstrate, privileging the material, scientific, and observable world over the spiritual, experiential, and

unquantifiable aspects of archaeological sites can result in problematic representative readings of Pre-European peoples and recovered artifacts. The translation that occurs between analysis and interpretation demonstrates that archaeological practice is solidly grounded in Western ways of categorizing, interpreting, and knowing the world.

Inextricably linked to archaeological excavation and study are the myriad representations and ideological constructions of the ~~*Other*~~ in scholarly and popular works. These have often been guided by principles that help select and recontextualize those constructions in expressions such as museums, documentary sources, and new media—including the Internet and virtual and augmented reality. What those guiding principles were and how reconstructions for non-scholarly audiences were undertaken are reflected in the process of translation from scholarly theory to public-facing avenues of knowledge consumption.

Whether a local institution or the Smithsonian, museums are central to how archaeological knowledge was, and is, transmitted to public audiences. Indiana Jones's mantra, "it belongs in a museum," is not simply Hollywood tripe.[58] In the early decades of the twentieth century, it was museums, not academia, that predominated archaeology. Purportedly, their study was "for science;" but, institutions like George Heye's Museum of the American Indian, Edgar Lee Hewett's New Mexico State Museum, the Peabody Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, the Smithsonian Institution, and dozens of smaller organizations filled literal storerooms with Native artifacts and human remains looted—legally or not—from ancestral sites. These artifacts could tell archaeologists and historians much about the continent's past, but most were never given thorough scientific scrutiny. Instead, they remained in storage, with only the choicest on display, while

archaeologists moved on to the next dig.

The research questions posed here are vital to the scholarship of critical race studies, public history, archaeology, and the history of science. In what ways, through which vectors, and down what pathways has archaeological research been complicit in the historic and continuing construction of images and narratives that racialized the Native ~~*Other*~~? Specifically, how have depictions and narratives contained within public-facing modes of representation been a product of the willful and requisite rendering that transliterated scholarly knowledge and theory into a public commodity? At what critical points in the adaptation has archeological expertise accrued social and cultural undertones? What conditions have provided for the amalgamation and juxtaposition of popularly held, hegemonic beliefs with that of scholarly research? The narratives archaeologists constructed about Native peoples' past in the U.S. are ones constructed by the descendants of the Native peoples' conquerors. These "historical" and "scientific" stories about the Native peoples and their past were disingenuous, misleading, and harmful.

In 1990, U.S. Congress enacted NAGPRA, the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Ac*t, due to mounting concerns by a broad coalition of Native groups and because archaeologists simply could not resist continuing to exhume sacred gravesites.[59] Much of the material archaeologists dug up for over 150 years must now be returned to the people from whom they were taken. These were peoples, already betrayed and neglected by their colonial rulers, who were at the time powerless to stop the unjust decimation of their peoples' familial sites, cultural artifacts, and ancestral remains. Archaeologists and museums have started to return those artifacts and remains, but only because the federal government has compelled them to do so. They must now consider the fact that, at times, archaeology's

excavations were completed at the expense and without due consideration of the peoples whose cultural heritage the Antiquities Act was intended to protect.

Conclusion

There is little doubt that, in general, the U.S. public knows more about archaeology from Indiana Jones than from leaders in the field such as Alfred Kidder, Emil Haury, Lewis Binford, or others—a point gleefully conceded by archaeologist Cornelius Holtorf.[60] Because academics are relatively unconcerned with public engagement, local, state, and federal agencies, as well as private organizations, museums, and corporations, take on that role. Since these groups outside academia are not as attuned to the most contemporary trends in the discipline's stream of thought, they lag behind the forefront and waver outside the orthodoxy of prevailing academic orthodoxy.

Archaeology, similar to other academic disciplines, has not been a linearly consistent field in terms of predominant philosophy and theoretical lens. One of the major realignments of the discipline in the U.S. first began during the late 1940s, beginning with Taylor's momentous and infamous book, in which he attacked and chided the era's preeminent archaeologists for taking descriptive, historical approaches to their research.[61] That approach to archaeology was also, at times, a reflection of early twentieth-century anthropology, with research questions grounded mainly in notions of cultural evolution, reminiscent of Social Darwinism. Cross-cultural comparisons of gradual developments in technological complexity often exhibited value-laden observations that were rooted in colonial attitudes of the anthropological ~~*Other*~~. Archaeologists frequently framed studies as defining differences in

terms of hierarchical cultural and political development, leaning on Morgan's conceptual categories of savagery, barbarism, and civilization. Willey and Phillips' 1958 pronouncement contended that the goals of anthropology—namely the focus on answering questions about humanity and human society—were, too, the goals of archaeology. The further work of leading theorists led the discipline to reshape its intellectual framework, ultimately resulting in a reorientation of the field's research questions that embraced a more multidisciplinary and more scientific approach.[62] This movement, Processualism, was also ephemerally referred to as the "New Archaeology."

It was during this transition between two vastly different prevailing paradigms, in 1958, that the Amerind Foundation, led by Charles Di Peso, began investigating the largely unstudied site of Paquimé in Chihuahua, Mexico. This joint expedition with Mexico's *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* endeavored to place the Casas Grandes region within the context of the larger southwestern and Mesoamerican archaeological complexes. Within the pages of the 1974 multi-volume site report, *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca*, Di Peso depicted Casas Grandes as the center of a vast, Mesoamerican-driven trading network centered in a region he called "The Gran Chichimeca." These volumes described the development of hunters and gatherers into agriculturalists, then examined the cultural, economic, and technological impacts that resulted from contact with more advanced Mesoamerican merchants, finally concluding with a discussion of the collapse of this colonial trading network, the abandonment or destruction of the trading centers, and the first contacts with Spanish invaders. It was a grandiose narrative and, in the absence of any peer-review process, contrasted sharply against prevailing and long-held archaeological theories. However, unlike most archaeologists of the

time, Di Peso conceived of and produced the site report with a broad public audience prominently in mind.

Most archaeologists now overwhelmingly agree that Di Peso's dating of the Casas Grandes sites, based on tree-ring sequences, was incorrect. Instead, archaeologists John Ravesloot and Jeffrey Dean demonstrated the period of significance to be over an entire century later.[63] This correction meant that Di Peso's approach to explaining these Pre-European peoples through the combined use of archaeological, historical, and ethnographic data did not represent the people or time frames he described. The data he relied upon was incomplete or from the incorrect temporal contexts. Perhaps more importantly, however, was that his approach and methodology of doing archaeology was sizably out of step with academic principles, lagging nearly a century behind the current scholarship.

Charles Di Peso and his work at Paquimé can help scholars understand how the stream of archaeological information flows from the fieldsite and the lab to public audiences. His work provides a profitable example because the funding, excavation, analysis, interpretation, and dissemination to the public were all self-contained within a single organization; it is a prime example of gray literature. Additionally, Native peoples have been studied archaeologically almost absolutely by the EuroAmerican descendants of their conquerors, for which Di Peso serves as an exemplar.

Indigenous perspectives, such as those expressed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, view the dangers of producing static and stereotyped images of Native peoples for a broad public audience as an immediate pressing reality. Her observation that "scientific" knowledge can be appropriated in order to design virtual experiences whereby modern-day observers can interact with ancient individuals allows for the continuation of what she sees as the "dehumanization of the other."[64] The question remains of how to confront the ways the Pre-

European past is represented to the public and what role professional archaeology has in remedying its historical legacies of reifying race as a scientific reality.

In the early years of the discipline, prevailing theories such as Social Darwinism bolstered notions of White superiority and continued to fuel imperialist ideologies. Earliest models for human descent illustrated separate evolutionary lines for various races, with White Europeans situated at the pinnacle. However, some anthropologists, including Franz Boas and Ashley Montagu, worked towards destabilizing philosophical racial hierarchies. At the same time, the rise and fall of the Nazi Party caused many scientists of the Western world to change their perspectives on race and ethnicity in the mid-1900s.[65] Nonetheless, racial tendencies were manifested post-1950, during a hypothetical period of awakening for the discipline. In part, Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony explains this phenomenon by describing how the state and ruling classes employ cultural institutions to maintain power. Archaeologists aided the hegemony that affirmed EuroAmerican cultural superiority as produced and reproduced by the dominant classes of the U.S. through various institutions their work for museums and other public education outlets.

I have organized this dissertation into three parts. Part One explores the development of archaeology as a discipline, with a focus on the U.S. Southwest, which acted as the fledgling discipline's "laboratory." It looks at the influences that helped establish the discipline, including nineteenth-century settler colonialism, racial pseudoscience, and the emergence of the museum as an institution. It further describes how non-academics conversely shaped academic thought. Likewise, it demonstrates how archaeological theories shaped and mitigated U.S. public policy. I examine how mythological, pseudoscientific, popular, and other racialized ideas foundational to the discipline of archaeology evolved

from their sources into mainstream academic thought. This chapter covers the fledgling history of the archaeology discipline and orients the project against the backdrop of United States history vis-à-vis theories of evolution, Social Darwinism, and eugenics. Americanist Archaeology did not develop in a vacuum, and archaeologist themselves approached their study of the past while surrounded by an effusion of mythological beliefs and histories about the Native peoples of the U.S. As the discipline sought to become more scientific, it very gradually self-corrected for some biases but also inherited others that, while mainstream at the time, we today consider racial pseudoscience. I then deconstruct how some of those racial ideas entered into the discipline and how they were ultimately recycled back into the publics through academic archaeological research. I look at how academic and non-academic archaeology mutually influenced one another. As archaeology sought to define itself as a discipline, it needed to ensure that it was resilient against unvetted claims by amateur archaeologists and publications that did not meet the academic rigor of the peer-review process. Because of the value and importance of the research undertaken by archaeologists outside of the academy, new research was not always vetted and weighed against its merit for inclusion into orthodox academic theory. The border between these two types of archaeology was, and is, a constant negotiation between academics, scholars, researchers, and other archaeologists.

The National Park Service becomes a central theme in understanding how archaeology developed in Part Two. As the Park Service gradually added ancestral sites to its growing portfolio, the Secretary of the Interior and the federal government played vital roles in shaping archaeology. Through policies, guidelines, and legislation, archaeologists, in connection with federal authorities, guided public interpretation at some of the country's

most well-known and often-visited Native ancestral sites. I examine how foundational archaeological ideas, taken together with the practice and output of archaeological fieldwork, were used to appropriate Native lands for monuments, parks, and other public uses. The federal government used cultural and historical narratives archaeologists created—often containing a racial tinge—to justify claiming authority over Native cultural sites. Central to the colonization of those lands was their renaming and repositioning as sites representative of EuroAmerican history and cultural heritage. Moreover, the educational interpretations presented in these public spaces about Native peoples' past were stained with EuroAmerican nationalist propaganda that bolstered the colonial project and the ideology of Manifest Destiny. Nevertheless, not all such attempts were successful, a point illustrated and celebrated in the closing chapter of Part Two.

Finally, in Part Three, this dissertation examines a single organization, archaeologist, excavation, and interpretation in order to demonstrate several of the key contentions of Parts One and Two. Namely, I explore the gatekeeping that occurs on the borders of archaeological thought. This point is illustrated through the work of Charles Di Peso in the Casas Grandes region of northern Chihuahua from the commencement of digging in 1959 until the publication of his report in 1974. I describe how Di Peso and his work demonstrate these boundary negotiations and, further, show how they were racial in nature.

In the dissertation's conclusion, I reiterate the connections between these three parts and explore when and how archaeology gradually managed to create more equitable perspectives of disparate peoples in the U.S. in relation to the White EuroAmerican public majority. The conclusion will outline two additional individuals I will explore in successive chapters of Part Three in future edits of this manuscript. I also explore some of the more

promising directions archaeology will proceed. For example, the vast majority of enslaved peoples never learned to read or write; thus, we have only a microscopic perspective of how they lived. In order to try to uncover those facts, archaeologists can add to our historical record by appending missing pieces of a story otherwise not available. In addition, Indigenous archaeology has experienced tremendous growth, with Native peoples conducting research, posing questions central to their cultural concerns, and now holding academic professorships at major U.S. universities.[66] With many Native and Indigenous histories and traditions lost to the ravages of settler colonialism, forced assimilations, and compulsory relocation, archaeology remains one way to shine a light of discovery on that shrouded past.[67]

A note on terminology

When archaeologists and the general public discuss ancestral sites as "ruins," this word and others like it carry added connotations that undermine the Native past. Although the Roman Forum, Pompeii, and Athens Acropolis, are also described as ruins, these Western sites—representing the very locus of Western civilization—are not burdened with the extra weight of racial connotations due to the marginalized intersectional identities. In contrast, the ancestral sites of non-Western Native and Indigenous peoples, when described as "ruins," also reflect an understanding that there is something broken, unworking, or ancient about contemporary peoples. In 2005, Virginia Salazar-Halfmoon, Program Director for the National Park Service's Intermountain Region, pointed out that "ruins" and similar terminology implies "something without value or discarded" even though these sites endure

through “tribal prayers, oral tradition, and songs.”[68] As such, I employ her suggestion of “ancestral sties” and similar phrases throughout this dissertation.

Likewise, I have no desire to continue the erasure of the Native past by employing Spanish or EuroAmerican terminology in reference to people, places, objects, and events. Where vocabulary is known, I have tried to use the conventional words of various Native peoples, introducing their expressions along with more commonly-known designations, as is demonstrated on page one of this dissertation. Some readers may see this strategy as opaque or find it challenging to keep track of these unfamiliar words. However, any frustration this practice causes on behalf of the reader is exclusively the consequence of colonial legacies that eschewed and repressed Native terminology in the first place, a tendency I have no intention of heeding or reprising. A guide to Native terms appears in Appendix A of this dissertation.

Lastly, one term in this dissertation is consistently struckthrough: the Other. My intention behind this seemingly stylistic choice is the objection of this word’s historical use and meaning in order to, hopefully, call to my reader’s mind frequently the severe injury caused by the manufacturing and defining of differences in language or skin tone or heredity or mental capacity or gender or sexuality or religion or age or nationality or class where I believe none of any consequence ever truthfully existed, except between those who wielded power and those who were at its mercy. For anthropologists and archaeologists, it has not been applied in the philosophical Edmund Husserlian sense but rather as a term, spoken and unspoken, representing the power imbalances existing between the studied and the studier. Though I could choose to be more selective in my sentence phrasing, my prerogative is, instead, to bring awareness constantly to an idea whose significance has been repeatedly used

for decades in word and deed as an excuse to characterize individuals who could be labeled, dehumanized, robbed, deceived, caged, ridiculed, marginalized, and murdered.

Notes

1. The best source for Fulton's first find is attributed to a "[f]amily legend;" John A. Ware and Eric J. Kahldahl, *Amerind at 75!* (Dragoon, AZ: The Amerind Foundation, Inc., 2012), 1.

2. Ware and Kahldahl, *Amerind at 75!*, 2-3.

3. William Fulton to George Heye, n.d. [ca. 1936-1937], Correspondence - Heye Foundation 1936-1939, Amerind Foundation Collection.

4. George Heye to William Fulton, 15 April 1937, Correspondence - Heye Foundation 1936-1939, Amerind Foundation Collection.

5. "Meeting of Incorporators," 30 November 1937, Articles of Incorporation, Amerind Foundation Collection.

6. Deni J. Seymour, "Sanctioned Inequity and Accessibility Issues in the Grey Literature in the United States," *Archaeologies* 6, no. 2 (2010): 244-46.

7. "archaeology, n.," Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford University Press, accessed March 25, 2022, https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/10286.

8. In 1973, William Rajthe from the University of Arizona undertook a project called the Tucson Garbage Project, in which he completed surveys of individual neighborhoods, asked residents questions about their routines and habits, and then collected and analyzed their garbage. One of his conclusions was that many people miscalculated their consumption of alcohol. Survey participants stated that they drank far less than they actually did. By looking at their garbage and recovering these artifacts, Rajthe demonstrated that they were, in fact, drinking way more than they admitted or thought. See Richard R. Wilk and William L Rathje, "Household Archaeology: comparative sources definition functions production distribution transmission reproduction summary of household organization archaeological implications references," *American Behavioral Scientist* 25, no. 6 (1982): 617-39; and William L. Rathje and Murphy Cullen, *Rubbish!: The Archaeology of Garbage* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001).

9. Ritual is possibly older than the *Homo sapiens* species, dating to at least 200–250 kya. Archaeologists have found recently that *Homo neanderthalensis* decorated their dead using red ochre powder and sometimes adorned burials with flowers. Archaeologists interpret this as meaning that these Neanderthals attached some sort of significance to passing on from this life into the one that would come after. See Wil Roebroeks, Mark J. Sier, Trine Kellberg Nielsen, Dimitri De Loecker, Josep Maria Parés, Charles E. S. Arps, and Herman J. Mücher, "Use of Red Ochre by Early Neandertals," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 109, no. 6 (2012): 1889-1894; Dani Nadel, Avinoam Danin, Robert C. Power, Arlene M. Rosen, Fanny Bocquentin, Alexander Tsatskin, Danny Rosenberg, Reuven Yeshurun, Lior Weissbrod, Noemi R. Rebollo, Omry Barzilai, and Elisabetta Boaretto, "Earliest Floral Grave Lining from 13,700-11,700-y-old Natufian Burials at Raqefet Cave, Mt. Carmel, Israel," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 110, no. 29 (2013): 11774-1778.

10. Gordon R. Willey and Phillip Phillips, *Method and Theory in American Archaeology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), 2.

11. For detailed samples of these explorers and proto-archaeologists' research and findings, see firsthand accounts in Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *Amurath to Amurath* 1st Gorgias Press ed. Gorgias Reprint Series; v. 19 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2002); Thomas William Francis Gann, *Maya Cities, a Record of Exploration and Adventure in Middle America* (London: Duckworth, 1927); as well as the biographies Ian Graham, *Alfred Maudslay and the Maya: A Biography* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002); and Teobert Maler and Gerdt Kutscher, *Bauten Der Maya* Monumenta Americana; vol. 4. (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1971).

12. An exhaustive treatment of CRM topics may be found in Thomas F. King, ed. *A Companion to Cultural Resource Management*, (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011). For details of U.S. laws pertaining to CRM work, see *Antiquities Act of 1906* (16 U.S.C. 431-433); *Historic Sites, Buildings, and Antiquities Act of 1935* (Public Law 74-292, 16 U.S.C. 461); *The Reservoir Salvage Act* of 1960 (16 U.S.C. 469-469c); *National Historic Preservation Act* of 1966 (16 U.S.C. 470-470w); *Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act* of 1974 (16 U.S.C 469); *Public Buildings Cooperative Use Act* of 1976 (Public Law 94-541); *Archaeological Resources Protection Act* of 1979 (16 U.S.C. 470aa - 470ll); and the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act* of 1990 (25 U.S.C. 3001-3013).

13. For an early account of Colonial Williamsburg excavations, see Thomas Wertenbaker, "The Archaeology of Colonial Williamsburg," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 97 (1953): 44-50. For an updated analysis, see Marley R. Brown, III and Patricia Samford, "Current Archaeological Perspectives on the Growth and Development of Williamsburg," in *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake*, ed. Paul A. Shackel and Barbara J. Little (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 15:231.

14. Brain M. Fagan and Nadia Durrani, *A Brief History of Archaeology* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2016), 5.

15. Fagan and Durrani, *A Brief History of Archaeology*, 6.

16. Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (Dover, N.H.: Croom Helm, 1985), 3-5; Colin Amery and Brian Curran, *The Lost World of Pompeii* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002), 154-67.

17. Peter N. Miller, *History and Its Objects: Antiquarianism and Material Culture since 1500* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017), 7-10.

18. According to Issac Toddhunter, William Whewell coined the phrase "scientist" in 1834 in an anonymously published review of Mary Somerville's *On the Connexion of the Physical Sciences*: "some ingenious gentleman [Whewell himself] proposed that, by analogy with *artist*, they might form *scientist*, and added that there could be no scruple in making free with this termination when we have such words as *sociologist*, *economist*, and *atheist*." I. Todhunter and William Whewell, *William Whewell, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; an Account of His Writings with Selections from His Literary and Scientific Correspondence*, (New York: Johnson Reprint, 1970), 92. For an historical account of this occurrence, see Sydney Ross, "Scientist: The Story of a Word," *Annals of Science* 18, no. 2 (1962): 65-85.

19. Dai Morgan Evans, "The Society of Antiquaries, 1707–18: Meeting Places and Origin Stories," *The Antiquaries Journal* 89, no. 1770 (2009): 328.

20. For a detailed critique of the excavations at Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae see Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Critical Account of the Situation and Destruction by the First Eruptions of Mount Vesuvius of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabia; the Late Discovery of Their Remains; the Subterraneous Works Carried on in Them* (London: Printed for T. Carnan and F. Newbery, 1771).

21. Juan Ricardo Cole, *Napoléon's Egypt: Invading the Middle East* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 59-64.

22. Willis Goth Regier, *Book of the Sphinx: Texts and Contexts* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 62.

23. The French scholar Jean-François Champollion first uncovered that hieroglyphics recorded the phonemes of the Egyptian language and not graphemes or morphemes, as was widely believed. Daniel Meyerson, *The Linguist and the Emperor: Napoleon and Champollion's Quest to Decipher the Rosetta Stone* (New York, NY: Ballantine Books, 2004).

24. “Egyptian museum calls for Rosetta Stone to be returned from UK after 200 years,” *The Daily Telegraph*, November 6, 2018. After the defeat of Napoleon’s forces in Egypt by the British, the Rosetta Stone was shipped back to London for placement in the British Museum. N.A.

25. Charles Darwin and James T. Costa, *The Annotated Origin: A Facsimile of the First Edition of On the Origin of Species* (Cambridge, MA.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 488. In the first and subsequent editions of *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, Darwin made a mere single mention of the evolution of humankind: “Light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history.” Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (London: John Murray, 1871), 3. The topic of human evolution was explored in-depth in “Part I: The Evolution of Man” contained within the 1871 *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*: “The sole object of this work is to consider, firstly, whether man, like every other species, is descended from some pre-existing form; secondly, the manner of his development; and thirdly, the value of the differences between the so-called races of man.”

26. Julian Huxley, *Evolution: the Modern Synthesis* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1942). Julian Huxley (the grandson of Thomas Henry Huxley—also known as “Darwin’s bulldog”) was among a minority of scientists in the early twentieth century who remained proponents of evolution by natural selection. His approach to an evolutionary synthesis incorporated Malthusian struggles for existence, Darwin’s natural selection, and Mendelian laws of genetics.

27. Darwin defined natural selection, akin to artificial selection (e.g., selective animal and plant breeding), in his introduction to chapter four: “If during the long course of ages and under varying conditions of life, organic beings vary at all in the several parts of their organisation, and I think this cannot be disputed; if there be, owing to the high geometrical powers of increase of each species, at some age, season, or year, a severe struggle for life, and this certainly cannot be disputed; then, considering the infinite complexity of the relations of all organic beings to each other and to their conditions of existence, causing an infinite diversity in structure, constitution, and habits, to be advantageous to them, I think it would be a most extraordinary fact if no variation ever had occurred useful to each being’s own welfare, in the same way as so many variations have occurred useful to man. But if variations useful to any organic being do occur, assuredly individuals thus characterised will have the best chance of being preserved in the struggle for life; and from the strong principle of inheritance they will tend to produce offspring similarly characterised. This principle of preservation, I have called, for the sake of brevity, Natural Selection. Natural selection, on the principle of qualities being inherited at corresponding ages, can modify the egg, seed, or young, as easily as the adult. Amongst many animals, sexual selection will give its aid to ordinary selection, by assuring to the most vigorous and best adapted males the greatest number of offspring. Sexual selection will also give characters useful to the males alone, in their struggles with other males. Whether natural selection has really thus acted in nature, in

modifying and adapting the various forms of life to their several conditions and stations, must be judged of by the general tenour and balance of evidence given in the following chapters. But we already see how it entails extinction; and how largely extinction has acted in the world's history, geology plainly declares. Natural selection, also, leads to divergence of character; for more living beings can be supported on the same area the more they diverge in structure, habits, and constitution, of which we see proof by looking at the inhabitants of any small spot or at naturalised productions. Therefore during the modification of the descendants of any one species, and during the incessant struggle of all species to increase in numbers, the more diversified these descendants become, the better will be their chance of succeeding in the battle of life. Thus the small differences distinguishing varieties of the same species, will steadily tend to increase till they come to equal the greater differences between species of the same genus, or even of distinct genera." Darwin and Costa, *The Annotated Origin: A Facsimile of the First Edition of On the Origin of Species*, 126-27.

28. Although Charles Darwin is considered by many to be the founding father of the modern theory of evolution, many philosophers before him had considered the transmutation of species, including his grandfather, Erasmus Darwin. The pre-Socratic Greek philosophers Anaximander (ca. 610 - c. 546 B.C.E.) and Empedocles (ca. 494 - ca. 434 B.C.E.) espoused the earliest concepts regarding the transformation of species from one to another. Early modern philosophers who considered evolution a possibility included Carolus Linnaeus, the creator of binomial nomenclature and the system of plant and animal taxonomy still in use today, Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, and Herbert Spencer. See C. Leon Harris, *Evolution, Genesis and Revelations: With Readings from Empedocles to Wilson* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), 31-39; 105; 109-113; D. Freeman, "The Evolutionary Theories of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer," *Current Anthropology* 15, no. 3 (1974), 214-16.

29. For a detailed treatment of Social Darwinism, see Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860-1945: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997).

30. Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics: Or, The Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified and the First of Them Developed* (London: J. Chapman, 1851), 454-55. Published eight years prior to Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics* laid out a pre-Darwinian approach to understanding the development of cultures: "Whilst the continuance of the old predatory instinct after the fulfilment of its original purpose, has retarded civilization by giving rise to conditions at variance with those of social life, it has subserved civilization by clearing the earth of inferior races of men. The forces which are working out the great scheme of perfect happiness, taking no account of incidental suffering, exterminate such sections of mankind as stand in their way, with the same sternness that they exterminate beasts of prey and herds of useless ruminants. Be he human being, or be he brute, the hindrance must be got rid of. Just as the savage has taken the place of lower creatures, so must he, if he have remained too long a savage, give place to his superior. And, observe, it is necessarily to his superior that, in the great majority of cases, he does give place. For what are the prerequisites to a conquering race? Numerical strength, or

an improved system of warfare; both of which are indications of advancement. Numerical strength implies certain civilizing antecedents. Deficiency of game may have necessitated agricultural pursuits, and so made the existence of a larger population possible; or distance from other tribes may have rendered war less frequent, and so have prevented its perpetual decimations; or accidental superiority over neighbouring tribes, may have led to the final subjugation and enslaving of these: in any of which cases the comparatively peaceful condition resulting, must have allowed progress to commence. Evidently, therefore, from the very beginning, the conquest of one people over another has been, in the main, the conquest of the social man over the anti-social man; or, strictly speaking, of the more adapted over the less adapted."

31. Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Biology* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1864), 444-45. In response to Darwin, Spencer stated, "This survival of the fittest, which I have here sought to express in mechanical terms, is that which Mr Darwin has called 'natural selection, or the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life.'"

32. Charles Darwin, Francis Darwin and A. C. Seward, *More Letters of Charles Darwin: A Record of His Work in a Series of Hitherto Unpublished Letters* Vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1903), 270.

33. Although many of these pseudoscientific ideas had earlier been abandoned by science, the most comprehensive and critical assaults on the work of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century racial science were composed by Stephen Jay Gould, first in "Morton's Ranking of Races by Cranial Capacity," *Science* 200 (1978): 503-09; and a short time later in *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: Norton, 1981). Gould issued a "Revised and Expanded" version of the latter in 1996, partially in response to the publication of Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's racially charged *The Bell Curve* (New York: Free Press, 1994).

34. The beginnings of American anthropology and ethnology date to Cushing's time with the Zuni (formerly spelled Zuñi), beginning in September 1879 and concluding in April 1884. His approach to participant observation inspired and made possible the later work of Bronisław Malinowski, Franz Boas, Margaret Mead, Claude Lévi-Strauss, and practically every ethnologist since. Cushing's examination and exposition of Zuni life through remarkably detailed journals provided U.S. anthropologists and archaeologists with the foundation for understanding Pueblo cultures of the Southwest, past and present. Although Cushing's approaches and findings have not been without critique, his noteworthy details about Pueblo and Spanish history in the region have shaped its study since that time. For comprehensive details on Cushing's time with the Zuni, including transcriptions of his original journals, see Frank Hamilton Cushing and Jesse Green, *Cushing at Zuñi: The Correspondence and Journals of Frank Hamilton Cushing, 1879-1884* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1990).

35. Bandelier published extensively on his activities in the Southwest, primarily modified from his daily journals. Bandelier visited pueblos and ancestral sites throughout

Arizona and New Mexico, including Jemez, Pecos, Taos, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Zumas, as well as sites that would later become known as Aztec Ruins, Casa Grande, El Morro, El Malpais, Gila Cliff Dwellings, and the pueblo sites on the Pajarito Plateau named in his honor. Following his return to Santa Fe in 1882, Bandelier undertook extensive archaeological studies under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute of America in the Zuni and Acoma region. While staying at Zuni Pueblo, he became acquainted with Cushing. See Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885* (Cambridge Mass.: J. Wilson and Son, 1890). Though an earlier student of Lewis Henry Morgan's work, Bandelier seems to have abandoned Morgan's positionality on the lowly state of the character of Native peoples, only to see those ideas reemerge at a much later time during his studies in South America. The editors of his journals attributed this shift in perspective to the influence of upper-class Spanish Creoles throughout Latin America. (v. 4 p. 40) Bandelier's journals from the years 1889-1892 were first published in four volumes by the School of American Research (today the School for Advanced Research) and the University of New Mexico Press. See Adolph F. Bandelier, Charles H. Lange and Carroll L. Riley, and Elizabeth M. Lange, *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier*, Vols. 1-4 (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1966-1984).

36. For example, see Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, *The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca*, trans. Ad. F. Bandelier, (New York: Allerton Book Co., 1922); Cleve Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza* (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1987) and George Parker Winship, *The Journey of Coronado, 1540-1542, from the City of Mexico to the Grand Canyon of the Colorado and the Buffalo Plains of Texas, Kansas, and Nebraska: As Told by Himself and His Followers*, (New York: Allerton Book Co., 1922).

37. In the 1865 book, *Prehistoric Times*, Lubbock coined the terms Neolithic and Paleolithic, thereby delineating the Stone Age into two distinct phases, the latter of which began with the advent of farming. His view of primitive societies, especially those of the "savage races at the present time" (p. 189), published while he was the sitting president of the Ethnological Society of London, were immensely prominent as well as exceedingly influential to the development of cultural evolutionary thought. See John Lubbock, *Prehistoric times: As Illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1865).

38. Robert C. Glotzhober and Bradley Thomas Lepper, *Serpent Mound: Ohio's Enigmatic Effigy Mound* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio Historical Society, 1994), 3.

39. These ideas were first posited by Ephraim Squier and Edwin Davis in *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge; v. 1 (New-York: Bartlett & Welford, 1848). Regarding the Native peoples of the U.S., the pair deduced, "the Indians were hunters averse to labor, and not known to have constructed any works approaching in skillfulness of design or in magnitude those under notice, there is almost

positive evidence that the mound-builders were an agricultural people, considerably advanced in the arts, possessing a great uniformity throughout the whole territory which they occupied, in manners, habits, and religion, — a uniformity sufficiently well marked to identify them as a single people, having a common origin, common modes of life, and, as an almost necessary consequence, common sympathies." (p. 43) The book concluded with the final sentences, "[t]his fact seems seriously to conflict with the hypothesis of a migration, either northward or southward. Further and more extended investigations and observations may, nevertheless, serve satisfactorily to settle not only this, but other equally interesting questions connected with the extinct race, whose name is lost to tradition itself, and whose very existence is left to the sole and silent attestation of the rude but often imposing monuments which throng the valleys of the West." (p. 306). For more recent scholarship, also see Michael B. Schiffer, *Archaeology's Footprints in the Modern World* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2017) 5-10.

40. Robert Silverberg, *Mound Builders of Ancient America: The Archaeology of a Myth* (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1968), 51-52.

41. "Titles of Other Papers Read in Section B," *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Twenty-Seventh Meeting*, ed. Frederick W. Putnam, Held at St. Louis, Missouri, August 1878 (Salem, MA: Published by the Permanent Secretary, 1879), 338; Lewis Henry Morgan, "On the Ruins of a Stone Pueblo on the Animas River in New Mexico; with a Ground Plan," in *Twelfth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology And Ethnology* in *Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology in Connection with Harvard University, Volume II, 1876-79* (Salem, MA: The Salem Press, 1880), 552.

42. Ronald F. Lee, "The Origins of the Antiquities Act," in *The Antiquities Act: A Century of American Archaeology, Historic Preservation, and Nature Conservation*, ed. David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2006), 15-17.

43. Lee, "The Origins of the Antiquities Act," 31-32.

44. Frank McNitt, *Richard Wetherill: Anasazi* Rev. ed. (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 187; 241-44.

45. For an exceedingly long time, archaeologists referred to these cultures as the "Anasazi." This Diné word, roughly translated as "ancient enemies," was first widely popularized by Richard Wetherill; A. V. Kidder, "Southwestern Archaeological Conference," *Science* 66, no. 1716 (1927): 489-491; Michael J. O'Brien and Robert C. Dunnell, *The Rise and Fall of Culture History*, (New York, NY: Plenum Press, 1997). 166-67.

46. From correspondence dated May 22, 1914, from Clark Wissler to Andrew Douglass: "I have read with considerable interest your article in the last number of the

Geographical Society Bulletin on estimating the rainfall by the growth of trees. For the first time I have been somewhat impressed with the possibility of getting an accurate record of rainfall in this way. Previous to this time I have had serious doubts as to the legitimacy of this method. Your work suggests to me a possible help in the archaeological investigation of the Southwest. We have in our collections from ruins in Arizona and New Mexico various pieces of timber… We have, for example, a number of rather large logs taken from Bonito, a pre-Columbian ruin not far from the region where you collected your data. Of course, we do not know exactly how old these ruins are, but I should be glad to have an opinion from you as to whether it might be possible to connect up with your modern and dated series of trees specimens from these ruins by correlating the curves of growth." Clark Wissler to Andrew Douglass, May 22, 1914, box 76, folder 10, AZ72 Andrew Ellicott Douglass Papers, University of Arizona Libraries, Special Collections; Andrew E. Douglass, "Dating Pueblo Bonito and Other Ruins of the Southwest," *National Geographic Society Contributed Technical Papers*, Pueblo Bonito Series No. 1, 1935.

47. E. A. Vaganov, M. K. Hughes, and A.V. Shashkin, *Growth Dynamics of Conifer Tree Rings: Images of Past and Future Environments*, Ecological Studies, 183 (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 2006), 2-6.

48. Vaganov, Hughes, and Shashkin, *Growth Dynamics of Conifer Tree Rings*, 308-310.

49. Andrew E. Douglass, "The Secret of the Southwest Solved by Talkative Tree Rings," *National Geographic* 56, no. 6 (December 1929): 743; 766-70.

50. Richard B. Woodbury, "Reviewed Work: *A Study of Archeology* by Walter W. Taylor," *American Antiquity* 19, no. 3 (1954): 292-96.

51. Lewis Binford described how he was repeatedly pulling *A Study in Archaeology* off of his shelf to add marginal notes that reinforced and elucidated Taylor's ideas in Lewis R. Binford, "Introduction," in *An Archaeological Perspective* (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), 1-14; Kent Flannery, in "Culture History v. Cultural Process: A Debate in American Archaeology" *Scientific American* 217 no. 2 (1967): 119-122, argued that a main characteristic of American archaeology is its long history of reaction to American ethnology; this article was intentioned to be a review of Gordon R. Willey's 1966 *An Introduction to American Archaeology*. The processual school of thought recognized the usefulness of this framework for classification, arguing that it is unsuitable for explaining culture change situations. It viewed human behavior as a point articulation between systems encompassing cultural and non-cultural phenomena. Culture change for the Processualists came about through minor variations in one or more systems that grew, displaced, or reinforced others, attaining equilibrium on a different plane. The system versus the individual approach highlighted that the system at play behind the creation of artifacts rather than the individuals who created them.

52. Ian Hodder, "Postprocessual Archaeology," *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 8 (1985): 1-26; Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley, "Social archaeology: the object of study" in *Re-constructing archaeology: theory and practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 116-134.

53. See Ian Hodder, "This is Not an Article about Material Culture as Text," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 8 (1989): 250-269; Ian Hodder, "Interpretive Archaeology and its Role," *American Antiquity* 56 (1991): 7-18; Allison Wylie, "The interplay of evidential constraints and political interests: recent archaeological research on gender," *American Antiquity* 57 (1992): 15-35; and Robert Preucel, "The Postprocessual Condition," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 3 (1995): 147-175.

54. See, among many others, Harold S. Gladwin, *Excavations at Snaketown*: *Comparisons and Theories* Medallion Papers 26 (Globe, AZ: Gila Pueblo, 1938); Raymond S. Brandes, "An Early Ball Court Near Globe, Arizona," *KIVA* 23, no. 1 (1957): 10-11; David A. Breternitz, *Excavations at Three Sites in the Verde Valley, Arizona*. Museum of Northern Arizona 34. (Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, 1960); Alfred E. Johnson, "A Ball Court at Point of Pines, Arizona." *American Antiquity* 26, no. 4 (1961): 563–67; Michael Douglas Coe and Kent V. Flannery, "Microenvironments and Mesoamerican Prehistory," *Science* 143 (1964): 650-654; Gordon F. Ekholm and Ignacio Bernal, *Archaeology of Northern Mesoamerica* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1971).

55. The theory originated with Leo Frobenius in *Der Westafrikanische Kulturkreis*, Germany, 1897. For diffusionism's application to archaeology, see Alfred Kroeber, "Stimulus Diffusion," *American Anthropologist* 42 (1940): 1-20.

56. Charles Di Peso, *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca* Vol. 1 (Dragoon, AZ: The Amerind Foundation Inc., 1974), 39-45.

57. Charles C. Di Peso, "The Northern Sector of the Mesoamerican World System," in *Forgotten Places and Things: Archaeological Perspectives on American History* ed. A. E. Ward (Albuquerque, NM: Center for Anthropological Research, 1983), 11.

58. Steven Spielberg, dir., *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade*, Hollywood, CA: Paramount Pictures, 1989.

59. Kathleen S. Fine-Dare argues that the treatment of Native artifacts in the U.S. is an extension of the treatment by the government of the peoples themselves. She identifies NAGPRA as "one of the most powerful human rights mechanisms in United States history." *Grave Injustice: The American Indian Repatriation Movement and NAGPRA* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 7.

60. Cornelius Holtorf, "Comment: Indy is back," *New Scientist* 198, no. 2656 (2008):

20.

61. In particular, Taylor attacked Alfred Kidder, Emil Haury, and Frank H. H. Roberts Jr., William S. Webb, William Ritchie, and James B. Griffin. See Walter W. Taylor, *A Study of Archeology* (Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association, 1948), 43-92.

62. See Albert C. Spaulding, "Statistical Techniques for the Discovery of Artifact Types," *American Antiquity* 18, no. 4 (1953): 305-13; Lewis R. Binford, Archaeology as Anthropology. *American Antiquity* 28 (1962): 217-225; Lewis R. Binford, "Archaeological Systematics and the Study of Culture Process," *American Antiquity* 31 (1965): 203-210; Albert C. Spaulding, "Explanation in Archeology" in *New Perspectives in Archeology*, ed. Sally R. Binford and Lewis R. Binford (Chicago: Aldine Pub., 1968), 33-9; Kent Flannery, "Archaeology with a Capital 'S'," in *Research and Theory in Current Archaeology* ed. C. Redman (New York: John Wiley, 1972), 47-53.

63. John C. Ravesloot, Jeffrey S. Dean and Michael S. Foster, "A New Perspective on the Casas Grandes Tree-Ring Dates," in *The Gran Chichimeca: Essays on the Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Northern Mesoamerica*, ed. Jonathan E. Reyman (Brookfield, VT: Avebury, 1995), 242, 247-49.

64. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York: Zed Books, 1999), 102.

65. Tracy Teslow, *Constructing Race: The Science of Bodies and Cultures in American Anthropology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 288-305.

66. For a collaborative study of ethics and heritage preservation, see Stephen W. Silliman, *Collaborating at the Trowel's Edge: Teaching and Learning in Indigenous Archaeology* Amerind Studies in Archaeology vol. 2 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2008); for an Indigenous perspective, see Stanford University Professor—and UCSB alum—Michael V. Wilcox's *The Pueblo Revolt and the Mythology of Conquest: An Indigenous Archaeology of Contact* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); and "Saving Indigenous Peoples from Ourselves: Separate but Equal Archaeology Is Not Scientific Archaeology," *American Antiquity* 75 (2010): 221-27.

67. Margaret Jacobs argues that the removal of children from indigenous homes, both in the U.S. and Australia, had the tacit objective of dispossessing the Indigenous peoples from their lands in *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

68. Virginia Salazar-Halfmoon, "Changing Ideas And Perceptions," in *People, Places, And Parks: Proceedings Of The 2005 George Wright Society Conference On Parks, Protected Areas, And Cultural Sites*, ed. David Harmon (Hancock, MI: The George Wright Society, 2006), 440.

Part One

Archaeology and the Southwestern United States

Chapter One: The Foundations of U.S. Southwestern Archaeology— Explorers, Surveyors, Adventurers, and Treasure Hunters; Colonizers All

In the early autumn of 1539, a weary and forlorn Fray Marcos de Niza returned to Mexico City from a year-long journey that took him and his company into the present-day southwestern states of Arizona and New Mexico. Two years earlier, the extraordinary accounts of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his fellow survivors of the ill-fated 1527 Narváez expedition had motivated Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza to quickly and quietly investigate these claims before the rumors reached rival conquistadores. Although the Viceroy sent de Vaca's slave Estévanico along with Fray Marcos, the Spanish Friar returned alone. His account of the death of his companion at the hands of the *A:shiwi* just north of the Gila River was overshadowed by claims that he glimpsed the fabled City of *Cíbola*. Supposedly more than twice the size of Seville, it was said to contain temples and altars of pure gold within its walls, yet was still the smallest of the supposed "Seven Cities." Marcos described this country, far to the north and over 1,300 miles from Mexico City, as the "greatest and best of the discoveries." Before returning to Mexico City, he built a small heap of stone, placed a hastily-fashioned cross atop it, and claimed the lands for New Spain in the name of Viceroy Mendoza.

These promising yet exceptionally embellished reports convinced Viceroy Mendoza to send a larger and much better-provisioned expedition to explore these fantastic claims. Led by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, the expedition, accompanied by Fray Marcos, went in

search of gold and treasure, hoping to reap the fabled wealth of the Southwest by plundering the riches that would indeed be found there. Coronado and his men were optimistic, yet they would find nothing to the north aside from utter disappointment. Coronado and his men arrived in the summer of 1540 to the area Fray Marcos described. The first of the "Seven Cities of Cíbola" was the modest A:shiwi pueblo *Hawikkuh*. They discovered that the cities were not made of gold but were rather multistory mud and stone pueblos inhabited by farmers. There were no gems. There was no gold. However, the famished Spanish did find comfort in the form of nourishment from the corn stores. "Such were the curses," Coronado recorded, "that some hurled at Friar Marcos that I pray God may protect him from them."[1] In truth, several scholars, including, most recently, historian Dennis Herrick, doubt Fray de Niza had previously reached Hawikku the year before.[2]

Thus, the ill-conceived and errant belief that the Southwest was a land of tremendous treasure and riches began. Despite the lack of evident material wealth, Europeans, Americans—and later, archaeologists themselves—took what they pleased from the peoples and lands of Southwest with impunity. Archaeologist Don Fowler called the U.S. Southwest "a laboratory for anthropology," from which his 2000 book takes its name.[3] Its lack of exposure to EuroAmericans until the 1800s provided an ideal stopping ground for the emerging discipline to collect data and test theories. However, the Southwest was only pristine territory in as much as Western science had not yet molested it. By the time the first ethnologist and archaeologists arrived, *El Norte*, as the Spanish knew it, had already experienced 300 years of conquest and colonialism of varying intensities; the Native peoples and ancestral site anthropologists "discovered" had already lived through and adapted to nearly three centuries of European intervention. Although these anthropologists and

archaeologists relied on Spanish sources to understand the Native past, they nevertheless treated many encounters as "first contact" events. Even in studying ancestral sites, they tended to take for granted the colonial history that had defined the lived experiences of Native peoples in the Southwest as early as 1539.

Introduction

Archaeology stands in absolute contrariety to most other scholarly modes of inquiry because they horde their materials of study. Archaeology does not merely aver the usefulness of this approach; it requires the absolute custody of artifacts for careful examination, proper study, and eventual exhibition. Perhaps more concerning is the fact that the materials recovered by archaeologists are positively unique in the strictest definition of the word. The focus of their study is not Shakespearean plays—*Hamlet* or *Macbeth*—which can quickly be transcribed and copied. They are not primarily concerned with basic elements such as hydrogen, oxygen, or sodium found ubiquitously across the planet. Great works of Renaissance art, like Raphael's *The School of Athens*, Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling, Leonardo da Vinci's *The Last Supper*, or Donatello's *David*, do not particularly interest or inform their research. Nor are archaeologists keenly focused upon objects of the night sky, all of which are visible to a more or less degree by everyone. Literature scholars, chemists, art historians, and astronomers each share in common the ability to focus their research upon either facsimiles and recreations of the originals or upon pervasive and convenient objects of study. Archaeology is unique concerning its essential and fundamental requirement to possess the items of its study. The only other discipline with even an inkling of this sort of

approach is another branch of anthropology: human paleontology, of which the objects of its research are among the rarest items in the world receiving scientific scrutiny. However, ownership of those relics is retained exclusively by their countries of origin. Because of these facts, the artifacts that archaeologists seize, retain, and study are viewed earnestly as scientific treasure. Accordingly, lacking any apparent riches, the Southwest became an unprecedented source for archaeological data instead.

Moreover, how archaeologists interpreted culture, cultural diversity, and societal progress of the ~~*Other*~~ were defining aspects of the discipline's emanation. Again, using the example of chemistry: the history of science informs us that chemistry did not exist as a discipline until those natural philosophers who started to identify the core elements provided them names, measured them, and reified them as tangibles. Consider that, for chemistry, this meant a transformation from the classical notions of alchemy—not outlandish notions of transforming lead into gold, but rather an attempt at understanding how one substance may transmute into another—through the use of experimentation. The empirical method advocated by Francis Bacon, Robert Boyle, Robert Hooke, and others restyled old alchemical traditions into the start of the scientific discipline that exists today.[4] In identifying basic elements, these men defined chemistry as a discipline. Before their foundational and monumental efforts, chemistry did not exist in modern terms.[5] The discipline emerged only once they started separating and defining different elements, provided them names, and commenced measuring them. Bruno Latour's example of microbiology and bacteria helps to illustrate this point further. Before Louis Pasteur's pasteurization, microbes were not reified as being major agents in Western society. These peculiarities existed only in the laboratories of a few researchers, including Robert Koch and Ferdinand Cohn.[6] It was not until microbes

transformed into a reality of everyday life for brewers, farmers, and surgeons—and by extension, the broader public—that microbiology became substantiated as a school of study. Likewise, archaeology did not exist as a discipline until the earliest scholars began identifying all the basic elements that we now associate with archaeology—ceramics, lithics, architecture, etc.—and then classifying, measuring, and naming them. Following those accomplishments, archaeologists could set about the task of writing histories for these artifacts and the people with whom they were associated—defining the ancient ~~*Other*~~ defined archaeology.

It is essential to point out that Americanist archaeologists at the turn of the twentieth century exclusively studied the ~~*Other*~~. Archaeologists did not study themselves, that is, EuroAmericans. Instead, they studied only the peculiar, the divergent, and the different: the resident ~~*Other*~~. If the subjects of archaeologists' study were not sufficiently distinct, they had to make their subjects different by highlighting the separation from themselves. It was a precondition that archaeologists defined the ~~*Other*~~, thereby reifying the ~~*Other*~~. When archaeology defined the Native peoples of the U.S., it was also defining itself. Furthermore, it defined archaeology by defining everything that Western society was not in the person of the U.S.' Native peoples.

Yet, before the scientific study of the Southwest's peoples aroused Western science, many others before explored its territories, interacted with its peoples, and recorded those experiences. Archaeologists now know many of those records to be false, illusory, or exaggerated. However, at the advent of the discipline, such documents and testimonies were vital evidence for understanding Native peoples' histories, lifestyles, development, and ultimately worth as human beings. Some fledgling archaeologists were more credulous than

others. Thus, myths, legends, and sensational tales provided the backdrop for the onset of the scientific study of the Southwest, its history, and its peoples.

Archaeology belatedly commenced discussion and study into the racial identities of the resident U.S. Native. Moreover, debates about the peoples of the Southwest began much later than those of the east coast and plains. However, previous opinions and ideas shaped scientific incursion into defining southwestern peoples. Because of how Western science views the past, there did not exist a credible history of the indigenous peoples readily available in terms of spiritual beliefs, kinship systems, social structures, or political organizations. At the end of the nineteenth century, archaeology was expressly positioned to underscore how hapless and helpless the Native peoples were, owing to their lack of any "real" history.

Because of mainstream Social Darwinian beliefs of the age, a primary goal of archaeologists was to understand social progress, complexity, and evolution. The measurements they used were in terms of degrees of difference from what they viewed as the exemplar: superior Western civilization. One of the defining characteristics of the indigenous is that they were altogether unlike the Western world. Native peoples of the U.S. were the quintessential resident ~~*Other*~~. If one traces the ideas of evolution to Darwin, it is clear that his definition espoused variation and variety, not progress and improvement. Nevertheless, ideas about advancement were elementary and paramount for archaeologists who sought to understand how Native peoples of the U.S. had lagged behind in social progress while Western Europe had become the pinnacle of civilization. Archaeologists brokered in othering; it was their commodity. They marketed othering. The entire discipline was built upon othering. They did not study White people. They did not excavate White, Christian

cemeteries. They had to study the ~~*Other*~~ because that dynamic defined the discipline. As archaeologists further articulated and defined the distinctions between *"us"* and *"them*," and as those contrasts were drawn into sharper precision, archaeology emerged as a discipline of scholarly thought. Because Western civilization had been the ascendant culture in North America for 400 years, it was only through that lens that these questions were answered. It did not matter who Native peoples thought they were, where they had come from, or how they viewed the cosmos and natural world. Only the White, dominant, EuroAmerican worldview was valued, and it is through this lens everything else was assessed using their standards, tools of measurement, and terms.

Archaeology, as the study of the human past through the analysis of material remains, as a modern school of study, remains a relatively young academic discipline, having been formally organized in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Owing mainly to how the discipline formed over time, archaeology is inextricably bound to its non-academic foundations. These links directly impacted how representations of the Native ~~*Other*~~ manifested. This chapter examines the intellectually influential factors that shaped the image of Native peoples of the U.S. in order to understand the aims and goals of nascent archaeology in the United States Southwest, including explorers, adventurers, pot hunters, and the transition to legitimized science. The pioneers of archaeology in the southwestern U.S. were bound to influences outside the discipline, which shaped ideas, terminology, research questions, and assumptions. This chapter explores the sources of early beliefs researchers held about human difference, progress, race, and social complexity.

The earliest academic archaeologists who put a pickaxe or shovel into southwestern soil did not do so in an intellectual vacuum. Instead, they inescapably drew from almost 400

years of contact between peoples of the Southwest and of Europeans and Americans. Mary Tileston Hemenway recruited Frank Hamilton Cushing, relatively fresh off of his five-year stay at Zuni, to lead the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition in 1886. Mary was the widow of Augustus Hemenway, a philanthropist who had earned a fortune establishing trade routes from New England to the South American Chilean coast in the 1820s.[7] Following his death in 1876, Mary continued his charitable work at the same time as developing an interest in the Native peoples of the U.S. Beginning in 1886, the first major archaeological excursion, the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition, initially led by Frank Hamilton Cushing, explored the Pre-European history of the A:shiwi or, more commonly, "Zuni."[8] In February 1887, Cushing began digging at *Los Pueblitos*—later named Pueblo Grande—in what amounted to the first scientifically outfitted archaeological excavation in the U.S. Southwest.[9] Incidentally, the A:shiwi were also among the first peoples of the Southwest to first encounter Europeans in Coronado's failed search for Cíbola. At every step, these early archaeologists' perspectives were tinged by sensational, exaggerated, falsified, and sensationalized reports and tales originating in the fabled land of the "Seven Cities of Gold": the U.S. Southwest.[10]

Nevertheless, the archaeologists who would begin to arrive in the Southwest were not the only ones finding themselves confronting the results of 400 years of conquest, conflict, and the social and cultural implications that encompassed the complicated relationship between Native peoples of the U.S. and European colonizers. While ethnologists, archaeologists, and other anthropologists each had their own reasons for conducting research in the Southwest, they frequently found it challenging to navigate social relationships with living Native peoples; years of conquest and conflict had made many the indigenous wary of

incursions into their land by White people.

The history that begot the relationships formed between EuroAmerican scientists and people of the Southwest had a twofold effect in complicating communication, cooperation, and understanding. Each of the collective actors—the Native peoples and the EuroAmerican scientists—held pre-existing notions about the other that hindered their ability to effect a proper understanding of one another's motives and purposes. In short, the European scientists held ideas and beliefs about Native peoples that influenced their research questions and ultimate findings; Native notions about White people resulted in a unique and complex balance between coming to rely on them for survival while also claiming independent sovereignty and resisting, at times passively, the continued decimation and erasure of their cultural heritage at the hands of White people.[11]

In order to comprehend the intellectual aims of early archaeological endeavors in the U.S. Southwest, it is vital to understand the events that shaped scientific inquiry during the early years of the discipline in the 1880s-1900s. The first truly "scientific" expeditions to the U.S. Southwest began in the 1890s and constituted an evolving theoretical paradigm within the discipline of archaeology. Historian of science, and one of the founders of the field of study, Thomas S. Kuhn, first wrote about scientific paradigms in 1962.[12] While he primarily discussed and used examples from the field of astronomy and physics, his work was extrapolated and applied more broadly to other disciplines of the period. Archaeologists themselves discussed how aspects of Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* were applicable to American archaeology. Writing in the late 1970s, archaeologist David Meltzer argued that the discipline had undergone a "paradigm shift" in the early 1960s with the emergence of the processual movement; however, I would contend that archaeology has

never undergone a paradigm shift in terms of how Kuhn described them because the discipline never broke away from its foundational assumptions.[13] Nevertheless, this shift resulted from work by many archaeologists seeking to redefine the discipline by reorienting its approach and the types of questions it tried to answer. From the 1890s until that time, archaeologists had most dominantly been concerned with reconstructing histories of the ancient past through the cultural-historical approach. What this method looked like in practice took many forms. By working backward from the present, archaeologists employed pottery seriations, dendrochronology, linguistic analyses, recorded history, and kin group theories (borrowed in part from ethnologists and linguistic anthropologists) in order to construct a picture of the inhabited past of the Southwest.

The U.S. Southwest is stunning in its landscapes, accented in many places by the crumbling remains of the past, whose Native inhabitants cultivated and thrived in the land long before the arrival of the first white-faced explorer. The fact that there are so many ancestral sites in the Southwest compared to other continental U.S. regions is due to ecological factors, albeit for two vastly different reasons. On the one hand, the Southwest, especially beginning in the 1200s, was and remains an immense desert.[14] The dry air, heat, and lack of precipitation, compounded by years of drought, made the Southwest an ideal place for long-term artifact preservation. The geology of the Southwest is such that rocks—not limestone, like the Mayans and Aztecs to construct the temples of Mesoamerica, merely rocks—were frequently employed as building material. Also widely used were mud pueblo bricks, which evolved from earlier creations of simple mud walls. The pueblos were protected from the elements during habitation by regular maintenance and the application of protective plaster coating. Once unattended, the adobe walls melted in the subsequent

precipitation; however, periods of drought slowed this process such that mud walls of 600 years of age were common during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Given these two primary construction materials, the structural remains of buildings lasted far longer than those constructed in other parts of the continental U.S. Mud and dirt were more frequent building materials elsewhere in the country, and aside from earthen mounds constructed by the Mississippian peoples at locations including Cahokia and Fort Ancient, no grand social remnants exist outside of the southwestern part of the country.[15] To be clear, that is not owing to the capabilities or social complexities of peoples elsewhere, merely their access to building materials with longstanding resilience. The second ecological reason for there existing so many Native ancestral sites was that the Spanish Empire and the Republic of Mexico controlled it until the middle of the nineteenth century. Drought, lack of vegetation, and lack of water made the region largely unappealing to ranchers, homesteaders, other settlers who preferred plentiful water, and fields of grass. As EuroAmerican colonialism spread from the East Coast westward in the second half of the nineteenth century, the densities of communities dwindled, a fact witnessed today by the population concentrations of states and metropolitan areas in the West, with notable exceptions located in the three Pacific coastal states. The land was unappealing because it made survival more complicated than necessary, both for the Native populations and the White settlers who arrived much later. The issues with access to water were as relevant in 1200 as they are in 2022, as disputes to water rights in the Southwest seethes unto this day.[16] It is a dry, hard land with little water and blistering summer heat. Conversely, these areas are dangerously prone to flooding during cumbersomely wet monsoon seasons. The *Jornada del Muerto*, located in central New Mexico, is infamously known as being an incredibly dry stretch of desert with no access to

water. Extending eighty miles longitudinally, it is a stretch blocked from access to the Rio Grande and nestled between the Oscura and San Andres Mountains on the east and the Fra Cristóbal Range and Caballo Mountains on the west. When the Spanish, led by Juan de Oñate, first crossed this stretch of desert in 1598, the survivors who arrived at the pueblo north of the strand named it *Socorro*, "help," in commemoration of their Native saviors.[17] While many structure undoubtedly were torn down for construction materials in building ranch buildings and cabins, many of the largest remained at least partially intact and would ultimately be protected by varying levels of government.

The first generations of archaeologists who focused their study in the Southwest viewed it largely untouched by settlement. Its vast lands only came under the control of the U.S. government following the conclusion of the U.S-Mexico War, after signing treaties with Native peoples, and the subsequent relocations of those peoples to reservation lands. Unlike the eastern parts of the country where many Native peoples involuntarily vacated their ancestral lands, the land in the Southwest was largely so undesirable that many Native peoples we permitted to remain in place either through resistance or, more frequently, the government and public's indifference to their resource-poor lands that were, nevertheless, constricted. In places like Chaco Canyon, archaeologists found 700-year-old architecture not far from the living descendants of its builders. Because the Native worldview dictated these sites were places where ancestral spirits dwelled, many left them unmolested and undisturbed.

This chapter will explore the history of the U.S. Southwest that predated the arrival of archaeologists. It was not a "laboratory" for which men like Lewis Henry Morgan and John Wesley Powell hoped or that Fowler argues—though many

archaeologists may indeed have thought of it as one.[18] The region had been the site of vast migrations, intense conflicts, and changing identities even before the Spanish first arrived in 1539. I argue (1) the impressions with which the first archaeologists arrived were a result of centuries-old ideas and beliefs about Native peoples; (2) the prejudices of earlier European and EuroAmerican-produced knowledge shaped archaeologists' experiences; (3) the influence of non-scholars helped define archaeologists' approaches; and (4) these influences, combined, led the earliest archaeological work to ending up becoming a question of understanding race.

The First European Explorers to the Americas

The descriptions, narratives, and impressions provided by the first Europeans to explore the Americas are the root sources of misconceptions of the Indigenous American peoples. Long before archaeologists would examine the Southwest, portrayals of Native peoples of the U.S. had been thoroughly cemented. Over time, these assumptions, myths, prejudices, stereotypes, and other contrived and malformed conceptions become institutionalized in popular memory and thought. The foundations upon which many of these racialized stereotypes are ultimately and inextricably bound through historical legacies emerge from the writings of fifteenth-century Genoan-born merchant and explorer *Cristoffa Corombo*.

Christopher Columbus, 1492, and the Eastern Caribbean may seem disconnected from the U.S. Southwest. Yet, the archaeological study of Native peoples of the Southwest—despite being separated in time and space by several hundred years and several thousand

miles from—owe their first impressions upon the European world, and by extension later EuroAmerican scientists, to one of the most famous and well known of all European explorers of the American continents. In 2022, in the United States, Columbus is the single example of an explorer having a national holiday celebrated in most U.S. states and many countries of the Americas. Columbus is central to understanding scientific and popular conceptions of Native peoples of the U.S. directly since his initially recorded observations were the first Western reports of the unknown inhabitants occupying the American lands.

The first explorers who would find their way to what would later become the U.S. Southwest were the Spanish in 1539, led by Coronado nearly fifty years later. Explorations by U.S. Army and other others searching for treasure, adventure, inspiration, and fame some 300 or more years after that did so in an intellectual milieu that was founded in earlier descriptions of encounters with the indigenous inhabitants of the continent.

It matters little that Columbus thought he had arrived in the East Indies; his descriptions and observations of the people he interacted with and encountered served their most prevalent purpose in providing background information to those who would soon follow after him. Although later Spanish explorers in the Southwest are crucial to recognize, they too are beholden to the impressions of Columbus. The intellectual heritage of the first archaeologists who performed research in the Southwest relied less extensively on Spanish sources due, in part, to many of those texts not being accessible or adequately translated into English until the early parts of the twentieth century. Opinions of Native peoples in the late 1800s and early 1900s were intellectually bound to interpretations much more closely related to those that came out of English settlements in the east from places like the Massachusetts Bay colony.[19] Thomas Jefferson toyed with the idea that Native peoples were “a degraded

yet basically noble brand of white man," yet such ideas were not shared by naturalists of the day, including Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon.[20] In the nineteenth century, colonialists venturing to the Southwest came predominantly from non-Spanish-speaking countries. When American explorers in the 1820s first ventured into the Southwest, the Spanish encounters and interpretations failed to play into a greater understanding of the U.S. Southwest directly. When the U.S. Army arrived in the 1850s to survey the new landholdings of the U.S. and prepare to clear the Native peoples from its lands, Mexican settlers and the Spanish before them had already been there for over 300 years. Although the Native peoples in what would become the U.S. never viewed themselves as one homogenized people, many White colonialists certainly did. Of course, they were able to distinguish between tribes and no doubt recognize discrete differences, but by and large, the Native peoples of the U.S. were grouped together as "Indians."

In order to understand what took place in the United States Southwest in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the intellectual heritage of those EuroAmericans who first arrived and came into contact with Native peoples, landscapes, and ancestral sites must be explored. These 400 years of contact and written descriptions and interpretations of encounters with Native peoples of the U.S. created preconceived notions and assumptions on the part of everyone who visited the Southwest. Regardless of their purpose, the ideas with which they arrived derived from earlier encounters, ultimately stemming from the very first encounter between Christopher Columbus and Native peoples of the Americas.[21] It was not until Adolph Bandelier's ethnographic work in the 1880s that there developed any sort of sophisticated understanding of the southwestern Native peoples that required a more solid foundation upon which to recognize their sometimes perceived subtle differences. The

accounts of these men—and I daresay "men" because indeed, most were— provided insights for all those who would follow.

Columbus was motivated in his travels by economic, political, and, perhaps most importantly, religious reasons. Historians Delno West and August Kling argued that Columbus's stated objective of finding a westward passage to reach Asia was not genuinely his ultimate intention, despite his wholehearted confidence in finding unclaimed lands over which he could assert authority in the name of the Church and Spanish Crown.[22] Columbus's son, Ferdinand Colón, wrote of Columbus's motives that he was "impressed by the many fables and stories which he had heard from various persons and sailors," and that seeking the Indies was "his hope of finding before he arrived there some island or land of great importance whence he might pursue his main design."[23] Columbus's main design, at least according to the authors of the English translation and commentary of the *Libro De Las Profecías* of Christopher Columbus, was apocalyptic in scope. Kling and West argued that Columbus believed the Second Coming of Christ would not occur until the Christian gospel had spread throughout the entire world. Columbus did not expect to find a passage to the Indies, but rather unknown islands—possibly a continent—inhabited by uncontacted heathens. This particular collection of writings echoes medieval notions about the end of the world. This outlook made it imperative that the peoples whom Columbus would contact on his voyage, whomever they were, were undeniably and fundamentally un-Christian. His initial observations attest that not only were the Native peoples of the eastern Caribbean not Christian, their beliefs, behaviors, and even existence were antithetical to Christian ideals.

These same writings by Christopher Columbus that influenced late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century European notions about the Native people of the Americas have mostly

survived to the present for scholarly examination, allowing them to demonstrate how the very first conceptions of Natives peoples were reached.[24] When Columbus arrived on the island's shores, its inhabitants called *Guanahani*, he claimed the land for Spain and named it *San Salvador*, "Holy Savior," in honor of the Christian God.[25] That same day, after making the first contact with the *Lukku-Cairi*, he recorded his initial impressions in his journal on October 11th, 1492: "it seemed to me they were a people very poor in everything…. They ought to make good slaves…. And it seems to me that they could very easily become Christians, for it seemed to me that they had no religion of their own. God willing, when I come to leave I will bring six of them to Your Highnesses."[26] From the start, Columbus viewed the American inhabitants as an easy group to subjugate, and some of his first remarks demonstrate his will and intention to dominate them. The six captives he mentions returned with him to Europe the following year and were presented at court to Isabella I and Ferdinand II in Seville and were later paraded through the streets as a public spectacle.[27] Several days after the initial encounter, Columbus remarks, "with fifty men one could keep them all in subjugation and make them do whatever one might wish."[28] Furthermore, in an April 1493 letter to Luis de Santangel (a patron who helped fund the first voyage and Chancellor of the Exchequer of Aragon), Columbus made clear that using the American continents as a source for European slaves was bound to pay dividends: "their Highnesses may see that I shall give them as much gold as they require .... slaves, as many of these idolaters as their Highness shall command to be shipped."[29] On his return home from his second voyage, Columbus took 560 Native individuals with him to be returned to Europe and sold as slaves.[30] Although the Portuguese are noted for engaging in the first transatlantic slave voyage to Brazil in 1526, the first commodified slaves to make the Atlantic crossing

did so by way of Haiti to Spain.

A second remarkable and equally grotesque observation Columbus made of the Native peoples, in addition to the idea of being ideal slaves, was the claim that some engaged in cannibalism. On Sunday, November 4th, 1492, Columbus conversed with Native peoples on the coast of present-day Cuba. In the words of historian and transcriber Bartolomé de las Casas, "He also understood that far away there were men with one eye, and others with a dog's snout, who ate men, and on capturing one would cut his throat and drink the blood and cut off his genitals."[31] Nine days later, as Columbus, his sailors, and their Native guides approached a nearby island called "Bohío," the guides informed their European guests that the inhabitants of those islands were to be avoided or suffer the consequences.[32] From November 23rd, 1492:

> those Indians he had with him called [it] Bohío and which they said was very large, and there were people there with one eye in their forehead, and others called cannibals of whom they appeared to be in great fear. And when they saw that he was taking this course he said that they were speechless with fear that they would be eaten, and because they are heavily armed.[33]

Immediately before leaving the island of Hispaniola, on January 13th, 1493, Las Casas records Columbus's sentiments as: "The admiral says further that the people on the previous islands were very afraid of the Carib and some called them 'Caniba', but 'Carib' on Española, and that they must be a daring people for they roam these islands eating anyone they can capture"[34] Columbus later wrote: "Thus I have found no monsters, nor had a report of any, except in an island 'Carib,' which is the second at the coming into the Indies, and which is inhabited by people who are regarded in all the islands as very fierce and who eat human flesh."[35] Although these accounts consist only of hearsay, on November 4th, 1493, during the second voyage, Columbus landed on Guadeloupe and visited some deserted huts

he found nearby the coastline. He picked around and found a few Native curiosities, some remaining bits of unspecified food, and a rather large quantity of cotton. According to the account of Columbus's physician, Dr. Chanca, the most interesting acquisition was "four or five bones of human arms and legs."[36] Upon finding these remains, for which no evidence is put forth to indicate death by anything other than natural causes, let alone evidence of the remains contributing to a meal, they surmised "we were amongst the Caribee islands, which are inhabited by cannibals, whose inhabitants eat human flesh."[37] A half-dozen or more similar examples highlight Columbus's initial attitudes towards the Native peoples being one of their susceptibility to servitude and of their viciousness and savagery in terms of their anthropophagous habits in equating them with "monsters." Given the popular notions of this period, the fact that Columbus did not encounter any "one-eyed" or "dog-nosed" monsters was undoubtedly a more shocking revelation.

History has demonstrated that these claims are clear exaggerations that presented unfair depictions of Native peoples to the larger European world. The writings during and between voyages contained inaccuracies, while perhaps initially intended to serve the purpose of swaying the Spanish crown, in the end, tainted the perspectives of subsequent encounters. Conclusive evidence of his exaggerations comes from January 9th, 1493, when, while sailing near the Dominican Republic, he witnessed three "sirens"—in reality, manatees—and described them as "not as beautiful as they are depicted."[38] Christopher Columbus was many things, an apocalyptic thinker who actively sought to bring about the end of the world through his journeys to the "Indies" among them. But those Spanish conquistadors that followed principally sought individual wealth and social advancement through carefully negotiated accords with the crown.

Christopher Columbus's letters and observations sounded the alarm: peoples of the "new" world were treacherous, dangerous, and malevolent. Within months, his observations reached Rome, Antwerp, Basel, Paris, Florence, Strassburg, Valladolid, and within five years, seventeen different translations had been printed. Historian David Stannard describes the European perspective as "a Satanic vision of savagery and wildness and the dark," and that "[b]efore long, reports were circulating that Satan himself resided on one of those islands in the Caribbean Sea."[39] Similarly, Historian David Hanke portrayed Europeans as imagining "a hostile continent peopled with armed warriors rushing out of the tropical forests or strange cities to resist the advance of the Spanish soldiers and the missionary efforts of their companion friars. . . . Who and what are these creatures? How shall we treat them? Can they be Christianized and brought to a civilized way of life?"[40]

The only other European explorer with as much renown as Columbus (by merit of having two continents named in his honor) is the Florentine explorer and merchant Amerigo Vespucci. His descriptions of Native peoples of the Americas not only substantiated Columbus's observations but were also the first to be translated into the English language. During his voyage of 1501–1502, sailing under the flag of Portugal, he reached the coast of Brazil and turned south to sail along the coast.[41] In a letter written to his friend and former patron Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici in the Spring of 1503, Vespucci hypothesized that the lands found by European navigators to the West were not the edges of Asia, as asserted by Christopher Columbus, but rather an entirely different continent. Vespucci's letter was published in Latin in 1503–04 under the title *Mundus Novus* and was a huge success, reprinted in several languages.

Vespucci's observations about the "New World" and its inhabitants comprised a

richness not evident in the writings of Columbus. His description of the people bared fundamental connections and overt connotations to unsubstantiated stereotypes and incorrect presumptions on the part of White colonizers in the centuries that followed. He proceeded to describe the Native inhabitants by stating:

> First then as to the people. We found in those parts such a multitude of people as nobody could enumerate (as we read in the Apocalypse), a race I say gentle and amenable. All of both sexes go about naked, covering no part of their bodies; and just as they spring from their mothers' wombs so they go until death. They have indeed large square-built bodies, well formed and proportioned, and in color verging upon reddish. This I think has come to them, because, going about naked, they are colored by the sun. They have, too, hair plentiful and black.[42]

This first observation began the enumeration of the ways in which the inhabitants of this continent differ from their White Christian counterparts in Europe. Firstly, the purported observation that "all of both sexes go about naked" has biblical connotations that may not be immediately apparent.[43] Genesis 2:25 states that Adam and Eve were both originally naked, "and were not ashamed."[44] After partaking of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, Genesis 3:7 states that "the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked."[45] The report given by Vespucci is not merely one without judgment, but in the context of pre-Reformation sixteenth-century European Christianity: nakedness was either a sin or a demonstration of lack of wisdom; in the eyes of Vespucci and other Europeans, the Native nakedness was undoubtedly both. He continued,

> They are comely, too, of countenance which they nevertheless themselves destroy; for they bore their cheeks, lips, noses and ears. Nor think those holes small or that they have one only. For some I have seen having in a single face seven borings any one of which was capable of holding a plum. They stop up these holes of theirs with blue stones, bits of marble, very beautiful crystals of alabaster, very white bones, and other things artificially prepared according to their customs. But if you could see a thing so unwonted and monstrous, that is to say a man having in his cheeks and lips alone seven stones some of which are a span and a half in length, you would not be without wonder. For I frequently observed and discovered that seven such stones

> weighed sixteen ounces, aside from the fact that in their ears, each perforated with three holes, they have other stones dangling on rings; and this usage applies to the men alone. For women do not bore their faces, but their ears only.[46]

Here he described the practice, still performed in modern times by peoples of South America such as the Kayapo, Suya, and Yanomami, of facial piercing.[47] To Vespucci's unwitting hordes of European readers, these descriptions were no doubt monstrous sounding. Aside from their appearances, which were undoubtedly viewed as odd, the most severe admonitions were reserved for the behavior that was recorded:

> They have another custom, very shameful and beyond all human belief. For their women, being very lustful, cause the private parts of their husbands to swell up to such a huge size that they appear deformed and disgusting; and this is accomplished by a certain device of theirs, the biting of certain poisonous animals. And in consequence of this many lose their organs which break through lack of attention, and they remain eunuchs.[48]

This sexual debauchery underscores their un-Christian-like behavior. The "very lustful" attribute ascribed to these exotic-looking women has survived in the modern world. Meanwhile, the Christian outlook for the unfortunate men mentioned and the ultimate disposition of their souls is rather grim. Deuteronomy 23:1 describes the consequences for this outcome: "[h]e that is wounded in the stones, or hath his privy member cut off, shall not enter into the congregation of the LORD."[49] Despite the rather untasteful connotations for this sentiment in a modern world, this description, as well as others that call attention to the manners in which the two cultures differ, were laden with moral, spiritual, political, and economic judgments.

> They have no cloth either of wool, linen or cotton, since they need it not; neither do they have goods of their own, but all things are held in common. They live together without king, without government, and each is his own master. They marry as many wives as they please; and son cohabits with mother, brother with sister, male cousin with female, and any man with the first woman he meets. They dissolve their

> marriages as often as they please, and observe no sort of law with respect to them. Beyond the fact that they have no church, no religion and are not idolaters, what more can I say? They live according to nature, and may be called Epicureans rather than Stoics. There are no merchants among their number, nor is there barter. The nations wage war upon one another without art or order.[50]

Sixteenth-century Europe could scarcely imagine a world without religion. Without God's mandate, there would exist no political legitimacy and thereby no societal framework to generate order. To Vespucci, these were lawless peoples, without rule or government, free to do as they pleased in utter chaos. It should be no surprise that, horrified as Europeans must have felt about the consumption of human flesh, this grotesquerie was among the noted behaviors offensive to decency and moral uprightness.

> The elders by means of certain harangues of theirs bend the youths to their will and inflame them to wars in which they cruelly kill one another, and those whom they bring home captives from war they preserve, not to spare their lives, but that they may be slain for food; for they eat one another, the victors the vanquished, and among other kinds of meat human flesh is a common article of diet with them. Nay be the more assured of this fact because the father has already been seen to eat children and wife, and I knew a man whom I also spoke to who was reputed to have eaten more than three hundred human bodies. And I likewise remained twenty-seven days in a certain city where I saw salted human flesh suspended from beams between the houses, just as with us it is the custom to hang bacon and pork. I say further: they themselves wonder why we do not eat our enemies and do not use as food their flesh which they say is most savory.[51]

Ironically, the Spanish Catholics themselves attended Mass and, in this ceremony, they drank wine and ate bread; in so doing, they themselves feigned cannibalism through a ritual which purports to transform the bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ. Their perspective on the behaviors of the Indigenous peoples of the Americas belied the foundations of their own spiritual redemption. Their comparison of Indigenous human flesh to pork underscores their predisposition to consider these people as apart from humanity.[52] The early sixteenth-century Catholic Church would not have recognized humanity as being

part of nature; yet, the passages quoted by Vespucci here are equivocal in recognizing the full humanity of his hosts:

> Their weapons are bows and arrows, and when they advance to war they cover no part of their bodies for the sake of protection, so like beasts are they in this matter.[53]

Again, the comparison of the Native peoples to nature is clear: "beasts." This analogy, based on comparisons with European accomplishments and measured by European value judgments, is repeated an incalculable number of times in the accounts by others that arrive later. It follows that if they are animals, they have no rights that cannot be taken away. As for the women,

> The women as I have said go about naked and are very libidinous; yet they have bodies which are tolerably beautiful and cleanly. Nor are they so unsightly as one perchance might imagine; for, inasmuch as they are plump, their ugliness is the less apparent, which indeed is for the most part concealed by the excellence of their bodily structure. It was to us a matter of astonishment that none was to be seen among them who had a flabby breast, and those who had borne children were not to be distinguished from virgins by the shape and shrinking of the womb; and in the other parts of the body similar things were seen of which in the interest of modesty I make no mention. When they had the opportunity of copulating with Christians, urged by excessive lust, they defiled and prostituted themselves.[54]

Lastly, he describes in detail, after already having hinted several times quite explicitly, his perception of the sexually deviant behavior of the women. Based on Vespucci's descriptions and assumptions, the dissonance experienced between thinking of the women simultaneously as beasts and as objects of desire must not have been strong enough to impede the sexual impulses of whom one can only assume were Vespucci's men. Vespucci ends the section by stating, quite understatedly, "[t]hese are the most noteworthy things I know about them."[55]

Vespucci's early descriptions of Native peoples were influential because they were the first published in the English language. Moreover, a woodcut by Johann Froschauer for

an illustrated edition of Amerigo Vespucci's *Mundus Novus* is the first known depiction of Native peoples of the Americas, showing any amount of ethnographic detail. It also depicted cannibalism in the New World as a part of everyday life.[56] (See Figure 1.1.) Robert Berkhofer, Jr. argued that these images and descriptions coming out of early explorations coincided with the development of the printing press, caused "the idea of the Indian different from the European" to quickly spread and develop throughout Europe.[57]



Figure 1.1: "America" reprinted in Henry Stevens, *Steven's American Bibliographer* (Chiswick: C. Whittingham, 1854), n.p.

Originally printed in German, the caption accompanying the woodcut reads:

> This figure represents to us the people and island which have been discovered by the Christian King of Portugal or by his subjects. The people are thus naked, handsome, brown, well-shaped in body, their heads, necks, arms, private parts, feet of men and women are a little covered in feathers. The men also have many precious stones in their faces and breasts. No one also has anything, but all things are in common. And the men have as wives those who please them, be they mothers, sisters, or friends, therein they make no distinction. They also fight with each other. They also eat each other, even those who are slain, and hang the flesh of them in the smoke. They become one hundred and fifty years old. And have no government.[58]

As with most lurid tales of indigenous behaviors, accusations of cannibalism were often used as justifications for the subjugation or destruction of "savages."

By the sixteenth century, Europeans had formed a relatively complete, if wholly

inaccurate, image of the peoples indigenous to the Americas. “Indians” were antithetically un-Christian. Indians were man-eaters. Indians were fierce. Indians were violent. Indians were easy to subjugate. Indians were shameful. Indians were savage. Indians were lustful. Indians were lawless. Indians were atheistic. Indians were immodest. In all these ways, and dozens of others, these Native peoples were quite literally little more than mere beasts.

In less than thirty years after Columbus’s first voyage, Spanish conquistadors, led by Hernán Cortés in Mesoamerican and Francisco Pizarro in South America, conquered the Aztecs and the Incas. The immense wealth of these civilizations, the two most populous at the time, encouraged further Spanish exploration elsewhere in the Americas, perhaps most famously in their search for Cíbola and the “Seven Cities of Gold.[59] North of Mesoamerica, Spanish conquistadores pushed into the region now commonly known as the greater Southwest in search of gold and described a place beyond the sphere of Aztec influence called “Chichimeca,” inhabited by:

> a very barbarous people and not so intelligent as those of the other provinces. I am likewise now sending sixty horsemen and two hundred foot soldiers. . . I have given my men instruction that if they discover in these people some aptitude or ability. . . they are to make every effort to pacify them and bring them under Your Majesty’s Yoke. . . . If, however, they find that they are not as I have said above and refuse to be obedient, the Spaniards are to make war on them and reduce them to slavery; so that there may be no part remaining of all this land which does not serve and acknowledge Your Majesty. By making slaves of this barbarous people, who are almost savages, Your Majesty will be served and the Spaniards will benefit greatly.[60]

The Spanish arrive in the U.S. Southwest

The first European visitors to the U.S. Southwest were Spanish conquistadors searching for gold. These records, too, are sources of misconceptions of the Native peoples of the U.S. Southwest. Though not extensively translated into English for archaeological

study until the beginning of the 1900s, the influence of the Spanish narratives and descriptions helped distort early cultural histories by providing ahistorical accounts that sometimes conflicted with archaeological data. Moreover, place names and peoples were often ambiguous, resulting in less scrupulous archaeologists applying incongruous Spanish histories to their cultural-historical narratives without thorough scrutiny. Similar to the earlier descriptions provided by Columbus and Vespucci, many Spanish sources explicitly contained exaggerations, falsifications, and fallacious characterizations for political purposes.

Following the voyages of Columbus, the Spanish spent little time before reaching the interior portions of the continent, making judgments along the way regarding the peoples they encountered. The first Europeans to explore portions of the greater Southwest did so unintentionally after a failed voyage ended in a shipwreck, arriving by way of modern-day Florida, having journeyed around the Gulf Coast, and crossing Texas before finally arriving in the Southwest. The survivors of the doomed 1527 expedition led by Panfilo de Narvaez included Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alonso de Castillo Maldonado, Andrés Dorantes, and the African slave Esteban.[61] Nine years after leaving Spain, these survivors found themselves in the former Aztec city of Tenōchtitlan, which the Spanish had rebuilt and christened as Mexico City. Although it remains unclear if they traveled through present-day Arizona or New Mexico, the stories of the far northern reaches of the "Gran Chichimeca" and rumors of the "Seven Cities of Cíbola" convinced Viceroy Mendoza to send forth a modest-sized expedition, including Franciscan Fray Marcos and Esteban, northward in 1539 in search of the fabled Seven Cities.[62] However, according to Fray Marcos's account, following the death of Estévanico at the hands of the Zuni just north of the Gila River, he fled south back to Mexico City after having merely glimpsed Cíbola.[63] (See Figure 1.2 for

Bandelier's suggested line of travel.) These promising yet exaggerated reports convinced Viceroy Mendoza to send a second more significant and much better-provisioned expedition led by Coronado to explore these fantastic claims.[64] Coronado and his men would find no gold. Nevertheless, the Spanish soldiers engaged in a battle against 200 angry A:shiwi warriors. After claiming victory, the starved Spanish ransacked the A:shiwi food stores, "and in less than an hour they entered the village and captured it."[65] This conflict resulted from the mistaken belief that the Southwest was a land overflowing with gold.

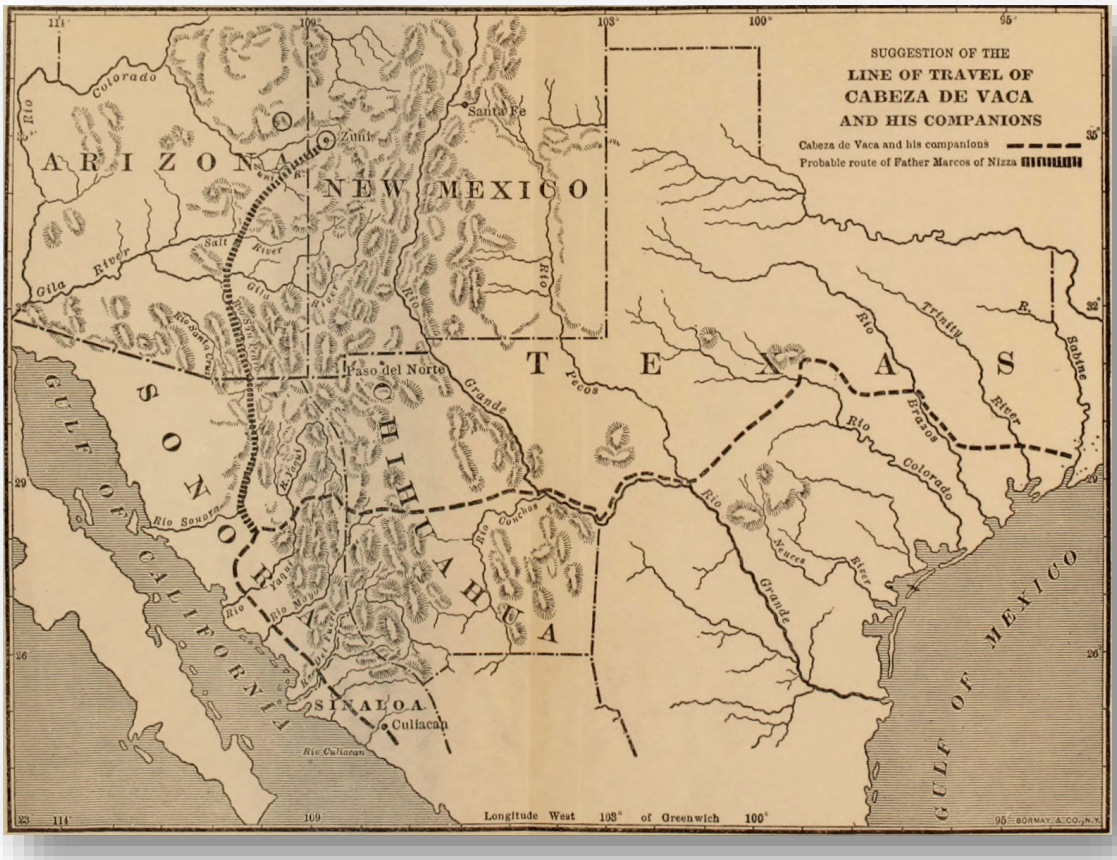


Figure 1.2: Adaolph Bandelier's suggested "Line of Travel of Cabeza De Vaca and His Companions" from Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, *The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca* trans. by Ad. F. Bandelier (New York: Allerton Book Co., 1922), frontispiece.

Once Coronado discovered the illusions of legendary fortunes were mythical, El Norte garnered, at least initially, less interest from the Spanish colonial government. This land area remained under the control of the Viceroyalty of New Spain before the first post-colonial monarchy of the First Mexican Empire replaced it in 1821. The revolution that put an end to Spanish rule also ended the exclusionist policy that had resulted in a closed border between the United States and Mexico. The Santa Fe Trail from Missouri flourished during this period, as did trade between the two countries.[66] As the Mexican government underwent several rounds of violent upheaval, several intermediate Mexican governments made

territorial claims in what would become the U.S. Southwest. In 1844, newly elected U.S. President James K. Polk's vowed to fulfill the peculiar American dream of "Manifest Destiny," an idea initially conceived by author John Louis O'Sullivan.[67] Polk's desire to stretch the continental United States from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific resulted in the cessation of these southwestern territories to the U.S. following the Mexican-American War and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848.[68] In order to put an end to border disputes while making way for the expansion of the Southern Pacific Railroad, the Gadsden Purchase—officially named *The Treaty of La Mesilla*—finalized the modern U.S.-Mexican border in 1853.[69] (See Figure 1.3.)



Figure 1.3: A map of the territory acquired from Mexico including the annexation of Texas in 1845, the cessation of California, Utah Territory, and New Mexico Territory in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hildalgo in 1848, and the Gadsden Purchase in 1853. Source: Charles Kendall Adams, *A History of the United States* (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1909), 303.

Although the Spanish completed extensive explorations of the Southwest, most of the Spanish accounts were unavailable in English until the first few decades of the 1900s, or later. Some multilingual explorers, including Gustav Nordenskiöld, consulted the original Spanish texts in preparation for field research. However, few scholars, such as the influential Adolph Bandelier, painstakingly translated Spanish sources and integrated them into their conclusions. Those publications and second-hand Spanish accounts were then relied upon for

later archaeological studies. When U.S. federal exploration and incursion into the newly acquired territories began with the Army's scouting and topographical mapping expeditions beginning in 1842, they did so without precisely knowing what to expect, despite over 200 years of Spanish and Mexican exploration.[70]

Out of all of Bandelier's contemporaries who produced written scientific and historic accounts of Native peoples in the Southwest, Hubert Howell Bancroft compiled the most comprehensive and systematic ethnographic collections at the time. In 1875, A.L. Bancroft & Company began production of a five-volume history of Native races as a synthesis of ethnographic and archaeological studies of Native peoples, translated from English, French, and Spanish sources.[71] These volumes were titled and according to prevailing scientific notions of development along with curiosities that made each distinct: *Wild tribes; Civilized nations; Myths and languages; Antiquities; and Primitive History*. Bancroft employed a large team of assistants and acted as the series' editor. Following the success of this publication, Bancroft started on an entire history of the West and Pacific states, ultimately encompassing thirty-nine volumes, the last of which he printed in 1891.[72] Many of the ethnographic descriptions of Native peoples were denigrating towards their customs, behaviors, and beliefs. The prejudices and stereotypes employed by Bancroft's various authors were conspicuously pronounced in their descriptions:

> The scanty herbage, by which the greater part of this region is covered, offers to man but a transient food-supply; hence he must move from place to place or starve. Thus nature, more than elsewhere on our coast, invites to a roving life; and, as on the Arabian deserts, bands of American Bedouins roam over immense tracts seeking what they may devour. Here it is that many a luckless miner and ill-protected traveler pays the penalty of his temerity with his life; here it is, more than elsewhere within the temperate zones of the two Americas, that the natives bid defiance to the encroachments of civilization. Sweeping down upon small settlements and isolated parties, these American Arabs rob, murder, and destroy, then fleeing to their strongholds bid defiance to pursuers. In the midst of all this we find another

> phenomenon in the semi-civilized towns-people of New Mexico and Arizona; a spontaneous awakening from the ruder phases of savagism.[73]

Native Races was particularly consequential to the history of American archaeology in the Southwest, and the perception of the Native peoples in popular memory as the views contained within ultimately became part of the common knowledge of American society. Archaeologists who traveled to the Southwest employed its volumes for research and, taken together with other popular books and stories of the era, helped to shape the anthropological image of the Southwest in the late nineteenth century.

The U.S. Army Corps

The accounts published in books, official reports, and individual journals of the U.S. Army's initial expeditions are among the first recorded sources of Native peoples of the U.S. Southwest by English-speaking Americans. Because of the "official" nature of many of these documents, they were relied upon extensively by early archaeologists. Often, archaeologists incorporated these accounts into cultural histories without proper criticism and scrutiny. As the first ethnologist and archaeologists prepared for expeditions, these sources were consulted extensively as well as thoroughly referenced in those later findings. While the extent of exaggeration had diminished since the time of Columbus, there remained racial undertones in written perspectives about Native peoples.

Following the conclusion of hostilities that ended the Mexican-American War, the first official incursions by the federal U.S. government into the Southwest were investigatory and exploratory endeavors. In the early 1800s, after an ever-growing need for critical

infrastructure in the then-westernmost portions of the country, the United States Army created the Corps of Topographical Engineers in 1838, devised to survey landholdings, establish efficient travel lines connecting major centers of population and resources, and aid in the survey and layout of land borders. As the U.S. border expanded in the years immediately following the corps' creation, the sheer size of the acquired land, roughly one-and-one-quarter million square miles, necessitated intensive mapping and surveying before colonial settlements could be reasonably achieved.[74]

During the various surveys, the Army inevitably encountered the peoples and ancestral structures of the Southwest and recorded their observations in various forms. Lieut. Col. John Macrae Washington, with Lieut. James Hervey Simpson assigned as the topographical engineer, explored Chaco Canyon, perhaps one of the most celebrated archaeological sites in all of the Southwest, in 1849.[75] The primary mission of this collection of troops was to put an end to Diné conflict by convincing or compelling the Diné to sign and abide by a treaty. They came across Pueblo Bonito en route, glimpsing a portion of the structure across the vast New Mexican landscape. Chaco Canyon consists of no fewer than fifteen major disused pueblos, the largest of which, Pueblo Bonito, is estimated to have been four stories high originally, and "the original number of rooms was as many eight hundred."[76] Simpson detailed specific measurements and descriptions of each of the structures and documented construction techniques and names provided by their Mexican guide, Carravahal.[77] Simpson published the descriptions and illustrations of the Chaco Canyon in 1850 in a publication by the U.S. Federal Government titled "The report of Lieutenant J. H. Simpson of an expedition into the Navajo country in 1849." In it, his confusion is evident:

> In regard to the origin of these remains, there is nothing that I can learn conclusive in relation to it. Hosta, one of the most intelligent Pueblo Indians I have seen, says, as I have before remarked, that they were built by Montezuma and his people, when on their way from the north to the region of the Rio Grande and to Old Mexico. Sandoval, a very intelligent Navajo chief, also says they were built by Montezuma, but further states that the Navajos and all the other Indians were once but one people, and lived in the vicinity of the Silver mountain; that this mountain is about one hundred miles north of the Chaco ruins; that the Pueblo Indians separated from them, (the Navajos,) and built towns on the Rio Grande and its tributaries, but that 'their house continues to be the hut made of bushes.' Nothing more satisfactory than this have I been able to get from either Indians or Mexicans.[78]

Nineteenth-century Pueblo peoples attested that "Montezuma," a mythical conception of the fallen Aztec leader of Tenōchtitlan whom Cortez defeated, was a prominent figure in the mythology of their history, curiously mirroring Christian beliefs by having been conceived of a virgin and working miracles.[79] According to historian Ramón A. Gutiérrez, who discusses the legend, Moctezuma departed for Mexico on the back of an eagle, prophesying he would return to end the suffering and free the people from Spanish rule.[80] When Adolph Bandelier constructed his ethnography of the Pueblo peoples in the early 1890s, he argued that the Pueblo people had contrived southwestern stories about Montezuma in recent years in order to excite and manipulate White people. However, the first recorded appearance of this legend dates to the year 1694, when Jesuit Father Eusebio Francisco Kino recorded the Pueblo Indians telling him Moctezuma was the builder of *Sivan Vahki*, also called Casa Grande, located just southeast of present-day Phoenix.[81] It remains unclear where the notion that Montezuma occupied or traveled through the Southwest or was responsible for building settlements in that area, but the idea is a persuasive one. The story was repeated throughout the nineteenth century and was one of the primary vehicles by which apocryphal stories undercut White perceptions of Native ingenuity. Few at the time genuinely grasped the history of the people of the Southwest. In the shadow of Mesoamerican and Southern

American empires, too frequently the southwestern Native peoples, their past, and their present were viewed by White peoples simply as savages with no significant history.

The descriptions of the peoples and places the U.S. Army explored, mapped, and documented, including hundreds of Pre-European sites, many that would later become parks and monuments, form the first American impressions of the Southwest. However, military-led expeditions were short-lived. Following the Civil War, civilians, not ranking military men, led government surveys that sought to document and explore the Southwest. A primary objective of the surveys was reconnaissance. In exploring the West, the surveys endeavored to understand the Native peoples in the various parts of the Southwest to discover ways of pressuring them into submission and finally solving the disastrous "Indian problem."[82]

The First Academics in the Southwest

At the turn of the twentieth century, archaeology as an academic discipline of study remained in its infancy. The first educated professionals to undertake archaeological excavations in the Southwest were not, in reality, trained as archaeologists at academic institutions. Many of the foundational tenets of the discipline had yet to be established. Those who would later become leaders in the field were still undergoing academic training or merely beginning their archaeological careers. This fact is mainly due to few academic departments offering advanced degrees in archaeology; the discipline was too new. Franz Boas established the first academic anthropology program in the United States in 1902, focusing on all four fields of the discipline.[83] Nevertheless, other institutions, including Harvard, offered coursework in archaeology as early as 1887 under the leadership of

Frederick Ward Putnam. However, his idea of historical particularism underscored Boas's anthropological approach and asserted that cultures developed according to their own distinct history. This assertion meant that archaeologists place special attention upon constructing cultural histories for the peoples, sites, and cultures under investigation. For the first half of the twentieth century, archaeologists focused almost exclusively on writing Native histories based on the artifacts they recovered. These first cultural histories were the most authoritative sources available to other American archaeologists and became the basis for later investigations. Some of the most common misconceptions about these Native peoples and their history emanated from these early accounts.

Following the Civil War, civilian veterans began leading western expeditions and surveys. The most influential of these were geological and geographical endeavors that mapped the westernmost portions of the U.S. While the military did not lead these, they did express an expansionist bent. Nascent scholars, geologist Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden and eventual ethnologist John Wesley Powell, led the two most notable of these. Hayden received an M.D. in 1853 from Albany Medical College, but his real passion was for geology and paleontology.[84] Beginning in 1867, Hayden led several government-funded surveys throughout the undocumented West.[85] His 1871 documentary expedition to Yellowstone and the images produced by photographer William Henry Jackson, who would later become famous for his depictions of the American West, are credited with aiding the passage of the 1872 act creating the first national park in the United States: "An Act to set apart a certain Tract of Land lying near the Head-waters of the Yellowstone River as a public Park" (See Chapter Six).[86] From 1873-1875, Hayden and his expeditionary team explored the Colorado Plateau and Four Corners Region, including the Mesa Verde area in what is now Southwest

Colorado. The team documented Mesa Verde, Aztec Springs, and Hovenweep in tremendous detail, while Jackson made the first wet-plate photographs of southwestern ancestral sites. Although they made a detailed survey of the Mesa Verde area, the "Cliff Palace" dwellings—located down a side canyon—were left undiscovered. In 1877, Hayden sent Jackson along with several guides to photograph the architecture in Chaco Canyon as well as record an outline and plat of the area. Although Jackson was experimenting with a new wet plate technique and the photographs did not turn out, in 1888, the Bureau of American Archaeology sent brothers Victor and Cosmos Mindeleff, who recorded the first successful images of Chaco.[87]

John Wesley Powell was a professor of natural history at Illinois Normal University. He conducted several surveys under the auspices of the United States federal government beginning in 1869, including the geographical and geological survey of the Rocky Mountain region. In 1870, he visited the Hopi mesas, unexpectedly spending over two months there learning the Hopi people's habits, ways of life, and language; the name "Hopi" is a shorted form of the name by which the people know themselves: *Hopituh Shi-nu-mu*. He published his ethnographical findings in *Scribner's Monthly* in 1875, providing detailed descriptions of the Hopi villages he visited, and remaking on the profuseness of archaeological sites.[88] Subsequent trips to Utah and New Mexico brought him into additional contact with more Native peoples of the U.S., and his ensuing publications resulted in his recognition as an expert on the peoples of the Southwest. He was able to leverage this expertise in order to convince the commissioner of Indian affairs to conduct a systematic ethnographical study of the many Native peoples of the United States.[89] Powell's political connections ensured that he was selected as the first director of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology in 1879, helping to lay

the foundations for American anthropology.[90] These surveys marked the beginning of what would ultimately develop into the academic disciplines of anthropology and archaeology.

Adventurers in the Southwest

Not everyone who visited the Southwest during the period leading up to the late 1800s did so for sanctioned governmental functions whereby the primary purposes were exploration and discovery. Many of those who visited the Southwest from further east did so not for duty but for profit, inspiration, or myriad other reasons. While many did not leave written accounts of their travels, those that exist exhibited the same sort of hearsay, myths, prejudices, and rumors as had previous accounts by explorers. While these lurid tales may not have had much influence on the perspectives of later scientists, that these accounts were published and shared widely had a profound influence upon the developing thoughts and minds of the American public.

Eastern colonialists had, by the 1820s, contended with Native peoples of the U.S. for the better part of two centuries. Their drive to extirpate or exterminate Native peoples from desirable and settleable lands had been a resounding success. The last actual "Indians" lay only in the far west beyond the reaches of EuroAmerican civilization. Just as the ethnologists and archaeologists who would follow, the authors, photographers, and painters who traveled to the Southwest sought one last opportunity to catch a glimpse of the dying "Indian race" in their natural state. By the 1850s, the continued march of American progress across the continent was all but assured, leaving the "Indian savages" to be replaced by the progression of civilization further into the Western frontier. Following the Civil War, westward

expansion and colonial settlements increased rapidly, resulting in more readily frequent interactions between the settlers and Native peoples, providing ever more fuel for fictions and rumors.

When the Santa Fe trail was first established from Missouri to New Mexico in 1805, many EuroAmericans traveled into the New Mexico territory despite Spain's closed borders and exclusion of foreigners. When the 1821 Mexican Revolution ended the policy of exclusionism, cross-border travel became increasingly frequent.[91] For the first time in any significant numbers, this development introduced EuraAmericans into a territory historically occupied only by Native peoples, Spanish conquerors, and their Mexican descendants. Their primary settlements, situated to enhance commerce and trade between the Native peoples and others, centered around Santa Fe and *Tuah Tah*, more commonly known as Taos.[92]

The first EuroAmericans to explore the Southwest did so while it was still in possession of the Mexican government. When R.W.H. Hardy traveled to the "interior of Mexico" in 1826, much of what he explored was within the boundaries of the present-day United States, including the whole of the U.S. Southwest and Texas. (Figure 1.4 shows a map of the United States of Mexico in 1826, illustrating this point.) Hardy's report, first appearing in 1829, was critiqued for being littered with bad puns, stale jokes, and small wit. Nevertheless, Hardy, formerly of the British Royal Navy, provided exhaustive first-hand accounts of the people he encountered. His impressions, undoubtedly fueled by myths of the times, exhibited much of the same imagery as had earlier authors' accounts:

> It is among savages that we see the untutored vices of human nature, and the imperfection of unschooled human intellect! "Knowledge is power," and the savage must always be the slave of the civilized whensoever they come in collision, unless from some very untoward circumstances. A wise and learned man may be thrown by a horse; but if this were an argument for superiority in favour of the animal, how did he ever become subject to man, who possesses neither his fleetness nor his strength?

> A savage is only a superior kind of animal, whose instinct, in some particulars, is greater than that which belongs to quadrupeds; but the fruit of this quality of the mind, which is reason, can only ripen in the congenial soil of civilization, where the whole of the faculties thought and perception take root and grow and grow, however those which are purely physical may degenerate and decay. Thus the wild savage, instead of the monkey, is the intermediate link between civilized man and the brute creation![93]

Hardy's description of the Native peoples recalled their savageness and affinity to nature. This observation is marked not only by comparison to White people but also in the comparison to monkeys. This correlation predated Darwinian ideas by many decades, though prevailing notions of biological hierarchy had been established in the Middle Ages and scientifically reified by Linnaeus one hundred years prior to Hardy's travels. Despite this fact, or perhaps in light of it, Hardy's conclusions that Native peoples of the U.S. were separate from the human race seem to be based on both physical traits and apparent lack of "civilization." Notwithstanding these beliefs, Hardy nonetheless suggested that "scientific students" should collect information from "savages, whose acquaintance with the virtues of various herbs is notorious."[94] These endeavors should be undertaken not for their own sake but so that their valuable discoveries would not be lost in time.



Figure 1.4: 1826 map showing the border between the United States of Mexico and the U.S. Source: Henry Schenck Tanner, "A map of the United States of Mexico: as organized and defined by the several acts of the Congress of that Republic, constructed from a great variety of printed and manuscript documents," (Philadelphia: H.S. Tanner, 1826), map.

Hardy was not the first or only traveler to publish a travel account in which the peoples of Southwest were described in any amount of detail. Many of the descriptions from this period contain fictionalized, prejudiced, and sensationalized accounts. Accounts included those authored by Zebulon Pike, Lewis Garrard, and George Augustus Frederick Ruxton, the latter of whom is notable for his 1846 written description of Santa Fe reprinted in *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains*, initially published in "Life in the Far West," an

installment printed in local newspapers. His descriptions of the city are both memorable and vivid:

> [t]he town is a wretched collection of mud-houses, without s single building of stone…. The appearance of the town defies descriptions, and I can compare it to notion but a dilapidated brick-kiln or prairie-dog town. The inhabitants are worthy of their city, and a more miserable, vicious-looking population it would be impossible to imagine.[95]

Accounts such as these were continued assaults on the humanity of Native peoples by the continued comparisons to animals. This exact sentiment is later echoed by Adolph Wislizenus's memoir of his travels from Santa Fe to Chihuahua, describing Santa Fe as "resembling… more of a prairie dog village than a capital."[96] (See Figure 1.5 for an engraving of Santa Fe during this period.) Native progress, and indeed their humanity, was measured against European ideals of civilization, progress, and triumph at each opportunity.

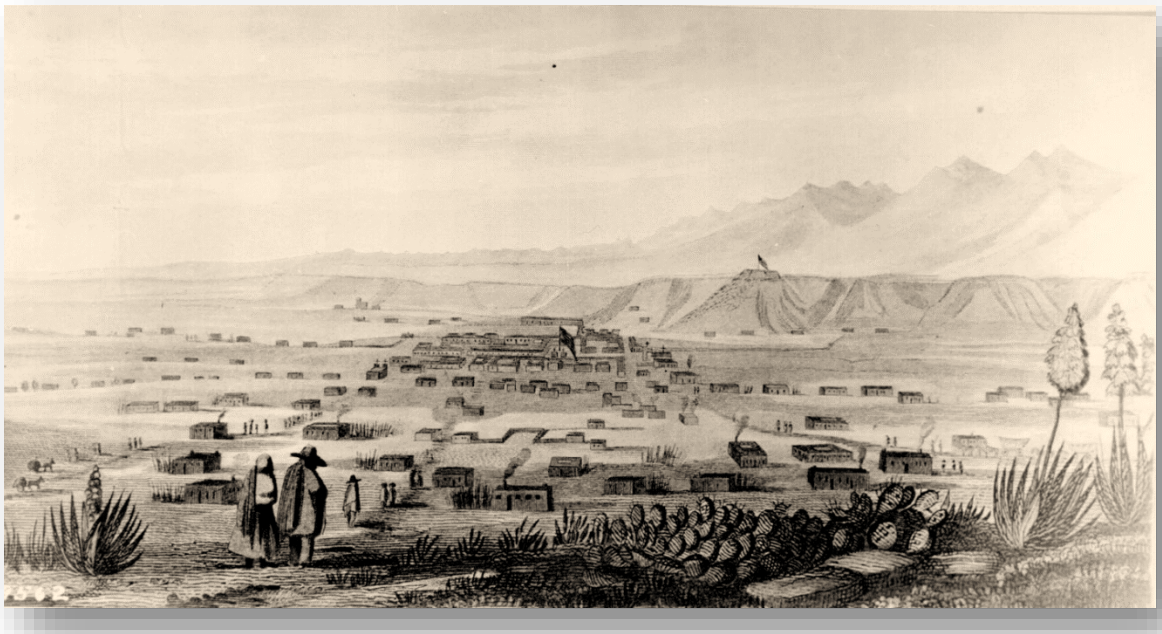


Figure 1.5: Santa Fe in 1946-47; Report of Lt. J. W. Abert, U.S. Army Signal Corps - National Archives Pictures of American Cities photo #22, 111-SC-89562; "La Ciudad de Santa Fe." Engraving from "Report of Lt. J. W. Abert of his Examination of New Mexico in the Years 1846-1847."

By the mid-1850s, the foundational images of Native peoples of the U.S. had solidified in the minds of EuroAmerican pioneers and frontiersmen. Native peoples were viewed as savage, cruel, bloodthirsty, and inclined to slaughter without reason at any time. Yet, their ultimate domination by colonialists evoked a certain amount of sympathy in popular culture in that their near demise at the hands of EuroAmerican colonialism resulted in the production of tragic images both visual and in print.

Many of the accounts of Native peoples of the U.S. were composed using direct evidence. Francis Parkman, historian and author of the 1849 *The California and Oregon Trail*, himself spent weeks with the Oglala Sioux, learning about their nature and observing their customs.[97] However, his views of the White race as superior to Native peoples is evident in his descriptions of them:

> For the most part, a civilized white man can discover very few points of sympathy between his own nature and that of an Indian… [H]e must be conscious that an impassable gulf lies between him and his red brethren of the prairie. Nay, so alien to himself do they appear, that having breathed for a few months or a few weeks the air of this region, he begins to look upon them as a troublesome and dangerous species of wild beast, and if expedient, he could shoot them"[98]

Again, the allusion to the "Indian" being some *thing* from nature, a "wild beast," combined with his later description of them are "savage," underscores a continual and repeated assertion that the humanity of Native peoples is less than that of their fairer-skinned cousins.[99] Their skin color was indicative of a deficit in civilization, knowing only how to live as animals. The stereotypes that become the most ubiquitous during this period echoed the first descriptions of Native peoples made some 300 years earlier by European explorers and were also reflected in the scientific racism of the middle and latter parts of the nineteenth century.[100]

Popular literature helped many Americans establish a firm idea of the "American Indian." As a trendy literary subject, Native peoples of the U.S. were known not just in the United States but throughout the world. However, most of these stories were not grounded in reality. When James Fenimore Cooper published *The Last of the Mohicans* in 1826, he had almost no direct experience with Native peoples, basing much of his description on secondhand knowledge and myth.[101] Like other authors of the time, his was a fascination with the tragic doom of the race.

By the time the first fictionalized or romanticized images of the Native peoples in the Southwest were produced, many of the quintessential images in American art and literature were solidified. In the middle half of the nineteenth century, a traveling companion of Ruxton, Lewis H. Garrard, published his accounts of travels in the Southwest in the 1838

Wah-to-yah and the Taos Trail. His descriptions echo those of others, except for his belief that White intercession exacerbated violence with Native peoples of the U.S.:

> It seems strange that these people remain the same untutored, bloodthirsty savages as ever; and so untamable are their natures, that contact with missionaries and white men, make them only the greater demons.[102]

Later, when speaking of the Pueblo peoples, Garrard's remarks,

> They approach nearer to civilization than any of the nomadic tribes of the west- profess the Roman Catholic religion; which, by reason of ignorance, is mixed with a large share of superstition; submit to civil law under the guidance of an alcalde, of *sangre regular*; cultivate the ground; and, in many points, assimilate to the manners and customs of civilized man.[103]

If it seems odd that this author would at first accuse Native peoples of being "untamable" by "white men" before mentioning their ability to imitate and simulate the cultures and manners of Western civilization, that is because it is odd. The accounts of the explorers and travelers of this period were nothing if not inconsistent.

The descriptions and stories that followed were merely a further articulation of the initial prejudiced images. However, new literary genres emerged during this time that directly impacted Native representations. One genre in particular that originated during this period was the "western." What made the western genre unique was its socio-temporal placement at the intersection of two antagonistic and diametrically opposed civilizations, drawing from the conflicts that took place in those border areas. While the EuroAmerican of the so-called frontier saw themselves as destined by the Christian God to settle uncivilized and heathen lands, the Native peoples of the U.S. almost exclusively occupied the role of villains. They were depicted as savages hell-bent on disrupting the lives of the people of the frontier through murder, robbery, arson, rape, kidnapping, or other forms of malicious

violence. These stories contained persistent Native types whose fierce and bloodthirsty motivations become sensationalized as crazed violence against which the hero was forced to contend. While the tribal designations fluctuated in order to provide the reader with a certain amount of variety, the stories themselves and the imagery they invoked included a uniform character that consistently undermined the humanity of Native peoples.[104] The other actors were interchangeable and variable, but the "bloodthirsty Indian" stereotype persisted. Only when their lands and peoples were lost did the starving and dying few evoke any EuroAmerican sympathy.

In addition to the popular literature forming around the subject of the Native peoples of the U.S., many sought to be among the first to capture people and the landscapes of the West in portraiture. Paintings and drawings of the people and places of the Southwest were influential in shaping popular opinions and ideas prior to the advent of the photograph. Just as Jackson's images of Yellowstone turned public opinion and thus congressional support toward the idea of lands preserved for civic use, so too did these earlier depictions shape the imaginations of the anthropologists and archaeologists who would soon arrive.

The man credited with first bringing images of southwestern Native peoples of the U.S. to the public was American author and painter George Catlin (1796-1872), who, during his five travels in the West during the 1830s, captured hundreds of paintings, including those of prominent Native individuals. Catlin produced over a thousand paintings, hundreds of engravings and sketches, and several books in his lifetime. Catlin worked primarily in territories still controlled by Native peoples. While, on the one hand, Catlin can be viewed as bringing a much-needed image of humanity to Native peoples, he did so exclusively for his own profit.[105] Initially, his collected paintings and artifacts traveled through major galleries

for Museum display. But Catlin was drowning in personal debt and on the brink of ruin. He hoped that public attention to his galleries would compel the United States government to purchase the collection. When these attempts failed, he sold his collection a private collection and then spent the next twenty years attempting to repaint the portraits based on previously completed sketches.[106] Today, the Smithsonian American Art Museum collection holds the majority of his works. In addition, years prior to the establishment of the National Park Service, Catlin opined,

> And what a splendid contemplation too, when one (who has travelled these realms, and can duly appreciate them) imagines them as they might in future be seen, (by some great protecting policy of government) preserved in their pristine beauty and wildness, in a magnificent park, where the world could see for ages to come, the native Indian in his classic attire, galloping his wild horse, with sinewy bow, and shield and lance, amid the fleeting herds of elks and buffaloes. What a beautiful and thrilling specimen for America to preserve and bold up to the view of her refined citizens and the world, in future ages! A nation's Park, containing man and beast, in all the wild and freshness of their nature's beauty![107]

Although Catlin had exhibited and published images of Native peoples in the Southwest that provided a more humanistic depiction and interpretation, his outlook remained uncommon until the end of the nineteenth century when Adolph Bandelier's anthropological treatments of Native peoples in the U.S. Southwest provided the public with a re-evaluation of Native life.

Images of Native life sometimes originated from unlikely sources. Scientist and artist John Russell Bartlett, then the U.S. Chief Boundary Commissioner, traveled through the Southwest on official government business, although he spent much of his time attending to his artistic interpretations of the Southwest. (See Figure 1.6.) Throughout his journey from 1850 to 1853, Bartlett recorded details of the people and places he encountered, ultimately publishing the descriptions of his travels in 1854.[108] Although he was not the first to glimpse

many of the significant sites he came across, his depictions are some of the earlier surviving examples of how many of them still existed in the middle of the nineteenth century. His drawings and paintings would later be referenced and studied by archaeologists as the pueblo walls continued to melt and collapse in the desert elements. Two of the sites he documented and explored, *Paquimé* (Chihuahua) and *Sivan Vahki* (Arizona), were of considerable interest to later archaeologists, and these images provided insights into how these structures had changed over time.

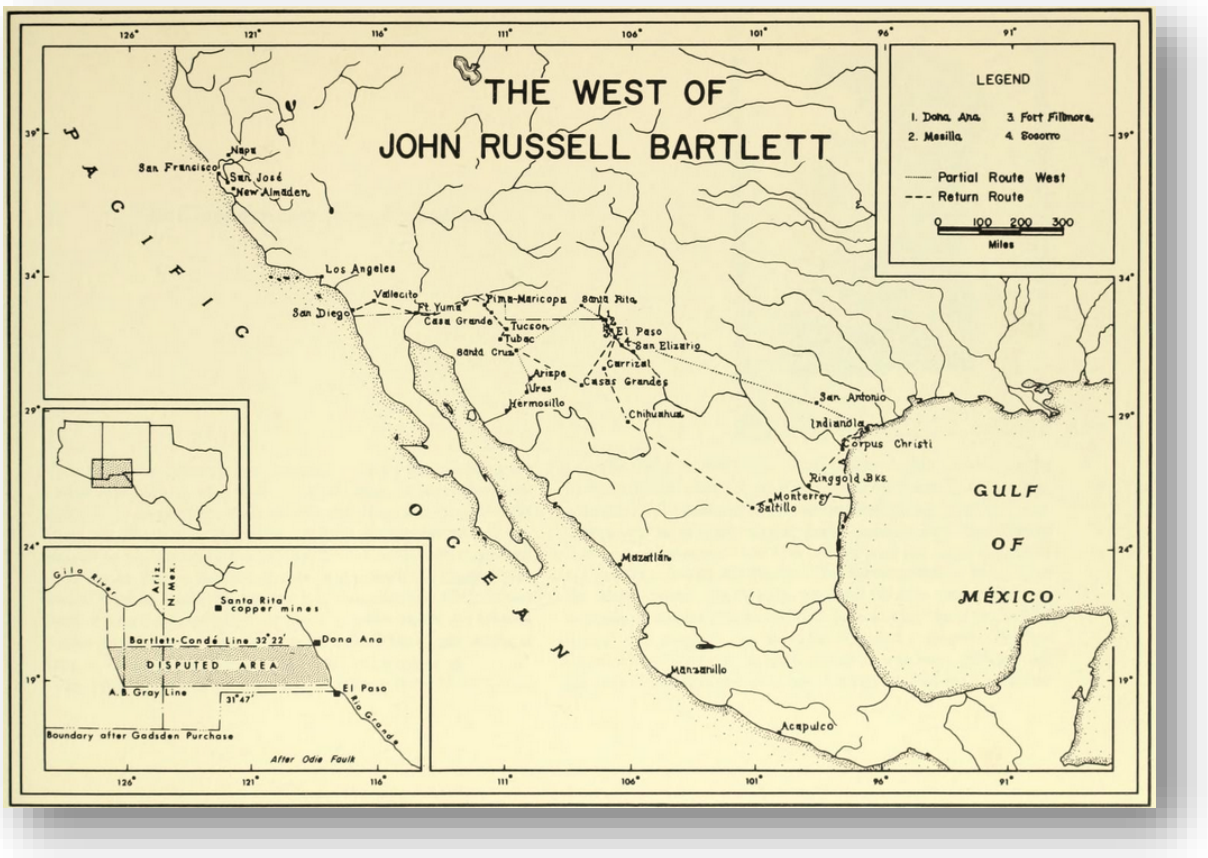


Figure 1.6: "The West of John Russell Bartlett," in Robert V. Hine, *Bartlett's West: Drawing the Mexican Boundary* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968), xvii.

Perhaps Bartlett's most enduring contribution to the history of archaeology and anthropology in the Southwest were the pencil sketches and watercolor paintings he composed. Native architecture and landscapes were not Bartlett's only subject. In addition to capturing scenes from his route along the trail, he recorded ethnographic drawings of Native subjects and behaviors. These drawings, including "Indians Around a Campfire," "Chino Council House Group Gambling," and "Village of the Pima Indians," each depicted Bartlett's perspective of Native life in the mid-eighteenth century.[109] These images, and the ethnographic scenes they depicted, would become invaluable to those archaeologists and anthropologists who would soon follow.

Pot Hunters, Treasure hunters, and Traders

When archaeologists first began entering the Southwest, they were not entering an untouched, pristine landscape. The supposed histories they incorporated into their studies were tainted by decades of contact between Spanish, Mexican, and American explorers, pioneers, and adventurers. The sites they excavated to uncover clues about the ancient and historic past of the Southwest had largely been depleted by looters and treasure hunters. The data archaeologists eventually salvaged were mere fragments of the original cultural remains. Not only were they working against the forces of nature in the form of the sun, wind, and rain across vast expanses of time, there were also the unscrupulous individuals that predated the eventual arrival of archaeologists to the various sites under study. Because looters carried off much of the archaeological data, archaeologists were compelled to rely more heavily on the aforementioned written source documents.

A most remarkable and noteworthy case involved not one but two particularly prominent sites looted for profit by a single individual. Perhaps unbelievably, that same person, Richard Wetherill, would accompany Edgar Lee Hewett on the first federally funded, professionally led archaeology expedition in the U.S. Southwest. Wetherill was perhaps the worst offender of looting in the Southwest's history, responsible for the theft and destruction of an untold number of artifacts from two of the most extensive and most complex sets of ancestral sites in the U.S. Southwest, Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon.[110]

Wetherill's efforts were so audacious that he gained the attention of territory authorities, who sought to curtail looting through federal regulations. Richard Wetherill was the eldest of five sons of the southwestern Colorado ranching family whose primary business was sheep and cattle.[111] Concerning his activities, the U.S. Deputy Marshal's Office contacted the Bureau of Indian Affairs to seek guidance and assistance,

> I have arrested three of the Wetherills and one Charles Mason for digging relicks [*sic*] on the reservation and went myself and caught them in the act. They have exicavated [*sic*] and have now insight as much as 1500# of different artifacts of ancient [relick] wich [*sic*] I forbade them from carrying away. They will have the preliminary hearing before MS Commissioner William Snider on 10 February. Next is very important that the main district attorney be here the examination as I am satisfied the Wetherills have the sympathies of the Commissioner and unless the government is properly represented he will turn them loose. The Wetherills claim they are north of the reservation line and if you can have any accurate maps of the reservation please bring them with you.[112]

However, the response that comes from the U.S. attorney's office clarifies the inability to do anything about the Wetherill activity since no federal, state, or local law in 1892 prevented such activity:

> I did not know you had caused the arrest of these men; and I have to repeat here what I said to you in my previous letter that I do not know which statute of the US the Wetherills have violated in going on the reservation and digging it. Of course there is now no law the men can be prosecuted against criminally. I do not have the authority

of the Sec. or court of Indian affairs to drive people off the reservation.[113]

Protected by local politicians and in violation of no legal statutes, the Wetherills were free to do as they pleased with the ancient sites and the artifacts found therein. In addition to being credited with the finding several significant ancestral sites; the naming of dozens of others; the coining and attribution of a Atahabaskan-Diné word to the Ancestral Pueblo, *Anasazi*; Richard Wetherill also holds a very contentious place in the history of archaeology as having been responsible for outstanding acts of looting Native ancestral sites for profit. In Wetherill's time, however, there were no federal, state, or local laws that prevented the removal of Native artifacts from unclaimed lands and placing them for private sale. The Wetherills sold three vast collections to museums in Colorado, Chicago, and New York, while keeping much of the recovered material for themselves. These sales are, in part, how he gained the attention of archaeological authorities. The initial law protecting cultural artifacts, the 1906 *Antiquities Act*, was passed due in part to Wetherill's activities in Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon.[114] This law stopped short of protecting antiquities on privately owned lands; however, looting continued despite the administrative injunction. Authentic Native wares were in high demand at this time, and the older they were, the more valuable they were perceived to be by collectors and museums, fetching a higher price from those interested parties.

The Wetherill family is responsible for the disposition of literally thousands of items that could have undergone archaeological study, contributing further to the decimation of data that would have to be reinforced by written records. They established a ranch in 1882 not far from Cliff Palace, now a part of Mesa Verde National Park.[115] Although previous explorers had come through the area and noted the various sites along the canyon, none had

recorded or documented the largest and most impressive of them, lodged within a cliffside above the canyon floor. Winter snowfall in the canyons of the Mesa Verde made ancestral site easier to see. As the snowfall accumulated, it helped differentiate between the natural structures, such as the pinyon-junipers that dotted the canyon, and those unnatural human-made structures that exhibited discernible geometric forms in the fresh winter snow. It was on one of these days in December 1888 that Richard Wetherill and his brother-in-law, Charles Mason, first found "Cliff Palace," coining the name that is still in use today.[116] After completing a brief reconnaissance, they returned later that winter to recover the artifacts within the site.[117] The collection traveled throughout southwestern Colorado, where its pieces were placed on exhibit for public display before making their way to Denver.[118] After being on display for some time, the Wetherills and their partners negotiated with the Colorado Historical Society to purchase the collection. Having discovered a lucrative new way to enhance the income of their ranch, they continued to explore the surrounding canyons, naming most of the nearly 200 known ancestral sites contained there; these names are still in use today by the National Park Service. Wetherill started actively looking for other archaeological sites as the family fell short of paying the ranch's mortgage. For about a year, an 1894 advertisement that ran in the local Mancos newspaper read: "*Mancos Cañon & the Aztec Cliff Dwellings. Indian curios, Aztec Relics, Photographs for Sale. Address: Richard Wetherill, Alamo Ranch, Mancos, Colo*."[119] In the 1890s, the demand for Native artifacts increased due to interest from traders, private collectors, and museums. The mystique that had been built up around the fictional image of the Southwest resulted in Native artifacts being viewed as the fragile final remains of a dying race: the artifacts they left behind represented truly unique cultural artifacts of the original inhabitants of North America. These

artifacts would have been attractive to archaeologists for extending knowledge about Native peoples of the U.S.; however, for similar reasons, they were also desired by collectors, who valued their authenticity and uniqueness. With all of the artifacts they recovered, the Wetherills amassed two additional collections of similar size and sold them to private collectors.[120] These collections were both exhibited at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition.[121] The Wetherills continued to excavate and guide tourists through the canyon during this time. In 1892, businessman, photographer, and amateur archaeologist Frederick Chaplin visited various places around the Southwest and eventually published his observations in *The Land of the Cliff Dwellers*, casting national attention on Mesa Verde. The Wetherills took over one-thousand visitors on tours of their ranch and the surrounding ancestral sites during the last decade of the nineteenth century, presaging the efforts of the Nation Park Service that would commence in the early twentieth century.[122]

Treasure hunting at Mesa Verde

By the early 1890s, the area around Mesa Verde gained a reputation for having an abundance of Native ancestral settlements, which attracted both interested visitors and collectors in search of Native artifacts. Not only was the Wetherill family inclined to give tours of the sites and the surrounding region, but they also participated in excavations of the canyon and surrounding areas conducted by "proto-archaeologists," who possessed some type of formal academic training. Gustav Nordenskiöld, son of famed Arctic explorer Nils Nordenskiöld, financed and carried out one of these excavations.[123] Gustav's older brother, Erland, later made significant contributions to ethnographic studies of Central and South

America.[124] Nordenskiöld arrived at the Wetherill Ranch in July 1891, with the expressed intentions of seeing objects of this region, including the Native ancestral sites. He was so enamored by the sight of Cliff Palace that he arranged to stay with the Wetherills for several months to complete excavations in the area. Nordenskiöld attended Uppsala University, where he earned a Bachelor of Arts. Having a proclivity towards science, he made careful notes and maps of the areas under excavation as well as noted the provenience of the artifacts he recovered. As they uncovered further sites, Nordenskiöld and Wetherill provided new names, including Kodak House, Spring House, and Step House, still popular attractions at the park today.[125] Following excavations, Nordenskiöld made preparations to have the artifacts shipped to Sweden for further study and examination, later to be deposited in the National Museum of Finland. The proceeds from the recovered artifacts would have been more than enough for him to finance subsequent expeditions. Word of Nordenskiöld's expedition reached nearby towns and incensed the locals, upset at the idea of American artifacts being collected and shipped abroad. Before Nordenskiöld could send his seven crates of artifacts by train to New York, where they would be shipped abroad to Stockholm, local authorities seized them. Nordenskiöld found that local newspapers in Durango had demonized him as a thief. However, there were no protections in place for Native ancestral sites or artifacts at the time, and Nordenskiöld and Wetherill had broken no laws. The Wetherills and Nordenskiöld had made excavations off of reservation and federal lands; there was nothing to prevent the export of the artifacts from occurring. Charges were brought against Wetherill and Nordenskiöld, but they were quickly dropped on the grounds that no known law had been violated, though in his anxiety Nordenskiöld did consult with an attorney before this decision was announced.[126] After the drama with local authorities was resolved, Nordenskiöld spent

the rest of the year traveling through the Southwest with one of the younger Wetherill brothers, Al, exploring Northern Arizona as far as the Grand Canyon. Nordenskiöld stayed with the Wetherills through the end of the year and returned to Sweden early in 1892. Before he passed away from tuberculosis in 1895 at the age of twenty-seven, Nordenskiöld published his report on the cliff dwellers, regarded by many as "the first scientific monograph in Southwestern archaeology."[127] It was published in 1893 and titled *The Cliff Dwellers of the Mesa Verde*. Nordenskiöld contended that the artifacts provided clues for understanding the past and how the people lived. He employed observations of various foodstuffs, textiles, and animal remains to present a picture of how life for the inhabitants of the Mesa Verde in the distant past. He carefully compared and analyzed the remains he found and then used ethnographic analogy to relate remains from Mesa Verde to those of the Hopi, whom he visited before departing the U.S. Nordenskiöld's report is the basis for how later scientific approaches documented archaeological sites.

There was a tremendous amount of opacity surrounding the differentiation between an amateur and a professional during this period. If we take scientist, or by extension archaeologist, to mean a learned and lettered person, then we would be forced to immediately discard the idea of thinking about many of the prominent actors in the story of the Southwest as "scientists." Most of them, quite simply, had not undergone the requisite training to be considered so. In the late 1800s, most who completed archaeological surveys and expeditions in the Southwest were not trained in archaeology. Yet, because of the novelty of this geographical area and the type of work being conducted, many of those who undertook the task of exploring, mapping, and documenting the Southwest had no formal training. Nordenskiöld had scientific training, but not explicitly in archaeology. He provided a

compelling glimpse at how replete the Southwest was with potential scientific data inherent to the artifactual remains left behind by the previous inhabitants. However, he was also standard-setting in how approaches to archaeological excavation would be undertaken in the years immediately following. His approach was one of constructing the past through material remains, which were themselves indicators of culture. However, he presented the Cliff Dwellers almost entirely in relation to the EuroAmerican civilization of the time, noting Native peoples' quaint and primitive nature. He then attempted to re-create the distant past by the artifacts left behind, taking into account that almost all of the sites were already heavily looted.

Archaeologists of the past and present all work with fragmented data—this fact is unavoidable—in trying to piece together illustrations of the past. These pot hunters are pertinent to the story of early archaeology because they very clearly erased much of the data that science would have been able to obtain. Understanding that, Nordenskiöld and most who followed him were aware of this fact. This fundamental challenge resulted in the discipline of archaeology filling in its knowledge gaps with baseless written evidence, theory, and ethnographic analogy. Since the basis of archaeologists' findings and understanding of the ancient past was replete with holes, theories used to fill the gaps were, at times, more important than the data itself. Wetherill contributed to this first archaeological publication in terms of being one of the primary workmen and guides Nordenskiöld employed over the course of two months of excavation. Weatherill's knowledge of the Mesa Verde area and its people certainly swayed Nordenskiöld, while knowledge about the scientific approach to recovering artifacts was impressed upon Wetherill, as is evident from his later expeditions. Wetherill went on to work with other southwestern visitors and aspiring "proto-

archaeologists." In 1896, together with brothers Talbot Hyde and Fred Hyde, Richard Wetherill formed the Hyde Exploring Expedition in preparation for their work in the Grand Gulch region in southeastern Utah territory near the San Juan River. Their findings seemed to indicate that there were skeletal remains in the layers below the remains of the cliff dwellers; they concluded it was evidence of a different "race." The recovered artifacts also showed no evidence of ceramics. Wetherill initially coined the term "Basket People" to describe this culture due to their primary use of baskets, but after consulting with Talbot Hyde, Wetherill changed the name to "Basket Maker." The fascination with brachycephalic and dolichocephalic classifications persisted in southwestern archaeology as one of the primary diagnostic criteria for differentiating between various peoples based on erroneously contrived racial science.

Homesteading Chaco Canyon

Although Richard Wetherill had been most closely associated with Mesa Verde during this period, his attention soon turned southward toward Chaco Canyon. The Hyde exploring expedition continued its work in the Grand Gulch again in early 1897, amassing some 2,000 artifacts sold to the American Museum of Natural History.[128] Later that year, they returned to excavations in Chaco Canyon at Pueblo Bonito. They excavated and cleared many of the rooms of their artifacts. The following spring, Richard Wetherill constructed a three-room building using beams and other material pilfered from the site to construct the outer walls and roof.[129] This building was used as a trading post and center for the Hyde Exploring Expedition.[130] By 1899, the post was heavily involved in the sale and trade of

Navajo rugs. However, 1899 would be the last season that the Hyde Exploring Expedition was allowed to excavate at Chaco Canyon. Edgar Lee Hewett, then president of the New Mexico Normal University in Las Vegas, New Mexico, along with other members of the Santa Fe Archaeological Society, were furious that Richard Wetherill, whom they viewed as a "professional pot hunter," was being given license to vandalize the sites in Chaco Canyon without consequence. Although Hewett had no direct training in archaeology, he was well educated, and his desire to excavate Chaco Canyon superseded Wetherill's supposed claims.

Undeterred, Wetherill went about securing the rights to the central area of Chaco Canyon with intentions to reap the rewards from the cultural artifacts found there. In 1900, the Wetherill filed a 160-acre homestead entry in the Chaco Canyon area, with lands containing three of the major sites: Chetro Ketl, Pueblo Bonito, and Pueblo del Arroyo.[131] Although a miscalculation in the homestead application location description meant that Pueblo Bonito was not a part of the homestead, Wetherill later tried to amend the application and state that the discrepancy had merely been a surveying error in arguing the legitimacy of his meeting the homestead requirements.[132] With this modification, it is clear that Richard Wetherill was trying to gain control of the sites in Chaco Canyon with his application. Wetherill continued to fight the Homestead Act application but was ultimately denied in 1902.[133]

Wetherill had solidly gained the attention of southwestern academics, who were intent on stopping his continued decimation of cultural artifacts. Concurrently, Hewett and the Santa Fe Archaeological Society continued their push to make Chaco Canyon a National Park. In the meantime, Wetherill maintained ownership of the trading post at Pueblo Bonito, though he was no longer legally allowed to dig for artifacts. After he was forbidden from

digging, Wetherill maintained a trading and livery business, mostly renting cattle and sheep to Diné for grazing on the public lands around Chaco Canyon. In 1910, Richard Wetherill was shot and killed not far from Pueblo Bonito by a young Diné. His widow attempted to stay in Chaco Canyon as long as she could, but Richard had not left the trading post in good financial shape. After nine years, his widow, Marietta, sold the ranch, which eventually ended up in the hands of the U.S. government.

Richard Wetherill's influence on understanding the lives of Native peoples in the pre-colonial Southwest is unfathomable. He was a looter and pot hunter, operating at a point when professional archaeology in the Southwest did not yet exist. Wetherill is also responsible for naming and describing two of the Southwest cultures (the "cliff dwellers" and the "basket makers"), even if it did take time for those views to be accepted. He was certainly not a trained archaeologist but a rancher and professional treasure hunter who vandalized ancestral sites of the Southwest for profit. Yet his involvement early on in identifying and describing different key peoples of southwestern prehistory directly impacted the development of archaeology as an academic discipline. The first archaeologists constructed a history with foregone conclusions about the people under study. From an anthropological point of view, these facts tie directly to developments in a broader sense of how science started to study humankind, beginning in the late nineteenth century.

Conclusion

The effects of these collective journals, images, and narratives influenced scientific, popular, and public perceptions in a prejudiced direction. These micro-influences collectively

created an image of the Native peoples of the Southwest that the first archaeologists brought with them on their various encounters. These archaeologists conducted research ahead of excavations, and while many certainly took measures to ensure that their prejudices were recognized, they contrasted every measurement of Native peoples' cultures, artifacts, buildings, and bodies against prevailing popular and scientific notions, many of which were dubious and exaggerated. As a result, the cultural histories that archaeologists ultimately presented were consistent with those collective stereotypes.

Archaeologists had—and still have—an overwhelming responsibility for the way they conduct research. Any data that these early archaeologists found in the Southwest did not supersede the deeply ingrained scientific and public stereotypes then believed. If an author or researcher believed the Native peoples were intelligent, perhaps they would remark, even if in shock and surprise, but perhaps not. All research that was conducted was measured against deeply rooted images of the Native peoples of the U.S. and their past. Often, findings reinforced stereotypes though, less frequently, findings opposed popularly held scientific and public beliefs. However, the prevailing approach for the first sixty or seventy years of the discipline, culture-historical archaeology, emphasized defining their differences—difference from Western society just as much as difference from other Native cultural groups—according to their material culture, human remains, and apparent attainment of technologies. This peculiar view of the past has potentially dangerous implications.

The cultural-historical approach to archaeology, employed by archaeologists in the Southwest during the beginning of the twentieth century, originated in Germany. Cultural-historical archaeology was influenced by a nationalist political agenda and was utilized to demonstrate direct cultural and ethnic links from Pre-European and ancient peoples to

modern nation-states. Gustaf Kossinna popularized the approach in the early 1900s. Kossinna was a German professor of archaeology and linguistics at the University of Berlin and one of the preeminent archaeologists of the time. Many of his theories, including the claim that the German people constituted a national identity with historical privilege and legitimacy, were nationalistic in nature. He emphasized a diffusionist model of culture whereby cultural–and thus, racial–superiority was responsible for the spread of technology and ideas from more to less advanced peoples and cultures. Through data obtained in his archaeological investigations, Kossinna argued for the annexation of non-German lands by merit of their allegedly being part of prehistoric German territory, thereby influencing Nazi doctrine. As will be explored in chapter three, similar claims made on behalf of the U.S. government for the annexation of sovereign Native lands hinged on the findings of archaeologists who purported to show no direct evidence between the ancient sites of the past and the living southwestern peoples.

Before the first academically trained archaeologists appeared in the Southwest, portending their arrival were ethnologists like Cushing and Bandelier, whose studies of living Native peoples proved invaluable to later archaeologists seeking to forge a link between the archaeologically recovered remains of the bygone past to living cultural descendants of the modern-day. Glimpses of living descendants, preserved in ethnographic reports, provided archaeologists the information they needed to contrive long-forgotten behaviors and histories. The development of ethnology coincided temporally with the advancement of other disciplines that sought to study and understand *Homo sapiens* scientifically. Physical anthropology of the time, completely wrapped up in racial science, was omnipresent and as such became part of the very foundations of archaeology. As archaeologists sought to

illuminate questions such as "who invaded the Southwest and when?" anthropometry and craniometry emerged as invaluable tools to address those uncertainties. As a result, these approaches became so deeply embedded in archaeology that it was often difficult to perceive where one discipline ended and where the other began.

Notes

1. These paragraphs are adapted from Cleve Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza* (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1987) and George Parker Winship, *The Journey of Coronado, 1540-1542, from the City of Mexico to the Grand Canyon of the Colorado and the Buffalo Plains of Texas, Kansas, and Nebraska: As Told by Himself and His Followers* (New York, NY: Allerton Book Co., 1922).

2. Dennis F. Herrick, *Esteban: the African Slave Who Explored America* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2018), 167, 245-246

3. Don D. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), ix.

4. For a detailed analysis of the rise of the experimental method and Boyle's early forays at chemistry, see Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).

5. Isaac Newton's study of alchemy, especially as it related to Robert Boyle's influence in *Opticks* (1704) is sometimes correlated with early modern chemistry. See William Newman, *Newton the Alchemist: Science, Enigma, and the Quest for Nature's Secret Fire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018).

6. Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 122-36; 143-44.

7. David L. Browman, "Frederic Ward Putnam: Contributions to the Development of Archaeological Institutions and Encouragement of Women Practitioners," in *New Perspectives on the Origins of Americanist Archaeology*, ed. David L. Browman and Stephen Williams (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2002) 235-36; Frederic A. Eustis, *Augustus Hemenway, 1805-1876, Builder of the United States Trade with the West Coast of South America* (Salem, MA: Peabody Museum, 1955).

8. The details of this expedition were recorded and published by multiple original authors, but the first reports are contained within A. F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885, Part 1*, Papers of the Archæological Institute of America, American Series 3 (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son, 1890); A. F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885, Part 2*, Papers of the Archæological Institute of America, American Series 4 (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son, 1892); A. F. Bandelier, *Hemenway Southwestern Archæological Expedition: Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States*, Papers of the Archæological Institute of America, American Series 5 (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son, 1890); and Sylvester Baxter, *The Old New World. An Account of the Explorations of the Hemenway Southwestern Archæological Expedition in 1887-88, Under the Direction of Frank Hamilton Cushing* (Salem, MA: Salem Press, 1888).

9. Emil W. Haury, *The Hohokam, Desert Farmers & Craftsmen: Excavations at Snaketown, 1964-1965* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 3.

10. Cleve Hallenbeck described the initial impressions of this legend in *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza* (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1987), 1-2.

11. Laurie Lee Weinstein, *Native Peoples of the Southwest: Negotiating Land, Water, and Ethnicities. Native Peoples of the Americas* (Westport, CT.: Bergin & Garvey, 2001).

12. Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1962).

13. David J. Meltzer, "Paradigms and the nature of change in American archaeology," *American Antiquity* 44 no. 4 (1979): 644.

14. The effects of water scarcity and drought on the pre-colonial peoples of the Southwest are analyzed in David E. Doyel, Jeffrey S. Dean, and Julio L. Betancourt, *Environmental Change and Human Adaptation in the Ancient American Southwest* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 2006).

15. For the most recent thorough treatment on Mississippian cultures in the Midwest, see Thomas E. Emerson and R. Barry Lewis, *Cahokia and the Hinterlands: Middle Mississippian Cultures of the Midwest* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

16. For a discussion of the history and politics surrounding this contemporary issue, see Wendy Nelson Espeland, *The Struggle for Water: Politics, Rationality, and Identity in the American Southwest* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

17. Michael P. Marshall, *Rio Abajo Prehistory and History of Rio Grande Province* (Santa Fe, NM: Museum Of New Mexico, 1984), 251.

18. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, ix, 374.

19. Historically, the view of the relationship between Puritans and Native peoples was not viewed as substantially existing along racial or cultural lines; however, G. E. Thomas argued in 1975 that Puritan interaction with Native peoples "even if not 'racial' in the modern sense of the word, had fatal consequences for the Indians as a race" in "Puritans, Indians, and the Concept of Race," *The New England Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (1975): 4.

20. Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 477-78.

21. To say that Christopher Columbus was the first European to come into contact with the indigenous peoples of the Americas would be to discredit and ignore the efforts of Norsemen who explored and settled various areas of the North Atlantic, including coastal North America in what is now present-day Canada, including Erik the Red and Leif Erickson. Although the single confirmed site on mainland North America was occupied only temporarily, the Norse settlements in Greenland persisted for nearly five centuries. Their contact with the Thule—who first originated in Alaska and migrated east across Canada beginning around the year 1000—is demonstrated through archaeological evidence in Greenland. Norwegian explorer Helge Ingstad and archaeologist Anne Stine Ingstad presented evidence recounting their finding of the various Greenland archaeological sites as well as a Newfoundland site, L'Anse aux Meadows, first found in 1960 and later described within the two-volume *The Norse Discovery of America: Excavations of a Norse Settlement at l'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland, 1961-1968* (Oslo: Norwegian University Press, 1985) and *The Norse Discovery of America: The Historical Background and the Evidence of the Norse Settlement Discovered in Newfoundland* (Oslo: Norwegian University Press, 1985). However, since no written evidence of contact or descriptions by the Norse of the indigenous exists, it is unnecessary to describe this exploration and contact in any manner of detail.

22. The co-authors of this book never met, with August Kling passing away in 1986, just a short time after Delno West had begun his investigation into the topic. Following an agreement with Kling's estate and widow, West employed Kling's notes and translations in the resulting book, published in 1991; Christopher Columbus, *The Libro De Las Profecías of Christopher Columbus: An en face edition* ed. and trans. by Delno C. West and August King (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1991).

23. Ferdinand Colón, *The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by His Son Ferdinand* trans. Benjamin Keen (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1959), 23.

24. Columbus's original journal, which he kept during his first voyage, has not survived and was last seen in 1504; however, historian Bartolome de las Casas, son of one of Columbus's men, made a copy in the 16th century in which he transcribed certain lengthy

original quotations word-for-word and abridged other sections. For additional details, see "Introduction" in Christopher Columbus, *Journal of the First Voyage (Diario Del Primer Viaje*) ed. and trans. B.W. Ife (Wiltshire, UK: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1990).

25. The first appearance of "San Salvador" in the journals of Columbus appeared on October 14th, 1492, three days after his crew made the initial landfall; Columbus, *Journal of the First Voyage*, 35.

26. Columbus, *Journal of the First Voyage*, 30-31.

27. Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: Color, Race, and Caste in the Evolution of Red-black Peoples* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 22-23.

28. Columbus, *Journal of the First Voyage*, 35.

29. Christopher Columbus, *Selected Letters of Christopher Columbus, with other original documents, relating to his Four Voyages to the New World* 2nd. ed., trans. by R. H. Major (London, UK: The Hakluyt Society, 1870), 15.

30. The impetus of this outcome, argued by Native American scholar and political activist Jack Forbes, was not due to Columbus's mistaken belief that the Carib people were cannibals; this claim was merely a pretext for their enslavement. Columbus also enslaved the Taíno people, who were most certainly not accused of being cannibalistic, making his excuse for enslaving the Caribs for allegedly being cannibalistic untenable; see Forbes, 23-24. William Arens argued that cannibalism was a mythological creation based on prejudice with no evidence supporting its existence in the pre-Columbian Americas in *The Man-eating Myth: Anthropology & Anthropophagy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980). However, circumstantial archaeological evidence exists for the practice of butchering human bones, as first reported by Jose Luis Punzo at the 14th Archaeology Conference of the North Frontier in Paquimé, Mexico and later reported upon sensationally by *National Geographic* in Sabrina Valle, "Cannibalism confirmed among ancient Mexican group," National Geographic Society, *National Geographic News*, October 1, 2011, https://www.nationalgeographic.com/news/2011/11/110930-cannibalism-cannibals-mexico-xiximes-human-bones-science/.

31. Columbus, *Journal of the First Voyage*, 69.

32. Las Casas believed "Bohío" was the Native word for "home."

33. Columbus, *Journal of the First Voyage*, 91.

34. Columbus, *Journal of the First Voyage*, 195.

35. Christopher Columbus, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*, trans. by Cecil

Jane (New York, NY: Bonanza Books, 1960), 200.

36. Columbus, *Selected Letters*, 25.

37. Modern archaeologists often identify cut marks on animal bones to infer butchering and, by extension, consumption; Columbus, *Selected Letters*, 25-26.

38. Columbus, *Journal of the First Voyage*, 187.

39. David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1992), 64.

40. Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World* (Chicago, IL: Henry Regnery Company, 1959), 6.

41. Frederick Julius Pohl, *Amerigo Vespucci, Pilot Major* (New York, NY: Octagon Books, 1966), 196-197.

42. Amerigo Vespucci, *Mundus Novus: Letter to Lorenzo Pietro di Medici*, trans. by George Tyler Northup (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1916), 5.

43. Vespucci, *Mundus Novus*, 5.

44. Genesis 2:25 (KJV).

45. Genesis 3:7 (KJV).

46. Vespucci, *Mundus Novus*, 5-6.

47. Jenny Reddish, "Labrets: Piercing and Stretching on the Northwest Coast and in Amazonia," *Mundo Amazónico* (2013): 57-75.

48. Vespucci, *Mundus Novus*, 6.

49. Deuteronomy 23:1 (KJV).

50. Vespucci, *Mundus Novus*, 6.

51. Vespucci, *Mundus Novus*, 6-7.

52. Even the mere mention of pork in this time undoubtedly had antisemitic connotations. The use of paella, sausages, charcuterie, and other pork and shellfish-based foodstuffs was tacitly employed to uncover heresy. The Jewish *Marranos* and *Conversos* who inhabited the Iberian Peninsula after the 1492 Spanish Expulsion were forced to convert

to Christianity in the pogroms of the late fifteenth century. However, the antisemitic monitoring of porcophobia by the Church was led by the Spanish Inquisition after it was reported that many Jewish communities continued to practice their rites and beliefs in private. For more information, see Paul Richardson, *A Late Dinner: Discovering the Food of Spain* (New York, NY: Scribner, 2007), 142-143.

53. Vespucci, *Mundus Novus*, 7.

54. Vespucci, *Mundus Novus*, 7.

55. Vespucci, *Mundus Novus*, 7.

56. Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1978), 9.

57. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, 10.

58. Henry Stevens, *Steven's American Bibliographer* (Chiswick, UK: C. Whittingham, 1854), 8.

59. Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza*, 1-2.

60. Hernan Cortez, *Letters from Mexico*, trans. Anthony Pagden (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 446.

61. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, *The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca* trans. Ad. F. Bandelier (New York, NY: Allerton Book Co., 1922), xii-xiii.

62. For a detailed description, analysis, and commentary of the travels of Fray Marcos, see Cleve Hallenbeck's 1949 translation (reprinted in 1987) of *Relación*, the report Marcos submitted about his explorations. Hallenbeck was convinced Marcos lied about claiming to see the city of Cibola during his journey (xx-xxi) and judged him as "the lying Monk" (41).

63. Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza*, 54-55.

64. Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza*, xx.

65. Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza*, 24.

66. Stanley Vestal's *The Old Santa Fe Trail* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939) provided rich descriptions for travel, including landmarks and local legends surrounding the trail and its history.

67. John L. O'Sullivan, "The Great Nation of Futurity," *The United States Magazine, and Democratic Review (1837-1851)* 6, no. 23 (1839): 426.

68. Donald C. Cutter, "The Legacy of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo," *New Mexico Historical Review* 53, no. 4 (1978): 305-06.

69. Laurence French and Magdaleno Manzanárez, *North American Border Conflicts: Race, Politics, and Ethics* (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2017), 65-66.

70. Frank N. Schubert and United States Army Corps of Engineers, *The Nation Builders: A Sesquicentennial History of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, 1838-1863* (Washington, DC: Office of History, 1988), 56-57.

71. John Walton Caughey, *Hubert Howe Bancroft: Historian of the West* (New York, NY: Russell & Russell, 1970), 137-38.

72. Caughey, *Hubert Howe Bancroft*, 251.

73. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races: Wild Tribes* 1 (San Francisco, CA: History Company, 1886), 472-73.

74. See the significant developments of the Corps and the roots of the U.S. Army's need for trained cartographers and topographers following the Revolutionary War in Schubert's *The Nation Builders*.

75. Schubert, *The Nation Builders*, 59-60.

76. James H. Simpson, *Navaho Expedition: a journal of military reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico to the Navajo country made in 1849*, ed. Frank McNitt (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 47.

77. James H. Simpson, *Reports of the Secretary of War, communicating The report of Lieutenant J. H. Simpson of an expedition into the Navajo country in 1849; and, also, the report of Captain S. G. French relative to the road opened between Sun Antonio and El Paso del Norte* (Washington, DC: Printed at the Union Office, 1850), 69.

78. *Reports of the Secretary of War*, 83.

79. Ramón A. Gutiérrez, "Aztlán, Montezuma, and New Mexico: The Political Uses of American Indian Mythology," in *Aztlán: Essays on the Chicano Homeland*, ed. Anaya Lomelí and Francisco A. Lomelí (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 179-80.

80. Gutiérrez, "Aztlán, Montezuma, and New Mexico," 172-73.

81. Adolf [*sic*] F. Bandelier, "The 'Montezuma' of the Pueblo Indians," *American Anthropologist* 5, no. 4 (1892): 319-26; Eusebio Francisco Kino, *Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta: A Contemporary Account of the Beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona, 1683-1711* trans. Herbert Eugene Bolton (Cleveland, OH: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1919), 169-71.

82. For an introduction on the historical argument examining how the Indigenous constituted a problem for White settlers following the Civil War, see chapter one of Susan Scheckel, *The Insistence of the Indian: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth-century American Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 1:3.

83. Alfred Kroeber was the first doctoral graduate of the program in 1901 and established the anthropology program at Berkeley.

84. James G. Cassidy, *Ferdinand V. Hayden: Entrepreneur of Science* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 51.

85. Cassidy, *Ferdinand V. Hayden*, 27-32.

86. Cassidy, *Ferdinand V. Hayden*, 233-35.

87. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 83-84.

88. John Wesley Powell, "The Ancient Province of Tusayan," *Scribner's Monthly* 11 (1875): 193-213.

89. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 104-105.

90. John Wesley Powell, *Seeing Things Whole: The Essential John Wesley Powell*, ed. William deBuys (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2001), 18.

91. Josiah Gregg, *The Commerce of the Prairies*, ed. Milo Milton Quaife (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 10.

92. This period of rapid economic expansion has received considerable discussion, most notably by Grant Foreman, whose 1926 publication, based on a wide variety of newspapers, journals of western travelers, published documents of the United States Government, letters in the Indian Office in Washington, and collections of manuscripts in different parts of the country, were employed to detail the period of 1817 to 1846. See Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

93. R.W.H. Hardy, *Travels in the Interior of Mexico in 1825, 1826, 1827, & 1828*

(London, UK: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1829), 353-54.

94. Hardy, *Travels in the Interior of Mexico*, 419.

95. George Frederick Augustus Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (London, UK: J. Murray, 1861), 189.

96. A. Wislizenus, *Memoir of a Tour to Northern Mexico, Connected with Col. Doniphan's Expedition, in 1846 and 1847* (Washington, DC: Tippin & Streeper Printers, 1848), 20.

97. Parkman and his descriptions have been accused of being particularly erroneous, with alarming discrepancies. In the 1963 article "A Vanishing Indian: Francis Parkman versus his sources," historian Francis Jennings argued that Parkman's bias was not merely harmless and typical of the time but instead seemed to diminish the significance and influence of Native actors overtly. See Francis P. Jennings, "A Vanishing Indian: Francis Parkman versus His Sources," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 87, no. 3 (1963): 306-323.

98. Francis Parkman, *The California and Oregon Trail: Being Sketches of Prairie and Rocky Mountain Life* (New York, NY: George P. Putnam, 1849), 316-317.

99. Parkman, *The California and Oregon Trail*, 317.

100. For a discussion on the influence of racism in American expansionism, see Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism and Empire* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 171-72.

101. Berkhofer, 93-94.

102. Lewis H. Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail* (Cincinnati, OH: H.W. Derby & Co., 1850), 72.

103. Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah*, 218.

104. For an analysis of this genre, see Christine Bold, "Westerns," in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture Volume Six: US Popular Print Culture 1860-1920* ed. Christine Bold (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2011), 317-336; to view specific examples, see Bill Brown, *Reading the West: An Anthology of Dime Westerns* (Boston, MA: Bedford Books, 1997).

105. In 2002, Catlin was viewed not for his championing of the Native image but as someone who commodified it and the West for purposes of exploitation. See George Catlin, Therese Thau. Heyman, George Gurney, and Brian W. Dippie, *George Catlin and His Indian*

Gallery (Washington, DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2002).

106. Steven Conn, *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 54-55.

107. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* 1 (New York, NY: Wiley and Putnam, 1841), 261-62; Hans Huth posits that this sentiment was "first published in 1833 in one of the letters Catlin sent from the Indian territory to the Daily Commercial Advertiser, a widely read New York newspaper" in *Nature and the American: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes* new ed. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 1990), 135.

108. John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, during the Years 1850, '51, '52, and '53* (New York, NY: D. Appleton & Company, 1854).

109. See "Illustrations" in Hine, *Bartlett's West*.

110. For detailed autobiographical information on Richard Wetherill, refer to Benjamin Alfred Wetherill, *The Wetherills of the Mesa Verde: Autobiography of Benjamin Alfred Wetherill* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1977).

111. Frank McNitt wrote the most thorough biography of Richard Wetherill, which contains the family history in chapter one; McNitt, *Richard Wetherill*, 8-20.

112. U.S. Deputy Marshal Adam Lewy to U.S. Indian Agent Charles A Bartholomew, 21 January 1892, Mesa Verde (CO) printed materials M082, box 1, series 1, folder 2, Center of Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado.

113. U.S. Attorney John D. Fleming to U.S. Indian Agent Charles A Bartholomew, 6 February 1892, Mesa Verde (CO) printed materials M082, box 1, series 1, folder 2, Center of Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado.

114. Ronald F. Lee, "The Origins of the Antiquities Act," in *The Antiquities Act: A Century of American Archaeology, Historic Preservation, and Nature Conservation*, ed. David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2006), 22-27.

115. McNitt, *Richard Wetherill*, 16.

116. Charles C. Mason, "The Story of the Discovery and Early Exploration of the Cliff houses of Mesa Verde," in McNitt, *Richard Wetherill*, 323-329.

117. Mason, “The Story of the Discovery and Early Exploration of the Cliff houses,” 323-329.

118. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 188-89.

119. McNitt, *Richard Wetherill*, 35.

120. McNitt, *Richard Wetherill*, 189.

121. See Chapter Three, “Humans on Display.”

122. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 189.

123. Bibliographic information on the Nordenskiöld family can be found in Alexander Leslie, *The Arctic Voyages of Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld 1858-1879* (London, UK: Macmillan and Co., 1879).

124. The ethnographic studies of Erland are contained within Erland Nordenskiöld and Christer Lindberg, *The Cultural History of the South American Indians* (New York, NY: AMS Press, 1999).

125. G. Nordenskiöld, *The Cliff Dwellers of the Mesa Verde*, trans. D. Llyod Morgan (Stockholm, SE: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1893), 37.

126. McNitt, *Richard Wetherill*, 43.

127. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 191.

128. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 192-94.

129. McNitt, *Richard Wetherill*, 176.

130. McNitt, *Richard Wetherill*, 176.

131. McNitt, *Richard Wetherill*, 176, 200-01.

132. McNitt, *Richard Wetherill*, 201.

133. McNitt, *Richard Wetherill*, 202.

Chapter Two: Nineteenth-Century Racial Science—the bellwether of Southwestern archaeology

Travelers in the 1920s who passed through Arizona's Six Shooter Canyon in the Pinal Creek Valley area, ninety miles east of Phoenix, had the opportunity to visit a rare attraction attended to by a rather unique woman. While it may have seemed like little more than an everyday tourist trap, "Healey Terrace" was one-of-a-kind. It consisted of the remains of an old Native structure made of rocks and adobe, measuring 265 ft. by 165 ft. and containing an estimated 100 rooms.[1] For only fifty cents, Helen E. Rickley Healy, curator, docent, excavator, and proprietor, would provide guests with a personal tour of the ranch. Healey had curated pottery, beads, copper bells, stone hammers, metates, and two full cases of smaller miscellaneous items. Archaeologists, she said, find it interesting, too, "because it is all from one place."[2] It was the only spot in the entire U.S., she attested, "where the curios found have been kept on the place," instead of being shipped off to museums.[3] As if this designation was not enough to entice tourists to stop, the actual attraction was far more macabre.

In her single-handed excavation of thirty-three or thirty-four rooms with only a small coal shovel, Healey had uncovered more than simply ceramics, stone tools, and Native bric-a-brac. She advertised "Healey Terrace" as a "Stone Age" attraction where visitors could meet the Native peoples "face to face."[4] Healey had carefully and affectionately decorated the entire structure —which doubled as her home—both inside and out, with skeletons of individuals she had dug up. The skeletons were placed around the property, adorned with modern clothing, and posed in various fashions.[5] During her excavations, Healey recovered

the skeletal remains of no fewer than seventy-eight individuals; she was incredibly proud of the skulls.

There were skeletons dressed in Army coats, and skeletons with "with putty noses and marbles for eyes."[6] Some skeletons were adorned in Healey's jewelry, and others were dressed in her clothes. Numerous skeletons were displayed outside in various positions, where tourists would pose for photos. There were even skeletons "standing" around the piano so they could listen to Healey play.[7] They were her "Ancients," as she called them.[8] Those Native people—or what remained of them—whoever they might have been, were the stars of the grotesque roadside attraction that once was Healey Terrace.

Healey was eager to gain the attention of professional archaeologists. She wrote to Alfred V. Kidder in 1925, encouraging him to "come down to Globe as soon as possible and see the wonderful amount of stuff I have dug up myself out of the ancient ruins on our ranch…. They say I have a wonderful collection."[9] A little over two years after writing to Kidder, Healey did attract the attention of an archaeologist, or at least an aspiring one, when Harold Gladwin (discussed further in Chapter Four) passed through town while scouting for signs of Native ancestral sites. He received the fifty-cent tour and learned Mrs. Healey hoped to someday sell the "old ruin" to someone who could appreciate it. Gladwin—who had retired five years earlier to Santa Barbara, CA at age thirty-nine after making his fortune on the stock market—made Healey an offer on the spot to purchase the twenty acres containing the site as well as all of its artifacts. Over the next several years, he would transform the once ramshackle roadside attraction into the headquarters and museum for the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation.

Introduction

Healey's morbid fascination aside, looters and diggers typically ignored the majority of human remains. Although the burials themselves were robbed and desecrated, the decaying bones held no value for collectors. With only a couple notable exceptions, amateurs were largely uninterested in the biological remains at sites they looted. Looters were interested in burial goods, but in the act of grave robbing, they paid little attention to skeletal material. This disinterest was unlike that of "Old World" archaeology, which for a long time held a fascination with the recovery of mummies, especially those of Egyptian nobility. This fascination was not due initially to the extravagant manner in which the burials were prepared or whether they were contained within ornately and richly decorated sarcophagi. Instead, theft was most often due to the belief that Egyptian mummies contained *"mummia*," a natural bitumen valued in sixteenth and seventeenth pharmacy preparations.[10]

Nevertheless, when science became interested in Native ancestral sites of the Southwest, an emerging interest in skeletal remains immediately was of the utmost importance. These remains were important not only for scientific study but for the emerging museum displays moving forward. Finding so-called dolichocephalic versus brachiocephalic traits in recovered crania led to a greater understanding of these supposedly "lost races." With the shift to emphasizing the scientific value of recovered artifacts, biological remains became a crucial part of understanding the interpretation of a site, associated artifacts, and associated peoples. "Looting" by amateurs turned into prolific "grave robbing" by scientists.

This chapter will examine the racial science of the nineteenth century and the emerging physical anthropology of the twentieth century. The study of the human body in

its physical form has an older history than is present here, but a scientific approach began with Johan Friedrich Blumenbach in the late 1700s. Out of his studies, anthropometry and craniometry developed in the half-century following and became vital tools for archaeologists of the early twentieth century. Since renamed biological anthropology, physical anthropology began to coalesce as an academic discipline of study during this same period and employed both living and dead human bodies as its objects of study. Almost exclusively, its research concerned measuring, understanding, concluding the study of racial differences between various human populations. In this chapter, I explore the history of racial science, the development of physical anthropology, and demonstrate how these intertwined sciences supported the development of archaeological theories in the Southwest. I argue (1) the influence of John Lubbock, Lewis Henry Morgan, Charles Darwin, and Francis Galton collectively ushed in a new science of humanity defined by establishing inflexible biological distinctions between races that equated skin tone with mental and societal complexity; (2) that these notions of social progress were linked inextricably, through Morgan, to the first archaeological study of the U.S. Southwest; (3) as these racial biases became entrenched in the anthropomorphic techniques and approaches they became paramount to archaeological research; and (4) these methods decisively defined archaeological practices in ways that distorted and detoured objective knowledge about the peoples, places, and cultures in the Southwest due to prejudices indivisible from their bigoted conventions.

The Human Body as a Scientific Object of Study

This importance placed on the recovery of burials and recovered biological remains was so paramount that excavations recovering no burials were deemed "disappointing."[11] The cranium was of particular importance to scholars of the time because it helped to understand statistical differences in the Cephalic (or Cranial) Index.[12] Sometimes the collection of crania was completed with disregard to the other skeletal material present. A March 1935 "Grave Record" recorded by Erik K. Reed—a student of Earnest Hooton—while employed by Gila Pueblo at Snaketown, Arizona, described a skeleton found in fair condition. Reed noted the skull as "brachy" with no deformations but listed no cranial measurements. The record also described the length of the femur as "322 mm+." This document described the orientation of the skeleton, depth, soil, location, and condition of the various bones; however, under the section heading "Bones saved," only "skull" is listed.[13] The reasonable implication is that Gila Pueblo left the rest of the skeleton buried but took the skull, apparently for later scientific scrutiny or museum display.

Archaeologists, curators, and collectors who delivered human remains to museums and the late 1800s and early 1900s often maintained grandiose ideas for future exhibitions as they steadily built collections. As historian Samuel Redman observed, museums determined the value of human remains for scholarship, including discoveries determined to be particularly useful in teaching scholars and the broader public about race.[14] When not on display, remains were stored in the bone room, organized around race; the collection and statistical analysis of remains resulted in turn-of-the-century racial formation theories being mapped onto the human remains collections behind the scenes, and then in major

excavations.[15] Extensive museum displays centering on racial history became a reality and the focus of the ongoing debate surrounding the physical practice of curating such remains continued to center on best practices for museum organization. Remains that were not currently being researched or exhibited had to be stored, preserved, and organized according to dominant anthropological theories of the day. In the Americas, race was an unstable reality, complicated by constant intermixing. Nevertheless, many archaeologists continued to collect human remains under the assumption that their collection and salvage would somehow be necessary for the study of race. By 1898, for example, the Smithsonian anthropology collections contained upward of 450,000 individual specimens.[16]

Racial Science

The earliest known influences of philosophical thought relating to hierarchical differences between animal forms came not from modern science but from much earlier sources. Medieval Christian Europe's "Great Chain of Being" is one of the earliest known examples representing the earth's biological forms in different hierarchical levels. This particular visual representation included the Christian God atop a tree-like representation of the earth's animal forms, arranged in supposed hierarchical complexity from highest forms to lowest forms in terms of European Middle Age notions.[17] Not until Carl von Linné do these theological ideas take shape in anything resembling a scientific form. Linnaeus granted all of the so-called races known at the time a place as members of *Homo sapiens*, granted he delineated four extant races, expanded to five in later editions.

One of the most prominent questions of the scientific study of humanity, that of

humankind's origins, was thought of ultimately as a question that encompassed the source of the supposed races. This argument is most clearly perceived in the debates between the monogenists and polygenists. This pre-Darwinian debate centered on the differences between races and the potential reality for separate acts of creation. These were groups who, respectively, viewed the origin of races as either a result of untold years of evolution as a result of a single act of creation; or as the result of multiple creations, and possibly at different times. These were both seriously accepted and debated scientific ideas. Given the tremendous differences in social evolution between the various races, it stood to polygenists' reason that some of the races were newer creations without as much time in terms of evolutionary history on their side.[18] This debate centered on the differences between races and the potential reality for separate acts of creation.

Using racial science to define archaeology

When archaeologists first began interpreting sites and artifacts for a public audience, they did so entirely in the shadow of nineteenth-century racial pseudoscience, upon which their discipline was based. These interpretations stemmed from conclusions that defined both the biological and cultural implications of race. From the biological perspective, the key influences were the Cephalic Index, as first developed by Anders Retzius, and the Craniometrics of Samuel George Morton. As for the cultural determinants of race, the Darwinian theories of cultural development from John Lubbock and the three-age system of Lewis Henry Morgan each played vital roles in shaping the understanding of archaeologists for the first half of the twentieth century. Each of these was, in turn, beholden to the work of

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach—the first to use the scientific method to study race. Blumenbach's *De Generis Humani Varietate* (The Natural Variety of the Human Race), first published in fulfillment of his medical doctor's degree in 1775 and ultimately revised and expanded in the 1795 edition, was the first to attribute inherent and immutable biological differences between races and define them as discrete groups that could be studied scientifically.[19]

Aleš Hrdlička called Samuel George Morton the "father of American anthropology," and although he is not the only worthy candidate; more recent scholars know him instead as the "father of scientific racism."[20] This coincidence is none at all. Morton's 1839 *Crania Americana* which was essentially an essay on the intellectual inferiority of Native peoples, was the definitive reference for Indigenous and Native cranial types. Although doubts about Morton's conclusions began to appear shortly after his death, they remained influential for over 100 years.[21] In September 1848, he announced his final conclusions on cranial capacity, which he associated with intelligence, using a method first outlined in *Crania Americana* to measure the cubic capacity using leaden shot. Among other conclusions, Morton declared to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia:

> 1. The Teutonic or German race… possess the largest brain of any other people. 2. The nations having the smallest heads, are the ancient Peruvians and Australians. 3. The Barbarous tribes of America possess a much larger brain than the demi-civilized Peruvians or Mexicans.[22]

Later scrutiny of Morton's work demonstrated discernable bias in his figures. First, in a 1978 article in *Science* and then more profoundly in the award-winning 1981 *Mismeasure of Man* (revised edition, 1996), Steven Jay Gould contested Morton's results and accused him of demonstrating unconscious bias in manipulating to suit preconceived conclusions.[23] Gould

argued (as did Boas, Tobias, and others before him) that significant differences in cranial indices, brain weight, or cranial capacity bore no relationship to intelligence or mental capacity. Each study that approached human intelligence in this manner was ultimately untenable due to the foundational racial assumptions upon which those sorts of studies were conducted. And while a 2011 analysis of Gould's data in 2011—he died in 2002—by anthropologists Jason E. Lewis et al. accused Gould himself of bias, subsequent studies in 2015 and 1018 vindicated Gould's conclusions, if not his methods.[24]

Despite its now apparent racial bias, one reason for the influence of *Crania Americana* was the seventy plates of human skulls from Morton's collection—the largest in existence at the time—illustrated by lithographer John Collins.[25] The images included sixty-seven individual crania from the Americas from various Native peoples from Patagonia to Alaska, an "[e]mbalmed head from the Peruvian cemetery at Arica," a comparison of "Mongol-Americans, or Eskimaux" crania, a "Swiss" skull, and a phrenological chart.[26] Many of the illustrations lack provenience or association descriptions, and although there were thirty-eight examples clearly from the United States, none were explicitly from Southwest peoples, and merely three (due to the "extreme difficulty of obtaining authentic crania of those people") were labeled "Mexican."[27] Nevertheless, he described the "Toltecan Family" as "extending from the Rio Gila in the thirty-third degree of north latitude, along the western margin of the continent to the frontiers of Chili [*sic*]."[28] (The thirty-third parallel north passes roughly through southerly third Arizona and New Mexico.) However, Morton described the Toltecan people as being "surrounded on all sides by barbarous and uncongenial tribes" at the time of Spanish conquest; however, European slavery and vassalage left them a "mixed and motley people" who had previously, in contrast to the

Americans, demonstrated evidence of in the "arts and sciences…an advanced civilization."[29] In 1844, he also published *An Inquiry into the Distinctive Characteristics of the Aboriginal Race of America*, which argued the Native peoples of the Americas were all of "the same race…distinct from all others."[30] If nothing else, this argument, combined with his skull measurements, began to challenge the idea that the Mound Builders (discussed in Chapter 2) constituted a different race from living Native peoples.

Following Gustav Nordenskiöld's excavations at Mesa Verde and his subsequent publication of *The Cliff Dwellers of Mesa Verde, Southwestern Colorado*, in 1893, he shared his conclusions at speaking engagements in Europe. At the 10th International Congress of Americanists held in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1894, Nordenskiöld gave a presentation ten months before his premature death at age twenty-six. Although that manuscript was lost, the conference proceedings did include the subsequent discussions.[31] In comments on Nordenskiöld's talk, anatomist Gustaf Retzius added the following:

> In connection with the communication of Mr. G. Nordenskiöld I will say a few words here about the 12 skulls originating from the cliff dwellings in Colorado, which he has just mentioned in his lecture. These skulls got here just recently; a thorough investigation of the same has therefore not yet been carried out. The skulls, however, offer a special interest in several respects. In the first place, they have not, or at least to a very little extent, been disfigured by artificial deformation, so that their natural form can still be well judged. Secondly, this form shows itself to be in part exquisitely dolichocephalic, while the skulls otherwise found in the Cliffhouses, though somewhat deformed by artificial deformation, are certainly for the most part brachycephalic, like those excavated by Mr. Nordenskiöld and described by me in his large work on the Cliffhouses skulls described in Mesa Verde and as I have seen in other Cliffhouse skulls preserved in American collections. Now, as Mr. N[ordenskiöld] pointed out, the skulls presented here seem to come from an older period of these remarkable dwellings. It is therefore of interest to learn that these skulls belong to another, or rather, belonged to an older population, to a different Indian tribe, even to a partly strongly dolichocephalic tribe, which has little or no artificial reshaping of the skull. For this reason it is also interesting to learn what differences in culture are indicated by the implements and other objects found together with these skulls. What has been said about it up to now points to a lower culture. These new finds, then, appear to be of particular value in elucidating the

> history of the curious Cliffhouse tribes. But these skulls are also relevant for the study of another question. As is well known, my father, Anders Retzius, demonstrated almost fifty years ago that, viewed craniologically, the Native Americans, the Indians, do not represent a single large race, but are divided into two different groups, the dolichocephalic and the brachycephalic Indians. It is true that he had only very limited skull material from America at his disposal; on the basis of this he now sought to explain that the Brachycephala inhabit predominantly the eastern and the Dolichocephala the western side of the great continent.[32]

Sometimes called "the father of anthropology" in Europe, the elder Retzius, Gustaf's father Anders, contrived the dolichocephalic and brachycephalic classifications for defining cranial shapes. (See: Figure 2.1.)

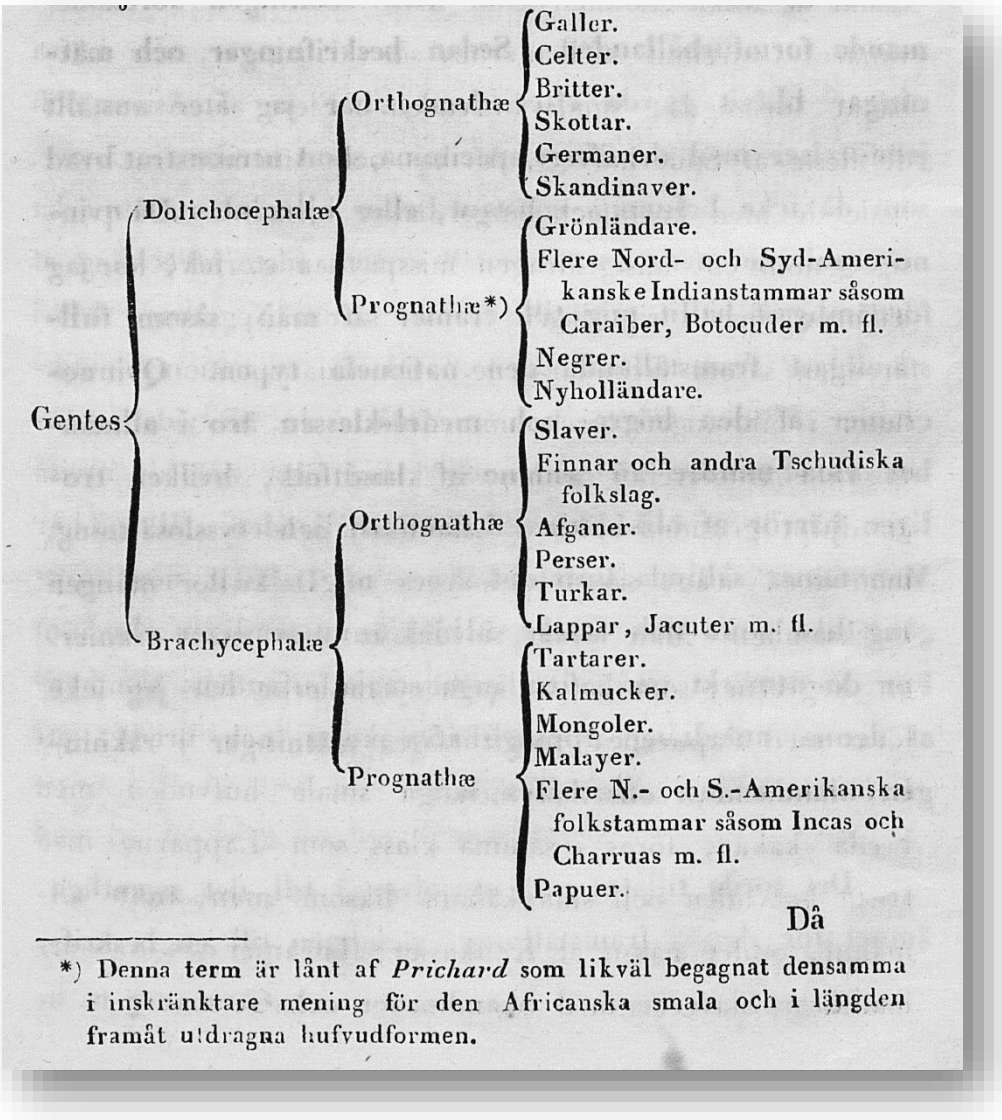


Figure 2.1: Anders Retzius's fictive cladogram of the dolichocephalic and brachycephalic types divided further into orthognathous and prognathous branches. Native peoples of North and South America, specifically the Inca and Charrúa peoples, appear in the bottommost bracket along with Sámi, Yakut et al., Tartar, Kalmyck, Mongol, Malay, and Papuan peoples. The notation reads, "This term is borrowed from Prichard, who nevertheless used it in a narrower sense for the African narrow and longitudinally elongated head shape." In "Om Formen af Mordboernes Cranier" *Aftrycktur Förhandl. vid Naturforskarnes Möte i Stockholm år 1842*, (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt et Söner, Kongl. Boktryckarn, 1843), 4.

However, in 1842 Anders Retzius did not define any particular "index" to define these two categories as scholars have repeatedly claimed.[33] Instead, he provided an

"overview of measurements" on the final page and provided data only for the people of Sweden and Finland, and the Slav and Sámi peoples. Retzius valued using cranial measurements to determine the shape of the brain and, thus, characteristics. To that end, his measurements included not only the cranium but also the dental orbit, neck, foramen magnum, and size, shape, and angle of the jaw.[34] Aside from the mention of Native peoples of the Americans in the illustration shown above, he compared measurements from three individuals from the Titicaca area of Peru to those of Greenland, indicating they expressed comparable measurements.[35] In another section, he noted features in the Americans and Asians that demonstrated forms intermediate between Africans and Greenlanders.[36] Another crucially relevant conclusion Retzius made was concerning the heritability of cranial traits and features. In studying European remains from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, he concluded that the affinity of modern crania to that of the middle ages demonstrated they belonged to one people.[37]

After the death of the elder Retzius in 1860, his son, Gustaf, published a collection of his father's manuscripts in the tremendously influential *Ethnologische Schriften Von Anders Retzius Nach Dem Tode Des Verfassers Gesammelt*. Among the manuscripts it contained was a letter, dated January 1852, to French anatomist Georges Louis Duvernoy, who had aided Georges Cuvier in compiling the five volumes of *Leçons d'Anatomie Compare* between 1800 and 1805. In the missive, Retzius expressed his hesitation in defining index values to attribute to the two cranium types, "[y]ou ask me about the distinctive characters between the brachycephalic and dolichocephalic form! I do not yet want to determine some fixed measures to distinguish them."[38] Nevertheless, he relented and claimed, "ordinarily the longitudinal diameter of the dolichocephalic exceeds the width by about ¼, while in the

brachycephalic this difference varies between ⅕ - ⅛," before providing a list of their most distinctive characteristics.[39] In an 1844 public talk published in the same volume titled, "About the shape of the head of the skeleton in different peoples," Retzius provided several more imagined cladograms, including one highlighting the people of the Americas.[40] (See Figure: 2.2.)

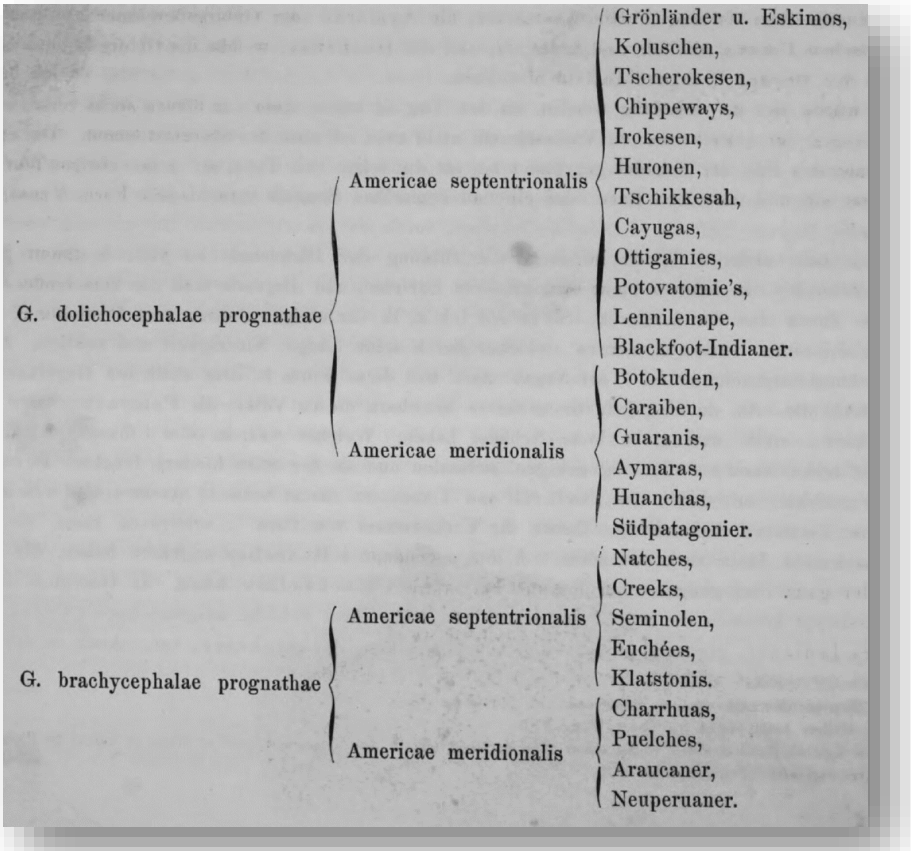


Figure 2.2: Anders Retzius's imagined cladogram of the dolichocephalic prognathous and brachycephalic prognathous types divided further into North and South America. This data concluded there were no orthognathus types in the Americans. Anders Retzius, "About the shape of the head of the skeleton in different peoples," *Negotiations at the Scandinavian. Naturforsk. Fourth Meeting in Christiania July 1844*, 33. Public Lecture. Archive for Anatomy, Physiology, science, and medicine, edited. by Joh. Müller 1848 Sweeden: W. Meves. In Anders Retzius and Gustaf Retzius, *Ethnologische Schriften von Anders Retzius nach dem Tode des Verfassers gesammelt* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1864), 38.

Both Morton and the Retziuses' conclusions regarding the possible races of the Americas had definitive consequences on the development of archaeology in the U.S. Southwest and on the interpretation of Native histories.[41] The International Agreement on the Classification and Nomenclature of the Cephalic Index in 1886 and the International Agreement on Anthropometry in 1906 cement the importance and standards of measurements such as these.[42] As the pre-European peoples of the Americas left no written records (or, at least ones that could be deciphered or were not destroyed by Franciscans) "in an effort to explain the ethnic identity and the place of origin of the American Indian," anthropology was compelled to rely on "the least mutable parts of man, namely, his body and skeleton."[43]

In *Pre-Historic Times, As Illustrated By Ancient Remains, And The Manners And Customs Of Modern Savages*, first published in 1865, John Lubbock introduced the Palaeolithic period, the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age, instituting terms that added depth to human history. These classifications provided a convenient approach for classifying both contemporaneous and ancient human groups. More pertinent to Southwestern archaeology was his assertion, found in the chapter "Modern Savages," that proposed ethnographic analogy of modern populations would "throw light on the ancient remains found in Europe, and on the condition of the early races which inhabited our continent."[44] This foundational tenet of archaeology originated as a way to understand the modern "savage." *Prehistoric Times* went through seven editions, with the last published in 1913. For fifty years, it was among the standard archaeology textbooks that first introduced many archaeologists of the period to the subject.[45]

Following Lubbock's scholarship, in 1877, Lewis Henry Morgan's *Ancient Society;*

Or, Researches In The Lines Of Human Progress From Savagery, Through Barbarism To Civilization, introduced the three-age system, savagery, barbarism, and civilization. He asserted, without good evidence, that "savagery preceded barbarism in all the tribes of mankind, as barbarism is known to have preceded civilization. The history of the human race is one in source, one in experience, and one in progress."[46] It was for the evidence this assertion lacked that he first set Bandelier out to collect data on the peoples of the Americas. Bandelier's seminal work was upon which later archaeology in the Southwest was founded.

When Charles Darwin published *On the Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life* in 1859, it sparked debate both in Europe and the United States that profoundly divided society. Though the concept of biological evolution was not a novel idea, Darwin's approach to explaining the phenomenon was entirely unique, resulting in criticisms from both within and without the scientific community.[47] The implications contained within *Origin* regarding the nature of creation engendered skepticism from religious leaders but also caused a divide within intellectual circles as the debate over whether Darwin's proposed mechanism—natural selection—and its inherent random variations were the legitimate source of biological evolution and the extent of all variation seen in nature. Darwin argued that species were not fixed at the moment of creation, and instead, one species developed out of another through a slow series of accumulated changes over a vast period of time. This proposed change did not require intervention on the part of the divine, instead attributing creation to random mutations and ecological pressures. Darwin's second book on the topic of biological evolution, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, published in 1871, drew humankind into the argument. Darwin had very cautiously avoided all discussion of humankind's beginning

in the *Origin* in order to not detract from the general argument he was putting forth. Instead, he simply stated that "[m]uch light would be thrown on the origin of man and his history" without explicitly outlining humankind's place in nature.[48]

At the end of the nineteenth century, the question of evolution continued as it had since the 1859 publication of *Origin*, mainly comprised of non-Darwinian theories and the employment of natural forces that shaped phenotypical transmutations of living species. At issue were the metaphysical, religious, philosophical, moral, and scientific accommodations that were required by evolutionary theory. While Darwin and Huxley—his reservations on the mechanism notwithstanding—worked towards promoting a "purer" form of evolutionary theory based on Darwinian conjecture, others sought to appropriate evolution to their own means and devices. By the turn of the twentieth century, Darwin's theory of natural selection was viewed by the most educated as an incomplete or inaccurate depiction of how the natural world functioned; however, his popularity in the latter half of the nineteenth century served as the impetus for maintaining the conversation regarding evolution and the nature of species—and societies'—change over time.

Darwin's second major publication, *The Descent of Man*, had renewed the evolution debate by placing humankind directly into the animal kingdom, ascribing the origin of the human species to a series of slow biological changes throughout countless eons of time, and requiring no creative interventions on the part of any deity for the appearance of humankind. However, it was Francis Galton's publication of *Hereditary Genius* in 1896, an approach to social Darwinism, that helped skew scientific inquiries concerning race toward the Cranial Index. The immediate result of Darwin's publication was not that science accepted the theory of evolution by natural selection on the terms he specified—that recognition would not come

uniformly until the 1940s and the Darwinian synthesis authored by Julian Huxley—instead, perhaps the most significant result was the development and advance of Social Darwinism.[49] This theory was formulated by Darwin's cousin Francis Galton, who posited that the natural selection Darwin described in relation to biological forms was translatable to divining human development and progress.[50]

In Galton's terms, a society's complexity was the result of centuries of social evolution, of which the outcome was the various states and cultures of the late nineteenth century. It should come as little surprise then, by their own measurement and reckoning, White Europeans were atop the social hierarchy. Evidence everywhere during the Victorian Era indeed demonstrated that fact: Europeans had great cities; complex religious, political, and economic institutions; and empires and colonies surrounding the globe. This success was demonstrative of White European superiority; however, in the eyes of Galton and fellow Social Darwinists, not even all White Europeans were equal. Instead, for example, the British superseded the Irish Celts, while all northern Europeans superseded the southern Europeans.[51]

The evidence for these supposed facts was based on several distinct yet supporting fields of study focused on racial science. In addition to having coined the term "eugenics," Galton helped establish anthropometry, including the measurement of crania, as legitimate measurements to be employed in understanding the differences between evolved and degenerated races.[52] The resulting brachycephalic or dolichocephalic cranium types were indicative of specific racial types and corresponding intelligence thresholds. As with the Hyde Exploring Expedition's work at Grand Gulch, these measurements were seen as an essential indicator of the "race" of populations for archaeologists.

The study of humankind in the nineteenth century was heavily influenced by the work of Morton, the Retziuses, Lubbock, Morgan, Darwin, and Galton, each of whom approached the study of the human race through supposedly quantifiable characteristics. They intended to uncover patterns that would enable scientists to sort and classify human diversity; however, the construction of zoological classifications allowed room for subjectivity. Their efforts, and every similar undertaking since, inevitably encountered difficulty in creating discrete racial types, as physical characteristics used to define race are not distributed in a geographically uniform manner.[53] The work and influence of these men and their approach to employing science to reify race resulted in perspectives of the Native past that superseded those relayed through oral histories and traditions. In part, this development was due to the influence of the earlier work of ethnologists. For example, in his biography of Alfred V. Kidder, archaeologist Douglas Givens claimed that he "came to distrust Hopi historical tradition."[54] In an unpublished manuscript draft from 1954 titled "Rambling Reminiscences," Kidder wrote, "

> I learned a great deal about Hopi archaeology and among other things discovered that {Robert} Lowie was quite right. Lowie {said} 'Under no circumstances will I ever believe any historical tradition told me by the Hopi'. Fewkes swallowed all those traditions whole. . . . He gives this long story about how a man in a pueblo, up on the mesa, just above Sikiacki, stole a girl out of this pueblo just above it on the First Mesa, which started war and Sikiacki was ruined by stones thrown down from the ruin on top. When I came to examine this pueblo it turned out to be a Basket-Maker Ill, and Sikiacki was, of course, 17th and 18th Century. This soured me on Hopi traditions.[55]

Archaeologists valued the material over the experiential, and there was nothing more palpable than the human body and its corporeal remains.

Physical anthropology bleeds into archaeology

As a result of efforts led by Aleš Hrdlička, the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* was founded in 1918.[56] Along with Harvard's Earnest Hooton, the pair were the most prominent physical anthropologists of the early twentieth century. At the core of what archaeology was trying to accomplish was the definition and boundaries of various races in the United States Southwest. The focus on the crania and how they related to race were vital pieces of data that allowed archaeologists to supposedly track populations (and eventually contribute to disenfranchising them of Native lands, as will be discussed in Part Two). Archaeology based their ideas on determining race on craniometric data that was crucially important to understanding both race and differences of species. Within anthropology, physical anthropology and archaeology developed side-by-side. However, more so than archaeology, physical anthropology was looking into the distant past to understand how humans evolved, based on leading—and often ostensibly racist—scientific beliefs of the day.

This point is underscored by the famous Piltdown hoax and the belief that gained widespread acceptance in the first half of the twentieth century that humankind's origins lay in the British Islands. While the fraud should have been easy to uncover, and some were indeed skeptical, the features of the cranium and the supposed remains aligned perfectly with early twentieth-century British ideas about progress, human evolution, and the origin of races. There was serious debate, but initially, many scholars on both sides of the Atlantic accepted Piltdown. As time progressed, however, the "fossil" made less sense as a legitimate human ancestor —that is, until 1953, when updated testing techniques were able to uncover

the forgery.[57] Not only did this fossil, first found in 1912, seem to represent a "missing link" between humans and apes, but its antiquity also led many academics to argue that humans had originated in the Brittan, making the nation central to the history of human antiquity. Aleš Hrdlička, among other anthropologists, contended vehemently that Europe, not Asia or Africa, held the key to the origin of the human species. In Hrdlička's case, he viewed *Homo neanderthalensis* as a potentially crucial evolutionary step in the development of *Homo sapiens*, occurring in Europe where all Neanderthal remains were found.[58]

In some cases, the line between archaeology and physical anthropology blurred. Louis Leakey was one of the scholars who straddled that line. He and Mary Leakey found one of the earliest widely-accepted fossils from Africa to shed light on the origins of humankind. Leakey foremost considered himself an archaeologist, having been trained in that discipline at Cambridge.[59] Nevertheless, archaeologists were digging worldwide, recovering skeletal material, and basing their findings on physical anthropology's theories. Yet the entire discipline was skewed for nearly fifty years because of Piltdown Man, later shown to be a forgery.[60] But until 1950, it seemed that the Piltdown Man—a crude but convincing amalgamation of a small-headed cranium with a stained orangutan jaw—was the leading candidate for a "missing link" between humanity and its ancestors.[61] That was the academic climate upon which archaeologists were essentially making racial judgments about the cultures they studied, overwhelmingly based on craniometric data. It was not until 1953, after there was overwhelming evidence against it that Piltdown Man was revealed to be a forgery.[62]

Louis and Mary Leakey made the first of the discoveries that popularly demonstrated a human origin in Africa, yet Leaky was following archaeological data, not fossil data.[63]

Some archaeologists of the early twentieth century, including Leakey, ended up becoming *de facto* paleoanthropologists by virtue of the fact that the burial data they were working with was farther in the past. Leakey found spearpoints and could not identify who had made them. The archaeological data he recovered led him to question the species of their maker, resulting in the finding of *Zinjanthropus boisei* and *Homo habilis*. The human lineage was stretched beyond the species boundary and into a new genus with these finds. This development coincided with archaeology as there were serious suggestions that extinct primate species evolved separately into distinct races. Such contentions were seriously considered and debated as recently as 1962 with Carleton Coon's *The Origin of Races*.[64]

Perhaps surprisingly for someone whose work was so closely tied to Africa, Leakey did indeed work in the U.S. Southwest, broadly defined. Leakey, along with the site director Ruth De Ette "Dee" Simpson and geologist Thomas Clements, excavated a site in the Mojave Desert, roughly halfway between Las Vegas, NV and Los Angeles, CA, in the Calico Mountains. With funding from the National Geographic Society, they excavated between autumn 1964 and spring 1968, although Leakey was only occasionally on-site. Nevertheless, Leakey viewed this work as crucial. One of the reasons Leakey found this work so important was to overturn prejudices about Native peoples in the U.S. He expressed to the team of excavators that he depended on them "to help achieve a real victory over prejudice in favor of facts about U.S.A. prehistory."[65] The bias Leakey described was similar to what he helped overturn about Africa by demonstrating with the fossil record that the earliest examples of humankind were found there and not in China, India, or England.

However, after two National Geographic Society archaeologists visited the site and reported they were not convinced the stone tools were not simply natural features, the society

canceled his funding.[66] Nevertheless, he was undeterred. In the 1969 *Science* article, Leakey, Simpson, and Clements announced that the site was "over 40,000 years but probably less than 120,000 years, with a probable age of between 50,000 and 80,000 years."[67] He later formally announced the excavation's conclusions at a conference in California in 1970, but he could not convince the larger archaeological community.[68] However, few archaeologists accepted these results, and the entire ordeal damaged Leakey's reputation. After his death, his ex-wife Mary, also an archaeologist, admitted in her biography that disagreements over Calico we partially responsible for their separation shortly before his death.[69]

Modern science currently concludes that all the varying types of living humans evolved from a single genetic stock in Africa some 315,000 years ago.[70] In 2022, the genetic data supersedes the paleoanthropological data in support of this notion. Nevertheless, it remains a matter of archaeological debate. As researchers started looking further back in time, less and less organic material could be recovered. Palm leaves sandals disintegrated very quickly. Ceramics broke and deteriorated over time, as do pueblo, stone, or any other artificial building without constant upkeep and maintenance. As it turns out, the most robust data is skeletal remains. Because these materials calcify and turn into literal stone, there exists evidence of organic data going back as far as 3.465 billion years.[71] At a point not too distant in the past, the study of humankind becomes obsolete. As such, Leakey is also responsible for helping launch the discipline of primatology as a sub-field of physical anthropology in order to study living primates to help understand the way humankind might have behaved in the past.[72] The further back in time researchers study, the examination of certain behaviors became moot. For example, the study of spiritual beliefs now extends back as far as Neanderthal burials 160,000 years ago, but before that time, it is assumed that the

developed brainpower and imagination to understand life after death did not yet exist.[73]

Archaeologists have taken similar approaches through ethnographic analogy, as suggested by Lubbock when comparing living cultures to archaeological cultures. A prime example of this approach is the comparison of Great Kivas in Chaco Canyon to those in Tuah Tah.[74] Through ethnographic analogy, archaeologists made inferences about the use of structures 700 years ago versus their use today. Nevertheless, the reigning belief of archaeology during the early twentieth century was that humankind had first evolved in England, a result of the Piltdown forgery. During the late 1920s, the focus shifted to China with the finding of *Sinanthropus pekinensis*. But in 1959, based on the work of Leakey and his wife Mary, the focus of humankind's ancestry veered towards Africa.[75] Understanding where Native U.S. peoples fit into that picture was an enormous preoccupation of U.S. archaeologists of the time. Piltdown was a tremendous influence on understanding how indigenous peoples all over the world evolved into their current "race" based on migrations from England.

Conclusion

Physical anthropology's claim to authority was based on being a science, objectively collecting data, and relying on group consensus, yet it nevertheless produced soundly subjective results. That science is self-correcting and adaptive has always been one of its fundamental tenets; however, when science was employed to construct histories of human beings, the consequences of those findings echoed through society in tangible ways. Unmistakably, implications of those erroneous ancestral narratives affected the lived

experiences and conditions under which the descendants endured. Assumptions that the Native peoples of the Southwest had no history of their own or that they had lived static lives for centuries without change or progress contributed to their perceived social identities and thereby the institutional prejudices against them. Their agency was molded off of an exterior identity crafted for them by Western science. Archaeologists constructed that identity out of legends, three-century-old accounts by Spanish conquerors and missionaries, and racial pseudoscience, into which they mixed scientifically-scrutinized artifacts, resulting in the myths enshrined in national parks and monuments.

Excavations of burials became crucial components for archaeologists because of the data they held. The Antiquities Act in 1906 (discussed in Chapter Four) prescribed who was qualified to undertake archaeology and relegated the power to make those decisions to the federal government. However, permits were not, at least initially, reserved for academic archaeologists. The stipulation for "qualified institutions" meant that those who were interested and who possessed the proper amount of capital could ensure their excavations of ancestral sites, Native artifacts, and human remains could continue under the protection of U.S. law.

When archaeology first solidified as a discipline, it did so as a social science beset by mistaken research that was, quite simply, based on poorly supported scholarship and racial prejudices. Archaeology, due to how it studies humanity, particularly required the aid of other disciplines. Archaeology was only one of many disciplines trying to research humanity scientifically. Its unavoidable dependence on associated disciplines meant leading theories from other fields became not only influential but foundational to the development of some of the discipline's core theories. Archaeology was taking shape in the midst of racial science

that was permeating the scientific study of humanity.

Notes

1. Helen E. Rickley Healy to Alfred V. Kidder, 2 February 1925, Gila Pueblo Foundation Papers, MS15, box 37, folder 4, Arizona State Museum, The University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ.

2. Healey to Kidder, 1925, Arizona State Museum.

3. Healey to Kidder, 1925, Arizona State Museum.

4. Healey to Kidder, 1925, Arizona State Museum.

5. While conducting research at the Arizona State Museum, I viewed the dozens of photos where Healey had arranged skeletons, for example, around a piano as she seemingly serenaded them; adorned in southwestern dress, posing with by visiting U.S. serviceman; and overseeing their ancient relics and artifacts around the premises. Healey's photographic journal, bequeathed to the site's new owners, Harold Gladwin and the Gila Pueblo Foundation, are today in possession of the ASM. Because of the sensitive nature of these photographs, archivists no longer allow copies to be made of the photographs. The Native descendants of these people rightly found Healey Terrace grossly offensive. Emil Haury published two photographs in his 1988 article, "Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation: A History and Some Personal Notes," (see note 6); however, out of respect for living descendants of these desecrated burials, no additional duplicates may be made.

6. Emil W. Haury, "Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation: A History and Some Personal Notes," *Kiva* 54, no. 1 (1988): 5.

7. Haury, "Gila Pueblo," 6.

8. Haury, "Gila Pueblo," 6.

9. Healey to Kidder, 1925, Arizona State Museum.

10. Catherine de Medici sponsored an expedition to Egypt in 1549 to collect mummies for medical preparations. See Gabriel Moshenska, "Unrolling Egyptian Mummies in Nineteenth-century Britain," *British Journal for the History of Science* 47, no. 3 (2014): 455.

11. M. R. Tillotson, "Grand Canyon National Park," *Report of Director of National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1930 and the Travel Season 1930* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1930), 104.

12. Franz Boas, "Changes in the Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants," *American Anthropologist* 14, no. 3 (1912): 530-562. As early as 1912, Franz Boas argued against the usefulness of the cranial index as an indicator in differentiating genetic populations. His study of the cranial indices of immigrant children between 1910-1912 indicated that the amount of variation between parents and offspring demonstrated an unusual amount of plasticity, leading him to conclude that the cranial index was not genetically linked. This study caused colossal controversy, resulting in him publishing all of his data for nearly 18,000 immigrants in 1928, in Franz Boas, *Materials for the Study of the Inheritance of Man* (New York, NY: AMS Press, Inc., 1928). Nevertheless, physical anthropologists, including Earnest Hooton and his student Carlton Coon, continued to use cranial index data as late as the 1960s. Recent research reevaluated Boas's statistical methods and claims, finding them solidly grounded. See Clarence Gravlee, H. Bernard, and William Leonard. "New Answers to Old Questions: Did Boas Get It Right? Heredity, Environment, and Cranial Form: A Reanalysis of Boas's Immigrant Data," *American Anthropologist* 105, no. 1 (2003): 125-38.

13. "Grave Record 268," 26 Mar. 1935, MS15, box 27, folder 13, Gila Pueblo Foundation Papers, MS15, box 27, folder 13, Arizona State Museum, The University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ.

14. Samuel J. Redman, *Bone Rooms: From Scientific Racism to Human Prehistory in Museums* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 8.

15. Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 188-203.

16. Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 52.

17. For an in-depth analysis of the "Great Chain of Being" and its importance for the intellectual history of species transmutation, see Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being; a Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936).

18. This argument is about nature over nurture: was skin color indelible and part of one's DNA (nature) or evolved by natural forces of climate and ecology (nurture)? Debates between these two schools of thought are detailed in William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots:*

Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America 1815-1859 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

19. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, "*Sectio IV: Generis Humani Varietates Quinae Principes, Species Vero Unica* (Five Principal Varieties Of Mankind, One Species,)"in *Decas collectionis suae craniorum diversarum gentium illustrate* (Gottingae, DE: Vandenhoek and Ruprecht, 1795). His other his other works that influenced anthropological racial science included *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Knochen des menschlichen Körpers* (1786 - History and Description of the Bones of the Human Body) and *Decas Collectionis suae craniorum diversarum gentium illustrata* (1790 - Illustrated Collection of Ten Skulls from Difference Races). See Terence Keel, "Impure Thoughts: Johann Blumenbach and the Birth of Racial Science," in *Divine Variations: How Christian Thought Became Racial Science* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2018), 1:23.

20. Others included Carl von Linné, Samuel Stanhope Smith, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, and Joseph-Arthur, Comte de Gobineau. Hrdlička wrote, "Morton may be justly and with pride be termed the father of American anthropology," Aleš Hrdlička, *Physical Anthropology; Its Scope and Aims; Its History and Present Status in the United States* (Philadelphia, PA: The Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, 1919), 41.

21. T. D. Stewart and Marshall T. Newman, "An Historical Resume of the Concept Of Differences in Indian Type" *American Anthropologist* 53 (1951): 22. In 1939, among the sources Hrdlička described as especially valuable to students and "every scientific worker in anthropometry" was *Crania Americana*. Aleš Hrdlička, *Practical Anthropometry* (Philadelphia, PA: Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, 1939), 10-11.

22. Samuel George Morton, "Observations on the Size of the Brain in Various Races and Families of Man," Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia 4 (1848): 209-24.

23. Stephen Jay Gould, "Morton's Ranking of Races by Cranial Capacity." *Science* 200, no. 4341 (1978): 503-509. Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* Rev. and expanded. (New York: Norton, 1996), 82-101.

24. For the critique of Gould's analysis, see Jason E. Lewis, David DeGusta, Marc R Meyer, Janet M Monge, Alan E Mann, and Ralph L Holloway. "The Mismeasure of Science: Stephen Jay Gould Versus Samuel George Morton on Skulls and Bias." *PLoS Biology* 9, no. 6 (2011): e1001071-e1001071. For the rebuttal of Lewis et al.'s critique, see Jonathan Michael Kaplan, Massimo Pigliucci, and Joshua Alexander Banta, "Gould on Morton, Redux: What Can the Debate Reveal About the Limits of Data?" *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 52 (2015): 22-31, and Paul Wolff Mitchell, "The Fault in His Seeds: Lost Notes to the Case of Bias in Samuel George Morton's Cranial Race Science." *PLoS Biology* 16, no. 10 (2018): e2007008-e2007008.

25. Morton, *Crania Americana*, 294. Morton subsequently created wood-cuts from reduced drawings in preparation for printing.

26. Morton, *Crania Americana*, 292-293. I, personally, see no reason to reproduce Morton's illustrations here, nor do I see fit to provide them with another stage. Numerous copies of the 1839 original publication have been digitized and can be found online with a modicum of effort by employing the reader's internet search engine of choice.

27. Morton, *Crania Americana*, v.

28. Morton, *Crania Americana*, 83.

29. Morton, *Crania Americana*, 83-84.

30. This type was in addition to the "Caucasian," "Mongolian," "Malay," and "Negro," which he admitted corresponded to those of Blumenbach except for the latter's designation "Ethiopian." From the note to the Second Edition: "The following essay was read at the annual meeting of the Boston Society of Natural History, on the 27th of April, 1847, and published by the Society. In the present edition I have made a few verbal corrections, and added some collateral facts in an Appendix." Samuel George Morton, *An Inquiry into the Distinctive Characteristics of the Aboriginal Race of America* (Philadelphia, PA: John Penington, 1844), 36, 47-48.

31. *Compte Rendu Du Congrès International Des Américanistes* 10th Session, Stockholm, 1894, 24. "Mr. Gustave Nordenskiöld then made an interesting presentation on the work undertaken by the Wetherill brothers in 1893 and 1894 in the ruins and tombs of Mesa Verde. Unfortunately this manuscript, as well as the correspondence on which this communication was based, was lost during the illness which struck the author shortly after the Congress and which removed him prematurely from science. We refer to the end of the Report the obituary notice devoted to the young scientist whose loss we mourn with all friends of American science." Translation by the author; original French: "M. Gustave Nordenskiöld fait ensuite une communication intéressante sur les travaux entrepris par les frères Wetherill en 1893 et 1894 dans les ruines et les tombeaux de Mesa Verde. Malheureusement ce manuscrit, ainsi que la correspondance sur laquelle se basait cette communication, a été égaré pendant la maladie qui a frappél'auteur peu après le Congrès et qui l'a enlevé prématurément à la science."

32. *Compte Rendu Du Congrès International Des Américanistes* 10th Session, Stockholm, 1894, 25-27. Translation by the author; original German: "Im Zusammenhang mit der Mittheilung des Herrn G. Nordenskiöld werde ich hier einige Worte über die 12 aus den Cliffwohnungen in Colorado herrührenden Schädel sagen, welche er soeben in seinem Vortrage erwähnt hat. Diese Schädel sind gerade in der letzten Zeit hier angelangt; eine eingehende Untersuchung derselben ist deshalb noch nicht ausgeführt. Die Schädel bieten indessen in meh rerer Beziehung ein besonderes Interesse. Erstens sind sie nicht oder

wenigstens in sehr geringem Masse durch künstliche Deformation verunstaltet worden, so dass man ihre natürliche Form noch gut beurtheilen kann. Zweitens zeigt sich diese Form als eine zum Theil exquisit dolichocephale, während die sonst in den Cliffhouses gefundenen Schädel, obwohl durch künstliche Deformation ziemlich viel umformt, doch sicherlich grösstentheils brachycephal sind, wie die vom Herrn Nordenskiöld ausgegrabenen und von mir in seinem grossen Werke über die Cliffhouses in Mesa Verde beschriebenen Schädel zeigen und wie ich auch bei anderen, in Amerikanischen Sammlungen aufbe wahrten Schädeln aus den Cliffhouses gesehen habe. Nun scheinen ja wie Hr N. hervorgehoben hat, die hier vorlie genden Schädel aus einer älteren Periode dieser merkwürdigen Wohnstätten herzurühren . Es ist gerade deshalb von Interesse zu erfahren, dass diese Schädel einer anderen, resp. einer älteren Bevölkerung, einem verschiedenen Indianerstamme angehört haben, ja sogar einem theilweise stark dolichocephalen Stamme, welcher die Schädel wenig oder nicht artificiel umformt hat. Es wird auch deswegen interessant zu erfahren, auf welche Verschiedenheiten in der Cultur, die mit diesen Schädeln zusammen gefundenen Geräthschaften und übrigen Objecte hinweisen. Das, was bisjetzt darüber mitgetheilt worden ist ,deutet auf eine niedrigere Cultur hin. Diese neuen Funde scheinen also von besonderem Werth zu sein, um die Geschichte der sonderbaren Cliffhouse-Stämme zu eruiren. Aber auch für das Studium einer anderen Frage sind diese Schädel von Belang. Bekanntlich hat mein Vater, Anders Retzius, vor beinahe fünfzig Jahren dargethan, dass die amerikanischen Urbewohner, die Indianer, kraniologisch betrachtet, nicht eine einzige grosse Rasse darstellen, sondern in zwei verschiedenen Gruppen zerfallen, die dolichocephalen und die brachycephalen Indianer. Er hatte zwar nur ein sehr beschränktes Schädelmaterial aus Amerika zur Ver fügung; auf Grund desselben suchte er nun darzulegen, dass die Brachycephalen überwiegend der Östlichen und die Do lichocephalen der westlichen Seite des grossen Continents bewohnen."

33. Carleton S. Coon (*The Races of Europe* [New York: The Macmillan company, 1939], 256) like many other authors, claimed of the cephalic index, "this ratio has been the favorite of both professional and amateur students of race ever since its invention by Retzius in 1842." But Retzius did not invent or announce a ratio or even propose and index. Instead, he was working on refining the chart in Figure 2.1 to split up dolichocephalic and brachycephalic groups, but he had not yet defined them beyond "long headed" and "round headed people." Ivan Hannford (*Race: the History of an Idea in the West* [Washington, D.C: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1996], 60) claimed that in 1840 Retzius first "introduced his cephalic index to the Academy of Sciences in Stockholm." However, this that is not the case. Retzius did not introduce the cephalic index in 1840, but rather "en uppställning af folkslagen efter formen af craniet och käkarne," meaning "an arrangement of the nations of peoples according to the shape of the skull and jaws." By *Folkslagen*, Retzius was talking about ethnonational groups of people. Rather than the cephalic index, in 1840 he presented a preliminary version of the table shown in Figure 2.1 and was his first attempt to separate peoples as having narrower or rounder heads into difference groups, but he had not yet shared measurements or calculations for an index. Others include Christina Torres-Rouff, "Binding, Wrapping, Constricting, and Constraining the Head: A Consideration of Cranial Vault Modification and the Pain of Infants," In *Purposeful Pain*, Susan Guise Sheridan and

Lesley A. Gregoricka ed. (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020) 235; and Stephen Molnar *Human Variation: Races, Types, and Ethnic Groups* (Upper Saddle River, N.J: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006), 13-24. None of these four authors cited a source. In his 1842 talk, published in 1843, "Om Formen," Retzius said, "It is thus still fairly common to find that the Negroes, who have long narrow heads, are united with the Papuans, who have short and broad ones; that the Greenlanders, who have long narrow heads with broad jaws, are brought into the same class as the Lapps with short heads and small jaws, as is still generally said, under the name of Caucasians, Turans, etc., to combine the Slavs with Scandinavians and Germans, among others. In order to correct this, I have made an arrangement of the nations of peoples according to the shape of the skull and jaws, which I announced in 1840 in the present Royal Academy of Sciences, but in the absence of opportunity for rich collections of foreign nations' skulls, I myself have not yet had the opportunity to fully test. I announce this as a suggestion and with the intention of eliciting insights or information. This line-up, which covers only those peoples whose skulls I have had occasion to examine, is as follows:" Retzius viewed these cranial features as resulting from differences in the development of the posterior lobes, determined by the shape of the skull. Translation by the author; original Swedish: "Man finner således ännu temligen allmännt att Negrerne, som hafva långa smala hufvuden, sammanföras med Papuerne, som hafva korta och breda; att Grönländarne, som hafva långa smala hufvuden med breda käkar, föras i samma klass som Lapparne med korta hufvuden och små käkar, liksom man ännu allmännt, under namn af Kaukasier, Turanier o. s. v. sammanförer Slaverne med Skandinaver och Germaner m. fl. För att härui tillvägabringa rättelse har jag gjort en uppställning af Folkslagen efter formen af craniet och käkarne, hvilken jag år 1840 meddelat i härvarande Kungliga Vetenskaps-Academi, men i brist af tillfälle till nog rika samlingar af främmande nationers cranier, ännu sjelf icke varit i tillfälle att fullständigt pröfva. Jag meddelar den här som ett förslag och i afsigt att framkalla inkast eller upplysningar. Denna uppställning som endast upptager de folkslag , hvilkas cranier jag haf t tillfälle att granska, är följande:" Anders Retzius, "Om Formen af Mordboernes Cranier" Aftrycktur Förhandl. vid Naturforskarnes Möte i Stockholm år 1842 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt et Söner, Kongl. Boktryckarn, 1843), 46.

34. Retzius, "Om Formen," 3-4.

35. Retzius, "Om Formen," 45. "American Tribal Series. In the museum are 2nd mummies and a skull from the area of Titicaca, donated by H. M. the King. The skulls of these mummies are smaller than those of the Greenlanders, but also of an oval shape, and otherwise have the same resemblance to them in several respects. The body size of these, probably Peru's indigenous people, is small, and the position as several have described in such mummies, namely sitting with bowed head, crooked back, knees pulled up to the chest, arms folded and pressed against the sides. The skeletons that were found in the burial chambers at Axevalla Heath also had the same position. One skull has the same long, in the middle submerged sagittal elevation, as the West Greenlander." Translation by the author; original Swedish: "Amerikanska folkstammarnes serie. I musaeum finnas 2:ne mumier och ett cranium från trakten af Titicaca, skänkte af H. M. Konungen. Dessa mumiers cranier äro mindre än Grönländarnes, men äfven af oval form, och äga för öfrigt likbet med dem i flere

hänseenden. Kroppsväxten hos dessa, sannolikt Peru's ur-invånare, är liten, och ställningen sådan som flere beskrifvit hos dylika mumier, nemligen sittande med nedböjdt hufvud, krokig rygg, knäen uppdragne mot bröstet, armarne hoplaggde och tryckte intill sidorne. Samma ställing hade äfven de skeletter, som funnos I grafkamrarne på Axevalla hed. Det ena craniet har samma långa, på midten nedsänkta sagittalupphöjning, som Vestgrönländaren."

36. Retzius, "Om Formen," 3. "It should also be worth mentioning here that the same differences in the development of the posterior lobes of the brain appear to appear among the American peoples, as well as among the different tribes of the inhabitants of Asia and the South Seas; whereas the Africans, as far as I know, all have elongated, narrow heads at the back. Several of the inhabitants of Asia and most of the inhabitants of the South Seas, Africa and America, both those with short and long posterior lobes, are distinguished by a, facial features disfiguring, development of the jaws, partly in the forward direction as the Negroes, partly in the width as the Greenlanders. As such national differences in formation occur, they must, as far as anatomical characters in this path be able to have credentials, show a deep-rooted difference in tribal relations. However, as it seems to me, not enough attention has been paid to this. It is thus still fairly common to find that the Negroes, who have long narrow heads, are united with the Papuans, who have short and broad ones; that the Greenlanders, who have long narrow heads with broad jaws, are brought into the same class as the Lapps with short heads and small jaws, as is still generally said, under the name of Caucasians, Turans, etc., to combine the Slavs with Scandinavians and Germans, among others." Translation by the author; original Swedish: "Det torde äfven här vara på sitt ställe att omnämna, att samma olikhet i de bakre hjernlobernes utveckling synes framträda bland de Amerikanska folken, liksom bland de olika stammarne af Asiens och Söderhafvets invånare; hvaremot Afrikanerne, så vidt jag vet, alla hafva bakåt förlängda, smala hufvuden. Flere af Asiens och de fleste af Söderhafvets, Afrikas och Amerikas invånare, både de med korta och långa bakre hjernlober, utmärka sig genom en, ansigtsdragen missprydande, utveckling af käkarne, dels i rigtningen framåt såsom Negrerne, dels i bredden såsom Grönländarne. Då sådana nationela olikeheter i bildningen förekomma, måste de, så vida anatomiska characterer i denna väg kunna äga vitsord, utvisa en djupt grundad olikhet i stamförhållanden. Härpå har man dock icke, såsom det synes mig, fästat nog uppmärksam het. Man finner således ännu temligen allmännt att Negrerne, som hafva långa smala hufvuden, sammanföras med Papuerne, som hafva korta och breda; att Grönländarne, som hafva långa smala hufvuden med breda käkar, föras i samma klass som Lapparne med korta hufvuden och små käkar, liksom man ännu allmännt, under namn af Kaukasier, Turanier o. s. v. sammanförer Slaverne med Skandinaver och Germaner m. 11."

37. Retzius, "Om Formen," 13. "From these facts, taken from the graves of our ancestors, one can conclude that their skulls presented the same forms as ours, and that our craniiform is thus an inheritance from them, which has been well preserved." Translation by the author; original Swedish: "Af dessa facta, hemtade ur värа förfäders grifter, kan man sluta att deras cranier företett samma former som våra, och att vår craniiform sålunda är ett arf frändem, hvilket blifvit väl bevaradt."

38. Anders Retzius, “Brief an den Professor Durvenoy” January 1852 in Anders Retzius and Gustaf Retzius, *Ethnologische Schriften von Anders Retzius nach dem Tode des Verfassers gesammelt* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1864), 118.

39. Anders Retzius, “Brief an den Professor Durvenoy,” 118-119. “Letter to Professor Duvernoy. I looked at your, very likely, opinion on the skull, the xylography of which you sent me. You know better than I that the Huns are considered to have come from the part of Asia which touches the northern frontiers of China; some authors say they were ‘Scythians’, others that they were a ‘Finnish’ tribe. The Lapps, the Tavastians, the Karelians, the Parmins, the Esthonians, the Livonians, the Tscheremisses, the Tschuvasches, the Mordvines, the Tartars, the Camasians, the Turks, and the Madgyars or Hungarians, are regarded as belonging to the same peoples as ‘ HERODOTUS understood under the name of ‘Scythians’, a word which, according to KEYSER, is the Greek translation of the Slavic word of ‘Tschoudes’. All these peoples are, in my experience, brachycephalic, and the southernmost of them approach the Mongols in the width of their jaws, as well as in the protrusion of the cheekbones. You ask me about the distinctive characters between the brachycephalic and dolichocephalic form! I do not yet want to determine some fixed measures to distinguish them; but ordinarily the longitudinal diameter of the dolichocephalic exceeds the width by about 1/4, while in the brachycephalic this difference varies between 1/5 – 1/8. But the most distinctive characters are: In dolichocephalic: 1. Very prominent occipital plane, often compressed, and forming an inclined plane. 2. Existing, prominent occipital tuber. 3. The receptacle of the cerebellum, formed by the occipital bone, almost horizontal. 4. Parietal eminence often missing or poorly developed. Their low plans. 5. Usually low head height. 6. The line of the upper profile, from the forehead to the occipital protuberance, forms an oval-curved line. 7. The base of the skull long, not very wide or rather narrow. In brachycephalic: 1. Occipital plane usually flat, almost perpendicular, sometimes globularly domed. 2. Occipital tuber usually absent or poorly developed. 3. The receptacle of the cerebellum largely placed vertically in the occipital plane. 4. Parietal eminence prominent or highly developed, very high placed. 5. The height of the skull, compared with the length, considerable. 6. The line of the profile of the arch and occiput is curved precipitously in the region between the parietal bumps. 7. The base of the skull usually broad, especially in the middle. * The draft of this letter, which is dated ‘January 1852,’ is preserved in the library of the Karolinska Institute among the author’s manuscripts.” Translation by the author; original French and German: “Brief an den Professor Duvernoy. Je regarde votre opinion sur le crâne, dont vous m’avez envoyé la xylographie, très-probable. Vous savez mieux que moi que les Huns sont regardés comme étant venus de la partie de l’Asie qui touche aux frontières septentrionales de la Chine; quelques auteurs disent qu’ils étaient ‘Scythes’, d’autres qu’ils étaient une tribu ‘finnoise’. Les Lapons, les Tavastiens, les Caréliens, les Parmiens, les Esthoniens, les Livoniens, les Tscheremisses, les Tschuvasches, les Mordvines, les Tartares, les Camasiens, les Turcs, et les Madgyares ou Hongrois, sont regardés comme appartenant aux mêmes peuples qu’ HERODOTE a compris sous le nom de ‘Scythes’, mot qui, d’après KEYSER, est la traduction grecque du mot slave de ‘Tschoudes’. Tous ces peuples sont, d’après mon expérience, brachycéphales, et les plus méridionaux d’entre eux s’approchent des Mongoles par la largeur de leurs mâchoires, ainsi que par la saillie des pommettes. Vous

me demandez les caractères distinctifs entre la forme brachycéphale et dolichocephale! Je ne veux pas encore déterminer quelques mesures fixes pour les distinguer; mais à l'ordinaire, le diamètre longitudinal des dolichocéphales surpasse la largeur d'environ 1/4, tandis que chez les brachycéphales, cette différence varie entre 1/5 – 1/8. Mais les caractères les plus distinctifs sont: chez les dolichocéphales: 1. Plan occipital très-proéminent, souvent comprimé, et formant un plan incliné. 2. Tuber occipital existant, proéminent. 3. Le réceptacle du cervelet, formé par l'os occipital, presque horizontal. 4. Tubera parietalia souvent manquants ou peu développés. Leurs plans bas. 5. La hauteur du crâne ordinairement basse. 6. La ligne du profil supérieur, du front à la protubérance occipitale, forme une ligne à courbe d'ovale. 7. La base du crâne longue peu large ou plutôt étroite. chez les brachycéphales: 1. Plan occipital ordinairement plat, presque perpendiculaire, quelquefois globulairement bombé. 2. Tuber occipital en général absent ou peu développé. 3. Le réceptacle du cervelet en grande partie placé verticalement dans le plan occipital. 4. Tubera parietalia proéminents ou très-développés, très-haut placés. 5. La hauteur du crâne, comparée avec la longueur, considérable. 6. La ligne du profil de la voûte et de l'occiput est courbée précipitamment dans la région entre les bosses pariétales. 7. La base du crâne ordinairement large, surtout au milieu. * Das Concept dieses Briefes, welcher 'Januar 1852' datirt ist, wird in der Bibliothek des Carolinischen Instituts unter den Manuskripten des Verfassers aufbewahrt."

40. Anders Retzius "About the shape of the head of the skeleton in different peoples," *Negotiations at the Scandinavian. Naturforsk. Fourth Meeting in Christiania July 1844*, 33. Public Lecture. Archive for Anatomy, Physiology, science, and medicine, edited by Joh. Müller 1848 Sweeden: W. Meves. In Anders Retzius and Gustaf Retzius, *Ethnologische Schriften von Anders Retzius nach dem Tode des Verfassers gesammelt* (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1864), 38. "I have had the opportunity to examine skulls from South America: three specimens from Aymaras Peruvians, two from the so-called Incas Peruvians, two Botocudo skulls, one of which was sent in by Mr. Freireis in Rio de Janeiro, several Caraibian skulls, three Araucanians, one Charrhuas-, a Puelches skull, sent from the city of Patagones, in the Republic of Buenos-Ayres, by the scientifically zealous Swedish and Norwegian Consul-General at Montevideo, Mr. Tarras, and a Southern Patagonian skull, which, as before mentioned, was obtained by Prof. Sv. Lovén is given; for comparison I have used Blumenbach's 'Decades craniorum,' Sandifort's excellent 'Tabulae craniorum diversarum nationum' and many others. From what I have been able to conclude from these materials, the American tribes must be classified according to the shape of their skulls in the following way:" Translation by the author; original Sweedish: "Von südamerikanischen Schädeln habe ich zu untersuchen Gelegenheit gehabt: drei Specimina von Aymaras-Peruanern, zwei von den sogenannten Incas-Peruanern, zwei Botokudenschädel, von denen einer vom Hrn. Freireis in Rio de Janeiro eingesandt worden ist, mehrere Caraibenschädel, drei Araucanische, einen Charrhuas-, einen Puelchesschädel, hergeschickt aus der Stadt Patagones in der Republik Buenos-Ayres von dem den Naturwissenschaften eifrig ergebenen schwedischen und norwegischen General-Consul in Montevideo, Hrn. Tarras, und einen Südpatagonierschädel, der, wie vorher erwähnt ward, vom Prof. Sv. Lovén geschenkt ist; dabei habe ich zur Vergleichung Blumenbach's 'Decades craniorum,' Sandifort's

vortreffliche ‘Tabulae craniorum diversarum nationum’ u. m. a. benutzt. Nach dem, was ich aus diesen Materialien habe schliessen können, müssen die amerikanischen Volksstämme nach der Form der Schädel auf folgende Weise geordnet warden.”

41. Paul Broca, “Instructions craniométriques. Notions complémentaires sur l’ostéologie du crâne. Détermination et dénomination nouvelles de certains points de repère. Nomenclature craniologique.” *Bulletins de la Société d’anthropologie de Paris* 10, no. 1 (1875): 178-179. Broca later refined these definitions and published indices indicated as <75 for dolichocephalic and >80 for brachycephalic in 1875. He also expanded these definitions to include designations for “true” and “sub” and added a fifth category for intermediate types. However, archaeologists used the two original designations most commonly. “The usefulness of a special terminology is therefore indisputable. The first division, proposed by Retzius, was reduced to two terms: the dolichocephalic or elongated skulls (small indices) and the brachycephalic, short or rounded skulls (large indices); but the limit of these two groups, badly specified by Retzius himself, was placed in turn on the fractions 6/8, 7/9, 8/1.0 corresponding to the indices 75 of 100, 77.77 of 100 and 80 of 100. In the denomination and the delimitation of these five groups, it was necessary to take into account the habits of language already acquired and the numerical procedures already adopted. The intermediate group, constituted at the expense of the two groups of the primitive nomenclature, must have received the particular name of mesaticephalus.* As for the lateral groups thus separated, the general denominations of dolichocephalic and brachycephalic respectively have been preserved for them, but each of them has been subdivided into two secondary groups. Finally, we had to continue to conform to the already accepted principle of making divisions and subdivisions relate to simple fractions. The three limits of 6/8, 7/9, 8/10 have been retained; we limited ourselves to adding to it, for a last subdivision, the fraction 10/12, which corresponds to the index of 83.33 per 100. *We did not say mesocephalus, because this name already has another meaning in anatomy, where it designates the annular protuberance of the brain. It was therefore necessary to say mesaticephalus” Translation by the author; original French: L’utilité d’une terminologie spéciale est donc incontes table. La première division, proposée par Retzius, se réduisait à deux termes: les dolichocephales ou crânes allongés (petits indices) et les brachycéphales, crânes courts ou arrondis (grands indices); mais la limite de ces deux groupes, mal pré cisée par Retzius lui-même, fut placée tour à tour sur les fractions 6/8, 7/9, 8/1,0 correspondant aux indices 75 pour 100, 77.77 pour 100 et 80 pour 100. Dans la dénomination et la délimitation de ces cinq groupes, il a fallu tenir compte des habitudes de langage déjà acquises et des procédés numériques déjà adoptés. Le groupe intermé diaire, constitué aux dépens des deux groupes de la nomenclature primitive, a dû recevoir le nom particulier de mésaticéphale.* Quant aux groupes latéraux ainsi séparés, on a dû leur conserver respectivement les dénominations générales de dolichocéphale et de brachycéphale, mais en subdivisant chacun d’eux en deux groupes secondaires. Enfin, on a dû continuer à se conformer au principe déjà admis de faire porter les divisions et les subdivisions sur des fractions simples. Les trois limites de 6 / 8 , 7 /9 , 8 /10 ont été conservées ; on s’est borné à y ajouter , pour une dernière subdivision, la fraction 10 /12, qui correspond à l’indice de 83.33 pour 100. *On n’a pas dit mesocéphale, parce que ce nom a déjà une autre acception en anatomie, où il désigne la protubérance annulaire de l’encéphale.

Il a donc fallu dire mésaticéphale."

42. J. G. Garson, "The Cephalic Index." The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 16 (1887): 11–17; J. G. Garson, "The International Agreement on the Classification and Nomenclature of the Cephalic Index." The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 16 (1887): 17–20; G. Paplillailt, "Entente Internationale pour l'Unification des Mesures craniométriques et céphalométriques" in *Congrès International D'anthropologie Et D'archéologie Préhistoriques: Compte Rendu De La Treizième Session Monaco 1906* 2 (Monaco: Imprimerie De Monaco, 1908), 377-94.

43. Aleš Hrdlička "Historical Notes," in "The Problems Of The Unity Or Plurality And The Probable Place Of Origin Of The American Aborigines," discussion at a joint session of the American Anthropological Association and Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science held at the U. S. National Museum, Washington, December 27, 1911, *American Anthropologist* 14, no. 1 (January - March 1912): 8.

44. John Lubbock, *Pre-Historic Times: As Illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1865), 336-337.

45. Steven J. Mithen, *After the Ice: a Global Human History, 20,000-5000 BC* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 514.

46. Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society: Or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1877), v-vi.

47. For a discussion of the responses and reviews to the 1859 *On the Origin of Species*, see Charles Darwin, *Evolutionary Writings*, ed. James A. Secord (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 212-30.

48. Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* 6th ed. (London, John Murray, 1872), 428.

49. See Julian Huxley, *Evolution: the Modern Synthesis* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1942).

50. Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius: an inquiry into its laws and consequences* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1892), xxii-xxiii.

51. Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, xxiv.

52. Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, xxiv.

53. Tracy Teslow, *Constructing Race: The Science of Bodies and Cultures in American Anthropology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 45-49.

54. Douglas R. Givens, *Alfred Vincent Kidder and the Development of Americanist Archaeology* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 59.

55. Givens, *Alfred Vincent Kidder*, 59-60.

56. Aleš Hrdlička, "Preface," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 1, no. 1 (January - March 1918): 1-2.

57. Anthropologist Dean Falk describes the significance of the Piltdown hoax to the development of anthropology in the first chapter of *The Fossil Chronicles: How Two Controversial Discoveries Changed Our View of Human Evolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011), 5-19.

58. Aleš Hrdlička, "The Neanderthal Phase of Man.," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 57 (July - December 1927): 249-74 (especially pages 269-73).

59. Sonia Cole, *Leakey's Luck: The Life of Louis Seymour Bazett Leakey, 1903-1972* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), 52-53.

60. For a detailed analysis, see Falk, *The Fossil Chronicles*, 5-19 and 59-75.

61. Falk, *The Fossil Chronicles*, 5-11; 3.

62. Not until 2016 did scientists and historians uncover the person responsible for this hoax, Charles Dawson. See Isabelle De Groote, Linus G. Flink, Rizwaan Abbas, Silvia M. Bello, Lucia Burgio, Laura T. Buck, Christopher Dean, Alison Freyne, Thomas Higham, Chris G. Jones, Robert Kruszynski, Adrian Lister, Simon A. Parfitt, Matthew M. Skinner, Karolyn Shindler, and Chris B Stringer, "New Genetic and Morphological Evidence Suggests a Single Hoaxer Created 'Piltdown Man,'" *Royal Society Open Science* 3, no. 160328 (2016): 1-14.

63. Cole, *Leakey's Luck*, 16.

64. See Carleton S. Coon, *The Origin of Races* (New York: Knopf, 1962).

65. Virginia Morell, *Ancestral Passions: The Leakey Family and the Quest for Humankind's Beginnings* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 363.

66. Morell, *Ancestral Passions*, 364.

67. L. S. B. Leakey, Ruth De Ette Simpson, and Thomas Clements, "Archaeological Excavations in the Calico Mountains, California: Preliminary Report," *Science* 160, no. 3831 (1968): 1022-23.

68. Mary D. Leakey, *Disclosing the Past* (Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1984), 143-44; Brian Regal, *Human Evolution: A Guide to the Debates* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 157; Morell, *Ancestral Passions*, 364-68.

69. Leakey, *Disclosing the Past*, 144.

70. Aurélien Mounier, "Deciphering African Late Middle Pleistocene Hominin Diversity and the Origin of Our Species," *Nature Communications* 10 (2019): 2.

71. See J. William Schopf, Kouki Kitajima, Michael J. Spicuzza, Anatoliy B. Kudryavtsev, and John W. Valley, "SIMS Analyses of the Oldest Known Assemblage of Microfossils Document Their Taxon-correlated Carbon Isotope Compositions," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 115, no. 1 (2018): 53-58.

72. The so-called "Trimates" or "Leakey's Angels," Dian Fossey, Jane Goodall, and Birute Galdikas are considered the original field primatologists, see Morell, V. "Called 'trimates,' Three Bold Women Shaped Their Field," *Science* 260, no. 5106 (1993): 420-25; Ken Sayers and Owen Lovejoy wrote a 2008 article arguing that this approach was not helpful in understanding early human behaviors: "our understanding of human origins is best advanced by a reliance on the fundamentals of evolutionary theory rather than chimpanzee mimicry." Yet many scholars continue studying living primates in order to understand early human behavior such as gathering food, kinship systems, and other behaviors. See Ken Sayers and C. Owen Lovejoy, "The Chimpanzee Has No Clothes: A Critical Examination of *Pan troglodytes* in Models of Human Evolution," *Current Anthropology* 49, no. 1 (2008): 87-114.

73. Michelle C. Langley, Christopher Clarkson, and Sean Ulm, "Behavioural Complexity in Eurasian Neanderthal Populations: A Chronological Examination of the Archaeological Evidence," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 18, no. 3 (2008): 289-307.

74. See Florence Hawley, "Big Kivas, Little Kivas, and Moiety Houses in Historical Reconstruction," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 6, no. 3 (1950): 286-302.

75. L. S. B. Leakey, "A New Fossil Skull from Olduvai," *Nature* 184, no. 4685 (1959): 491-93.

Chapter Three: Humans on Display – Exhibiting our species at the dawn of modern archaeology

In 1904, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition committee hired a host of agents to procure living specimens for display in the ethnology exhibit. The committee's "recruits" were not merely intended for display. The 1904 Summer Olympics, the first held in the United States, were included as part of the St. Louis Exposition's extended program. The Chief of the Department of Anthropology, William John McGee, envisioned and organized a two-day exhibition called "Anthropology Days" in order to maximize the visibility of the anthropological subjects. It included traditional Olympics events, such as the 100-yard dash, shot put, javelin throw, and hurdles, but it also featured bolo throwing, pole climbing, and mud fighting. Archery turned out to be a "disappointment" because, unlike Western notions, many of the so-called "savages" had never before used or seen a bow and arrow.[1] McGee hired Samuel Phillips Verner to secure a group of "African Pygmies." Verner previously achieved minor fame resulting from his time as a missionary in Africa. He brought a group of five individuals, including Ota Benga, to St. Louis in 1904, for which the World's Fair committee later awarded Verner the gold medal in anthropology.[2]

Afterward, Verner returned the group to the Congo but, for reasons that are not clear, Ota Benga accompanied him on his return journey to the U.S., arriving in New York in 1906.[3] When Verner abruptly left New York to attend some business matters in North Carolina, he negotiated an arrangement with Grant and Hornaday for Benga to remain behind and stay at the Bronx Zoo.[4] At the beginning of September 1906, Grant and Hornaday

exploited their uncommon guest's visit. They eventually coaxed Benga into a cage with an Asian orangutan at the monkey house. Bones were strewn about the cage floor for an added sense of savagery. A substantial public uproar and debate surrounded Benga's display. Visitors wondered if he were indeed human and, if so, what was he doing inside of an animal cage.[5] The obvious juxtaposition of an African man alongside humankind's closest living relatives clearly demonstrated Social Darwinian notions of evolution and progress. Meanwhile, attendance at the zoo increased drastically, drawing 100,000 more visitors on Monday, September 17th than the same date, a Sunday, one year prior.[6] The *New York Times* headline read, "Bush-Man Shares a Cage with Bronx Park Apes."[7]

The backlash was immediate.[8] A committee consisting of Baptist ministers lobbied for Ota Benga's release from the zoo. James H. Gordon, a member of the committee, offered to put Benga under his care at the Howard Orphan Asylum in Brooklyn, where he was director. However, Hornaday did not relent and stated he would keep the exhibit open until ordered to stop by the Zoological Society. The veneer of Hornaday's defense survives mockingly in print as he expressed to the *New York Times*,

> I do not wish to offend my colored brothers' feelings or the feelings of any one, for that matter. I am giving the exhibition purely as an ethnological exhibit….I hope my colored brethren will not take the absurd position that I am giving the exhibit to show the close analogy of the African savage to the apes. Benga is in the primate house because that was the most comfortable place we could find for him.[9]

Grant wielded a remarkable amount of influence over the zoo even though he was merely the society's secretary. The Office of the Mayor, which refused to hear the committee's concerns, referred the ministers instead to Grant. When confronted in his Wall Street office by the group, Grant told them Benga was "at the Zoo to help care for the animals."[10] In a later letter to the mayor, Hornaday wrote, "Mr. Grant considers it imperative that the Society

should not even seem to be dictated to by the colored ministers."[11] Nevertheless, the resulting controversy meant that his exhibition lasted less than a week.

Hoping to avoid a court battle, Grant had Benga removed from the primate house exhibit, though he still resided at the zoo and slept in the primate house at night.[12] Sensing the gravity of their situation, Hornaday drafted a frantic telegram to Verner on September 17th that read, "Boy has become wholly uncontrollable also dangerous. Impossible to send him to you. Please come for him at once."[13] Hornaday contacted Gordon later that same day to inquire about the seriousness of his offer to accept Benga at the orphanage. The pair shared a harsh conversation because, according to Hornaday, "they are not willing to take Ota Benga at all unless they can own him absolutely and for all time."[14] Hornaday's misappropriation of the word "own" demonstrated that he missed the entire point of the committee's concerns with one he regarded as a "very unruly savage."[15] Throughout the entire ordeal, and for years afterward, Hornaday blamed the *New York Times* for creating such a spectacle "out of nothing" and "deliberately manufacturing…the sensation." Nevertheless, the draft of Hornaday's article for the *Zoological Society Bulletin* revealed his true intentions. Between drafting the undated article in September 1906 and its publication in October, Hornaday changed the title from "An African Pigmy Exhibited at the Zoological Park" to simply "An African Pigmy." The "African pigmy," Hornaday initially wrote in the first sentence, "is on exhibition every afternoon at the Zoological Park;" however, his printed copy neatly read "was employed in the Zoological Park."[16]

Gordon acquired custody of Benga at the end of the month and took him to the orphanage. Benga later relocated to Lynchburg, Virginia, where he was to live at the Lynchburg Seminary and College under the guardianship of its President, Reverend Gregory

Hayes. However, Hayes died less than two months after Benga's arrival, so the seminar sent Benga back to New York.[17] Several years later, Benga again returned to Lynchburg, where he lived with Hayes's widow, Mary, and her new husband, William Patterson Allen.[18] In Lynchburg, Benga found companionship within the Black community, making friends with the neighborhood children who were also his schoolmates. Nevertheless, he longed to return to the home from which he had been taken, but World War I made this hope an impossible one. Distraught and losing any semblance of hope, on March 19, 1916, Benga aimed a pistol into his chest and pulled the trigger.[19]

Introduction

Several decades before the first modern institutional museums began to take shape in the U.S., the forces of capitalism, colonialism, and industrialization sought to exhibit their accomplishments through international expositions. These venues provided for competition between rising industrial nations, which each sought to showcase their technological achievements. Historian Michael Adas highlighted these ideologies of Western dominance and progress in *Machines as a Measure of Men*, arguing that the advent of material progress and the mastery of nature served to underscore the difference in the evolving engagement, through globalization, with non-Western societies. The practicality of the Western colonial project hinged upon the characterization of non-Western peoples through a particularly racist lens that undermined their humanity as well as the nature of their societies. The perceived differing mental endowments of the various "races," manifested through the types of developed technologies or lack thereof, further underscored this stance.[20] For the Native

peoples of the U.S. during this period, this outlook entailed the analogy of quaint ceramics, stone tools, and mudbrick houses to the early stages of Western societies, predating the Greek and Roman empires.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Western conceptions of "knowing" were closely linked with "seeing," a concept Daniela Bleichmar terms "'visual epistemology': a way of knowing based on visuality."[21] Regarding the messages objects of scrutiny conveyed, *how* they were presented was just as important as *what* was presented. The human-made artifact was adequate for comprehending our species, but those proxy representations were not as powerful as direct observation of subjects. But in the expositions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these exhibitions served another purpose. Like Bleichmar's illustrations, in addition to conveying knowledge, human subjects acted as proofs of in-progress research by anthropologists and archaeologists and whisperingly solicited recommendations for how that the developed world could exploit knowledge of them.

As human-themed exhibitions (all of which focused on the anthropological ~~*Other*~~) moved from exposition halls and midways into the first museum, the practice of living and breathing displays of human nature accompanied them. In the southwestern U.S. during the early twentieth century, this practice entailed having Native peoples craft ceramics and other trade goods—similar to those archaeologists dug up—for the enjoyment and education of museum visitors. This chapter will examine the history of placing living humans on display for the education and entertainment of the onlooking public. Almost exclusively, its research concerned measuring, understanding, concluding the study of racial differences between various human populations.[22] In this chapter, I

explore the history of using living peoples as exhibit subjects, the development of the museum, and demonstrate how these interwoven institutions provided a venue for archaeologists to visibly manifest their theories about the U.S. Southwest to public audiences. I argue (1) the exhibition of living members of our species was entirely focused on subjects deemed bizarre, divergent, or exotic; (2) that these notions most regularly manifested themselves through the highlighting of supposed biological difference between races and cultures; (3) that the living bodies of the anthropological ~~*Other*~~ Native to the U.S. became crucial to interpreting race in the Southwest; and (4) archaeological museum exhibits and demonstrations that showcased Native peoples were indelibly connected to those earlier efforts that exploited living peoples and cultures.

Since the very first, the display and characterization of non-Western peoples have been measured and compared against Western standards. This contrast placed a sharpened distinction between dominant and submissive cultures, with each bit of imagery designed to highlight that separation. The result was twofold. The more wretched, pitiful, and savage submissive cultures looked, the more advanced and civilized the dominant culture seemed. The inverse was equally true. The same could be said of not only Native artifacts and architecture but of their bodies as well. To Western Victorian Age peoples, the view of primitive bodies underscored inherent differences between themselves and the supposedly less advanced peoples. This notion also highlighted the disparity of dominance and control of Western societies. Historian Paul Spickard observes, "race is a story about power, and it is written on the body."[23] The dynamic Westerners created between themselves and the "bizarre" peoples they exotified was a tangible one that could be seen and felt. At the end of the nineteenth century, this entailed placing Native subjects into human menageries. The

displaying of Native peoples as subjects in so-called "human zoos" was a direct precursor to later museum efforts, even as many seemingly strived to be respectful to the Native cultures in terms of providing a venue for allowing them to share demonstrations of their culture.

Origins of human zoos

The placement of human beings in menageries for display by the various expositions, attractions, and zoos in the nineteenth century has ancient roots, germane to how museums of the early twentieth century similarly exploited Native and Indigenous peoples of the United States. Although museums demonstrated few examples of Indigenous peoples placed in cages, behind fences, or enclosed by bars, the expositions' examples were meaningful illustrations of the power dynamics that existed between dominant and submissive cultures. The oldest historical records of placing humans on display for the lurid gazes of the dominant culture dates at least to ancient Egypt when the Sudanese people, colloquially referred to as "black dwarves," were exhibited for the public gaze.[24] This distinction between Sudanese and Egyptian peoples underscores Spickard's observation, as mentioned above, about race being "written on the body." This sort of exhibition was not unique in the ancient world. During the Roman empire, the Romans paraded defeated "barbarians" and "savages" through the streets of Rome in processions intended to underscore Roman might and dominance over the hordes of peoples they conquered in battle.[25] These Roman publicity stunts presaged similar processions supplied with Indigenous peoples of the Americas by Christopher Columbus at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, already discussed in Chapter 1. Similarly, Hernán Cortés paraded Indigenous peoples of

Mesoamerica through the streets of the capitals of Europe in displays meant to showcase both their ~~*Other*~~*ness* and their dominance by the supposedly more advanced Europeans.[26] The exhibition of less dominant peoples and cultures for and by the amusement of dominant peoples and cultures is a historical peculiarity repeated by Western societies beginning with their first contact with peoples from sub-Saharan Africa, the Americas, and other colonial locales.

The approaches taken to these exhibits were similar to others that showcased exotic animals. As has been noted by previous scholars, these spectacles emphasized power over nature.[27] An elephant or a tiger would be a formidable, threatening, and terrifying foe to encounter in a jungle setting, even for hunters armed in preparation for the confrontation. However, when paraded through the streets in chains or when placed behind bars of the zoo or menagerie for public display, their threatening vitality was sapped, demonstrating no threat to the European visitors. The same is utterly and undeniably true of the Native and Indigenous peoples who were paraded or displayed in similar manners. Visitors who gawked at these peoples, no less savage and beastly appearing within the confines of the Brooklyn Zoo or St. Louis Fair, could be relieved by the extent to which Western society had tamed and dominated these and other similarly wild "beasts." These approaches to human display were about more than satiating curiosity. These displays were also about more than merely educating a curious public. Although those components were undoubtedly part of the presentation, at its core, these exhibitions demonstrated the Western world's dominance over all of nature, including those "lower races" who were more akin to the kingdom of nature than they were the civilization of humanity.

The fanciful displays created for European onlookers resulted from earlier successful

attempts to merge the function of the museum with that of the zoo and freakshow for scientific, at least it is was asserted, ends. An early example of this sort of display was that of Sara Baartman, whose real name was entirely unknown to the West, an enslaved Khoikhoi tribeswoman from South Africa who gained notoriety as the "Hottentot Venus" in the early 1800s. Historians Clifton Crais and Pamela Scully make her connection to modern science quite clear, arguing, "[t]he Hottentot Venus became the foundation of racial science."[28] After being passed through several Dutch households, she came under the control of William Dunlop, who had previously enjoyed success in supplying exotic animals to the menageries of Europe. Dunlop took Baartman, who had little choice in the matter, to London in 1810, where she was put on exhibit for public display. A caricature of Baartman emphasizing her posterior was used for advertising her two-year engagement in England and for attracting visitors to pay a fee to see her in person. The rise of the "freak show" in London provided both the mystique and possibility for exhibitions such as these, argued Crais and Scully, noting, "the residents of Saint James's would find a display that mixed sexuality and exoticism with a nod to science exciting and enticing and would spread talk and gossip across London."[29] The ensuing legal battle over whether Baartman was brought to England as an enslaved person—the British Empire's Slave Trade Act was passed in 1807—absolved her "handlers" while also increasing her popularity among visitors.[30]

Crais and Scully further argued that "[w]ith the rise of the Enlightenment, displays came to be regarded as educational, based in science, but the public still wanted to be entertained."[31] When she was taken to France in 1814 by Henry Taylor, she was in effect enslaved and later sold to an animal trainer, Jean Reaux.[32] Georges Cuvier, a French naturalist and then curator at the *Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle,* developed a keen interest in

Baartman's anatomy and hoped to appropriate her body to pursue his study of comparative anatomy. Baartman died in 1815 at the young age of twenty-six after contracting an unknown disease. Cuvier dissected her corpse and published his notes in *Memoires Du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle* in 1817. His conclusions are among the earliest examples of racial science:

> Her movements had something abrupt and capricious, which recalled those of the monkey. She had a special way to make her lips protrude quite like that we observed in the orangutan. Her character was cheerful, her memory good, and she later recognized a person she had only seen once weeks after. She tolerably spoke Dutch, which she had learned in Cape Town, also knew a little English, and had started to say a few words of French. She danced in the style of her country and played with enough ear this little instrument called a mouth harp. Necklaces, glassware belts, and other wild outfits pleased her a lot; but what flattered his taste more than all the rest was *Eau-de-vie*. We can even attribute her death to an excess of drink she indulged in during her last illness.[33]

A cast of her body and her skeleton was placed on display in the *Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle d'Angers* and later moved to the *Musée de l'Homme* in 1937, which displayed it until 1974.[34] It was only after complaints about the portrayal of women were raised that these representations were removed from display; their supposed interest to science meant that the distasteful display was a valuable one to the museum and museum visitors. Her remains were ultimately returned to South Africa in 2002.[35]

Industrialization brought globalization, and along with it, long-distance communication and travel, into the modern era. An important result of this was the public's desire to view and engage with the exotic. Among the first to take advantage of this market was Phineas Taylor Barnum, who first exhibited and then adopted five-year-old Charles Stratton, known to the world as General Tom Thumb.[36] Around the same time, Barnum reinforced broad hierarchical racial conceptions by incorporating exhibits that included the

"Ethnological Congress of Heathens and Barbarians" and the "Ethnological Congress of Strange and Heathen Types of Human Being."[37] He had a particularly devoted interest in the Native peoples of the U.S. Beginning in 1853, Barnum's New York attraction included "an Indian encampment with three hundred native Americans from fifty tribes."[38] He later conceived of a more grandiose performative exhibit, which he described to Samuel Clemens in 1875:

> I give a scene called Indian Life on the Plains wherein scores of Indians of various tribes appear with their squaws, pappooses, ponies, and wigwams travelling as they do in the Indian territory. They encamp, erect their wigwams, engage in buffalo hunts with real buffaloes, give their Indian war dances, their Indian pony races, snowshoe races, foot races against horses, lasso horses and other animals, and both Indians and squaws give the most amazing specimens of riding at full speed.[39]

A telling description of Barnum's relationship with the Native peoples of the U.S. is detailed in his autobiography, which made particular light of the fierceness of Native warriors and chiefs.[40] Barnum presented images to the public that satiated their thirst for the exotic, but he did so in an irreverent manner. Many of his advertisements were confessed hoaxes, but Barnum later justified these frauds by saying that they were advertisements to draw attention to the museum. "I don't believe in 'duping the public,' but I believe in first *attracting* & then pleasing them."[41] Despite this contention, many of Barnum's exhibits were inauthentic, a fact that did not escape notice from the scientific and professional institutions. Nevertheless, Barnum and his exhibitions were extraordinarily successful. Undoubtedly, American museums of the late 1800s and early 1900s took note of his techniques for attracting and captivating public audiences.

More so than Barnum, the legacy of William Frederick "Buffalo Bill" Cody's *Wild West* shows, beginning in 1883, had widespread influence on how Native peoples of North

America were portrayed to the public. Cody depicted Native peoples as bloodthirsty savages and barriers to White settler colonialism in the West. These shows employed real Native peoples to pantomime attacks and engage in mock combat with the show's heroes. However, the Bureau of Indian Affairs opposed the employment and portrayal of Native peoples in these shows and instead would have preferred that they were presented as readily adapting and assimilating to Western society.[42] Nonetheless, Cody impressed the domestic and international public with the "true" nature of the Native peoples of the U.S., gaining notoriety in European tours during 1887-92 and again from 1902-06.[43] More than a mere spectacle, Cody argued that his shows sought to educate the broader public, especially Americans in the eastern U.S. Cody believed the Native performers deserved to be both "admired and understood."[44] One of Cody's most notorious attractions was the Hunkpapa Lakota leader Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake. Popularly known as Sitting Bull, he was responsible for inspiring and leading the 1876 defeat of Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer's 7th Cavalry at the Battle of Little Big Horn. Cody had tried to recruit Sitting Bull to his Wild West show as early as 1883, but Sitting Bull refused. The following year, Sitting Bull made the acquaintance of Annie Oakley, and the two shared some sort of friendship, though the only record we have of this relationship is Oakley's, exaggerated to one extent or another as argued by historians including Louis Warren.[45] Nevertheless, Cody was successful in recruiting Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake to join his chauffeur four months in 1885. Cody felt that the more notorious and ferocious and wild his "Indians" were, the more popular the show would be with paying audiences.[46] Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake did not take part in the *Wild West's* war reenactments, instead of occupying a slightly more dignified position of riding his horse around the arena during the opening procession. After the shows, he sold autographed

pictures to the eager public. When not engaged with the public, he returned to his family in the tipi village constructed by the show.[47] These supposedly authentic depictions on the frontier represented a mythical and romantic perspective of Native peoples who were said to be quickly vanishing.

This style of performative and zoological display of humanity was not restricted to the nineteenth century, nor was it relegated to hucksters and showpeople. In the early twentieth century, contemporary anthropologists conceived of and executed notable exhibitions of two supposedly exotic men in the early 1900s: Ota Benga, as described in this chapter's opening, and Ishi. The stories of these two men are strikingly similar to that of Sara Baartman, with the distinction that they were not exhibited by sideshow promoters but rather by educated men of science. Benga's rise to fame as an attraction at the Bronx Zoo resulted from the efforts of the infamous amateur racial anthropologist and eugenicist Madison Grant, then secretary of the New York Zoological Society.[48] While on display at the 1904 St. Louis Fair, Ota Benga became friends with the Apache leader *Goyaałé*, popularly known as Geronimo. After U.S. forces captured him in 1886, Goyaałé was exhibited at various events, including the St. Louis Exposition, where he made and sold bows and arrows.[49] Again, the power dynamics between dominant and submissive cultures was on full display. The connection between these exhibits, the disparity between power dynamics, and Native and Indigenous displays in the twentieth century reified the place of Native peoples in relation to the White EuroAmerican colonial power. When Native arts and crafts materialized as prize collectibles, partly due to the efforts of archaeologists, those peoples undertaking the work experienced exploitation in demonstrating their "exotic" craftsmanship. The dramatic fascination with these Native crafts remained despite the supposed educational aspect of the

"performance."

Madison Grant, who was responsible for supporting Ota Benga's placement in the Bronx Zoo, holds a contentious and marginal position within the history of anthropology because of his role as a virulent eugenicist. However, Alfred Kroeber, one of the early leaders of the discipline, organized the display of "Ishi"—the supposed last known survivor of the Yahi peoples from Northern California. As discussed in Chapter One, Kroeber received the first Ph.D. in anthropology in the United States. After Ishi (whose real name was unknown) emerged from the wilderness near Oroville, California, following forest fires, Kroeber took him to the University of California, Berkeley.[50] There, Ishi worked as a janitor. He lived in an apartment in an old law school building on campus while he was studied closely by the director of the museum, Kroeber, in an attempt to reconstruct a cultural history of the Yahi.[51] After contracting tuberculosis, Ishi died in 1916. Although his cultural traditions required the body be buried intact, an autopsy was performed—against Kroeber's wishes—and his body cremated with his brain placed in a pottery jar.[52] Through careful investigations, cultural anthropologist Orin Starn determined the remains of "America's last wild Indian" were placed on repository with the Smithsonian Institution the following year.[53] In 2000, following tremendous clamoring, The Smithsonian finally repatriated Ishi's brain to the living descendants of the Native peoples in the Reading River area.[54] In 1999, the anthropology department at the University of California, Berkeley acknowledged and apologized for the treatment of Ishi.[55] Kroeber placed Ishi on display at the museum, where visitors could watch him make bows and arrows and listen to him describe the Yahi culture. According to the Berkeley newspaper, there exists no evidence that demonstrates Ishi had a choice in participating in this display.[56]

The representation of ethnographical bodies for exhibition evolved from the stages of the freak show into educational and scientific displays that sought to demonstrate supposedly inherent differences between the "races." This transition from spectacle to science—from the first Indigenous peoples of the Americas paraded through the streets of Seville to modern-day ethnographic performances in modern museums—underscores the Western world's commitment to observing and inspecting as a tool of learning. Seeing is connected to knowing in unmistakable ways. However, as was the case with Benga and Goyaałé, the world's first industrial exhibitions provided an impetus for the creation of human exhibits. This juxtaposition of peoples and cultures on its own would not have produced the same effect except for how the Victorian world viewed progress. Borrowing from Linnaean taxonomy, objects, cultures, and even individualized peoples only made sense when ordered and arranged according to hierarchical understandings of the natural world. For some time, a "study of man" was coming into focus in the middle part of the nineteenth century, at the time when the first international exhibitions were planned and hosted. This new scientific approach to understanding humanity had many facets, not the least of which was understanding its differences and the evolutionary forces at work that shaped the phenotypes of disparate peoples. The influence for this new study of man originated with Samuel George Morton, Paul Broca, Francis Galton, and others.

The world's fairs were intended and designed to showcase the participants' achievements or lack thereof. The inception of the world's expositions and fairs was influenced by both medieval fairs and *The Exposition des Produits de l'Industrie Française* (Exhibition of Products of French Industry), a public event organized in Paris, France, from 1798 to 1849. However, it does not seem that these expositions included exhibiting exotic

peoples. The first confirmed showcase of how modern marvels in the industrialized Western nineteenth-century world juxtaposed against the backward, strange, and savage from all corners of the known world began with the world's expositions and fairs of the second half of the nineteenth century.

World Expositions

The rise of industrialization led to the emergence of World's Expositions and Fairs, intended to present grand modern achievements to the greater public. Although these expositions varied in size and by locale, they each shared the intention of showcasing industrialized products as well as other noticeable accomplishments, including humankind's dominance over nature. The collections that these various expositions displayed—there were over thirty held in the years 1853-1934—varied by the host country and, by extension, those responsible for engineering the narrative that would be presented to the "civilized" public.[57] Each was legacies—and in some cases outright imitations—of the archetype: The Great Exhibition held in the Crystal Palace of London in 1851.[58]

The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations and the world's fairs that followed set standards for measuring and comparing competing nations and peoples. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was held from May through October in London. Members of the Royal Society organized the exhibition for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. A group led by Prince Albert, consort to Queen Victoria, sought to design an international exhibition that included nations, empires, kingdoms, and peoples from around the world. Paul Young argued that this event was organized, planned, and developed with the

express intention of demonstrating British superiority.[59] At its core, the Great Exhibition was sublimely imperial, as can be gleaned by the scale and scope of the displays, as well as the grand construction of the Crystal Palace, a 990,000 square feet exhibition space. The showcasing of manufactured products highlighted the industrial and commercial nature of the modern world. Yet, the raw materials for many of the items in display derived from colonial lands without recognizing those nations' contributions to the supposed greatness of industrialized Western society.

The Great Exhibition was a tremendous success, attracting over 6 million visitors, and almost immediately spawned imitations that sought to emulate the grand displays first showcased in London.[60] The expositions were a competition of sorts, with each subsequent hosting nation seeking to eclipse and outclass those who had come before. This competition entailed that each succeeding exposition was regularly larger and grander from one iteration to the next. Gaining inspiration from the London spectacle, similar nineteenth-century exhibitions were held in Ireland in 1852, France in 1855, 1867, 1878, and 1889; the United States in 1853, 1854, 1876, 1893, and 1898; England in 1862, 1871, 1874, 1886; Austria-Hungary in 1873; Australia in 1880 and 1881; Spain in 1888; and Sweden in 1897.[61]

The Paris exposition of 1867 celebrated colonial appropriation by featuring archaeological and biological remains. All subsequent expositions embodied these two aspects: displays of industrial achievement in promise for the region or national metropolis and exhibit of primitive artifacts—and the ~~*Other*~~ themselves—collected from peripheral territories or colonies. As a collective phenomenon, the industrial exposition celebrated the ascension of supposed civilized power over nature and primitives. Exhibition techniques tended to represent those peoples as raw materials. Beginning with the 1878 exposition held

in Paris, living non-White humans were placed behind a fence expressly for the often monetized gaze of predominantly White humans.[62] According to ethnologist and Smithsonian Institution curator Otis T. Mason, the 1889 Paris Exposition (*Exposition Universelle*) was the first to introduce displaying Native peoples of the U.S. as inhabiting makeshift "rock shelters, igloos, wigwam's, bark lodges, [and] straw hovels."[63] The manner and the extent to which this display stripped away the subordinate peoples' humanity both from an introspective and extrospective manner is unfathomable. The White peoples' gaze informed them of unrealistic inner truths about themselves. Simultaneously, the inverse was true: gazes of the White exposition-goers bore them inaccurate truths about the ~~*Other*~~. Not only did these notions help shape commerce, but they also influenced local, state, and national elections and, by extension, how respective governments treated Natives peoples.

The United States' next world's fair, held in Chicago in 1893, was the first to highlight Native peoples of the Southwest, including an exhibit featuring "the Cliff Dwellers," designed and led by leading archaeologists and anthropologists of the day.[64] According to the guidebook for the display, assistance for constructing this exhibit was provided by "Prof. F. W. Putnam, Chief of Department of Ethnology, W. C. E.; The valuable assistance of Mr. Frank Hamilton Cushing, in describing and identifying specimens, and the services of Mr. W. K. Wetherill and his sons, as well as those of Mr. Charles E. Mason, for their pioneer work in exploring the Mancos region."[65] The Columbian exposition was designed to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's "discovery" of North America. The exposition organizers chose a thematic "New World" focus on the Americas. The opening line describing the exhibit in the official catalog was nothing if not painfully truthful:

> To eastern and foreign visitors this village will, perhaps, have a greater attraction than many of its neighbors, for here may be seen the remnants of some of the greatest tribes of North American Indians that the white man has disinherited and almost annihilated. The Pottawatomies and Winnebagoes have a peculiar interest, for these tribes less than one hundred years ago were in possession of the land upon which Chicago stands to-day. There are representatives of the Sioux, Chippewa and other nations; there are squaws and papooses; the wigwams are standing and occupied, and the visitor may see here a typical North American Indian village, with the various games of the young braves in progress. War dances are given and trinkets are sold as souvenirs.[66]

The exhibits on the history and peoples of the Southwest originated from several individuals introduced in Chapter One, such as Gustaf Nordenskiöld, Jesse Walter Fewkes, Frank Hamilton Cushing. The H. Jay Smith Exploring Company prepared, designed, and built the Cliff Dwellers exhibit over the course of two years especially for the fair. The display consisted of a one-tenth scale model of the 700-foot high Battle Rock Mountain of southwestern Colorado, chosen specifically—according to the official program—because it was "mysterious and legendary."[67] (See Figure 3.1.) Housed inside were various exhibits on the Native ancestral peoples of the Southwest, highlighting those from what would become Mesa Verde, and featured the "Wetherill collection" of looted artifacts.

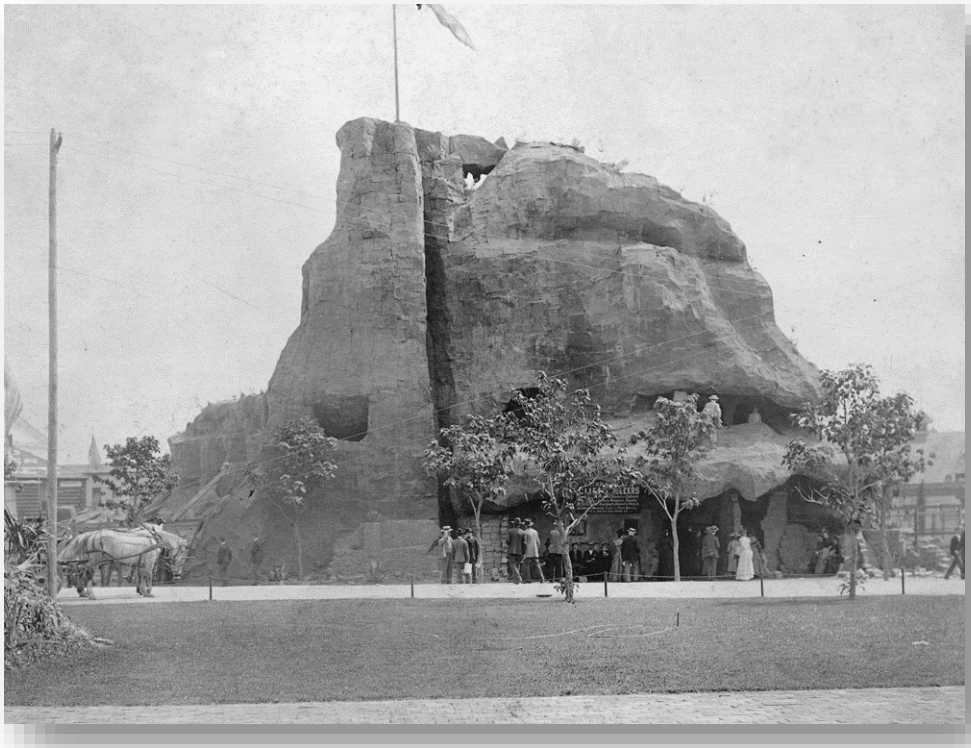


Figure 3.1. “Reproduction of the cliff dwellings at Battle Rock Mountain, Colorado.” (Charles Dudley Arnold, 1893, University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center, apf3-00049AMNH Research, accessed March 5, 2022, https://photoarchive.lib.uchicago.edu/db.xqy?one=apf3-00049.xml.)

Frederick Ward Putnam of the Peabody Museum was placed in charge of the ethnology and archaeology exhibits and named Franz Boas his chief assistant. In the two years preceding the exposition, these two men oversaw the collection of artifacts, data, and photographs from Alaska, the Pacific Northwest, the Great Plains, Peru, the Southwest, and Mesoamerica. These exhibits, which included Mayan stelae, first brought Mayan cultures to the attention of the greater American public. In terms of southwestern peoples, the reproduction of the southwestern cliff dwelling was positioned next to a lemonade stand with the American flag flying overhead.[68] Ethnographically speaking, Putnam organized the traditional villages of Native and Indigenous peoples that included the Apache and Diné. In

these settings, they made various Native crafts.[69] According to historian Curtis Hinsley, Franz Boas's experience in this exposition began his retreat from public anthropology "as a tool of education or reform."[70] Though Boas would go on to later design the Pacific Northwest ethnographic exhibit hall for the American Museum of Natural History, by 1916, Boas felt that the percentage of the American public with the ability to empathize with other cultures was entirely too small to be worth the effort; Boas believed a large majority of visitors viewed such displays with an air of superiority.

The most grandiose of the world's fairs during this period took place in St. Louis in 1904 to commemorate the centennial of the Louisiana purchase. Accordingly, the focus centered on the American West. Anthropological exhibits were arranged, in part, by the Bureau of American Ethnology and the newly announced Director of the Smithsonian Institution, William J. McGee. McGee's biological deterministic rotation of race directly correlated with their stage of cultural complexity. As anthropologist Nancy Parezo and archaeologist Don Fowler remarked, "his ideas about biological development, racial vigor, and cultural progress were in accord with many of the biases and prejudices of the exposition organizers and many other White Americans of the day."[71] Like the ethnologists and early archaeologists that sought to collect data before it disappeared forever, McGee felt that the dying races of humankind—dying because they were being erased by EuroAmerican domination and progress—should be compared and showcased against the civilization and progress of the United States. Two dozen different Native cultural groups were part of the "Indian Village," including nearly 500 individuals.[72] McGee arranged these people in a hierarchical sequence based on traditional technology and skin color in order to demonstrate a progressive image of social evolution. Many of those participants were there unwillingly.

These expositions, especially those in the United States, whet the public's appetite for the exotic by reinforcing stereotypes and sensationalizing imagery while underscoring the fact that "exotic" peoples still existed within the borders of the United States. The examples of cave dwellings and "castles" were constructed for the general public's amusement, not necessarily their education. The live exhibits of Native and Indigenous peoples, including those from the Southwest, were much more akin to those first presented by P. T. Barnum and later by Buffalo Bill Cody, whose purpose was entirely devoted to thrilling and enticing their public audience.

These expositions were the first time the accomplishments and achievements of Western civilization—proudly espoused as the apex of human accomplishment—were publicly displayed side-by-side with exhibits that included living non-Western peoples. They were designed and constructed in a manner intended to highlight and even exaggerate those supposed differences in progress. That progress somehow equated with peoples' degree of humanity stemmed directly—at least in the public continent consciousness and public imagination—from the way these displays and peoples were organized and presented. They were also essentially human zoos. Hinsley observed exhibits frequently employed physical barriers, such as those that exist only in zoos, clearly disconnecting viewer and exhibit. These sorts of ethnographic displays were precursors to demonstrations that later became commonplace in the early twentieth century. In many museums throughout the Southwest, Native artisans would work on-location at a museum or other exhibition space crafting cultural arts using traditional methods. Although these can be viewed as early precursors to "living history," this approach to performance began directly as profiteering. At what point, if ever, did similar activities stop being exploitation and start becoming empowering to

Native peoples? The world's expositions were the first time Native and Indigenous performances were brought to a broad public audience. How did these enactments develop into a museum staple, and how widely were they ever considered acceptable? Many modern museums had, and continue to have, living history exhibitions. Historically, this was also the case in the U.S. Southwest, where a large part of the historical and anthropological focus was on Native peoples. Where is the line drawn between exploitation and the providing of opportunity? This balance remains contentious, especially as people who rehearsed those traditional ethnographic practices were indeed being exploited, whether that fact aligns with their perspective or not. In many cases, Native peoples participated in live demonstrations of their traditional lifeways, including crafting ceramics, baskets, and blankets. Traditional implements of war were typically re-fashioned as children's toys. This approach to attracting and engaging with museum visitors was normalized in the world's fairs, as well as the human exhibits in shows, museums, and zoos coincided with them.

The First Modern Museums

The world expositions showcased the spoils of imperialism and colonialism. Many of the objects and accomplishments on display were the products of colonies and of colonized peoples. The wealth and power these items generated, along with the looted cultural treasures themselves, ultimately materialized into permanent expositions. That is not to say the expositions themselves predated museums—quite the opposite. The history of museums can be traced to cabinets of curiosities and as far back as the sixth century B.C.E. to King Nabonidus and El-Nagaldi-Nanna's palace room for artifacts collected from the stepped pyramid ziggurat in the Sumerian city of Ur, briefly mentioned in the introductory chapter. In

much the same way that the history of expositions can be traced to medieval European fairs. What expositions accomplished was to establish the manner in which disparate peoples and cultures could be juxtaposed against one another in order to accentuate difference, specifically between dominant and submissive cultures. This example, combined with the "living" aspect of how peoples were exhibited, was a direct historical antecedent for how museums would ultimately develop in the U.S. Southwest. This arrangement was undoubtedly inspired by the precursors to the modern museum: cabinets of curiosities. These peculiar displays placed odd and eccentric items side-by-side purposefully to contrast various antiquarian collectibles. The headlining of European industrial might paired alongside "stone-aged peoples" of the colonized world similarly compared contrasts in both progress and human development.

The first modern museums were typically where the "trophies" and "treasures" of colonialism were held. By the year 1800, some of the oldest museums of the capital cities of Europe had been established, including the Vatican museums (1506), British Museum in London (1759), the Uffizi Gallery in Florence (1769), and the Louvre (1793), to mention a few of the more well-known examples. These were repositories not only for the items recovered abroad but also a showcase for the many artistic creations resulting from collecting material resources through the colonial project. "The Museum Age," as this period is often called, produced museums all over the Western world during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sociologist Tony Bennett referred to modern museums as the cornerstone of the "exhibitionary complex," responsible for sharing knowledge about power dynamics.[73] Building on the work of Gramsci, Bennett viewed the museum as an institution that fosters the relationships between states and citizens. Adding to Michel Foucault's

notions of institutional articulations of power and knowledge relations, Bennett saw the museum as a dispersal point of that knowledge and power.

The first museums in the United States emulated the approaches of European museums, focusing on both natural history and art. Like their European counterparts, many U.S. museums imported looted modern and ancient items from colonized countries in order to build their vast collections. The creation of the museum space for the public provided opportunities to present a constricted narrative that placed artifacts and other objects within the context of a nationalistic narrative. In addition to building massive collections that contributed to scientific knowledge, museums also became centers for innovative research. The collection of items from home and abroad was conducted under the premise that they held value for both scientific scrutiny and public education. Despite efforts by Native groups to protect and safeguard their cultural materials, it was not until the late twentieth century that the protection and repatriation of artifacts and the return of biological remains began.

Just as important as was the public display of cultural artifacts was the collection and curation of those artifacts by or at the behest of these fledgling institutions. Their efforts to collect artifacts for display—often undertaken under the guise of collecting scientific research materials before looters could seize and sell them to private collections—were equally essential to how museums contributed to popular conceptions of race. In many cases, the emerging archaeologists of this period led or contributed to some of the most famous archaeological expeditions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Eastern institutions, as well as eastern scholars and researchers, directly influenced later public and private institutions in the U.S. Southwest in a manner that is quite unmistakable. During this period, several major institutions were founded in the U.S. that set standards for institutions

that were modeled afterward. Perhaps the most important determination made by these early efforts was the judgment that "savage man" was a vestigial relic of modern humanity, more closely related to the animal kingdom than that of modern Western civilization. Therefore, the proper placement of these "primitive" peoples and their artifacts initially lay in museums of "natural history." As the name suggests, Native and Indigenous peoples' place existed alongside nature, which had been thoroughly dominated and placed under the control of Western civilization. Their artifacts were spoils of war and trophies commemorating Western domination.

Perhaps one of the most instructive examples linking world expositions to museums was the establishment of the Field Museum in 1893. The museum was a direct outgrowth of the Columbian Exposition in 1893. In 1890, Frederick Ward Putnam pointed out the possibility of a natural history and ethnology museum in Chicago.[74] The idea caught on with politicians and the public. It gained further momentum as the exposition commenced in May 1893. Two months later, the Editor-in-Chief of the *Chicago Tribue* published an editorial in which he stated the collections of the fair would be "sold, given, or thrown away," and that these items "would cheerfully be dedicated to Chicago if any quasi public organization were here ready to ask for and receive them."[75] Exposition organizers could not offset the costly and painstaking efforts of assembling the collection a second time to return items to their origins, and many would have been discarded if it were not for a conversation industrialist James William Ellsworth had with the Director of the National Museum, George Brown Goode. Following their conversation, Ellsworth decided to establish a committee consisting of the exposition directors, George R. Davis, Harlow N. Higinbotham, and J. W. Scott, to explore the museum idea. They first met in August 1893 to discuss to possibility of a

museum using the assets from the 1893 fair, followed by a public meeting later that month. Ellsworth convinced local businessman Edward Ayer—who was later elected the museum's first president—to approach Marshall Field, the richest man in Chicago, and ask for a million-dollar donation.[76] According to the account of archaeologist Frederick Webb Hodge,

> [M]y dear old friend, Edward Ayer of Chicago. . . . told me that this Exposition was drawing to a close and he knew that a great many exhibitors would be willing to give their things if there was a place to put them. Ayer studied the matter} as he said, 'Naturally I went to the richest man in Chicago, Marshall Field.' And so he said, he got in touch with Mr. Field. . . . Ayer said, 'I have a very important proposal to make to you'. . . . He said, 'Mr. Marshall Field,'. . . 'I've come to you to tell you that Chicago has the grandest opportunity to build a great museum here it ever has had or ever will have. We can get a majority of these great collections here for the asking, if we only had a place to put them. I've come to ask a million dollars out of you, and if you don't give it, either you're no good or I'm no good.' Those are his very words. And that's how the Field Museum had its start. Field said, 'I'll do it.' And he did.[77]

While sensational in its details, Hodge's story does highlight the fundamental points of Ayer's meeting with Field. After Ayer provided Field a tour of the exposition the following morning, the Field agreed to donate the requested funds.[78]

The earliest museum in the United States was transitional between the cabinet of curiosities and a modern museum. The eclectic personal collection of Charles Willson Peale opened to the public in 1786. The rare specimens his museum included were arranged to the best of his ability, according to Linnean taxonomy.[79] Though the museum included art in addition to biological materials, the arrangement of items was in terms of complexity and assumed relatedness. This approach to organizing the museum was not entirely novel, but the approach did presage how museums much later would be compelled to present their items to the museum-going public. P. T. Barnum eventually purchased Peale's collection, which included many oddities as well as Native and Indigenous artifacts, for inclusion in his New York Museum.[80]

The earliest Museum institutions in the United States were centered mainly on the East Coast, nearly an entire continent away from the Southwest. The Smithsonian Institution, the American Museum of Natural History, and the Peabody Museum at Harvard University were among the earliest to begin the collection of Native and Indigenous artifacts on a grand scale. These and similar early collections by eastern institutions were so intense that Western territories feared the complete decimation of cultural resources from their lands. Because of increasing pressure from eastern institutions, there was a surge of archaeological organizations, foundations, and museums established in the Southwest during the first several decades of the twentieth century. These institutions (discussed in Chapter Four) followed in the footsteps of the Arizona State Museum, which opened in 1893, and the Museum of New Mexico, which opened in 1909.

The Smithsonian Institution opened in 1855, commencing as both a museum and a center for research. In their expeditions to the Southwest, including the Hyde Expedition, the "science" they conducted consisted primarily of looting Native peoples' burial grounds and pieces of pottery for museum display. The earliest expeditions were conducted in a somewhat scientific manner, but it was the artifacts and biological materials themselves that were important to help build and augment the collections. The Smithsonian also supported ethnographic research-oriented at studying Native and Indigenous peoples of the U.S. Its ties to the Southwest go back to the earliest days of anthropology and archaeology in the U.S. Southwest, serving as the home for the Bureau of Ethnology beginning in 1879.[81] However, long before that time, the Smithsonian was also interested in archaeology. Another central component of the Smithsonian's mission was publishing. In 1848, the Smithsonian published *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley* by Efrem George Squier and Edwin H. Davis.[82]

In 1856, the Smithsonian published *Archaeology of the United States* by Samuel F. Haven.[83] While ethnology was the institution's focus of attention, collecting specimens for museum displays became a primary fixation. As the Bureau of Ethnology turned away from collecting archaeological specimens, the Smithsonian began to fund and oversee expeditions. Smithsonian curator Neil Judd, who had attended Edgar Lee Hewett's archaeological field school in New Mexico in 1911, led several of these in the Southwest.[84]

Although the Smithsonian Institution was the first organization to begin a systematic collection of Native and Indigenous artifacts from U.S. lands on a grand scale, it was not long before several other museums were formed and followed suit. The Harvard Peabody Museum opened in 1867 and focused on the collection of natural history and ethnological materials. Frederick Ward Putnam became the curator of the museum in 1866. Although previously a comparative zoologist who had studied under Louis Agassiz, Putnam's attention turned to archaeology.[85] Shortly afterward, in 1877, the American Museum of Natural History in New York opened its doors to the public. Like the Smithsonian before it, the American Museum of Natural History had the monumental task of collecting specimens to include in the museum. Because ethnological studies were such an essential part of "natural history," thereby more closely connected to nature, this institution exhaustively sought out artifacts from the Southwest in order to support their developing collections. The artifacts recovered by Adolph Bandelier in the 1890s were deposited in the American Museum of Natural History; for a short time afterward, they paid Bandelier's salary.[86] Likewise, after the excavations completed in Grand Gulch, UT by the Hyde Expedition, including Richard Wetherill, 1,200 specimens of biological and cultural artifacts resulting from these efforts were sold to the American Museum of Natural History. George Hubbard Pepper, an assistant

curator with the American Museum of Natural History, led the Hyde expedition to Chaco Canyon during the 1896 season along with Richard Wetherill and Talbot Hyde. These were some of the earliest efforts by the museum to acquire Native peoples' artifacts from the Southwest.

Perhaps more importantly to the relative history of museums during this period is the American Museum of Natural History's oldest gallery, the "Hall of the Pacific Northwest Coast." Franz Boas, the advocate of the historical particularism school of thought, envisioned an exhibition where Native and Indigenous cultures were displayed on their own terms and not juxtaposed against Western societies. This approach was entirely innovative in portraying non-Western cultures in natural history museums. Boas's work is also demonstrative of the fact that those who are primary actors in this narrative cannot merely be dismissed as "products of their time." Influenced by his involvement with the Columbian Exposition at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, Boas sought to display Northwest coast Native peoples' communities in a manner befitting their cultural heritage while ignoring measurement against Western societies.[87] Although Boas's display has been critiqued over the years, in the context of the early twentieth century, his approach was both unique and progressive.[88] Museums elsewhere, including in the Southwest, continued the display of Native peoples through artifacts as measured against the backdrop of Western society. If not juxtaposed directly against Western cultural or biological specimens, museums following Andrew Douglass's dendrochronological dating in the Southwest, after 1929 arranged items and artifacts in temporal alignment against the accomplishments of Western civilization along a prominent visual timeline. Nevertheless, museums of the Southwest did not start to take note of Boas's approach until sometime in the late 1900s when the first institutions started representing

Native peoples on their own terms when a few museums provided the ability for Native and Indigenous peoples to take part in the creation of the exhibits and narratives presented.[89]

Since their territory's cultural artifacts were being collected and sent to institutions further East, it was not long before the Southwest found itself in a position to establish its own academic institution and corresponding museum. First among these new institutions was the University of Arizona, established in 1885. Serving as one of the original research units, the Arizona State Museum was subsequently created in 1893—as a "territorial Museum" — for the purpose of the "collection and protection" of archaeological artifacts.[90] Donations made by the Museum's first curator, Herbert Brown, augmented its archaeological collection with Yuma bows and arrows as well as dolls of Native and Indigenous peoples. Under Brown's leadership, the museum's collections rapidly grew as it sought to keep cultural artifacts in Arizona. Initially housed with other university departments in University Hall, the museum soon moved in 1905 to portions of the first and second floors of the new library.[91] It was at that time that new display cases were acquired for the better preservation and display of Native and Indigenous artifacts. Following the death of Herbert Brown two years later, Byron Cummings was named the second director of the museum. Cummings had considerable archaeological experience, having worked at ancestral Pueblo sites in southern Utah. Under his leadership, the museum carried out expeditions over the summer during the early years of his tenure.[92] These efforts were often for the sake of collecting and before the looters could get their hands on the cherished Native artifacts. Under Cummings's leadership, the museum underwent rapid development and expansion in terms of both the collections and museum activities. As the museum evolved over time, so did its role. When archaeologist Emil Haury, formerly of the Gila Pueblo Foundation, came to the Arizona State Museum as

the director in 1938 (a position he held until 1964), its mission took on more of a research role.

Conclusion

The expositions and fairs of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries each encapsulated an implicit, though sometimes tacit, theme: the dominance of the industrialized and civilized world. When these shows began featuring and highlighting Native cultures in the late nineteenth century, their purposes were to reinforce the contrast between the civilized and the less civilized, using the bodies of Native and Indigenous peoples to demonstrate that contrast. The displays in the United States featuring Native peoples of the U.S., including those of the U.S., in 1893 and 1904 specifically highlighted the achievement and righteousness of civilization on the North American continent.

As museums in the U.S. grew into an institution during the second half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, they were imbued with the expositional model's bigoted legacies. These institutions, though characterized as educational attractions, more accurately were loci of inculcation of ideas underpinning the notion that the merits of civilization far outweighed and outvalued those of so-called uncivilized peoples. The narratives contained within these museums reflected the account first set forth in world's fairs.

Each of the museums that shared a component focusing on Native peoples of the Southwest, from the most extensive such as George Hayes Museum of the American Indian to some of the more modestly sized, such as the Amerind, contained an element of not

showcasing Native cultures of the past and present for their own sake, but for the qualities that elevated the stock EuroAmerican ideals. Their regular inclusion of living Native peoples in their exhibits—especially in the Southwest where abundant Native peoples lacked other, less humbling economic means—presented cultures through oppression, whether that exploitation was benevolent or not and whether it was explicit or not. As the next chapter will explore, the acquisition of Native cultural artifacts was not undertaken for the sake of Native peoples but rather for preserving the continent's past for EuroAmericans' own purposes. Until late in the twentieth century, the descendants of Native peoples' conquerors exclusively interpreted these cultural materials, and never the Native peoples themselves.

Notes

1. James E. Sullivan, ed., *Spalding's Official Athletic Almanac for 1905* (New York, NY: The American Publishing Co., 1905), 248-63.

2. Pamela Newkirk, *Spectacle: the Astonishing Life of Ota Benga* (New York, NY: Amistad, an imprint of HarperCollinsPublishers, 2015,) 139.

3. Newkirk, *Spectacle*, 168-69.

4. Newkirk, *Spectacle*, 16.

5. Newkirk, *Spectacle*, 9.

6. "Letter to Charles T. Barney, NYZS Executive Committee Chairman from William T. Hornaday," September 19, 1906, WCS Archives collection of digitized materials related to Ota Benga, Collection 1012-01, *Wildlife Conservation Society Archives*, New York, accessed February 14, 2022, https://wcs.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_44db7c90-43d4-43bf-8969-200dac31b1f4/.

7. "Bush-Man Shares a Cage with Bronx Park Apes," *New York Times* (New York: NY), September 9, 1906, 1.

8. The *New York Times* subtitles ran, "Some Laugh Over His Antics, but Many Are Not Pleased. Keeper Frees Him at Times. Then, with Bow and Arrow, the Pygmy from the

Congo Takes to the Woods," from "Man and Monkey Show Disapproved by Clergy," *New York Times* (New York: NY), September 10, 1906, 1.

9. "Negro Ministers Act to Free the Pygmy," *New York Times* (New York: NY), September 11, 1906, 2.

10. "The Mayor Won't Help to Free Caged Pygmy," *New York Times* (New York: NY), September 12, 1906, 9.

11. "Letter to Henry Fairfield Osborn, Sr. from William T. Hornaday," September 11, 1906, WCS Archives collection of digitized materials related to Ota Benga, Collection 1012, *Wildlife Conservation Society Archives*, New York, accessed February 14, 2022, https://wcs.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_ddc94d67-280b-4f21-9aa5-2765d2e83a19/.

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13. "Telegram draft to Samuel Verner at North Carolina address from William T. Hornaday," September 17, 1906, WCS Archives collection of digitized materials related to Ota Benga, Collection 1001, *Wildlife Conservation Society Archives*, New York, accessed February 14, 2022, https://wcs.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_994e4f5f-70f8-41dc-a51f-86d77ac2ce73/.

14. "Letter to Samuel Verner from William T. Hornaday," September 18, 1906. WCS Archives collection of digitized materials related to Ota Benga. Collection 1012-01. *Wildlife Conservation Society Archives*, New York, accessed February 14, 2022, https://wcs.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_064d4bf8-13c0-41e8-91bb-ad284c42b652/.

15. "Letter to Samuel Verner from William T. Hornaday," September 17, 1906, WCS Archives collection of digitized materials related to Ota Benga, Collection 1012-01, *Wildlife Conservation Society Archives*, New York, accessed February 14, 2022, https://wcs.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_9b3cbc85-59e8-4cc9-8df6-0aa472fce483/.

16. "Draft of article that appeared under the title 'An African Pigmy' in the Zoological Society Bulletin (October 1906): 301-302," n.d., WCS Archives collection of digitized materials related to Ota Benga, Collection 1012-01. *Wildlife Conservation Society Archives*, New York, accessed February 14, 2022, https://wcs.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_1a76b4f0-0073-4ee0-9fdb-630dda6bca51/; William T. Hornaday, "An African Pigmy," *Zoological Society Bulletin* (October 1906): 301-02

17. Newkirk, *Spectacle*, 203-04.

18. Newkirk, *Spectacle*, 229.

19. Newkirk, *Spectacle*, 241; in September 2017, Lynchburg dedicated a historical marker to Benga's memory; Virginia Donna Bryson, "New memorial sets the record straight on the tragic story of Ota Benga," *Equal Times* December 12, 2017, https://www.equaltimes.org/new-memorial-sets-the-record.

20. Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).

21. Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 8.

22. In June 1924, a member of the public, twenty-seven-year-old John Cromartie, wrote William Hornaday at the New York Zoological Gardens and suggested adding various examples of the human race to the zoo, as they had attempted eighteen years before with Benga. To demonstrate he made this suggestion in "good faith," Cromartie (a 5 foot, 11-inch man of Scottish descent) offered himself up for exhibition, "Letter to William Hornaday from John Cromartie," June 3, 1924, WCS Archives collection of digitized materials related to Ota Benga, Collection 1012-01, *Wildlife Conservation Society Archives*, New York, accessed February 14, 2022, https://wcs.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_a4311993-c1f6-4cd3-81e6-9b4082f2428d/. In his response, Hornaday's recollected the 1906 fiasco, steadfastly blaming the *Times*, "Letter to John Cromartie, The Wide World, from William T. Hornaday," June 6, 1924, WCS Archives collection of digitized materials related to Ota Benga, Collection 1012-01, *Wildlife Conservation Society Archives*, New York, accessed February 14, 2022, https://wcs.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_5be353b2-1c2d-45a5-be72-bc1de022eef7/.

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24. Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo and Sandrine Lemaire, "Human zoos: the greatest exotic shows in the West," in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, ed. Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel Gilles Boetsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 4.

25. Bancel et al., "Human zoos," 4.

26. Bancel et al., "Human zoos," 4.

27. See Marina Belozerskaya, *The Medici Giraffe: And Other Tales of Exotic Animals*

and Power (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2006).

28. Clifton C. Crais and Pamela Scully, *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 141.

29. Crais and Scully, *Sara Baartman*, 72.

30. For an account of Baartmann's time in London, see Crais and Scully, *Sara Baartman*, 58-81; for details of the legal battle, see Crais and Scully, *Sara Baartman*, 82-102.

31. Crais and Scully, *Sara Baartman*, 73.

32. Crais and Scully, *Sara Baartman*, 127-29.

33. Translation by the author; original French: "Ses mouvemens avoient quelque chose de brusque et de capricieux qui rappeloit ceux du singe. Elle avoit surtout une manière de faire saillir ses lèvres tout-à-fait pareille à ce que nous avons observé dans l'orang-outang. Son caractère étoit gai, sa mémoire bonne, et elle reconnoissoit après plusieurs semaines une personne qu'elle n' avoit vue qu'une fois. Elle parloit tolérablement le hollandais qu'elle avoit appris au Cap, savoit aussi un peu d'anglais , et commençoit à dire quelques mots de français. Elle dansoit à la manière de son pays , et jouoit avec assez d'oreille de ce petit instrument qu'on appelle guimbarde. Les colliers, les ceintures de verroteries et autres atours sauvages lui plaisoient beaucoup; mais ce qui flattoit son gout plus que tout le reste, c'étoit l'eau-de-vie. On peut même attribuer sa mort à un excès de boisson auquel elle se livra pendant sa dernière maladie." Par M. G. Cuvier, "Extrait d'Observations: Faites sur le Cadavre d'âne femme connue à Paris et à Londres sous le nom de Venus Hottentotte," in *Memoires Du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle Par Les Professeurs De Cet Établissement, Ouvrage Orné De Gravures, Dédié Au Roi*, (Paris: Chez A. Belin, 1817), 263.

34. Crais and Scully, *Sara Baartman*, 154-55.

35. Crais and Scully, *Sara Baartman* 155.

36. See Eric D. Lehman, *Becoming Tom Thumb: Charles Stratton, P.T. Barnum, and the Dawn of American Celebrity* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2013).

37. Bluford Adams, "'A Stupendous Mirror of Departed Empires': The Barnum Hippodromes and Circuses, 1874-1891," *American Literary History* 8, no. 1 (1996): 34-56.

38. Edo McCullough, *World's Fair Midways; an Affectionate Account of American Amusement Areas from the Crystal Palace to the Crystal Ball* (New York: Exposition Press, 1966), 35.

39. A tireless self-promoter, Barnum often corresponded with Clemens and typically

urged Clemens to write about Barnum's circus, museum, and other exhibits. Barnum to Clemens, Jan. 19, 1875, reprinted in P. T. Barnum, *Selected Letters of P. T. Barnum*, ed. A. H. Saxon (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 190-91.

40. "For many years I had been in the habit of engaging parties of American Indians from the far West to exhibit at the Museum, and had sent two or more Indian companies to Europe, where they were regarded as very great 'curiosities.' In 1864, ten or twelve chiefs of as many different tribes, visited the President of the United States at Washington. By a pretty liberal outlay of money, I succeeded in inducing the interpreter to bring them to New York, and to pass some days at my Museum. Of course, getting these Indians to dance, or to give any illustration of their games or pastimes, was out of the question. They were real chiefs of powerful tribes, and would no more have consented to give an exhibition of themselves than the Chief Magistrate of our own nation would have done. Their interpreter could not therefore promise that they would remain at the Museum for any definite time; 'for,' said he, 'you can only keep them just so long as they suppose all your patrons come to pay them visits of honor. If they suspected that your Museum was a place where people paid for entering,' he continued, 'you could not keep them a moment after the discovery.' On their arrival at the Museum, therefore, I took them upon the stage and personally introduced them to the public. The Indians liked this attention from me, as they had been informed that I was the proprietor of the great establishment in which they were invited and honored guests. My patrons were of course pleased to see these old chiefs, as they knew they were the 'real thing,' and several of them were known to the public, either as being friendly or cruel to the whites…. Among these Indians were War Bonnet, Lean Bear, and Hand-in-the-water, chiefs of the Cheyennes; Yellow Buffalo, of the Kiowas; Yellow Bear, of the same tribe; Jacob, of the Caddos; and White Bull, of the Apaches. The little wiry chief known as Yellow Bear had killed many whites as they had travelled through the 'far West.' He was a sly, treacherous, blood-thirsty savage, who would think no more of scalping a family of women and children, than a butcher would of wringing the neck of a chicken. But now he was on a mission to the 'Great Father' at Washington, seeking for presents and favors for his tribe, and he pretended to be exceedingly meek and humble, and continually urged the interpreter to announce him as a 'great friend to the white man.' He would fawn about me, and although not speaking or understanding a word of our language, would try to convince me that he loved me dearly. In exhibiting these Indian warriors on the stage, I explained to the large audiences the names and characteristics of each. When I came to Yellow Bear I would pat him familiarly upon the shoulder, which always caused him to look up to me with a pleasant smile, while he softly stroked down my arm with his right hand in the most loving manner. Knowing that he could not understand a word I said, I pretended to be complimenting him to the audience, while I was really saying something like the following: 'This little Indian, ladies and gentlemen, is Yellow Bear, chief of the Kiowas. He has killed, no doubt, scores of white persons, and he is probably the meanest, black-hearted rascal that lives in the far West.' Here I patted him on the head, and he, supposing I was sounding his praises, would smile, fawn upon me, and stroke my arm, while I continued: 'If the blood-thirsty little villain understood what I was saying, he would kill me in a moment; but as he thinks I am complimenting him, I can safely state the truth to you, that he is a lying, thieving, treacherous, murderous monster. He has

tortured to death poor, unprotected women, murdered their husbands, brained their helpless little ones; and he would gladly do the same to you or to me, if he thought he could escape punishment. This is but a faint description of the character of Yellow Bear.' Here I gave him another patronizing pat on the head, and he, with a pleasant smile, bowed to the audience, as much as to say that my words were quite true, and that he thanked me very much for the high encomiums I had so generously heaped upon him." P. T. Barnum, *Struggles And Triumphs: Or, Forty Years' Recollections of P. T. Barnum* (Buffalo, NY: Warren, Johnson & Co., 1872), 573-8.

41. In response to being called a "celebrated American charlatan," Barnum included this line in reply to "Mssrs. R. Griffin & Co.," reprinted in P. T. Barnum, *Selected Letters of P. T. Barnum*, 103.

42. L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996) 1-8.

43. Charles Eldridge Griffin and Chris Dixon, *Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), xviii.

44. Moses, *Wild West Shows*, 8.

45. Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 253-54.

46. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 253.

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48. Spiro, *Defending the Master Race*, 44-45.

49. Eve Ball, Nora Henn, and Lynda Sanchez, *Indeh, an Apache Odyssey* (Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 175-76.

50. "Find a Rare Aborigine," *New York Times* (New York, NY), September 11, 1911, 3.

51. Orin Starn, *Ishi's Brain: In Search of America's Last "wild" Indian*, (New York: Norton, 2004), 23-24.

52. See Starn, *Ishi's Brain*, especially 134-266.

53. Starn, *Ishi's Brain*, 180.

54. Starn, *Ishi's Brain*, 264.

55. Jessíca Jiménez, “UC Berkeley looks back on dark history, abuse of Yahi man 106 years later” *The Daily Californian* (Berkeley, CA) September 1, 2017, https://www.dailycal.org/2017/09/01/uc-berkeley-looks-back-on-dark-history-abuse-of-yahi-man-106-years-later/.

56. Jiménez, “UC Berkeley looks back on dark history,” 2017.

57. See John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Historical Dictionary of World’s Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988* (New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1990).

58. Robert W. Rydell argued that American expositions “developed as organize responses to class conflict in the aftermath of industrial depressions” in *World of Fairs: The Century-of-progress Expositions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 5.

59. See Paul Young, “Mission Impossible: globalization and the Great Exhibition,” in *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851*, ed. Jeffrey A. Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub. Company, 2008) 3-26.

60. Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 32.

61. The first expositions not held in EuroAmerican cities were Haiti in 1950 (*Exposition Internationale du Bicentenaire de Port-au-Prince),* Israel in 1953 and 1955, and Japan in 1970 (日本万国博覧会); see Findling and Pelle, *Historical Dictionary of World’s Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988*.

62. Curtis M. Hinsley, “Anthropology as Education and Entertainment: Frederic Ward Putnam at the World’s Fair,” in *Coming of Age in Chicago: the 1893 World’s Fair and the Coalescence of American Anthropology*, ed. Curtis M. Hinsley and David R. Wilcox (Lincoln, NE: The University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 55-56.

63. Otis Mason, “Anthropology in Paris during the Exposition of 1889,” *American Anthropologist* 3, no. 27 (1890): 32.

64. This year was also when Frederick Jackson Turner delivered his Frontier Thesis to the American Historical Association in Chicago during the exposition.

65. H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers* (Chicago IL: H. Jay Smith Exploring, 1893).

66. “American Indian Village Official Guide No. 20. Admission fee, 25 cents.” *Official Guide To Midway Plaisance Otherwise Known As “The Highway Through The Nations Compiled By John J. Flinn* (Chicago, IL: The Columbian Guide Company, 1893),

27.

67. H. Jay Smith Exploring Company, *The Cliff Dwellers*, 15.

68. Curtis Hinsley, "The World as a Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893" in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, eds. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 349.

69. Don D. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology* (Albuquerque, NM: The University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 209.

70. Hinsley, "The World as a Marketplace," 363.

71. Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 48.

72. Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair*, 405-408. Appendix 2: Native Participants "Table 2.1" lists the cultural groups, number of participants, and names of the individuals, if known.

73. Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 59-88.

74. F. W. Putnam, "American Ethnology: An Interesting Suggestion for the Columbian Exposition. Why Not a Collection of the Habitations of Dwellers in the Three Americas from Primitive Savages up to the Present Time--This Would Give the Best Possible Idea of the Continents Reclaimed--Material for a Permanent Ethnological Museum," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 31, 1890.

75. Sidney Corning Eastman, "Hints Concerning the Fair: What 'Tribune' Correspondents Think Would Be Good Things," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 9, 1893.

76. Frank C. Lockwood, *The Life of Edward E. Ayer* (Chicago, IL: A.C. McClurg & Company, 1929), 185-86, 88.

77. Frederick Webb Hodge, tape-recorded interview by Corinne Gilb, April 2-26, 1969, 196-97, transcript, Regional Oral History Office, Regional Cultural History Project, University of California Library at Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.

78. Lockwood, *The Life of Edward E. Ayer*, 190.

79. Charles Coleman Sellers, "Peale's Museum," *The American Philosophical Society* 43, no. 1 (1953): 254.

80. Sellers, “Peale’s Museum,” 259.

81. Richard B. Woodbury and Nathalie F. S. Woodbury, “The Rise and Fall of the Bureau of American Ethnology” *Journal of the Southwest* 41, no. 3 (1999): 283-96.

82. E. G. Squier and E. H. Davis, *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley* Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge; v. 1. (New-York: Bartlett & Welford, 1848).

83. Samuel F. Haven, *Archaeology of the United States, Or, Sketches, Historical and Bibliographical, of the Progress of Information and Opinion Respecting Vestiges of Antiquity in the United States* Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1856).

84. Fowler, *A Laboratory for* Anthropology, 295.

85. Putnam’s individual research focused on the so-called Moundbuilders. He was instrumental in ensuring the protection of the Great Serpent Mound, providing for its purchase and later seeing it turned over to the hands of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. See Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 222.

86. Adolph F. Bandelier, Charles H. Lange and Carroll L. Riley, and Elizabeth M. Lange, *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier* Vol. 4 (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 206-07.

87. Roberta L. Hall, “A Legacy for the Pacific Northwest: Franz Boas’s Surveys of Native People in the Late 19th Century” *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 97, no. 2 (2006): 59-68.

88. In 2017, the AMNH announced a plan to reinterpret and renovate the Pacific Northwest Coast Hall. Two dozen experts, including Native and Indigenous representatives, began discussions about enhancing the exhibit with current perspectives and interests. See “Reinterpreting the Northwest Coast Hall,” American Museum of Natural History, accessed March 4, 2020, https://www.amnh.org/research/anthropology/curatorial-research/north-american-ethnology/reinterpreting-the-northwest-coast-hall.

89. See Amy Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native American in National and Tribal Museums* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

90. Carleton S. Wilder, “The Arizona State Museum History,” *Kiva* 7, no. 7/8 (1942): 25-29.

91. Wilder, “The Arizona State Museum History,” 27.

92. Wilder, “The Arizona State Museum History,” 28.

Chapter Four: Antiquities and the Archaeological Project

On New Year's Day 1841, several teachers and students at the Cayuga Lake Academy established the Order of the Gordian Knot in observance of myths of the classical world. A young graduate of Union College who was busy reading law in preparation for the bar exam named Louis Henry Morgan was one of its founding members.[1] However, shortly after its establishment, during a meeting in Aurora, New York, during the summer of 1843, Morgan proposed a re-orientation of how the society was modeled. Morgan had increasingly developed a fascination with the customs of the Iroquois peoples and their example of "primitive man." Instead of focusing on ancient Greece's classical world, Morgan suggested that the fraternal order should instead model their organization on the customs of the Iroquois, who still occupied western New York.

After convincing the other members of the society to re-organize, Morgan wrote a new set of bylaws for the organization. The new society, named "the grand order of the Iroquois," elected Morgan as its "chief."[2] In comparison to other fraternal orders such as the Freemasons, Morgan lamented that the order had none of their own that would "lend dignity and interest" to the organization.[3] The society agreed to adopt the traditional address of the Iroquois and began to dress in costumes for meetings with addresses and tomahawks. Over the next several years, the fraternal order expanded and recruited new members, a significant number of which were also Union graduates, and expanded to over a dozen chapters and boasting 400 members. As additional local chapters were added, they took on Iriquois designations such as the Mohawks, Oneidas, and Senecas.[4]

Morgan moved to Rochester in 1844 to practice law. There he founded a chapter of

the order and named the local lodge the Cayuga tribe after one of the local groups of Iroquois people. In their desire to keep Iroquois culture alive, or at least a romantic bastardization of it, these forms of mimicry led Morgan and several other fraternity members to learn more about Iroquois culture—initially to make these ludicrous displays more authentic. Instead of relying on imagination and hearsay, Morgan desired them to acquire factual scientific knowledge about the Iroquois and their culture.[5]

Upon realizing that existing documentation of the Iroquois people was filled with exaggerations and hearsay, Morgan turned his attention to a different approach. In 1844, Morgan examined the original Iroquois treaties at the state capital in Albany. While there, he made the acquaintance of *Hasanoanda* (who became known as Ely Samuel Parker upon his baptism), the son of a Tonawanda chief who was acting as the interpreter for an assembly of Iroquois delegates.[6] The delegation's purposes in Albany related to their protest of a treaty that was forcing them to abandon their reservation. Through the friendship that Morgan developed with Parker, and indeed the Iroquois people more broadly due to his assistance with legal aid, Morgan gained access to the reservations and Iroquois people in order to find answers to his questions firsthand.

Another reason fraternal members felt beholden to study the Iroquois was the perception that they represented a dying race like other Native peoples of the U.S. For Morgan, the Iroquois struggle with their loss of land signified for him the importance of capturing their culture before it was gone.[7] From that perspective, Morgan's approach was one of salvage ethnology. Whether Louis Henry Morgan is the "father of American anthropology" as claimed by some scholars and debated by others, Morgan's detailed accounts of Iroquois culture, obtained during visits to the Buffalo Creek, Onondaga, and

Tonawanda reservations, marked the beginning of the ethnographic study of Native peoples of the U.S.[8]

Introduction

At the core of what archaeology sought to accomplish at the beginning of the discipline was its tangible need to captivate the public audience. If the artifacts archaeologists studied were not in high demand by collectors, or if there were not a finite supply, perhaps the academic discipline of archaeology would not have gained the leverage it needed to become the definitive curators and caretakers of these ancient relics. Because supply was limited, and also owing to their often fragile nature, Native artifacts, ancestral sites, and human remains were placed under the careful caretaking of archaeologists. The public interest in these items and exotic histories of the people who manufactured them was fomented in the nineteenth century by sensational finds and even more sensational public exhibitions. The depiction of Native peoples in the U.S. as a dying race, the mystique with which their history was depicted, and the relative scarcity of authentic ancestral trade goods created a niche for archaeologists to become custodians of those artifacts and of that history.

The arousal of public interest in the Native peoples of the U.S. and their history was widespread. As archaeologists learned more about the peculiar Native past, finds were broadly showcased to public audiences. There is little doubt that this approach by academics and exhibitors fueled public interest in the pre-European of the Americas. There existed something exotic and tantalizing about that history. Yet, the disconnect between the seemingly peaceful and balanced Native peoples of the ancient past, as depicted by authors

like James Fenimore Cooper, and those of the supposedly bloodthirsty savages who ruled the plains and the West, was palpable. Material glimpses backward in time allowed the public to see Native peoples as archaeologists attested they might have been. Because Native peoples produced no written history of the sort that Western frameworks of knowledge perceived as reliable, engaging with the Native past and with its lived moments in time was experiential as they could not be experienced through texts in the same ways as other periods of Western history. Comprehending that past often meant experiencing those moments through the artifacts of the past or through gazing upon the bitter modern-day counterparts whom themselves must have appeared to the public as frozen in time. Native peoples of the U.S. during the 1800 and 1900s were depicted as continuing to live traditional lifestyles as they had done for hundreds of years, often without exception. This wrongheaded portrayal of their history as unchanging and static contributed further to the quaintness and unimportance afforded to the incredible progress and transformations many of those societies had undergone.

The story of the Native peoples, their treatment, and their display as exhibitions for the gaze and amusement of EuroAmericans resulted from science's endeavor to reify human difference. Ethnologically, these endeavors meant expressing Native peoples as antithetical to the EuroAmerican standard of civility and progress. In doing so, Native peoples were placed in opposition to Western societies. Native peoples were unchanging; but, Western societies, on the other hand, were sublime exemplars of progress. Native peoples were at the mercy of their environment; Western societies, through science, sought to become masters of the natural world. Native peoples lived as beasts, always on the knife-edge of survival, beset by adversaries seen and unseen; Western society—again, often aided by scientific

advances—insured its continuance through institutions that endeavored to manage crises, including famine, pestilence, and disease. Native peoples were bloodthirsty and warred on one another, as well as on EuroAmericans, to ensure their survival or for no particular reason at all; the diplomacy of Western societies insured peace, equity, equality, and access. These myths, among many others, were at the very heart of defining what made U.S. Native peoples exotic as well as what made their continued existence so peculiar. To gaze upon them was to look backward in time into a bygone era. To study their artifacts and lifestyles was to catch a glimpse of what Western civilization must have been like in its infancy before it learned to stop being afraid of the eclipse, the weather, the plague, the dark, and all other manners of phenomena easily explained by science. Native peoples' supposedly childlike naivety left them to be marveled at, underscoring the excellence of Western civilization.

Native peoples in the U.S. adapted to ecological changes, many times beyond their control, and sometimes, especially in the Southwest, especially in the Southwest. As their complex societies adapted to these many changes, so too did their settlements, artifacts, social organization, and lifeways. Nevertheless, the image presented in the 1800s and early 1900s was that of an unchanging people, frozen in the past with little hope for joining a modern Western society. This chapter explores the earliest ethnologists and archaeologists in the Southwest. I argue (1) ethnological studies began as an outgrowth of mapping the landscape as an endeavor to map its people; (2) these studies and the ethnographies they produced were tied to racial science, were intended to help conclude a polygenist or monogenist origin of humankind, and without exception carried preconceived notions of progress and evolution that placed Native peoples far below that of White EuroAmericans; (3) that both ethnology and archaeology were built around salvaging the Native past before it

was too late; and (4) the first *bona fide* archaeologists in the U.S. undertook excavations not for the preservation of the Native past for the sake of Native peoples and not for the preservation of scientific data but in order to assert control over Native culture and its material artifacts.

The Ethnologists

In the United States Southwest, ethnology directed and shaped archaeology's formation as a discipline absolutely. The question central to the first organized studies of archaeology were themselves based on ethnological questions. Understanding the Native peoples of the Southwest required learning what their history was on the continent and from where they had originated. In conjunction, understanding the archaeological past also required insight from the present, especially among especially from the various Pueblo peoples that were central to the region. This connection between these two disciplines, their aims, and the type of questions they asked was primarily a result of the influence of two men, Lewis Henry Morgan and John Wesley Powell.

Like other anthropologists and archaeologists of the nineteenth century, Morgan's initial academic focus was on a different discipline of study. Following graduation in 1840, he read law before passing the New York Bar examination two years later. His interest in Native peoples and dressing up as and "playing Indian" as a part of "The Grand Order of Iriquois" led Morgan to befriend several Seneca members. Among the Order's missions were to preserve and protect Native culture, and Morgan viewed recording aspects of Seneca life as central to that role. Years later, Morgan recorded in his journal his recollections of the

Order on October 19, 1859, writing,

> I have adverted thus fully to this organization for the reason, that, whatever of interest I have since taken in Indian studies was awakened through my connection with this Indian fraternity. One of its immediate consequences was the collection in manuscript of a large amount of materials upon a great variety of topics, which, first in "Letters on the Iroquois addressed to Albert Gallatin" and published in 1848, and afterwards in the year 1850 I arranged for publication under the title of "The League of the Iroquois."[9]

What he was most surprised by was that their societal structures did not resemble any in recorded European history but were instead unique to the Native peoples. During his involvement in legislation against a group of Dutch land speculators who had attempted to defraud the Iroquois out of land in western New York, Morgan gained intimate insights into Iroquois life. During his time working with the Iroquois, he viewed it as his duty to preserve some of the Seneca customs in writing, as he witnessed firsthand how they were being pushed off of their land and cast aside by the spread of civilization. Following his experience with the Iroquois over the land dispute, the Iroquois formally admitted Morgan as a member of the tribe.[10] His observations and investigation into Iroquois, life as recorded in 1851 *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois*, were widely considered the first scientific ethnography and was one of the foundational texts of what would become American anthropology.[11] This book was pioneering in terms of how anthropologists would come to conceptualize kinship systems. Later, John Wesley Powell described the book as "contain[ing] interesting accounts of the daily life, customs, and superstitions of these Indians, and was the first scientific account of an Indian tribe ever given to the world."[12]

Morgan continued pursuing his interest in Native peoples. After attending the 1856 meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, he decided to engage in further ethnographical work. From 1859 through 1862, he made expeditions to Kansas and

the territories of Nebraska and Dakota.[13] These studies resulted, in part, with his publication in 1871 of *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* by the Smithsonian Institution. Morgan questioned the reliability of romantic depictions of Native peoples such as William Hickling Prescott's 1843 *Conquest of Mexico*, which had a prominent place in the public's imagination. The comparison of Native chiefs in Mexico to "kings" and of their societies to "empires" did not align with his own experiences. Instead, he viewed Europeans as imposing their own social structures upon Native peoples leading to a complete misunderstanding of who they were and how EuroAmericans should interact with them. From Morgan's perspective, all Native societies in the Americas were built on kinship, as demonstrated by the pueblo as a communal household. The Native experience and how they defined societal institutions was unlike anything else in Europe. As he considered these questions, he began writing *Ancient Society*.

The pursuit of archaeology in Europe was primarily focused on the Classical World and its ostensible American counterpart in Mexico in ways that made Americanist approaches to the discipline unique. While the Mediterranean and Central America were replete with temples, monuments, and pyramids, no analogous feature were, at first, recognized in the United States. Once archaeologists began paying attention to pre-European peoples in the U.S. Southwest, their perspective was decidedly Morganian. Research was undertaked to understand the history of the continent, but also to answer broader questions about the human condition, the evolution of Native societies, and the emergence of the "Indian race" on the continent. The peopling of the Americas, a concern not relevant to so-called "Old World" archaeology, situated all Americanist archaeology within a framework of endeavoring to comprehend that peculiar past. Although the Mayan and Aztec societies were

attractive research subjects in their own right on account of the remnants of their vast civilizations, ancestral sites in the Americas offered the opportunity to grasp how societies evolve. Combined with research that was conducted solely by the descendants of these ancestral peoples' conquerors, archaeology developed in the U.S. with a distinct pre-meditated perspective.

The creation of the Bureau of Ethnology contributed, in part, to the formation of the academic discipline of anthropology in the United States as a result of the personal and professional relationship between John Wesley Powell and Lewis Henry Morgan. Both Morgan and Powell believed that systematic study of the vanishing Native peoples was necessary while there was still time. After John Wesley Powell successfully worked to establish the Bureau of Ethnology in the late 1870s, he immediately began directing ethnologists, including Frank Hamilton Cushing, to complete an ethnographic survey of the Pueblo Indian peoples of the US Southwest.[14]

The Bureau of the American Ethnology was itself an outgrowth of earlier surveys in the West, in which the study of Native peoples was always a secondary, but still significant, priority. As the first director, Powell, who had previously served as director of the U.S. Geological Survey, viewed mapping the continent's people as little different than mapping the continent's land. Indeed, as the German philologist Frederick Max Müller said of the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1891,

> Our American friends have perceived that it is a national duty to preserve as much as can still be preserved of the languages and thoughts of the indigenous races who were the earliest dwellers on American soil. They know that the study of what I may venture to call intellectual geology is quite as important as that of terrestrial geology, and that the study of the lower strata contains the key to a right understanding of the higher strata in the growth of the human mind.[15]

Like Morgan, Powell viewed culture as synonymous with civilization and savagery through various gradations of culture from the list to the more complex. From Powell's perspective, which had a definite Darwinian bent but severe distaste for Herbert Spencer, and did not see value in physical anthropology's attempts to classify individuals.[16] Nevertheless, he and Morgan believed that the people and artifacts in existence would not last much longer to undergo scientific scrutiny.

In 1875, Morgan spearheaded the creation of a subsection of anthropology within the American Association for the Advancement of Science. An influential figure in Southwestern archaeology, Morgan was one of the first to recognize that archaeology must be based on ethnology. In 1878, only three years before his death, he traveled to the Southwest. While there, he measured and sketched Aztec Ruins before moving on to see the cliff houses in Mancos Valley and finally on to *Tuah Tah*.[17] After seeing how living people utilized space in the pueblo, he experienced firsthand the importance of studying living Native Pueblo peoples in order to grasp the history of the Southwestern U.S. In particular, he viewed their "plan of life" as a sort of "ancient communism."[18]

When Morgan attended the AAAS meeting in St. Louis in 1878 following his trip to Aztec and Tuah Tah, he presented initial conclusions on the ancestors of Native peoples. In the paper, Morgan attested that "evidence of Indian occupation and cultivation throughout the greater part of this area is sufficient to suggest the hypothesis that the Indian here first attained to the condition of the Middle Status of Barbarism."[19] The connections he thought he recognized to Mexico, Yucatan, Central America, and South America seemed sufficient reason to study the paths of population migrations originating from northwestern New Mexico.

Several years before his trip to the Southwest, Morgan made acquaintances with a historian of the Spanish occupation in Mexico named Adolph Bandelier. Bandelier had spent a significant amount of time researching the history of Spanish colonialism in Mexico and in the U.S. Southwest. He had undertaken a significant amount of work going through and translating the Chronicles of conquistadors to understand the Southwest's history better. Meanwhile, Morgan continued to wrestle with observations that Native peoples' societies did not conform to European societal structures. He hypothesized they were representative of all peoples in that particular stage of cultural evolution. Morgan desperately wanted to test his theories and believed the Southwest could be an ideal place to do so. Using the Pueblo peoples and their migrations as a model, perhaps he could demonstrate his theory of cultural evolution. But his health was failing. In his place, he was successful in getting the newly founded Archaeological Institute of America to hire Bandelier to study the history and institutions of peoples within the historical boundaries of Spanish conquest, including the Southwest. In August 1880, Bandelier headed to the Southwest.[20]

Bandelier's background as a historian of Spanish colonialism provided his plans for interpreting the people and places he encountered in the U.S. Southwest. During his initial investigations, he would spend a total of five years in the Arizona and New Mexico territories collecting data on Native peoples and places in an attempt to confirm Morgan's hypotheses. Like many scholars who followed him, Bandelier's approach to understanding the past was an amalgamation of multiple disciplines of inquiry, including history, ethnology, and archaeology. His synthesis of these discrete frameworks of knowledge engendered changes in how scholars perceived Native peoples of the U.S. Like Morgan, Bandelier saw no evidence for kings and palaces. He instead tried to understand Native peoples in their own

contexts separate from anything even vaguely Western. Bandelier's approach was entirely beholden to earlier work by Morgan, to whom he felt indebted. They both viewed the Native and Indigenous peoples of Mexico and the Southwest not as distinct but as different parts of the same history. They maintained correspondence over that time, with Morgan acting as Bandelier's advisor until his death in December 1881.

When Bandelier arrived in Santa Fe in 1881, he hired two photographers, George Bennett and William Brown, to assist him with field photography during his travels.[21] The trio hired a buggy for the trip to Pecos, the first destination on Bandelier's investigation into the history of the Southwest. He surveyed the site over the course of a week and submitted a written report to the archaeological Institute of America in September. Two of Bandelier's reports, the one concerning Pecos and another more general essay (titled "A Visit to the Aboriginal Ruins in the Valley of the Rio Pecos" and "Historical Introduction to Studies Among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico, Part 1") made up the entirety of the first series of papers published by the Archaeological Institute of America in 1881. In his paper on Pecos, his intellectual inheritance from Morgan was obvious: "The entire structure, therefore, presents the appearance of a honeycomb, or rather of a bee-hive, and perfectly illustrates, among the lower degrees of culture of mankind, the prevailing principle of communism in living, which finds its parallel in the lower classes of animals."[22] He went on to add, "I could not escape being forcibly struck by this plain and still very forcible illustration of communal living. Not only did the Pecos Indians live together, and build their houses together, but they raised their crops in one common field… irrigated from one common water source."[23] Morgan's influence was readilyy clear in Bandelier's interpretation. Indeed, that same year, Morgan would publish his last paper, "Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines,"

which made similar observations, describing "Communal Houses of Tribes in Savagery" and "Communal Houses of Tribes in Lower Status of Barbarism."[24]

After completing a survey of Pecos over the course of a week, Bandelier did more exploration and mapping southwestern sites before returning to Chicago in December. Locations he visited included Santo Domingo Pueblo and Cochiti, the latter of which afforded him his first visit to Rito De Los Fritos (see Chapter Seven). Edward Goad asserted that during Badelier's time in the Southwest, he randomly and indiscriminately selected objects of curiosity, such as "pottery fragments, flint and obsidian flakes, arrowheads, and even samples of adobe mud" and shipped these to Frederic Ward Putnam at the Peabody Museum.[25] During these years, Bandelier did very little excavation. The extent of his archaeology, that is, the study of the past through material remains, primarily consisted of broad survey work. His was the first of its kind to explore these locations with a scientific approach, and he had little need to be consumed by minutia. As a matter of fact, as stressed,

> For such an undertaking I was, as the Institute well knows, not prepared. I attempted to dig, indeed, though quite alone, but soon came to the conclusion that the time consumed in excavating one metre of decayed and crumbling stones and earth would be more satisfactorily employed in other directions; paving the way for the exhaustive labors of better situated archæologists.[26]

"Paving the way," was precisely what Bandelier had accomplished. In the coming decades, better trained, outfitted, and planned archaeological expeditions would follow in Bandelier's footsteps. His explorations were simply the first pass at research in the Southwest on ancestral sites but significantly influenced all those that came afterward.

When Bandelier returned East in December, the Archaeological Institute of America reassigned him to assist with a dig in the Mayan city of Tula. As he believed the Aztec tribe migrated south from Aztec to Chaco Canyon, then onto Casas Grandes, and finally to

Tenōchtitlan, this presented a welcome though unscheduled change.[27] Bandelier wanted to test Morgan's hypothesis, and the only way of accomplishing that was to complete surveys along this presumed route. Bandelier expected to do this from North to South but saw the value of approaching the matter from both extremes. While there, he gained further experience in ethnology that would later help him when he returned to the Southwest in 1882. In his subsequent expeditions, he surveyed and traveled in Northern Chihuahua spent a month mapping and recording features in the Casas Grandes region, including Paquimé.[28] Bandelier surveyed the living pueblos, especially their house types, in an effort to argue that these reflected Morganian social forms that demonstrated the development from savagery to barbarism.

Bandelier was primarily a historian, and he was a rather astute one despite his perceptions being tainted by Morgan's model of societal progression. Using Spanish archival sources, he determined how contemporary place names corresponded to those described by the Spanish explorer Coronado. In order to make these determinations, Bandelier visited over 400 locations in the Southwest and created a classification for these archaeological sites, cataloging them as either small houses or communal houses. Also, he was the first to undertake a systematic study of regional archives located in Santa Fe at the Governor's Palace as well as at various missions throughout the Southwest.[29] He published his conclusions in 1890, which focused on how many pueblos there originally were and where and when the inhabitants deserted them.[30] In his final report, he discussed the artifacts he recovered, making a note of each type's utility, as well as ceramic styles, concluding the decorations—although bearing marked resemblances across the Southwest—demonstrated variance in the complexity of forms.[31] In these approaches, working from the present into the

past, Bandelier shaped what would become one of archaeology's fundamental methodologies: the direct historical method.

When Bandelier returned to the Southwest a second time, he visited quite a few of the inhabited pueblos, including *Halona Idiwan'a*, the pueblo of Zuni, where he spent time discussing his ideas on the peoples of the Southwest with Frank Hamilton Cushing. One of Bandelier's colleagues, Cushing had traveled throughout the Southwest as well, though he spent the majority of his time at a single location. Arriving at Halona Idiwan'a in the fall of 1879, intending to stay for three weeks, Cushing instead remained for nearly five years.[32] Cushing learned the language and developed a close trust with the *A:shiwi* peoples. In return, they gave him A:shiwi clothing, admitted him into the "Priesthood of the Bow," and eventually—following his collection of an Apache scalp during a raid— bestowed upon him the honor of "war chief."[33] He enjoyed flaunting this title to other ethnologists and, on at least one occasion, signed his name "1st War Chief of Zuñi, U.S. Asst. Ethnologist."[34] Cushing's experiences were the forerunner of anthropology's participant observation method. During his time there, Cushing participated in rituals, recorded tribal histories, and noted A:shiwi customs. His perceptions of Pueblo life and his view of archaeology as ethnology of the distant past were crucial to the developing ideas of the discipline of archaeology.[35] In contrast to Bandelier, Cushing did lead some fairly extensive excavations in the Southwest.

A little less than five years before Nordenskiöld examined and pillaged Mesa Verde, on February 21st, 1887, Cushing led the first excavations of the Hemenway Archaeological Expedition at a site located just outside Phoenix.[36] The expedition named the site along the Salt River *La Ciudad de Los Pueblitos*. One week later, on the 27th, the expedition turned its attention to a group of mounds they would later call *El Pueblo de Los Muertos* or the "buried

city of the dead" on account of the number of human remains they would eventually find, exhume, and ship back to Harvard's Peabody Museum. The expedition spent the next fifteen months excavating the site and several other smaller sites in the surrounding area. Covering an estimated area of two square miles, Powell estimated, conservatively, that this significant site once had 13,000 inhabitants.[37] Cushing reported his preliminary conclusions the next year to the *Congrès International des Américanistes* in Berlin. In his paper, Cushing described what they found:

> Intending to make but a brief examination into this, I employed men and directed them to dig, with the hope of possibly finding faint traces of structural remains. Our first excavations revealed not only pyral-burials or numerous incinerary-urns containing cremated human remains, but also well-defined and enclosed, as well as indefinately [*sic*] extensive domiciliary structures. So rich, indeed, were these, our first finds, so exceedingly interesting our discoveries, that day after day I extended these excavations, and gradua1ly came to realize with undiminishing surprise, that the whole vast plain surrounding the mound which I had at first supposed constituted the sole monument of a pueblo.[38]

When Cushing considered the structures he and the team of workers unearthed, they seemed to share uncanny resemblances to the construction of Paquimé, which was thirty-five miles to the southeast. Surprisingly, Cushing also posited that Casas Grandes in Chihuahua, "though grander and more elaborate, [was] identical in structural."[39] These comparisons convinced later archaeologists to consider invasion as possibly responsible for the changes they perceived in the Southwest, potentially coming from further south.[40]

Although Cushing was one of the first to lead a full-scale excavation in the Southwest, his archaeological work came to a sudden end a decade later. In 1900, at age forty-two, he died tragically and unexpectedly.[41] One consequence of Cushing's untimely death was that he never completed his final report for the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition. In fulfillment of his Harvard Ph.D. in archaeology, Emil Haury

wrote his doctoral dissertation focused on studying Cushing's unpublished data and journals and the artifacts held by the Peabody Museum. The museum later published Haury's report in their *Papers* series in 1945. Years later, Haury called Cushing's work "the first well-organized, expertly staffed, and abundantly financed effort to understand the prehistory of the then little-known southwestern United States."[42]

The First Southwestern Archaeologists

Americanist archaeology in the Southwest was born. However, it emerged at a time when preconceived notions regarding the Native peoples and the past of the Southwest were thoroughly cemented. The prejudices of earlier scholarship could not be ignored; they were part and parcel of the discipline. Archaeology's roots in ethnology, history, and racial science guaranteed that representations of Native peoples of the U.S. were skewed to align with imaginative stereotypes of Native southwestern peoples.

Archaeology was an emerging discipline during the late nineteenth century but not entirely new. U.S. Archaeologists had undertaken study elsewhere in the world, including Central and South America, but only later gave serious scholarly consideration to the Native peoples of the U.S. In truth, however, these endeavors were more collecting expeditions than science. When scholars recognized Native U.S. peoples as having a worthwhile history to explore, they initially focused their research on the east coast and on the Midwestern mounds. For the U.S. Southwest, Bandelier's two 1881 publications are among the oldest, though they were still merely descriptions and surveys. As would be expected for a brand new discipline, none of those responsible for the initial archaeological study of the peoples,

locations, and artifacts of the Southwest were formally trained, *de facto*, in archaeology.

Like Bandelier under the direction of the Archaeological Institute of America, John Wesley Powell at the Bureau of American Ethnology wanted to institute research exploring Morgan's hypothesis. To that end, late in 1881, Powell hired Victor and his younger brother Cosmos to undertake architectural study at Halona Idiwan'a.[43] It was the beginning of what would develop in to an 1891 monograph on comparisons of Pueblo culture between the Hopi and the A:shiwi, published in the *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*. At the time, the brothers were just twenty-one and nineteen years old but had a keen interest in archaeology. In 1881, they were simply charged with surveying and creating a scale model of the pueblo, during which time they became acquainted with Cushing. U.S. National Museum displayed the models they eventually created. They produced the village on a one-sixtieth scale, resulting in a model 20 ft. by 10 ft., "executed in papier maché" and presenting "the true colors of the village as well as all of the details."[44] Over the next several years, the two brothers would continue to go on expeditions for the Smithsonian in the Southwest, collecting specimens and mapping and measuring various pueblos. During their time working for the Bureau of Ethnography, they explored not only the A:shiwi and Hopi pueblos but also Canyon De Chelly and Chaco Canyon. While at Chaco, they took the first successful photographs of the canyon's ancestral architecture.[45]

After the publication of their report, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture, Tusayan and Cibola," in 1891, Victor left the Bureau to pursue a career in architecture. Meanwhile, his younger brother, Cosmos, continued work in the Southwest. He undertook the first stabilization efforts, performed at Casa Grande, beginning in 1890.[46] However, after completing a study of the Verde Valley in central Arizona and publishing his report,

"Aboriginal Remains in Verde Valley, Arizona," Cosmos, too, left the Bureau in the final years of the century.[47] Although neither brother was a theorist in the same way as Morgan, Bandelier, or Cushing, their work was nevertheless influential regarding the pueblos they professionally measured, surveyed, and ethnographically sketched. Their photographs are among the earliest extant images of ancestral sites in the Southwest, which continued their gradual decay. Cosmos as well provided the first stabilization work in the Southwest at Casa Grande, which both allowed the structure to endure and provided a model for later stabilization efforts that would take place.[48]

Unlike the Mindeleff brothers, whose time as archaeologists in the Southwest was short-lived, Jesse Walter Fewkes made a nearly forty-year career out of excavating, stabilizing, and directing work at Native ancestral sites in the region. Fewkes was a trained scientist, having received his Ph.D. in 1877 from Harvard in zoology under the supervision of Louis Agassiz.[49] Before beginning his career in the Southwest, Fewkes had already published extensively. In spring 1887, he spent time as guests of Mr. Augustus and Mrs. Mary Hemingway in Santa Barbara, California. While he was there, he continued to conduct research and published two papers on flora and fauna of the Channel Islands, located just off the Santa Barbara coast.[50] During lengthy discussions with Mrs. Hemingway, he developed an interest in Native peoples and cultures.[51]

When Cushing vacated his position as director of the Southwestern Archaeological Expedition in 1889, Hemenway hired Fewkes to take his place. During the first two summers he spent in Halona Idiwan'a, Fewkes recorded, for the first time, A:shiwi, and later Hopi music using the relatively new invention of the phonograph. In 1891, he also founded and acted as the first editor of the short-lived *A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*.

During his time with the Hemenway Expedition, Fewkes befriended a *Hano Tewa* potter from the Hopi east mesa named Num-pa-yu. Not only was the pottery she produced exquisite, but her forms and designs were also based on more ancient Hopi types; she called this style Hopi or Sikyátki Revival. Today, examples of her pottery exist in dozens of museums worldwide, with originals selling at auction for thousands to hundreds of thousands of dollars.[52]

Following Fewkes's time with the Hemenway Expedition, Powell hired him at the Bureau of American Ethnology as a bureau archaeologist in 1895. Fewkes would come to be associated with archaeological work at dozens of sites across the U.S. Southwest, including Mesa Verde and Casa Grande, in addition to work in Porto Rico [*sic*], Haiti, and Cuba. He was named the Bureau's director in 1918 and continued to undertake fieldwork until his retirement ten years later.[53] His extensive work for the Bureau of American Ethnology is explored more in-depth in Part Two, especially Chapters Six and Eight.

In addition to the American Institute of Archaeology (AIA) supporting the work of Bandelier, they also established a worldwide network of schools to train archaeologists. The AIA founded the first American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1881. This school was followed by the American School of Classical Studies in Rome in 1895 and the American School of Oriental Study and Research in Palestine in 1899, later renamed the American School of Oriental Research. When they turned their attention to the United States, following the passage of the Antiquities Act in 1906, the AIA Americanist Committee immediately looked toward the man responsible for the passage of that legislation: Edgar Lee Hewett.[54]

Hewett's background was in history. He attended school at Tarkio College,

Missouri, and worked as a teacher in the rural part of the state following graduation. In 1889, he took over as chair of literature and history at Tarkio. After a brief stint as school superintendent, he relocated to Colorado, where he was superintendent at the Colorado Normal School of Greeley from 1894 to 1898. While in Greeley, Hewett began reading archaeological literature furiously. He undertook a few brief surveys at Pecos and on the Pajarito Plateau and began lecturing on archaeology. In 1898, the newly founded Normal University in Las Vegas, New Mexico, hired Hewett as its first president. While there, he developed the first university coursework in Americanist archaeology and organized expeditions to examine nearby sites.

Although he did not possess the same credentials as other archaeologists, his work toward the Antiquities Act made him an attractive choice to lead the School of American Archaeology. In December 1906, the AIA elected Hewett as the school's president. By late 1909, the AIA still had not settled on a location for the school, although Hewett had held archaeological field schools on the Parajito Plateau beginning in 1907. The New Mexico legislature's creation of the New Mexico State Museum in spring 1909—with Hewett selected as its first director—as well as his intimate knowledge of sites in the area, made Santa Fe an appealing choice to AIA. After a series of negotiations with Hewett and the New Mexico territorial legislature, the AIA voted to establish the school in Santa Fe in December 1909. In protest, easterners Frederic Ward Putnam and Franz Boas resigned their positions from the AIA board.

From 1903 until 1908, Hewett attended lectures at the University of Geneva in Switzerland, where he studied anthropology.[55] Although he spent little time in residence at the university, he earned a doctorate with the completion of his 104-page dissertation in

1908.[56] Hewett's *Les Communautés anciennes dans le desert Americain* resulted from his explorations in the Southwest.[57] With his new credentials, Hewett became very influential in the Southwest, especially in political circles where he had been relied upon to deliver field reports to U.S. Congress. It was Hewett, who in 1902, intervened at Chaco Canyon over the pot-hunting practices, which he believed were destroying resources at Chaco Canyon. That action subsequently forced Wetherill and the Hyde Expedition to cease excavating. But Hewett's efforts did not stop there. Working with members of Congress, state employees, and local anthropologists and archaeological associations, Hewett helped to pass the Antiquities Act in order to protect cultural resources on public lands.

From "looting" to "archaeology"

Several crucial events leading to the emergence of the academic discipline of archaeology also ensured that looting—as it had been defined for decades—was not an act of "true" archaeology. Envisioned as a scientific approach to understanding the past, objects collected and retained by archaeologists were not "looted" but rather collected under the auspices of science. The differentiation here is an important one. Not simply anyone could conduct "science." The most significant development to this shift was the enactment of the Antiquities Act in 1906. Only those acting under the authority of federal, state, local, university, or museum direction had the ability to continue collecting cultural artifacts and remains. Often, but not always, the individuals undertaking research were educated and trained with proper credentials.

The Antiquities Act outlawed the destruction, excavation, and injury of cultural

artifacts while reserving the recovery and study of those objects for scientific scrutiny. While the Antiquities Act sought to protect "any historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or any object of antiquity, situated on lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States," the included provisions outlined how permits could be obtained to continue sanctioned excavations by archaeologists. "Section 3" outlined the official guidelines state:

> [P]ermits for the examination of ruins, the excavation of archaeological sites, and the gathering of objects of antiquity upon the lands under their respective jurisdictions may be granted by the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, and War to institutions which they may deem adequately qualified to conduct such examination, excavation, or gathering, subject to such rules and regulation as they may prescribe: Provided, That the examinations, excavations, and gatherings are undertaken for the benefit of reputable museums, universities, colleges, or other recognized scientific or educational institutions, intending to increase the knowledge of such objects, and that the gatherings shall be made for permanent preservation in public museums.[58]

These stipulations meant that the only sanctioned collection of Native artifacts in the United States on public lands—private lands were not covered under this act, but the federal government reserved the right to have especially culture-rich lands relinquished to the federal government—could be conducted by qualified and vetted individuals, undertaken by reputable institutions for the purpose of scientific advancement, and with the proper disposition of the artifacts placed in museums for the benefit of the public. Indeed, this act was spearheaded and further supported by academic and amateur archaeologists alike who hoped to preserve artifacts from looters for later scientific study. Extensive correspondence between various associations and organizations regarding looting and pot hunting occurred as the invested individuals sought to stop this activity because they believed that the artifacts should be preserved for science.

Despite many attempts to have various drafted bills passed by U.S. Congress, none in the early 1900s were successful prior to the involvement of Edgar Hewett. Although John

Lacey and other members of Congress introduced bills in 1900 to reserve public lands specifically to protect Native cultural materials, members of Congress took no action. Differences of opinion regarding how reserves were established, which department would administer the lands, how the lands would be supported and funded, and the extent to which reservation would impose upon homesteaders and ranchers in the West resulted in irreconcilable differences among the opinions of Congressman. The latter issue was a particularly concerning one. The timber reservations act of 1891 provided executive authority to the president to designate forest reserves on public lands. During his first year in office, the outdoorsman, sportsman, hunter, and conservationist Teddy Roosevelt established thirteen new forests comprising nearly sixteen million acres. Nevertheless, a new Congress beginning in 1905 presented fresh opportunities for the acceptance of an American antiquities bill.

Hewett's influence in seeing that bill realized pertains not only to his work as an archaeologist but also as a lobbyist. In 1902, he toured various sites in the Southwest with Lacey, over which time the two men developed a professional relationship and a personal friendship. When the U.S. general land office desired a new assessment of existing sites on public land, they turned to Hewett. The U.S. general land office distributed Hewett's authoritative 1904 "Memorandum Concerning the Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Utah and Their Preservation" to members of Congress. For two dozen pages, complete with maps and images, Hewett outlined the extent of Native ancestral sites concentrated in the four corners area provided Congressman with a shocking illustration of precisely what was at stake.[59] (See Figure 4.1)

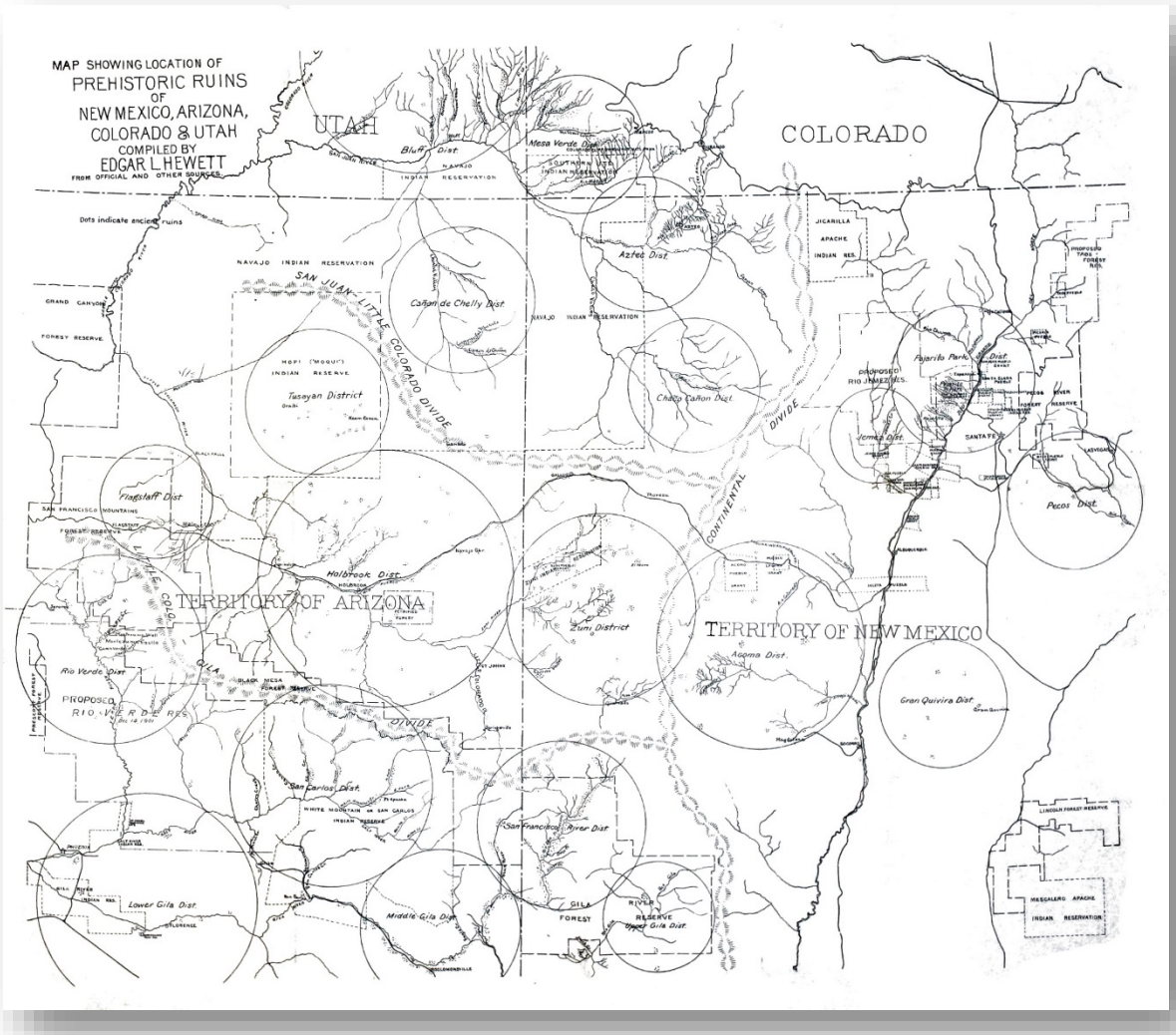


Figure 4.1. "Map Showing Location of Prehistoric Ruins of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado & Utah Compiled by Edgar L Hewett from Official and Other Sources." (Charles Dudley Arnold, 1893, University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center, apf3-00049AMNH Research, accessed March 5, 2022, h https://photoarchive.lib.uchicago.edu/db.xqy?one=apf3-00049.xml.)

Hewett was one of several archaeologists who viewed the designation of ancestral sites as shielded by the federal government as useful only inasmuch as it protected scientific data. In a 1904 article published in *Science*, Hewett describes how he has "recently taken up in a more serious manner than ever before an inquiry into the question of how these

monuments may be permanently preserved and prehistoric relics protected at least long enough to permit of their scientific investigation."[60] As for the sites and artifacts that existed on Native lands, they were likewise protected from removal from the Native peoples themselves. In fact, Hewett goes so far as to protest the acquisition of Native cultural artifacts relics by Native peoples from their own lands.

> Many thousands of pieces of excavated pottery have been shipped from Holbrook alone, and collections embracing several thousands of pieces are now in the hands of dealers at various towns in the district, and are offered for sale. These collections have been made, for the most part, by Indians and native Mexicans in the employ of traders, and are devoid of authentic records. The district is not rich in ruins that demand permanent protection, but it is in great need of temporary protection pending further serious investigation by competent parties.[61]

What makes Hewett so central to how Native artifacts and ancestral sites were protected in the United States is that his input was central to the drafting of the 1906 Antiquities Act, as was his influence over its primary sponsor, John Lacey. When the Antiquities Act established protections for antiquities on federal lands, it included not only lands that were made into monuments and national parks but also reservations. Hewett's final draft of the Antiquities Act recommended that "the Interior Department should prohibit the excavation of prehistoric objects from public lands and Indian reservations by any person not duly furnished with a permit from the Secretary of the Interior." The assertion that "competent parties are the only ones authorized to collect pre-contact artifacts is further highlighted by Hewett's assertion that they must be placed into museums:

> It definitely mobilizes, so to speak, a force of forest supervisors, rangers, special agents, Indian school superintendents and teachers, Indian agents, farmers and police, and even enlists the Indians themselves, a particularly sagacious step, in the protection of these ruins for the avowed purposes of preserving them for scientific investigation. It establishes the broad and liberal policy that any competent scientist, who desires to place the material secured in a reputable public museum, will be

> authorized by the Department of the Interior to examine ruins, but that no person will be permitted to enter and excavate them for the purpose of acquiring specimens for traffic or private gain, and that willful destruction of valuable historic and prehistoric landmarks must cease.[62]

It was Hewett's assertion that access to and care for these sites, as they fell under the jurisdiction of the federal government, should be reserved exclusively for "any competent scientist, who desires to place the material secured in a reputable public museum."[63] However, Hewett's arguments varied depending on his audience. In a report prepared for the Department of the Interior, he stated:

> to the end that these regions may be made a perpetual source of education and enjoyment for the American people as well as for travelers from foreign lands may proceed with the careful deliberation which the subject demands. Unquestionably some of these regions are sufficiently rich in historic and scientific interest and scenic beauty to warrant their organization into permanent national parks. Many others should be temporarily withdrawn and allowed to revert to the public domain after the ruins thereon have been examined by competent authority, the collections therefrom properly cared for, and all data that can be secured made a. matter of permanent record.[64]

Here, he prioritized collecting scientific data while also conceding that the ancestral sites may be a valuable source of promoting tourism. Nevertheless, again he underscores the importance that such locations and sources of scientific data should be restricted only to individuals with proper credentials.

> I am of the opinion that if the principal groups or districts of ruins of each great culture area can be protected by the Department of the Interior, and no excavation permitted thereon except by responsible parties bearing proper permission from the Department, the highest interests of the people will be upheld.[65]

The point he makes is an important one because in reserving these sites exclusively by those authorized by the Department of the Interior, which is directly tied to their credentials and

institutional affiliation, Hewett pushed forward the notion that some scientific data should be and will ultimately become the exclusive domain of the discipline of archaeology exclusively in the interest of "science." By Hewett's own 1904 admission, "comparatively little destruction of ruins is now going on."[66]

Hewett presented his draft of the Antiquities Act bill in a joint meeting with the Archaeological Institute of America and the American Anthropological Association in December 1905. His version of the bill was unanimously endorsed and passed along to John Lacey, who introduced it as HB 11016 on January 9, 1906; Senator Thomas Patterson of Colorado introduced a companion bill (SB 4698) into the Senate on February 26th.[67] After the bills endured the committee process, both chambers passed the legislation without any changes. On June 8th, 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt signed the Antiquities Act into law without a single word having been changed from Hewett's original version.

Conclusion

Many of the earliest archaeologists were not archaeologists by training but by interest and enthusiasm only. Nevertheless, their findings became foundational to later archaeological thought and theory by providing some of the most original and irreplaceable data. As Cushing's work demonstrated, approaches to archaeology blurred the line between archaeologist and ethnologist. Likewise, Bandelier's scholarship did the same for archaeology and history, as did the efforts of Aleš Hrdlička and the Leakeys in terms of archaeology and physical anthropology. As a discipline, archaeology was an amalgam that borrowed heavily from other approaches to the study of humankind.

The Antiquities Act completely re-shaped archaeology in the U.S. Southwest, and indeed the history of the United States. Its importance cannot be overstated. In addition to protecting Native ancestral artifacts, it instilled in the executive branch of government power for the President of the United States to make proclamations of national monuments. In the 116 years since Congress passed the act, U.S. presidents have exercised that authority 158 times. The implications of this fact are explored in part two.

The protections Hewett argued for were not intended to protect the ancestral sites of Native peoples or the data they contained, but instead, archaeologists' exclusive dominion over them. Even without identifying them ahead of time, this legislation essentially prohibited collecting or using their own ancestors' cultural resources on their own federally designated lands. In every case, these objects, regardless of how small or large, fell under the federal government's jurisdiction and were the sole domain of qualified archaeologists. In enacting such legislation, archaeology as a discipline colonized reservations by claiming ownership over their cultural resources. As will be examined in Chapter Eight, the Antiquities Act was about—if not in spirit, then in practice—who controlled Native cultural artifacts.

Notes

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4. Resek, *Lewis Henry Morgan*, 23

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Chapter Five: The Expansion and Contraction of the Archaeology Discipline

In the early 1910s, a controversy was brewing in the U.S. Southwest. The American Institute of Archaeology had selected Edgar Lee Hewett as the American school's director in 1907 and then selected Santa Fe as the school's location in 1909. More established anthropologists, hailing from institutions on the east coast, were outraged. In particular, Frederick Ward Putnam and Franz Boas vacated their positions on the institute's board to express their dissatisfaction with these choices. Other members of the managing committee, charged with formulating plans for the school, included committee chair Alice Fletcher of the Peabody Museum, Jesse Walter Fewkes of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Francis Willey Kelsey of the University of Michigan, and Charles Lummis of the Southwest Museum of the American Indian. While Boas gave up any pretense of continuing management of the association, he was not finished with Hewett.

In 1903, following the retirement of John Wesley Powell from the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Secretary Samuel Langley formed a committee to look into reported irregularities in the Bureau. During their investigation, they uncovered a controversy that embroiled Boas. In the late nineteenth century, the Bureau of American Ethnology paid Boas almost $5,000 over ten years to purchase ethnographic manuscripts. Boas primarily used the funds to help establish the American Anthropological Association and its journal, *American Anthropologist*. The controversy lay in the fact that Boas retained possession of the said manuscripts. Although Boas was not found at fault, the Bureau's

ethnologist-in-charge, William John McGee, resigned over the controversy.

In an affront to Boas, Hewett was later rumored to accuse him of wrongdoing in the affair. In response, in November 1911, Boas sent an open letter to Hewett asking him to verify or refute the rumors. When Hewett denied the accusations, Boas considered suing him for libel. Instead, Boas wrote a series of letters describing Hewett's work as "unscientific," "little short of criminal," and "insignificant or premature."[1] *The Santa Fe New Mexican* published Boas's letters shortly thereafter. Instead of responding, Hewett found solace in local friends and supporters who viewed Boas as jealous and, as a professor at New York's Columbia University, prejudiced against Western institutions.

Boas was not the only anthropologist to question Hewett's capabilities or scientific ability. Harvard archaeologist Alfred Tozzer, who had studied under Boas, accused Hewett's work of "serving as a laughingstock for a great many of us" in letters to the Santa Fe president of the Chamber of Commerce, Henry H. Dorman. Tozzer recognized it was Hewett's political connections in Washington that had led to his appointment of the American School of Archaeology. Additionally, he alleged Hewett's "SCIENTIFIC REPUTATION IS OF NO VALUE."[2] During the annual meeting of the Anthropological Institute of America in January 1914, Dorman, with the support of local Santa Feans, Franz Boas, and anthropologists from Cambridge, New York, Chicago, and California, proposed a plan for re-organizing the American school. However, when he appeared before the committee when asked, Dorman was unable to furnish proof of any of his accusations against Hewett. Victorious, Hewett would go on to lead the American school in Santa Fe until he died in 1946.

Introduction

The discipline of archaeology in the Southwest during the early twentieth century was about power struggles: power between EuroAmericans and Native peoples; power between archaeologists and non-archaeologists; power between Eastern and Western institutions; and power between public and private organizations. Centered at the core of these dynamics were individuals like Edgar Lee Hewett. Few other people were as influential in shaping the image of the Southwest both on scientific and popular terms. Nevertheless, while Hewett successfully embedded himself in New Mexican archaeology through his leadership of the American school and New Mexico State Museum, he was not the only one with the power to shape the discipline of archaeology or Native peoples in the U.S. Southwest.

Professional archaeology defined itself, in part, by defining what it was not. One way it accomplished that was rejecting and ignoring ideas that did not fit the discipline's ethos. Serious, professional archaeology created a separation between itself and everything that it was not. Some of the proposed ideas, especially about race, existed right along that border. The exchange of information from all types of archaeologists was bidirectional to one degree or another. However, as institutions, peoples, data, and theories moved further away from the mainstream, the separation of ideas grew larger. The discipline essentially created a boundary that defined what would and would not be tolerated in the realm of professional archaeology. Basic work undertaken by amateurs, hobbyists, and proto-archaeologists was still often valued, but more extensive ideas were unable to be incorporated into the discipline's ethos.

In the first half of the twentieth century, archaeology in the Southwest was dominated by museums and the U.S. federal government. It was not until later in the twentieth century

that academic institutions primarily handled the reins of power. In the early 1900s, this transition was not portended. As a result, this reality, combined with the Antiquities Act and a suffuse of Native ancestral sites, artifacts, and data, led to the rapid expansion of museums, particularly in Arizona and New Mexico. Through their excavations, collections, and interpretation, each of these organizations substantially contributed to archaeology as an institution as it coalesced under the auspices of academia.

This chapter explores how archaeological institutions arose in the Southwest during the early twentieth century and how their individual missions contributed to a broader understanding of the U.S. Southwest. I argue (1) that the rapid expansion of organizations dedicated to archaeology and furthering the understanding of the U.S. Southwest was a result of how archaeology and the study of the Native past had grown in popularity during the preceding decades as a result of the work of archaeologists; (2) that this popularity attracted affluent individuals to the Southwest who treated archaeology and the collection of Native artifacts as a rich man's hobby; (3) that these institutions treated Native peoples as a monolithic "race" and as anachronistic curiosities to be marveled at titillatingly by the gaze of the supposedly more advanced Western EuroAmericans; and (4) that their involvement and control over how archaeology was approached during the first half of the twentieth century ultimately contributed significantly to its reorganization under the leadership of academic institutions.

Privately Funded Museums and Archaeology

At the turn of the twentieth century, the disciplines of ethnology and archaeology

faced similar difficulties. The nineteenth century's science of humanity had turned human bodies and cultures into subjects of scientific scrutiny. The idea that the study of humanity could be undertaken in a manner that followed the tenets of scientific study resulted in peculiar implications for the disciplines. The premise that cultures, language, and artifacts needed to be preserved for scientific scrutiny meant that the Pre-European cultural resources of the U.S. Southwest were the sole domain of the Southwestern archaeologists. They had the lone claim to finds on public lands and singular authority to form interpretations.

The ostensible pretext for this authority derived from the scientific method and its claims to objectivity. For many years, early modern science debated the realities of the generation of new knowledge by experimentation.[3] Nevertheless, the rise of archaeology and its claim to scientific frameworks of knowledge conveniently self-generated authority that was later employed as evidence of the discipline's supremacy. Initially, this approach did not work well because it institutionalized authority differences. Leading archaeologists from east coast institutions were at the top of the hierarchy, Southwestern archaeologists were ostensibly below them, while those without formal training and credentials largely lacked consideration altogether. However, a form of social and scientific codependence developed whereby a prominent minority of intellectual scholars based in the Southwest were beholden to independent and privately funded archaeology for data and research.

Too much data needed recovering

Southwestern archaeologists in the early 1900s were faced with an unavoidable dilemma. As a scientific discipline, Americanist archaeology relied upon the availability of

novel data. As the expansion of U.S. civilization moved westward into new territories, archaeological sites and artifacts, many of them unmolested for centuries, were now becoming increasingly accessible to travelers and the general public more broadly. This fact in itself would have been the source of no immediate consternation, but for the fact that the mystique created of the U.S. Southwest and its inhabitants led to the prolific amateur practice of archaeology. Amateur societies were formed, sometimes in concert with professional archaeologists. The practice of archaeology by the amateur hobbyist became a widespread phenomenon.

The distinction should be made here as to the definition of archaeology as a discipline. In the early 1900s, a period in which archaeology in the Southwest was only first beginning to take shape, the line between hobbyist and professional was muddled. Further exacerbating that distinction was the rise of privately-funded and -led organizations. Some of these were founded by credentialed scientists, while others were merely the result of personal fortunes that allowed their practitioners to devote a tremendous amount of resources to the pursuit of their hobby. Among those hobbyists who pursued their studies of the Southwest was Harold Gladwin, a stockbroker who settled in central Arizona and spent the next fifteen years "digging up dead Indians." "Fortunately for us," Gladwin expressed, "the Indians have been dead for a long time and cannot protest the mistakes we make."[4] As an amateur, Gladwin defended his work in his 1957 opus *A History of the Ancient Southwest*. Knowing that he was hierarchically inferior to others like Haury, Colton, and Hewett, Gladwin felt the need to preface his work by asserting his status as an archaeologist: "[i]f you do not already know, you will find in the dictionary than an archaeologist is a 'student of antiquities,' which I take to mean that anyone with a well-developed bump of curiosity who decides to study

antiquities thereupon becomes an archaeologist."[5] The distinction that Gladwin made was indicative of the challenge delineating between an amateur and a professional or an academic, practical, or private archaeologist.

"Explosion" of archaeological entities

There was so much material in the Southwest that privately-led and funded organizations filled the void by completing recovery excavations and creating expositions spaces. This perceived difficulty inevitably led directly to non-academic input to archaeological knowledge from these sources. This particular sort of archaeological collection, curation, and display mirrored and followed somewhat older attempts to showcase peoples of the Southwest. In several notable cases, the methods and procedures they followed entailed long outdated modes of cultural representation. These examples are characterized by the desecration of Native burials, the recovery of artifacts without proper and mandated scientific reporting and public display, and the perpetuation of racial myths that belied a nationalistic and EuroAmerican narrative of conquest.

The School of American Archaeology and the Museum of New Mexico (1909)

At the end of 1907, Edgar Lee Hewett was appointed director of the newly created School of American Archaeology, with the goal of affording opportunities for fieldwork and training to the students of archaeology. Because of the archaeological richness of the Southwest, Santa Fe was selected as the location for that school. Two years later, in 1909, the

New Mexico legislature voted to establish the Museum of New Mexico to be housed within the Santa Fe Palace of the Governors. In addition to his role with the School of American Archaeology, Hewett was appointed director and curator over the new museum. He hired Jesse Nusbaum, who had become interested in archaeology after reading Nordenskiöld's *Cliff dwellers of Mesa Verde*.[6] Hewett continued archaeological fieldwork, including a 1910 field school in Frijoles Canyon. Despite attempts to wrestle control of the School of American Archaeology and the Museum of New Mexico away from Hewett, he maintained control of both until his death at age eighty-two in 1946.

The formation of these institutions helped establish how museums that followed approached their research, collection of archaeological and ethnographic artifacts, and exhibitions for public display. The standards these institutions established were passed down as historical legacies that continued the reification of racial differences in the Southwest. These major museums were important models for the smaller and regional museums that would arise soon after. Particularly in areas like the Southwest, emerging museums highlighted local ethnography and archaeology almost exclusively.

Museums did not merely emerge as the entities they are today. Instead, museums as institutions and the cultural narratives they depicted evolved as the scholarly understanding of history and the natural world was refined and redefined. While museums may be among the leaders in the transmission of knowledge about cultural history, they are not the powerhouses of industry and wealth that their repositories of unique and priceless artifacts may imply. Many museums are facing and have faced severe financial difficulties. Many museums have been forced to close. Most U.S. museums rely on funds from local, state, and federal governments. A substantial portion of their income derives from patrons of the arts

who give donations to help defray museum costs. Those who donate substantial sums are sometimes rewarded with their names being added to the façades of museum structures to commemorate their generosity. Museums are indebted to their donors, both large and small, to serve the institution's needs. This fact's implication is, to a certain degree, that museums must cater to their patron's expectations.

The Museum of the American Indian (1915)

George Heye, the founder of the Museum of the American Indian, inspired and even encouraged one like-minded individual in the Southwest to later form an organization similar in scope, if not size. Heye was the son of Gustav and Maria Lawrence Heye, from whom George inherited his fortune, which derived almost exclusively from money Gustav had earned in Standard Oil.[7] More than anything, though, Heye began his career as a collector. His particular fascination was with Native artifacts, and his collection was said to have contained millions of items. He took the collection of Native and Indigenous artifacts to a scale unseen at the time.[8] His collection was ultimately donated, following his death, to the Smithsonian Institution and now forms a large portion of their Native collection, transferred in the year 1987. Heye began collecting at the very turn of the twentieth century and incorporated his foundation in the year 1915. Becoming a federally recognized foundation that met the criteria for collecting Native and Indigenous artifacts meant Heye could avoid situations such as the one in 1914 when he and three of his employees were found guilty of desecrating a Native site called Minisink Burying Ground in Sandyston Township, New Jersey.[9] This establishment also meant he could substantially increase his collecting efforts.

He frequently bought from dubious sources with no artifact provenience. This sort of fetishization of material objects over their value for scientific study demonstrated that Heye was not interested in collecting these objects for the purposes of science. The Antiquities Act though also clearly stated that the items must be made available for viewing by a public audience. That second provision forced Heye to open a museum in November 1922. At the opening of his museum, the *New York Times* observed that the ambiguous locations assigned to many of his artifacts were likely a result of "certain complications" that would arise if the manner in which Heye acquired the artifacts was made known.[10] Through over forty-five years of collecting, it was clear that Heye was never overly scrupulous about the sources from which he acquired Native and Indigenous artifacts. His influence and direct encouragement would help convince a similar but smaller institution in the Southwest to take an analogous approach to their collecting activities. Heye invested a considerable amount of his fortune in procuring artifacts, the majority of which were never on display for the public, as many were broken or damaged. Some were items of historical significance, lost or robbed from their living peoples.

The Laboratory of Anthropology (1927)

Heye was not the only wealthy Easterner to invest in the systematic collection of artifacts from Southwest's Native peoples. In 1927, John D. Rockefeller used part of his personal fortune to establish the Laboratory of Anthropology, based in Santa Fe.[11] The first five years of the Laboratory were off to a great start. Jess Nusbaum was appointed director. They gained the support of A. V. Kidder, Clark Wissler, and Franz Boas.[12] Their approach

was one of research combined with the training of new graduate students. However, the Laboratory of Anthropology did not have a plan for how to become sustainable over time. Rockefeller's donations came at decreasing intervals, and there was no strategy for acquiring additional needed funds. Nevertheless, they conducted a substantial amount of research and were immensely influential for the short twenty years they existed as an independent institution; much of their archaeological research was cutting-edge. However, in 1947, the Laboratory of Anthropology merged with the Museum of New Mexico.

Museum of Northern Arizona (1927)

Harold S. Colton, then a professor of zoology at the University of Pennsylvania, and his new bride Mary Russell Ferrell-Colton spent their 1912 honeymoon camping in New Mexico and Arizona, particularly in the Flagstaff region. Colton found his first archaeological site just outside of Flagstaff the following year.[13] In 1926, he and Mary moved to Flagstaff. Thereupon Colton and various other northern Arizona residents founded the Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art in 1927 with plans to establish a museum.[14] Colton was elected the president of the society and director of the newly founded museum, the Museum of Northern Arizona. Colton's training in the sciences led him to be an exceptionally scrupulous surveyor. Colton investigated numerous sites and published his findings in various national publications.[15] The museum was first operated out of space rented from the Flagstaff Women's Club before taking over the building in its entirety.[16]

Colton was a reliable and sharp-eyed scientist. He collected artifacts scientifically and closely followed the literature of the period, keeping up with the latest findings and theories.

He also kept in regular contact with state and federal officials and participated extensively in archaeological conferences—attending the first Pecos Conference in 1927 and subsequent ones after that, including hosting the conference in 1950, 1953, and 1956.[17] His arrangement of the museum was according to leading archaeological, anthropological, and physical anthropological data and trends. He frequently sought the advice of Kidder and others more knowledgeable in the subject of southwestern archaeology than himself.[18] Because the Museum of Northern Arizona was not owned and operated by a single autocratic individual, it was compelled to meet the expectations and principles of the broader Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art as well as the museum's Board of Directors. Colton's approach to the museum's design became one that reflected leading archaeological theories of the day. It was also a museum that similar institutions sought to emulate.

Meanwhile, as the curator of art, his wife Mary became involved in Native and Indigenous art and worked to develop exhibitions at the museum that incorporated living peoples. The ethnology room at the museum was only focused on non-Western peoples. In particular, the primary focus was on the cultures of northern Arizona and the Colorado Plateau. The principal emphasis was the Native peoples of the Southwest. Similarly, Native peoples were the sole actors performing ethnographic displays of "living history." The sort of ethnographic displays presented by the museum exaggerated differences between peoples and cultures. Although there was indeed a component of education and compassion on Mary's part, such displays were not altogether dissimilar from those of Ishi or Goyaałé.[19] The focus of the exhibitions may have been Native ceramic making, rug weaving, and jewelry crafting, but a central and essential focus of the exhibitions was the Native peoples doing the demonstrations. They were not merely part of the exhibit; they were the exhibit.

Their ~~*Other*~~*ness* was what made exhibitions similar to those at the Museum of Northern Arizona a possibility. It was the ~~*Other*~~*ness* in everything about the way the Native peoples looked, how they spoke, how they dressed, the tone of their skin, and their facial features. Science had reified those supposed differences between Native peoples and White EuroAmericans in the museum, and then these alleged racial differences were put on living display for museum-goers. On the inside of the museum were crania of deceased Native peoples' ancestors that were removed from final resting places; on the outside of the museum were examples of their living descendants making replicas of century-old pottery for collectors, weaving traditional Native rugs with modern materials, and otherwise demonstrating facets of outmoded Native life. As influential as the museum was, so too was this approach to living ethnographic exhibitions.

Gila Pueblo Foundation (1936)

Harold S. Gladwin was another recent arrival to the Southwest, appearing by way of New York City. He attended college at Wellington in Berkshire, U.K., and became a New York Stock Exchange broker in 1908.[20] Fourteen years later, he had made his fortune and retired. He moved to Santa Barbara, California, and began to pursue his interest in archaeology. He was awarded an affiliation with Southwest Museum in Los Angeles and began to undertake excavations in the Southwest.[21] During a 1926 visit to Acoma Pueblo, A. V. Kidder encouraged Gladwin's study of the Gila River area in east-central Arizona. In that same visit, Gladwin first got the idea of creating a museum. Later, he recalled,

> I was strolling through the plaza at Acoma… The thought occurred to me how wonderful it would be if we could climb one of the ladders and go into a room filled

> with pots and baskets and other relics of the past and see these things in their own surroundings, instead of in the marble halls and glass cases of our modem museums.[22]

During Gladwin's travels through that area, he came upon Healey's Terrance in Globe, Arizona. In 1926, Gladwin purchased the pueblo and all of its artifacts from Mrs. Healey. Together with Winifred Jones McCurdy Gladwin, Gladwin founded the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation.[23] It was transformed into a museum and research center with state-of-the-art renovations to the pueblo. Gladwin was serious about his work, but he had not been trained as a scientist.

In the intervening years, Gila Pueblo conducted substantial and influential work. However, Gladwin eventually became less enamored with southwestern archaeologists and vice versa. He became extraordinarily invested in his own approach to calculating tree-ring dates, causing him to run afoul of the developer of tree ring chronology dating, Andrew E. Douglass, as well as Harold Colton. Whereas Colton stuck much more closely to mainstream archaeological thought, Gladwin's had his own ideas that were not always considered sound. His approach to dating tree rings in some ways made him a competitor of the Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research at the University of Arizona, but many archaeologists simply did not feel Gladwin's technique was as reliable. By the 1930s, Douglass had been collecting and analyzing tree ring samples for thirty years. He had trained many others in his techniques; Gladwin was not one of them. Gladwin had read extensively about tree-ring dating and thought he knew better than the dendrochronologists themselves. Gladwin was still a relative newcomer who had not come to the field of archaeology through the traditional methods. He had not obtained an advanced degree; he had not undergone formal training in the discipline of archaeology. However, Gladwin was wealthy. He could see that his archaeological

findings were printed and distributed using his own money. He began publication of the *Medallion Papers* in 1928, though archaeologists initially critiqued these bulletins for having ambiguous authorship and numbering.[24] Still, he was elected the vice president of the Society for American Archaeology in 1937 and elected as a trustee to the Laboratory of Anthropology in 1937; he was not entirely outside of this mainstream of professional archaeology but was undoubtedly on its fringes. Part of that had to do with his novel and untested ideas about how to approach archaeology. He had not refined his understanding of the discipline and its goals to the point where he could pass off as a *bona fide* archaeologist. He was always addressed simply as "Mr. Gladwin." Even though he had not undertaken formal archaeological training, at least Dr. Colton was recognized with an altogether different prefix, which certainly affected his individual credibility. And yes, Gladwin was the Director of a foundation with a Board of Directors, but Gladwin called all of the shots. Even when he hired Emil Haury, part of their early agreement was that Gladwin would send Haury to get a Ph.D. in archaeology from Harvard, so it is clear that Gladwin understood the value that came with those sorts of credentials.[25] It was important that Haury earned this recognition so other organization would view Gila Pueblo with an increased amount of legitimacy. Gladwin did not have the time or the patience to invest three or four years in gaining an additional accreditation. Nevertheless, Gladwin thought that taking his fresh eye to some of these problems meant that he would come up with solutions unlike those other archaeologists had considered. Nevertheless, Gladwin certainly did not present an image that he was the most scrupulous scientist.

The Amerind Foundation (1937)

The Amerind Foundation is a private organization with a long-held mission "to foster and promote knowledge and understanding of the Native Peoples of the Americas."[26] Its independent status makes it wary of external influence. Indeed, as a part of the foundation's articles of incorporation, the desire was unequivocally stated to "keep the Foundation free from any political entanglements or control by any university or college."[27] To founder William Fulton, it was imperative that Amerind and the direction of any research conducted be controlled internally. Clearly, from the beginning, there was an explicit understanding of the type of organization they endeavored to be: self-regulating.

Fulton was a Connecticut-born businessman and entrepreneur whose chance encounter with prehistory ultimately led to the Amerind's establishment. During trips to Arizona and New Mexico to investigate copper and oil investment potential in the 1920s, he became enamored with the Southwest. He developed an amateur interest in archaeology, and due to this, in part, in 1930, he purchased approximately 2,000 acres in southeastern Arizona's Texas Canyon. Over the course of the next several years, Fulton constructed a home and conducted amateur archaeology expeditions in and around his newly purchased ranch. Fulton successfully published several archaeological site reports during this time, though his observations and conclusions were often rudimentary.[28]

Over the course of the next several years, Fulton corresponded with archaeologists and other individuals with a shared interest in the peoples of the Southwest. One of those with whom he corresponded was noted archaeologist A.V. Kidder, to whom Fulton had been sure to promote his findings by forwarding a copy of his most recent site report.[29] Kidder

commented that he was "particularly pleased by [Fulton's] remarks regarding the setting of the site in the general picture of Southern Arizona archaeology."[30] This encouragement was formative for Fulton, who had also commenced corresponding with the eminent southwestern archaeologist Emil Haury. However, perhaps most relevant to his intense interest in the Southwest were his conversations with two wealthy businessmen from the East Coast, Harold Gladwin and George Heye.

Gladwin and Heye, like Fulton, had become captivated by the Southwest and its prehistory. In order for Fulton to commence legally curating an archaeological collection, the Antiquities Act required him to comply with federal law. Heye appointed Fulton to the Museum of the American Indian's board and extended the offer to conduct research under the umbrella of the auspices of the museum.[31] But Fulton was determined to go his own way. Upon the advice and guidance of Heye, in 1937, Fulton signed articles of incorporation officially inaugurating the Amerind Foundation with the mission to uncover new knowledge about the peoples of the Southwest.[32]

During this period, Fulton's "Museum" was little more than a small shack with some ornately decorated pottery inside. The museum was only open by appointment. Typically, "tours" were given by Fulton, or his wife, Rose. The collection was stored without temperature or humidity controls. Objects were in open cases within easy reach of visitors. In addition, its location was in a remote part of Southeastern Arizona, several hours away from Tucson. Despite that fact, the museum received quite a few visitors, including several eminent archaeologists of the time. More importantly, this Museum met the required stipulations of the Antiquity Act.

Like Gladwin, Fulton had no formal academic training. He earned a Bachelor of Arts

degree from Yale in 1903 and had spent the first thirty years of his life working in the mining business. Also similar to Gladwin, Fulton understood the need for proper credentials in order to validate and substantiate Amerind's work. Later correspondence with Haury resulted in the recommendation of Charles Di Peso, who began work with Amerind in 1948 as the lead archaeologist.[33] Di Peso was awarded his Ph.D. in 1952 from the University of Arizona's newly formed program in archaeology—its first such degree, under the supervision of Emil Haury. Nevertheless, because of Fulton's dedicated service to the archaeology of the Southwest, in 1959, the University of Arizona awarded him an honorary Doctor of Science.[34] Unlike Gladwin, Fulton had remained cautious and did now allow himself to be drawn into backbiting debates with other archaeologists. Rather, he heeded the advice of those with more experience than himself, including Kidder, Colton, and Haury.

A market for Native crafts

Along with the emergence of these institutions came an increasing demand for Native craftworks and art. Although the Antiquities Act, and subsequent laws, prevented the recovery or trafficking of authentic Native ancestral cultural artifacts, several individuals were encouraged by traders and local organizations to craft their art, including ceramics and rugs in traditional forms. This inducement led to a market for Native art that continues to thrive in 2022.

Part of this market extended from Native artifacts being viewed as "treasurers." The continued opinion that Native peoples of the U.S. were a "dying race" meant that even for contemporaneously crafted items, there was a limited supply. It was only a matter of time, or

so it was believed, before Native peoples would be gone forever and the works of their craftsmanship were relegated to history. This sentiment led to increased demand by both collectors and prospectors. The Southwest was viewed as a region of tremendous treasure since the first incursions by EuroAmericans; this idea was perpetuated in then-modern times. The creations of southwestern Native peoples were not merely pieces of art; they were "treasures," a distinction that spoke not only to their monetary value but also their uniqueness and finite supply. The Museum of Northern Arizona regularly showcased a "Treasure of the Month" that was highlighted in their press releases and membership newsletter. The monthly "treasure" also occupied a special display at the museum.

The interest in authentic Native artifacts presented both a problem and opportunity for emerging southwestern museums during the first half of the twentieth century. Although excavated or otherwise recovered cultural artifacts were forbidden from being sold, museum gift shops were replete with manufactured goods, especially blankets, jewelry, and ceramics. Support for this trade came from outside the discipline of archaeology and the museum itself.

> There is a movement on foot in the east, as you are no doubt aware, to undertake to improve the opportunity of the Indian tribes to perpetuate their arts and to secure a proper market for the products. The Indian Arts Association is behind it, and the Indian Rights Association and the Indian Bureau are backing it up. They ask us in the western states to cooperate and help the movement by the collection of material and the establishment of centers of manufacture. Mrs. Katherine McCrae of Casa Grande is the chairman of the Indian Welfare Committee of the National Organization of Women's Clubs and is leading a movement to secure the establishment of one or two Indian villages in which may be constructed a typical home of each of the tribes living in Arizona and in which may be gathered some of the best artists of the tribes to carry on the manufacture of typical articles of industry…. We feel that the establishment of such villages may be made an interesting and attractive feature to our tourist visitors and became centers of instruction in the Indian arts for young Indians who show talent in textiles, pottery manufacture and the manufacture of Jewelry….Your wide knowledge and experience will greatly aid us in forwarding the welfare of our Indian citizens.[35]

This early inclination on behalf of several federal agencies called for southwestern museums' support to help further solidify the market for Native peoples' crafts. For their part, museums were enticed by the potential of an increase in museum visitors. The complement of Native crafts constructed in traditional ways seemed to be a natural fit for the type of archaeological and ethnographic work the museums were already undertaking.

However, there remained something inauthentic about Native peoples' art. The focus was not on contemporary art but rather on Native crafts that replicated "traditional" artwork. This anachronism was deceitful. For example, silver Navajo jewelry became wildly popular during this time. However, the first Diné artisans to work with silver did not appear until "about 1850 or 1860," when the material was supplied to them by merchants and tradesmen.[36] Although the brilliance of Native peoples' artwork was undeniable, its presentation as being an appropriate substitution for "authentic"—meaning "prehistoric"—Native handiwork belied the fact that these items were crafted in a new age by then-modern peoples. Nevertheless, museums took steps to subvert this fact, going as far as advertising "these workers are required to wear their native costume."[37] The language employed here is revealing. The Native craftspeople, many of whom had begun to assimilate to American life, were nevertheless required to dress in traditional ways that accentuated their ~~*Other*~~*ness*. By extension, these visual aspects of the display also accentuated the ~~*Other*~~*ness* and exoticness of their art.

Native peoples often worked on-site at the museums and displayed their craftsmanship for sale to museum-goers. At the Museum of Northern Arizona, visitors could glimpse the craftspeople working outside from the inside of the museum through "carved columns of the great window frame" that provided viewers with "a vivid picture of native life

and color."[38] While museum-goers could visit the courtyard where the workers worked, the framing of this display through an oversized window remains eerily reminiscent of the days when ethnographical displays were separated by bars or fences. At the end of the day, many of the Native peoples drove themselves home in cars and trucks they owned. Philip Deloria has observed in *Indians in Unexpected Places* that such a sight would undoubtedly arouse dissonance in EuroAmerican museum-goers.[39] The Native peoples had literally dressed up and "played Indian" for the day in order to appease their expectant museum audience. For many of them, this sort of performance was essential to helping connect with their traditional roots. Nevertheless, asking the ~~*Other*~~ to dress up in the garb of their great-great-grandparents and pretend to live traditional lifeways for EuroAmericans' amusement seems a cruel form of exploitation.

Certainly, these displays allowed Native peoples to share their perspectives of culture. And clearly, they were being compensated by both the museum and the eager museum-goers who wanted to purchase authentic Native artwork. However, the Native peoples themselves were as much a focus of the demonstration as was the art they created. At what point does the art become the real focus of the exhibition? At what point is the actor no longer a critical part of the exhibit of a performative display? If that performer is valued because of their ethnicity and ~~*Other*~~*ness*, does that not make the viewers voyeurs of the sort that attended P. T. Barnum's "freak" shows? And do the EuroAmerican viewers understand they are watching an inauthentic "show"? Museums' illusory claims to authenticity can be comprehended with such an example. If the museums were genuinely interested in authenticity, they could have developed ways for Native artifacts to speak and tell their own story.[40] Or better yet, perhaps the Native peoples should design the displays and depict how they wanted to be represented.

The living performers did not have that liberty or ability to control how they wanted to be represented. They had to show up in their "native costumes." The museums were only interested in certain "traditional" activities. Pastimes stemming from assimilation to White EuroAmerican culture held no value to the museum because the public would have been uninterested. Museum-goers were really interested in ~~*Other*~~*ness*, and because of that fact, the museum had to play to that demand. The museum had to highlight ~~*Other*~~*ness*. The museum had to ensure that their displays, both static and living, met the expectations of their paying museum-going audience.

Anyone is an archaeologist

In terms of what defines an "archaeologist," and thus who is qualified to undertake the excavation of cultural artifacts, remained up to the various federal secretaries responsible for granting permits. Gladwin's view that "anyone with a well-developed bump of curiosity who decides to study antiquities thereupon becomes an archaeologist" was not a definition with which many professional archaeologists would agree.[41] As amusing as this sentiment may have seemed, especially to those archaeologists who had undertaken the proper vocational steps to be deemed such, the Southwest of 1900 through 1950 continued to have a serious dilemma. Even in the face of the Antiquities Act, looting and pot hunting continued, sometimes at an increasing rate. The central problem with Gladwin's sentiment was that the study of antiquities by the hobbyist was not always undertaken with a critical, educated, or scientific eye. There were many at the time whose intention was to upset and undermine scientific trends either for fame or wealth. That some of these hucksters believed their own

assertions are difficult to ascertain. However, trustworthy scientists regularly extinguished outlandish ideas relying on better-supported and more widely accepted evidence.

Officially sanctioned archaeological excavations during this period were undertaken not only by Universities and museums, but also by private organizations; these included National Geographic and Smithsonian Institutions funded expeditions; local, state, and national organizations; park rangers; field schools; and the WPA—Work Projects Administration (renamed the Works Progress Administration in 1939). It was within the powers of the Department of the Interior to deem who was qualified to undertake the excavation of cultural remains. However, each of these various agencies, all in their infancy, developed nuanced differences in how they undertook research. The publication of their findings, a requisite of the Antiquities Act, meant that much of the published data originated from sources that did not undergo vetting outside of the project team and leaders. At this point, gray literature first broached in the introductory chapter of this dissertation became a substantial source of new archaeological data. The information collected by these various organizations was, to varying extents, published for professional and public review; however, the publication process and publication itself was undertaken by numerous types of publishers and publishing houses, and oftentimes at the expense of those undertaking the work. Unlike vetted and peer-reviewed sources published by more prominent or national archaeological associations, this sometimes amateurish archaeology was occasionally completed by those with no educational background in science or archaeology. Nevertheless, this literature remained the best source of information for the initial excavation and recovery of the artifacts, ancestral sites, and associated burials. The private organizations that undertook this work are of particular interest because, in many cases, they were self-funded

by the director or directors. If, for example, a looter, explorer, or amateur archaeologist had the appropriate resources, they could establish their own museum dedicated to the ancient peoples they studied and continue their activities without running afoul of federal law. This fact insured that several such institutions had popped up in the U.S., founded not by former looters and pot hunters but rather wealthy East Coast businessmen hoping to pursue their interest in archaeology while being protected legally. To a more or less degree, that was the case with Heye, Gladwin, and Fulton.

This expansion also led to the tremendous rise of amateur archaeological associations. It seemed that every city in the Southwest had some sort of historical or archaeological society devoted to the study of the prehistory of the local region. "Prehistory," especially of the Native peoples of the Southwest, was a source of immense public interest. Too many, it seemed that the study and scrutiny of these peoples and artifacts should not be relegated merely to the professionals. These organizations were formed for both educational and scholarly purposes. Nevertheless, even though many members were educated, the majority of the membership of amateur associations was made up of laypeople. That meant the correspondence and communication that took place through newsletters did not typically take on the form of expert-to-expert communication but were rather much less nuanced. In addition, because of their distance from mainstream scholarly thought, the understandings presented by these organizations lagged behind that of more prestigious organizations and institutions. By 1935, archaeology in the Southwest was becoming more the domain of the educated elite, many of whom were now beginning to be homegrown at institutions like the School for American Archaeology and the University of Arizona.

One crucial milestone these organizations accomplished was the sustained interest in

the broader public about the sensational and unbelievable history of the peoples of the Southwest. This outcome meant that there was no shortage of interested members of the public who were eager to contribute to or engage in archaeological research and study, the most exhilarating of which seemed to be excavation and the uncovering of sensational or unbelievable findings. As such, the Southwest produced quite a few eccentric kooks during this period who sought fame, fortune, attention, or a combination of all of these things for their conclusions about the prehistory of the Southwest.

Strange ideas about the pre-contact history of Native peoples were common. In some cases, the ideas receive the attention of traditionally reputable organizations. The *Los Angeles Times*, in particular, ran several sensationalized stories that highlighted absurd claims. Jesse Nusbaum, then director of the Laboratory of Anthropology, was a frequent correspondent of Harold Colton. Nusbaum often drew Colton's attention to "nuts" who sought to publicize or otherwise bring ludicrous findings and ideas to the attention of archaeologists. In 1932, Nusbaum wrote,

> There is a feature article appearing in the November 20 edition of the Los Angeles times in a newspaper entitled, "When a comet struck the earth and wiped out civilization in Arizona," by Ransome Sutton, science editor of the times' Sunday magazine which should be answered and the answer widely distributed. All sorts of excerpts have been taken from this article and released all over the country; and I know of no person better qualified or located to step on it once and for all. It is built up around meteor crater, and the wiping out of all prehistoric life within a radius of 225 miles, in the year 1275... One wild-eyed nut by the name of Lee (Sharkey) Dawson, whom I threw off Mesa Verde some years ago, was given a small plot of land containing a ruin directly below Cortez on the south side of the McElmo and just to the north of the Yucca House National Monument. Dawson proceeded to exploit the site to the detriment of Mesa Verde. He is the one who claims to have found three graven plates containing 1,700 characters which give the whole history of the different appearance of the Cliff Dwellers, that is, that they were wiped out by a meteor shower, being killed by poisonous gases.[42]

Nusbaum's passing amusement at such ideas was superseded by the genuine need on the part

of professional archaeologists to ensure that outlandish ideas did not receive undue attention. In some cases, this had meant shooing archaeological prospectors away from protected sites. In other, the approach was to ignore absurd claims outright.

While the idea of fantastical finds may have proved titillating for amateur archaeologists, professional archaeologists understood that the discipline had no room for science that was not approached seriously. In a subsequent letter to Colton, Jesse Nusbaum--then working for the Department of the Interior, described quite a astonishing find in 1940,

> Because of your interest in the prehistory of Arizona I wish to share with you the findings of an old prospector….I am including his exact mapping of one of the bouillon of gold treasure vaults, – situate in range 19 W, town. Six S., Yuma County, Arizona, the value of which is estimated at $3,500,000,000. This is not ordinary gold – it's of 26 carat fineness, – the real McCoy – put there by white men (8 to 9 feet high and weighing 300 to 500 pounds each) some 34,000 years ago, with graven records going back in history about 44,000 years.[43]

Nusbaum's tongue-in-cheek description of this supposed find poked fun at the approaches of sensationalized amateurs, while it also underscored a severe need to ensure that such accounts remained outside the realm of professional archaeology. The strategy employed was often merely to ignore outlandish claims. Because they believed "prospectors" such as the ones described above were merely attention seekers, the approach by professional archaeologists was to deny them that attention. These sorts of claims went unanswered and unheeded by serious archaeologists.

Nevertheless, some claims required due attention and rebuttal. This reality was especially valid for sensational finds that had managed to reach and captivate a public audience. In 1947, Robert M. Ariss of the Southwestern Archaeological Association, headquartered in Los Angeles, contacted Colton to report disconcerting developments related to a new expedition that sought to uncover the southwestern location of Atlantis.

> I think there is likely to be a swarm of fakers descending on you one of these days if the program of Amazing Explorations, Incorporated materializes. I am sending you these enclosures as a word in advance of this entry by this possibly fraudulent group. I think it represents a combination of cult and promotion.
>
> I listened incognito the other night at their dinner when they were to ‘‘tell all”. Mostly the speakers, just back from their “reconnaissance” of the “area south of St. George, Utah” threw roses at one another for their superb part in this nearly impossible journey (almost a pilgrimage to hear them) to the caves which include dinosaurs, saber toothed cats and burial vaults for nine foot men dressed in skin pantaloons. The burials are Atlanteans from that ill-fated foundered land!
>
> I have contacted NUSBAUM in his capacity as Antiquities Act Administrator and HAURY at Tucson. I thought it would be well -to warn you that another “reconnaissance” is being planned and then “full scale” excavations. If you can help knock this thing in the head, it would be good for all of us in archeology and paleontology. At the least, these people are duping others, and they might blow up material at the worst.[44]

In the enclosure, the “expedition” described the opportunities available to paying members to become a part of archaeological history as these amazing finds were unearthed and made public. In response to Ariss, Colton wrote,

> The story which you present is as amazing as the explorations. We will be on the lookout for this group when they come to Arizona and we thank you for your timely warning. We have had something similar to contend with in northeast Arizona pertaining to the Seven Cities of Cibola. There seems to be no dearth in screwball archaeologists.[45]

This supposedly serious expedition to find Atlantis may have had varying motives. One of the clearest was to augment the organization’s membership by attracting more members of the gullible public to pay dues, thereby better lining the pockets of the expedition’s “archaeologists.” The excitement associated with archaeological excavations during the first half of the twentieth century had fueled these and similar efforts to allow the public to become engaged in archaeological work, which was increasingly closed off from the general public. Few could hope to conduct archaeological fieldwork without proper credentials and

training and feel the thrill and excitement of unearthing a treasure of a lifetime. As archaeologists' attention turned towards more mundane and commonplace artifacts for scientific scrutiny, the public's appetite remained fixated on objects that held more than merely scientific value.

Sometimes, archaeologists and looters made strange bedfellows purely for the reason that archaeologists were genuinely interested in the scientific value of recovered artifacts, regardless of how they may have been illicitly recovered. For example, famed looter and pothunter Isiah Ford "Zeke" Flora highlighted the continued nature with which pot hunters flaunted the federal law, which at a minimum prescribed six months in jail and a $500 fine.[46] In 1937, Flora excavated nineteen burials built near Falls Creek outside the southwestern Colorado city of Durango.[47] Included in the human remains and artifacts recovered was a mummified corpse he referred to as "Esther." Following her finding, Esther was marched down the main street of Durango in a procession that sought to highlight Flora's "discovery."[48] Although this excavation took place on federal lands, Flora contested that the remains belonged to him alone. In a series of newspaper articles and radio appearances, Zeke made a case for "Durango man" as evidence for the existence of Neanderthals in North America.[49] Perhaps more concerning about this situation was that Flora was frequently employed by the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation and was even listed as a co-author on one of the organization's *Medallion* papers with Emil Haury.[50] Because of his importance to the dendrochronological work being undertaken, Flora continued his affiliation with Gila Pueblo until 1940.[51] The Carnegie Institute became interested in taking possession of Flora's collection, including Esther. In response to archaeologist Earl Morris, Flora wrote, "[t]his material is, in reality, the property of everyone who is honestly striving to aid

archaeology."[52] Possession being nine-tenths of the law, in 1938, the Carnegie institution provided funds to "purchase" Esther, after which she was put on display at the University of Colorado Museum. Esther was ultimately sent to Mesa Verde in 1939, where she remained on display until 1971.[53] The wealth of material contained within the Southwest entailed that there was simply too much recovery work to be done for these archaeological remains to be excavated by professional archaeologists with academic credentials. What is unfortunate is that archaeologists were beholden to schemers like Flora.

The various branches of the study of humankind did not emerge as fully-fledged or defined disciplines but instead grew organically as research questions directed the nature of scientists' research. As physical anthropology, primarily concerned with human skeletal material, developed, racial notions grew increasingly complex and supposedly more important to the study of humankind. In a 1914 letter to William Henry Holmes, Hrdlička asserted that the "most important task" for anthropologists in the U.S. was to understand the biological origins of the Native peoples. In many cases, anthropologists considered the differences between various "races" because of the types of comparisons that could be made. The discipline of anthropology—broadly conceived—was trying to understand the origin of the various races, thereby tying directly into the work undertaken by archaeologists. Archaeologists were, in large part, relying on the data and conclusions of physical anthropologists like Hrdlička and Hooton to draw their conclusions. This reality was especially true because of archaeologists' preoccupation with being *bona fide* science. As for the physical anthropologists, notions of race were not merely a passing interest but a line of inquiry that encapsulated the entire field.

Amid these prevailing ideas and the highly complex archaeological museum exhibits

they engendered, Zeke Flora was furiously trying to demonstrate that the skeletal remains he found belonged to *Homo neanderthalensis*—the most recent evidence for which is 35-40,000 years ago in northern Spain.[54] Scholars presume that we as a species either starved out, consumed (ate), interbred (raped), or murdered the rest of the Neanderthals around that time.[55] The idea that there could be a remnant of the Neanderthal species (or subspecies) in the Americas and that it was a potential ancestor of living and pre-contact Native peoples in the U.S. would have been an unprecedented shift in the way archaeologists interpreted the Native peoples' evolutionary history. That evidence has not been shown. However, the idea was considered by serious scientists, including Louis Leakey. In the early 1970s, he considered it a distinct possibility and conducted research at California's "Calico Early Man Site."[56] The Louis Leakey Foundation, based in San Francisco, carries on work in his name to this day and provided its first grant to the Calico excavations.[57] Leakey and his team endeavored to show evidence for *Homo neanderthalensis* in California, but it resulted in no conclusive or satisfying evidence being presented or widely accepted.

In response to a disputed claim against a set of recovered materials, Harold Gladwin observed, "is too bad for science that much of the information cannot be released until the claims are settled."[58] Most definitely, the concern here was for archaeologists' access to scientific data for research and study. The implications for the Native peoples whom those artifacts represented were rarely, if ever, a cause for concern.

For many, amateur archaeology was a hobby. These activities seem to cause no real damage as the artifacts recovered were not being used by anyone and certainly would not—it was believed—be missed. In the July 1931 issue of the Grand Canyon's *Nature Notes*, published by the Department of the Interior, Antone Albert, a gardener for the El Tovar

Hotel, described his experiences pot hunting along the southern rim of the Grand Canyon,

> After locating the ruins, which are usually found along the southeast sides of knolls or ridges, we began a systematic search of the immediate area. We always find pieces of broken pottery, some of them large or interesting enough to be worth collecting, scattered in abundance.... Altogether we have collected thus far some 1,500 fine specimens of scrapers, knives, spearheads and arrow points. Also, several stone axes and one interesting old pipe. We have them mounted in cases an identified according to possible age and use. To sum our hobby may seem wasteful of time. But to us it is one of the bright spots of our life here at the Grand Canyon.[59]

From Albert's account, it is unclear from whom the authority to collect these objects derived or where they were placed on display. Whether they were a part of a private collection or an official display is unclear, but it is doubtful that the appropriate authorities granted permission. The Antiquities Act was so sporadically enforced that it would be unsurprising for the department responsible for that enforcement to outright publish an account of looting by one of the Park Service employees.

Nevertheless, the continued looting and pot hunting undertaken in violation of the Antiquities Act was of grave importance to archaeologists themselves. Director of the Museum of Northern Arizona, Harold S. Colton, wrote to archaeologist Alfred V. Kidder in 1928 with ideas on how to stop pot hunting,

> which is reaching a commercial scale. There is no police force to enforce the law. I am wondering if the offer oc [*sic*] rewards for the arrest and conviction of offenders might be a solution. In Arizona, Cummings favors more laws but any law on the books would be unenforceable. I would like your opinion in this matter and in others. They apply to the whole Southwest and if the material is to be used for science some action, converted action, is necessary.[60]

Colton's further correspondence with the Department of the Interior in 1929 clarified that the continued looting of Pre-European sites remained a problem. The problem was primarily not the theft of the materials themselves but the deleterious effects the removal of objects had on

the associated data. In a December letter of that same year, Jesse Nusbaum, superintendent of the office of the interior, wrote to Colton stating,

> During the past summer report after report has come to me as to unlicensed excavations by pot-hunters in Flagstaff area and the matter has been taken up with the Secretary of the Interior with the view of getting an inspector for a three months period to check up and gain information for prosecution of some of the more flagrant cases.[61]

Colton's response, only days later, highlighted the immediacy of the problem that enveloped not only the pot hunting activities but the market being created for these illicit collections by eager and less scrupulous museums. In his response to Nusbaum, Colton asserted,

> There are a number of men who I suspect go out every Sunday and pot-hunt. Some large collections have recently been sold. Fortunately, Mr. Gladwin has purchased them so that they have not been entirely lost for science. This brings up the question of the market for prehistoric pottery. The museums which purchase this material encourage the dealers and the dealers encourage the pot-hunters by making a market for their wares.[62]

Pot hunting was a problem for all professional archaeology, regardless of where and for what purposes it was undertaken. Harold Gladwin of Gila Pueblo, a relative newcomer to archaeology, had been quick to use his deep pockets to augment his own museum's collection. This action, in turn, created an increased demand for these artifacts. Having been recovered by looters, there is little doubt that the artifacts had no accompanying records or notes on their provenience. Without this information, the data contained in the artifacts would be of little use instead of relegating them to mere showpieces for public display—or, more likely, Gladwin's ego.

“Professional” archaeology differentiates itself

For the first half of the twentieth century, the discipline of archaeology undertook tremendous steps to differentiate itself as serious science. These involved entailed several actions launched collaboratively and by consensus to ensure the seriousness of the discipline. By extension, that meant more definitively defining archaeology as a discipline. First and foremost, this entailed the definition of archaeology as a “science.” In 1931, Colton wrote a letter to Gladwin underscoring this fact, stating his endeavors to put “Southwestern archaeology on a par with other sciences.”[63] Part of the science that entailed for archaeologists included an alignment with the theories and approaches of analogous disciplines of study. In particular, was the attention paid to crania in understanding and delimiting race. The documenting of finds with as much scientific data as was recoverable had become of paramount importance. Likewise, sharing that data through publications with the broader archaeological community was essential, not only due to the Antiquities Act but also in keeping with the ethos of science.

The transition from the amateur to the professional began as early as the late 1800s. Edgar Lee Hewett, fresh with his sociology Ph.D. credentials from the University of Geneva in Switzerland, used his political connections to subvert the work done by Richard Wetherill at Chaco Canyon. The undertaking of excavating such an impressive site was best left in the hands of the professionals, and Wetherill was little more than a glorified pot hunter. Hewett, despite himself, remained in control of two of the largest Southwestern institutions—the Museum of New Mexico and the School for American Archaeology—until 1946. Nevertheless, he was assailed by various archaeologists for his alleged unscientific

approaches and questionable credentials. These accusations included the charge of the institution from where Hewett received his Ph.D. was little more than a diploma mill. Hewett's work was critiqued as being unscientific and "insignificant or premature."[64] The fact was that Hewett's educational credentials were somewhat suspect, having primarily self-taught himself archaeology. Scholars from Eastern institutions, including Franz Boas, were incensed by his control of the School for American Archaeology and the New Mexico Museum. In those scholars' eyes, Hewett was not qualified and lacked the academic credentials to approach the study of humanity in the Southwest scrupulously. By the 1920s and 1930s, archaeologists who had received their Ph.D. from degree-granting institutions in the United States—from institutions like Columbia, Harvard, and the University of California, Berkeley—asserted their credentials' primacy and their legitimacy for undertaking archaeological work in the southwestern United States.

The consolidation of archaeological authority by Southwestern educational and museum institutions continued as they became more robust. The implication was that archaeologists with credible credentials left less respected and less influential organizations in favor of the emerging powerhouses of Southwestern archaeology. Gila Pueblo, for example, lost the majority of its workforce in the late 1930s. Gladwin's brightest and most influential people went off to work for organizations affiliated with larger institutions or academic programs. Following his work with Gila Pueblo, in March 1937, Erik Reed was assigned archaeological administrative duties for the National Park Service office in Santa Fe, New Mexico. This office became the Regional Office for NPS activities in the Southwest, and, in 1939, Reed was appointed Regional Archaeologist.[65] In 1938, Haury left Gila Pueblo to become the director of the Arizona State Museum and a professor of

archaeology in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Arizona.[66] In 1942, Ted Sayles left Gila Pueblo as well. The following year, Haury hired Sayles as the Museum of Arizona's curator.[67] Directing the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation and Museum was key to Gladwin's ability to pursue the study of southwestern archaeology legitimately. It provided him legitimacy in the eyes of the federal authorities, but that did not necessarily mean acceptance in the eyes of the greater academic community. That respect was something that he could not buy. It required a consensus of too many experts and educated individuals. Eventually, Gladwin called it quits. He had alienated himself from the rest of the academic community because of his outlandish and sometimes foolhardy ideas. All of his best employees left Gila Pueblo to work for more reputable institutions. He simply began to feel like too much of an outsider to continue. Upon closing in 1950, Gladwin donated all the archaeological materials to the Arizona State Museum.[68] He then retired to a life in Santa Barbara, where continued interest in natural history resulted in regular donations to the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, a focal point of which is the Gladwin Observatory.

The Laboratory of Anthropology, which had continued to suffer without the ongoing financial support of Rockefeller, found itself in an untenable position following World War II. Although it had been among the most influential Southwestern archaeological organizations, it also had lost numerous preeminent archaeologists' support and affiliation, including A. V. Kidder. With few options left, they were compelled to merge with the Museum of New Mexico in 1947, becoming the museum's arm for archaeological research and the repository for archaeological remains and artifacts.

By 1950, professional archaeology's power was consolidated in the Southwest through universities and museums. The University of Arizona established its own Ph.D.

program in archaeology, allowing the Southwest to train and cultivate its own archaeologists. This fact meant that the Southwest would need to rely less on Eastern institutions and could shape the future of southwestern archaeology in a manner consistent with regional ideologies. In addition, the death of Edgar Lee Hewett in 1946 meant that the last of the "old archaeologists" no longer held influence over the region's more powerful institutions. The publication of Walter Taylor's 1948 *A Study in Archeology*, while not overwhelmingly influential initially, did manage to get archaeologists talking and thinking about the future of the discipline. The work that had finally started to be perfected by Southwestern archaeologists would be superseded less than two decades later with the advent of the *New* Archaeology.

Archaeological data and theories came from all of the sources mentioned in this chapter. However, some authors, institutions, and publishers had more inherent value than others. Part of the distinction was who was responsible for financing the publication of the data and findings. Part of it was a matter of institutional affiliation. Part of it was the perceived thoroughness of peer review, or lack thereof. Part of it was how, and if, other archaeologists later referenced the source. Part of it was personal reputation and distinction. Regardless, all authors needed to vet their data through careful research properly; that was not always the case. Archaeologists of the first half of the twentieth century had the tremendous task of sifting through not only archaeological data but the findings that came from less reputable or self-published sources. Over time, and as the discipline defined its boundaries, archaeologists made progress in determining what sources warranted further scrutiny. Many archaeological publications were simply ignored. If they were acknowledged years later, perhaps it was merely for the historical data they included in terms of finding an

artifact, peoples, or location. The changes that archaeology underwent in the first half of the twentieth century meant that the professional part of the discipline had advanced to the point where they could identify and keep the crackpots out of the mainstream. The "New" archaeology that was conducted, first by Kidder, was undertaken scientifically by people who had academic training in archaeology.

The establishment of the University of Arizona's doctoral program in archaeology and the graduation of its first Ph.D. student, Charles Di Peso, boded well for the future of the discipline in the Southwest. Not only had the Southwest built nationally recognized archaeological institutions and an entire network of supporting institutions, museums, and foundations, it also joined the ranks of Harvard, Columbia, and Berkeley by offering its own Ph.D. program in archaeology under the direction of Emil Haury. These developments indicated that archaeology was becoming more professionalized, differentiating between serious professional archaeology and unscrupulous, amateur, or wrongheaded archaeology. Nevertheless, there still remained, and still does persist, an incredible amount of unrecovered material in the United States Southwest. To this day, there are independent archaeologists at organizations throughout Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado devoted to the research and study of the archaeology of the Southwest. One distinction that professional archaeology made was that those organizations and institutions should not be in the business of developing new archaeological theories. Instead, their realm should merely be the recovery of artifacts and data collection. When those institutions overstepped their boundaries, they pushed into the domain of academic theorists. As an employee of the Amerind Foundation, Di Peso's assertions of Paquimé's temporal and influential position in Southwest, about the Ramos Polychrome ceramic type and its origin, and his conclusions about racial dynamics

burst forcefully across that boundary. (See Chapter Ten.)

The distinction with properly accepted archaeological data was that the consensus of the larger discipline accepts the conclusions. This consensus did not allow for unsubstantiated finds, outlandish theories, bad science, or flawed conclusions. Instead, accepted trends were established through the thorough—although not always complete—acceptance by the broader community comprised of archaeologists working for universities, public museums, and private organizations. The strength of the affiliated institution with an excavation or find could add to its acceptance or disavowal within the larger community. But no single factor was omnipotent. Consensus, or at least an overwhelming majority of accord, was needed in order for data and theories to be properly accepted. This understanding was why the proliferation of professional journals was so important. The affability of consensus was tested through peer reviewers and editors, providing the first crucial steps in determining the likelihood that a theory or selected set of data would be accepted by the community more broadly.

Conclusion

In defining the Native peoples of the U.S. Southwest, American anthropology reified its professional goals, boundaries, and orientation. Many of these definitions were fueled by the public. The public's taste and desire for hyperbole, their desire for authentic Native artifacts, their expectations based on settled "history" helped shape the goals of all institutions. Archaeology remained expensive, requiring research dollars from grants and other sources. Gaining access to this funding meant convincing the appropriate people that

the archaeological work being undertaken was worthwhile. Whether those people were federal institutions, museum donors, or people with last names like Rockefeller, professional archaeology had to ensure that it met its audience's expectations. Many steps in the development of archaeology, from a curious pastime to a serious academic discipline of study, were shaped by the influence of the public. In the late 1900s, the stimulus was partially the public demand for Native peoples' artifacts and the looting and market this desire generated. When archaeology underwent change during the era, it resulted from both the discipline of archaeology and influences outside of the discipline. Archaeology, as it exists in the twenty-first century, would not exist without both the broader public and amateur and private archaeology. The goal of the academic discipline has always been to lead *all* archaeology to properly scrutinized, consensus-driven practice.

Archaeology diminished bias through time by slowly addressing the subjectivity ingrained in understanding race and how it was represented. It defended itself against eccentrics. Gradually, archaeology as a discipline of study began democratizing itself but only welcomed qualified people. That standardization of equity was exceedingly tricky when the only people conducting research were wealthy White EuroAmerican men. This influence slightly quieted once affluence was no longer a requisite factor and again further once women achieved a more central role. Archaeology's first genuine opportunity to become democratic did not begin to emerge until the 1970s and 1980s when non-White Native archaeologists started conducting research of their own in the southwestern United States alongside the emergence of the postcolonial critique.[69]

When archaeology arose as a discipline, there were both professional societies and amateur societies. State and university museums appeared, as did private museums and

research institutions. By the beginning of the 1900s, there started to emerge three distinct forces in the excavation and recovery of Native artifacts in the Southwest: universities and museums, the federal government, and private organizations. As they were all defining peoples of the Southwest, they were also defined archaeology as a discipline. They were defining what archaeology was and what archaeology was not. Work completed by universities and public museums was funded by tax dollars included stipulations on who was qualified to undertake work. On the other hand, private and unaffiliated organizations, because they had private funding—and because funding was the biggest obstacle to undertaking archaeological fieldwork—were directed at times by amateurs who had undergone no formal training. Indeed, people like Heye, Gladwin, and Fulton had resources that allowed them to pursue their passion involving the Native peoples of the Southwest without giving extensive thought to earning a living. Because they did not rely on archaeology as their primary source of income, however, it did not necessarily mean they were amateurs. The more helpful distinction between those doing archaeology in the Southwest time was between those who earned academic credentials and those who did not. Individuals like Ted Sayles had a lot of experience but little training. Nevertheless, Sayles gained the complete confidence of Haury and was appointed head curator for the Arizona State Museum. Haury also had extensive experience working on the tree-ring project with Nusbaum and Douglass, yet he went on to earn academic credentials. Subsequently, Di Peso never held an academic position and instead spent the entirety of his career at the private organization Amerind. Nevertheless, attempting to place labels on and separate these groups of archaeologists who were all working with and around one another, excavating similar locations, and attending the same scholarly conferences would result in tremendous

difficulties.

Gladwin self-published an extensive amount of material in the *Medallion Papers*. Likewise, Amerind self-published their work almost exclusively. Academic professionals who were engaging in scholarly conversations were typically not paying to publish their own work; that burden was being taken on by the professional journals the book publishers. Recognition and trust in author's credentials and approach to carefully inspected data and reliable and constructive theories led publications. Private organizations that used internal funding to self-publish their materials did not experience the same vetting process or receive the similar quality of academic guidance that ensured ideas remained in line with the goals and directions of the larger discipline. That is not to say that the scholarly output of the discipline was any closer to being actual "truth," but it requires data, arguments, and theories that were collectively agreed upon. The work produced by private organizations was not necessarily any better or worse than what was being produced by the academic or other professional institutions. However, scholarship published by organizations like the society for American archaeology was agreed upon by consensus. Journals, societies, and university publishing houses acted as gatekeepers for scholarly knowledge. These editors, reviewers, and publishers shared a consentaneous vision for the discipline that helped guide their choices.

When considering public perspectives of archaeology in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we must consider the spaces where archaeology was taking shape. This outlook is necessary not merely for understanding the components connected to the museum-goers gaze, but most importantly because exhibition space was where archaeological theory is put into a visually based praxis. As early as the expositions of the late 1800s, exhibition

spaces were seen as locations where archaeological research achieved its public-facing practical ends. The exhibitions themselves relied heavily upon the latest in archaeological research and theories. Exhibition creators believed that closely following the scientific consensus would present a more accurate and authentic image of the people, places, or objects being exhibited. The scientific approach to archaeology was not inherently more accurate than other approaches; however, by its nature, it was sharpening its precision into an ever more nuanced point. Although the progress of archaeology led to the creation of a more nuanced understanding of the past, that does not necessarily mean those illustrations were necessarily more accurate ones. Archaeology is a discipline founded primarily on theory, constructed on top of theory, constructed over top of more theory. The links in the chain of reasoning that any archaeologist contrived unavoidably were held together by varying levels of strength. A single incorrect link in this chain of reasoning had the potential to lead to assertions and theories wildly astray. The promulgation of theories depended upon acknowledgment and general acceptance by the larger scholarly community. This consensus could result in a rather lengthy process. Even Darwin's theory of natural selection took almost eighty-five years to reach acceptance and agreement. On the other hand, Douglass's tree-ring date received almost immediate and outright consensus. Other theories discussed were seemingly dismissed prior to publication. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Ten, Charles Di Peso's ideas about the Gran Chichimeca received pessimistic feedback before the results were even effectively recorded.

The idea that archaeology is based on consensus begs the question: how did scholars arrive at agreements? Their training and educational credentials bolstered researchers who contributed to academic conversations in terms of both their understanding of the discipline

as well as their perceived academic trust. An intriguing way to view this conjecture is through the career of Emil Haury. Haury was partially trained by amateurs. He undertook fieldwork as an undergraduate, which led to gainful employment for a private archaeological foundation, Gila Pueblo. He then attended Harvard, earned a doctorate, and resumed work for the Gila Pueblo. He ended his career at the University of Arizona and the Arizona State Museum. Was there a difference between the work produced before and after Haury became a Ph.D.? Was there a difference in the work he produced at Gila Pueblo versus that for the University of Arizona? The answer to both of these questions is an undeniable "yes." This difference, and the authority derived from it, was bound to the strength of the institutions involved as well as Haury's intellectual credibility. Three significant forces were at work: the individual themselves, the individuals' academic credentials, and the institutional reputation where research was conducted.

Like Darwin, Franz Boas was still far ahead of his time at his death in 1942. According to Teslow, Boas's ideas about historical particularism and what that meant for museum display were dismissed by many anthropologists, most notably his own students Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn.[70] When Boas opened the Hall of the Northwest Pacific in 1901, he was instituting a standard for representing non-Western peoples on their own terms. While excuses may be contrived for those who placed Native peoples in human zoos for exhibitions during the second half of the 1800s, at least for their academic—though certainly not moral—perspectives, there can be less of a claim to this excuse in the twentieth century. Boas's ideas did not immediately create a consensus. Museums around the country and the world did not cease with their lurid and sensational representations of the ~~*Other*~~. In the U.S. Southwest, the museum exhibition directly compared Native cultures with Western

civilization and progress. This approach became much more pronounced in the late 1920s with the advent of tree-ring dating. This development allowed archaeologists to align the Gregorian calendar with ancestral sites and associated artifacts. In 1929, for the first time, locations including Mesa Verde could be directly compared to events was happening in Europe in the late thirteenth century. Tacitly, this engendered public assumptions about what that meant for the progress, development, and evolution of comparative cultures. Given that Boas's ideas were not widespread, archaeological exhibitions mainly focused upon the primary research of the academic discipline. During the early 1900s, this research was the concoction of cultural histories by EuroAmerican White people, typically illustrated in museums through the temporal progression in stylistic seriation of lithics and ceramics. Museum displays were entirely materialistic. Proper display entailed describing artifacts in terms of size, color, and age, with little consideration given to the lived moments that resulted in the production of those artifacts. The Native peoples were only a tiny part of the narrative.

Ultimately, archaeology peddled claims to authenticity when in reality they more sharply articulated prejudiced premises that were based on faulty and racial science. Any claim to authenticity on the part of archaeology must be discarded with the recognition that—although they are striving for authenticity—the best they could hope to achieve was precision by way of consensus. While this approach could produce concrete conclusions, they were not certain. Archaeology measured its progress by how precise the available data and theory afforded it to become. As knowledge move towards the apex, towards the vetted repository knowledge (see Introduction, Figure I.1), the pyramid becomes sharper and sharper as a reflection of how information at that level becomes more and more precise.

When did looting honestly end in archaeology? Did it ever cease? Is the archaeological work currently undertaken by universities, private companies, and the federal government leading to a production of knowledge? If so, whose knowledge, and what sort? And why are archaeologists still digging if there are millions of untouched artifacts and records in repositories and archives? How were archaeological approaches in 1950 different from those in 1850? Were archaeologists merely doing a better job of documenting what they looted? Did they ask permission to excavate and keep what they found? If so, did they ask the appropriate people? Were the items they took from peoples (or the descendants of peoples) who were compelled to allow it? Did it matter that archaeologists only studied people who were dead? Did it matter that they pillaged and robbed the graves of forgotten peoples who followed altogether different spiritual paths? Because Native peoples were of a different culture, a different religion, and a different "race," archaeologists could rob from them in the name of science with impunity. Because none had the will, might, or fortitude to resist or protest, archaeologists could do as they pleased in the name of science.

In 1934, Harold Gladwin and Emil Haury led the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation's excavations at the site of *Ska'kaik*. The Akimel O'Odham considered this site, located on the Gila River Indian Reservation, the sacred land of their ancestors. The research was revolutionary in terms of understanding the ancient "Hohokam." Thirty years later, in 1964, Haury returned to the site for further study, hoping to resolve chronological inconsistencies that had arisen since the original excavation. Following Haury's investigations in 1964, the Akimel O'Odham requested that the ancestral site, located on a federal site dedicated to preserving them, be reburied. The U.S. Congress enacted legislation to provide for the establishment of a National Monument at the location. In 2022, it remains

one of few National Monuments that the general public may not visit. Why? The following section of this dissertation will address the questions this instance evokes.

Notes

1. Don D. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology* (Albuquerque, NM: The University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 272.

2. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 273.

3. See details on the famous debate between Thomas Hobbes and Robert Boyle in Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).

4. Harold S. Gladwin, *A History of the Ancient Southwest* (Portland, ME: Bond Wheelwright Company, 1957), xviii.

5. Gladwin, *A History of the Ancient Southwest*, xvii-xviii.

6. Don Fowler, "E. L. Hewett, J. F. Zimmerman, and the Beginnings of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico, 1927-1946," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 59, no. 3 (Autumn, 2003): 310.

7. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology*, 245.

8. Ira Jacknis, "A New Thing? The NMAI in Historical and Institutional Perspective," *American Indian Quarterly* 30, no. 3/4, Special Issue: Decolonizing Archaeology (2006): 513-7.

9. "George G. Heye Fined $100. Convicted With Employes [*sic*] of Desecrating Indian Graves," *New York Times*, July 22, 1914.

10. "Indian Museum Officially Opened: Scientists, Federal Officials and Diplomats Attend Reception. Ten Aborigines Appear. Representatives Arrive as a Surprise to Express Appreciation of Work for Race," *New York Times*, November 16, 1922.

11. Nancy Owen Lewis and Kay Leigh Hagan, *A Peculiar Alchemy: A Centennial History of SAR, 1907-2007* (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research, 2007), 35-36.

12. Lewis and Hagan, *A Peculiar Alchemy*, 37.

13. Harold Sellers Colton, "The Geography of Certain Ruins near the San Francisco

Mountains, Arizona," in *The Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia* 16 (Lancaster, PA: The New Era Printing Company, 1918), 37.

14. "Outline History of the Museum, 1927-1950," [n.a.] [n.d.] Colton Family collection, MS-207, series 2, folder 173, Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, AZ.

15. During this time, Colton continued to publish work in the field of zoology. His earliest publications on the archaeology of the Southwest include: "Did the So-Called Cliff Dwellers of Central Arizona Also Build 'Hogans'?" *American Anthropologist* 22, no. 3 (1920): 298-301; *Survey of Prehistoric Sites in the Region of Flagstaff, Arizona* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 104 (Washington, D.C.: 1931); [with Mary-Russell Colton] "Petroglyphs, the Record of a Great Adventure," *American Anthropologist* 33 (1931): 32; "Sunset Crater: The Effect of a Volcanic Eruption on an Ancient Pueblo People," *Geographical Review* 22, no. 4 (1932): 582-90 and "The Earliest Dated Dwelling in the United States," *Science* 77, no. 1992 (1933): 240.

16. "Outline History of the Museum, 1927-1950," Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, AZ.

17. Alfred V. Kidder to Harold S. Colton, 19 October 1928, Colton Family collection, MS-207, series 1, folder 166, Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, AZ.; "Outline History of the Museum, 1927-1950," Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, AZ.

18. Correspondence between these two was extensive. See Colton Family collection, MS-207, series 1, folder 166, Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, AZ.

19. "The Hopi Craftsman July 1st - 5th Inclusive at the Museum of Northern Arizona 13th Annual Exhibition of Indian Arts," July 1924, A90,300, Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, AZ.

20. Emil W. Haury, "Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation: A History and Some Personal Notes," *KIVA* 54 no. 1 (1988): 9.

21. Haury, "Gila Pueblo," 3.

22. Haury, "Gila Pueblo," 2.

23. "Articles of Incorporation," 21 January 1936, Gila Pueblo Foundation Papers, MS-15, series 8, box 39, folder 6, Arizona State Museum Archives, Tucson, AZ.

24. Haury, "Gila Pueblo," 45.

25. Harold S. Gladwin to Emil Haury, 10 May 1930, Gila Pueblo Foundation Papers, MS-15, series 36, box 15, folder 8, Arizona State Museum Archives, Tucson, AZ.

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Part Two

Nationalizing Ownership of the Native Ancestral Landscape:

The National Park Service

Chapter Six: Co-Opting the Native Past and Landscape

In 1851, California Governor John McDougall assigned Major James Savage and his volunteer company of 200 pioneer-men, the Mariposa Battalion, to confront the Miwok and Paiute peoples. These Native groups were causing headaches for the encroachment of their lands by EuroAmerican colonialists. The influx of Anglo settlers and prospectors in the area brought a heightened level of contact between the Native groups living in California and the newly arrived White settlers. As the colonialists strained California's available resources, state administrative officials waged open war against Native California peoples, ultimately killing up to 6,000 Californian Native peoples in a series of conflicts that lasted until the early 1870s.[1] Major James Savage's campaign in this conquest and genocide began with the Mariposa War, in which 200 California state militia members killed or took prisoner members of 6 tribes in the San Joaquin, Merced, and Tuolumne River basins.

As the Mariposa Battalion pursued a group into the Western Sierra Nevada mountains of central California in spring, their pursuit led them led him to a glacial valley marked by high granite summits, dense pine forests, and the highest waterfall in North America.[2] In his 1891 retrospective memoir, Dr. Lafayette Houghton Bunnell, the battalion's surgeon, claimed to suggest the name "Yo-sem-i-ty" for the valley in recognition of the Native peoples they had chased from their homes.[3]

Far from being the untouched, natural wilderness John Muir would first encounter in 1871, the valley and the surrounding areas were the home of several thriving Native populations, including the Sierra Miwok, Mono, and Paiute. When Savage's battalion arrived

in the valley, named *Awani* by local Native peoples, they burned villages, destroyed food sources, and murdered members of the chief's family. Today the site of this atrocity is the centerpiece of one of the United States' most prestigious national parks. It was also the first piece of land set aside expressly to preserve its pristine natural beauty, the Yosemite Valley. On June 30th, 1864, Abraham Lincoln signed "An Act authorizing a Grant to the State of California of the 'Yo-Semite Valley' and of the Land embracing the 'Mariposa Big Tree Grove,'" designating the area as "held for public use, resort, and recreation."[4] This law is the foundation of the establishment of Yellowstone as the country's first national park eight years later.

Over two decades before Lincoln formally designated Yosemite for preservation and public recreation, artist George Catlin first conceptualized the idea of setting apart naturally beautiful lands for public enjoyment. In 1842, Catlin wrote,

> And what a splendid contemplation too, when one (who has travelled these realms, and can duly appreciate them) imagines them as they might in future be seen, (by some great protecting policy of government) preserved in their pristine beauty and wildness, in a magnificent park, where the world could see for ages to come, the native Indian in his classic attire, galloping his wild horse, with sinewy bow, and shield and lance, amid the fleeting herds of elks and buffaloes. What a beautiful and thrilling specimen for America to preserve and bold up to the view of her refined citizens and the world, in future ages! A nation's Park, containing man and beast, in all the wild and freshness of their nature's beauty![5]

Catlin, however, envisioned the natural parks as a place where not only the pristine beauty of the landscape was preserved but also the Native peoples who made the lands their homes and sources of traditional lifeways. Indeed, to Catlin, the Native peoples were part of the landscape and deserving of protection as much as its scenic beauty or the

bison that roamed it. Though, as history progressed, the approach to preserving natural lands necessitated the absence of Native peoples. As at Yosemite, where Native populations were all but destroyed, the Nez Perce of Yellowstone were run out of their traditional tribal lands, as were Native groups from Grand Canyon, Glacier, and elsewhere. The myth of the United States' national parks as pristine wildernesses untouched by humankind and unchanged since the primordial past is no more historical than the enduring narratives about the parks themselves.

Introduction

As histories of the various locations in the U.S. West first established as federally protected parks or monuments were detailed to park visitors, narratives of the landscapes' history and the peoples who had once inhabited them fell to archaeologists. In many cases, with no living descendants of the original caretakers of the lands, a study of material remains was required in order to construct narratives that provided depth and scope to the visitor experience. Without exception, these narratives supported a national myth. The fallacy asserted that the lands were not truly being utilized because the peoples who had inhabited them lacked the social complexity to make use of its natural resources properly. The stories presented to the public in the late 1800s resembled the same narratives present in the mid-1900s, and many persist to the present. Differences in presentation were merely of scope and refinement without abandoning the original central narrative.

As the U.S. continued to develop the holdings of the park system, additions were commonly recognized for their natural beauty. In treating Native peoples as part of the

landscape and thus part of the natural world, the federal government, aided by archaeologists, appropriated ancestral sites and associated lands as part of preserving pre-European relics of the past. Many locations of bygone peoples and cultures were spared from civilization's (and more specifically, homesteaders') reach because those areas were attractive to the park system due to their intrinsic beauty as well as the potential knowledge they could impart about the continent's pre-contact past.

In many cases, sites were "saved" from the Native people themselves, many of whom were direct descendants of earlier inhabitants' architects, builders, and residents. Nevertheless, archaeologists, relying heavily on racial pseudoscience, including craniometrics, asserted that living populations had no biological connection to many lands' Native past and, thus, no claim over the pre-contact sites or remains. In this manner, the discipline of archaeology directly contributed to the appropriation of Native lands for common ownership by the U.S. public. It could be assumed that the United States government would have wholesale appropriated these lands for parks without the argument and data of archaeologists. Nevertheless, archaeologists' claims bolstered the U.S. government's self-proclaimed right to supersede Native sovereignty and claim lands to which they had previously relinquished control.

This chapter will argue: (1) the National Park Service derived from the hostile takeover and appropriation of Native lands, often in violation of or without the appropriate application of Native treaties, specifically as an extension of settler colonialism; (2) archaeologists were complicit in the federal takeover of lands through the identification of ancestral sites and by lobbying for the urgent need of federal protection, in several cases where no immediate threats were identified; (3) the National

Park Service, during its continued evolution, created institutions, infrastructure, and branding asserted further and more direct control over Native lands; and thereby (4) together, archaeologists and the National Park Service employed ancestral sites to fortify a national narrative about conquest, manifest destiny, and cultural dominance the that contributed to the racialization of Native peoples of the U.S. thus marginalizing cultures, lives, histories as American citizens who were seen as the resident ~~*Other*~~.

Pre-NPS Yosemite

Although a popular misconception, Yosemite was not the first area that would later become part of the National Park Service. In 1832, U.S. Congress authorized setting aside an area of rural Arkansas designated as the Hot Springs Reservation.[6] Closely following Andrew Jackson's 1830 "Indian Removal Act," the protections extended to its lands provided the very first example of United States lands being set aside for preservation from private interests. On April 20, 1832, Andrew Jackson signed the bill reserving the hot springs "for the future disposal of the United States," preventing private individuals' exploitation of the thermal waters and springs.[7] The legislation reserved the lands; however, the Hot Springs National Park, as it is today known, holds a less significant place in the history of the National Park System and to the questions currently concerned here for two reasons. First, the Hot Springs reservation was not initially set aside specifically for public enjoyment and would not be until 1880. Instead, Jackson's designation of this land as a federal reservation merely meant that the lands should remain unmolested until which time further legislation would establish how the government would control and administer the area. More

importantly, at the time of the establishment of the Hot Springs Reservation, the land was no longer occupied by Native groups. In 1818, the Quapaw ceded the territory containing the Hot Springs to the United States government, and although they retained hunting rights on the land, by 1832, the U.S. government moved them west to Oklahoma as a result of Jackson's removal act.[8] It was not until 1880 that Congress set aside the lands containing Arkansas's Hot Springs reservation specifically for the purpose of public use. In 1921, Congress officially changed the federal reservation status and renamed it Hot Springs National Park.[9]

Among the national parks, Yosemite holds a distinctive place in that it was the first U.S. land set aside as a park for public recreation.[10] But when Yosemite was established as a state park under the control of California in 1865 (one year after Lincoln's formal designation), Native populations, who had not ceded their ancestral lands to the United States government, still resided there. Removing the Native populations from Yosemite set a precedent for dispossessing later groups of their lands. Mark Spence describes how Native removal at Yosemite, Yellowstone, and Glacier National Parks established the idea of wilderness inherent to the landscapes preserved within these parks and effectively became the model for how dispossession of Native lands is approached in other parts of the world.[11]

An act of Congress signed by Benjamin Harrison on October 1, 1890, designated Yosemite National Park, though its removal of Native peoples remained a slow and ongoing process.[12] The park itself was split between state and federal control, with California retaining control of Yosemite Valley and Mariposa Grove until 1906. Yosemite also remained under the protection of the United States Army until 1914, shortly after which the National Park Service took over in 1916. During that period, the remaining Native peoples

were not entirely removed from park lands, though their traditional lifeways were entirely upended with livelihoods dependent entirely upon tourism, selling crafts, and working as park laborers. Over several decades, their villages were consolidated while new Native groups were prevented from entering the park. In 1953, Stella C. Mancillas described the Yosemite Indian Village housing policy as restricting residency only to permanent employees and, by 1960, as moving the few remaining Native employees into employee housing provided for other Park workers.[13]

Pre-NPS Yellowstone

In response to three exploratory expeditions, U.S. Congress passed a resolution, signed by Ulysses S. Grant on March 1, 1872, that established Yellowstone as the first official National Park.[14] The 1869 Cook-Folsom-Peterson Expedition, the 1870 Washburn Expedition, and the 1871 Hayden Geological Survey brought Yellowstone into public view. The Northern Pacific Railroad also lobbied for its creation, hoping to draw more travelers to its northern line—observing in their 1883 travel guide, "[t]he only convenient method by which Eastern tourists may reach the remarkable Wonderland of America is by way of the Northern Pacific Railroad and its branch line from Livingston."[15]

Before the area could successfully be opened fully to tourists, the federal government needed to address the Native populations who traversed or hunted the vast Yellowstone lands. The most prominent among these were the various groups that comprised the eastern and northern bands of the Shoshone peoples. Their seasonal migrations in and around Yellowstone, where some of them, specifically the Tukudeka Shoshone, resided year-round

and used the high Alpine planes for both hunting and trading. They often created alliances with nearby groups, including the Nez Perce and Crow, during their migrations. Not only was Yellowstone fertile hunting grounds, but its geological features also tied closely with the spiritual worldview of several surrounding Native groups.

The 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty and the 1868 Crow and Shoshone treaties established a large part of the present-day national Park as United States territory. However, park boundaries were challenging to correspond with areas occupied by Native groups because the treaties provided for continued hunting rights. Because the land remained unoccupied by EuroAmerican settlers, Yosemite's game population remained plentiful. It was not until the late 1870s that the Bureau of Indian affairs began to curb the reservation rights of these Native groups. The BIA moved the only remaining permanent inhabitants, the Tukudeka, to reservation lands in southern Idaho in 1879. Although the park remained free of Native settlements, peoples from surrounding reservations continued to use the park as a hunting area through the end of the century.

The tourists who visited Yellowstone in the 1870s largely avoided contact with Native peoples, primarily because the latter avoided the popular destinations frequented by the interlopers. A notable exception occurred during the pursuit of the Nez Perce by William Tecumseh Sherman through Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana. As the Nez Perce journeyed for nearly ten weeks toward the Canadian border in order to escape conditions on reservation lands, they spent thirteen days in Yellowstone. They encountered a tourist group during that time and killed a couple of them, creating sensational national news. Protecting tourists and the nascent tourism industry in Yellowstone was of primary concern for the federal government, as Spence argues that included "a conviction that Yellowstone held no real

significance for the surrounding native communities."[16] An errant belief that Native groups held superstitious ideas about the various sulfuric features led administrators to argue that Native groups mostly avoided Yellowstone, a supposition that archaeologists have demonstrated to be false in recent years.[17]

Despite the assertion that Native peoples were not part of the Yellowstone landscape in 1872, Native use, migration, and connections to Yellowstone National Park were well documented. The Crow peoples, whose primary ranges were to the north of the Yellowstone, nevertheless claimed as part of their ancestral territories. A portion of the "Land of Vapors," (*Awe Pliawishe*) as they called it, in the Clarks Fork area was assured to them by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 but ultimately included in the Yellowstone Park.[18] From further north also frequently traveled the Blackfeet and Flathead, as is evident from archaeological evidence showing camps into the Yellowstone high lands as both a significant trade route and opportunity to hunt bison. The park's most notable resident group was commonly referred to as the "sheep eaters" due to their semi-nomadic encampments that followed bighorn sheep migrations across the Yellowstone Plateau. These peoples, one of three Shoshone peoples who frequented Yellowstone, were in fact named *Tukudika*. The most outrageous stereotypes and prejudices were reserved for this group. Philetus Norris's annual report for 1880 described them as "a pygmy tribe of three or four hundred timid and harmless."[19] Similar description reappears both in popular and scholarly literature. Various academics described the *Tukudika* as "feeble in mind and diminutive in stature" and "a timid and inoffensive tribe, marrying among themselves and at last became dwarfed."[20] These were not simply misguided racialized fantasies of an earlier time but popular ideas that survived into the 1970s. Ranger Paul Schullery described park interpretation in 1972 as presenting visitors

with the idea that *Tukudika* were "culturally deprived weaklings, hiding in a few remote areas of Yellowstone because they simply couldn't survive anyplace else."[21] Despite their admitted, though minimized residency in Yellowstone, it was asserted that they were afraid of its geysers; Superintendent Norris stated a "Shoshone Indian scout" named "We-Saw" described the geyser region as "'heap heap bad.'"[22]

An increase in tourism and a desire to preserve its game resulted in the federal government assigning protection of the U.S. Army to Yellowstone in 1886. In part, the U.S. Army's role was to protect game from the Native peoples who had frequently left their reservations for weeks at a time on seasonal hunts in Yellowstone lands. The "Indian problem," to which it was referred, sought to prevent hunting and fishing by Native groups and was willing to invoke military force to remove them, despite the expansive park boundaries. Of paramount concern was the bison, a small herd of which continued to survive in the park after being decimated on the plains.

Concentrated efforts by settlers, ranchers, and local EuroAmerican guides eager to protect their own investments and profits worked to exclude all Native peoples from the areas surrounding Yellowstone. In a landmark Supreme Court case in 1896 titled *Ward v. Race Horse*, the Supreme Court decided that the Wyoming ruling upholding Native hunting rights in Yellowstone would be dismissed, according to Spence, as "the 1868 treaty must be viewed in the context of American assumptions at the time – that is a temporary expedient that government officials expected neither to honor nor to uphold in light of subsequent events."[23] Because EuroAmerican White civilization had advanced to the borders of and was established around Yellowstone, the right to hunt did not mean the Native peoples could trespass upon settled lands. Moreover, the justices saw the treaty as temporary since

Wyoming, not a state at the time of the treaty, did not have to recognize treaty rights. The 1894 Lacey Act also nullified the hunting rights for Native groups who were be required to transport their hunting spoils across state lines. Although various Native groups still crossed into Yellowstone throughout the end of the 1800s, Yellowstone eventually became the non-inhabited wilderness it was first imagined as through the legislative removal of Native populations. The concept of Yellowstone as a wilderness, contrived though it was, lived on in the minds of tourists and park officials and was replicated in the parks that followed.

When Grant signed the Yellowstone National Park act into law, he accomplished far more than withdrawing two million acres in Montana and Wyoming from the public domain. The law's adoption created policy precedents for an institution that would be duplicated repeatedly in both the U.S. and elsewhere. It also provided an antecedent for identifying other natural and cultural resources in order to place them under federal jurisdiction. In the ensuing years, the battles faced in Congress between groups who supported and opposed federally administered lands cemented policies that defined the National Park Service.

Yellowstone's exceptional qualities and merit did much to establish this as a general policy of the federal government. At its most essential level, the creation of Yellowstone as a National Park instilled in the federal government the authority under proper circumstances to reserve lands expressly for the benefit and enjoyment of the American people. A further extension of that enjoyment was to keep lands unspoiled, preserving them for the enjoyment of future generations. This detail meant that not merely was the land protected, but so were all of its natural elements, including animal life, plant life, geological features, and—explicitly in later parks and monuments—cultural features and resources.[24] To the extent which the public could encroach upon the park lands for personal gain, the primacy of the

park area and its borders were paramount, not allowing any commercial enterprises aside from those essential for the park's operation.

Since the initial establishment of the first National Park at Yellowstone, the absence of Native peoples was requisite for establishing preserves free from the ecologically and environmentally damaging effects of humankind. The removal and exclusion of Native groups from Yellowstone established a federal policy concerning their relationship with parks. Their oscillating position as part of nature or not established mixed messages for how landscapes should be preserved. If Native peoples were, in fact, part of nature, they collectively represented the one species amongst multitudes to which protection and preservation were not extended.[25] Yellowstone National Park ranger Merrill D. Beal observed that excluding the Native populations from Yellowstone required also excluding their histories. This implication meant minimizing and erasing Native peoples from the natural landscape and the park's natural history. According to historian and seasonal park ranger Merrill Beal, these erasures of the Native past from the Yellowstone landscape included portraying the Native peoples as having never lived in Yellowstone at all and being dreadfully afraid of geyser activity. That continued assertion contrasted starkly with comments made by Chief White Hawk, a fleeing member of Chief Joseph's band, who as a seventy-four-year-old man in 1935 returned for a tour through the park by automobile. Lucullus Virgil McWhorter, an amateur historian of the Nez Perce, brought Chief White Hawk to Yellowstone as a tour through the major sites of the group's flight. Chief White Hawk asserted the Nez Perce were not afraid of the geysers because "startling manifestations of 'Mother Earth' did not alarm them," and implied the geysers were even used for cooking food."[26] Nevertheless, as Beal claimed, these false stories were shared broadly in order to

"neutralize any fear of Indian trouble," thereby protecting public interest in the park.[27]

Despite the attempt to eradicate Native peoples from the landscape of places like Yellowstone, many of their histories persist today. The ethnographic work of anthropologists including Clark Wissler, Alfred C. Kramer, as well as archaeological research by Philetus Norris and J. W. Brower, established the presence of Native groups' existence in Yellowstone. Carling Malouf undertook the first organized archaeological research project in 1958, the results of which were published a few years later in 1965.[28] A reason for this delay was that the park believed it required complete Native absence, past and present, in order to fulfill its mission and attract visitors. This shift in focus on the archaeological past in Yellowstone, over ninety years after the park was founded, resulted in the encouragement of collecting surface artifacts by park employees. A memo issued by Lemuel Garrison, a maintenance superintendent, advised employees to recover any artifacts they found, including "arrow points, stone knives, scrapers, axes or mauls, or fragments of stone or pottery vessels, or other objects of Indian manufacture" to preserve for future museum used and send them to the curator at Mammoth.[29] This shift represented a new National Park Service era in which the presence of Native peoples, rather than being, had become an attraction for potential visitors.

At the time when the first national park was founded, the prospects for Native groups included cultural assimilation through the reservation system or extermination due to noncompliance and continuing altercations with the war department. These two bleak outlooks began the myth of the "vanishing Indian." While the attitudes in Yellowstone regarding the erasure of Native groups aimed explicitly at fostering tourism, elsewhere in the proto-National Park Service, the Native peoples, or at least their material remnants, were of

paramount concern.

Pre-NPS Mesa Verde

Following the creation of Yellowstone and the expansion and federal control of Yosemite, several other important national parks were created in the period leading up to the protection of the first Native ancestral site.[30] U.S. Congress established Sequoia National Park and General Grant National Park (1890) to protect the massive Sequoia trees contained within both groves; and Mount Rainier (1899) to protect the single-peak, forty-eight square mile glacier system, Crater Lake (1902) on account of its extraordinary blue color in the crater of an extinct volcano. In each of these instances, the establishment of a National Park was expressly for the protection of the natural scenic beauty and that of animal and plant life. On the other hand, the establishment of Mesa Verde National Park in 1906 set a precedent for creating national parks to protect ancestral sites, which still inhabited a gray area in terms of the continent's cultural versus natural history.

As discussed in Chapter One, Richard Wetherill located the central "Cliff Palace" portion of Mesa Verde along with Charlie Mason in 1888. The subsequent looting by the Wetherill brothers and others ultimately culminated with the exploration, cataloging, and subsequent exporting to Norway many of the site's artifacts by Nordenskiöld, in 1891.[31] The movement to protect Mesa Verde began shortly after discovering that Nordenskiöld had broken no laws. Subsequently, despite being protected by high canyon walls, ancestral site after ancestral site were subjected to commercial looting, causing untold damage to the sites. In 1900, Virginia McClurg and Lucy Peabody, members of the Colorado Federation of

women's clubs, spearheaded the creation of the Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association in order to lobby for the protection of the site.[32] In contrast to the parks created prior, Mesa Verde was ultimately a result of efforts by private citizens.

Virginia McClurg (nee Donaghe), a well-known writer from New York, moved to Colorado in 1877. In 1882, she visited the Mesa Verde region for the first time to view the cliff dwellings that existed there. She returned four years later in 1886 with a much more well-outfitted expedition, including photographic equipment. Virginia began giving public speaking engagements on the cliff dwellings following the second visit, including one at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Following the conclusion of a lecture in 1894, Mary Bancroft, wife of Frederick Bancroft—co-founder and first president of the Colorado historical society—approached McClurg in order to strategize making Mesa Verde a National Park. Though their initial attempts failed, the creation of the Colorado Cliff Dwellings Association in 1900 she viewed as the only possible way to protect the ancestral site. In 1901 they leased part of the land from the Ute peoples and in the meantime ingratiated herself first with Jesse Walter Fewkes and later then-Vice President Theodore Roosevelt, the latter of whom historian Gary B. Nash has called "a leading Indian-hater of his generation," citing 1924's *Winning of the West*.[33]

One of the Association's members, Lucy Peabody, gained the support of Dr. Edgar Hewett to help lobby for the Hogg Bill protecting Mesa Verde. It was approved on June 7, 1906. However, after it was determined that the park boundaries specified in the bill did not actually include any of the intended five ancestral sites, an amendment was added prior to it being signed into law by President Roosevelt on June 29th. Coincidentally, Roosevelt had signed the Antiquities Act on June 8th, 1906, vesting him with authority, if he so chose, to

designate Mesa Verde as a national monument by presidential proclamation. Nevertheless, Mesa Verde's protection as a National Park was secured. It was the first time governmental protection was extended to lands expressly to protect Native pre-contact artifacts and sites.[34]

If Mesa Verde were protected expressly for preserving the scientific value of the artifacts located there, it would be difficult to tell from the initial excavations. Beginning in 1908 and continuing off and on until 1922, Fewkes led excavating a number of the ancestral sites. However, his work did not follow prescribed archaeological approaches at the time, primarily because his focus was on preparing the site for visitors. (See Figures 6.1a and 6.1b.) Subsequent research conducted by Jesse Nusbaum and Harold Gladwin did little to provide further context for the site. Research did not begin in earnest until 1939, primarily undertaken by Park staff, and it was not until 1951 that a general picture of the pre-contact occupation of the various ancestral sites at Mesa Verde emerged.



Figure 6.1a: Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Plate 3, Before Repairing," *Antiquities Of The Mesa Verde National Park: Spruce-Tree House*, Bulletin 41, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1909.

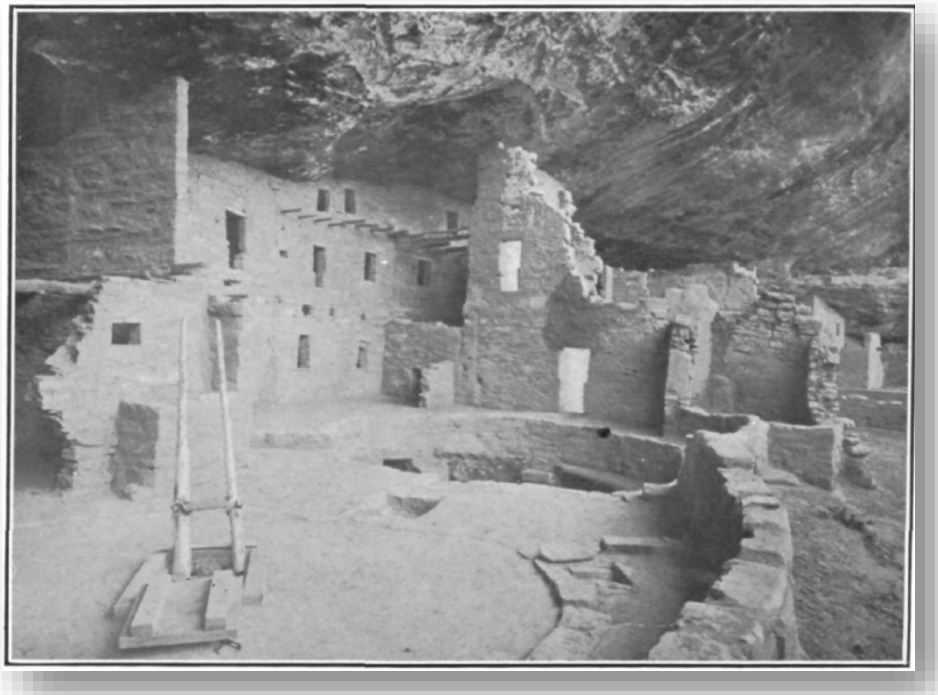


Figure 6.1b: Fewkes, "Plate 3, After Repairing," *Antiquities Of The Mesa Verde National Park*, 1909.

Archaeologists including Jesse Nusbaum and Edgar Lee Hewett helped the passage of the legislative efforts that created Mesa Verde as a National Park, but beyond the two of them, archaeologists played a minor role in its creation. Aside from Fewkes' early reconstruction and restoration efforts, the only focus of any scientific merit was on recovering wood samples for completing Andrew Douglass's tree ring sequence up until 1939. Primarily, Mesa Verde was a burgeoning tourist attraction. Like the national parks created before it, Mesa Verde was valued for its mere scenic splendor rather than the cultural history it encapsulated. Nevertheless, the tacit narrative inherently ascribed to the "ruins" of Mesa Verde established a precedent for why similar sites would be attractive to the National Park Service. Partially its role was to attract visitors, but the more important aspect was the ideas they left with.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the vanishing race narrative created a mythical representation of Native peoples of the U.S., which was reflected in anthropologists' approach to salvage ethnology. Similarly, the conservation work dedicated to early archaeological sites, beginning with Mesa Verde in 1906, is the material manifestation of that same ideology. Archaeologists like Hewett were not initially interested in the preservation and conservation of ancestral sites for understanding the broader history of the North American continent but for protecting the scientific assets they contained. Having gained the federal government's protection successfully, Mesa Verde attracted less attention from archaeologists than it would have if pot hunters and commercial looters continued to enjoy unfettered access to its cultural resources without penalty. But for what express purposes were ancestral sites such as those at Mesa Verde being preserved?

The text of the original Mesa Verde Act offers several clues for understanding the

federal government's intent. First, it was designated as off-limits from settlement and set apart as a public reservation. Second, it granted the Secretary of the Interior exclusive control to determine rules and regulations to "provide specifically for the preservation from injury or spoliation of the ancestral sites and other works and relics of prehistoric or primitive man within said park." In addition, all ancestral sites within five miles of the park boundaries "on Indian lands" or those not otherwise owned were also placed under the Secretary's custodianship. Third, the Secretary or their designees held the sole authority to grant permits for "examinations, excavations, and other gathering of objects" by anyone they deemed qualified provided the work was undertaken in the interest of "some reputable museum, university, college, or other recognized scientific or educational institution." The final provision outlined penalties for violations of this act.[35]

After the arrest and subsequent release of Nordenskiöld, the Southern Ute peoples, on whose lands the Mesa Verde ancestral sites exist, increasingly grew concerned about trespassing on their land and the removal of ancestral artifacts. In an 1894 letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Agent David F. Day recommended retaining the boundaries of the Southern Ute reservation to include the Mesa Verde sites as the Ute would not disturb them, keeping them preserved.[36] In 1901, when McClurg tried to the lease the lands, the Ute initially refused, though her efforts were eventually successful.[37] Beginning in 1903, once the proposal for a national park was entertained, the federal government sought to negotiate with the Weeminuche Ute to turn over these lands, in accordance with the 1888 Ute Treaty.[38] Although initially not all Weeminuche agreed, a majority were open to entertaining a sale of these lands.[39] The U.S. government took control of Mesa Verde and created the first national park dedicated predominantly to Native ancestral sites.

An amendment to the borders of the park was similarly approved by the Weeminuche Ute in 1911.[40] As before, the Weeminuche were not all in agreement. As historian Duane Smith described, at the council meeting on May 5, 1911, one Weeminuche decried the land exchange, and stated, "[y]ou want these houses so that the white men can come in and rob them. What does the government want [of] those old houses they will do them no good. Let them alone."[41] By the 1933, the Ute began disputing the park boundaries and the lands that were exchanged in its 1911 expansion. Following a geological survey, the park boundaries had been expanded again in 1913, as Balcony House was omitted from the original borders. Furthermore, they had grievances over Utes being excluded from working in the park, where Diné were exclusively employed.[42] In examining the park maps, the Ute determined the U.S. government swindled them, insisting that more land was taken than was given back. The Weeminuche were correct. The federal government relinquished only 14,520 acres, whereas 30,240 acres were appropriated to be added to the park.[43] The Weeminuche were justifiably furious.

The Weeminuche viewed the continued encroachment of Ute lands as outright thievery. Jack House, hereditary chief at the time, later attested that the Ute desired to keep the land, primarily for livestock grazing. Despite their wishes, the government had managed to assert federal control. In what would end up being a landmark decision, the Weeminuche brought suit against the United States in the Court of Claims in 1947. They did not seek a cash settlement. Instead, the Weeminuche wanted the lands returned. As the land was now under the control of Mesa Verde National Park, and by extension, the Secretary of the Interior, relinquishing the land would have taken an act of Congress. Instead, in 1952, the court awarded nearly $32 million to address their grievances.

Did the federal government collect Native artifacts and sites merely to embrace and preserve their primitive beauty? Or did they have a more considerable significance for an American identity that the Native creators and descendants did not share? Was there a scientific appeal for better understanding the history of the United States as it was then understood? Or, were archaeologists and others that sought to protect these sites merely interested in appropriating them to their exclusive domain? These questions can be illuminated, albeit slightly, by examining the first pre-contact site to gain federal protection, predating the creation of Mesa Verde National Park by fourteen years.

Archaeology as the source of monument creation

As an academic discipline, archaeology has primarily been concerned with how it can and should study the past. Nevertheless, the narrative that permeated the Southwest was one that the first Spanish explorers had first passed down. Anglo EuroAmericans explorers, settlers, anthropologists, and archaeologists, upon their arrival in the 1800s, inherited myths about the Native peoples and their ancestral lands. As archaeology developed in the late nineteenth century, the discipline was compelled to confirm or reconceptualize these narratives. At the time of Mesa Verde National Park's creation, there was the then-current idea that "Indians represented a culture history only a few hundred years long that ended just shortly before the 'white man set foot on the continent.'"[44] That idea supported a narrative that equivocated land rights in terms of length of possession: the Native peoples had been a part of the landscape only for barely as long as colonists. This perspective made a very clear justification for land claims and

exchanges like those in 1907, 1911, and 1913.

The work of Andrew Douglass upended this narrative and cast the Native past thousands of years backward in time. Quickly it became apparent that the ancestors of living Native peoples had resided in North America for far longer than Europeans. The finding of Folsom points in 1932 in association with mammoth bones at Blackwater Draw pushed the chronology back in time even further. Although scientists may have been convinced, even grudgingly, the public-facing narrative only changed slowly over sometimes immense periods. Unavoidably, the stories presented in museums and on public lands required far longer to be updated in a manner that reflected modern-day understandings.

When the government protected the first pre-contact ancestral site, archaeology, as a fledgling discipline, and its adherents played only supporting roles. While they agreed that the sites at Mesa Verde and Casa Grande should be preserved for the scientific potential they offered, the impetus and justification for their protection originated with non-archaeologists, specifically women including Mrs. Virginia Donaghe McClurg, Mrs. Lucy Peabody, and Mrs. Mary Hemenway, specifically for their primitive scenic beauty. As Native peoples were "vanishing" due to assimilation, extermination, or both, these ancestral sites were romantically viewed as unique treasures of a landscape Manifest Destiny had conquered. As relics of culture, they were not particularly viewed as imparting anything meaningful on the nation's history, though there was something particular about how they helped define the unique American identity. The presence of "Indians," the dangers associated with "Indians," and the absolute conquering of "Indians" is what set apart Americans from their European forebears.

The paradoxical perspective of American identity as at once set in opposition to its lands' Native inhabitants and as also incumbent upon them for comprehending national history is widely reflected in the rationale for protecting ancestral sites. The "possession" of those landscapes for public enjoyment provided visitors opportunities to imagine the nation's ancient past vicariously through the lens of the nation's true "natives." Indeed, the assertion of native birth, heritage, and ancestry professed by White EuroAmericans in the U.S. signified both the essential connection to the landscape needed for embodying a sense of ownership over its lands by the descendants of colonizers as well as the impossibility of realizing that embodiment in a material sense. In place of this existential impossibility, Americans (the non-native ones) mimicked indirectly, and at times directly, the sensibilities inherent to authentic connections to the landscape by Americans (the Native ones.) Phillip Deloria underscores this premise by asserting, "Americans wanted to feel a natural affinity with the continent, and it was Indians who could teach them such aboriginal closeness. Yet, in order to control the landscape they had to destroy the original inhabitants."[45] With many Native populations decimated by disease, warfare, starvation, and forced assimilation, their artifacts represented enduring and resolute vestiges of their past, preserved as "ruins" in museums or through ethnography. Deloria describes this fascination as a "national fantasy" but argues that "Indian play," as he terms it, "was perhaps not so much about a desire to become Indian—or even to become American—as it was a longing for the Utopian experience of being in between."[46] While this may partially be true, his evocation of "anarchy" as a way to balance this dichotomy is at odds with the institutional structures put in place in places like Mesa Verde National Park, Casa Grande National Monument, and Navajo National Monument that specifically sought to simultaneously reinforce and cloud

the distinctions that separate these two disparate types of "Americans." The various modes of interpretation implemented by archaeologists, the Park Service, and the Department of the Interior reflected a perspective of American (again, the non-native one) identity that was wholly dependent on how Americans (the Native ones) and their past were presented. In this sense, Deloria would seem to agree, noting that "American freedom rests on the ability to wield power against Indians—social, military, economic, and political—while simultaneously drawing power from them."[47] In terms of national parks and monuments, the origin of this power emanated from possessing, naming, and interpreting the Native past in manners congruent to a broader national narrative and, thus, the identity with which it was associated. The federal government legislated, codified, and sanctioned the extortion of the Native identity to augment the "native" identities insisted upon by its latest—or, depending on individual perspective, ultimate—rightful inhabitants.

Because no federal authority or legislation prior to the 1906 Antiquities Act protected ancestral sites like those at Mesa Verde and Casa Grande, their designation as federally protected lands was the only recourse for preventing their continued destruction decimation by vandals and looters. The campaign for the act itself was more about protecting pre-contact relics as scientific data than it was about preserving the ancestral sites' splendor. As the government discovered, the ancestral sites were valuable not only for their scientific value but also for their potential to attract visitors to the newly formed southwestern states, in which Native peoples were viewed as "primitive" components of the natural landscape. Indeed, "the Office of Indian Affairs maintained the policy of trying to eliminate everything aboriginal from the American Indian by substituting therefore something that originated with the white man."[48] Although their ancestral sites were revered, admired, and folded into a

larger "American" identity, the same was not true for the people themselves. Over time, however, Native peoples did become a central part of the attraction of national parks and monuments as well, with various federal agencies "securing the means for encouraging some of their native industries."[49]

The preservation of Native ancestral sites as places of wonder, the burgeoning market for Native handicrafts including blankets and pottery, and the opportunities to interact with Native peoples themselves became three central facets to creating a tourist economy focused on the fetishization of the Southwest. Unlike the prior decades where Native groups could be perceived to present dangers for the enjoyment of the Southwest, their relegation to reservations, appropriation of their ancestral sites as national symbols, and promotion of their work as artisans provided a sanitized and domesticated version of the peoples who had claimed and exerted authority over those same lands as recently as 100 years prior.

Pre-Antiquities Act: Casa Grande – the first?

Even though Mesa Verde was the first Native ancestral site made into a national park, it was not the first to enjoy federal protection. The earliest pre-contact ancestral site to come under federal "protection" is a debatable subject among some archaeologists and historians, though the dispute is merely one of semantics. In September 1889, the General Land Office withdrew from homesteading an area in the Mesa Verde vicinity, not part of the Mesa Verde administrative unit itself. One of the largest ancestral settlements in the area, Goodman Point Ruin, is today part of Hovenweep National Monument, which straddles the southerly borders of Colorado and Utah. Goodman Point was estimated to be twice the size of Mesa Verde's

Cliff Palace and one of the most significant sites in the entire area, although interest in it was limited following its initial protection.[50] Shortly before 1919, Fewkes conducted a quick survey of the area and produced a very brief description, but full-scale excavations were not undertaken until the 1970s.[51] While its 1889 withdrawal prevented the pueblo from being taken into private ownership, it was not designated as a federal reservation and did not receive proper federal protection until Harry S. Truman signed a proclamation in April 1951 expanding Hovenweep National Monument to include the Goodman Point Ruin.[52]

In contrast, the ancestral site of *Sivan Vahki*, known commonly as Casa Grande, located south of present-day Phoenix, Arizona, received robust protections after a reasonably quick campaign. As such, it is correctly considered the first "prehistoric" location and ancestral site in the United States to receive protection as a site of cultural and historical significance through federal reservation status. The structures were already located on parcels exempted from private ownership for the purposes of a school.[53] Following the Hemenway expedition discussed in Chapter One, members from the patron's elite Boston social circle began lobbying politicians and "Indian fighter"-turned-ethnologist Capt. John Bourke to preserve "Casa Grande" and protect it from looting and vandalism. Widely publicized photographs of Sivan Vahki's primary building, the great house, were captured and distributed beginning in 1877. They persuaded Massachusetts Senator George Hoar to support their cause which he presented in February 1889.

> Mrs. Mary Hemenway, who has been eminent as a benefactress to many institutions of education… calling the attention of Congress to the ancient and celebrated ruin of Casa Grande, an ancient temple of the prehistoric age, of the greatest ethnological and scientific interest … state that this ruin, which is one of the most interesting monuments of antiquity in the world, a temple of great beauty and architectural importance, which was a ruin when Columbus discovered America, is especially worthy of the care of the Government; that it is in danger of being destroyed by

> visitors…. and the desire of the petitioners is that the Government will take proper measures to have the ruin protected from injury by visitors….[T]hey are willing that all the scientific discovery there shall go to the benefit of the Smithsonian or other Government institution.[54]

Frank Hamilton Cushing, leader of Hemenway's expedition, also approached the issue through the Secretary of the Interior. The following month in March 1889, Congress approved the petition, pending the president's approval and including funds for preservation. Meanwhile, secretary of the Interior John Noble approved $2,000 worth of funds to begin work on repairs at *Sivan Vahki* and protected from continued degradation by vandalism and extreme weather conditions. Anthropologist Victor Mindeleff was appointed through the Bureau of Ethnology to complete evaluations for repairs. Victor submitted his report in July 1890 but departed the Bureau of Ethnology soon after. In his place, his brother Cosmos Mindeleff was appointed to begin making the recommended repairs beginning in November 1890.

At that time, Presidents Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison made no attempts to approve the reservation of Casa Grande lands authorized by Congress nearly two years earlier. Repairs on the building, coordinated with the aid of Custodian Isaac T. Whittemore, commenced in 1891. Because the land had not yet been set apart as a federal reservation, there were limits to what these caretakers could accomplish. Relying on his standing at the Bureau of Ethnology, Cosmos Mindeleff successfully convinced the Secretary of the Interior to persuade President Benjamin Harrison to approve the reservation. On June 22nd, 1892, he signed the 1889 congressional recommendation placing 480 acres under federal protection. In doing so, it became the first pre-European ancestral site protected by the U.S. government.

Part of the importance of the Sivan Vahki, according to John Wesley Powell and

based on Cosmos Mindeleff's report in the *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, was the extent to which the Spanish recorded details of the site.

> A considerable part of current knowledge concerning the construction of the larger buildings of the plain springs from studies of the Casa Grande (the "Great House" of Spanish explorers)….This structure was discovered, already in ruins, in 1694, by Padre Kino; and it has ever since been a subject of note by explorers and historians. Thus its history is exceptionally extended and complete. By reason of the early discovery and its condition when first seen by white men, it is known that Casa Grande is a strictly aboriginal structure….Many other structures were mentioned or described by the Spanish explorers, but the impressions of these explorers were tinctured by previous experiences in an inhospitable region, and their descriptions were tinged by the romantic ideas of the age. Moreover, nearly all of these structures disappeared long ago—indeed, with the exception of Casa Grande ruin, there is hardly a structure left by which the early accounts of Spanish explorers in North America can be checked and interpreted. Casa Grande is, therefore, a relic of exceptional importance and of essentially unique character.[55]

The implication for this observation was that as archaeological data, Sivan Vahki could provide a check and balance to early reports of Spanish explorers. This remark was critical because it asserted that protection of ancestral sites was imperative for understanding and interpreting other sites thereafter in the Southwest. Descriptions of Sivan Vahki by late-nineteenth-century archaeologists and ethnologists, including Adolph bandolier, Frank Hamilton Cushing, Jesse Walter Fewkes, and Victor and Cosmos Mindeleff, could be used to reconcile earlier reports during Spanish colonization. In doing so, Sivan Vahki could function as a lens for understanding Spanish observations and perspectives on other pre-contact locations encountered during various explorations in the preceding two centuries.

As later at Mesa Verde, following the approval of Casa Grande as a federal reservation, little work was undertaken to understand its broader significance to the Southwest or in interpreting other sites in the Southwest. In June 1902, Congress

appropriated funds to build a roof over the main great house in order to protect it from the elements. In 1907, he requested that recovered artifacts remain on-site for display in a future museum (later completed in 1922) rather than being shipped to other Arizona cities or out-of-state. During two brief excavation seasons in 1907 and 1908, Fewkes completed drainage and stabilization work primarily focused on the site's preservation.[56] When Arizona's mission to achieve statehood was realized in 1914, tourism at Casa Grande became of paramount concern. However, its status as neither a National Park nor National Monument left it in a peculiar position until it was officially designated a national monument by presidential proclamation in August 1918.[57]

Identifying Native ancestral sites

Although archaeologists were not initially responsible for mobilizing efforts to protect the ancestral sites at Mesa Verde and Casa Grande, they were instrumental in helping those efforts succeed and in the continued protection of those locations. As the twentieth century began, one of archaeologists' primary tasks was identifying Native ancestral sites for federal protection. Though not exclusively, the sites identified were primarily throughout unsettled lands in the West, and particularly the Southwest, where the arid climate bolstered the preservation of various locations. However, one of the earliest of these, Pueblo Bonito at Chaco Canyon, owed its protection to the territoriality of early archaeologists. In an attempt to remove the Wetherills from Pueblo Bonito, Edgar Lee Hewett lobbied tenaciously for its protection, ultimately being instrumental in seeing the passage of the Antiquities Act in the process. This example is simply one of many similar efforts, though those after 1906 enjoyed

the Antiquities Act's regulations. Nevertheless, simply identifying an ancestral site and recommending its protection did not necessarily mean it would be placed under the auspices of the federal government as a national monument.

Jesse Walter Fewkes, successor to Frank Hamilton Cushing as director for the Hemenway expedition, archaeologist with the Bureau of Ethnology, and later director for the Bureau of American Ethnology (the bureau added "American" to its name in 1897), was one of the first archaeologists who, with Hewett, pressed for the preservation of historical and cultural sites. Along with the ethnological perspective of the Native peoples as a vanishing race, he viewed their material remains as potentially disappearing as well. "The science of archeology has contributed to our knowledge some of the most fascinating chapters in culture history, for it has brought to light, from the night of the past, periods of human development hitherto unrecorded."[58] Concerning the archaeological sites that he himself had discovered, Fewkes hoped to see each of them extended government protection. "I have purposely limited my consideration to the two largest ruins of this section, and have given to them the names Palatki, Red House, and Honanki, Bear House, using Tusayan nomenclature, notwithstanding the Hopi have no names known to me for these ruins."[59] Writing in the late nineteenth century, these two sets of ancestral sites in the Red Rock area of central Arizona near Sedona were in danger of suffering damage beyond the extent they had already endured at the hands of other Native groups. The persistent and impending encroachment of EuroAmerican settlers convinced Fewkes that it was his duty to see to their protection as an archaeologist.

> Palatki has suffered sorely at the hands of Apaches, who have wrenched many of the beams from the walls for firewood and overthrown sections of the front wall. As a rule, the southwestern ruins are now suffering more from the white man than from the Indian. If this destruction of the cliff-houses of New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona

> goes on at the same rate in the next fifty years than it has in the past, these unique dwellings will be practically destroyed, and unless laws are enacted, either by states or by the general government, for their protection, at the close of the twentieth century many of the most interesting monuments of the prehistoric peoples of our Southwest will be little more than mounds of debris the bases of the cliffs. A commercial spirit is leading to excavations for objects to sell, and walls are ruthlessly thrown, buildings torn down in hope of a few dollars' proper designation of the way our antiquities are treated is vandalism. Students who follow us, when these cliff-houses all disappeared and their instructive objects scattered by of traders, will wonder at our indifference and designate negligence by its proper name. It would be wise legislation prevent this vandalism as much as possible and good science put all excavation of ruins in trained hands."[60]

Fewkes was among many archaeologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who sought the protection and preservation of archaeological remains specifically in the interest of saving the data associated with them; other prominent scholars committed to preserving Native antiquities were Frederic Ward Putnam and Franz Boas. Setting aside U.S. lands to protect ancestral sites was part of the more general progressive conservation movement in the United States.[61] What ostensibly started as a solution for protecting Native artifacts became a way for executives-in-chief to assert federal control over various cultural, historical, and natural resources.

A national park service

The creation of the National Park Service instituted a significant turn in how archaeologists protected, identified, and interpreted Native sites. Although most parks created until that time did not primarily focus on Native peoples, it can be assured that each one contained, to one degree or another, human remnants of the pre-European past. Over

time, these parks would come to embrace the cultural heritage and history of Native peoples to add another layer of interpretation of the natural world to the "outdoor museum" for helping visitors understand park lands for visitors. While visitors are not passive receptacles—but active agents who use exhibition spaces in different ways—the process of interpretation and translation of peoples and culture to exhibits and other public-facing venues powerfully shape visitors' experiences.

The protection of pre-European Native landscapes and their designation as national monuments would not merely be the end of the story. Already visitors were coming to see the Cliff Palace dwellings at Mesa Verde. As the National Park Service got created and started ramping up visitors and creating concessions to attract and support even more of the public, interpretation would become a central focus. The act of setting aside those pieces of land was an act of settler colonialism, including the colonization of sovereign Native lands established by treaty and the colonization of lands unfit for agriculture or other production. The Antiquities Act protected artifacts in the Southwest from looting "on paper," but that did not stop permitted professionals, including those from eastern institutions, universities, and museums, from continuing to loot ancestral sites without always employing scientific techniques preserving their obedience instead merely collecting museum pieces. The preservation of these locations fit into a broader idea about the United States and undergirded a nationalistic narrative about how the United States evolved and grew as a nation through manifest destiny and the appropriation of lands from France, Spain, and Mexico, all inhabited initially by Native peoples. Nonetheless, the preservation of Native architecture on the landscape had more than a mere romantic and scenic effect.

The creation and evolution of the National Park Service had profound consequences

on how Native artifacts and ancestral sites were ultimately managed, studied, and interpreted. By 1916, the extent of federal holdings, including protected pre-contact Native sites, became too large and unwieldy for decentralized administration. The U.S. federal government, through various agencies, administered fifteen national parks; thirty-six national monuments administered through the Department of the Interior, the Department of Agriculture (Forest Service), and the War Department; and two federal reserves.[62] At the time, the manner in which parks and monuments were administered and perceived were strikingly different. Whereas monuments were generally smaller reservations of land set up to protect from outside encroachment and vandalism, parks were outdoor recreation areas intended as natural resort-like areas. Monuments, too, were established under decentralized federal units until all national parks and monuments were consolidated under the bureaucratic administration of the National Park Service—itself a subagency of the Department of the Interior—in 1933. In the interim, the various secretaries took no action to standardize regulations for how national monuments were protected and interpreted.

The Department of the Interior, Department of Agriculture, and War Department each unevenly granted permits to undertake archaeological excavation at monuments until 1933, with the National Park Service administering such activity in the parks themselves. This organization led to uneven regulations and standards. The changes the National Park Service went through in 1933 and the years that followed radically changed how cultural artifacts were accessed, managed, and studied. Among the changes instituted with the 1933 act was the introduction of new park designations, including "National Historical Park," which eventually resulted in the redesignation of Pecos and Chaco.

Of those changes, the most significant for how parks and monuments were managed

was the reorganization of 1933. This act consolidated all national parks and monuments (both of the federal reserves at Hot Springs, Arkansas, and Casa Grande, Arizona, had been turned into national monuments) under the National Park Service in the Department of Interior. The War Department and the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture relinquished custody of the monuments they managed, resulting in a single monolithic bureaucratic system managing all of the nation's park holdings. At that time, the various historical buildings in Washington D.C. were also put under the control of the National Park Service. With each of the National Monuments of National Parks that held cultural or historical significance under their control, the National Park Service asserted a mission that prioritized preserving the past for the enjoyment of future generations. The preservation of historic sites act in 1935 expanded the Park Service's authority, allowing it to independently research, evaluate, preserve, and conduct research on historic properties that were not directly under its control. This portion of the act provided for historical surveys the Park Service would use to identify and designate non-park lands, buildings, and Native artifacts worthy of protection. In addition, a mission of educating the public became prioritized, as did interpretation for public audiences. Although various parks and monuments had up until that point established their own museums, the 1935 act provided stipulations for the establishment of the new museums under the umbrella of the federal government.

One of the most important internal changes that took place during this period was the creation of the Museum Division. Until its creation in 1935, interpretation and exhibits were handled locally and amateurishly by custodians, park rangers, and other park employees. This arrangement often led to unprofessional interpretations and museum displays. However, as was the case with archaeological museums, experts in the field were designated to design

and implement exhibits.

Protecting scientific data?

The assertion that the Antiquities Act was desperately needed in order to preserve scientific data seemed suspiciously disrespected given the way the ancestral sites were excavated, the manner in which the details were cataloged and reported, and the reconstructions and restorations of the ancestral sites themselves. Combined, these actions did more to obliviate the scientific data than perhaps the looters and pot hunters who proceeded sanctioned museums that scoured the Southwest. In light of the archaeological approaches that took place directly following the implementation of the Antiquities Act, and indeed for the next fifty years following, archaeology in the Southwest appears more similar to a "racial project" in the characterization of Michael Omi and Howard Winant than a concrete science. These sociologists describe a racial project as "simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial identities and meanings, and an effort to organize and distribute resources (economic, political, cultural) along particular racial lines."[63] In terms of the manner in which ancestral Native lands and cultural artifacts were quickly becoming the property of a EuroAmerican United States government, it is difficult to define the National Park Service, and with it the discipline of archaeology in the U.S. Southwest, as doing anything but interpreting, representing and explaining the Native past which was by definition an identity that defined the endemic American other while also redistributing wealth in the form of cultural artifacts (archaeological and contemporary) and potential economic (tourism) resources under the political hegemony of a federal department.

Archaeologists and the discipline of archaeology itself were not merely complicit in this reallocation (power) of resources but the driving force behind it in a very fundamental way. From this perspective, the goals of the racial project are clear: the justification for the historical and contemporary takeover of Native lands, sovereign or otherwise, for the benefit of the U.S. government and "white" Western EuroAmericans, while also diminishing any blameworthiness or wrongdoing of that takeover through the continued justification of manifest destiny defended as the unavoidable results of cultural contact between Europe and the Americas. The data that was being protected was not necessarily such that would eventually be lost to the ravages of time, but instead desperately needed to continue propping up this American ideal during a period in which assimilation was slowly giving way to multiculturalism.

At the time, however, these impetuses were not acknowledged and recognized, instead ostensibly continuing the push towards "hard" science and "true" facts. As the National Park Service continued its evolution and re-prioritization of research, this observation becomes clearer. In 1935, the Historic Sites Act made stipulations for comprehensive research "to obtain true and accurate historical and archaeological facts and information."[64] It stipulated that research activities on behalf of the National Park Service were essential to understanding archaeological sites. This historical site legislation made reporting on the work like what was done at Wupatki an essential part of the research conducted, without which the excavation was essentially meaningless. In conclusion, he noted:

> To maintain true professional standards, to handle the work involved promptly, efficiently and at as low a cost as possible, and through that means to cultivate true historical standards and a genuine and widespread interest in preserving the important

> remains of our national past is the fundamental justification of the work of the Research Division.[65]

Arguing that the National Park Service could not reliably depend on state and governmental and nongovernmental local agents to provide dependable data, the service at the federal level became more involved in research and development of archaeological sites, at times blended or and mingled with the outlook for historic sites. Still, the focus remained on the reliable collection of data, as noted by a 1937 memorandum called for a new system of cataloging and recording archaeological specimens that they hoped would better document and preserve this precious data. The guidelines listed within "Definitions and Objectives of National Historical and Archeological Monuments, National Military Parks, Etc.," at the Fourth Advisory Board Meeting held March 25-26, 1937, established how these ancestral sites were defined as well as their purpose as national monuments:

> National historical and archeological monuments are those areas which have been set aside because they contain the remains of some historic or pre-historic structure whose age, beauty, or historical or archeological significance makes them worthy of national recognition and preservation. . . . The objectives of national historical and archeological monuments are to preserve and protect against deterioration the physical remains of historic and pre-historic structures which are of outstanding historical or archeological significance, to restore those remains where it appears feasible or advisable to do so, and to interpret them to the American public in a way that will make their importance readily understood.[66]

From this definition that the use of the word "American," it is clear that the Advisory Board were not referring to all peoples of the American continents, nor the Native people of the continent, but rather the EuroAmerican colonialists and their descendants who, now in their third century of occupation, saw themselves as "natives." This statement marks one of the earliest assertions by the National Park Service that one of their primary missions and goals were the interpretation of archaeological sites. NPS Director Cammerer's 1938 policy

statement stated a “basic function of the National Park Service is the preservation and interpretation of historic sites,” by which it was “necessary that the relationship of historical and archeological research to development programs of such areas be clearly understood.”

The turn towards a more scientifically rigorous National Park Service with a mission of interpretation culminated as the agency neared its fiftieth anniversary, during which time it underwent several radical changes. Beginning in 1956, the National Park Service Director Conrad L. Wirth authorized Mission 66, a 10-year program by the 50th anniversary that, among other accomplishments, greatly expanded visitor centers and Museum spaces throughout the Park Service properties. Especially in the U.S. West, where Native peoples epitomized the so-called frontier, even those parks and monuments not initially dedicated primarily or even secondarily to the Native past established interpretive programs that provided a Western perspective of that past largely through the lens of U.S. archaeology.

Perhaps the most significant development of the National Park Service in this era was the passage of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act. Again, because archaeological sites were historic in the sense that they contributed to the national narrative, ancestral sites and their management also fell under this act. One of the consequences was that all parks and monuments were cataloged in the National Register of Historic Places. An implication of this change was that they each came under the collective umbrella of the newly created federal agency, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. This shift not only changed how ancestral sites were managed but required the identification and evaluation of archaeological sites that would potentially warrant inclusion in the national register of historic places. This identification was not intended to be merely passive or by happenstance, but rather the federal level directed locally designated land managers to seek out, search for, and evaluate

potential sites. In support of this new mission, the Midwest Archeological Center was created as a support unit to conduct the necessary archaeological work.

In a set of supplemental policies adopted two years later, in 1968, the National Park Service severely curtailed the conditions under which archaeological sites could be reconstructed or preserved, such as those completed previously at the examples provided above. Specifically, these new guidelines only authorized reconstruction in instances where evidence of a structure had nearly disappeared, and its reconstruction was essential for public interpretation, there was sufficient extant data to ensure an accurate re-creation, and that the new structure be located on its originally established site. A policy revision in 1975 explicitly forbade reconstruction except in the rare instances that met the previously mentioned criteria as well as the added requirements that no other remains would be destroyed by the reconstruction, and all art alternatives were explored, placing preservation steadfastly ahead of public interpretation.[67] By that time, the National Park Service had established a sixty-year history of reconstructing and restoring, at times quite horrifically, ancestral sites to fit contemporary ideas about how those structures fit into the broader American conquest narrative.

The CCC and CWA/WPA

Among the most significant developments to the long-term future of the parks during its early period was the impact of programs grated by Franklin Delano Roosevelt's new deal. The Great Depression saw twenty-five per cent of the U.S. out of work and left many to cope with food and housing insecurity. With a slew of backlogged projects, the new National Park

Service stood to be one of the major beneficiaries of Roosevelt's new deal initiatives, specifically providing work for unemployed archaeologists, historians, museum curators, and other types of historic preservation professionals. The creation of various programs through the Emergency Conservation Work Organization (ECW), including the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the Public Works Administration (PWA), Civil Works Administration (CWA), and Works Progress Administration (WPA), established the National Park Service as the principal employer of these groups.[68] Following the end of the programs run and the United States' subsequent involvement in World War II, many of the enrollees from these programs would go on to leadership positions in the National Park Service.

With the consolidation and reorganization of the National Park Service in 1933, the Department of the Interior was able to allocate their various relief funds to improvements beyond the basic park development. The Park Service initially used ECW funds, administered as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), not only to hire out-of-work historians and archaeologists but also to attract and hire students to supervise technical projects in national parks and monuments. These recruits served various roles, including conducting archaeological excavations, planning historic restorations, developing interpretive material, and designing cultural resource projects. The Park Service provided additional training in history and archaeology in consultation with national superintendents in order to provide the best possible preservation of Native cultural and historical architecture and artifacts with the intended purpose of demonstrating for park visitors the significance of the historical objects in the park's national history. It was not until 1936, following growing concerns over adequate professionalism, that the Park Service instituted civil service exams for historians and archaeologists.[69]

The CCC, during 1933-1942, employed an army of historians, archaeologists, and laborers to complete improvements and additions to the National Park system. Among their many tasks were building roads and trails that provided better public access to many Native ancestral sites were frequently bringing more numbers of the public in contact with Native relics and histories that, until that time, many of which had been precariously tricky to access. Also of note was the CWA which operated from 1933 to 1934 and was later replaced by the WPA from 1935-1943. Together, these initiatives employed workers who completed stabilization, restoration, and reconstruction projects throughout many sites in the U.S. Southwest, including those at Aztec Ruins, Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, and Tuzigoot. However, to what extent was this work faithful to the Native past remains anyone's guess.

While in modern times, the practice of reconstruction, and to a lesser extent restoration, is avoided by the National Park Service, in the early 1900s, the practice was common throughout the Southwest. It was not until the 1950s that reconstruction was opposed, and not until the 1980s was stabilization the preferred and dominant sort of preservation aimed at Native architecture.[70] Fewkes advocated widely for his approach during 1908 excavations at Spruce Tree House at Mesa Verde, in which the associated reconstruction and restoration efforts were central to his archaeological work.[71] Since that time, how the National Park Service managed ancestral sites became more defined, but not without debate by those both for and against site reconstruction.[72] Among the concerns about reconstruction was the selectiveness required in determining which history to demonstrate, first articulated by the Chief Historian of the National Park Service, Verne E. Chatelain, in 1936. "Otherwise intelligent people . . . seem not to see that in taking steps to effect the restoration of certain historic sites, they are making a decision which may mean the

destruction of all the record of a certain period of history, irreplaceable in nature for all time to come."[73] As such, an understanding of how Native ancestral sites on public lands emerged as monuments and parks requires careful consideration. Indeed, for ancestral sites with a deep history covering hundreds of years and possibly discrete occupations by disparate groups, reconstruction and restoration would inevitably be inaccurate to one degree or another merely by representing a single part of a selected history. The problems demonstrated with this widely employed approach during the years of the various new deal programs are demonstrated by the ancestral site known today as Tuzigoot National Monument.

tú zighoot

Lewis Caywood and Edward Spicer, archaeology graduate students from the University of Arizona, were among the graduate students the CCC employed during this period. The pair began excavations in 1933 under the direction of Arizona State Museum's director Byron Cummings. In the Verde Valley of central Arizona, just north of the town of Cottonwood, AZ—located just south of Fewkes's Palatki and Honanki sites—on a hilltop of land owned by the United Verde copper company, the ancestral sites that Caywood and Spicer would later name Tuzigoot were unknown and unstudied in 1932. A surface survey of the area indicated pre-contact occupation by several apparent signs. There were rocks scattered across the top of the 120 ft. ridge where Tuzigoot sat that had likely been used in the construction of walls. Vaguely, the outline of a few possible rooms could be perceived. More definitively, there were quantities of ceramic shards, lithics, and shells beads present.

Below the ridge, evidence of pothunting in the form of debris was present, including the disposal of human skeletal remains.

As was standard for the time, Caywood and Spicer dug trenches around the ridge in order to locate burials that would conclusively demonstrate the presence of ancestral sites. But the burials themselves and the skeletal remains they contained were the actual "prize" of the entire excavation. One of the reasons skeletal remains were so attractive to Caywood and Spicer was what they believed the data could tell them about the inhabitants of Tuzigoot. This approach meant using anthropometrics in an attempt to show affinity or difference with other Native peoples, as was a common approach to physical anthropology at the time.

> The stature of the Tuzigoot series, following Hooton, was computed by the tibia measuring formula of Pearson. In comparison with the stature of people of the Southwest, the results are quite reasonable and may be considered approximately accurate at least. The small number of individuals considerably lessens, the of the means, although the very small standard deviations may indicate that they are fairly typical. The females are surpassed by the males by ll. 84 cm., approximately the average difference found by Hrdlička for other Indians of the Southwest….In the entire series of statures of the Indians of Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico, Tuzigoot holds a rather intermediate position, its closest affinity lying with the Southern Ute…. In summary, the Indians of Tuzigoot were large headed with rather small faces, were of medium height end of a much slenderer build than that of the Pecos Indians. The variations they show from other Indians of the prehistoric Southwest suggest that there may have been physical differences which are possibly correlated with some cultural difference.[74]

Caywood and Spicer were not relying on fringe sources. Earnest Hooton co-founded the American Association of Physical Anthropologists several years earlier, in 1928, and later served as the president from 1936 to 1938. Aleš Hrdlička was the first Curator of Physical Anthropology at the Washington D.C. National Museum of Natural History, beginning in 1903, and established the American Journal of Physical Anthropology in 1918. From Hooton's perspective, using various measurements to define race, the feeble-minded, and the

criminals ("a vicious brute to be exterminated without ruth"—though possible to rehabilitate), society should isolate and eradicate the degenerate, worthless, and unfit populations of our society, much like eugenicists including Charles Benedict Davenport, Madison Grant, Cesare Lombroso, and Lothrop Stoddard.[75] Dangerous perspectives such as theirs were built into the theoretical lens under which excavations at Tuzigoot and elsewhere operated. As such, it would be impossible to separate the data, hypotheses, and interpretations that came out of scientific work from the pseudoscientific eugenicist and racial perspectives of the early twentieth century.

Caywood and Spicer began work on the ancestral site with the graveyard located and exhumed and thoroughly desecrated. Over seven months during 1933-1934, with funding from the Civil Works Administration, Caywood, Spicer, and a team of forty-eight laborers completed a complete excavation of the site, repaired artifacts for display preparation, and completed a partial restoration. Following the excavation and restoration, Grace Sparkes, a member of the Yavapai County Board of Public Welfare, began lobbying for a national monument designation in 1934.[76] After several years of navigating the bureaucratic hurdles to ensure the land was transferred to the proper authorities, Franklin Roosevelt signed a proclamation in 1939 designating Tuzigoot as a National Monument.

From Plate IIIa of the published report (see Figure 6.2 "Plate IIIa"), there appeared no clear delineation of the ancestral site that would be obvious to a non-expert at a glance. Unlike the striking architectural remains at Aztec Ruins, Chaco Canyon, and Mesa Verde, Tuzigoot required careful and trained eyes to perceive and imagine what possibly was hidden under the ridge (see Figure 6.2, "Plate IIIb"). Nevertheless, looks can be deceiving, as is the case with the restoration in the second image.

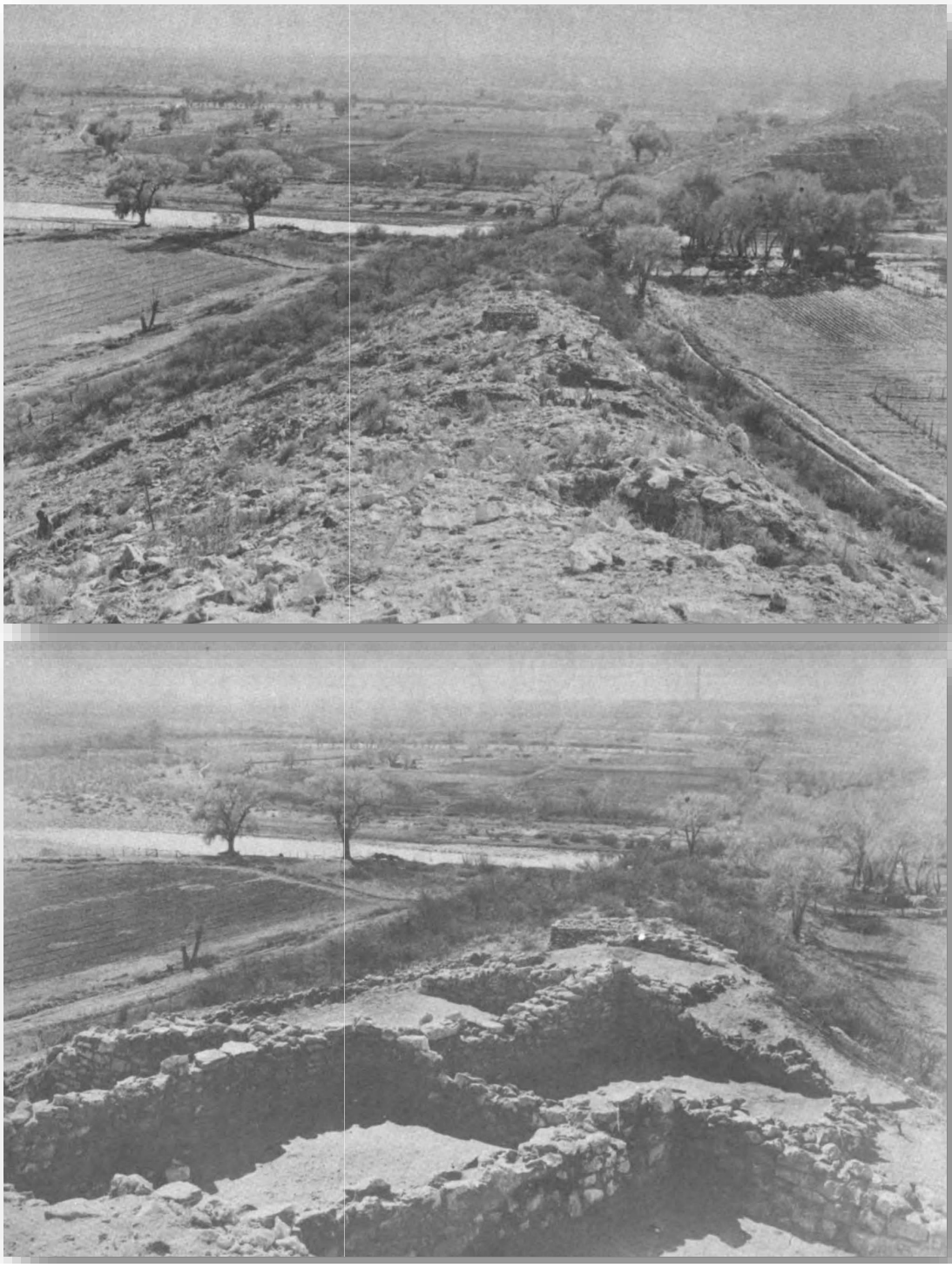


Figure 6.2. “Plate IIIa” (TOP) “at the start of excavation” and “Plate IIIb” (BOTTOM) “after excavation.” (Louis R. Caywood and Edward Holland Spicer, *Tuzigoot* [Berkeley, CA: National Park Service, Field Division of education, 1935]).

Although it created an attractive location for visitors, the excavation and restoration of Tuzigoot exemplified many problematic issues with how similar monuments were treated during this period of archaeology. First and foremost, when Arizona's copper mines began to close in the 1930s, it left thousands out of work in the central area of Arizona. Of Caywood and Spicer's crew of forty-eight men, many of them were local Tonto Apaches.[77] For many Native peoples, including the Apache, undertaking work such as the excavations of archaeological sites was entirely inappropriate and at odds with their spiritual beliefs. However, the economic hardships inflicted by the Great Depression had little choice but to take what work they could. In response, the Native workers had to continually undergo spiritual cleansing before, during, and after completing their work.

Although the National Park Service would eventually embrace a policy of stabilization and preservation for ancestral sites in 1966, it was standard at the time of Tuzigoot's excavation to restore the ancestral site using modern construction techniques. (The contemporary image in Figure 6.3 provides a clearer picture of the site's appearance in 2021.) A Pueblo that was gradually constructed over perhaps 400 years by the Native peoples' ancestors was rebuilt almost from scratch in only slightly more than six months. Walls such as those constructed initially at Tuzigoot with mud and mortar required constant upkeep. After the Native peoples who lived in Tuzigoot deserted the settlement, the walls and roofs began to collapse. During its occupation, the construction technique employing mud and mortar allowed the walls to breathe and moisture to escape. However, in 1933-1934 the pueblo was rebuilt using cement. Because that technique trapped moisture, later park preservationists were forced to replace the 1933 to 1934 cement with a compound that more closely replicated the behavior of mortar.



Figure 6.3. Tuzigoot. Photograph by the author. September 2, 2021.

What were barely recognizable piles of stone were rebuilt into the walls and rooms that still exist. Unsuspecting visitors may believe what they see is original construction, but this conjecture is false. Instead, the architectural layout of Tuzigoot was the product of educated guesswork and comparative analysis by two young, albeit promising, archaeologists

early in their careers.[78]

In many places like Tuzigoot, including Aztec Ruins (Figure 6.4), Chaco Canyon (Figure 6.5), and Mesa Verde (Figure 6.6), visitors were, and continue to be, presented with a fictional representation of the Native past as imagined by early archaeologists who, in a majority of cases, employed a racialized theoretical lenses. It was not merely that the sites were restored or, in some cases, reconstructed. In many cases, walls and other structures remained intact. What visitors encountered were unfaithful and incomplete representations of Native architecture, sometimes hastily cobbled together by unskilled laborers. Despite the shift in time, visitors perceive Native craftmanship as shoddy, or they gain a sense that the Native people lacked basic engineering capabilities. In reality, these restored ancestral sites resemble their historical forms about as well as Frankenstein's monster would resemble a human being—less so, in fact, since the monster at least represents a fully constituted body form.



Figure 6.4. TOP: “Left half of panorama, Aztec pueblo ruin, New Mexico, 1916.” (Nels C. Nelson, AMNH Research Library, Digital Special Collections, accessed December 31, 2021, https://images.library.amnh.org/digital/items/show/32234.)
BOTTOM: Aztec Ruins. Photograph by the author. August 30, 2019.



Figure 6.5. TOP: “Western section of Pueblo Bonito, metate room at center, New Mexico, 1896.” (Unknown photographer] AMNH Research Library, Digital Special Collections, accessed December 31, 2021, https://images.library.amnh.org/digital/items/show/26648.)
BOTTOM: Photograph by the author. September 3, 2019.



Figure 6.6. TOP: “Cliff Palace, from the Speaker-Chief’s House to the southern end. Photograph by F. K. Vreeland. (“Plate 1” in Jesse Walter Fewkes, *Antiquities of the Mesa Verde National Park: Cliff Palace*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 51 [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911]). BOTTOM: Photo by author, 20 August 2019.

During 1933-1943, the CCC and WPA undertook extensive work on ancestral sites in the Southwest. After deciding that Native peoples were the only ones suited to undertake restoration projects such as these satisfactorily, the CCC formed a specialized mobile unit in 1937 of Diné laborers in conjunction with the Indian Service for the express purposes of reconstructing, restoring, and stabilizing ancestral sites in the Southwest. Until it was disbanded shortly after 1940 as the U.S. entered World War II, this unit undertook work on ancestral sites at Aztec Ruins, Chaco Canyon, Gran Quivira, Montezuma Castle, Navajo, Tonto, Wupatki, and several other national monuments. Despite being hired for their ostensible Native ingenuity and know-how, these groups were nevertheless directed by professional archaeologists.[79] Writing for the National Park Service in 1985, John C. Paige insisted that the various new deal programs produced "exemplary work" and "set precedents for future archeological and historical work," which included reconstructions, restorations, and stabilizations.[80] While he was undoubtedly correct on the latter point, the former is one of a bit more contention.

Wupatki

If anything, the reconstruction, restoration, and stabilization work at Wupatki as part of the CWA demonstrated severe deficiencies that were anything but exemplary. Samuel Barrett, director of the Milwaukee Public Museum, conducted a surface survey with mapping at Wupatki in 1923. (See Figure 6.7a for Wupatki prior to any reconstruction.) Following the completion, Barrett, Harold S. Colton, Director of the Museum of Northern Arizona, and site superintendent J. C. Clarke began to lobby for the designation of Wupatki as a national monument. Through their efforts, Wupatki became a monument in quick order in December

1924, signed by President Coolidge. The Museum of Northern Arizona undertook the first major excavation at the monument in 1933, led by Lyndon L. Hargrave. The initial excavation uncovered fourteen rooms before Colton submitted a proposal to the Civil Works Administration to complete the excavation and stabilization of the monument. The Museum of Northern Arizona's application was approved, and work continued shortly after. Writing in 1933, Colton recorded,

> 'In 1933 the Museum of Northern Arizona received a permit from the Secretary of the Interior to excavate and restore parts of the ruin. The work has been begun. Archaeology nowdays is a highly technical science. It does not consist, as many believe of digging for relics and putting them in a museum. It is a study of history. Everything must be studied, remains of bones, pottery fragments, and even bits of wood and charcoal.[81]

Although the project allowed for the excavation of an additional twenty-one rooms, inadequate funding prevented subsequent analysis of the recovered artifacts, and it was thirty years before an in-depth study was made of the materials unearthed during the excavation.[82] Ironically, Colton goes on to state that in June 1934,

> The Museum of Northern Arizona has made an exhibit of Wupatki material in a store window next to the Monte Vista Hotel with a striking drawing of Wupatki in pastel by Virgil Hubbert as a background.[83]

Sadly, this sort of lapse or incomplete reporting, or failure to follow through on analysis and study – as is presumptively the point when doing any sort of extensive excavation such as this one, is not uncommon. Later in that same period, site superintendent David Jones excavated two additional rooms but never completed a formal report of his work, and the records of the excavation were never able to be located.

The arguments for identifying, excavating, and preserving ancestral sites failed to be compelling when in instances such as these, the most essential task of the archaeologist—that

is, documenting the excavation and required artifacts—is not undertaken and is not completed promptly. Supposedly, what separates archaeologists from looters is their commitment to science and preserving archaeological data; if it was not for the data, digging never needs to occur in the first place. Instead, what we see at places like Wupatki Pueblo and elsewhere is that once the digging was completed, the archaeologist frequently felt less motivated to follow through on their commitment to documenting their work, as is always a contingency for receiving funding to undertake this work in the first place.

As a part of the 1933 CWA-funded excavation by the Museum of Northern Arizona directed by Harold Colton, rooms 35, 36, and 34 were thoroughly restored. When the funding from the CWA was extended, an additional six rooms were reconstructed and restored.

> Weakened walls were partially restored and three rooms and the "amphitheater" were reconstructed. Roofs of the rooms were copied from types found while excavating. Materials used, with the exception of the roof beams, were gotten at the site.[84]

When James Brewer was appointed the custodian of the monument in 1934 completed a few minor projects, but mostly he worked on converting two of the rooms restored by the Museum of Northern Arizona with CWA funds into living quarters for him and his wife Sally, who also happened to be an archaeologist. Writing in August 1934, James stated

> We're just about ready to move in permanently at the pueblo itself, instead of living in the cook shack which Dr. Colton provided for the CWA workers. Living down there has been unsatisfactory in that during meal hours we wore unable to be at the site and missed some early and late callers…. Incidentally, this is probably the first time in 500 years that a young couple has spent a honeymoon at Wupatki Pueblo.[85]

Converting the rooms into livable space required extensive modifications. Once completed, the Brewers lived in the Pueblo for three years. During this time, Brewer also dismantled part of the Pueblo and rebuilt it in order to create a Ranger headquarters. (See Figure 6.7b for

Wupatki with the added “apartment.” Note the ladder on the left side of the frame ascending to the front door.)

Within two years, the CWA work completed under the auspices of the Museum of Northern Arizona was already causing severe problems with the stabilization of the pueblo. As early as 1935, several wall and roof restorations had to be removed and replaced, during which time experimental stabilization approaches were tested without success. Rooms had to be reconstructed, walls needed to be recapped, roof restorations had to be replaced, and entire walls had to be deconstructed and rebuilt in order to correct deficiencies resulting from the original “repairs.”

In 1937, David Jones was appointed the new custodian, moving his new wife Courtney (“Corky”) into the “apartment” restored by the CWA and later refined by the Brewers. In an article for the Christian Science Monitor, “Corky” boasted of the pueblo’s White painted interior walls and updated with then-current 1940s appliances. Much of the upkeep, maintenance, and stabilization Jones had to contend with during his tenure dealt with ensuring the safety of his own living quarters. Living in a remote part of the region with little access to housing facilities, the practicality of making use of the structure made sense to the National Park Service in the 1930s and 1940s. Nevertheless, one has to question to what degree the National Park Service was genuinely interested in preservation and the Native cultural heritage of the site if such a novelty was permitted.

As the National Park Service’s outlook on the preservation of ancestral sites evolved in the middle of the twentieth century, full-scale excavation and refitting of Wupatki National Monument took place. Watson Smith and Milton Wetherill, again under the auspices of the Museum of Northern Arizona, completed an excavation that included eighteen rooms. Along

with their excavation efforts, however, Reese's stabilization of all thirty-seven of the original rooms excavated in 1933-1934 was again necessary. As a part of their efforts, all of the reconstructions and restorations were wholly torn down. The modifications made to the three rooms that had turned them into living quarters and an apartment were removed entirely. Smith and Wetherill did their best to return the site back to its condition before the 1933-1934 excavation work and restoration took place.[86] (See Figure 6.7c.) To assert that New Deal programs completed exemplary work completely ignores the sort of absurd approaches to archaeology that took place at Wupatki.

Although the national parks and the subsequently created National Park Service was initiated in order to protect scenic natural landscapes, indigenous flora and fauna, and rich environmental resources, the focus on the ancient past slowly became more prominent. The reconstruction of ancestral sites was only one facet of that focus, however. In the mid-twentieth century, the National Park Service decided to select a new insignia that would represent the ethos of all properties within the national parks, including on uniforms, road signs, entrance gates, and practically everything else. In the 1950s, they chose a symbol appropriated from Native culture. In doing so, the National Park Service further laid ideological claim over the Native past and its cultural artifacts.



Figure 6.7a: “Ranchers standing on the lower section of Wupatki Pueblo before any reconstruction was done,” *NPS*, https://home.nps.gov/wupa/planyourvisit/wupatki-pueblo.htm



Figure 6.7b: “Wupatki Pueblo after reconstruction of several rooms, including living quarters for the custodian and his wife,” *NPS*, https://home.nps.gov/wupa/planyourvisit/wupatki-pueblo.htm



Figure 6.7c: “Wupatki Pueblo after the removal of the reconstructed rooms with the modern location of the trail,” *NPS*, https://home.nps.gov/wupa/planyourvisit/wupatki-pueblo.htm

Branding the National Park Service

It would be difficult to imagine a symbol of Native peoples in the U.S. more ubiquitous and universally known than the arrowhead.[87] The oldest of these, named Clovis points on account of the first example having been found by Clovis, New Mexico, by a local resident in Ridgley Whiteman.[88] After successfully convincing the Smithsonian to investigate, archaeologist Edgar Howard began excavations in 1932 at the site named Blackwater Draw 1.[89] This find was significant not only because it was the oldest at the time but also because it was found in association with a mammoth skeleton, providing the very first evidence for occupation on the continent in verifiably deep time, with Clovis points estimated to be 13,000 years old. This find established a much longer history for Native occupation in North America than any archaeologists had imagined. The presence of glaciers during the Ice Age led most scholars to believe humans had not arrived in North America until perhaps only 2,000 years ago. With firmly established dates for the extension of mammoths, the lithic required minimal additional study and scrutiny because of the artifacts in which the first Clovis points were found in association.

With its establishment in 1916 and later reorganization in the mid-1930s, the National Park Service transformed into a centralized bureaucracy where policy and regulations became more standardized. Adopting the arrowhead insignia was a watershed moment from a stylistic standpoint, and indeed in terms of the National Park brand. In adopting that emblem, the National Park Service visually identified what it viewed as top priorities in terms of its conservation, representation, and interpretation for park visitors. Until that time, the National Park Service had employed a simple design for grounding only a pinecone with

"National Park Service" and "Department of the Interior" surrounding the image. (See Figure 6.8a.) This design originated in the early years of the Park Service when parks like grants, Sequoia, and Yosemite were primarily designated as a result of their scenic and natural flora beauty. But as the parks grew, and with them, the impetus for designating various parts of the country as national parks or monuments, the service's overall mission and outlook of preserving outdoor spaces broadened to the point that a simple pinecone no longer accurately reflected the National Park Service's identity.

As late as 1950, the National Park Service had no standardized and immediately recognizable logo. Park administrators admired the Forest Service's shield, which they acknowledged as an immediately recognizable brand. The adoption of the arrowhead insignia served to further enact domination and control over not only previously Native lands but Native culture as well, claiming it as central to the identity of the National Park Service.

The National Park Service went through several designs before finalizing their approach to signifying the National Park Service domain, still in use today. A 1949 contest organized by the National Park Service selected a submission by park employee Dudley Bayliss as its winner. Bayliss, whose design earned $50 in prize money, based his design on the Forest Service badge and signified the Park Service visually by a road headed tortuously into a nondescript representation of mountains. (See Figure 6.8b.) Borrowing from the design of the Forest Service, Bayliss's conceptualization was enclosed by the familiar shield shape. Despite being selected as the contest winner, officials felt it simply did not symbolize the overarching character of the Park Service. Other submissions were notably droll and formal; Bayliss's was simply the best of a poor lot. None encapsulated what the parks were, in essence, all about.

The year following the contest in 1950, a park historian submitted her idea for a national park insignia directly to the director of the National Park Service, Newton Drury, immediately catching his attention. In her letter, Aubrey Neasham suggested that the new emblem should consist of imagery that elicits the foremost function and goals of the parks, "like an arrowhead, or tree, or a buffalo."[90] Her initial conception consisted of a simplistic tree outline enclosed within an elongated arrowhead. (See Figure 6.8c). Drury believed the design was more in line with the aesthetic of how the National Park Service should be represented but made no efforts to affect any sort of changes that reflected her design. However, when Colin Wirth became the new parks director in 1951, he forwarded Neasham's rough sketch to a team consisting of Sanford Hill, Cecil J. Doty, and Walter Rivers. Together, the three men designed the arrowhead emblem still in use today.[91] (See Figure 6.8d.)

The National Park Service arrowhead is immediately recognizable to those who have visited any of the nation's national parks, national monuments, national historical landmarks, or other areas administered by the service. The insignia appears on entrance signs to national parks, on official patches and badges worn by rangers and other park personnel, on official National Park Service letterhead, and prominently and ubiquitously employed on their website. In essence, anywhere "National Park Service" is represented by an image, the now-famous arrowhead makes a prominent appearance. The design is simple, yet it encapsulates many of the primary objects of preservation that exist within the parks. In the foreground stands a single bison, representative of the last surviving herd saved from extinction by setting aside Yellowstone National Park, in part, for its unmolested grazing. It stands just outside the shadow of a towering tree, a giant Sequoia, which was also saved from the

avarice of late nineteenth and early twentieth century loggers by park designations at Grants and Sequoia, among other locations. Alongside a stand of trees that flank the towering Sequoia, the most prominent feature on the insignia, flows the bend of a river. All of these are foregrounded by the backdrop of towering mountain peaks that appear just below the words "National Park Service." The National Park Service officially adopted the new emblem in 1951, with minor revisions made in 1954 and included more detail on the bison and changes to the knapping around the edge of the arrowhead itself.

Although the appropriation of the arrowhead as the primary design feature, far different than the contemporary shield used by the Forest Service and others, signified the protection and interpretation of Native ancestral sites, it could be read in a subversive way. Like the bison, the trees, the rivers, mountains, and the words "National Park Service" are all enclosed within the arrowhead—a distinctly Native symbol—it could be viewed as the emblem representing how each of these is made up of and contained within the Native past. To be sure, Park Service officials did not have this intention. Nevertheless, examined through this peculiar lens, the insignia itself speaks of the appropriation by the service of what was purely Native. Of course, the Native peoples of the U.S. were the ancestral caretakers of all of North America, including those places that would eventually be designated as national parks. Without the preservation of bison, sequoias, rivers, and mountains, there would be nothing worthwhile for the Park Service to assert their needed protection. The arrowhead was not intended to pay tribute to the prior caretakers of national park resources but instead signify that the relics of those custodians themselves were another national resource deserving of protection.

In its current form, the National Park arrowhead emblem almost did not survive into

the present, nearly supplanted by a commercially designed logo. When George Hartzog, Jr. became director of the Park Service in 1964, he implemented an agenda called “Parkscape U.S.A” as part of Mission 66. Hartzog previously worked at the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and Rocky Mountains National Park. He also supervised the design and initial construction of the Jefferson national expansion Memorial, today known as Gateway Arch National Park. During his career with the National Park Service, Hartzog had not been a fan of the arrowhead design. As a part of the Parkscape USA initiative, he contracted with a design firm to re-envision the National Park Service insignia. The new design consisted of three dots enclosed by three overlapping bronze triangles. This abstract design did not ostensibly represent anything to do necessarily with the Park Service, but instead was an attempt to brand the service in an entirely different manner. In early 1969, a memo ordering the discontinuation of the arrowhead patch was sent to all National Park Service directors. This directive was an unpopular one. Opposition from park employees was fierce, and just over two months following the initial memo, Hartzog retracted his directive, cementing the arrowhead as the official emblem and symbol of the National Park Service ever since that time.



Figure 6.8a. NPS Original Pinecone Insignia



Figure 6.8b. NPS 1949 Contest Winner

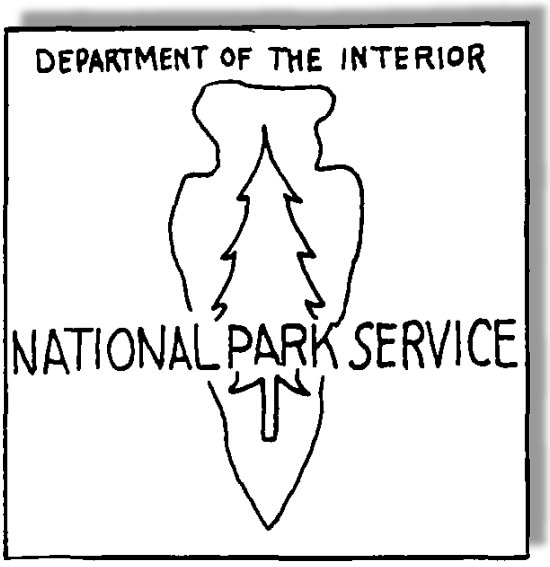


Figure 6.8c. Original Neasham Arrowhead



Figure 6.8d. NPS 1954 Arrowhead Insignia

Figure 6.8. Insignias of the National Park Service. (R. Bryce Workman, *Badges and Insignia, 1894-1991* [Harpers Ferry, WV: National Park Service, Office of Library, Archives and Graphics Research, Harpers Ferry Center, 1991], 27, 29.

The Park Service's adoption of an arrowhead, a uniquely Native object, speaks to broader systems and structures within the federal government that co-opted Native imagery as unique to the American identity. The inclusion and, in fact, prominence of a symbol that has such overpowering ethnic and racial connotations adds a sense of the exotic to the National Park Service and, by extension, the American identity. The arrowhead is not merely an emblem reminiscent or representative of the Native ancestral sites the Park Service preserves and protects, but it also speaks to the sense of ownership the nation exerts over those lands, sites, artifacts, and culture itself. The commodification of the arrowhead as the representative symbol of all national parks perpetuates a narrative that glorifies and extends the domination of Native peoples and cultures by non-native EuroAmerican peoples. This point is underscored by bell hook's argument that "mass culture is the contemporary location that both publicly declares and perpetuates the idea that there is pleasure to be found in the acknowledgment and enjoyment of racial difference."[92] The use of the arrowhead is not merely an illusion to the ethnographic ~~*Other*~~ but is instead blatantly offered as a way of exoticizing what was once a purely Native landscape. hooks decries the "fantasies and longings about contact with the *Other*" as profoundly embedded within White supremacist sentimentalities that seek to own and embody the exotic, through individual interpersonal contact. The arrowhead is representative of systemic modes of authority that bolster and highlight the complete and total EuroAmerican conquering of Native peoples, past, lands, and cultures. The end to emphasizing such narratives through the imposition of federal institutions, as hooks argues, imposes "structures of domination on those designated *Other*… deflected by an emphasis on seduction and longing where the desire is not to make the *Other* over in one's image but to become the *Other*."[93] This idea raises a concerning point.

Although the emphasis is on creating difference between the national identity and the exotic past, it is at once also attempting to embody that same exoticized identity. Such an outlook would not be possible were it not for the work of archaeologists as a nationalist racial project that supported the neo-settler colonialism of the National Park Service through the seizure of Native lands deemed critical components in understanding and realizing the American national identity.

Much like the archaeologists I have argued desired to enhance and highlight the ~~Other~~ness of Native peoples in order to bolster their own credibility and standing as "scientists," Marianna Torgovnick argues, "the West's fascination with the primitive has to do with its own crises in identity, with its own need to clearly demarcate subject and object."[94] In much the same way, visitors to the national parks often seek to embody a Native past where "wilderness" was not manufactured by the seizure of Native lands but instead was the only way of enjoying the landscape. As a symbol, the arrowhead re-conceptualizes and represents that connection and interaction to "primitivism" in ways that fulfill colonizing desires that long for contact with the ~~*Other*~~.

Conclusion

One might imagine that the original Clovis site, Blackwater Draw 1, boasts an attractive visitor center, a national monument designation, and receives tens of thousands of visitors a year. That is not the case. While its location is in a remote part of Eastern Central New Mexico, ten miles from the Texas border, isolated locations have never typically kept visitors away from visiting sites that reflect the nation's heritage, especially with the onset of

the automobile. While Blackwater Draw 1 was named a national historic site (as a result of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966), no further designation recognized it as a place of particular significance. It is not a state or even a local park. In 2021, the trails were vastly overgrown, the visitor center was unstaffed and in need of modernization, and the 3,500 square foot interpretive center, erected in 1997 to protect one of the original excavation sites, was badly in need of repair to prevent additional damage to the site. The site is maintained by Eastern New Mexico University, with an archaeology assistant professor housed next door as the site's custodian and caretaker. Although the site on the Blackwater draw has been the location of ongoing research and excavations, in recent years, only the university's field school and undergraduates have spent any time completing research. The museum dedicated to the site and this exceptionally significant find are located twenty miles away on Eastern New Mexico University's campus, maintained at their expense by a single curator and a handful of undergraduates. Why should a site of such significance see so few visitors, attract so little attention, and be seemingly be invisible to the overwhelming number of tourists who visit other archaeological sites in the Southwest?

The National Park Service's recognition of various ancestral sites throughout the Southwest and the funding earmarked for the initial and continuing study of those various "crown-jewel" sites demonstrates that greater significance is requisite outside of scientific value for locations to receive due credit and public recognition. Few Native groups remain, though the Apache, Comanche, and Kiowa peoples were at one time quite prevalent. The open grazing land was attractive for ranching, and when mineral wealth was first discovered in the area, local mining operations destroyed much of what was once arable land leaving this part of rural New Mexico with significant economic hardships. The Native peoples who once

made this area home are not a continuing part of the landscape like other groups in the Southwest. Even if Native communities thrived around Clovis, their separation in time from their ancestors 10,000 years ago means contemporary crafts would bear little resemblance to the Clovis point made famous by Blackwater Draw. When visitors gape at the impressive architecture of Mesa Verde or Chaco Canyon, they can temporally connect the moment in time to the genius of the early Renaissance and remind themselves of their culture's and civilization's supposed superiority to America's Native peoples. However, 13,000 years ago, European groups were scrubbing a living off of the land in ways not dissimilar from the makers of the Clovis point. As far as we understand that time period, there existed no writing, no established cities, no religious or spiritual centers, or anything else today that we could confidently define as markers of civilization. Perhaps most importantly is the fact that a site 13,000 years old does not inform an American narrative about the U.S. as a nation. In comparison, Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde each were representative of cultures in the past not too far distant from the arrival of Europeans in North America. As archaeologists soon learned, though taking a while to accept, contemporary peoples living in relative proximity to ancestral sites were many times descendants of those earlier groups. They treated sites with proper reverence and respect as the resting place of their ancestors, where their spirits still dwelled and where their remains would eventually—had archaeologists not intervened with their trowels and pickaxes—returned to the dust of the earth. The architectural remains at Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon are reminders of the slow, but steady march of civilization across the North American continent in the name of manifest destiny as the cultures of Native peoples were torn asunder to make way for a civilized Western way of life.

While Blackwater Draw is designated a national historic site for its archaeological

significance, it offers visitors nothing further to help them define their identity as Americans. Its existence reaches into a remote part of a past, closer to the peopling of the Americas than to our present. We now have evidence from southern New Mexico in the backcountry of White Sands National Park in the form of petrified footprints indicating humankind, specifically the ancestors of living Native groups in the Southwest, have occupied those lands as far back for 21,000-22,000 years.[95] Nevertheless, the narratives that can and are presented at Blackwater Draw and other similar sites in the U.S. of archaic peoples provide visitors with little common ground, aside from their shared contributions to the shaping of the nations and peoples of North America. If the Clovis peoples ever were the conquerors or conquered, that legacy exists in a timeline and a reality entirely disconnected from the modern experience. In contrast, the lives of contemporary Native groups, the wholesale annexation of their lands, and their relegation to tinkerers, blanket weavers, and potters against the backdrop of the ancestral sites of their "failed" civilizations otherwise provides visitors places like Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde welcomed relief and reassurance of the virtue, beliefs, and tenets of their dominant civilization.

As a concept, "settler-colonialism" perhaps confounds the takeover of Native lands by the federal government. After all, there are no settlers in the pedestrian sense in places such as parks and monuments. Instead, the takeover occurred on a federal level through the nationalization of lands unsettled by Anglos. Haim Yacobia and Erez Tzfadia employ the term "neo-settler-colonialism" as an approach to defining the restructuring of lands in modern-day Israel. They use the term to define "new form of regime, one that advances colonial projects while using the neo-liberal toolbox of concepts and policies."[96] While the Park Service and the federal government did not use the tools Yacobia and Tzfadia described

(namely, privatization, decentralization, deregulation, and free-market), their aims were similar in that each attempt "conceals the continued presence of old colonial logic."[97] With no settlers but a strong desire to exert federal control over all lands contained within the nation's borders, the U.S. asserted dominance over not only the landscape but also the bygone peoples who once inhabited it and the histories and cultures belonging to them.

The language we choose to use tells and story. The words selected say something meaningful about their speaker, audience, and subject, even without context. Frequently, wrapped up in language are inherent power relationships, implicitly or not, that define who possesses power and who is powerless. This use and definition extend to include the words used to describe a place, as at Mesa Verde, Tuzigoot, and Wupatki. Those place names themselves demonstrate authority in their selection and codification and demonstrably reinforce individual sites' interpretation in ways that unambiguously define the power of the National Park Service.

Notes

1. According to Benjamin Madly's 2016 *An American Genocide: the United States and California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), the Native population of California decreased from 150,000 in 1848 to 30,000 in 1870 as a result of disease, starvation, and massacres. By 1900, the number of Native people in California was estimated at 16,000, barely 10% of their original numbers five decades earlier.

2. Lafayette Houghton Bunnell, *Discovery of the Yosemite, and the Indian War of 1851, Which Led to That Event* (New York, NY: F.H. Revell Co., 1892), 30.

3. Bunnell, *Discovery of the Yosemite*, 61. "As I did not take a fancy to any of the names proposed, I remarked that "an American name would be the most appropriate;".... "[I]t

would be better to give it an Indian name than to import a strange and inexpressive one; that the name of the tribe who had occupied it, would be more appropriate than any I had heard suggested." I then proposed "that we give the valley the name of Yo-sem-i-ty, as it was suggestive, euphonious, and certainly American; that by so doing, the name of the tribe of Indians which we met leaving their homes in this valley, perhaps never to return, would be perpetuated." I was here interrupted by Mr. Tunnehill, who impatiently exclaimed: "Devil take the Indians and their names! Why should we honor these vagabond murderers by perpetuating their name?" Another said: "I agree with Tunnehill; the Indians and their names. Mad Anthony's plan for me! Let's call this Paradise Valley.'"

4. U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 13, 325. "An Act authorizing a Grant to the State of California of the Yo-Semite Valley,' and of the Land embracing the Mariposa Big Tree Grove.'" [S. 203; Public Act No. 159]

5. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians. Written During Eight Years' Travel Amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America. (1832-1839) In Two Volumes with Several Hundred Illustrations from the Author's Original Paintings*. 3rd ed. (London: published for the author, 1842), 261-62.

6. H.R. 274 Authorizing the Governor of the Territory of Arkansas to lease the Salt Springs, in said Territory, and for other purposes.

7. S. 102: An Act To provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the States or Territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi. Senate, 21st Congress, 1st Session.

8. "Treaty With The Quapaw," January 5, 1819—7 Stat. 176.

9. U.S. Congress established Hot Springs Reservation on April 20, 1832 (4 Stat. 505); dedicated to park use by an act of June 16, 1880 (21 Stat. 288); redesignated Hot Springs National Park by an act of March 4, 1921 (41 Stat. 1407).

10. Because U.S. Congress established "Yo-semite" first as a state park, it is not recognized as the "first" national park, a designation that instead goes to Yellowstone.

11. Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 5.

12. U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 26, 650-52. "An act to set apart certain tracts of land in the State of California as forest reservations." (H.R. 12187)

13. Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*, 129.

14. “An Act to Set Apart a Certain Tract of Land Lying near the Headwaters of the Yellowstone River as a Public Park,” March 1, 1872—17 Stat. 32.

15. General Passenger Department – Northern Pacific Railroad, *The Yellowstone National Park* (Chicago, IL: Rand McNally, 1883), 6.

16. Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*, 59.

17. See Merrill D. Beal, *The Story of Man in Yellowstone* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1949), 89-91.

18. Charles C. Bradley, *The Handsome People: A History of the Crow Indians and the Whites* (Billings, MT: Council for Indian Education, 1991), 42.

19. P. W. Norris, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1880* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1881), 35.

20. Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The Yellowstone National Park*, 8 ed. (Cincinnati, OH: Stewart & Kidd Company, 1914), 9; C. G. Coutant, *History of Wyoming From the Earliest Known Discoveries* 1 (Laramie, WY: Chaplin, Spafford, & Mathison, Printers, 1899), 705.

21. Paul Schullery, *Searching for Yellowstone Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 24.

22. P. W. Norris, *Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1881), 37-38.

23. *Ward v. Race Horse*, 163 U.S. 504 (1896); Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*, 67.

24. Yellowstone was expressly established as an area of preservation, not a reservation for game animals. Essentially, the park itself was created to protect and preserve the natural landscape to be enjoyed by the nation’s citizens. Subsequent pieces of legislation, including the 1894 Lacey Act, helped ensure the protection of the parks’ wildlife.

25. Peter Nabokov and Lawrence L Loendorf, *American Indians and Yellowstone National Park: a Documentary Overview* (Yellowstone National Park, WY: National Park Service, Yellowstone Center for Resources, 2002), xii.

26. W. E. Kearns, “A Nez Perce Chief Re-Visits Yellowstone,” *Nature Notes – Yellowstone National Park* 12 (June-July 1935): 41.

27. Beal, *The Story of Man in Yellowstone*, 91.

28. C. Malouf, Preliminary Report: Yellowstone National Park Survey, Summer, 1958," *Wyoming Archaeologist* 8, nos. 3 and 4 (Fall and Winter 1965): 21-27.

29. Nabokov and Loendorf, *American Indians and Yellowstone National Park*, 17.

30. Congress established Mackinac as the second national park in 1875 on Mackinac Island, MI. However, in 1895 Congress relinquished control to the state.

31. In 2016, the Obama administration began negotiating for the return of some of these artifacts, which was successful in 2020.

32. See Janet Robertson, *The Magnificent Mountain Women: Adventures in the Colorado Rockies* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 61-72.

33. Gary B. Nash, "Native Americans, the National Parks, and the Concept of Historical Inevitability," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 35, no. 1 (2011): 76. The full version of Nash's quote (italicized) was, "*The most ultimately righteous of all wars is a war* with [*against*] *savages*, though it is apt to be also the most terrible and inhuman. The rude, fierce settler who drives the savage from the land lays all civilized mankind under a debt to him. American and Indian, Boer and Zulu, Cossack and Tartar, New Zealander and Maori,—in each case the victor, horrible though many of his deeds are, has laid deep *the foundations for the future greatness of a mighty people*. The consequences of struggles for territory between civilized nations seem small by comparison. Looked at from the standpoint of the ages, it is of little moment whether Lorraine is part of Germany or of France, whether the northern Adriatic cities pay homage to Austrian Kaiser or Italian King; but it is of incalculable importance that America, Australia, and Siberia should pass out of the hands of their red, black, and yellow aboriginal owners, and become the heritage of the dominant world races." What becomes apparent from the full context missing from Nash's quote is that Roosevelt was specifically addressing Native peoples' race and not merely their supposed savagery. Theodore Roosevelt, "Chapter II The Indian Wars, 1784-1787," in *The Winning of the West Volume 2 From the Alleghanies to the Mississippi 1777-1783* (New York And London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889), 45-46. In any case, Nash could have employed any of the other 287 instances of Roosevelt using "savage," "savages," or variations to describe Native peoples appearing in Volumes 1-4 of *The Winning of the West*, including 31 associated with war, 21 in association with white settlers, and 19 that described murder.

34. Robertson, *The Magnificent Mountain Women*

35. "An Act Creating the Mesa Verde National Park." Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby reserved from settlement, entry, sale, or other disposal, and set apart as a public reservation, all those certain tracts, pieces, and parcels of land lying and being situated in the State of Colorado, and within the boundaries particularly described as follows: Beginning at

the northwest corner of section twenty-seven, township thirty-five north….SEC. 2. That said public park shall be known as the Mesa Verde National Park, and shall be under the exclusive control of the Secretary of the Interior, whose duty it shall be to prescribe such rules and regulations and establish such service as he may deem necessary for the care and management of the same. Such regulations shall provide specifically for the preservation from injury or spoliation of the ruins and other works and relics of prehistoric or primitive man within said park: Provided, That all prehistoric ruins that are situated within five miles of the boundaries of said park, as herein described, on Indian lands and not on lands alienated by patent from the ownership of the United States, are hereby placed under the custodianship of the Secretary of the Interior, and shall be administered by the same service that is established for the custodianship of the park. SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to permit examinations, excavations, and other gathering of objects of interest within said park by any person or persons whom he may deem properly qualified to conduct such examinations, excavations, or gatherings, subject to such rules and regulations as he may prescribe; Provided always, That the examinations, excavations, and gatherings are undertaken only for the benefit of some reputable museum, university, college, or other recognized scientific or educational institution, with a view to increasing the knowledge of such objects and aiding the general advancement of archaeological science. SEC. 4. That any person or persons who may otherwise in any manner willfully remove, disturb, destroy, or molest any of the ruins, mounds, buildings, graves, relics, or other evidences of an ancient civilization or other property from said park shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction before any court having jurisdiction of such offenses shall be fined not more than one thousand dollars or imprisoned not more than twelve months, or such person or persons may be fined and imprisoned, at the discretion of the judge, and shall be required to restore the property disturbed, if possible. Approved, June 29, 1906. 59th Congress, 1st Session.

36. David F. Day, Agent, So. Ute Agency Letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 16, 1894, American West Center, University of Utah. Report on the cliff dwellings and relics on the Southern Ute Reservation and recommended keeping them in the reservation because “Indians will not disturb them.” Also, it recommended southeastern Utah be preserved because of the vast ruins to be found there.

37. Smith, Joseph O. Smith, Agent, So. Ute Agency Letter to Mrs. Virginia McClurg, June 8, 1901, American West Center, University of Utah. The Utes at Navajo Springs refused to lease the land on which are found the Mesa Verde ruins. The agent asks Mrs. McClurg to help in persuading them to sign.

38. Acting Commissioner Letter to Agent J.O. Smith, Mar. 24, 1903, American West Center, University of Utah. Agent received information and letter of instructions for conducting negotiations with the Weeminuche band for the relinquishment to the U.S. of a tract of land known as the Mesa Verde. After negotiations, a report was made to the Secretary of the Interior.

39. W.M. Peterson, Superintendent of Fort Lewis School, Letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 7, 1904, American West Center, University of Utah. Possible Mesa Verde sale discussed. Majority of Weeminuche reported to be in favor. Senator T.M. Patterson and Mrs. McClurg were present at Navajo Springs Agency to discuss proposal with Indians there.

40. Abbott, F.H. and James McLaughlin, Minutes of Council held with Weeminuche Band, May 5, 1911. American West Center, University of Utah. Council held regarding relinquishment of reservation lands for Mesa Verde Park. ; 1913 Statues at Large: Modification and amendment to the agreement made with the Weeminuche Band of the Southern Ute Indians dated May 10, 1911. Lands relinquished and exchanged, and extension of the boundary of Mesa Verde National Park.

41. Duane A. Smith, *Mesa Verde National Park: Shadows of the Centuries*, rev. ed. (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2002), 85.

42.D. H. Wattson, Superintendent Ute Agency to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 21, 1933, American West Center, University of Utah. The extension of Mesa Verde Park boundaries discussed. Thinks Utes would have no objections if suitable lands were exchanged but the Act of Congress makes that difficult. Also complains of use of Navajos to the exclusion of Utes for work projects within the park.

43.William, Zimmerman Jr., Assistant Commissioner to D.H. Wattson, March 1, 1935, American West Center, University of Utah. Noted dissatisfaction of the Ute Mountain Utes with the boundary of their reservation. Reviewed history, records showed that 14,520 acres were exchanged for 30,240 acres. Terms of the agreement were complied with quotes the transcript of the 1911 council. Also noted that Congress ratified a modified agreement because the Mesa Verde tract was enlarged.

44. Peter J. Pilles, Jr. with Contributions from Pamela Haas and Maria Campbell, and Submitted by Alexander Lindsay, “Final Report for the Assessment and Evaluation of the Cultural Resources of Grand Canyon Village,” September 14, 1973, GRCA 59044, Grand Canyon Museum Collection, Grand Canyon, AZ.

45. Philip Joseph Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 5.

46. Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 185.

47. Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 191.

48. Edgar Lee Hewett, “Recent Progress in American Anthropology, A Review of the Activities of Institutions and Individuals from 1902 to 1906, “ *American Anthropologist* 8, no. 3 (1906): 444.

49. Hewett, “Recent Progress In American Anthropology,” 444.

50. Statement for Management: Hovenweep National Monument, Colorado-Utah. (Place of publication not identified: National Park Service, 1987), 5.

51. Jesse Walter Fewkes, *Prehistoric Villages, Castles, and Towers of Southwestern Colorado* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919), 17-18.

52. No. 2924—April 26, 1951—65 Stat. c8; Ancestral sites were sometimes afforded protection through private citizens. For instance, briefly mentioned in the introduction, Ohio’s Serpent Mound caught the attention of Peabody’s Frederic Ward Putnam in the mid-1880s. After witnessing the damage already caused to other mounds in the immediate vicinity, Putnam organized fundraising efforts through the museum to purchase sixty acres surrounding the mounds for preservation in 1886, three years before the General Land Office’s actions at Goodman Point and Sivan Vahki. In 1900, the Peabody Museum donated the site to the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society.

53. A. Berle Clemensen, *Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Arizona: A Centennial History Of The First Prehistoric Reserve 1892-1992* (Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1992), 31-32.

54. *Congressional Record*, Vol. 20, pt. 2, 50th Congress, 2nd Session, (February 4, 1889): 1454.

55. *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1891-’92* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), lvi.

56. Fewkes reported on the excavations and repairs, with list of artifacts recovered, in “Casa Grande, Arizona,” in *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1906-1907* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1912), 33-160.

57. Proclamation of Casa Grande National Monument, No. 14-70—Aug. 3, 1918—40 Stat. 1818.

58. Fewkes, *Prehistoric Villages, Castles, And Towers*, 9.

59. J. Walter Fewkes, “Two Ruins Recently Discovered in the Red Rock Country, Arizona,” *American Anthropologist* 9, no. 8 (1896): 266.

60. Fewkes, “Two Ruins,” 269.

61. Roosevelt wasted no time exercising the authority granted to him under the

Antiquities Act. Nevertheless, despite the antiquities act primarily being created to preserve resources of cultural value, including Native site, his first ticket designation in September 1906 was under the provision granting authority to preserve resources of "scientific value," and he selected Devils Tower as the first national monument. The remaining seventeen national monuments he designated during the remaining two-and-one-half-year tenure as U.S. president were a mix of natural and cultural resources. These included El Morro (1906), Montezuma Castle (1906), Petrified Forest (1906), Chaco Canyon (1907), Lassen Cinder Cone (1907), Lassen Peak (1907), Gila Cliff Dwellings (1907), Tonto (1907), Muir Woods (1908), Grand Canyon (1908), Pinnacles (1908), Jewel Cave (1908), Natural Bridges (1908), Lewis and Clark Cavern (1908), Tumacacori (1908), Wheeler (1908), and Mount Olympus (1909). Of these, a majority have been redesignated, including as National Parks (Petrified Forest, Grand Canyon, Pinnacles), as National Historical Parks (Chaco, Tumacacori), relinquished to state authority as state parks (Lewis and Clark Caverns), consolidated (Lassen), renamed (Olympic), or abolished entirely with authority returning to the forest service (Wheeler), though seven of the original eighteen monuments retain their historical monument designations. Between the end of the Roosevelt presidency and the creation of the National Park Service in 1916, Taft and Wilson created seventeen additional monuments, only four of which were created to preserve archaeological features: Navajo (1909), Gran Quivira (1909), Walnut Canyon (1915), and Bandelier (1916).

62. In 1916, National Parks included: Yellowstone, WY/MT (1872), General Grant, CA (1890), Sequoia, CA (1890), Yosemite, CA (1890), Mount Rainier, WA (1899), Crater Lake, OR (1902), Platt, OK (1902), Wind Cave, SD (1903), Sullys Hill, ND (1904), Mesa Verde, CO (1906), Glacier, MT (1910), Rocky Mountain, CO (1915), Hawaii, HI (1916), Lassen Volcanic, Ca (1916); National Monuments Included: Devils Tower, Wy (1906), El Morro, NM (1906), Montezuma Castle, AZ (1906), Petrified Forest, AZ (1906), Chaco Canyon, NM (1907), Cinder Cone, CA (1907), Lassen Peak, CA (1907), Gila Cliff Dwellings, NM (1907), Tonto, Az (1907), Muir Woods, Ca (1908), Grand Canyon, AZ (1908), Pinnacles, CA (1908), Jewel Cave, SD (1908), Natural Bridges, UT (1908), Lewis And Clark Cavern, MT (1908), Tumacacori, AZ (1908), Wheeler, CO (1908), Mount Olympus, WA (1909), Navajo, AZ (1909), Oregon Caves, OR (1909), Mukuntu-Weap, UT (1909), Shoshone Cavern, WY (1909), Gran Quivira, NM (1909), Sitka, AK (1910), Rainbow Bridge, UT (1910), Big Hole Battlefield, MT (1910), Colorado, CO (1911), Devil Postpile, CA (1911), Petrified Forest, AZ (1911), Cabrillo, CA (1913), Papago Saguaro, AZ (1914), Dinosaur, CO/UT (1915), Walnut Canyon, AZ (1915), Bandelier, NM (1916), Sieur De Monts, ME (1916), and Capulin Mountain, NM (1916); Federal Reserves Included: Hot Springs, AR (1832) And Casa Grande, AZ (1892).

63. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1994), 85.

64. Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Denver, CO: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 1983), 287.

65. Unrau and Williss, *Administrative History*, 219

66. Unrau and Williss, *Administrative History*, 224.

67. Barry Mackintosh, "National Park Service Reconstruction Policy and Practice," in *The Reconstructed Past: Reconstructions in the Public Interpretation of Archaeology and History*, ed. John H. Jameson, Jr. (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2004), 71.

68. Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: from Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949* (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1981), 871.

69. John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1985), 111.

70. Lynn A. Neal, "Emergency Ruins Preservation and Restoration at Homolovi Ruins State Park," in *The Reconstructed Past: Reconstructions in the Public Interpretation of Archaeology and History*, ed. John H. Jameson, Jr. (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2004), 233.

71. See Jesse Walter Fewkes, *Reports of the Superintendent of the Mesa Verde National Park and J. Walter Fewkes, in Charge of Excavation and Repair of Ruins, to the Secretary of the Interior, 1908* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1908); Jesse Walter Fewkes, *Report on the excavation and repair of Cliff Palace, Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado, in 1909*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1909); and Jesse Walter Fewkes, *Antiquities of the Mesa Verde National Park: Cliff Palace*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 51 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911).

72. See John H. Jameson Jr. and William J. Hunt Jr., "Reconstruction versus preservation-in-place in the US National Park Service," in *The Constructed Past: Experimental Archaeology, Education and the Public*, ed. Peter G. Stone and Philippe G. Planel (London: Routledge, 1999), 35-62.

73. Mackintosh, "National Park Service Reconstruction Policy and Practice," 66.

74. Louis R. Caywood and Edward H. Spicer, Tuzigoot (Berkeley, CA: National Park Service, Fiedl Division of Education, 1935), 117-19.

75. Earnest Albert Hooton, *Apes, Men, and Morons* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1937), 41. Also see Charles Benedict Davenport's widely popular textbook *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics* (New York: H. Holt and Co., 1911); Davenport, *The Feebly Inhibited* Bulletin 12 (Cold Spring Harbor, NY: Eugenics Record Office, 1915); Davenport, *Heredity*

of Constitutional Mental Disorders Bulletin 20 (Cold Spring Harbor, NY: Eugenics Record Office, 1920); Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race, or: the Racial Basis of European History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916); Grant, "Discussion of article on Democracy and Heredity," *The Journal of Heredity* 10, no. 4 (1919); Grant, "The Racial Transformation of America," *The North American Review* 219, no. 820 (1924); Cesare Lombroso, *Le Crime, Causes Et Remèdes. Avec Un Appendice: Sur Le Progrès De L'anthropologie Criminelle Pendant Les Années 1895-98* (Paris: Schleicher, 1899); and Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920).

76. Mona Lange McCroskey, "Grace Marion Sparkes: Matriarch of the Early Arizona Tourist Industry," MA thesis, Arizona State University, 1987.

77. Of those Tonto Apache workers, Ben Lewis suggested an Apache word meaning "crooked water" as the name for the ruins. Both the Apache and Yavapai knew the oxbow lake, then named Peck's Lake by this term. In the process of translation, Caywood and Spicer transliterated *tú zighoot* as "Tuzigoot" and, in the process, made a nonsensical misspelling of the appropriate Apache moniker.

78. Caywood would go on to a thirty-four-year career with the national Park Service, acting as superintendent at several sites in the Southwest, completing the initial excavation of Jamestown, Virginia, and directing stabilization and preservation efforts at sites including Montezuma's Castle, Tumacacori, and Tonto. Spicer went on to doctoral work at the University of Chicago and eventually joined the University of Arizona faculty for a thirty-year career where his research focused on northern Mexico and its influence on the U.S. Southwest.

79. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 112-14.

80. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 116.

81. Harold S. Colton, "Wupatki National Monument," *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report - April 1933* (Coolidge, AZ: National Park Service, 1933), 15.

82. See Dana Hartman and Arthur H. Wolf, *Archeological Assessment of Wupatki National Monument* (Flagstaff, AZ: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1977).

83. Harold S. Colton, "Wupatki National Monument," *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report - June 1934* (Coolidge, AZ: National Park Service, 1934), 5.

84. Lyndon L. Hargrave "Wupatki National Monument," *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report - October 1933* (Coolidge, AZ: National Park Service, 1933), 21.

85. Jimmie Brewer, "Wupatki National Monument," *Southwestern Monuments*

Monthly Report - August 1934 (Coolidge, AZ: National Park Service, 1934), 71.

86. Hartman and Wolf, *Archeological Assessment of Wupatki*, 14-15.

87. The tipi may be a close second, but these typically transportable domiciles were primarily only used by the peoples of the Plains and for a relatively short duration during their history when seasonally moving with large herds of game animals was their dominant lifeway. The totem is another Native symbol that endures in the popular imagination, but like the tipi, were used only by particular peoples (Pacific Northwest and Alaskan and in very specific instances. Arrowheads, or lithics as they are known by archaeologists, on the other hand, are the oldest (and possibly most common) artifact found anywhere in the United States (i.e., 20 KYA) or the world (i.e., 1.5 MYA).

88. Anthony T. Boldurian, "MEMORIAL: James Ridgley Whiteman 1910-2003," *Plains Anthropologist* 49, no. 189 (2004): 86-87.

89. Initially described, in brief, in 1933, in E. B. Howard, "Excavations in New Mexico," *The University Museum Bulletin*, The University Museum, the University of Pennsylvania 4, no. 5 (October 1933): 126-131; and later more extensively in E. B. Howard, "Evidence of Early Man in North America," University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, *The Museum Journal*, 24, nos. 2 and 3 (1935).

90. R. Bryce Workman, *Badges and Insignia, 1894-1991* (Harpers Ferry, WV: National Park Service, Archives and Graphics Research, Harpers Ferry Center, 1991), 25-26.

91. Workman, *Badges and Insignia*, 26.

92. bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1992), 21.

93. hooks, *Black Looks*, 25.

94. Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 177.

95. Matthew R. Bennett, David Bustos, Jeffrey S. Pigati, Kathleen B. Springer, Thomas M. Urban, Vance T. Holliday, Sally C. Reynolds, et al. "Evidence of Humans in North America During the Last Glacial Maximum," *Science* 373, no. 6562 (2021): 1528-1531.

96. Haim Yacobi and Erez Tzfadia, "Neo-Settler Colonialism and the Re-Formation of Territory: Privatization and Nationalization in Israel," *Mediterranean Politics* 24, no. 1 (2019): 2.

97 Yacobi, Haim, and Tzfadia. "Neo-Settler Colonialism," 2.

Chapter Seven: “Ruining” the Past - Names Matter

The Arapahoe tell a story of a lodge camp father and his seven children, five boys and two girls. As the boys traveled to another tribe, the girls played a game in search of the end rib of a “buffalo.” When one of the girls located one of these bones after a long search, she picked it up and was turned into a bear. She attacked her sister, slashing tremendous scratches on her back. The “bear-girl” threatened her sister not to tell the brothers. After the bear-girl discovered her sister had, she chased her and her brothers, who were frightened and ran away. During the chase, “bear-girl” leaped after a ball her sister accidentally kicked and bounded up an immense rock. But in slipping from the rock, the “bear-girl” made horrendous scratches along the rock’s edge, just as she had her sister’s back. The “bear-girl” fell to the ground, and when she did, she landed on her sister, breaking the girl’s chest. The bear-girl climbed to the top of the high rock and explained to her family, with sorrow, that seven stars in the shape of the diamond would appear in the eastern sky that night. The brightest star would be called “broken chest star” in memory of the “bear-girl’s” deceased sister.

“From this time on the Arapahoe called this big high rock ‘Bears Tipi.’”[1]

In 1875, a U.S. geological survey visited this imposing granite rock, which erupts stunningly out of the landscape. Instead of “Bear’s tipi,” this geological formation is instead known more commonly as Devils Tower. During that 1875 expedition, Richard Irving Dodge recorded the first mention of “Devils Tower” in a monograph published the following year.

> An immense obelisk of granite, eight hundred and sixty-seven feet at base, two hundred and ninety-seven feet at the top, rises one thousand one hundred and twenty-seven feet above its base, and five thousand one hundred feet above tide-water. Its

> summit is inaccessible to anything without wings. The sides are fluted and scored by the action of the elements, and immense blocks of granite, split off from the column by frost, are piled in huge, irregular mounds about its base. The Indians call this shaft "The Bad God's Tower," a name adopted, with proper modification, by our surveyors.[2]

Dodge's description was unclear who the "Indians" to whom he referred were. Throughout the text, he attributes the names of natural features to literal translations of Native names. However, Dodge's attempt is now considered a mistranslation by historians who note the Lakota word for "bad god" is *wakansica*, while the word for a "black bear" is *wahanksica*.[3] Furthermore, there exists no evidence of "bad gods" or "bad spirits" associated with the cite in recorded Native beliefs.

Introduction

In what may have been an effort in good faith to preserve a Native name, Dodge's attribution of Devils Tower to the Wyoming granite monolith set an important precedent for how geographical place names were identified, institutionalized, and led to erasures of Native past and culture. This chapter will explore the various manners in which ancestral sites and national monuments have been whitewashed in a manner that supplants Native culture with that of colonizers. It will discuss how these occur, how they are enshrined in the national ethos of the U.S., and consider the importance of names for imparting or otherwise asserting ownership over the landscape.

Linguist Madison S. Beeler described the name Yosemite, mentioned in the introduction to Chapter Six, as meaning 'the killers' or 'a band of killers." This name was, as Bunnell believed, the name for the Awahanee people. Instead, however, this name was one

ascribed to them by the Sierra Miwok, who lived outside the valley.[4] Despite the various reasons for this renaming, each further contributed to a national narrative about place, space, and ownership in ways that exalt the continent's conquerors while emphasizing the ineptitude and backwardness of Native populations.

The dispossession of lands in Western North America is not purely a EuroAmerican enterprise. Frequently, territories went back and forth between individual and Native groups. Of course, the first interlopers to the region primarily under concern, the contemporary U.S. Southwest, were Spanish explorers and missionaries, each of whom had a distinct influence on the landscape. At one time, the Spanish claimed supremacy over lands centered in the Southwest that extended as far as Alaska to the north and Florida to the east.

The impact of Spanish colonization in the U.S. Southwest was broad and varied, leading to various outcomes on the landscape and peoples in contemporary times. A primary reason for the distinct culture of the U.S. Southwest today stems from the different approaches to colonization by the Spanish and English empires. Whereas in the U.S. east, Native populations were largely displaced or eradicated, Spanish colonial efforts attempted to incorporate Native peoples into the colonial society. The Spanish emphasis on obtaining material wealth and converting Native peoples to Catholicism engendered trade and networks that resulted in cultural exchanges that persist in the Southwest today, embodying a distinctive culture that remains a vast borderland between dominant colonial cultures.

In contrast to other colonial efforts in North America, the Spanish were largely tolerant of the retention of various parts of Native culture, except for religion, and they frequently assigned Spanish naming conventions. This approach remains evident in terms of the Pueblo peoples. A term co-opted by the Spanish originally meaning "village," the

contemporary use of "pueblo" is peculiar because of its myriad definitions. While the word adobe can be applied to a brick, a construction method, and an architectural style, the word "pueblo" is notably more diverse. In colonial Spanish and contemporary U.S. terms, "pueblo" may refer to: a mud adobe brick; a structure made of mud adobe bricks or other means, such as stone (the ancestral *Awat'ovi* Pueblo); a superstructure consisting of multiple living units constructed by design or organically (Wupatki Pueblo); an entire village or town (Santa Clara Pueblo); a cohesive or disparate group of people (the collective "Pueblo peoples" or the "Ancestral Pueblos"); an architectural style (Pueblo Deco or Pueblo Revival); or a federally recognized reservation designation (Pueblo of Zuni). These names persist in spite of, or perhaps due to, the temporary expulsion of the Spanish by Pueblo peoples in 1680.

One of the most influential and domineering institutions of Spanish colonization, the mission system, was primarily responsible for what is remembered as the Pueblo Revolt. After years of displeasure with the encomienda system and other institutions of colonialization, the utter domination and enforcement of the Spanish religion on the Pueblo peoples reached a head with the ordered destruction of Pueblo kachinas, a crucial component of their spiritual lives. Po'pay, an influential Tewa spiritual leader from Ohkay Owingeh (a pueblo the Spanish named San Juan Pueblo), recruited and organized leaders and warriors throughout the northern *El Norte* pueblo communities. On August 10th, 1690, they simultaneously attacked the Spanish. They burned down missions and executed their missionaries and priests, pillaged Spanish settlements, and killed Spanish settlers resulting in the deaths of 400 people. The Spanish retreated to El Paso del Norte less than two weeks later. The attack spearheaded by Po'pay resulted in the Spanish expulsion from El Norte

(New Mexico and Arizona) until 1692, when Don Diego de Vargas led the *Reconquista* of New Mexico. While the victory was relatively short-lived, the Pueblo Revolt and the leadership of Po'pay is credited with preserving Puebloan peoples' culture and ways of life.[5]

While many people in the U.S. Southwest continue to maintain languages, lifeways, and traditions tied to the Spanish colonial past, one of the most prominent artifacts of this period are the many place names that continue to bear their colonial designations. After the war for Mexican independence from Spain concluded in 1821, the Mexican government enacted many sweeping changes, including opening the border with the United States, as discussed in Chapter Two. However, frictions between the two countries escalated, especially after Mexico outlawed slavery, a change that infuriated U.S. settlers in Texas. After refusing to sell Texas to the United States, Mexico closed the border for further immigration in 1830. Tensions escalated within the following years, resulting in the Texas Revolution in 1835-36. The annexation and admission of Texas to the United States in 1945 led to a series of diplomatic consequences that ultimately resulted in the U.S. Mexican war. As a result, the United States took over a large portion of formerly Spanish and Mexican-controlled lands in 1848. Consequently, the United States inherited an overwhelming number of well-established Spanish place names that persist today.

Names associated with geographic features impart a sense of ownership for both the dominant nation and others. The U.S. mostly left Spanish names in place in the Southwest rather than wholesale renaming various cities and environmental features. Over time, they contributed to the unique character of these formerly Spanish and Mexican lands. In contrast to Native place names, Spanish place names were still representative of a European colonial project and reflected that distinct cultural influence. As the U.S. began to assert full-scale

dominance over the Southwest with their peculiar forms of colonization, a prominent facet of disassociating and disconnecting the colonized from their ownership of the past was the renaming of ancestral sites. In many cases, no idea remained regarding what the ancestral sites were named initially. Perhaps that information was lost, yet many Native peoples did have their own names for those places. Regardless, Native designations were ignored in favor of names given by the European peoples to encounter them. Aztec Ruins, Casa Grande, Montezuma's Castle, Cliff Palace, and Pueblo Bonito are all names originating from European explorers, conquerors, and colonialists. As White EuroAmerican colonialism pushed westward, it named the natural features, ancestral sites, and even peoples it encountered.[6]

The names these various sites used were more than merely words on tourist brochures, road markers, and park and monument headquarters. Devils Tower, Montezuma's Castle, Aztec Ruins, Bandelier National Monument, and Zion National Park carried within their names structures that redirected and reflected power relationships. Michael Foucault's concepts of discourse and language reinforce the relationship of these names to physical sites in terms of how they were imagined, talked about, thought about, and written about within the multi-institutional systems defined and supported by archaeology. The associated systems of oppression that erased Native perspectives of the past connected to the particular way that park and monument visitors, rangers, administrators, bureaucrats, legislators, archaeologists, and the broader public talked, thought, and wrote about Native ancestral sites. For Foucault, these expressions would be considered not merely examples of power but rather the power itself; these expressions did not arise after the formation of archaeology as a discipline but instead cemented its establishment. Disassociating the original Native names from those

ancestral pasts was the first step in making detachment complete.[7]

From Foucault's poststructuralist perspective, power was not merely attributed to the possession of knowledge but how that knowledge was produced and what was recognized as "truth." In the Southwest, the way knowledge about the ancestral past was selected, organized, controlled, and redistributed was itself an expression of power by the archaeologists who produced those details. Another aspect of the control of this knowledge was the degree to which alternative frameworks of knowledge for thinking about the past were explicitly prohibited, at least in the sense of government interpretation for park and monument visitors. The archaeologists themselves held the exclusive and privileged rights to speak about the ancestral past in ways that complemented, interconnected, and strengthened the perspectives of their fellow professionals.[8] Living Native peoples, whether associated with specific ancestral sites or not, were all made into subjects of that archaeological past, collectively, as "Native Americans."

Naming peoples and places gave the White EuroAmerican conquerors power over those names are over those people and places. When ancestral sites were first opened for public visitors, the narratives presented were of a people who vanished or merely died out. Rarely were connections between an ancestral site's ancient inhabitants and the living descendants made explicit. The only history that truly mattered was the White colonial perspective of history. With a lack of written records, that history was based overwhelmingly on the theories and data generated by archaeologists, themselves heavily relying upon ethnology and physical anthropology. While science can accomplish much in informing us about the past, it does not necessarily do so in terms of providing a nuanced, culturally rich depiction of that past. Its connection to reality lacks proper nuance and sophistication

regarding the lived experiences that made that history possible. The stories and narratives presented were often described in terms befitting the EuroAmerican conquest of North America. With the help of archaeologists, the U.S. determined what history and lived experiences endured in popular memory. History according to Native peoples, where such narratives endure, was superseded by a White EuroAmerican scientific understanding of the past. This history was enshrined on the very landscape itself as ancestral sites were restored or reconstructed, rechristened, placed under the protection of the U.S. federal government, and interpreted for White EuroAmerican visitors. Although they had little say in the interpretation of this history, many Native peoples did participate in the restoration and reconstruction of ancestral sites, reimagined by archaeologists and Western scientifically-based perspectives of the world.

That is not to say that explicit EuroAmerican naming of ancestral sites was always the case, as in the instance of some sites with no previously assigned names, some good faith efforts were made to respect Native heritage. In the site report for Tuzigoot, the authors lamented, "neither the Apache nor the Yavapai of the Clarkdale region had any name for the ruin itself, nor for any of the ruins in the vicinity."[9] This statement was significant because it further demonstrates Native perspectives on ancestral sites. Ancestral sites like those found at Tuzigoot and elsewhere were to be treated with respect and preserved. Over time, the elements would act upon the remains and return them to the earth. If names for such ancestral sites did exist at the time of Tuzigoot's excavation, it is entirely possible that Native knowledge was simply not shared. But the naming of Tuzigoot is a rarity in that its place name is a Native one, albeit mistranscribed. By and large, place names in the Southwest, including ancestral sites, were attributed by perspectives that misunderstood the Native

significance. When the United States adopted these designations at the federal level, they enshrined their ownership on the landscape in ways that both highlighted EuroAmerican dominance and belied the Native past.

This chapter will argue that (1) the National Park Service implemented and followed a trend of replacing traditional Native names of geographic places, features, and ancestral sites; in order to (2) further assert the dominance and primacy of the U.S. federal government; and (3) the National Park Service introduced interpretation that presented purely EuroAmerican archaeology-based history combined with Spanish mythology; that (4) furthered disconnected Native peoples' connection to the southwestern landscape and erased and silenced their histories.

Devils Tower

After years of work by archaeologists and others intent on preserving ancestral sites from looting and vandalism, it is ironic that the first of Rosevelt's proclamations for designating a National Monument under the Antiquities Act was one that lacked prominent Native features or significance. Specifically looking to the scenic value and asserting its scientific merit and value, in June 1906, Roosevelt designated Wyoming's Devils Tower as the first U.S. national monument. It would be difficult to imagine a more striking name for conjuring up negative spiritual connotations ascribed to a geographic feature. The tower is a towering monolith of igneous rock 100-feet across at the base and rising 875-feet high. The Arapaho, Cheyenne, Crow, Kiowa, and Sioux called the tower *Mateo Tepee*, meaning "Bear Lodge," the term used on the earliest maps of the region.[10] Several Native groups have

mounted campaigns to see the name changed. Most recently, in autumn 2014, spiritual leaders of the Lakota Nation and the President of the Oglala Sioux submitted requests to the federal government to change the name of Devils Tower to Bear Lodge. Their reasoning was similar: their people hold the monument to be sacred and view the application of the term "Devil" as offensive.

The Native peoples of the northeastern Wyoming region each hold slightly different beliefs about the origins and significance of Bear Lodge but share two characteristics in common. Notably, the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Crow, Kiowa, Lakota, and Sioux believed the tower's vertical striations were created by the slashing of a bear's claws, and each revered Bear Lodge as a spiritual place. In addition to the Arapahoe story summarized in this chapter's opening paragraph, the Cheyenne know the site as *Na Kovehe* ("Bear Lodge"). To them, it is a holy place where they could worship and commune with the great spirit. Their story tells of a warrior's wife who was seduced by a great bear and turned into a bear herself. The man recruited followers to go and kill the bear, but when they encountered it, they were all afraid. They climbed up on a rock and prayed to the Great Spirit to save them. The rock then grew to the point that they were out of the bear's reach. As it clawed at the rock, the men shot at it and killed it. The bear-woman afterward made the rock her home.[11] The Crow tell a reasonably similar tale. Bears chased two young girls who retreated to the top of a rock. The Great Spirit forced the rock out of the ground, growing until the bears could not reach them. The claw marks of the bears remain, as do the two girls on top of the tower.[12] The Lakota attribute the name *Mato Tipila* (Bear Tipi) to the story of a man who ventured into the wilderness to pray to the Great Spirit in solitude. After two days, he found himself atop the tower. He again prayed to the Great Spirit before falling into a deep sleep. Upon awakening,

he was back upon the ground, whereupon he looked up and saw the claw marks in the tower, giving him the name for the rock.[13] While perhaps incomprehensible from Western perspectives, each of these tales demonstrates undeniable connections between these groups' view of the spirit world and how the bear is connected to the tower and its name. Nevertheless, Native expressions were not prioritized in naming the monument, which instead relied on more recent attributions. Devils Tower, as the national monument is named, had a Native place name since time immemorial and, for many, was a spiritual center of their world.



Figure 7.1: Herbert Collins, “Devils Tower Bear Legend,” 1937, oil on canvas, Devils Tower National Monument Visitor’s Center.

Hostilities between the Sioux and settlers prevented EuroAmerican encroachment into the area until the 1880s. Nevertheless, the 1875 geological survey pressed into the region, coining the name for the tower that still exists today in the process. Henry Newton, the expedition's geologist, noted a discrepancy in his 1880 report:

> The Bear Lodge (Mato Teepee).—This name appears on the earliest map of the region, and though more recently it is said to be known among the Indians as "the bad god's tower," or, in better English, "the devil's tower," the former name, well applied, is still retained.[14]

Nevertheless, Dodge's version prevailed despite the apparent inconsistency resulting from his mistranslation. Although the Treaty of 1868 allotted the western region of the Black Hills to the Sioux, the U.S. military and gold prospectors began encroaching on Native lands in the mid-1870s, ultimately resulting in the Great Sioux War of 1876.[15] By 1880, the area opened up to settlers, and the railroad extended its line to within viewing distance of the tower. In 1890, Charles Graham filed a homestead claim on lands that included the tower, but the General Land Office canceled his claim and designated the area immediately surrounding the tower off-limits for settlement, setting aside 18.75 square miles as a reserve under the Forest Reserve Act of 1891.[16] In 1906, the Antiquities Act formally provided the necessary means to protect and preserve Devils Tower, which Roosevelt proclaimed as a national monument in September 1906.

It is interesting that a law intended to protect Native cultural sites from looting and vandalism was first used to loot and vandalize a Native cultural site. The tower, Bear Lodge, existed on lands previously agreed to by treaty to belong to the Sioux nation. While the tower itself would not have been suitable for settlement, it is clear that interested private parties would take advantage of the geological formation for personal financial gain. Unable to put

the tower in the immediately surrounding area under cultivation, the U.S. government was faced with a problem of disposition in terms of how to ensure the land was adequately put under the control of the government. In the neo-settler colonialism sense to which I referred earlier, Roosevelt used the Antiquities Act to appropriate (i.e., loot) formerly Sioux land for the federal government. The vandalism of the site resulted from the bastardization of its Native name. Previously revered for its connections to the great spirit, bear Lodge was rechristened with a name among the most infamous in Christian theology. The adoption of the Devils Tower as the official name underscored the federal government's power to take away and possess Native lands, as in naming the U.S. asserted its ownership.

Montezuma's Castle

Few other national monuments in the United States have such a misguided and inappropriate name as Montezuma's Castle. The popularly held belief that the Aztecs of central Mexico, or, in fact, their leader Montezuma, were responsible for constructing ancestral sites in the Southwest as a history dating at least to the eighteenth century. According to Adolf Bandelier, two Spanish officers, Francisco de Gorraez Beaumont and Antonio de Oca Sarmiento, described the "houses of Montezuma" in 1664.[17] Bandelier attributes this confusion to possibly, a similarly named predecessor of the Aztec leader at the time of Cortez, but this is mere speculation. The diary of missionary Francisco Garcés, writing in 1775, observes, "On this river is found the Casa (Grande) said to be (que dizen ser) of Moctezuma, and very many other ruins," and "[t]he senor comandante determined to rest our party; and in consequence of this I had an opportunity of going to see the Casa Grande

that they call de Moctezuma," referring to the site known today as Casa Grande[18] James Madison Cutts referred to the same site in a similar manner in 1847, calling it the "Casa de Montezuma."[19] Coues asserted that referring to unknown ancestral sites as "Montezumas" was commonplace at that time.[20] the Spanish belief, or at least tendency, to attribute unidentified ancestral sites in the Southwest to Montezuma persisted into the nineteenth century when it made an appearance in the 1855 "Report upon the Indian Tribes," quoting from the 1854 journal of their guide, Antoine Leroux, Whipple wrote, "The walls were as regularly built as those of any building erected by civilized nations; to judge by the decay of the stones, these ruins might be several centuries old, (maybe those of some Montezuma town.)"[21] For what reason these misbeliefs persisted is unclear, but their persistence into the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries remains why the national monument today bears Montezuma's name. The well, and indeed the castle itself, were first referenced by Henry Clifton. Writing in *The Arizona Miner* in 1854 in which he described the infamously brutal Expedition of King S. Woosley, Clifton wrote, "This spring is surrounded on three sides by high bluffs, and in these bluffs were caves either natural or cut out, which were walled up in front, with door ways and passages from one room to another. They were probably built by the Aztecs. We gave the name of Montezuma to the well."[22] In 1890, E. A. Mearns, writing in *The Popular Science Monthly*, first described the cliff dwellings by its most well-known name, writing "The building known as 'Montezuma's Castle,' on the right bank of Beaver Creek, in sight of and three miles from Fort Verde, is …the finest that I have seen, and typical of this class of structures. This casa, doubtless a fortress, is fitted into a natural depression, high up in a vertical limestone cliff, the base of which is distant three hundred and forty-eight feet from the edge of the stream and about forty feet above it."[23] Mearns

descriptions made clear that the site was known as "Castle" for some time by his writing in 1890, but it would be some time before the name caught on with archaeologists.

Anthropologists and archaeologists alike visited and surveyed the ancestral site in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While not mistakenly attributing the site to Montezuma himself, each referred to the well and cliff dwellings by that name. Frank Hamilton Cushing and Adolpf Bandelier each visited the sites, as did later Cosmo Mindeleff and Jesse Walter Fewkes. Mindeleff was the first to conduct archaeological work at Montezuma, noting a connection between the architecture and that found further north in southern Colorado.[24] Fewkes visited Montezuma during the same summer he later described Honanki and Palatki. In the Seventeenth Annual Report of the American Bureau of American Anthropology in 1895, Fewkes observed, "One of the most interesting sites of ancient habitation in Verde valley is known as Montezuma Well, and it is remarkable how little attention has been paid to it by archeologists."[25] Rather than referring to the cliff site as a castle, Fewkes instead describes them as "Casa Montezuma," comparing the site to both Honanki and the Cliff Palace at Mesa Verde.[26] Not until preservation efforts are well underway in seeing Montezuma's Castle and Montezuma's Well as federally protected sites did the "castle" moniker come into more consistent use. Rosevelt proclaimed Montezuma Castle a National Monument in December 1906, his third use of the Antiquities Act. Following Fewkes's subsequent work, his 1912 report "Designs on Prehistoric Hopi Pottery" referred to the site by its nationally declared title as "Montezuma Castle in the Verde Valley."[27]

Archaeologists were hesitant to ascribe the name "Montezuma" to ancestral sites they understood to have nothing to do with the Aztec leader. In fact, publications during the

late 1800s frequently referred to Montezuma's Castle in quotation marks or prepended the phrase "so-called" when referring to the site. While it is clear the ancestral site did not directly connect to the Aztecs of the central valley, the institutionalization of the ancestral site's name with its creation as a national monument did much to erase the cultural history of the Sinagua peoples who inhabited north-central Arizona. Archaeologists now attribute Montezuma Castle National Monument, Montezuma Well, Tuzigoot National Monument, Walnut Canyon National Monument, Wupatki National Monument, as well as Palatki and Honanki to this Sinagua culture between approximately 1100 – 1450 CE. While contemporary interpretations made these connections explicit, the assertion of these names onto the site perpetuates Spanish colonial myths while also contributing to a narrative that the Montezuma's connection to the U.S. Southwest is more than a mere misunderstanding.

In appropriating Native identities into a national Americanized identity, so too is the ancestral history of Mexico ascribed and added to the composite Native history—most of which are fantastical fictions—that is representative of the uniquely American experience for EuroAmericans in the U.S. Similar misappropriations resulting from other instances of misnaming are made in different ways in other parts of the U.S. Southwest as well.

Aztec Ruins

Although it is not entirely certain whether Spanish explorers passed by the ancestral site near modern-day Aztec, New Mexico, if they did, they most likely were members of the Domínguez–Escalante Expedition in 1776. The closest indications came from Dominguez and Escalante's "diary and itinerary" and the October 1777 report to the King of Spain by the

expedition's cartographer, Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco.[28] Although they encountered "ruins of many large and ancient settlements of Indians," near the Navajo and Animas rivers, it does not seem that even their side expeditions ventured close enough to Aztec Ruins, and archaeologists have uncovered no evidence of the Spanish passing through.[29] The earliest written account describing the site comes from an expedition led by John N. Macomb in 1859, the details of which were not published until 1876. Nevertheless, the description provided by geologist John Strong Newberry provides the first details of this ancestral site. He describes the walls as being in a "pretty good state of preservation," and "25 feet in height" in some places.

Despite local inclinations to attribute the ancestral site to the Aztecs, perhaps surprisingly, Newberry correctly surmised that the site's former inhabitants were "pueblo indians."[30] Similarly, during the 1875 Hayden Survey, geologist Frederic M. Endlich, at first glance, attributed the ancestral site to the Spanish, which was possibly the remains of a large mission. However, after closer examination, he recognized the affinities between the artifacts and the Hopi (Moqui) peoples. In his report, Endlich named the city "Acropolis."[31] Lewis Henry Morgan undertook the first archaeological work at the site, referring to the site as "the ruins of a stone pueblo," or simply as "ruins," on the "Animas River in New Mexico" in 1878.[32] He did not speculate on the inhabitants, although he did point to the San Juan region as the "anterior home" of a number of historic groups, including, among several others, the Mound Builders, Mayans, and the Aztecs.[33]

Much like the architectural remains at the so-called Montezuma's Castle, local residents in the area surrounding the ancestral site near Aztec New Mexico attributed the architecture to the former rulers of Mexico's central valley. "The Rio San Juan Region, or the

Country of the Toltecan Cities," published in *California Farmer* in 1863, explicitly attributed the ancestral site to the Aztecs. Quoted from a letter from a local resident to the Surveyor General of New Mexico, the paper described the region as "strewn with the ruins of cities, many of them of solid masonry. Stone buildings, three stories high, are yet standing, of Aztec architecture. An immense and prosperous population has at some former period resided here."[34] Reporting on the events of the 1873 Denver Exposition, Flora Ellis Stevens described "Aztec remains from Farmington," though it is unclear if this interpretation was her own.[35] What is clear was that some degree of confusion regarding the architects of the ancestral site persisted long enough and broadly enough to affect how they were named. The influence of local beliefs and legends about the ancestral sites were strong enough that when the local community was founded in 1887, the resident chose the name "Aztec," which replaced the previously designated name of Wallace.[36] While the ancestral site was not yet known as "Aztec Ruin," the choice of the city's name ended up having a strong influence on the choice, ignoring Endlich's proposed moniker.[37]

In 1892, *The Illustrated American* published a series of articles based on an expedition to cliff dwellings in New Mexico and Colorado.[38] These articles referred to the site as "The Ruined Pueblos on the Rio De Las Animas Near Aztec."[39] In addition to describing the expedition, the series of fourteen articles showed images and ancestral sites never before photographed or available to the general public. The penultimate article described Charles McLoyd's archaeological collection. A local resident of Durango, McLlyod had conducted several years of amateur excavations in the Colorado River Valley area. Among the images *The Illustrated American* printed were pictures of human crania and mummified corpses with clearly recognizable facial features.[40] Surprisingly, Jesse Walter

Fewkes referred to these articles and described the descriptions provided by as well as the map in Bulletin 70 of the Bureau of American Anthropology in 1919.[41]

Despite the significance of the ancestral site near Aztec, New Mexico, it was held in private until sold with the express purpose of being turned into a national monument. In November 1890, John A. Koontz acquired 160 acres as a homestead which included the most prominent parts of the ancestral site. The Land Management Office had not redesignated the property in a manner that would have prevented its distribution through the Homestead Act. Furthermore, the land surrounding the ancestral sites consisted of ideal farming land, indicating that the parcel had not been acquired with the subversive purpose of gaining control of the ancestral site. In fact, Koontz understood the importance of the ancestral site and did his best to keep it protected from looters and vandals, though not always successfully. In 1907, the property was transferred to Henry Dudley Abrams, the owner of the Aztec hardware store. Like Koontz before him, Abrams largely left the ancestral site intact and agreed for the American Museum of Natural History to conduct excavation work, led by Earl Morris. Until that time, the ancestral sites elicited little interest outside of curious locals. In his first publication describing exploratory excavations, Morris's paper referred to the site as "the ruin near Aztec." Contained within quotation marks, his description demonstrated that the site's official name remained undesignated: "North of Aztec, San Juan County, New Mexico, are the remains of two large communal villages known collectively as the 'Aztec Ruin.'"[42] Morris's subsequent publication offered the more definitive name, sans quotation marks: the Aztec Ruin, though by that time the designation had become official with its proclamation as a national monument.[43] It is impossible to say whether the ancestral site was named for the town or the mythological builders, but since the former was based on

the latter, it makes little difference. Nevertheless, to the Diné, this site was named *Kin Dootł'izh*.[44]

Regardless of what they were called, the ancestral site could not be designated a national monument as long as the property remained in private hands. In 1918, the American Museum of Natural History, aided by the generosity of Arthur Huntington, negotiated with Abrams to purchase the property. As soon as Adams signed the deed, the American Museum of Natural History gifted the property to the United States government, although it took several years before the bureaucratic paperwork was in order and ownership was conveyed. In January 1923, President Harding proclaimed "Aztec Ruin" the nation's twenty-sixth National Monument. In so doing, he institutionalized a mistaken idea about the historical significance of the ancestral site, attributing the architecture of ancestral Pueblo people to an unrelated group situated 1,500 miles further south. Significantly, the power of the United States government and, by extension, the National Park Service, enabled the president the power to designate the ancestral site by any name he wished. This act was an assertion of colonial power over the Native landscape and continuation of neo-settler colonialism that ascribed lands, cultures, and artifacts to the federal government on EuroAmerican terms alone.

Bandelier

Misnaming or mischaracterizing Native ancestral sites did not occur merely due to misunderstandings, mistranslations, or the persistence of local myths about their origins. Typically, monuments were created and named expressly without concern or warrant for

recognizing, let alone honoring or respecting, the Native peoples responsible for the sites. Many of the ancestral sites in the Southwest had names already attributed to them, either by descendant groups (such as the Pueblo peoples) or by more recent interlopers (such as the Diné). Despite the precedence of these Native place names, they were not Anglo in origin and, as such, did not elicit EuroAmerican possession and authority. As Foucault argued, the names and the language used to describe sites was an expression of power over both the landscape and its indigenous peoples. It was those contemporary Native peoples and their lack of looting or vandalizing sites that later made preservation possible. Much of this had to do with the way Native peoples of the Southwest, by and large, viewed ancestral sites. While plenty of sites were re-inhabited by later groups, by and large, the sites that remained up until the point that the United States began designating Native sites as monuments were primarily left alone. Perspectives stemming from the Native worldview of what those sites signified as well as the spiritual significance inherent to the dwellings of ancestors resulted in many, and even those that were exposed to plain view, remaining unmolested. Nevertheless, nearly all of these sites were rechristened with names more befitting EuroAmerican sensibilities.

When site designations were made, names were a vital part of how sites would be represented. Tuzigoot, Honanki, and Wulpatki are unambiguous examples of Native names, while Casa Grande and Mesa Verde express the Spanish colonial influence. But for some, place names that were difficult to pronounce, spell, or remember could prove detrimental to any monitor which any monuments future for any number of reasons. This argument ensured the exclusion of a multitude of place names in the Southwest that were already designated in a manner more befitting their Native and Spanish colonial histories.

In 1880, Adolf Bandelier, along with photographer Charles Lummis, visited, for the

earliest instance in European-recorded history, an ancestral site located in a gorge on the Pajarito Plateau. Located in north-central New Mexico, the Spanish named the general area *Rito de Los Frijoles*, although there is no record of them visiting the ancestral sites, which were deserted by the time of Spanish arrival. The Keres ("Queres") people of the Cochiti Pueblo, however, called the ancestral site first visited by Bandelier "Tyuo-nyi." The Keres believed the site represented the home of their ancestors, with whom members of their group continued to commune and offer prayers.[45]

Unlike other ancestral sites at Casa Grande, Mesa Verde, and Montezuma, Tyuonyi held firm and identifiable connections with the inhabitants living descendants. Indeed, the habitation of Tyuonyi was still within living memory of the Cochiti, as were the reasons for its abandonment.

> The Queres of Cochiti positively state that similar artificial caves, which line the walls of the Rito de los Frijoles, or Tyuo-nyi, were formerly the habitations of their tribe, and that constant hostilities of the Tehuas and Navajos, as well as the gradual disintegration of the very friable rock, compelled their abandonment.[46]

A testament to these claims is Bandelier's own concession that those who moved eastward down the slope of the plateau to settle the northern New Mexico pueblos exhibited a direct connection to the ancestral past. Among Bandelier's broad explorations of the Southwest, the recognition of the Cochiti peoples as representative of an ancestral strain of peoples is unique. His 1890 ethnological novel, "The Delight Makers," offered a slightly more romantic tone to establishing Tyuonyi as a Cochiti ancestral site:

> These ruins, inside as well as outside the northern walls of the canon of the Rito, bear testimony to the tradition still current among the Queres Indians of New Mexico that the Rito, or Tyuonyi, was once inhabited by people of their kind, nay, even of their own stock. But the time when those people wooed and wed, lived and died, in that secluded vale is past long, long ago.[47]

Bandelier's affiliations with the American Museum of Natural History, the Archaeological Institute of America, the Carnegie Institution, Columbia University, the Hemenway Archaeological Expedition, and the School of American Research provided him with broad first-hand experience as he explored the entirety of the American continents from the late 1860s until 1910. These affiliations also cemented his authority in understanding various peoples, including those of the U.S. Southwest. Nevertheless, his acknowledgment of the site's ancestral inhabitants that would later bear his name was not without question.

As early as 1899 and repeatedly until the 1960s, numerous U.S. members of Congress proposed a National Park in the region Bandelier explored in 1880. While the boundaries changed and evolved, each was centered around a park highlighting the cliff dwellings that blanketed the plateau. Cliff Cities National Park, Pajarito National Park, Pajarito Cliff Dwellers National Park, Valle Grande-Bandelier National Park were among the names suggested for the national park. At no point did there even seem to be a suggestion that the new park would adopt a Native name.

Beginning in 1899, John F. Lacey first approached the Commissioner of the General Land Office regarding establishing a national park on the Pajarito Plateau dedicated to ancestral sites located there. Until 1916 when it was established as a national monument, Lacey's idea and several subsequent others met with continued resistance and setbacks. In July 1905, President Roosevelt added 11,000 acres to the Santa Clara Pueblo, including the Puye Cliff Dwellings situated and the northern extent of the proposed park. Local residents and homesteaders protested the takeover of lands by the federal government, and Native peoples objected to how the park boundaries would affect gravesites. In a 1914 letter to the Chairman of the Senate Public Lands Committee, Henry C. Myers, the Secretary of

Agriculture David F. Houston lamented that the proposal would not create a park on par with Yosemite, Yellowstone, and the other crown jewels of public parks.[48]

Even without proper fieldwork, excavation, study, and reporting undertaken, the striking cliff and cave dwellings of the Pajarito Plateau attracted the attention of legislators eager to support the creation of a park in the New Mexico territory. Edgar Lee Hewett formally commenced excavations at Tyuonyi beginning in 1908. He later branched out to study other ancestral sites that would later be encompassed within the boundaries of the Bandelier National Monument. The stipulations of the permits required Hewett's presence at all times to supervise excavations. Nevertheless, his concurrent permitting on sites throughout the Southwest meant that he was blatantly in violation of the Antiquities Act, a fact that would not have been missed by the assigning agencies. In any event, Hewett quickly came to identify the study, care, and protection of the ancestral sites at Pajarito as his own personal charge. As such, his input was central, though not authoritative, in many of the park's efforts.

Until the creation of the Antiquities Act in 1906, the designation of the area as a national park was the only recourse for protecting its ancestral site. However, with the act's adoption, archaeological sites were to be designated as monuments explicitly, as prescribed by law. With objections to a national park mounting, and a newly introduced avenue for protecting and preserving the ancestral sites, supporters took another approach. In 1915, Will Barnes of the Forest Service, Judge A. J. Abbott and District Forester Arthur Ringland toured the canyon while discussing the potential of a national park. During the trip, they agreed that the archaeological features were relatively minute compared with the proposed land acquisition of previous proposals. Instead, they decided to push toward nominating Frijoles

Canyon as a national monument. When Barnes suggested it be named after the recently deceased Bandelier, his two companions quickly assented. Secretary of Agriculture David Houston agreed with the proposal and forwarded their proposal to President Wilson. Wilson proclaimed Bandelier a National Monument in February 1916.[49]

At the same exact time as the Department of Agriculture was pushing through the nomination for a national monument at Bandelier, Hewett and his colleagues were still strategizing on how to see the creation of a national park successfully. When the official announcement about Bandelier was made, the national park proposal temporarily lost momentum. The development was an especially unwelcome one for Hewett. After the name of the proposed park had changed several times, there was nearly agreement over the proposed name, Pajarito, despite its perceived difficulty to pronounce and spell. Despite the victory gained over the monument's creation, efforts to create a park continued, persisting unsuccessfully until the 1960s.

In the 1923 circular produced by the U.S. Department of Agriculture to promote tourism, the ancestral peoples who inhabited the cliff dwellings and other ancestral sites protected by the new monument status were unnamed. Instead, the circular attributed the creation of the national monument to "preserve these relics of a vanished race, which are of unusual ethnological and educational interest…bearing the name of the scientist who investigated and described them—Adolph F. Bandelier."[50] What remains perplexing is that in employing fanciful and romantic language, the preparers of the circular, the Forest Service, invoked the name of Bandelier so resolutely without deigning to mention that one of his most compelling findings was that the ancestors of local pueblo peoples once inhabited the site. Far from having vanished, they simply abandoned the canyon and moved slightly

further eastward. However, the Forest Service, and indeed the park system that would eventually take control of the monument in 1932, were not yet prepared to offer a fuller understanding of the past, especially one that may conflict with national ideals about what it means to conquer.

Zion

It has not exclusively been the case that national monuments are given names by EuroAmerican explorers and settlers, although that was exclusively the case for the first twenty proclamations designating national monuments. Two exceptions, it could be argued, were Tumacacori (the sixteenth monument established in 1908) and Navajo (the nineteenth monument established in 1909.) The Spanish mission, for which Tumacacori is named, was called *Mission San Jose de Tumacacori* (the Mission of St. Joseph at Tumacacori). Around 1757, Jesuit missionaries constructed the mission through compelled labor of local Native Akimel O'Odham and Apache peoples. They named it in honor of St. Joseph and added the local Native geographical name. However, Roosevelt's 1908 proclamation clarifies that the name of the monument is taken from the name of the mission: "do hereby set aside as the Tumacacori National Monument, the Tumacacori Mission ruins and ten acres of land upon which the same are located."[51] This proclamation was not a recognition of the Native past but was instead an acknowledgment of the Spanish colonization of Tumacacori. Although later archaeologists, including Charles Di Peso (see Chapter Ten), would undertake archaeological work to explore Native history at Tumacacori, the monument itself was set aside expressly to protect the Spanish buildings.[52] Navajo National Monument, described in-depth in the following chapter, also employs a Spanish name for the people who know themselves as the

Diné. The Spanish ascribed the word "Navajo" to the Diné people of Northeastern Arizona, and it was enshrined in the U.S. treaty of 1868. Debate remains over the Spanish origin of the word Navajo. The original Spanish term, *Apaches de Navajo*, shortened in later years, was traditionally believed to be derived from a table word meaning "large fields." However, more recent scholars argue the term derives solely from Spanish, citing similar words meaning razor or knife, and essentially having a meaning equating with thieves or "to take from the fields." Whatever its origin, Navajo is a foreign word to Diné people and, as such, should not be thought of as a Native name.[53]

The first national monument, Devils Tower, as described earlier, had a pre-existing Native name that was ignored in favor of Dodge's mistranslation of "bear lodge." Somewhat similarly, Native peoples had an existing name for the canyon that would later be known as "Zion" in southwestern Utah. The difference between the two is that while Devils Tower is the result of an errant attempt to translate a Native name into English, the Utah Canyon, for a time, retained its Native name. When President Taft's 1909 proclamation created the U.S.'s twenty-first National Monument, Utah, he deliberately created the first national monument to include a genuine Native name: Mukuntuweap.[54] The name of the monument, and the name of the canyon from which it took its name, did not last.

In 1847, Brigham Young and his followers of latter-day Saints migrated west in search of a place where they could practice their religion without intrusion by the U.S. government. They finally settled in the Salt Lake Valley, then part of Mexico. Nevertheless, the 1848 treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo the following year saw Latter-day Saints' lands ceded to the U.S. following a short time as an unincorporated territory; the United States designated the Utah territory in 1850. Undeterred, the latter-day Saints continued to establish settlements

throughout the region. In 1858, they began the colonization of southwestern Utah, popularly known at the time as "Utah's Dixie," due to the extensive cultivation of cotton (not to mention the only part of the U.S. West that held enslaved African peoples).

In 1858, Young and Latter-day Saints leadership sent Nephi Johnson to scout more extensively the Dixie region. Accompanied by Native guides, Johnson ultimately made his way into Mukuntuweep canyon. While the 1776 Dominquez-Escalante expedition and later exploration by Jedediah Smith and company in the 1820s passed close by the canyon, their written accounts do not demonstrate evidence of actually encountering the canyon.[55] As such, Johnson is generally believed to be the first EuroAmerican to see Mukuntuweep. According to a commemorative plaque dedicated by the Daughters of Utah Pioneers in 1938, "due to superstition, the Indians refused to enter the canyon," leaving Johnson purportedly to explore the canyon alone. In any event, Mormon settlers began arriving shortly after, establishing settlements along the Virgin River. In 1861, Joseph Black thoroughly explored the canyon, amazed by its beauty but also understanding its potential for agriculture. After the Great Flood of 1862 destroyed the settlement of Northrop, the pioneers relocated their settlement to the mouth of the canyon that would become the town of Springdale (then called Schunesburg). Isaac Behunin was the first to settle in the canyon itself and is generally attributed as being responsible for calling the canyon "Zion" in 1863.[56] according to tradition, Behunin said, "surely this is God's first Temple and should be called Zion," though out of reverence, it was referred to as "little Zion." (See: Figure 7.2.) He is also credited with stating, "A man can worship God among these great cathedrals as well as he can in any man-made church; this is Zion."[57]

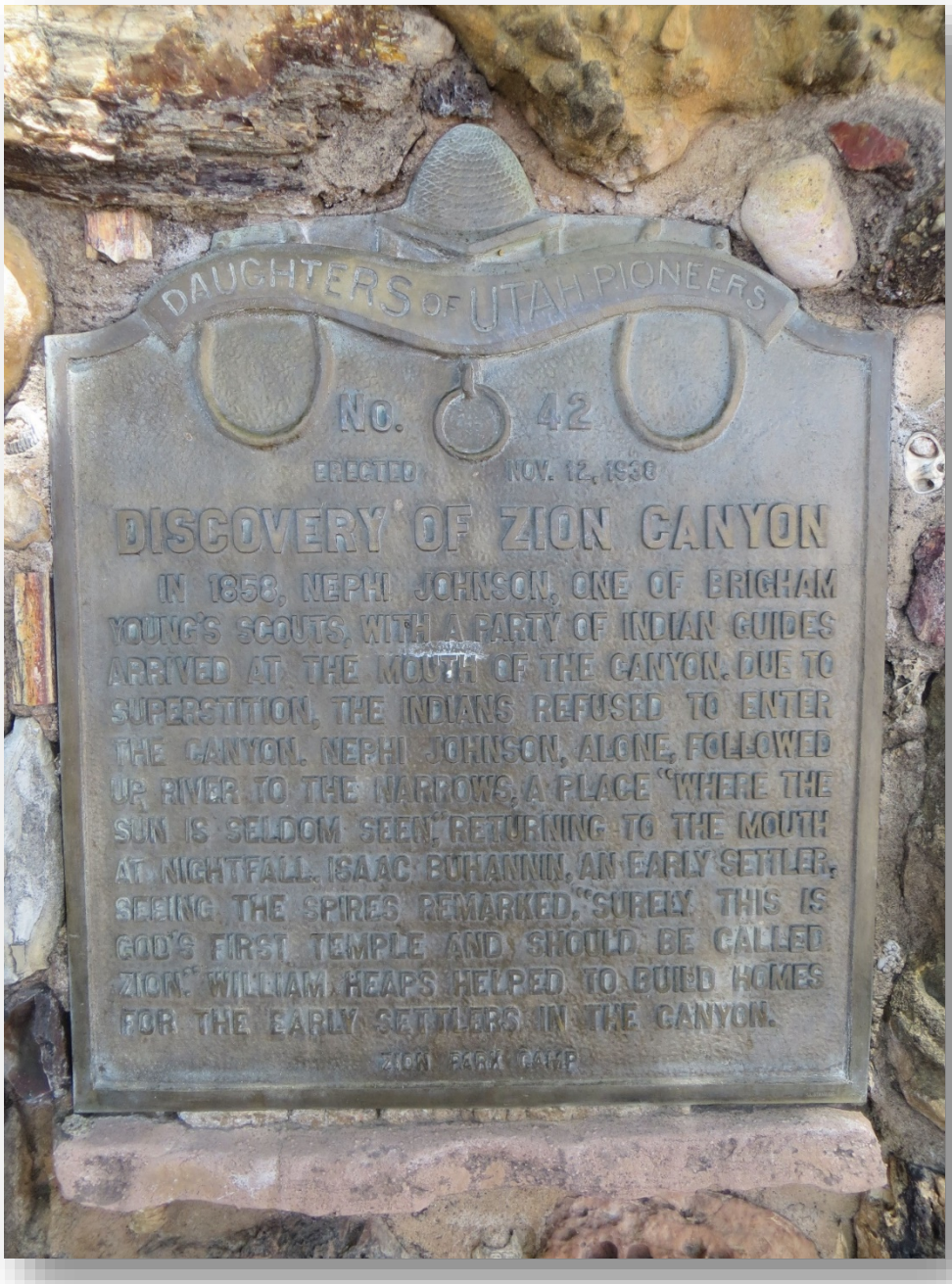


Figure 7.2: "Discovery of Zion Canyon" marker. (Photograph by Bill Kirchner, *HMdb.org*, June 12, 2014, accessed February 24, 2022, https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=74630.

By 1870, the Mormons had made settlements and homesteads all across Utah, with the area even boasting rapid railroad lines, built, in part, by the Mormons themselves.

However, the U.S. federal government had yet to survey and map Utah territory officially. In 1872, the director of the United States Geological Survey, John Wesley Powell, explored the Colorado River, its tributaries, and their canyons. On September 12th, after spending the night in Schunesburg, his company explored the canyon, of which he later wrote, "Another stream comes down from the north and unites just here at Schunesburg with the main branch of the Rio Virgen. We determined to spend a day in the exploration of this stream. The Indians call the canyon through which it runs, Mukun'tuweap, or Straight Canyon…. The walls have smooth, plain faces and are everywhere very regular and vertical for a thousand feet or more….On the western wall of the canyon stand some buttes….These tower rocks are known as the Temples of the Virgen."[58] Although local tradition asserts that the canyon was commonly known as "Zion" by the time of Powell's visit, his records do not mention that name, despite spending two nights at the settlement. Likewise, he reported the name of a second canyon, one that retained Powell's original designation, writing "the Indian name of the canyon is Paru'nuweap, or Roaring Water Canyon."[59]

Nevertheless, the local name "Zion" persisted and grew in local popularity among the settlers. Upon visiting the area, Brigham Young observed, "the Rio Virgen scenes were probably unsurpassed anywhere for wild romantic grandeur," though he was insistent in adding that the canyon "was 'not Zion.'"[60] In spite of Young's pronouncement, the next scientific expedition to the area following Powell's, Clarence Dutton's 1880 survey, recognized the conflicting names.. However, Dutton attributed the Native names to both the forks of the Virgen River and the canyons themselves. Separating the syllables upon first mentioning the unfamiliar Native names, he wrote, "[u]pon the Colob heads the northern fork of the Virgen, sometimes called the Mu-kún-tu-weap, sometimes Little Zion River. It flows

due south. East of this is the eastern fork, called the Pa-rú-nu-weap."[61] His evident amazement distinguished what he witnessed there in comparison to the other locations he wrote about in the same volume. For example, he stated,

> the Makúntuweap, or Little Zion Fork, is even more remarkable. For a considerable distance this stream also runs in a profound and exceptionally narrow chasm, but it at length widens out, and just where it joins the Parúnuweap is a scene which must ultimately become, when the knowledge of it is spread, one of the most admired in the world.[62]

But Dutton's admiration was not simply reserved for Makúntuweap. He described Parúnuweap in especially poetical terms,

> As it sweeps down the Parúnuweap it breaks into great pediments, covered all over with the richest carving. The effect is much like that which the architect of the Milan Cathedral appears to have designed, though here it is vividly suggested rather than fully realized—as an artist painting in the "broad style" suggests many things without actually drawing them.[63]

What is perhaps most striking about Dutton's description is the manner in which he seamlessly vacillates between scientific and romantic descriptions. In comparing Makúntuweap to Yosemite, he argued,

> Nothing can exceed the wondrous beauty of Little Zion Valley, which separates the two temples and their respective groups of towers. Nor are these the only sublime structures which look down into its depths, for similar ones are seen on either hand along its receding vista until a turn in the course carries the valley out of sight. In its proportions it is about equal to Yo Semite, but in the nobility and beauty of the sculptures there is no comparison. It is Hyperion to a satyr. No wonder the fierce Mormon zealot, who named it, was reminded of the Great Zion, on which his fervid thoughts were bent— "of houses not built with hands, eternal in the heavens."[64]

Although Dutton typically used the names "Makúntuweap" and "Little Zion" in tandem, this passage eschewed the former and invoked spiritual imagery, providing the impression that the canyon's scenic beauty effected a sort of religious experience on Dutton.

Unlike the creation of other national monuments previously discussed, the creation of Mukuntuweep National Monument was not a result of impending needed protections from vandalism. In fact, at the time of its creation, no road even reached the canyon. Instead, its designation was entirely preemptive. Also distinct from earlier national monument campaigns, its creation required a minimal amount of effort. In 1908, Leo Snow completed a survey for the General Land Office, following a request by Utah settlers. According to historian Wayne K. Hinton, Snow described the canyon as surpassed in grandeur only by a similar view of the "Grand Cañon of the Colorado."[65] The results of Snow's survey and observations eventually made their way to President Taft. In July 1909, he designated the twenty-first national monument, naming it Mukuntuweap. Although the name Zion was not official in relation to the monument, the proclamation did refer to "the North Fork of the Rio Virgin, or Zion River."[66]

Nine months after Congress created the National Park Service in August 1916, Stephan Mather was appointed as the first Director, with Horace M. Albright as the Assistant Director. Immediately, Mather was looking to expand the national parks. In August 1917, he asked John C. Merriam, Madison Grant, and Fairfield Osborn to explore the northern California coasts, a trip that resulted in the founding of the Save the Redwoods League. Mather had been asked to accompany the three men, but his inspection and evaluation of the national parks and monuments kept him from joining them.[67] Instead, at the beginning of September, Albright was scheduled to visit and evaluate Mukuntuweap National Monument, expressly for considering it to be nominated as a new national park. The completion of a Union Pacific Railroad line to the monument earlier that summer ensured easier and quicker access for visitors, making it a desirable candidate. Albright was awestruck at first sight of

the canyon and immediately vowed to make it a national park. However, he was bothered by its name. Years later, he recalled,

> I was excited and enthused by the grandeur of Little Zion, as I began to call it. I always preferred local names, especially native Indian ones, for natural wonders, but Mukuntuweap was a problem. It was an Indian name for the river. John Wesley Powell had translated the name as "straight river." I felt "Mukuntuweap" was too difficult to pronounce and really tough to spell.[68]

Concerned about the perceptions of potential tourists, Albright wrestled with honoring the traditional name versus adopting a more recent one by EuroAmerican Mormon settlers.

> I sounded out the local people and found they all used just the one word "Zion," which to Mormons meant "heaven" or a "heavenly place." That sounded about right to me, so I decided that when I returned to Washington and pressed for national park status, I would use that too. It also seemed to fit because the Mormons, who had settled here around 1860, had named many of the landmarks of the valley with religious themes, feeling they were like temples to God, such as Angels Landing, West Temple, and the Three Patriarchs.[69]

Hal Rothman has observed the manner in which Albright's decision played to public prejudices. Albright, among many others, feared that Native or Spanish-sounding names would Many believed that Spanish and Indian names would discourage potential tourists. Park names using unfamiliar words that were difficult to spell, say, and remember could hinder attendance. The same had been true of the proposed "Pajarito National Park," more popularly championed as "Cliff Cities."[70] (See Chapter Nine.) Rothman argued that the new name held "greater appeal to an ethnocentric audience."[71]

Albright mounted a furious publicity campaign promoting Mukuntuweap in newspapers and magazines as the next potential national park. Along with that proposal, Albright was pushing for a name change to "Zion." The publicity quickly caught the attention of President Wilson. While Albright was working steadily behind the scenes to push

a bill through Congress, Wilson took preemptive action. In March 1918, just six months after Albright's visit to Mukuntuweap, Wilson signed an executive proclamation—under the provisions of the Antiquities Act—expanding the monument's area by fivefold and officially renaming it "Zion National Monument."

> Wilson's proclamation included several perplexing components. He attested,
>
> said monument and adjacent lands being in the State of Utah, contain many natural features of unusual archaeologic, geologic, and geographic interest, unknown at the time the monument was created, And whereas, The archaeologic features pertain to the prehistoric races of America and to the ancestral Indian tribes

Unlike Taft's original proclamation, which made no mention of ancestral sites, Wilson specifically pointed to these features as part of the reason for the monument's expansion. That recognition is particularly perplexing in light of the manner in which he frames its renaming,

> The canyon of the North Fork of the Virgin River, the principal natural feature of geologic and geographic interest included within the boundaries of the said Mukuntuweap National Monument, was named "Zion Canyon" by Mormon settlers many years before the name "Mukuntuweap" was given to this region because it was regarded as a safe refuge in the event of Indian attacks on neighboring settlements, And whereas, The name "Zion" is still applied to this region to the exclusion of the name "Mukuntuweap," And whereas, It is desirable that the national monument embracing said region shall bear the generally accepted name "Zion,"[72]

Although conflict with settlers and the local Native populations was not uncommon, there is no evidence that they "regarded [the canyon] as a safe refuge in the event of Indian attacks." Because there is only one way in and out of the canyon, it was the last place the Mormon settlers wished to find themselves. Since the history of why the name was given is conflated with actual records, it is without surprise that Wilson continued to confuse crucial issues. His assumption that the area was called "'Zion Canyon' by Mormon settlers many years before

the name ‘Mukuntuweap’ was given to this region” misrepresented the area’s history. He asserted that Mukuntuweap was not used before mentioned by Powell. In essence, he prioritized unwritten, oral Mormon traditions over Powell’s recorded account. Furthermore, he prioritized EuroAmerican oral traditions over the definitely older Native oral traditions. The assertion that the Mormon tradition of calling the canyon “Zion” beginning in 1863 predated the Native name for the region demonstrated several critical features of the manner in which the federal government ascribed place names. Most relevantly, the older names are given priority, except when the names were Native. While written recorded records were almost always given precedent, in this case, Powell recorded a Native place name that was distasteful in light of the area becoming a monument and potentially the next National Park. Wilson’s choice to change the name, proposed by Albright and having broad public support, was a particularly egregious erasure of Native history and culture, especially in light of the “archaeologic features pertain to the prehistoric races of America” for which Wilson was justifying the monument’s expansion.

Utah senator Reed Smoot successfully lobbied his fellow members of Congress to appropriate funds for road construction and improvements into Zion—a first for a national monument—providing easier access for the recently increasing automobile travel to parks.[73] In spite of the 1918 influenza pandemic, which imposed travel restrictions, the attraction of Zion as a National Park and the proposal’s public popularity, not to mention Mather and Albright’s influence and persuasion, ultimately convinced Congress to pass an act designating Zion as the nation’s twenty-first national park. Wilson signed the act into law in November 1919.

In 1933, Angus Munn Woodbury, a naturalist for Zion, cast doubt on Powell’s

purported Native names. Woodbury worked as a park naturalist at Zion while attending Berkely for a Ph.D. in ecology and continued until being offered a professorship at the University of Utah, also in 1933. Woodbury observed that in the Native tongue, "Mukunta refers to the Great Spirit and weap refers to the land of or place." The confusion, according to Woodbury, was that the place where the Great Spirit dwells was the prominent 7,800 ft. summit the Mormons named "West Temple." The Canyon, however, Woodbury, contended, the Native called *Ioogoon*, meaning "arrow quiver," an acknowledgment of the canyons strikingly straight and narrow form.[74] This translation, if correct, closely resembled, in effect, Powell's English translation of Mukuntuweap as "Straight Canyon." Woodbury's conclusions about "the harsher and inappropriate name of Mukuntuweap," are undoubtedly based on the linguistic work of Edward Sapir.[75]

Regardless, this understanding of the Native name had no bearing on the decisions made by Albright, Wilson, and the U.S. Congress. Native names, whatever their meaning or translation, were distasteful. This fact was both because of the tourists they hoped to attract, but also because the names sounded—rightfully so—foreign. English was, in fact, the foreign language of the colonizers. And imposing the foreign name of "Zion" onto the Native landscape, which by Woodbury's contention was a holy and spiritual place for the Southern Paiutes, further impressed upon the landscape and those who formerly inhabited the land that was now in possession of and under the control of a foreign people who had no qualms about imposing foreign names onto Native places.

Conclusion

These ancestral sites, some of which were restored or reconstructed during the 1930s as a part of Civil Works Administration (CWA), and Works Progress Administration projects, presented a narrative merely by being part of the Park Service's system of properties thereby gaining the public's attention. They served as early attractions for visitors to the West who hoped to glimpse (or take home) a piece of history. More importantly, these ancestral sites provided EuroAmericans continuity in terms of understanding the history of the land they had dispossessed from Native peoples of the U.S. It was not a virgin landscape but instead a region filled with mythical cities that captured the imagination of the American public. The history imagined upon seeing these sites was influenced by many sources, but the archaeological narrative presented to the public in nationally administered and funded parks and monuments held priority of place.

Ideas about the past of Native peoples in the southwestern U.S. by the middle of the twentieth century were firmly established institutions that superseded what any given park or monument ranger, administrator, bureaucrat, legislator, or archaeologist may have thought in terms of the policies or theories they were compelled to follow. In Foucauldian terminology, interpretation was an "educational system…a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it."[76] Within the park system, modification of the knowledge and power inherent to ancestral sites began with stripping their Native names and associating them with ones instead that fit within Western frameworks, thereby appropriating Native cultural resources to supplement the socioeconomic power of the U.S. federal government. Harmon, McManamon, and

Pitcaithley assert that many see the enduring ancestral sites as reminders of "who the conquerors were [and] of whose civilization had 'won' the West."[77] Indeed, much of the interpretation from the early twentieth century seems to explicitly underscore that point, adding Native architecture and culture to the definition and identity of what it means to be "American." The use of some of this terminology is problematic itself, at least for those who did not count themselves among the "conquerors."

In 1998, the National Park Service established the Vanishing Treasures Program. (The word "treasures" appears frequent frequently in the historical literature when referring to Native artifacts. For example, the Museum of Northern Arizona featured objects on a rotating basis under the title "treasure of the month."[78]) Like the descendants of national monuments' builders 100 years ago, the ancestral sites themselves were said to be in a state of decay that required immediate intervention. This historic preservation initiative is necessary to continue the proper stewardship of these "ruins" now that they have been excavated and exposed to the elements. The Intermountain region's program director, Virginia Salazar-Halfmoon, argued in 2005 that the continued use of the word "ruin" is disingenuous and implies certain facets of the remains that are untrue. In her description of the tribal consultation relationships the region has established with the eighty-three potential Native nations culturally affiliated with those parks, the identification of loaded terms that appear on park interpretive materials is identified. "Ruins" and "abandoned" in particular are words Salazar-Half-moon argues, connotates "something without value or discarded." In fact, these ancestral sites still hold places in living memory of contemporary peoples and continue to live through oral traditions.[79] Continuing to present these various sites as shrines to the memory of EuroAmericans' conquest of the West bolsters a national narrative that

legitimizes manifest destiny and settler colonialism to a broader U.S. public.

Notes

1. Sherman Sage told this story to Dick Stone on August 19, 1932. When telling the story, Sage, who was eighty-one years old, learned it when he was nine years old from his father, Straight-Old-Man. Straight-Old-Man learned it from his father before him, Drying-Up-Hide. Dick Stone recorded the story on August 19, 1932; Dick Stone, *First Encounters: Indian Legends of Devils Tower* ([Place of publication not identified]: Sand Creek Printing, 1982), 7-8. Newell F. Joyner, Devils Tower's second superintendent, obtained a copy of Stone's unpublished manuscript for the museum and reproduced his histories and stories of local peoples for visitors.

2. Richard Irving Dodge, *The Black Hills: A Minute Description of the Routes, Scenery, Soil, Climate, Timber, Gold, Geology, Zoology, Etc*. (New York, NY: James Miller, 1876), 95.

3. Jeanne Rogers, *Standing Witness: Devils Tower National Monument: A History* (Devils Tower, WY: Devils Tower National Monument, National Park Service, 2007), 26.

4. Madison S. Beeler, "Yosemite and Tamalpais," *Names* 3, no. 3 (1955): 185.

5. Alfonso Ortiz, "Po'pay's Leadership: a Pueblo Perspective," in *Po'Pay: Leader of the First American Revolution*, ed. Joe S. Sando and Herman Agoyo (Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishing, 2005), 82-92.

6. For example, in the case of the "Anasazi," Richard Wetherill co-opted a Navajo word to describe the ancestral Pueblo peoples, to whom living Hopi, Zuni, and other pueblo peoples of northern New Mexico claim descent. The Navajo word "Anasazi," frequently translated as "ancient enemies," has endured for over 100 years with only the most progressive archaeologists, museum displays, and national parks and monuments reflecting a change to more appropriate nomenclature.

7. Foucault would have argued that the naming of these sites was requisite to speak about them in new terms, and in selecting those names also selected was the manner in which they would eventually be discussed. He stated, "even before it could be grasped in the form of a *cogito*, prior significations, in some ways already spoken, were circulating in the world, scattering it all about us, and from the outset made possible a sort of primitive recognition. Thus, a primary complicity with the world founds, for us, a possibility of speaking of experience, in it, to designate and name it, to judge it and, finally, to know it in the form of truth." Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse On Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1972), 228.

8. Foucault argued, "Here, we are no longer dealing with the mastery of the powers contained within discourse, nor with averting the hazards of its appearance ; it is more a question of determining the conditions under which it may be employed, of imposing a certain number of rules upon those individuals who employ it, thus denying access to everyone else. This amounts to a rarefaction among speaking subjects : none may enter into discourse on a specific subject unless he has satisfied certain conditions or if he is not, from the outset, qualified to do so. More exactly, not all areas of discourse are equally open and penetrable; some are forbidden territory (differentiated and differentiating) while others are virtually open to the winds and stand, without any prior restrictions, open to all." Foucault, *The Discourse On Language*, 224-225

9. Louis R. Caywood and Edward H. Spicer, Tuzigoot (Berkeley, CA: National Park Service, Fiedl Division of Education, 1935), 14.

10. D. John Daugherty, *Devils Tower National Monument: A History Of National Park Service Developments Through 1966* (Denver, CO: National Park Service, 1984), 13.

11. This legend was told to Dick Stone By Young-Bird, a Cheyenne whose home was on the Lame Deer Reservation. Samuel Weasel Bear acted as an interpreter. Young-Bird said, "This Is A True Story. It Happened." Stone, *First Encounters*, 12-15.

12. This legend was told to Dick Stone by Ride-The-White-Hip-Horse. Interpreted by Goes-To-Magpie. Stone, *First Encounters*, 9-10.

13 This legend was told to Dick Stone by Short Bull, who lived a short distance west of Oglala, South Dakota, on July 31, 1932. Mark Running Eagle, Interpreter. Stone, *First Encounters*, 21.

14. Henry Newton and Walter P. Jenney, *Report on the Geology and Resources of the Black Hills of Dakota: With Atlas* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880), 200-201.

15. The June 1876 Battle of the Greasy Grass (popularly called the Battle of the Little Bighorn) is itself controversial for both its name and memorialization. See Mike Wallace,

Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1996), 111, 117.

16. Daugherty, *Devils Tower National Monument*, 6.

17. Adolf [*sic*] F. Bandelier, "The 'Montezuma' Of The Pueblo Indians," *American Anthropologist* 5, no. 4 (1892): 320.

18. Francisco Tomás Hermenegildo Garcés, Elliott Coues, And Francisco Tomás Hermenegildo Garcés. *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés (Missionary Priest) In His Travels through Sohora, Arizona, and California, 1775-177*6, translated from an Official Contemporaneous Copy of the Original Spanish Manuscript, and Edited with Copious Critical Notes by Elliott Coues (New York, NY: F.P. Harper, 1900) 143, 66.

19. James Madison Cutts, *The Conquest of California and New Mexico: By the Forces of the United States, in the Years 1846 &1847* (Albuquerque, NM: Horn & Wallace, 1965), 186.

20. Garcés et al., *On The Trail Of A Spanish Pioneer*, 89.

21. A. W. Whipple, Thomas Ewbank, And W. W. Turner, "Report Upon The Indian Tribes," in *Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad From the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean Made Under the Direction of the Secretary of War, In 1853 And 1854*, ed. Joseph Henry and Spencer Fullerton Baird, Vol. 3 (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, Printer, 1855), 15.

22. Henry Clifton, "The Woolsey Expedition," *Arizona Miner*, 25 May 1864.

23. Edgar Alexander Mearns, "Ancient Dwellings Of The Rio Verde Valley," *The Popular Science Monthly* 37 (October 1890): 751.

24. See Cosmos Mindeleff, "Aboriginal Remains in Verde Valley, Arizona," in *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1891-'92* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), 185-268.

25. Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Archeological Expedition to Arizona in 1895," in *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau Of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1895-1896* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898), 546.

26. Fewkes, "Archeological Expedition to Arizona in 1895," 552; Following the visits of Mindeleff and Fewkes, Richard Wetherill made an appearance, describing in an article for the *Mancos Times* his finding of a mummy in 1896. Although Wetherill did not state as much

explicitly, it could be safely assumed that Wetherill held onto the mummy and other artifacts when departing. McNitt described Wetherill as writing on March 20, 1896, "I found, after a few minutes' work, the remains of at least half a dozen children, one of which is a very fair mummy. All of these, except the mummy, were in a promiscuous mass and nothing with them. The mummy was the lower burial, and it rested in a very small excavation next to the rock on the floor of the cave. It was laid straight out; head to the east; face up; hands at its sides….I am highly elated at my success in finding relics here where so many have visited, and in a ruin that has always had especial [*sic*] mention made of it in works upon this deeply interesting subject." Frank McNitt, *Richard Wetherill: Anasazi* Rev. ed. (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 332-332.

27. Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Designs on Prehistoric Hopi Pottery," in *Thirty-Third Annual Report Of The Bureau Of American Ethnology To The Secretary Of The Smithsonian Institution 1911-1912* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919), 283.

28. Herbert Eugene Bolton and Vélez De Escalante Silvestre, *Pageant in the Wilderness: The Story of the Escalante Expedition to the Interior Basin, 1776. Including the Diary and Itinerary of Father Escalante Translated and Annotated*, Utah Historical Quarterly 18. (Salt Lake City, UT: Utah State Historical Society, 1950), 25-26, 141, 146, 148, 243-250.

29. Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, Miera's Report to the King of Spain," in Bolton and Silvestre, *Pageant in the Wilderness*, 245.

30. "August 4th.—left camp early with Pfeiffer, the indian agent, Messrs. Fisher and Dorsey, and several indians, to visit the ruins reported to exist at a certain point on the banks of the animas….the principal structures are large pueblos, handsomely built of stone, and in a. Pretty good state of preservation. The external walls are composed of yellow cretaceous sandstone, dressed to a common smooth surface without hammer-marks; in some places they are still 25 feet in height. As usual in buildings of this kind, the walls were unbroken by door or window to the height of 15 feet above the foundation. The interior shows a great number of small rooms, many of which are in a perfect, state of preservation, and handsomely plastered. These larger structures are surrounded by mounds and fragments of masonry, marking the sites of great numbers of subordinate buildings; the whole affording conclusive evidence that a large population once had its home here. The fragments of highly ornamented and glazed pottery which cover the surface in the vicinity of these buildings, as well as the peculiar style of architecture in which they are constructed, show that the people who built and occupied these structures belonged to the common aboriginal race of this region, now generally known as the pueblo indians." J.S. Newberry, *Report of the Exploring Expedition from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West in 1859* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1876), 79-80.

31. "[A]ll along the river evidences are found of the ancient inhabitants that once populated the valley. Innumerable fragments of pottery, remnants of houses built of river-bowlders and mud, and watch-towers upon prominent points denote the former existence at

that locality of a large number of people….on the west side of the Animas, a large town was found. On the north side of it walls and the remnants of what appeared to be ditches were observed. Fragments of chalcedony, jasper, and obsidian were strewn all over the ground, and some crude arrow and spear heads were found. Within the walls, which probably stretched across the valley from west to east formerly, were the ruins of the houses. All that remains of them to-day is either a circular or square, elevated mound, composed of mud and rounded bowlders, that have been taken from the river. Its outlines indicate the size of the building. In the center of this town was a very large structure of sandstone. It was constructed in the shape of a horseshoe, with right angles, however, opening toward the south. About two-thirds of it still remain standing. It was originally four stories high, and the southern opening guarded by three concentric towers. It was found, upon examination, that the sandstone had been taken from one of the adjoining tertiary bluffs, had been broken into rectangular pieces, the sides of which were smoothed by being rubbed with another piece of stone, probably also sandstone. The entire building was divided into small rooms or compartments, most of which had no light whatever. They are well preserved still in the lower stories. Their dimensions are surprisingly small, if it is to be assumed that human beings lived in them…. An estimate made of the number of rooms that existed at the time when the building was still entire, resulted in the conclusion that it must have contained upward of 500 of them, a sufficiently large number, perhaps, to accommodate all the inhabitants of the surrounding town in case of war or danger from invasion. Taking this view of the case, i have given that ancient town the name of acropolis…. At first sight the care with which the building had been constructed, and the regularity of design and execution visible in every detail, suggested to us the idea that spaniards might have had something to do with its erection, and that we had before us, perhaps, the ruins of an ancient mission. Upon very careful examination, however, not even a trace of the use of any metal tool or instrument could be found….in the court-yard heaps of broken pottery were found, some of them showing very pretty designs. The only specimen that could be regarded as a household article was a stone, such as many of the present indians, more particularly the Moquis (Hopi) and allied tribes, use for grinding their corn." Frederic M. Endlich, "Report Of F. M. Endlich, Chapter IV: San Juan Region" in *Ninth Annual Report of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories: Embracing Colorado and Parts of Adjacent Territories; Being a Report of Progress of the Exploration for the Year 1875*, ed. F. V. Hayden (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1877), 177-178.

32. Lewis Henry Morgan, "On the Ruins of a Stone Pueblo on the Animas River in New Mexico; with a Ground Plan," *Twelfth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology And Ethnology* in *Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology in Connection with Harvard University, Volume II, 1876-79* (Salem, MA: The Salem Press, 1880), 536-537.

33. Morgan, "On the Ruins of a Stone Pueblo," 552-553.

34. "'The Rio San Juan Region, or the Country of the Toltecan Cities'—Letter Abridged of Charles Baker to the Surveyor General, of New Mexico, Dated at 'Animas City,

County of San Juan, New Mexico, 16 February 1861," *California Farmer*, June 19, 1863, 131.

35. "At the Denver exposition there were exhibited some Aztec remains from Farmington, La Plata county, Colo., of intense interest to the student. They were found in the ruins of a building several stories high, which had been erected in the form of a terraced pyramid, near the mouth of the Animas River. Nearly all the bones of the human body were discovered in a good state of preservation. Among them were three skulls…. All were very thick, showing characteristics of the semi-barbaric races. …. Besides, there were some fine specimens of Aztec pottery of perfect color." Flora Ellis Stevens, "Aztec Remains In La Plata County, Colorado," *Kansas City Review Of Science And Technology* 6, no. 7 (November 1882): 442.

36. C. V. Koogler and Virginia Koogler Whitney, *Aztec: a Story of Old Aztec from the Anasazi to Statehood* (Fort Worth, TX: American Reference Pub. Co., 1972), 13. Duane A. Smith, *Mesa Verde National Park: Shadows of the Centuries* rev. ed. (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2002), 15. Robert H. Lister and Florence C. Lister, *Aztec Ruins National Monument: Administrative History of an Archeological Preserve* Southwest Cultural Resources Center Professional Papers No. 24 (Santa Fe, NM: Division of History, National Park Service, 1990), 6.

37. President Warren G. Harding proclaimed "Aztec Ruin" a national monument in January 1923 ("Aztec Ruin: A Proclamation," [No. 1650—Jan. 24, 1923—42 Stat. 2295]), President Calvin Coolidge expanded the monument and renamed it in the plural form, "Aztec Ruins," five years later ("Aztec Ruins: A Proclamation," [No. 1140—July 2, 1928—15 Stat. 2954]).

38. "In Search Of A Lost Race": n.a., "The Illustrated American Sends an Expedition to Explore the Cliff Dwellings of Colorado," (Vol. 10, no. 111, April 2, 1892): 305-308; Warren K. Moorehead, Parts 1 and 2, (Vol. 10, no. 116, May 7, 1892): 545-550; Warren K. Moorehead, Part 2 (cont.), (Vol. 11, no. 119, May 28, 1892): 86-88; n.a., Part 3, (Vol. 11, no. 121, June 11, 1892): 177-180; n.a., Part 4, (Vol. 11, no. 122, June 18, 1892): 230-232; Lewis W.Gunckel, Part 5, (Vol. 11, no. 124, July 2, 1892): 325-328; Warren K. Moorehead, Part 6, (Vol. 11, no. 125, July 9, 1892): 361-365; Warren K. Moorehead, Part 7, (Vol. 11, no. 126, July 16, 1892): 409-412; Warren K. Moorehead, Part 8, (Vol. 11, no. 127, July 23, 1892): 457-460; Warren K. Moorehead, Part 9, (Vol. 11, no. 128, July 30, 1892): 511-514; Lewis W.Gunckel, Part 10, (Vol. 11, no. 129, August 6, 1892): 559-563; n.a., Part 11, (Vol. 11, no. 130, August 13, 1892): 608-610; Warren K. Moorehead, Part 12, (Vol. 12, no. 131, August 20, 1892): 23-26; n.d., Part 13, (Vol. 12, no. 132, August 27, 1892): 71-73.

39. Warren K. Moorehead, "In Search of a Lost Race" Part 1, *The Illustrated American* 10, no. 116 (May 7, 1892): 545.

40. Warren K. Moorehead, "In Search of a Lost Race" Part 12, *The Illustrated*

American 10, no. 116 (Vol. 12, no. 131, August 20, 1892): 23-25. According to the final article in the series, the remains were transferred to the care of Dr. Thomas Wilson, Curator of Pre-historic Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institute, and recommended for display at the 1893 Columbia Exposition; Part 13 (Vol. 12, no. 132, August 27, 1892): 71.

41. Jesse Walter Fewkes, *Prehistoric Villages, Castles, And Towers Of Southwestern Colorado*, Smithsonian Institution Bureau Of American Ethnology Bulletin 70 (Washington, DC, Government Printing Office, 1919), 12.

42. Earl H. Morris, "The Excavation of a Ruin Near Aztec, San Juan County, New Mexico," *American Anthropologist* 17, no. 4 (1915): 666.

43. Earl H. Morris, *The Aztec Ruin*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 26, ed. Clark Wissler (New York, NY: American Museum Press, 1919).

44. Miranda Warburton and Richard M. Begay, "An Exploration of Navajo-Anasazi Relationships," *Ethnohistory* 52, no. 3 (summer 2005): 550.

45. "The people of Cochiti told me that the caves of the Rito, as well as the three pueblo ruins, were the work of their ancestors, when the Queres all lived there together, in times much anterior to the coming of the Spaniards. The place is called Tyuo-nyi in the Queres language…The Queres also told me that their ancestors, after having dwelt at the Rito for a considerable length of time, began gradually to leave it in bands, in order to build pueblos on the mesas south of the Rito….The medicine-men of Cochiti still visit the Rito frequently, to pay homage to the Shi-ua-na, or spirits that are supposed to be the particular Genii of their pueblo, and still to hover about the caves and ruins. To any one acquainted with pueblo Indian beliefs, this last custom will appear conclusive evidence that the Rito was, in times long past, the home of that branch of the Queres which now occupies the pueblos on the Rio Grande, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe." A. F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885*, Part 2, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, 4 (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son, 1892), 145-46.

46. Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885*, Part 1, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, 3 (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son, 1890), 33.

47. Adolf [*sic*] F. Bandelier, *The Delight Makers* (New York, NY: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1890), 4.

48. Hal Rothman, *Bandelier National Monument: An Administrative History* (Santa Fe, NM: Division of History, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, National Park Service, 1988), 15.

49. Bandelier National Monument, No. 1322—Feb. 11, 1916—39 Stat. 1764.

50. *In the land of the ancient cliff dweller: Bandelier National Monument, Santa Fe National Forest, New Mexico* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), 5. Additionally, on October 16, 1980, a small group of individuals scattered Bandelier's cremains over a section of Frijoles Canyon. Bandelier died in Seville, Spain, in 1914, and having his body disinterred and shipped to Santa Fe, NM, required extended negotiations. See Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier, *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier*, ed. and anno. Charles H. Lange and Carroll L. Riley, vol. 4, *1889-1892* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 278-279.

51. "Tumacacori National Monument: A Proclamation," No. 821—September 15, 1908—35 Stat. 2205.

52. Charles C. Di Peso, *The Upper Pima of San Cayetano Del Tumacacori : an Archaeohistorical Reconstruction of the Ootam of Pimeria Alta* (Dragoon, AZ: Amerind Foundation, 1956) and Di Peso, *The Babocomari Village Site on the Babocomari River, Southeastern Arizona* (Dragoon, AZ: Amerind Foundation, 1951).

53. The Navajo Nation continued to debate their official name internally. As recently as 2017, they rejected a proposal to change their official name to Diné, citing confusion for outsiders as a primary concern.

54. "Mukuntuweap National Monument: A Proclamation," No. 877—July 31, 1909—36 Stat. 2498.

55. Jedediah Smith is credited with naming the Virgin River in 1826. Originally called "Adams River," after President John Quincy Adams. Jedediah Strong Smith and George R. Brooks, *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826-1827*, Glendale, CA.: A.H. Clark, 1977), 55. However, he later renamed it, according to historian Hiram M. Chittenden, after Thomas Virgin, one of Smith's company killed by the Umpqua in Oregon.

56. From the Biblical name for Jerusalem, originally the name of a hill (i.e., Mount Zion) and sometimes attributed to Israel as a whole, and in Jewish eschatology as the World-to-Come. See Isaiah 35:10 - "And the ransomed of the LORD shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away"; Isaiah 64:10 - Thy holy cities are a wilderness, Zion is a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation."; 2 Chronicles 5:2 - Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, and all the heads of the tribes, the chief of the fathers of the children of Israel, unto Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the covenant of the LORD out of the city of David, which is Zion."; Isaiah 14:32 - What shall one then answer the messengers of the nation? That the LORD hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it."; Isaiah 51:3 - "For the

LORD shall comfort Zion: he will comfort all her waste places; and he will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the LORD; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving, and the voice of melody."

57. Angus M. Woodbury, *History of Zion* ([Place of publication not identified]: [publisher not identified], 1930), 9.

58. John Wesley Powell, *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West and Its Tributaries: Explored in 1869, 1870, 1871, and 1872* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1875), 295-297.

59. Powell, *Exploration of the Colorado River*, 293.

60. *Glimpses of Our National Parks* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1927), 57.

61. Clarence E. Dutton, *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon District*, Monographs of the United States Geological Survey, 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1882), 48-49.

62. Dutton, *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon*, 49.

63. Dutton, *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon*, 58.

64. Dutton, *Tertiary History of the Grand Cañon*, 59-60.

65. Wayne K. Hinton, "Getting Along: The Significance of Cooperation in the Development of Zion National Park," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 68 no. 4 (2000): 314.

66. In 2022, the term "Zion River" is no longer officially used; "Mukuntuweap National Monument, A Proclamation," No. 877—July 31, 1909—36 Stat. 2498.

67. Horace M. Albright, Marian Albright Schenck, and Robert M. Utley, *Creating the National Park Service: The Missing Years*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 273.

68. Albright, Schenck, and Utley, *Creating the National Park Service*, 243.

69. Albright, Schenck, and Utley, *Creating the National Park Service*, 243.

70. Hal Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 99, 117.

71. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 99.

72. “Zion National Monument, Utah: A Proclamation,” No. 1435—Mar. 18, 1918—40 Stat. 1760.

73. Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts*, 99.

74. Woodbury, *History of Zion*, 13-14.

75. Woodbury, *History of Zion*, 17

76. Foucault, *Discourse on Language*, 227.

77. David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley, “The Antiquities Act: A Cornerstone Of Archaeology, Historic Preservation, And Conservation,” in *The Antiquities Act: A Century of American Archaeology*, ed. David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2006), 269.

78. “News Release,” January 16, 1948, A90,300, Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, AZ.

79. Virginia Salazar-Halfmoon, “Changing Ideas And Perceptions,” in *People, Places, And Parks: Proceedings of the 2005 George Wright Society Conference On Parks, Protected Areas, And Cultural Sites*, ed. David Harmon (Hancock, MI: The George Wright Society, 2006), 440.

Chapter Eight: Parks, Monuments, Museums, and Interpretation

In the summer of 1908, William Boone Douglass, Examiner of Surveys for the General Land Office, arrived in southeastern Utah to resurvey land for the Natural Bridges National Monument. After Roosevelt proclaimed the area the nation's fourteenth national monument earlier that spring, the Department of the Interior desired more accurate maps. After finishing the task, which took him until October, he stayed in the four corners area to continue surveying and seeking out potential preservation features. In December, he left Bluff, Utah headed for Oljato, Utah—adjacent to Monument Valley—to visit the Trading Post John Wetherill, brother of Richard, operated there. Although Douglass had hoped to hire the younger Wetherill as a guide to explore sites in northeastern Arizona, a winter storm shortly after his arrival made such travel impossible until spring.

Before Douglass returned to Bluff, he spoke at length with a Paiute guide named Mike's Boy. Douglass learned of additional bridges like the ones he recently surveyed. Additionally, Mike's Boy told him of a number of ancestral sites in the Tsegi Canyon. Douglass corroborated the description and location with Wetherill, who made no mention of his brother's expeditions there fifteen years earlier. The remoteness of the site and the difficulty in reaching it led Douglass to incorrectly deduce that Tsegi Canyon may have remained untouched and unlooted. Douglass was leery not only of men like Wetherill but of others he considered looters, too. These included men like Edgar Lee Hewett and Byron Cummings.

Douglass believed in the complete preservation of Native ancestral sites. Although he was not an archaeologist himself, he had recently gained an interest in the cultural artifacts of

the Southwest, where he spent much of his time. He viewed the collections made by private museums on federal lands as regretful and, worse, little better than Richard Wetherill's expeditions. If what Mike's Boy and John Wetherill had said were true, it was only a matter of time before Hewett and Cummings arrived to decimate the sites. Instead, official federal archaeologists from the Smithsonian, men like Jesse Walter Fewkes, should be the first to explore, catalog, and collect at ancestral sites.

The site Mike's Boy described was on Navajo reservation lands—and, thus, federal government lands—meaning it was already protected under the Antiquities Act. However, only its designation as a national monument would implement a permit system for archaeological excavations, a hurdle Douglass felt was necessary. This restriction would allow the federal government to decide which archaeologists had the authority to excavate. With the aid of a map, Douglas had Mike's Boy point out the locations of the various ancestral sites. Douglass used these geographical points to demarcate and outline a rough sketch of an area roughly 160 square miles. In a series of telegrams, Douglass convinced the Commissioner of the General Land Office to push for a national monument proclamation. Before the winter snow had even thawed, President William Howard Taft signed a proclamation designating Navajo National Monument on March 20, 1909. At that time, no one from the federal government had even glimpsed the site.

Introduction

In Part Two, this dissertation has endeavored to demonstrate the ways in which Americanist archaeology was inseparably tied to the development of the National Park

Service. As the federal government moved to assert power over ancestral landscapes, the seminal agency inherited management, control, and interpretation of the Native past. This chapter will explore examples of this interpretation in an attempt to tie together the management efforts detailed in Chapter Six and the control analyzed in Chapter Seven. The National Park Service's assertion of dominance over Native ancestral landscapes, reconstruction of Native sites, and replacement of Native names would have been incomplete without interpretating the lands' history as an final and definitive act of colonization.

This chapter will argue (1) the National Park Service introduced museums and museum exhibits that presented EuroAmerican archaeology-based history in an archaeological fashion, furthering nationalist narratives about Manifest Destiny and the conquer of the Native peoples; (2) the discipline of archaeology, through its own foundations in racial science, racialized Native groups, severely damaging their histories; and (3) defined the histories of Native peoples to the broader public in a manner that preserved EuroAmerican ideological dominance across racial boundaries. Finally, this chapter will conclude by demonstrating how several examples of ancestral sites on Native land and managed by Native peoples continue to enjoy protection, preservation, and prosperity without the intervention of the National Park Service or the federal government.

Preserving Whose Past?: Navajo National Monument

Eighty-five miles west-southwest of Four Corners—the geographic point at which the borders of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah meet—in the north-central part

of Navajo Nation lies Navajo National Monument. Although today it is understood as a fourteenth-century Ancestral Pueblo dwelling, the Diné people have controlled and administered the site, to one degree or another, since its creation. Historically, the implications of this fact resulted in interpretation centered on Diné culture and history, much as narratives presented by Anglos at other national parks and monuments tell the story of the Native peoples' conquerors. The proclamation of this site as a national monument, the process it went through to be proclaimed as such, and the impetus for its protection share very few commonalities with the other locations described thus far. Instead, Navajo National Monument and its creation provide insight into early twentieth-century archaeology and how the Antiquities Act was often employed.

The Navajo, who refer to themselves as Diné, are descendants of an Athabaskan incursion from Canada within the past millennium. Like Europeans, the Diné were relatively recent arrivals to the U.S. Southwest. Archaeological and historical evidence traditionally suggested that the Athabaskan ancestors of the Diné and Apache entered the Southwest between 1400 and 1525 CE. What is certain from Spanish descriptions is that they were already established by the time of European arrival. However, their gradual migration south likely occurred in multiple waves over many decades, and oral traditions by Southern Athabaskan speakers attest a much less recent appearance, some as approximately early as 900 CE. Tree ring dating evidence also places the first group of Athabaskan-speaking people in the Southwest around the year 1100 CE, making them roughly contemporaneous with the Ancestral Pueblo peoples.[1] The word most often attributed to the ancestral pueblos, "Anasazi," makes far more sense in the context of one of these earlier estimates. According to Southwest's Regional Archaeologist Erik Reed in 1939,

> Nomadic enemies, it is generally believed, were a major factor, causing the Pueblo Indians to abandon their cliff dwellings and other prehistoric dwellings, the ruins of which still stand. in many areas of the Southwest. . . . The Navajo were originally an Apache band, and the first Spanish references, in the early 17th century, call them the "Apaches de Navajo". . . . The Apache tribes, including the Navajo, were the major enemies of the Pueblo Indians, and, later, of the Pima of southern Arizona. The Zuni name "Pachu" is synonymous with "enemy" though applied apparently only to the Navajo. The Zuni call the Apache proper "Wilatsukwe", a name also synonymous with "enemy". A Hopi name for the Navajo refers to the cutting off of heads.[2]

Whenever their arrival, they were indeed established when the Spanish infiltrated *El Norte*. In addition to making enemies of the Pima, Hopi, and Zuni peoples, the last two of which have strong cultural ties to the Ancestral Pueblo people, the Diné were frequently in conflict with the Spanish during the eighteenth century.

The Spanish regularly aligned their military with other Native groups fighting against the Diné. Other times, the Spanish formed uncomfortable alliances with one another to fight different Native groups. Particularly bloody encounters during 1804-1805 that culminated at Canyon de Chelly between the Spanish and Diné led to an uneasy peace treaty between them.[3] Unlike elsewhere in the Southwest, where the Spanish system enjoyed varying levels of success, they never achieved the same foothold and Diné territory.

When the United States took over the administration of the Southwest after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Diné were the largest Native population in the Southwest. Although the United States and the Diné signed a peace treaty, war persisted for nearly two decades. General James Carelton and Kit Carson eventually compelled the Diné to submit to U.S. demands after a ruthless conquest during 1863-1864, again reaching its climax at Canyon de Chelly. Following their defeat, an estimated 8,500 Diné were forced on The Long Walk, 400 miles to Bosque Redondo in eastern New Mexico.

The Treaty of Bosque Redondo between the United States and the Diné permitted the

ousted Native peoples to return to their traditional homeland in 1868.[4] Stipulations of the treaty compelled the Diné to adopt a sedentary lifestyle, entirely at odds with their traditional lifeways. They took up farming and began caring for livestock. Young members of the Diné were required to attend school. Artisanal craftsmanship, especially rug and jewelry making, also grew substantially upon their return. This growth in crafts was aided by establishing the first trading posts beginning in the 1880s, among which was one Richard Wetherill's brother John, his wife Louisa Wade Wetherill, and their partner, Clyde Colville, opened at Oljato, Utah, in 1906.[5] However, the rapid growth of the Diné following their return to duty to the four corners region resulted in them settling lands outside the boundaries of their reservation. At the urging of the local commissioners of Indian affairs, from 1868 to 1934, acts of Congress and Executive Orders expanded the size of the Navajo Reservation fourteen separate times, drastically diminishing the land allocated to the neighboring Hopi people (see Figure 8.1).[6] The 1884 expansion included the Tsegi Canyon and Plateau, which would eventually become Navajo National Monument.

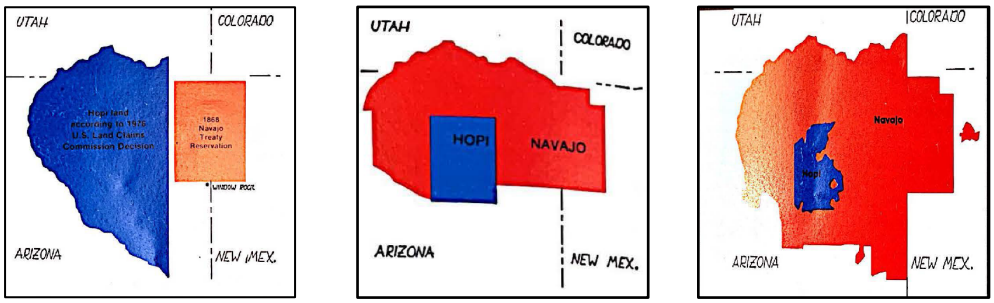


Figure 8.1. Hopi lands (blue) compared to Diné lands (red) showing the original boundaries of the 1868 Treaty, 1900, and 1980. (Untitled brochure, Chairman's Office, The Hopi Tribe Kykotsmovi, AZ, c.a. 1986.)

The Wetherills at Tsegi

Richard Wetherill, Al Wetherill, and Charlie Mason, the same men credited with first finding Mesa Verde's Cliff Palace, first visited the Tsegi Plateau in 1893. The reason for their expedition, as it had been at Mesa Verde and as it would be at Chaco Canyon, was the recovery of Native artifacts. Their first trip proved so fruitful that they returned less than two years later with additional men in the winter of 1894-1895. The group excavated as they made their way and eventually split into three teams. Richard, Al, and Charlie followed Laguna Creek up into Tsegi Canyon until it eventually reached a three-way split. According to Richard's biographer, Frank McNitt, the Wetherills' fortune came when Richard's mule, Neephi, broke away from its hobbles in the middle of the night and wandered off. In the morning, Richard went searching after it, following its of prints. He continued up the canyon until it made a sudden turn, all at once an "elliptical cave stared back at Richard like a giant eye fixed immovably and low in a forehead of red sandstone cliff."[7] After returning to collect his companions, Richard, Al, and Charlie spent four days excavating the previously untouched site. On account of the potsherds that littered the site, the Diné had named it *Kits'iil*, a phrase meaning "broken pottery," more commonly known as Keet Seel; to the Hopi, the site is *Kawestima*.[8] Inside the massive recess in the limestone canyon wall, the structures rivaled those of Mesa Verde both in size and grandeur.

After President Taft signed the proclamation into law designating Navajo National Monument, Hewett applied for and received a permit to complete excavations at Keet Seel. Both Hewett and Cummings were in the Tsegi area in the summer of 1908. During that summer, Hewett had made a brief trip to Keet Seel with John Wetherill and made plans to

return. Although William Douglass referred to the anticipated 1909 Cummings expedition as a "pseudo-scientific party with strong political backing," he had not anticipated the extensive influence the author of the Antiquities Act, Hewett, had over southwestern archaeology.

In the summer of 1909, Byron Cummings arrived at Tsegi to begin excavations at Keet Seel under Hewett's permit issued to the School of American Archaeology. During the summer, a side excursion led by a Diné guide brought them to a site containing an inscription that appeared to read "Anno Domini 1661" and would have provided evidence for Spanish visitation. In light of this find, they named the site Inscription House.[9] To the Hopi, however, the site's name is *Tsu'ovi*, meaning "place of the rattlesnake" in reference to the clan that made the village its home.[10]

It was the end of the summer, and the group planned to return to Oljato. As they passed by a fork in the canyon, they were waved down by a local Diné woman, who heard the party was in search of ancestral sites. Louisa Wade Wetherill was part of the group, along with her and John's daughters, although John had left for Bluff, Utah prior to that time. Regardless, Louisa was fluent in Atahabaskan-Diné, and the woman told her of a place just up the canyon some Diné children knew about. After a short sojourn, that party came across another large site, not as big as Keet Seel, but similarly tucked into an impression made in the side of the canyon. The Hopi called the *Talastima* the "Place of the Blue Corn Tassels." The Wetherill party, in contrast, named it Betatakin, a Atahabaskan-Diné word (*Betat'akin*) meaning "house by the ledge," by which it remained to be known.[11]

The group did not remain long and headed back towards Oljato, not knowing Douglass had arrived in Bluff. Although he had not anticipated Hewett's political clout, he did predict that the Cummings-led expedition would conduct excavations without Hewett

present, in violation of the Antiquities Act. Douglass was also aware that Hewett regularly applied for, and received, permits for a dozen or more sites in the Southwest. Hewett supervised these sites indirectly through other excavators like Cummings—another violation of the Antiquities Act. Although it turned out Hewett had made a brief visit during the summer of 1909, Douglass planned to confront Cummings and confiscate any collections made under Hewett's permit.

Neither Cummings nor Hewett recognized any particular conflict between the work they were undertaking and the provisions of the Antiquities Act. They were advancing the science of archaeology and were not keeping any artifacts for personal gain, never mind that they would add to the collections of their respective museums. But Douglass saw things differently. He viewed the pair as little more than pot hunters. Supported by the Director of the Bureau of Ethnology, William Henry Holmes, Douglass was successful in getting excavations to cease. His inquiries at the Smithsonian also roused the interest of Jesse Walter Fewkes, who made plans to excavate at Navajo National Monument for the following year.

This power struggle over the right to excavate at sites designated as National Monuments set future precedents for who and how future sites were studied. As Frank Pinkley, Superintendent of Southwestern Monuments, observed some years later in a letter to Horace Albright, assistant to the National Park Service director,

> We must not refuse to let an expedition work in one of our monuments, so it is clear that we must not refuse to let them take away a part of the material. Only a very few museums are in such a position… to spend a hundred thousand dollars and take nothing back to their buildings but a printed report….The Museum must have something concrete in the way of collections which they can put on display.[12]

On the other hand, the federal government had no such direct need. When Fewkes wrapped up his 1909 work at Mesa Verde, he traveled to Navajo National Monument and began his

preliminary survey.

Fewkes' presence at Navajo National Monument represented the preeminence of archaeologists from federal bureaus over the interests of locally-based institutions such as the School of American Archaeology. While Hewett and Cummings were allowed to form later expeditions, the first pass would from then on be conducted by government bureaus, such as the Bureau of American Ethnology, who held no individual interests in the collection of artifacts. During Fewkes's second season at Navajo National Monument, he made careful descriptions of the ancestral sites, surveyed the site boundaries, and produced a report that detailed his findings and conclusions. Among his recommendations was "that one of the largest two cliff-dwellings in the Navaho National Monument, either Betatakin or Kitsiel, be excavated, repaired, and preserved as a 'type ruin' to illustrate the prehistoric culture of the aborigines of this section of Arizona."[13] Also, with the major sites suitably surveyed and mapped, the boundaries of the national monument, which had been hastily made incredibly more expansive than they needed to be, were readjusted in a subsequent proclamation. President Taft revised Navajo National Monument by proclamation on March 14, 1912, reducing it to the two 160-acre sections surrounding Betatakin and Keet Seel and one 40-acre tract around Inscription House.[14]

In contrast, Cummings' excavations did not produce any published research, and his finds were poorly documented, if at all. After 1909, Cumming returned to Navajo National Monument after Fewkes's two years, which completed the initial federal excavation, beginning in 1913 and practically every year following until 1930. As Douglass would have guessed, everything Cummings collected remained unstudied in the Museum of the University of Utah until 1969.[15] Cummings' excavations were then merely treasure hunts

through the cultural relics of the colonized race. Despite whatever shortcomings Cummings might have been guilty of, he was affectionately known as the "Dean of Southwestern archaeology."[16] Neil Judd defended Cummings (his uncle) in a biography included in a collection dedicated to the late dean's memory, arguing that Cumming's lack of rigor was attributed to dedicating an entire career to popularizing archaeology and the history of the peoples of the Southwest. However, similar to Hewett's own marginal archaeological education, Cummings had very little save what he learned in the field. He held a master's degree in classics and briefly studied archaeology at the University of Berlin, Germany, in 1910-11, but that was the extent of his formal archaeology education.[17]

What Navajo National Monument attests about the Antiquities Act and archaeology

The archaeologists who lobbied for and helped establish the Antiquities Act ostensibly did so to protect ancestral sites from vandalism by untrained amateurs or looting by pot hunters salvaging artifacts for personal gain. Yet, as the nation settled into how the law would be used, it had much farther reaching effects. Not only did it provide a rapid and effective way for the executive branch of the federal government to claim possession of lands, but it also uncovered the rivalries inherent to archaeology as a discipline. The difference between the professional archaeologist and a pot hunter seemed, on the surface, a simple designation. However, as Navajo National Monument demonstrated, that disparity simply made another more apparent, how to differentiate those who were more professional than others. As well, the act offered the government absolute control over the sites, their

artifacts, and those who could have access to conduct research. Although Hewett's primary concern when drafting the Antiquities Act was an Indiana Jones-esque "it belongs in a museum" perspective, the federal government wielded the law as a way to assert power not simply over the sites, but the cultural histories themselves as they designated who would conduct studies and who would make interpretations about those sites to the U.S. public.

An extraordinary aspect of the Navajo National Monument was not simply that it is an inholding of a national monument on Native land. The area on which Navajo National Monument is situated belongs to the Navajo Nation as a result of their settler colonialism on Hopi lands. The ancestral sites of Betakin and Keet Seel do not represent the Diné past, but instead, the Ancestral Puebloan past is bound undeniably to the Hopi people. Nevertheless, because of how the site was managed up until the 1970s, the cultural narrative expressed at Navajo National Monument was one that reflected Diné culture and history in the area, to the exclusion of the Hopi, to whom the Diné would have referred to as *Anaasází*, "ancient enemies." By comparison, the Hopi called the Ancestral Puebloans *Hisatsinom*, "ancient people."[18]

The Diné and Navajo National Monument

Even after President Taft established and revised Navajo National Monument, the Diné, seemingly unaffected, continued to live in Tsegi Canyon. They raised livestock as they had done elsewhere in Dinéhtah after their forced settlement and domestication. Superintendent of Southwestern Monuments, Frank Pinkley, wanted their cattle and sheep removed from the canyon so the vulnerable sites would not be damaged and visitors could

pass unperturbed. In exchange, he was willing to allow the Diné of Tsegi Canyon a special accommodation that included charging visitors a toll to cross through their lands.[19] It was an equitable arrangement that provided local families with additional resources to offset the occasional inconvenience caused by occasional visitors. Over time, the Diné came to see visitors as more than simply fee payers, but also as convenient customers for their Native-produced wares.

The Diné craftworkers who made and sold goods at the park entrance resembled "living" museums elsewhere in the nation's parks. A museum could display a lifeless artifact, but witnessing the creation of an artifact added an entire other layer to the park visitors' experience. At Yosemite, where Native peoples continued to live and work until the second half of the twentieth century, a similar albeit artificial experience invited visitors. Beginning in the late 1920s, demonstrations of Native crafts were a regular feature outside the rear of the Yosemite Valley Museum. The "exhibit," as the 1939 park brochure referred to it, was considered a top attraction until its discontinuation in the 1940s.[20] Likewise, the Diné who made and sold authentic Native goods added to the allure and charm of the Navajo National Monument.

While the "Navajo" and "Anasazi" were both represented at the monument, interpretation of the distant Hopi past had difficulty competing with the monument's name, its location in the Navajo Nation, and the preponderance of Diné living in the immediate area. Once the Park Service started full-time administration of the monument in the 1950s, the portrayals of Diné life and culture were enhanced. The employment of Diné rangers and other seasonal employees enhanced interpretations that minimized the importance of the Ancestral Puebloans.

In much the same way as the U.S. conquered Native peoples and then employing settler colonialism took over and appropriated their lands, the Diné did so beginning in 1868. However, that history—albeit not sedentary—extended into the past, at least since 1400CE and certain Diné arrival. Just as the U.S. appropriated ancestral sites of conquered peoples to tell their history and their narrative of the land, the Diné, in turn, had the same approach at Navajo National Monument, beginning with the first visitors led by Diné tour guides. From this perspective, Navajo National Monument is an in-holding of an in-holding; it is an alien peoples' monument (the United States) in a Native peoples' (the Diné) territory where an alien peoples' history (the Diné) overlays another Native past (the Ancestral Pueblos.) Though the Diné enjoyment of the monument in name and interpretation, economic and cultural benefits profit from the "Anasazi," the Diné's "ancient enemies" and the ancestors of the Hopi people to whom it belonged.

The National Park Service Enters the Museum Business with a Morganian Outlook

Archaeology was essential in the national parks' approach to the extent that they supported and underwrote histories of the Southwest that were etched in monuments dedicated not to the Native people's past but the EuroAmerican triumph over those peoples and that history. The United States' culture and civilization superseded that of Native peoples in ways reified through the narratives presented in national parks and monuments; Lewis Henry Morgan's perspective was especially useful in this manner. More so than museums, national parks and monuments were directly linked to the

national ethos and manufactured history the U.S. sought to present to the broader public. Native histories and traditions—as they knew them—mattered very little in the interpretation of the settlements that would ultimately become national parks. By taking away the opportunity to tell their history, the United States disempowered the Native peoples and diminished their future agency to make decisions about who they were as a people. Jesse Walter Fewkes's observations in 1917 underscored this fact,

> [t]he inhabitants of the caves on the Mesa Verde were ignorant of hieroglyphs or letters, and therefore have left no written account of their origin and early history, although vague traditions are preserved by their descendants, especially among living Pueblos, as the Hopi. The most reliable data we now have to aid us in interpreting their culture are their buildings and archeological remains, or monuments, and minor antiquities, called artifacts, especially objects of burnt clay, that they have left behind.[21]

At least in Fewkes's sentiments, there was not even the hint that those "vague traditions" may somehow be worthwhile. Indeed, in a quote several years later, he expressed, "I would like to… get some of the older Hopi men who often go to Flagstaff to visit Wupatki and furnish us with some of their stories of the migration of their ancestors. We have in a study of the legends of the Hopi an opportunity to verify or disprove by archaeology the value of migration legends."[22] Because Fewkes viewed archaeology as having exclusivity over the interpretation of the pre-EuroAmerican past, Hopi "legends" that did not align with how he interpreted the archaeological data would be dismissed outright. In those interpretations, Fewkes thought, "[t]heir houses are the most significant.* As pointed out by Westropp, in referring to prehistoric and historic cultures of other races: 'Architecture is the external form of their public life; it is an index of their state of knowledge and social progress.'" As historian Michael Adas has shown, Lewis Henry Morgan's ideas on

"technology as a prime agent of progressive social advance" had its most lasting influence in the anthropology of this period and, by extension, archaeology.[23] Morgan envisioned the only way for the primitive peoples, as he viewed those native to the Americas, to reach a higher stage of human evolution was through innovation and invention. Therefore, the most technologically advanced were also the most developed and intelligent. The Native peoples, as evidenced by their architecture, among other cultural artifacts, demonstrated they were instead halted at an earlier stage of progress from that of their EuroAmerican conquerors. In his footnote (indicated with an asterisk above), Fewkes added, "[p]robably some writers on classical archeology would hardly consider cliff dwellings architectural forms."[24]

Interpretation circa 1900

At the beginning of the twentieth century, archaeologists operated under several assumptions that influenced how they approached and interpreted ancestral sites. Few were adequately trained but gained extensive experience in the field, rapaciously going through enormous sites in a single summer with teams of workers to move as much dirt as possible. But their interpretations remained tinged with nineteenth-century ideas influenced by Morgan, and as such, their studies concentrated on comprehending racial differences inherent to their cultures' vastly different (and obviously inferior—to those archaeologists) evolutionary past. Furthermore, their research methods and tools were inadequate and underdeveloped. Most lack scientific training—despite the aspiration of the discipline to be a "science"—and made very few reports of what they found in excavating thousands of the

largest and most significant sites in the Southwest and the nation. Nevertheless, the work they completed was the best they could with a worldview that reified racial differences as contributing to the backwardness and underdevelopment of the native races, belief in the imminent disappearance of the Native peoples and their artifacts, and an audience of EuroAmericans clamoring for exciting and awe inspiriting relics in order to get them through the doors as visitors to their museums.

Since ancestral sites, regardless of their cultural affiliations, belong to U.S. federal government when held under the auspices of the Department of the Interior, they present to the public narratives that present a decidedly United States' perspective of the history. Despite the Native peoples represented across the country in archaeological interpretations still having living descendants, they had become merely a curiosity, a people that time and civilization had left behind. For the purpose of educating and entertaining visitors, the actual attraction was the enigmatic ancestors, who had once ruled the continent and of the sort that endured through Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows. The impoverished conditions of the many living Native peoples were not suitable exhibitions in the minds of the Park Service leaders. The sole exception was their roles as performers in either reenacting traditional dances or creating art in a traditional way. At the museum, the public sought to gawk merely at the artifacts and history of Native peoples, browsing examples of their art and artifacts. For park visitors on vacation, museums needed to become more of a cultivated experience. One of the implications of this need was standardizing how Native peoples' history was represented, especially in terms of reliance on archaeological science.

What museums presented to the public was, in many cases, a collaboration

between archaeologists, research, and curators. They presented the narrative that was partially focused on the materiality of the artifacts themselves, while the other part dealt specifically with placing those items into the structures of scientific dogma. The descriptions themselves overwhelmingly highlighted the tangible and measurable aspects of the artifacts with scant attention to the item's cultural significance. It was not uncommon for labels accompanying artifacts to describe size, shape, and color—apparent characteristics to the museum-goer—without explaining why it was a certain size, what its shape signified, or how color might have aligned with the creators' cultural beliefs and worldviews. The best they could do most of the time was describe an object's geographical origin or associated ancestral peoples. Only very slowly and much later were ethnographic details considered to be a useful part of informing the museum visitor. Instead, objects were merely curiosities, showpieces, or treasures arranged in some manner of systematized and chronological order.

Narratives associated with Native peoples' objects in museums were initially presented, and continued to be, in terms of how they related temporally with events and developments in the Western world. The tacit implication was, intentionally or not, that what was presented set up Native peoples as less advanced, sophisticated, or socially complex than the EuroAmerican colonizing peoples. In doing so, these museum representations contributed to a EuroAmerican nationalist narrative that bolstered the justification of settler colonialism: conquered lands were taken with justification because they were not used to their full potential by peoples who were historically, culturally, and evolutionarily unable to do so; their artifacts and deserted settlements demonstrated this notion as fact.

Casa Grande's Proto-Museum

Although it had not yet been designated as a national monument, the museum at Casa Grande, albeit an unofficial one, represented the beginnings of the first of those that would ultimately make up the National Park Service museum system. As discussed in Chapter Six, *Sivan Vahki*, the O'odham name for "Casa Grande," became the first ancestral site in the United States under the federal government's protection. However, when President Harrison approved the congressional recommendation in 1892, no money was allocated for its protection. With funds not allocated from elsewhere, the General Land Office, initially responsible for withdrawing the tract of land from homesteading applications, hired 20-year-old Frank Pinkley, a farm boy from Missouri whose stay in Arizona to help his tuberculosis was only supposed to last six months. In 1901, Pinkley, whose uncle was an Arizona land commissioner for the federal government, acted as the first permanent custodian of Casa Grande.[25] Under his tenure, several significant developments, including the first museum, occurred.

In addition to keeping the site safe from looters and vandalizers the best he could, young Pinkley also guided rare visitors on tours around the property, sharing what he knew and showing off his small collection of artifacts that he had recovered from around the site. When Congress allocated funds to build a covering over Sivan Vahki's primary building, the indoor rooms then provided Pinkley a place to house his growing collection permanently.[26] When Fewkes' excavations took place the following season, Pinkley was excited by the new allocations of artifacts that the dig would present for additions to his museum. Instead,

however, all of the recovered material was sent back to Washington D.C. to be housed in the national museum. Federal law at the time required "[a]ll collections of rocks, minerals, soils, fossils, and objects of natural history, archaeology, and ethnology made by . . . parties for the Government of the United States . . . shall be deposited in the National Museum."[27] Although enthusiastic, Pinkley's protestations and requests for funds to build a proper museum made no difference. Disappointed but undeterred, Pinkley guarded Casa Grande for another decade, growing the collection housed within the ancestral structure.

In 1918, the Director of the newly created National Park Service, Stephen Mather, invited Pinkley to return to Casa Grande as its custodian. Pinkley was just ending a brief stint serving in the Arizona State Legislature when he returned. Among his first orders of business, Pinkley, now in his late thirties, renewed his push for an on-site museum. Pinkley found a more sentimental with Mather, who wrote of Sivan Vahki in his 1920 report,

> Custodian Pinkley has exerted much earnest effort to gather a representative collection of prehistoric implements and relics, supplemented by a valuable library on archaeology and ethnology and the historical background of the entire region. Plans have been made for a small but adequate museum to house this material, but so far we have not been able to spare funds for its construction out of our small allotment of $8,000 for the upkeep and maintenance of 24 national monuments.[28]

Despite these hurdles, the Park Service allocated museum funds to Casa Grande the following year. In 1921 funds were secured, and Pinkley's started on the museum's construction the following year once the money was allocated, opening in early 1923.[29] Gradually, its collection grew as expeditions gifted Pinkley duplicates of their fines to help with visitor interpretation.[30]

When the National Park Service began to expand its system of museums and, by extension, its employment of museum professionals, Pinkley's Casa Grande museums were a

regular exemplar. Its independent, remote, and self-sufficient nature managed by a single individual is a pattern that gets repeated at most, but not all, Park Service museums during this period. As Pinkley provided personal tours to visitors, the experience was less oriented around a systematic or institutionalized way of interpreting the past but instead based on Pinkley's own interpretation and intimate knowledge of the site.

The First NPS Museum: Mesa Verde

Like Pinkley, others in the Southwest, including Edgar Lee Hewett, lamented local artifacts being shipped back to Washington D.C. by Smithsonian excavators.[31] In particular, the excavations by Fewkes at Mesa Verde between the years 1907 and 1923 had an especially deleterious impact on the artifacts located there.[32] However, as at Casa Grande, Mesa Verde's local superintendent, Thomas Ricker, and his park ranger and sons-in-law, Fred Jeep, took matters into their own hands.

After failed requests for funds to create a museum in 1915, the pair improvised with a cabinet of curiosities, of sorts. Jeep had made a habit of collecting artifacts he found on parklands to preserve for later display, though there is evidence he did retain some portion for personal gain.[33] Nevertheless, Jeep's collection became sizable. When no funds were forthcoming from the Department of the Interior to build a Museum, the pair instead placed a display on the front porch of the ranger station in 1916. (See Figure 8.2.) After a visit by deputy director Mather, the National Park Service provided funds to convert the ranger station into a proper museum with display cases for Jeep's artifacts. In his 1916 report, Mather described Mesa Verde's one hundred per cent increase in visitors in attendance and

lamented,

> Many curios and rare objects of historic interest recently uncovered are being carried away by tourists because the park has no place to house them and protect them. A museum should be constructed in the park, and an effort made to recover some of the important relics that have been carried away. If there is a building in which these objects may be placed for preservation, in all likelihood many valuable relics will be voluntarily returned to the park.[34]

Mather's concerns seemed not explicitly for the education of visitors but for the safeguard of objects found on the site, as if a museum would dissuade would-be-looter visitors. Nevertheless, in his annual report, Mather reported on Mesa Verde, "the small museum that has been established to house relics taken from the cliff dwellings and other prehistoric sites is only second in value of interest to the prehistoric dwellings themselves."[35] This decision was, of course, despite the dubious provenance of the mishandled and mismanaged artifacts, which had been removed from their original locations in violation of the Antiquities Act.

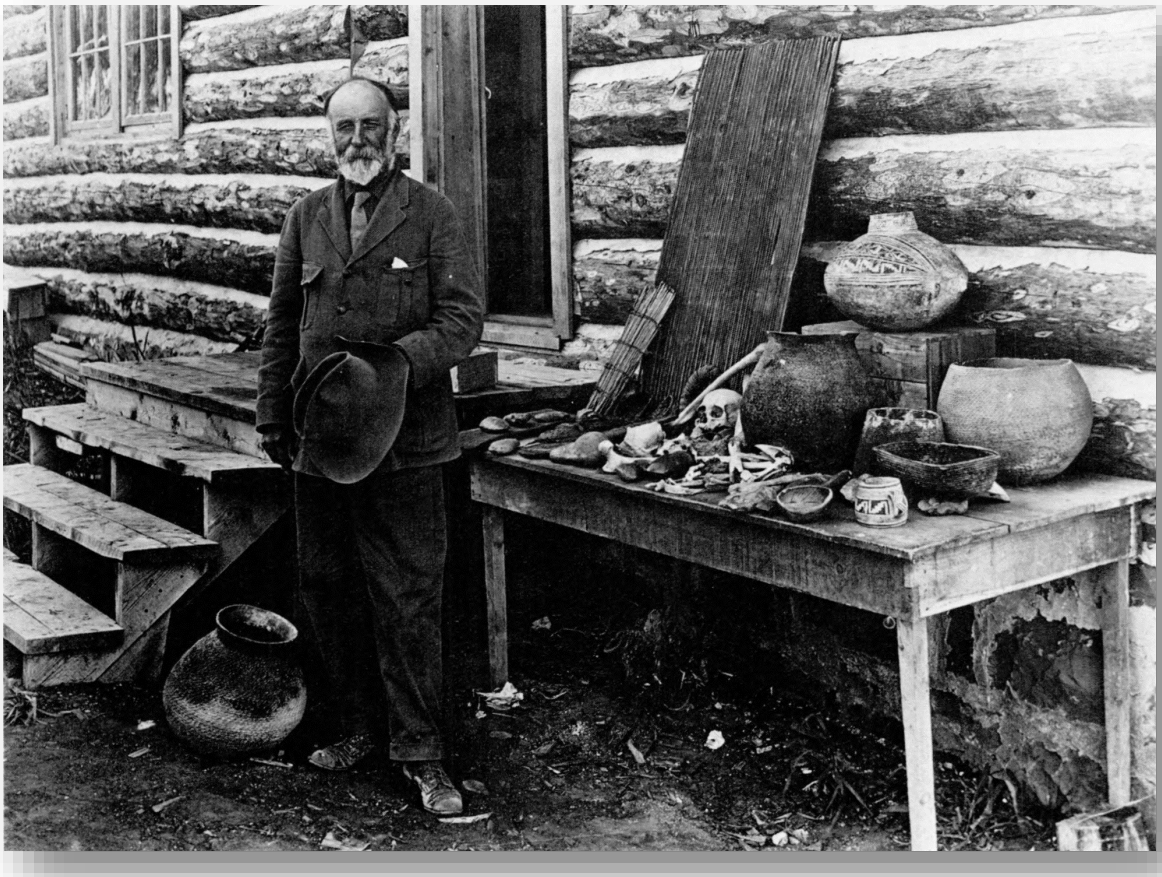


Figure 8.2: Jesse Walter Fewkes at the first Mesa Verde museum (c.a. 1916), NPS Collections.

Regardless of his initial motivations, Mather soon embraced the museum as an integral part of the park system. Mather made his sentiments on the value of museums to park guests clear. In the same 1919-1920 report, he observed,

> One of the most important matters to receive earnest consideration is the early establishment of adequate museums in every one of our parks….The demands for such exhibits to satisfy the inquiries of the traveling public during the past summer have been particularly insistent. In the Yellowstone, 695 specific inquiries were made during July for a museum. In fact, during that month there was an average of 101 general inquiries a day at the main information office, where the specimens available for inspection created a great deal of interest.[36]

In 1921, Mather repeated his change and again cited the growing number of visitor inquiries,

"[e]ach year the need for museums in the parks becomes more urgent with the repeated and multiplying inquiries of visitors regarding the natural features and objects of historical value found in the reservations."[37] But another growing issue for Mather was the wealth of Mesa Verde artifacts with which he was presented. The U.S. National Museum agreed to supply artifacts for exhibit that were recovered on the many Smithsonian expeditions. The vice president of the State Museum of Colorado, Ellsworth Bethel, offered many duplicates in storage, looted from Mesa Verde in the 1880s for installation in a park museum. In addition, several residents expressed interest in returning their collections.[38] The Antiquities Act was passed at great pains when the government failed to protect the Mesa Verde artifacts, among those at many other sites. This opportunity to recover some of them presented a new challenge. The following year, through the $3,000 gift of Mrs. Stella Leviston, of San Francisco, CA, the first wing of the Mesa Verde museum building was made possible, an amount matched by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who would also provide funds for the new superintendent, Jesse Nusbaum, to excavate part of Spruce Tree House in 1923. Mather described Leviston's fascination with the "mute evidences of the life and industry of these unknown peoples," adding a sense of mystery to the ever-unraveling puzzle of who the Southwestern people might have been, despite Frederic M. Endlich recognizing similarities as clearing being related to those of the Hopi, one of the descendants of the Ancestral Pueblo groups, in 1877.

When Nussbaum took over at Mesa Verde, he immediately instituted significant changes. A decade before, Alfred V. Kidder first trained Nussbaum at Mesa Verde in 1907. A year later, Hewett continued Nusbaum's education in excavation and reconstruction in Frijoles Canyon, in what is today Bandelier National Monument, and later hired him as the

first employee at the School of American Archaeology in 1913. Through Hewett's influence (influenced himself by Bandelier and, in turn, Morgan), Nusbaum set out to preserve the sites, which visitors were badly damaging. Additionally, because excavators, primarily Fewkes and his team, had paid no attention to sites once they were excavated, many of Mesa Verde's sites were falling into disrepair due to lack of maintenance. At the time, once an ancestral site had been excavated, its maintenance and repair were a responsibility of individual parks' management.[39] With so much of the site already excavated and just as much of it badly in need of repair, Nusbaum and acting NPS Director Arno B. Cammerer set about preventing Fewkes from completing any more excavations there.[40] In 1925, with the aid of Smithsonian Institution Secretary Charles Doolittle Walcott, they were successful.

As for the museum, Nusbaum was intent on it not merely being a random assortment of curiosities, but instead a display that reflected the most modern archaeological understandings. Writing in 1921, Hewett's influence was apparent as Nusbaum wrote, "[w]e want a museum here that can stand the acid test of the scientific man, and for that reason I have told Jeep that until further notice he is in no way to do more prospecting."[41] However, as it was apart from the museum establishment, its development continued independently with few or no professional standards implemented. Within ten years, Mather had made good on promoting museums at national parks and monuments. By 1932, twenty new parks were either opened or well on their way.[42] Apart from the expertise of resident archaeologists, the museum at Mesa Verde and the other NPS archaeological museums mimicked conveyed stories that barely scratched the surface of the ancestral sites' complex histories. In doing so, these museums continued to impose and reinforce an unchecked narrative about "unknown peoples" that erased the history of the Ute and other peoples. Although the 1933

reorganization of the NPS instituted a Museum Division, top-down changes emerged slowly as its initial tasks and principal objectives focused on standardizing accession, catalog records, and planning for facilities.

An additional impetus for the growth of National Park Service museums in the 1930s was the Historic Sites Act, enacted by the U.S. Congress in August 1935. This law provided for "the preservation of historic American sites, buildings, objects, and antiquities of national significance….for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States." Among other stipulations, it charged the Department of the Interior to secure data of archaeological sites and objects, to survey for additional "archaeologic" sites, conduct research to "obtain true and accurate …archaeological facts, and restore, reconstruct, rehabilitate, preserve, and maintain …prehistoric sites, buildings, objects, and properties of national …archaeological significance and where deemed desirable establish and maintain museums in connection therewith."[43] Although these were each provisions under which the National Park Service from time to time operated, the law institutionalized these particular facets of the NPS mission. With the passage of the Historic Sites Act of 1935, the creation and maintenance of museums became a core part of the agency's overall mission. The funding provided by New Deal programs aided these efforts immensely.

As the National Park Service turned from a mission on mere recreation, the education about and interpretation of parks landscape necessitated more robust treatment. While they initially developed independently, the creation of a Museum Division and drastic increases in visitors made standardizing the various forms park interpretation took needed for continuity. While each park would tell a unique story, park leadership determined that each museum should be viewed as a unit within a more extensive, national interpretative program.

Yet, while museums operated and were administered independently, many, including monuments of the Southwest, did share commonalities in their subject. As such, interpretation was guided, at least in principle, by regional directors. Frank Pinkley compared the pueblo village to "living archeology, out of an age before the coming of the white race" in 1939.[44] Another supervisor? Erik Reed echoed Pinkley's sentiments later that same year and wrote, "Living where their prehistoric ancestors lived, and living after much the same fashion, the Pueblo Indians have been called examples of 'living archeology.' And. indeed, as we come into a Pueblo village, and pass through its narrow streets between old adobe houses, we seem to have crossed over into another world and period."[45]

As part of this gradual process, Chief of the Museum Division, Ned J. Burns, distributed the National Park Service *Field Manual for Museums* in 1941. The manual was intended for monument custodians, park naturalists, historians, and curators who managed the fifty-six museums in operation by that time. In the forward, NPS Director Arno Cammerer described the book's contents as addressing the many "requests which come in from the field for advice on handling the many museum problems which arise."[46]

Although interpretation at parks by naturalists, historians, and archaeologists continued to adapt and evolve, following the 1941 guidance, museum direction entered a static period and was not substantially altered, in principle, until Mission 66. One example of the direction park staff received that is worth mentioning was the comments of the Southwest's Regional Archaeologist Erik Reed. In November 1949, he organized and led a Personnel Instruction Course that included topics such as authenticity, preservation, and site stabilization. As for the authenticity, he asserted that "the only justification for historical conservation is the inspiration of and interpretation to the public," echoing sentiments from

the 1941 field manual. However, he added, each phase of preservation, development, and interpretive work must be executed in the light of research data."[47] While this statement in itself seemed reasonable, as a matter of the exception proving the rule, interpretation not based on research must have been a cause for concern. Reed would go on to become the Regional Chief of the Division of Interpretation for the Southwest in the 1950s.

With the emphasis on constructing new museums, according to the Chief of Interpretation Ronald Lee in 1959, standards in quality had fallen. He convened the Committee on Interpretative Standards to assess issues that had arisen throughout the parks, including museums. Historian Barry Mackintosh described that, after two years of study, their conclusions in May 1962 included an "absence of standards" and museum exhibits that were "stereotyped."[48] In particular, recommendations suggested the simplification of labels and the introduction of new techniques. As for the staff, they found the training provided to be "generally either inadequate or altogether absent."[49] More than that, the typical lag between museum exhibits and current research, NPS museums, including those representing the Native past and its peoples, has grown static. As such, outdated perspectives with distinct nineteenth-century prejudices remained a prominent part of visitors' park experience.

Interpretation as a National Racial Project

> Look at the aboriginal inhabitants of the land we occupy. It pleased the Creator to call into existence this half-filled outline of humanity; this sketch in red crayons of a rudimental manhood; to keep the continent from being a blank until the true lord of creation should come to claim it Civilization and Christianity have tried to humanize him, and he proves a dead failure…the white man hates him, and hunts him down like the wild beasts of the forest, and so the red crayon sketch is rubbed out, and the canvas is ready for a picture of manhood a little more like God's own image.[50]

During the nineteenth century, a common sentiment towards Native peoples—as expressed above by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr.—was that they did not possess a full degree of humanity and, as such, rightfully deserved extinction. This belief intensified in the latter half of the century, in part, from reigning theories of race and progress, including social Darwinism. Native peoples were in the way of land the White settlers coveted and would eventually possess. Nevertheless, Native populations persisted in their resistance. As ethnologists and archaeologists began studying the peoples of the Southwest in the final decades of the century, wars and massacres against Native peoples were taking place elsewhere in the nation.

The United States laid claim to lands before arriving at them and dealt with the "Indian problem" afterward. Yet, by the time the first proto-archaeologists, such as Nordenskiöld, arrived in the four corners area, the "Indian problem" had been taken care of with the last Native peoples of the Southwest restricted to federal reservations on lands they were assigned or allowed to retain, based on treaty agreements with the United States government. The timing of the Wetherills's finding Mesa Verde's Cliff Palace in 1888 resulted from White settlers pushing into the fringes of formerly Native territory for the first time on a significant enough scale to uncover such locations. As judged by the U.S. federal government, the grandest and most impressive of the ancestral sites were made into national parks and monuments. These designations were explicitly intended as preservation for White people: White EuroAmerican science, White EuroAmerican visitors, and the White EuroAmerican ideals. As sites like Mesa Verde were found, the continued influx of EuroAmerican civilization in the form of settlers, explorers, and finally tourists necessitated interpretation for those who made ancient ancestral sites frequent stops.

When extrapolated into national parks and monuments, the inspiration provoked by these various sites required narratives oriented towards those audiences. The archaeologists involved with these endeavors, such as Edgar Lee Hewett, Walter Jesse Fewkes, Frank Pinkley, and Byron Cummings, employed speculation, excavation reports, and research from other fields, particularly physical anthropology, to make their personal interpretations for presenting artifacts and ancestral sites to visitors at locations including Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, Casa Grande, and Bandelier National Monument. In the 1940s, the National Park Service directed that museum exhibits needed to be built on sound research. Although scientific approaches were refined and collected data grew more precise, that change did not explicitly garner interpretations that were more accurate to describing human history. As such, later exhibits, often based on social Darwinian and eugenic understandings of human evolution and progress, exhibited racialized traits as much as those earlier ones.

The narratives archaeologists contrived were influenced by racist ideologies not only present in the day but also built into the foundations of the archaeological discipline itself. The Cephalic Index, lauded as a valuable tool for determining racial differences by classifying skeletal remains as either brachiocephalic or dolichocephalic, was highly regarded and widely employed as a diagnostic tool throughout the first half of the twentieth century. One of the most prominent physical anthropologists, Carlton S. Coon, described in 1939 not only the use of the Cephalic Index but its primacy as a diagnostic tool, writing, "[t]he number of criteria measured upon the crania used in this survey range from one—almost always the cranial index—to the five thousand of von Török."[51] Coon continued employing the Cephalic Index and writing about the method as late as the 1970s when he published *The Origin of Races*. Though by that time, its legitimate efficacy as a diagnostic

tool had been vastly diminished by other anthropologists.[52] Well into the twentieth century, narratives centered on the belief that people with different cranial types, sometimes shown with only minimal statistical significance, indicated the displacement of one people and the intrusion of a different "race" as witnessed in the archaeological record.

Using archaeology to define the Native peoples of the Southwest

Well into the twentieth century, archaeologists toyed with terminology that obfuscated the true identity of the "prehistoric" peoples of the U.S. Southwest. The myth of the "vanishing race" persisted in literature and exhibits directed toward public audiences, while amongst themselves, archaeologists expressed less uncertainty. Archaeology James Snead describes terminology such as "pyramids," "cities of the dead," and "land of mystery," parallels drawn between the Southwest and Mesopotamia or Egypt as pandering to a White EuroAmerican audience who viewed the Native ancestral remains as part of their own heritage.[53] This "cultural nationalist" perspective, as Snead terms it, provided non-native visitors and residents in the U.S. Southwest with a connection to the landscape and an affinity to its history while also providing "a sense of place."[54] In measurable and substantial ways, it contributed to the lived identities of individual EuroAmerican settlers and tourists by simultaneously creating separations between and demonstrating affinities of the Native and EuroAmerican identity. In this manner, the consumption of archaeological narratives provided the demand for archaeological science and the continued interpretation of the landscape in terms compatible with that usage in mind. The effect is a deleterious one, at least upon the lives of Native populations, if not also on the souls of the colonizers.[55]

Historian Paul Spickard observed in *Almost All Aliens*—a title alluding to the 500-year immigration history of the Americas—that those EuroAmericans who "claim some Native American ancestry" do so "because it costs [them] nothing and it makes [them] more American to do so. To be Native American… is to be naturally, primordially part of America."[56] Echoing the sentiments of Philip Deloria, Spickard goes on to identify the critical historical concern this false narrative disregards as "White people killing Indians, spreading across the landscape, and taking it. All that is about race, power, and colonialism."[57] The appropriation of Native ancestral sites, artifacts, or landscape to reinforce the "American" identity of the colonizing EuroAmericans is no less than the "playing Indian" both Spickard and Deloria describe.[58]

Sensationalized stories about the Southwest permeated popular literature and the public imagination, undoubtedly encouraged by archaeologists' obscure and vague language about the Native ancestral past. For instance, in 1912, a Forest Service work crew uncovered the mummified human remains of a tiny individual in the Gila National Forest.[59] They delivered the fragile bundle to the acting supervisor, A. J. McConnell, who in turn sent it to the Smithsonian. The museum curator, William Hough, analyzed the remains and published his findings shortly afterward in 1914. His analysis demonstrated the straightforward conclusion of a few-month-old child.[60] Hough's scientific contribution was neither the beginning nor the end of the story. Author and amateur historian Agnes C. Laut discovered the story, which had remained shrouded in mystery during the two-year interim between the mummy's recovery and its published analysis, and published her own inventive story. The first account appeared in *Sunset* magazine in early 1913, followed by a much more speculative and detailed narrative in her spring release of a book titled *Through Our*

Unknown Southwest.[61] Both strained credulity but are excellent examples of how outlandish fictions about Native peoples could be. By Laut's reckoning, this mummy was evidence for an entire race of "dwarfs," who previously occupied the area surrounding the Gila Cliff Dwellings—a national monument as of 1907.

This enigmatic race, according to Laut, lived in "prehistoric caves on its precipice walls… behind doors and windows barely large enough to admit a half-grown white child."[62] Science had been unable to provide any clues, and "Zeke," as she referred to the remains, was a complete mystery, despite being sent to the Smithsonian, where "they boxed him up and… stored [him] out of sight in the cellars…. As Zeke has been asleep since the Ice Age, or about ten to eight thousand years B. C., it doesn't make very much difference to him."[63] After all, she added, "what does it matter when or how the little scrub of a twenty-three-inch man lived anyway?"[64] But Laut viewed "Zeke" not as an anomaly but as representative of an entire race of people.

> How is it known that Zeke is a type of a race and not a freak specimen of a dwarf? Because other like specimens have been found in the same area in the last ten years; and because the windows and the doors of the cave dwellings of the Gila would not admit anything but a dwarf race. You have only to look at Zeke to know that he is not, as we understand the word, an Indian. Was he an ancestor of the Aztecs or the Toltecs?[65]

As the book reviewer from the American Geographical Society, Mark Jefferson, noted of the author, "facts, it is true, she cares little for."[66]

That should have been the last the world heard of Laut's mythical race of "dwarfs," but the story refused to die. In 1915, the Department of the Interior requested a description of the Gila Cliff dwellings national monument, which ended up being written by one of the Gila National Forest Rangers. A modified version of his description appeared on the official forest

map in 1915. Among other embellishments, the Ranger "attributed the cliff dwellings to an ancient race of dwarfes."[67] Publications in subsequent years modified the description to read instead "ancient cliff dwellers," but the spread of the legend and the curious map change stoked conspiracy theories of a government cover-up.[68] Matters were not helped by the fact that Frank Bond, Chief Clerk of the General Land Office in charge of Gila Cliff Dwellings, viewed them "neither very large nor very important," and funds for their interpretation faltered.[69] Indeed, the 1915 description of the Cliff Dwellings—absent the term "dwarf"—remained in literature until 1963.[70]

By the 1930s, the myth of the "dwarf" race that inhabited Cliff dwellings in the Southwest had spread to Mesa Verde. Writing in August 1932 for *Mesa Verde Nature Notes*, Everett B. Laybourne, a Temporary Ranger from Ohio State University, wrote,

> From the typically small doorways in the ruins and the limited space of the secular rooms, visitors in Mesa Verde are invariably given a first impression that the Cliff Dwellers were a race of dwarfs. Although never accepted as a tenable position, this theory has been refuted with difficulty for want of reliable evidence upon the subject.[71]

Laybourne's explanation and defense of the inhabitants of Mesa Verde were not unwarranted. These were, indeed, what many had come to believe about the Southwest. Another temporary ranger, Robert Burgh, a Purdue University student in archaeology, wrote an article that again addressed the myth of the Mesa Verde "dwarfs" the year following Laybourne. "Twenty or thirty years ago," Burgh wrote,

> when the Mesa Verde was less well known than it is now, many people supposed that the Cliff Dwellers were dwarfs, for how, if they were normal in size could they get in and out through the tiny doorways?.... Since then the skeletons from Mesa Verde have been examined in the search for direct evidence as to their origin. All of these skeletons possess structural features different from the Caucasoid and Negroid races….It is generally accepted that the American Indian, and that, of course, includes the Cliff Dweller is a Mongoloid.[72]

For the general public to become interested in fantasies such as these should be no surprise. However, a few serious scientists also considered such incredible hypotheses, including German anatomist and anthropologist Julias Kollmann.[73] In fact, Alexander F. Chamberlain—a student of Franz Boas—reviewed Kollman's 1902 book, *Die Pygmaen und ihre systematische Stellung innerhalb des Menschengeschlechts* for *American Anthropologist*.[74] Chamberlain simply summarized the book's argument in his review but provided no critique.

Archaeologists' equivocation regarding the identities of ancestral Native peoples continued to have dire effects on how the broader public perceived the Southwest. Leaving questions unanswered, while it may have been good science, was instead an attempt to create mystery, intrigue, and interest in the discipline. Snead argues Hewett, for example, approached this uncertainty, in part, by separating living Native populations from their ancestral past and instead suggesting that they represented two discrete cultures by referring to craniometric data. Thirty-five years after Endlich and thirty years after Bandelier made direct connections between the archaeological past and the Puebloan present, archaeologists like Hewett were using racial science pseudoscience to challenge those accurate assumptions to the detriment of living Native peoples.

Hewett may have been a controversial figure in the history of archaeology in the Southwest, but his approach to using anthropomorphic data to define race fell precisely in line with the rest of the archaeological establishment of the time. In 1911, the first National Park Conference, held five years before the Park Service itself even existed, convened in September of that year at Yellowstone. Park and monument superintendents, concessionaires,

presidents and executives from the railroads, and members of the federal government attended. The Secretary of the Interior, Walter L. Fisher, called for a conference in order to address concerns and facilitate changes that would foster growth and benefit the public. When the acting Mesa Verde Superintendent, Richard Wright, it was Hewett who he referenced by name.

The purpose of Wright's presentation, titled "The Mesa Verde National Park: Its Past, Present, And Future," was to report on the general condition of the park as well as the challenges they faced. Representatives of other parks and monuments gave similar talks. Right opened by describing the geographical layout of the park, in brief, before describing "the prehistoric man of the stone age" who had made it their home.[75] Attendees would have widely understood Wright's attribution of John Lubbock's 1865 terminology. Even if they did not understand the implications for that terminology, it sent a clear message about precisely the sort of brute he was discussing. Presaging the later myth that the ancestral inhabitants were a race of "dwarfs," he described the Cliff Dwellers as "small of stature," who dwelt in the cliffsides for protection since they themselves were not a warlike race.[76] But the most intriguing aspect of these people, whomever they might have been, was that they held no relation to the local groups that were still there in 1911. "The archaeologists tell us," Wright must have asserted with some authority, that "these human beings were dolicocephalic, [*sic*] or narrow headed, in this respect differing markedly from the local Indians, who are brachycephalic, or broad headed."[77] as a source of reference, Wright cited Hewett, "a leading archaeologist," to suggest a conjectural age of "8 to 10 centuries ago."[78] These dates, according to Hewett, were not that far off, relatively speaking, but his disassociation of the local peoples to the ancestral past could not be more incorrect or, for

that matter, irrelevant.[79] Yet, another thirty-five years would pass before the notion of different "races" of peoples in the Southwest replacing one another's cultures would fall out of favor.

In the decade that followed, the importance of dolichocephalic and brachycephalic cranium types in Southwestern archaeology took on greater importance for establishing distinctions between ancestral groups. The classifications archaeologists would later adopt in 1927 were derived directly from the conclusions of Richard Wetherill, who, thirty-four years earlier in 1893, distinguished between the "Cliff Dwellers" and earlier people. Because they lacked ceramics, Wetherill named them the "Basket People," a term Talbot Hyde would later refine into "Basket Maker."[80] George H. Pepper, an archaeologist who worked closely with Wetherill and Hyde at Chaco Canyon from 1896-1900, first published the term Basket Maker in his 1902 article on Grand Gulch titled, "The ancient basket makers of southeastern Utah." In that publication, Pepper also noted the cranial differences between the two groups, stating, "Mr. Wetherill discovered that two forms of human skulls occurred in the canons: the broad, short, flattened cranium of the Cliff Dweller and a narrow, elongate, normal cranium."[81]

In 1919, Kidder acknowledged Wetherills's influence on archaeology's adoption of the Basket Maker culture in his pioneering *Archeological Explorations in Northeastern Arizona*, which he co-authored with Samuel J. Guernsey.[82] In addition to first describing the Basket Maker peoples in any amount of detail, Kidder also compared their material culture to that of the Cliff Dwellers in great detail, yet he found the data inconclusive. Based on those attributes, he could attest that the Basket Maker and Cliff-house consisted of two different cultures. Furthermore, when combined with the somatological data, these differences could also indicate two different peoples and possibly two different races entirely. As far as to

whether the Basket Makers, "who they were and whence they derived their culture, whether or not it was parent to that of the Cliff-dwellers or whether it was the forerunner of some other culture," was still anyone's guess.[83] This question of how Basket Maker culture fit into the more extensive history of the Southwest, Kidder attested, "would be simplified if we knew something of the racial affinities of the people who produced it."[84]

Those "racial affinities" could be deduced by employing the racial scientists Retzius's approach for determining race. Kidder described the data as he collected it to indicate the Basket Maker crania were of a dolichocephalic (long-headed) type. The Cliff-dweller type remained inconclusive as a result of artificial posterior deformation; nevertheless, five years later, Kidder wrote, "My feeling is… that the pre-Pueblo were actually of a different physical type, naturally brachycephalic, and that their broad-headedness was merely accentuated by deformation. It seems, therefore, that we must recognize the arrival in the Southwest of a new race, which eventually became the preponderating one, to the submergence of the old dolichocephalic strain."[85] Deriving the brachycephalic form of the Cliff Dweller cranium, Kidder provided the necessary information for an archaeologist to begin completing comparative studies. In concluding, "[a]ll the living peoples of the Southwest, particularly the Ute and the Paiute, should be brought into comparison somatologically with the Basket Makers," he essentially encouraged employing the Cephalic Index and dolichocephalic and brachycephalic skull types to make inferences about peoples of the Southwest.[86] In 1948, Walter W. Taylor referred to Kidder and Guernsey's 1919 publication as "second to none in the development of Southwestern archeology."[87]

Combined with the agreements at the 1927 Pecos Conference, Southwestern archaeology became about questions of these two supposedly distinct peoples, who they

were, and where they had gone. In the middle of an emerging Park Service, an upsurge of visitors, and an increase in the number of museums, and archaeological interpretations needed at every site, archaeology in the Southwest as a whole was thoroughly enraptured and caught up in eighty-year-old beliefs of racial science.

Standardizing Southwestern archaeology for the first time

Beginning in 1915, Harvard archaeologist Kidder began excavations that would, for several reasons, become central to Southwestern archaeology at Pecos, NM. As he wrote to Edgar Lee Hewett in August 1927, "there is to be an informal conference of southwestern field-workers at my camp here on August 29th to 31st inclusive. [Neil] Judd and [Earl] Morris and I arranged it with a view to getting certain aspects of nomenclature straightened out; and to discuss various problems of method."[88] The "informal conference" Kidder's letter described would come to be known as the Pecos Conference, one of the most important regional conferences of Southwestern archaeology, that would become an annual conference held at different locations each year (though, in recent years, it has become a bi-annual conference. Attendees at the first conference in 1927 included most of the archaeologists discussed here, such as Hewett, Colton, Cummings, Haury, Hewett, Judd, Kroeber, and Pinkley (see Figure 8.3).[89] One notable exception was Jesse Walter Fewkes, who by that time was Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology and five months from retirement; he sent no one from the bureau in his place.[90] Among other decisions made at the conference, attendees collectively sanctioned an already widely held hypothesis regarding the races of the Southwest, namely:

> There was practical unanimity as to the course of development, i.e., that agriculture was taken up by a previously resident, long-headed, nomadic or semi-nomadic people, who did not practice skull-deformation, and who already made excellent coiled basketry, twined-woven bags, sandals, and used the atlatl; but whose dwellings were of perishable nature…. At a still later period there appeared certain important changes: skull-deformation was initiated (the majority of those present at the conference believe that a new, broad-headed strain supplanted the ancient long-heads)...From then on the development of the culture was rapid. After a period of wide extension, marked by small-village life, there was, perhaps, a decrease in amount of territory occupied, and surely a concentration of population in certain areas, together with great architectural and ceramic achievement and strong regional specialization. Subsequently large areas were abandoned, there appears to have been a considerable shrinkage of population, and there was a definite cultural degeneration. This period was brought to a close by the settlement of the Southwest by the Spanish about 1600.[91]

Several key features that would define how archaeology was studied and interpreted in the U.S. Southwest came from these agreements. First was the notion that the categorization of cranium types by long-headed (dolichocephalic) and broad-headed (brachycephalic) defined particular races. Second, was the differentiation of ancestral site phases, named the Pecos Classification, into periods Basket Maker I - Basket Maker III and Pueblo I -Pueblo V, as categorized by artifacts, architecture type, and—beginning with the successful introductions of A. E. Douglass's tree-ring dating method two years later in 1929—date.[92] Third, it identified architecture and pottery as perhaps the two most remarkable achievements and identifying characteristics of the broad-heads. And fourth, following the height of Native cultural achievement, they experienced abandonment, collapse, and cultural degeneration. This three-day conference defined the lens through which Southwestern archaeology would be studied and interpreted to public audiences for the next fifty years and beyond.



Figure 8.3: Participants in the first Pecos Conference in were a Who's Who of Southwestern archaeology. (C. B. Cosgrove, "Portraits of anthropologists," Photo lot 33, NAA INV.02873700, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.)

Franz Boas initially attacked conceptual categories, calculations, and purported data of the Cephalic Index in 1899, but doubts among archaeologists were rare.[93] In an unusually subversive affront to the archaeological establishment, a temporary custodian of Chaco Canyon National Park and former student of Hewett, Hurst Julian, derided commonly held ideas about human evolution. Pinkley temporarily promoted Hurst from a ranger at Casa Grande to oversee Chaco during the summer of 1932 and appointed him on a more permanent basis in spring 1933. Julian's 1932 annual report described several museum

exhibits he intended to implement. In one showing anatomical similarities to apes, Julian intended to demonstrate the close affinities between the apes and Caucasians in lip shape, arguing, "This chart would be interesting to the person who probably believes that the race which he represents is anatomically farther removed from the apes than are the other races."[94] In a second proposed exhibit, he planned to explain the Cephalic Index as "[a] tourist cannot travel about the Southwest very long before he hears much about the cephalic index."[95] The display, however, to be illustrated by Julian's wife, Winnie, was planned to describe the approach as nothing more than "meaningless measurements."[96] Furthermore, although he incorrectly attributed the index to Broca, he recognized, rightly, that short heads "differ among themselves much more than the differ from long heads" and "differ from long heads but very little."[97] In closing, Julian proposed drafting an article to "destroy, on paper, the president racial groupings."[98] Despite Julian's protestations, it does not appear these suggested exhibits on the Cranial Index and nose types were implemented. When his annual report was reprinted in *Southwestern Monuments*, a monthly report from Superintendent Pinkley, the sections describing his proposed displays were edited to remove his controversial assertions.[99] Hurst vacated his position less than two years later, in June 1934.

During the period of Mather's rapid museum expansion, some museums were created by outside agencies, including ones previously discussed in Chapter Three. In 1930, Gila Pueblo led by Harold Gladwin and lead archaeologist Emil Haury led the first excavation at the Grand Canyon on a permit that included stipulations for a small museum where "the story of the early human use of the Grand Canyon could be told."[100] Among the ancestral sites Gila Pueblo excavated was the Tusayan Ruin on the South Rim. In addition, Gila Pueblo donated $5,000 for the creation of a museum at the site, which the NPS designated "The

Wayside Museum of Archaeology," where the exhibit highlighting the findings of Gila Pueblo's work would be displayed for visitors. However, their work's precise details and findings were secondary to a broader story presented to guests.[101]

Race played a central role in exhibits featuring human remains. Around the year 1910, argues historian Samuel Redman, the shift in thinking about skeletal remains in terms of racial descriptions shifted to trying to understand them in evolutionary terms. Beginning in 1912 with the fraudulent Piltdown Man, new finds led scholars away from racial typology to thinking in evolutionary terms. Then, the new question of the evolution of races, where and when, became the primary concern. This outlook was reflected in museum displays that, instead of contemplating racial history and ancestry, exhibited "the notion that humanity evolved into distinct races," all the while "veiled in the language of scientific authority."[102]

As the Tusayan Ruin that Gila Pueblo excavated did not produce the number or quality of artifacts for which they hoped, additional materials were supplemented from Gila Pueblo's collections.[103] Park Naturalist Edwin McKee described the museum as including "a chart showing man's place in the history of the world" along with a "'family tree of man' with the various primitive skull types arranged on its branches."[104] Maps indicating possible migration routes, linguist stocks, and ranges of hair, skin, and skull types were also outlined.[105] Nothing in McKee's description included the sort of archaeological artifacts like those found as Mesa Verde, such as lithics and ceramics. Instead, by relying on dolichocephalic and brachycephalic cranial types, Gladwin and Gila Pueblo constructed a racial history and hierarchy for the education of Grand Canyon guests. While the Tusayan Ruins were ostensibly the focus of and purpose for the Wayside Museum of archaeology, what was instead introduced represented pseudoscientific racial scientific understandings of

human evolution.

The exhibits Gila Pueblo designed for the Grand Canyon's Wayside Museum of Archaeology prioritized highlighting racial differences between EuroAmericans and Native peoples. Although this approach would have been commonplace in the 1930s, museums, and more specifically archaeological museums, were relatively new within the National Park system. The Wayside Museum of Archaeology was one of the first to highlight the archaeological past that was conceived of and implemented by practicing archaeologists. Gladwin and Gila Pueblo's work helped establish standards for similar museums that appeared later in national parks that were not explicitly dedicated to the Native past. This fact is evidenced by comments made by Reed to the southwestern Monuments monthly Report for a newsletter." In comments on Paul R. Franke's memorandum, "Prehistoric Ruins and Their Preservation," Reed shares several "very enlightening and stimulating" observations. In particular, he reinforced the commendation of work at the Wayside Museum by Gila Pueblo, recommending, in quoting Franke,

> [I]t is quite in line to include (as does the Wayside Museum) the subject of the ancestry of man: fossil humans along with other fossil animals. And, accordingly, here more than elsewhere the topic of the antiquity of man in the New World can be taken up. Southwestern archaeology need not, however, be gone into in any great detail certainly no more than in the present excellent layout in the Wayside Museum. A degree of explanation of Southwestern prehistory is of course needed, especially in connection with the ruins beside which the museum is situated.[106]

In recommending this approach, Reed expanded Gladwin and Gila Pueblo's impact from a single museum to the recommended strategy suggested for all national monument museums in the Southwest. Reed would go on to become the Regional Chief of the Division of Interpretation for the Southwest, an agency found woefully lacking by the Mission 66 study in 1962.

At the core of every question Americanist archaeology endeavored to answer was: where did the Native race come from, and what was its history on the continent? Because archaeology is a discipline built on race, reifying race, and refining race, the consequences, and controversies that evolved often developed from confrontations with racial questions. Archaeology is, by definition, a racial project. Southwestern archaeology's central mission was the scientific scrutiny of other humans' artifacts or, preferably, their remains. In addition to the scientific value of human remains, they also constituted valuable data in constructing interpretative materials for educating museum visitors about the nature of race during this time.

In autumn 1935, Robert H. Rose, Park Naturalist for Southwestern National Monuments under Frank Pinkley, sent a museum exhibit plan for the proposed museum at Bandelier National Monument to all district personnel for suggestions and criticisms. Among the recommendations received from the district's Junior Nationalist, Dale S. King, were a life-sized figure, several crania to demonstrate "physical type," as well as "[a] complete burial, if obtainable."[107] (See Figure 8.4.) Bandelier's Custodian, Earl Jackson, who had trailed under Byron Cummings, offered the following feedback on Rose's plan for the archaeology room:

> In the right corner of this case is excellent space for skeletal remains of the Indians. In here I want sketch and label material showing perhaps half a dozen of the commoner measuring points on skulls for determining head type. Then small pictures of people of different races should be given, showing the short Broadheaded Pajaritans as being closer to the modern Pueblo Indians than any others. A male and female skull should be shown, with sex determining points marked. From these points strings will run to a chart on the wall. Also, an infant skull should be shown, and brief chart information in determining age by bones will be placed somewhere between the three skulls. . . . Of course, if we ever get an interesting and complete burial, we will want it shown in situ in this room. Probably lack of wall space would require that it be shown in the center of the room.[108]

Placing skeletal remains on display for visitors was a common practice throughout museums in the U.S., including those in the National Park Service, for the better part of the twentieth century. As was proposed by King for Bandelier, at Mesa Verde, beginning in 1933, the museum had placed a human burial on display in a dirt-filled box, in part, to "correct the impression that the Mesa Verde Cliff Dweller was of abnormally small stature."[109]

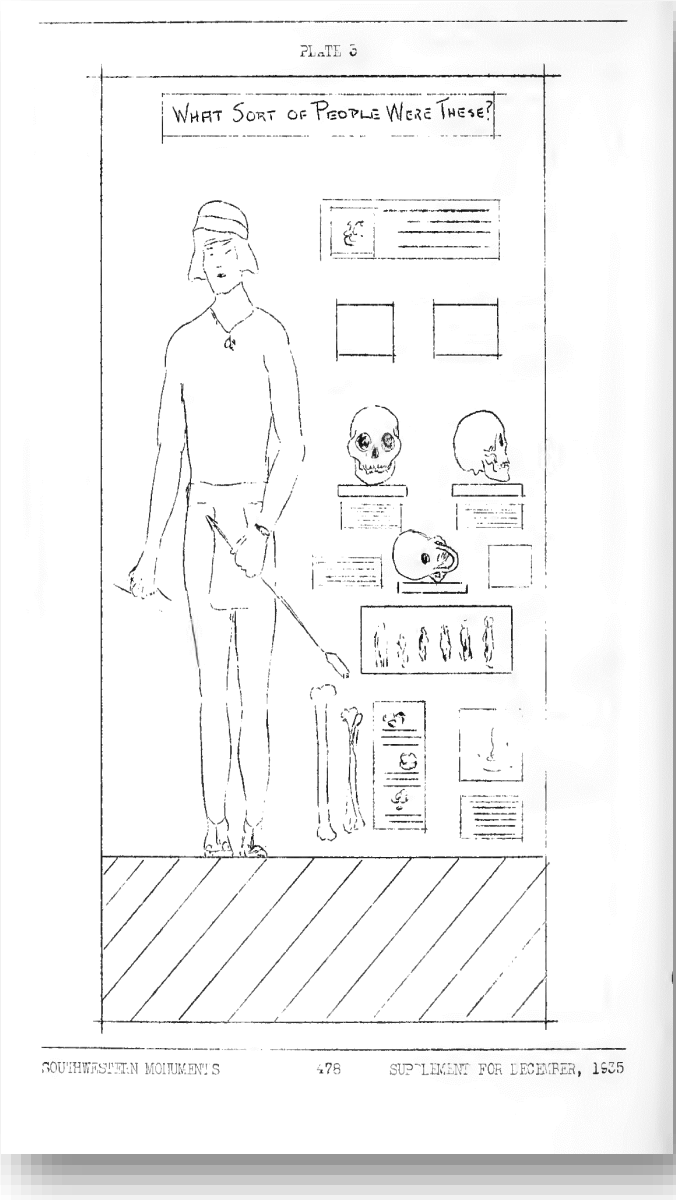


Figure 8.4: "[A] full size wax or plaster male figure clothed in breech clout, sandals, jewelry, and possibly blanket of the prehistoric type. Equipped with agricultural tools or with weapons. At least two skulls, Norma Facialis and Norma Lateralis, with labels and detail sketches to show why scientists know Pajaritans were Mongoloid, had hard cradle boards, etc. One skull, Noma Basalis, to show mastoid recesses, and explanation of cranial differences which enable scientists to tell sex from skeletons. ("More Suggestions," Southwestern Monuments — Supplement for December 1935, 478.)

Regrettably, such displays were not exclusive to the early half of the twentieth century. For example, until 1971, the park museum at Mesa Verde included the display of mummified bodies. In March of that year, Russell J. Hendrickson, chief of the Museum's division, visited Mesa Verde where he encountered, along with the mummies, a "gag post card" sold by the museum shop. Historian Jill York O'Bright described that in a memorandum to Regional Director Frank F. Kowski on March 16, 1971, Hendrickson demanded an immediate response to what he viewed as an entirely inappropriate exhibit.[110] Days later, on March 22, 1971, Kowski sent a memorandum of his own to all Superintendents of the Southwest Region, directing them to have displays featuring human remains "rearranged, redone, or just plain removed permanently."[111]

By the 1940s, cracks were starting to develop in archaeology's unified approach to employing cranial data and, more specifically, the Cephalic Index for the study of race. By and large, physical anthropologists did not tread too closely to the dominion of archaeologists in the Southwest. Besides, physical anthropology in the 1920s and 1930s was more concerned with demonstrating differences between the White and Black races than that of southwestern ancestral peoples.[112] This shift resulted from the National Research Council redirecting priorities away from broader European ethnicities and toward racial structures in the U.S.[113] When physical anthropologists did study the U.S. Southwest, they tended to do so within the archaeological definitions of culture or studied living populations, as in Ales Hrdlička's 1935 "The Pueblos. With comparative data on the bulk of the tribes of the Southwest and northern Mexico."[114] However, in 1944, physical anthropologist Carl C. Seltzer, a research fellow with the Peabody Museum working under Earnest A. Hooton, definitely treaded on Gladwin's toes.

The Gila Pueblo, directed by Harold Gladwin, utilized "long" and "broad" headed categories in interpretation to help define disparate ancestral groups. This approach reflected Gladwin's confidence in the distinction between Basktet Maker and Pueblo cultures. In addition, Gladwin was invested in these cranial typologies because the differences he perceived in cranial morphology helped substantiate his definition of the chronology of the Southwest. In 1944, Seltzer published *Racial prehistory in the Southwest and the Hawikuh Zunis* and undoubtedly managed to irk Gladwin. Upon reviewing Seltzer's paper, Gladwin fired off a seven-page letter to Kidder. Seltzer announced,

> The fundamental unity in physical type as recognized for the Old Hawikuh Zunis, the Utah Basket Makers, and in the other groups of Southwestern crania suggests the possibility that all these groups were derived from a single racial stock. Or at the very least, they must be recognized as being representatives of intimately related strains. In order that we may conveniently refer to these groups and because of their singular importance, we have designated these people as the "Southwest Plateau" Indians. The choice of a *geographical name* for this physical type has been made intentionally. Our purpose is to avoid the confusion that developed in the work of the Southwestern archaeologists with their manifold cultural classifications.*[115]

Seltzer's citation pointed to Kidder's 1924 pioneering *An Introduction to the Study of Southwestern Archaeology*, the 1927 Pecos Conference report in *Science*, and Gladwin's 1934 "The Archaeology of the Southwest and Its Relation to the Cultures of Texas."[116]

One of Gladwin's main complaints seems to have been that these conclusions originated from someone outside of the field, as was evident by Seltzer's eschewing of traditional archaeological cultural types. To start, Gladwin protested against Seltzer's contention that archaeologists employed "loose terms as long or broad heads. The most of us are capable of telling a long from a broad head - if for no other reason than that the foremost physical anthropologists of England and America have so strongly emphasized this particular feature."[117] But Seltzer's objections had little to do with designations and instead pointed to

the data, as we will observe. Gladwin expressed his perspective to Kidder, writing,

> As I visualize the early days in the Southwest (pre-600 A.D.), I think first of the hyper-dolly people who have been found all the way from California to western Texas. . . . sometime around 600 A. D., a few broad heads began to drift into the Southwest. . . . It looks to me as if the high tide of immigration from the south was reached by 700 to 800 A. D. when both Kiatuthlanna and WhiteMound showed both undeformed broad and long heads in the same sites. I consequently do not agree with Seltzer's idea of "gradual accretions" p. 68, as I think the migration was over by 800 A. D. . . . It therefore does not surprise me at all to find that Old Zunis show C.I. 75.91 against 73.00 for Utah Basket Makers, since, to my way of thinking, the difference of 2.91 was merely the absorption of a brad headed migration which was progressively diluted from south to north.[118]

Gladwin's objections are not merely about Seltzer's conclusions. Gladwin viewed Seltzer's work as upsetting the whole of the discipline in the Southwest in terms of understanding migration patterns. His understanding of race through cranial data helped define cultural groups in addition to chronologies of Native ancestral peoples. Yet, his comprehension of the significance of Seltzer's data seemed minimal, so his rebuttal defending one of the foundational understandings of the discipline did not engage with Seltzer's accusations. Instead, his hypotheses elicited that could be viewed as a commonsensical approach within the context of Southwestern archaeology, circa 1944, as was evident by the language he relied on,

> Nor can I make myself believe that environment or function could possibly effect a permanent change in skulls from 73.00 to 75.91. Too many of us still look like Pithecanthropus after 500,000 years or more for me to believe that <u>permanent</u> changes can be brought about in a few years without the cross breeding of diverse types. I know that Boas' Dagoes and Shapiro's Japs can be cited against me, but what happened to these same Dagoes and Japs in successive generations? There is very little doubt in my mind that there was a subsequent reversion to type, as otherwise the range of variation amongst all races would be vastly greater than it is.[119]

Gladwin raised many objections, though he never made it clear that he understood Seltzer's central objections; his pithy remarks to Kidder were indignant and not overly penetrating.

However, Seltzer was not merely picking at overly complicated classifications and generalizations but pointing out conclusive and quantifiable data and categorization errors, hidden by years of assumptions about human morphology, anthropometry, and Native peoples. Seltzer made several crucial points. His first point was that archaeologists had applied cranial descriptions broadly and without precision. During this period, a central tenet of southwestern archaeology was that "the Basket Makers have been described by almost everyone as dolichocephals or longheads, and the Pueblos have been called brachycephals or roundheads" but, as Seltzer observed, "[t]his is not true."[120] Basket Maker crania from Utah and Arizona each had 37.7 per cent and 46.7 per cent, respectively, cranial index measurements over the upper dolichocephalic boundary of 75. Secondly, he contested that crania from the archaeological Pueblo periods "were not and are not as brachycephalic," that is, having a cranial index >80, "as the authors of published reports would have us believe."[121] The Zuni cranial data indicated 85.29 per cent were below the lower boundary and had a mean of 75.91 (nearly dolichocephalic), while the Pecos data exhibited 58.14 per cent below the boundary with an overall mean of 78.30. In the third place, he cited Hrdlička's 1935 data from the paper cited above to demonstrate that of the eleven living Pueblo peoples for which there was data, the Hopi, with a mean index of 83.0, were the only group in the brachycephalic range since, in contrast to measurements of skeletal remains, the lower boundary of the brachycephalic "index on the living is 82.0."[122] Finally, Seltzer observed the utter lack of utilization of the mesocephalic designation, the intermediate classification for measurements >75 and <80. These conclusions, the first of their type in terms of addressing the brachycephalic and dolichocephalic cranial types widely employed and relied upon in archaeology for research—extrapolated out into interpretative materials for public audiences

and legislative actions concerning Native rights to lands, cultural materials, and resource allotments—are precisely what would be expected of a pseudoscientific system contrived to derive racial differences where none existed.

In addition to irking Gladwin, Seltzer's findings had an influence on other archaeologists, namely J. O. Brew, who published *Archaeology of Alkali Ridge, Southeastern Utah*, the following year. After over half a century of applying racial science to archaeology, in a section titled "The Pueblo Invasion," Brew finally began to set matters straight.[123] He observed,

> [T]he theory of the 'Pueblo invasion' persists despite the cultural evidence. The reason for the persistence is a continued belief m the change in physical type which is supposed to have occurred in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. In terms of physical anthropology, the Basket Makers have been presented as dolichocephalic (long-headed) and the Pueblos as brachycephalic (round-headed).[124]

Indeed, evidence in the preceding twenty ten years had called into question the notion that one "race" had replaced another between the Basket Maker III and Pueblo I phased. In particular, Haury noted many supposed cultural markers between the two were identical at the Ventana Shelter in south-central Arizona on the land of the Tohono O'odham Nation.[125] Brew's sharpest criticisms were for archaeologists themselves, who, out of habit or dilatoriness, regularly failed to apply scientific rigor to their assessments:

> The second troublesome discovery was that many of the statements made by otherwise competent archaeologists about the head form in their excavations were not based upon measurements by trained physical anthropologists but, rather, upon their own observations, often without measurement, and sometimes even upon fragmentary skulls. . . . in the very few studies of Southwestern skeletons published by physical anthropologists, "Basket Makers" were by no means all dolichocephalic nor were undeformed "Pueblos" all brachycephalic.[126]

Thus, the approach of employing head shapes to delineate Native peoples of the Americas,

first begun by Antoine Desmoulins in 1826—nearly two decades before Anders Retzius even coined the phrases dolichocephalic and brachycephalic—was finally starting to come to an end.[127] It would be a long goodbye, however. Gaining acceptance from the entire archaeological community was a slow process, and updating museums and park interpretive materials occurred even more sluggishly.[128]

Conclusion

Jesse Fewkes's desire to see the ancestral sites of Honanki and Palatki established as monuments never came to pass. Today, they are both managed by the Forest Service and, as they are on federal lands, are nonetheless protected by the provisions of the Antiquities Act. The Forest Service maintains a small visitor center at Palatki, manages site visits, and provides scheduled tours. Honanki, meanwhile, under the supervision of the Forest Service, is maintained by Pink Adventure Tours (popularly known as "Pink Jeeps"), who provide offroad 4x4 excursions out of Sedona, Arizona, for visitors and tourists.[129] Nevertheless, there were many others where monuments and parks were established in order to preserve the culture and history of Native peoples' past. At each one, it was up to archaeologists, like Fewkes, to construct the past from the dirt of the earth so that EuroAmericans could know and appreciate the history of the lands they colonized.

As archaeologists began early attempts at reconstructing, sometimes vast settlements like those found at Chaco Canyon and Cahokia, perspectives on race slowly started to become perplexing. They comprehended first that the Mound Builders were not a lost race but rather the ancestors of the peoples who were living there at the time of first

contact with Europeans. As research progressed, preconceived notions were upset by archaeologists who found evidence for social complexity capable of supporting large populations, widespread use of mathematics and scientific observation, and widespread evidence for complex approaches to agriculture as well as the domestication of wild plants through artificial selection. As this picture of the Native past became more refined, it upended archaeological narratives that were presented all throughout the Southwest in museums, parks, and monuments. Archaeologists' Eurocentric approach attempted to present an accurate history without deigning to accept that another history endured in the minds, on the landscapes, and through the lived experiences of the descendants of individuals whose remains—both cultural and corporal—the were recovering from the earth. But the theories and frameworks under which archaeologists operated, and indeed underlying all Americanist archaeology, were based on nineteenth-century racial pseudoscience and ideas about human difference that were a century or more in the past. Even as other scholarly fields of inquiry began to move on from outmoded concepts, the discipline of archaeology stuck to those concepts they understood best, which were intrinsically and indelibly tied to their discipline's origin.

These frameworks of knowledge can be traced directly to the influence of Lewis Henry Morgan. While archaeologists on both sides of the Atlantic accepted his suppositions, only the Americanists had a resident ~~*Other*~~ population with which to test Morgan's hypotheses. The archaeology of the Southwest was utilized in an attempt to unravel the entirety of human evolution. In the process, archaeologists erased Native histories and applied their own Western conceptions of the Native past in ways that tried to organize and conceptualize discrete peoples, artifacts, and lands. Using a European

basis for their outlook on evolutionary theory, Native peoples of the U.S. were cast as backward and static, delineating classification schemes that analogized the Native ancestral past to supposed European excellence. In mapping the lands, cataloging the cultural artifacts, analyzing the corporeal remains, and defining the architecture of Native peoples, archaeologists also disposed them of land, culture, ancestors, sacred spaces, and, most importantly, human dignity. In the process, archaeologists helped construct narratives that propped up the imagined exceptionalism of EuroAmerican with Native peoples as the foil.

The U.S. federal government presented these narratives most clearly through its network of National Park Service properties. In their 1998 book, Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek explored the relationship between the Park Service and Native peoples. They outlined four phases that defined the relationship with the U.S. government and Native peoples: appropriation, neglect, resistance, and cooperation.[130] Indeed, this pattern is witnessed regularly throughout the park's history, yet phase four has never become a reality without phase three. However, Keller and Turek do not conceptualize this unequal relation as one that concerns racial inequities. Indeed, they assert, "disputes that arise between native peoples and American parks are more a result of public land dilemmas than of race," which seems to miss the big picture entirely.[131]

The contemporary situation in the national parks results from settler colonialism, or neo-settler colonialism, which is explicitly an issue of race. Keller and Turek argue it would not matter if White people or Native peoples were running the park; there would continue to be issues. Certainly. That is, only if those sovereign Native homelands were made into parks in the first place. Pieces of land that are turned into parks require

management. On the other hand, the issues with parks arise, more importantly, out of the historical legacies of how White EuroAmericans and the U.S. government have treated or ignored, Native peoples. Would livestock management issues in parks be problematic if the Native peoples were not constricted and confined to a reservation? Would law enforcement issues in parks be problematic if Native nations were managed differently, or not at all, under the umbrella of the federal government? Would mistrust and resentment by local Native communities be problematic if not for the history of how the U.S. government has dealt with Native peoples? And how are each of these issues not directly related to race and the unequal power dynamics between the ancestral caretakers of this continent's lands and the reigning modern-day colonial government? How is lack of money not a result of the poverty that the myth that many Native communities, including the Diné, have endured under the federal United States government for going on two centuries? Describe these problems as one that would occur at any of the national parks, whether there are administered by the federal government or by Native groups. But today, trying to assert that those problems are primarily the reason for disputes between Native peoples and the park system more generally is preposterous.

Manifest destiny and the takeover of U.S. lands defined both the relationship between the Native and immigrant Americans as well as their respective identities to one another. By the time the U.S. expanded westward in the middle of the nineteenth century, the U.S. had established that Native peoples, lacking proper rights because of their race, could be stolen from or worse. The takeover of Native lands for their preservation, especially those containing ancestral sites, connected directly to the main goals of archaeology, parks, museums, and universities: defining the history of the continent through race. The National

Park Service, like archaeology, has always been a racial project, taking from those who were different—past or present— and treating them and their possessions as objects worthy of scientific or public scrutiny.

In his article "The Antiquities Act at One Hundred Years: A Native American Perspective," anthropologist Joe Watkins observes that the law "benefited the scientific community more than it benefited the cultures whose heritage it was supposed to protect."[132] To be certain, the appropriation of scientific data on Native cultures and people was always its primary aim. The Antiquities Ace prioritized the Native past over the Native present in ways that failed to account for their interests in preserving their own cultural heritage or history. The Antiquities Act, from Watkins' perspective, represented "a continuation of government policies that were aimed at erasing the image of the contemporary American Indian from the landscape in favor of the 'dead and disappearing culture' destined to exist only in museums."[133] I would add to Watkins' sentiments that it was not merely the cultural remains of the Native peoples' that scientists, the federal government, and, indeed, the general public more broadly wanted to preserve but absolutely anything else that could be salvaged from them or their landscapes in order to institute, strengthen, and preserve the dominance of further EuroAmerican ideals and culture on the continent.

Notes

1. For a discussion of these dates, see Klara B. Kelley and Harris Francis, *A Diné History of Navajoland* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2019), especially Chapter 1, "An Argument with Archaeologists" and Chapter 2, "Abalone Shell Buffalo People and Ancient Trails."

2. Erik K. Reed, "Article 5: The Enemy Peoples," in *Memorandum for the Press: Our Own Spanish-American Citizens and the Southwest Which They Colonized: Article 1-12, Jan. 20-Dec.20, 1939* (Washington: Department of the Interior, 1939), 1-2.

3. Kelley and Francis, *A Diné History*, 123-24.

4. Archaeologists frequently use the term *Dinétah*, though the Navajo use "Navajoland" in the twentieth century. See Kelley and Francis, *A Diné History*, 35.

5. Hal Rothman, *Navajo National Monument: A Place and Its People: An Administrative History*, Southwest Cultural Resources Center Professional Papers, 40 (Santa Fe, NM: Southwest Regional Office, Division of History, 1991), 17.

6. See Ruth Underhill, *The Navajos* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), 148-49.

7. Frank McNitt, *Richard Wetherill: Anasazi*, rev. ed. (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press., 1966), 81.

8. McNitt, *Richard Wetherill*, 81-84.

9. Neil Merton Judd, *Men Met along the Trail: Adventures in Archaeology* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 36. Later analysis attributed the date to 1861, associating it with the Mormons and not the Spanish. See Albert Edward Ward, Phyllis. Warner, and William D. Lipe, *Inscription House: Two Research Reports* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, 1975), 1-14.

10. "Navajo National Monument," The National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/nava/planyourvisit/upload/NAVA_S1-for-web-use.pdf.

11. Rothman, *Navajo National Monument*, 23.

12. Frank Pinkley, Superintendent of Southwestern Monuments, to Horace M. Albright, Field Assistant to the NPS Director, 6 April 1927, Gila Pueblo Foundation Papers, MS15, box 36, folder 5, Arizona State Museum, The University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ.

13. Jesse Walter Fewkes, *Preliminary Report on a Visit to the Navaho National Monument, Arizona* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 35.

14. "Navajo National Monument: A Proclamation," No. 1186—March 14, 1912—37 Stat. 1733.

15. Don D. Fowler, *A Laboratory for Anthropology: Science and Romanticism in the American Southwest, 1846-1930* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 259.

16. Neil M. Judd, "Pioneering in Southwestern Archaeology," in For the Dean: Essays in Anthropology in Honor of Byron Cummings on His Eighty-Ninth Birthday, September 20, 1950, ed. Erik K. Reed and Dale S. King (Tucson, AZ: Hohokam Museums Association, 1950), 11-27.

17. Clara Lee Tanner, "Byron Cummings 1860-1954" *Kiva* 20, no. 1 (October 1954), 13.

18. See "Chapter One: Identifying the Anaasází: Physical Proof, Evaluating Tradition," in Robert S. McPherson, *Viewing the Ancestors: Perceptions of the Anaasází, Mokwič, and Hisatsinom* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 23-50.

19. Rothman, *Navajo National Monument*, 46.

20. *Yosemite National Park – California*, National Park Service (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1936); Stanford E. Demars, *The Tourist in Yosemite, 1855-1985* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1991), 99.

21. Jesse Walter Fewkes, *A Prehistoric Mesa Verde Pueblo and Its People*, Publication, 2469 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917), 463.

22. Jesse Walter Fewkes, Letter to J.C. Clarke, "Fewkes of Smithsonian Expects To Visit Ruins Wupatki This Summer," *The Coconino Sun*, Friday, April 10, 1925, 1-2.

23. Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 312.

24. Fewkes, *A Prehistoric Mesa Verde Pueblo*, 463.

25. Ralph H. Lewis, *Museum Curatorship in the National Park Service, 1904-1982* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, Curatorial Services Division, 1993), 12.

26. Lewis, *Museum Curatorship*, 13-14.

27. Lewis, *Museum Curatorship*, 12.

28. Stephen T. Mather, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1920, and the Travel Season 1920* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1920), 59.

29. Stephen T. Mather, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1921, and the Travel Season 1921* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1921), 36.

30. After the 1927-28 field season, Los Angeles's Southwest Museum left more than half of the excavated Casa Grande materials to be kept on-site and was equally generous following another field season in 1930-31. Lewis, *Museum Curatorship*, 13.

31. Ricardo Torres-Reyes, *Mesa Verde National Park: An Administrative History, 1906-1970* (Washington, DC: Office of History and Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, 1970), 87.

32. Lewis, *Museum Curatorship*, 12-13.

33. Lewis, *Museum Curatorship*, 19-20.

34. Stephen T. Mather, *Progress in the Development of the National Parks* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1916), 27.

35. Mather, *Report of the Director… 1920*, 59.

36. Mather, *Report of the Director… 1920*, 59.

37. Mather, *Report of the Director… 1921*, 35.

38. Mather, *Report of the Director… 1921*, 36.

39. Torres-Reyes, *Mesa Verde National Park*, 162.

40. Torres-Reyes (*Mesa Verde National Park*, 163) described a letter Arno Cammerer wrote to Mather and Albright on February 5, 1924, pleading, "We've got to keep the doctor out of the Mesa Verde because he is impossible. He is approaching senility, and his petty meanness and professional jealousy creates an intolerable situation. I think we should speak to Dr. Walcott and ask him to forbid Dr. Fewkes going into the Mesa."

41. Torres-Reyes (*Mesa Verde National Park*, 180) quoted a letter Jesse Nusbaum wrote to Mather on June 9, 1921.

42. Yosemite Valley Museum, Yosemite National Park, CA (1920), Mammoth Hot Springs Museum, Yellowstone National Park, WY (1920), Crater Lake Information-Museum Bldg., Crater Lake National Park, OR (1921), Glacier Point Lookout Museum, Yosemite National Park, CA (1925-37), Petersburg Museum, Petersburg National Military Park, VA (1925-40), Montezuma Castle Museum, Montezuma Castle National Monument, AZ (1927-35), Uwekahuna Museum, Hawaii National Park, HI (1927-39), Yavapai Station Museum, Grand Canyon National Park, AZ (1928), Longmire Museum, Mount Rainier National Park, Wash. (1928), Loomis Museum, Lassen Volcanic National Park, CA (1929), Old Faithful Museum, Yellowstone National Park, WY (1929), Zion Museum, Zion National Park, UT (1929-39), Madison Junction Museum, Yellowstone National Park, WY (1930), Norris Museum, Yellowstone National Park, WY (1931), Estes Park Museum, Rocky Mountain National Park, CO (1930 31), Mariposa Grove Museum, Yosemite National Park, CA (1930 32), Watchman Museum, Crater Lake National Park, OR (1931), Sinnott Memorial Museum, Crater Lake National Park, OR (1931), Petrified Forest Museum, Petrified Forest National Monument, AZ (1931), Fishing Bridge Museum, Yellowstone National Park, WY. (1932), Wayside Museum, Grand Canyon National Park, Ariz. (1932), Casa Grande Museum, Casa Grande National Monument, AZ. (1932), Lincoln Museum, National Capital Parks, Washington, DC (1932) George Washington Birthplace Museum, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, VA. (1932). See Ned J. Burns, *Field Manual for Museums* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1941), 15-16.

43. "AN ACT To provide for the preservation of historic American sites, buildings, objects, and antiquities of national significance and other purposes," No. 292—August 21, 1935—74 Stat. 2073

44. Frank Pinkley, "Article I: Introduction to the Southwest, January 20, 1939," in *Our Own Spanish-American Citizens and the Southwest Which They Colonized* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, 1939), 1.

45. Erik K. Reed, "Article IV: The Modern Pueblo Indians, April 20, 1939," in *Our Own Spanish-American Citizens and the Southwest Which They Colonized* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, 1939), 32-33.

46. Burns, *Field Manual*, x.

47. National Park Service, Chaco Culture National Historical Park; Resource Management Records 1936-2004, CHCU 52717, 0300/015, 4.

48. Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, History Division, 1986), 92.

49. Mackintosh, *Interpretation*, 92.

50. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., "Oration, 1855," in *The New England Society*

Orations: Addresses Sermons and Poems Delivered Before the New England Society in the City Of New York 1820-1885, ed. Cephas Brainerd and Eveline Warner Brainerd (New York, NY: The Century Co., 1901), 298.

51. Carleton S. Coon, *The Races of Europe* (New York, NY: Macmillan Company, 1939), 15.

52. See Carleton S. Coon, *The Origin of Races* (London, UK: Jonathan Cape, 1963), 414, 419, 499, 504, 510, and 640. The earliest critiques of this technique appear in Franz Boas and Helene M. Boas "The Head - Forms of the Italians as Influenced by Heredity and Environment." *American Anthropologist* 15, no. 2 (1913): 163-188. This work was recently reevaluated (and vindicated) in a study that employed modern data collection and analysis techniques in Clarence C. Gravlee, H. Russell Bernard, and William R Leonard. "Heredity, Environment, and Cranial Form: A Reanalysis of Boas's Immigrant Data," *American Anthropologist* 105, no. 1 (2003): 125-138.

53. James E. Snead, *Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archaeology* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 131-132.

54. Snead, *Ruins and Rivals*, 132.

55. Albert Memmi wrote, "For me, oppression is the greatest calamity of humanity. It diverts and pollutes the best energies of man—of oppressed and oppressor alike. For if colonization destroys the colonized, it also rots the colonizer." *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, exp. ed. (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1965), xvii.

56. Paul Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 10.

57. Spickard, *Almost All Aliens*, 10.

58. See Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: CT: Yale University Press, 1998), especially Chapter Four: "Natural Indians and Identities of Modernity," 95-126, on Morgan, Bandelier, Cushing, and Hewett.

59. Peter Russell, *Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument: An Administrative History, Southwest Cultural Resources Center* 48, (Santa Fe, NM: Southwest Region, National Park Service, 1992) 24, 72-73.

60. Walter Hough, "Culture Of The Ancient Pueblos Of The Upper Gila Riyer Region, New Mexico And Arizona. Second Museum-Gates Expedition," in *Bulletin - United States National Museum* 87 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1914), 133.

61. Agnes C. Laut, "Why Go Abroad?" *Sunset* 30, no. 2 (February 1913):156-164;

"Chapter XIV: Casa Grande And The Gila," in *Through Our Unknown Southwest: the Wonderland of the United States—Little Known and Unappreciated—the Home of the Cliff Dweller and the Hopi, the Forest Ranger and the Navajo,—the Lure of the Painted Desert* (New York: McBride, Nast & Company, 1913), 226-250. With few exceptions, Laut's book contains everything that had already been written in *Sunset*. One noticeable difference is the article's quip, "[t]hink Roosevelt and Selous and Whitney would hunt lions if they could hunt dwarfs?" (156) To which I might respond, "I actually don't think they would—hunt the lions."

62. Laut, *Through Our Unknown Southwest*, 226-227.

63. Laut, *Through Our Unknown Southwest*, 227.

64. Laut, *Through Our Unknown Southwest*, 228.

65. Laut, *Through Our Unknown Southwest*, 229.

66. Mark Jefferson, "Review: Through Our Unknown Southwest by Agnes C. Laut," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* 46, no. 4 (January 1914): 296.

67. Russell, *Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument*, 115.

68. Russell, *Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument*, 115.

69. Frank Bond, "The Administration of National Monuments," *Proceedings of the National Park Conference held at the Yellowstone National Park September 11 and 12, 1911* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1912), 93.

70. Russell, *Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument*, 115.

71. Everette B. Laybourne, "The Probable Statues of the Cliff Dweller," *Mesa Verde Nature Notes* 2, no. 2 (Aug. 1932): 17.

72. Robert Burgh, "Cliff Dweller Burial Customs," *Mesa Verde Nature Notes* 4, no. 2 (September 1933): 6.

73. Julias Kollmann, "Pygmäen in Europa und Amerika," *Des Globus Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde* 81, no. 21 (Juni 1902): 327. "This view will receive considerable support if such primordial races have also been found in America. This increases not only the scope of the phenomenon, but also the certainty that the pygmies are related to the first appearance of man in America. No one will want to assume that the pygmies only arrived on that continent after the appearance of the redskins, for the conviction is self-evident that they immigrated at least at the same time as they did. News about pygmies in America has not yet been brought to light by American anthropologists."

Translation by author; from original German: “Eine beträchtliche Stütze wird diese Auffassung erhalten, wenn auch in Amerika solche Urrassen gefunden worden sind. Damit wächst nicht nur der Umfang der Erscheinung, sondern auch die Gewiſsheit, daſs die Pygmäen mit dem ersten Auftreten des Menschen in Amerika zusammenhängen. Niemand wird annehmen wollen, die Pygmäen seien erst nach dem Erscheinen der Rothäute in jenein Kontinente angekommen, denn die Überzeugung drängt sich wohl von selbst auf, daſs sie mindestens gleichzeitig mit ihnen eingewandert sind. Nachrichten über Pygmäen in Amerika sind von Anthropologen Amerikas noch nicht beigebracht worden.”

74. (Trans. *The Pygmies And Their Systematic Position Within The Human Race*); Alexander F. Chamberlain, “Periodical Literature,” *American Anthropologist* 5, no. 4 (Oct - Dec. 1903): 708.

75. Richard Wright, “The Mesa Verde National Park: Its Past, Present, And Future,” in *Proceedings of the National Park Conference held at the Yellowstone National Park September 11 and 12, 1911* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1912), 171.

76. Wright, “The Mesa Verde,” 171-172.

77. Wright, “The Mesa Verde,” 171.

78. Wright, “The Mesa Verde,” 171.

79. In 2022, Mesa Verde recognizes twenty-six associated tribes. “The 26 Associated Tribes of Mesa Verde,” Mesa Verde, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, accessed February 2, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/meve/learn/historyculture/upload/26meve_associated_tribes_508.pdf.

80. Frank McNitt described how, on February 4, 1894, Richard informed Hyde, “When the Basket People dug out their bottleshaped rooms the tops, of course, were all on a level with the surface, and they covered them in such a way that they could not be detected. The C.D. [Cliff Dwellers], in some cases, built over them not knowing they were there.” In Richard Wetherill, “Letters, 1893-1901, to B. T. B. Hyde, F.E. Hyde, Jr., and George H. Pepper, in connection with the work of the Hyde Exploring Expedition,” *American Museum of Natural History*, New York, quoted in McNitt, *Richard Wetherill: Anasazi*, 1972, 65-66; Alfred Vincent Kidder and Samuel James Guernsey, *Archeological Explorations in Northeastern Arizona*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 65 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919), 32.

81. George H. Pepper, “The ancient basket makers of southeastern Utah,” *American Museum Journal* 2, no. 4, suppl. (April 1902): 6.

82. Kidder and Guernsey, *Archeological Explorations*, 32.

83. Kidder and Guernsey, *Archeological Explorations*, 212.

84. Kidder and Guernsey, *Archeological Explorations*, 212.

85. Alfred Vincent Kidder, *An Introduction to the Study of Southwestern Archaeology with a Preliminary Account of the Excavations at Pecos* (New Haven, CT: The Yale University Press, 1924), 330.

86. Kidder and Guernsey, *Archeological Explorations*, 212.

87. Walter W. Taylor, *A Study of Archeology* (Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association, 1948), 47.

88. A. V. Kidder to Edgar Lee Hewett, 3 August 1927, Edgar L Hewett Collection, box 8, folder 12, The Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, Santa Fe, NM.

89. The complete list of attendees included: Charles Amsden (Southwest Museum), *Munroe Amsden (Southwest Museum), Lansing Bloom (Museum of New Mexico), Kenneth M. Chapman (Museum of New Mexico), *Dr. H. S. Colton (University of Pennsylvania), *Mrs. Mary-Russell Ferrell Colton, *C. B. Cosgrove (Peabody Museum of Harvard), Mrs. Harriet Cosgrove, Dean Byron Cummings (University of Arizona), Dr. A. E. Douglass (University of Arizona), Miss Charlotte Gower (University of Chicago), *Odd S. Halseth (Arizona Museum), M. R. Harrington (Museum of the American Indian), Emil W. Haury (University of Arizona), Miss Penner (Mrs. Emil Haury), *E. L. Hewett (Museum of New Mexico), Dr. Walter Hough (U.S. National Museum), *Mr. Percy Jackson, Neil M. Judd (U.S. National Museum National Geographic Society), Dr. A. V. Kidder (Carnegie Institution of Washington Phillips Academy), Mrs. Madeleine Kidder, Dr. A. L. Kroeber (University of California), *Paul S. Martin (Colorado State Museum), *Mr. T. F. McIlwraith (University of Toronto), *Dr. Harry L. Mera (Indian Arts Fund), Sylvanus G. Morley (Carnegie Institution of Washington), Mrs. Francis R. Morley, Earl H. Morris (Carnegie Institution of Washington), Mrs. Ann A. Morris, Jesse L. Nusbaum (National Park Service), *Frank Pinkley (National Park Service), Dr. E. B. Renaud (University of Denver), Oliver Ricketson (Carnegie Institution of Washington), Mrs. Edith B. Ricketson, Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr. (Bureau of American Ethnology), Mrs. Linda Roberts, Dr. J. A. B. Scherer (Southwest Museum), Harry H. Shapiro (American Museum of Natural History), *Judge Skinner, *Leslie Spier (University of Oklahoma), Mrs. Erna Gunther Spier), *Dr. H. J. Spinden (Peabody Museum of Harvard), Miss Clara Lee Fraps Tanner (University of Arizona), Dr. J. B. Thoburn (Oklahoma Historical Society), *Dr. T. T. Waterman (University of Arizona), and *R. Wauchope (University of South Carolina). Those present but not pictured in Figure 8.3 are notated with an asterisk above. Cornelius "Bert" Cosgrove, "Participants in First Pecos Conference," photo, 1927, Portraits of anthropologists, circa 1860s-1970, *National Anthropological Archives*, accessed February 20, 2022, https://sova.si.edu/details/NAA.PhotoLot.33#ref695.

90. H. W. Dorsey, *Forty-Fifth Annual Report Of The Bureau Of American Ethnology To The Secretary Of The Smithsonian Institution, 1927-1928* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1930), 1.

91. A. V. Kidder, "Southwestern Archeological Conference," *Science* 66 no. 1716 (1927): 489-491.

92. Andrew E. Douglass, "The Secret of the Southwest Solved by Talkative Tree Rings," *National Geographic* 56, no. 6 (1929): 737-770.

93. Franz Boas, "The Cephalic Index." *American Anthropologist* 1, no. 3 (1899): 448-461.

94. "VI. The anatomical evidence on evolutionary rank. This chart would deal with the natomical peculiarities of the different races in regard to their greatest similarity or dissimilarity to the ape. The nasal index showing first the ape, Negroid, Mongolian, and Caucasian in the order named as representing the degree of similarity. Hair classification showing first ape, Caucasian, and with the Negroid and Mongolian in the third place as being equally removed from the condition as regards classification of hair. Lip classification – but, Mongolian, Caucasian, and Negro. This chart would be interesting to the person who probably believes that the race which he represents is anatomically farther removed from the apes than are the other races." National Park Service, Chaco Culture National Historical Park; Resource Management Records 1936-2004, CHCU 52717, 0300/001, 32.

95. National Park Service, Chaco Culture National Historical Park; Resource Management Records 1936-2004, CHCU 52717, 0300/001, 32.

96. National Park Service, Chaco Culture National Historical Park; Resource Management Records 1936-2004, CHCU 52717, 0300/001, 32.

97. "A tourist cannot travel about the Southwest very long before he hears much about the cephalic index. This information usually comes in such a way that he is impressed with the importance of a complicated and vastly mysterious method whereby some mastermind has been able to tell us a great deal about long dead races. A simple chart would clear all doubts in the visitor's mind about the complication of the pollsyllabic method of taking simple and meaningless measurements. An accompanying map which shows the distributions of the brachycephalic, meso cephalic, and dolichocephalic races. Then just to show this willingness the whole thing is, alongside with and others chart showing the distribution of these same classes of people if, and supposing that, broke had not been set up are in mathematics and been in search of convenient percentages with easily handled factional equivalents. Broca took the convenient percentages 75 to represent dolichocephalic because the equivalent fraction is three fourths, and to represent brachycephalic because it is another convenient percentage with the fractional equivalent of 4/5. Can be readily seen that many long heads would differ from each other much more than they could possibly differ

from the short heads. Many shared heads, therefore differ among themselves much more than the differ from long heads. In short heads differ from long heads but very little. The difference is not a difference because the likeness disregard greater differences. I propose to make an arbitrary change in either the numerator and denominator is arbitrarily chosen fraction and must destroy, on paper, the present racial groupings. It is to wonder that hasn't been thought of before. It might be fair to take a swat at the cephalic index before the American Medical Association kills the poor old index entirely." National Park Service, Chaco Culture National Historical Park; Resource Management Records 1936-2004, CHCU 52717, 0300/001, 32.

98. National Park Service, Chaco Culture National Historical Park; Resource Management Records 1936-2004, CHCU 52717, 0300/001, 32.

99. "VI. Anatomical Evidence on Evolutionary Rank: This chart would dwell upon the anatomical peculiarities and similarities of the various races, Nasal Index, hair classification, lip classification, and other points of comparison would be illustrated;" and "IX, Cephalic Index: No one can travel in the Southwest long before "being confronted with "Cephalic Index", Brachycephalic, Dolichocephalic, and other jaw-breaking terms. Reduced to simple terms with chart explanations these names will have some meaning to the tourist who will inquire as to their meaning for he is almost certain to come into contact with these terms." Hurst Julian, "Chaco Canyon National Monument," *Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report – November 1932* (Coolidge, AZ: National Park Service, 1932), 14-15.

100. Emil W. Haury, "Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation: A History and Some Personal Notes," *Kiva* 54, no. 1 (1988): 40.

101. Edwin D. Mckee, "An Archaeological Exhibit," *Grand Canyon Nature Notes* 6, no. 1 (November 1931), 1.

102. Samuel J. Redman, *Bone Rooms: From Scientific Racism to Human Prehistory in Museums* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 180; 74.

103. Haury, "Gila Pueblo," 30-32; in his annual report, Grand Canyon National Park superintendent M. R. Tillotson, in referring to Gila Pueblo as "the Medallion Foundation," said, "[t]he material uncovered in the Tusayan ruin excavation was somewhat disappointing, due primarily to the fact that no burials were found." M. R. Tillotson, "Grand Canyon National Park," *Report of Director of National Park Service to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1930, and the Travel Season 1930* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1930), 104.

104. Edwin D. McKee, "An Archaeological Exhibit," *Grand Canyon Nature Notes* 6, no. 1 (November 1931): 1.

105. McKee, "An Archaeological Exhibit," 1-2.

106. Erik K. Reed, "Management of Archaeological Parks," *Southwestern Monuments - Supplement for March 1938* (Coolidge, AZ: National Park Service, 1938), 263.

107. Dale S. King, "Comments on Proposed Museum Exhibits Plan at Bandelier," *Southwestern Monuments - Supplement for December 1935* (Coolidge, AZ: National Park Service, 1935), 472.

108. Earl Jackson, "More Suggestions," *Southwestern Monuments - Supplement for December 1935* (Coolidge, AZ: National Park Service, 1935), 485.

109 Paul R. Franke, "Museum Acquisition for 1933," *Mesa Verde Nature Notes* 4, no. 1 (July 1933): 1.

110. Jill York O'Bright, *The Perpetual March: An Administrative History of Effigy Mounds National Monument* (Omaha, NE: National Park Service, Midwest Regional Office, 1990), 178.

111. O'Bright, *The Perpetual March*, 178, 180.

112. For instance, seven out of the eleven articles contained in the fall 1928 issue of *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* were expressly dedicated to some aspect of studying "the negro," while two additional articles studied physical differences in Black people less directly, albeit in comparison to "lower mammals." See *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 12, no. 1 (July-September 1928).

113. The NRC established "A Committee on the Negro" chaired by R. J. Terry and comprised of Franz Boas, Charles Davenport, Aleš Hrdlička, Earnest Hooton, T. W. Todd, and A. V. Kidder. See Michael L. Blakey, "Intrinsic Social and Political Bias in the History of American Physical Anthropology: With Special Reference to the Work of Aleš Hrdlička," *Critique of Anthropology* 7, no. 2 (October 1987): 17.

114. Aleš Hrdlička, "The Pueblos. With Comparative Data on the Bulk of the Tribes of the Southwest and Northern Mexico," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 20, no. 3 (October-December 1935): 235-460.

115. Carl C. Seltzer, *Racial Prehistory in the Southwest and Hawikuh Zunis*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University 23, no. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Printing Office, 1944), 23.

116. Harold S. Gladwin, "The Archaeology of the Southwest and Its Relation to the Cultures of Texas," *Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society Bulletin* 6 (Abilene, TX: The Texas Archaeological and Paleontological Society, 1934), 16-26. Seltzer made a respectable point. Gladwin's paper first described those sequences first decided on at Pecos

in 1927: Basketmaker I, Basketmaker II, Basketmaker III, Pueblo I, Pueblo II, Pueblo III, Pueblo IV, and Pueblo V. To these, he added "stages of their development do not conform to the Pecos Classification," including the Colonial Period, Sedentary Period, Classic Period, and Modern Period. Additionally, he introduced designations to differentiate the diffusion and merging of various groups. The Little Colorado Stem divided into the Mimbres Branch, Cibola Branch, Chaco Branch, and Salado Branch, while the San Juan Stem divided into the Kayenta Branch, Mesa Verde Branch, and Rio Grande Branch.

117. Harold Gladwin to A. V. Kidder, 12 September 1944, Gila Pueblo Foundation Papers, MS15, box 34, folder 4, Arizona State Museum, The University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ.

118. Gladwin to Kidder, 12 September 1944.

119. Gladwin to Kidder, 12 September 1944.

120. Seltzer, *Racial Prehistory*, 26-27. "The Basket Makers have been described by almost everyone as dolichocephals or longheads, and the Pueblos have been called brachycephals or roundheads. The impression conveyed by these statements is that all Basket Maker crania are dolichocephalic, that is, have indices below 75, and that all the Pueblo crania are brachycephalic with indices over 80. This is not true. For, in the Basket Maker series from Grand Gulch Utah, 30.9 per cent of the males (out of thirty-three) and 50 per cent of the females (out of twenty) have cranial indices over 7 5. The range in index runs up to 79.4 in the males and 80.8 in the females. In the Arizona Basket Maker group, 46.7 per cent of the males have indices over 75, and the most roundheaded individual of this lot has an index of 83.91. Accordingly, it is obvious that much of the Basket Maker population is not dolichocephalic at all, even though the mean cranial indices of two series of crania fall into the dolichocephalic range. If we consider the Pueblos, we find the same misstatements and the same abuse of the terminology of physical anthropology. The Pueblo people were not and are not as brachycephalic as the authors of published reports would have us believe. The two largest undeformed cranial groups that can be used for determining the cranial index are the Old Hawikuh Zunis and Hooton's Pecos Total Series A. If we sort out all the individuals who are not brachycephalic, that is, with indices below 80, we find that out of thirty-five male Zunis, twenty-nine or 85.29 per cent have cranial indices below 80, and that out of forty-three male Pecos crania, twenty-five or 58.14 per cent also have cranial indices below 80. The mean cranial index for the undeformed Zuni series is 75.91 which can be considered a very low mesocephalic, almost a dolichocephalic index. The mean cranial index for the Pecos Total Series A is 78.30, a middle mesocephalic mean. From these data there can be no doubt the Pueblo people as represented by these crania were more mesocephalic than brachycephalic. There is additional evidence to show that the Pueblo Indians were not as brachycephalic as has been supposed. In 1935 Hrdlička published the average cephalic indices of a number of groups of Pueblo Indians having undeformed heads. His cephalic indices of the males are as follows: Taos 78.2, Sia 78.5, Domingo 79.6, San Juan 80.2, Jemez 80.3, Laguna 80.3, Acoma 81.2, Isleta 81.2, Hano 81.4, Zuni 81.8, and Hopi 83.0. Since by

definition a brachycephalic index on the living is 82 or above, then the Hopi group is the only one which qualifies for a classification as brachrycephalic. All the other groups have mesocephalic indices. Assuming that there are just as many individuals below the mean as above, then it may be said that these averages signify that the presence of the mesocephalic element is larger in almost all these groups than the brachycephalic element. On these data the Pueblo people should be referred to as mixed "mesocephalic and brachycephalic peoples." If it were necessary to refer to them by a single term, then it would still be more accurate to call them mesocephals than brachycephals. However, there is reason to believe that if studies were made in these villages today (more than thirty years later), the mean cephalic indices might well fall into the brachycephalic classification. This is true at Zuni where a significant increase in the cephalic index from mesocephaly to brachycephaly took place in the period of 1900 to 1933."

121. See note 120 above.

122. See note 120 above.

123. Erik K. Reed, "The Beginnings of Physical Anthropology in the Southwest," *Journal of the Arizona Academy of Science* 2, no. 3 (1963): 130-132.

124. J. O Brew, *Archaeology of Alkali Ridge, Southeastern Utah: With a Review of the Prehistory of the Mesa Verde Division of the San Juan and Some Observations on Archaeological Systematics*, Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology Papers 21 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1946), 68.

125. Emil W. Haury, "A Possible Cochise-Mogollon-Hohokam Sequence," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 86, no. 2, (February 10, 1943) *Symposium on Recent Advances in American Archæology* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1934): 260-263.

126. Brew, *Archaeology of Alkali Ridge*, 68.

127. Antoine Desmoulins, *Histoire naturelle des races humaines du Nord-Est de l'Europe, de l'Asie Boréale et Orientale et de l'Afrique Australe* (Paris: Chez Méquignon-Marvis, 1826). Desmoulins separated the peoples of the Americans into two groups with two distinct head types: *Amérique* – "*la tête généralement sphérique*" ("generally spherical head"); and *colombiens* – "*naturelle de l'ovale de leur tête*" or elsewhere called "*la tête allongée*" ("natural oval of the head" or "elongated head."). See pages 199, 229-230, 205.

128. Brew, *Archaeology of Alkali Ridge*, 67-73; Reed, "The Beginnings of Physical Anthropology in the Southwest," 130-132.

129. "Palatki Heritage Site," *Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture*, accessed February 24, 2022,

https://www.fs.usda.gov/recarea/coconino/recarea/?recid=55368; “Ancient Ruin,” *Pink Adventure Tours*, accessed February 24, 2022, https://www.pinkadventuretours.com/sedona-tours/ancient-ruin/.

130. Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek, *American Indians & National Parks* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 233.

131. Keller and Turek, 214.

132. Joe E. Watkins, “The Antiquities Act at One Hundred Years: A Native American Perspective,” in *The Antiquities Act: A Century of American Archaeology, Historic Preservation, and Nature Conservation*, ed. David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2006), 192.
133. Watkins, 196.

Chapter Nine: Archaeology's Lamentation – Lands Native peoples could not possibly protect themselves

In October 1972, U.S. Congress enacted a law providing for the establishment of Hohokam Pima National Monument on the Gila River Indian Community. Additionally, this act appropriated "$135,000 for the acquisition of lands" and an additional "$1,781,000 for the development of the monument."[1] Although Hohokam Pima National Monument is, today, listed on several websites of the National Park Service, including one dedicated exclusively to it, the "monument" is not open to the public and never has been.[2] In 1887, under the provisions of the General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Act, the federal government established individual land ownership in the Reservation system, thus subdividing communities' landholdings. Over the course of several generations, the consequences of this act meant hundreds of different heirs owned various pieces of the proposed monument. Because turning the land within the designated boundaries over to the federal government would require unanimous agreement, the Department of the Interior has never officially established Hohokam Pima National Monument and likely never will.

At the conclusion of Chapter Three, briefly mentioned was a site known to archaeologists as "Snaketown." To the Akimel O'Odham people, it is called *Ska'kaik* ("many snakes"), also the name of the settlement built directly over the ancestral site in the late nineteenth century.[3] In October 1972, U.S. Congress proposed that the area surrounding *Ska'kaik* be designated as Hohokam Pima National Monument, but that name is also a misnomer. According to Emil Haury, the word "Hohokam" comes from Benjamin Hayes'

Scrapbooks of California Indians, in a section written by the unknown author John D. Walker on an unknown date. Walker described the Akimel O'Odham tradition of calling the peoples "'Hohokam,' ancients or extinct people."[4] Frank Russell's 1908 "The Pima Indians," contained within the *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, marked the first appearance of the name in scholarly literature. Russell described the term "Hokoham" as meaning "[t]hat which has Perished… used by the Pimas to designate the race that occupied the pueblos that are now rounded heaps of ruins in the Salt and Gila river valleys."[5] Haury described the term as generally understood to mean "those who have vanished" and noted that either way, it has served archaeologists well, aptly describing the location where several varieties of those eponymous vipers must have presented a regular danger.[6]

Ska'kaik does not boast any conspicuous ancestral architecture like what is found at Sivan Vahki, so it remained relatively undisturbed throughout the early twentieth century. The first excavations did not begin until 1934, when Gila Pueblo, led by Harold Gladwin and Emil Haury, undertook the first large-scale study. *Ska'kaik* was particularly intriguing to Gladwin, who was interested in learning about the development of Hohokam culture, as it was considered a pre-classic site and lay in the center of the greater cultural area.[7] This endeavor was Gila Pueblo's first major expedition. Gladwin and Haury's findings and conclusions, published in 1937, made "Snaketown" notable among archaeologists for two distinct reasons.[8] The first was the irrigation canals that drew water inland from the Gila River from as far as two miles away. The second feature, and arguably the more important, was its MesoAmerican style ballcourts which, among other features such as platform mounds, demonstrated affinities with the central valley of Mexico. These conclusions lead

archaeologists to reconsider the connection of the U.S. Southwest with Mexico, further solidified by the work of Di Peso in 1956, which he took to the consensus defying extreme in 1974 (see Chapter Ten).[9]

Gila Pueblo's initial hypothesis for the development of Snaketown indicated a regional culture first developed centered in that area beginning around 500 CE, but Gladwin, after the departure of Haury, revised his conclusions. In 1942 and again in 1948, Gladwin revised the chronology to coincide more closely with the arrival of external influences from Mexico beginning around 700 CE, brought about by what he suspected were newcomers from the south; Di Peso also took this supposition to extremes in 1974 (again, see Chapter Ten).[10] Haury disagreed with Gladwin's conclusions, though it would be sometime before his work at the Arizona State Museum would allow him to collect additional data.[11]

Haury finally returned in 1964 and 1965 to complete his follow-up study in what would be the final excavation at the site, publishing his comprehensive conclusions in 1976's *The Hohokam: Desert Farmers and Craftsmen*. Through the use of cultural associations and tree ring, archaeomagnetic, obsidian hydration, and radiocarbon dating (the last three of which were unavailable at the time of Gila Pueblo's original study), Haury arrived at a date (350-550 CE) equivalent to the original 1937 estimate.[12] Located on sovereign Native land, the Akimel O'Odham people ordered the site reburied after Haury's 1964-1965 follow-up excavation. The Akimel O'Odham people did this to protect what remained of the site, but another reason was to ensure that the spirits who rested there would remain undisturbed. Following the site's backfill, it has remained off-limits to the public since 1965.

Although U.S. Congress enacted a law establishing Hohokam Pima National Monument on October 21, 1972, it was never acted upon. The act described "Snaketown" as

"history written in the earth" and warned that unless action was taken, that history would be lost forever.[13] It proposed exchanging lands with the Akimel O'Odham people of equal value or purchasing land with an appropriation of $135,000 for acquisition, to be "held by the United States in trust" for the Gila River Indian Community Council.[14] In 1914, under the General Allotment Act, much of the land comprising the monument was apportioned to individual owners. Due to the Akimel O'Odham peoples' sensibilities about how they choose to honor their ancestral past, as well as internal political disagreements, the site became closely guarded, and the monument never came to fruition.

Although Hohokam Pima National Monument is, in 2022, listed on several websites of the National Park Service, including one dedicated exclusively to it, the "monument" is not open to the public and never has been. In 1887, under the provisions of the General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Act, the federal government established individual land ownership in the Reservation system, thus subdividing communities' landholdings. Over the course of several generations, one of the consequences of this act was that dozens of different heirs own various allotments of the proposed monument. Even though Congress provisioned Hohokam Pima National Monument and allotted funds, the federal government could never follow through with the monument's creation. The act stipulated that the monument "may be established by the Secretary when... a sufficient amount of land has been transferred to constitute an efficiently administrable unit."[15] Although Congress passed this law independently of the 1906 Antiquities Act (which only concerns proclamations by the President of the United States), it still required that the land be held in trust by the U.S. federal government, if even on behalf of individual Native communities.

Representatives of the community, including the Governor, were involved in the

initial planning process. Tribal Council resolutions were passed in support of some aspects of the creation of the National Historic Landmark and the National Monument. The ultimate reasons the Monument was never completed and opened to the public revolved around tribal concerns over transferring or exchanging tribal and allotted lands to the federal government. Those concerns could not be addressed in negotiations (which lasted into the mid-1980s), and hence the Monument was not developed and opened to the public.[16]

Since the law providing for the establishment of the Hohokam Pima National Monument did not include an expiration date, it could be viewed as a "pending" national monument. The Gila River Indian Community could agree to turn over land to the U.S. government at any time. However, that possibility it highly unlikely. Yet, the National Park Service represents it in their literature as if it were a bona fide national monument that is simply closed to the public. Until recently, the monument appeared on many published maps (and it still does on the older maps) and on mapping apps including Google maps. However, federal agencies acknowledge the monument is under the complete authority of The Gila River Indian Community.[17]

Archaeologists have maintained an interest in the Hohokam culture central to Akimel O'Odham lands; however, Akimel O'Odham guardianship interrupted work by David R. Wilcox, Thomas R. McGuire, and Charles Sternberg. After less than two months of fieldwork as part of a cultural resource survey in preparation for the monument on behalf of the National Park Service, in January 1981, Akimel O'Odham landowners raised objections, and the survey was abruptly terminated.[18] According to their report, the Akimel O'Odham "eagerly await the chance to raise the rents of their Anglo tenants, or insist that a national monument have the character they choose to give to it."[19] They continued,

> [T]he Hohokam-Pima National Monument would provide the public a greater opportunity to understand the history of the Hohokam and Pima occupations in the Sonoran desert and to reflect on the meanings that that human experience has for modern society…. Without the protection of the cultural resources that a national monument can bring, it appears likely that the resources will continue to be destroyed.[20]

Although their language would seem to indicate Wilcox, McGuire, and Sternberg's sincerity, the designation of parks and monuments has always been about protecting data and history to the exclusion of Native peoples' sovereignty and individual lives.

Introduction

When the federal government took over Mesa Verde, it had, in part, to do with the conviction that the sites located there had no connection to the modern-day Ute people who occupied those lands. Perhaps the federal government would have appropriated the land anyway, but archaeological "prehistory" served as a pretense for claiming those lands, namely: the cultural treasures on Ute land were from an entirely different people leaving the Ute with no claim to them. Using similar reasoning, the United States has argued for the return of Native reservation lands, previously negotiated by treaty, to the United States government for the protection and preservation of ancestral sites. In owning the lands, the federal government would also exert control over the cultural artifacts located in these locations and how the ancestral past is interpreted.

Ancestral sites are consequently diminished to "ruins" by the archaeologists who study them. Some that are part of the park system, such as several discussed in Chapter Six, were restored or reconstructed during the 1930s as a part of CCC and WPA projects.

Whether explicitly interpreted or not, these ancestral sites put forth narratives merely by being featured components of the park system, whereby they gain the public's attention. Although explicitly concerning museums, Svetlana Alpers makes an analogous point that underscores the temporal transformations ancestral sites undergo as they move through phases of their existence from dwellings and centers of culture, to abandoned sites, and then to "objects of visual interest" for alien peoples and nations.[21] Locations including Mesa Verde, Casa Grande, Bandelier—and quite nearly *Ska'kaik*—became attractions for visitors to the West who hoped to glimpse (or potentially take home) a piece of Western history. The "ruins" helped give EuroAmericans continuity in understanding the history of the landscape they had dispossessed from Native peoples. It was not a virgin landscape but rather a land with vast spectacular and mythical cities. At the turn of the twentieth century, although none of the bygone Native population centers in the Southwest rivaled the size of the largest U.S. metropolitans, the sometimes sprawling networks of settlements represented in the ancestral past captured the imagination of the public.[22] The imagined history tourists envisioned upon seeing these awe-inspiring remnants were influenced by many ideas, a leading source of which was the archaeological history presented to the public in those nationally administered and funded parks and monuments.

Guiding those public interpretations required local administering and access control physically at the sites. This prospect, unavoidably, required possession on the part of the federal government. Indeed, as demonstrated in Chapter Six, the identification of ancestral sites by archaeologists and bringing them under the umbrella of the Department of the Interior, Forest Services, and later National Park Service allowed for multipurpose and compatible efforts that reinforced each other's central purpose. First, and ostensibly, the

protection of ancestral sites was initiated to preserve the scientific data inherent in their continued survival as part of the landscape. Second, their inclusion in—or addition to what would later become—the National Park Service's portfolio of administered lands necessitated public access. And third, an extension of visitor entry, was the interpretation of those sites for the EuroAmerican public.

At Mesa Verde, for example, the federal government successfully compelled the Ute peoples to relinquish the lands on which, for example, the Cliff Palace was situated. However, the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act allowed Native groups to reassert their sovereignty, self-govern, and protect their holdings of reservation lands. This critical change meant that rather than simply expelling or slaughtering Native peoples from the landscape (as at Yosemite in the 1860s), capturing Native lands and excluding Native peoples from future occupation (as at Yellowstone in 1870s), or legally defrauding Native groups out of coveted lands (as at Mesa Verde in the 1910s), the federal government was required and expected to negotiate in good faith for any such future acquisitions. These negotiations, weakened by the absence of the strong-arm tactics prevalent in the preceding decades, were not always successful. As such, the desire for Native lands containing ancestral sites expressly for their protection, preservation, and interpretation went unsatiated at times, as it did at *Ska'kaik*. In each instance, the federal government insisted that Native groups were incapable of adequately caring for or fully realizing the cultural resource value of these coveted lands.

Unlike previous chapters, this one will attempt to decentralize archaeology in a manner that returns the focus to Native peoples, sites, and communities. Native peoples, their lands, and stories are central to understanding how, at various times, archaeologists and the federal government's attempts to control Native landscapes were met with failure. In each of

the three instances examined below, Native peoples retained their rights and ownership and continue to do so to the present day. Rather than putting forth specific arguments, this chapter acts a celebration of Native autonomy related to their peoples' histories. The degrees to which the Tewa, Zuni, and Diné's autonomous utilization of Puye, *Hawikkuh*, and *Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii* align with that of the federal government's vision seems at most minimal, and at best, antithetical. Nevertheless, these Native ancestral sites continue to enjoy protection, preservation, and prosperity without the intrusive intervention of the National Park Service or the federal government.

Puye Cliff Dwellings

On the evening of May 19th, 1888, Adolf Bandelier wrote in his journal, "[t]he people here claim positively that the caves of the Puyé, etc., and all the Pueblos around them were inhabited by the Santa Claras."[23] Although Bandelier's subscription to this idea seems ambiguous at best, his final report, published four years later, is much more definite, referring to "the caves of the Pu-yé" in relation to the Santa Clara people as having been "made and occupied by their ancestors."[24] To Bandelier, the ancestral past of the Santa Clara Pueblo (*Kha'p'oe Ówîngeh*, in the Tewa language) was connected to Puye indisputably. Edgar Lew Hewett had spent time in the region in the final years of the 1800s and developed an interest in the region's history; however, he viewed the association of Puye with Kha'p'oe Ówîngeh as an uncertain one. Nevertheless, He was instrumental in the earliest efforts to establish a national park in the Pajarito Plateau area, including the Puye ancestral site.

In July 1900, the General Land Office withdrew portions of the Pajarito Plateau from

land claims, as they had previously at Casa Grande and Goodman Point, in order to protect the extensive systems of cliff dwellings that existed in the region. According to historian Thomas L. Altherr, Hewett almost immediately wrote the General Land Office Commissioner Binger Hermann warning of the looting and vandalism that was likely to occur and volunteered to draft a proposal for the creation of a national park in the region.[25] Hewett's recommendation was passed along to Congressman John Lacey, who introduced the proposal to the house floor in January of the following year. But in 1901, Hewett turned sour on the plan.

Lacey's proposal suggested "Cliff Dwellers National Park" as the name for the new establishment, and Hewett strongly opposed the name. Instead, Hewett favored Pajarito National Park as it was more specific to the region; cliff dwellings were relatively common throughout the Southwest. Furthermore, his interest was in seeing the ancestral sites protected from vandalism and looting and did not care, initially, about drawing an audience into the region. In spite of these objections, the proposal moved forward. Others, including federal agencies like the Bureau of Forestry and the local pueblo, Kha'p'oe Ówîngeh, voiced protests. The Tewa people were seriously concerned about how a national park and an influx of visitors would disturb their burial sites.

As momentum on the proposal slowed, Hewett again began to back the effort, resilient in his concern over preserving the archaeological remains for scientific study. In 1904, in a report to the Commissioner of the Land Office, he observed that "Vandalism has greatly diminished among these ruins," Puye among them, "since the park has been under withdrawal," as taken up by the General Land Office several years before.[26] He viewed the minimal amount of protection afforded the sites through their reservation as showing promise

for their protection as a national park. By the beginning of 1905, approval of the park seemed all but certain. But on July 29, 1905, President Roosevelt signed an executive order returning 33,000 acres of land to Kha'p'oe Ówîngeh, including Puye. Hewett called the site "the principal center of interest in the proposed Pajarito National Park."[27] It was with no small amount of regret that Hewett lamented the return of Puye to Kha'p'oe Ówîngeh; returned to the ancestral site's rightful descendants, it seemed unlikely that Puye would be part of any future proposals.

In 1907, during his first year as Director for the School of American Archaeology, Hewett organized a field school held that summer at Puye. In order to make a showing of the new organization's first outing, he proposed to make Puye a "show- ruin" that would both highlight the archaeological wonders of the area as well as the new school.[28] The first year, in retrospect, turned out to be quite a prodigious one, on account of two of the students being Alfred Vincent Kidder and Sylvanus Morley. Leaders of Kha'p'oe Ówîngeh viewed the government's return of Puye as a victory yet feared for the future seizure of their lands, and the field school was seen as an attempt to reassert federal control over their revered ancestral site. According to the diary of Sylvanus Morley, problems arose on just the fourth day of the field school. On August 22, 1907, he wrote, "a delegation of Indians from Santa Clara, composed of the Governor, the Principale, and the Cacique head and another Indian, escorted by Mr. McGibbon, the Indian police. They were looking for Hewett to protest against our digging on their land."[29] Morley did not make the precise nature of their objections clear, nor how Hewett responded, but he did note the following evening, "Hewett told us of the result of his pow-wow with the Santa Clara delegation. He patched it up all right as he always does."[30] With the Tewa's concerns over the security of their lands rights assuaged, Hewett

continued to hold field schools at Puye over the next several years.

In 1914, The Sante Fe Chamber of Commerce and the *Santa Fe New Mexican* began publicly pushing for a national park. New Mexico's recent statehood and Santa Fe's beginning transformation into the quintessential Southwestern destination fueled this enthusiasm. By then, Hewett had become thoroughly entrenched in local politics in addition to being the resident archaeological expert. He found an unlikely ally in a one-time rival, William Boone Douglass, who had been instrumental in protecting Navajo National Monument. Together, they shared a common goal of seeing the sites protected for their scientific value. Although their efforts were unsuccessful, one key difference between 1914 and the efforts a decade earlier was the perspective that "Indians grouped around the Park add greatly to its value."[31]

When U.S. Congress established the National Park Service in 1916, the potential for a national park centered in the Parajito Plateau came up yet again. Zion and the Grand Canyon, previously two national monuments, were quickly approved for national park status. Beginning in 1919, the expansion of Bandelier National Monument and its designation as a national park became a tangible possibility. Jesse Nusbaum, superintendent of Mesa Verde National Park, traveled to Albuquerque in 1925 to hold a public meeting on the proposal—revised since 1914 to apply the name Cliff Cities National Park—which enjoyed broad support. The Santa Fe public meeting, held the following evening with Hewett as chair, won similar praise, but representative of the Forest Service objected to the boundaries on the grounds it would deny local residents of vast tracts of forestland. In addition to encroaching on Santa Fe National forest, the boundaries, as Nusbaum envisioned them, would require the reappropriation of Puye from Kha'p'oe Ówîngeh.[32]

With neither the Forest Service nor the Park Service willing to make accommodations, NPS Associate Director Arno B. Cammerer recruited Frank Pinkley, Superintendent of Southwestern Monuments, to complete a full report. When Pinkley delivered his findings in May 1927, they were not was the Park Service had expected. In Pinkley's view, the Pajarito area simply was not up to the same standard as Yosemite or Yellowstone in terms of scenic beauty. Furthermore, if protecting archaeological sites was the primary goal, as Nusbaum has previously argued, Pinkley felt monument status better served that goal.[33] After hanging in limbo several more years after Pinkley's report, the National Park Service dropped the proposal and instead negotiated with the Forest Service to transfer control of Bandelier National Monument to the Department of the Interior in 1931, a change that would have resulted anyway during the 1933 reorganization.

In the middle of the 1920s, Santa Clara started to become a popular stop on Fred Harvey's "Indian Detours" that traversed the Pueblos. (See Figure 9.1.) The Tewa people's distinguished black pottery because a particular draw for tourists. In 1931, the construction of a Harvey House at the base of the Puye cliff dwellings (which would later serve as the Puye Visitor Center and Museum) provided amenities for visitors. In a 1926 brochure for their Packard "Eight" Harveycars, the company described the experience as:

> Between these points, by the Indian-detour, lie unforgetable [*sic*] days in a new-old land far from the beaten path—days of leisurely comfort spent in visiting the ancient Indian pueblos and prehistoric cliff-dwellings of the New Mexico Rockies, the old Spanish capital of Santa Fe, the inhabited Indian pueblos of Tesuque, Santa Clara, San Juan, Santo Domingo and other places in the great valley of the upper Rio Grande, as well as the huge communal ruins of Puye—a cliff pueblo twenty centuries old.[34]

When the Harvey Company ceased these tours during the 1940s, the Santa Clara Pueblo continued to manage irregular influxes of tourists with their own Native guides. All the while

the Fred Harvey Company was bringing visitors in the Southwest to this little-known part of north-central New Mexico, in Washington, D.C., plans for adding Puye to the Park Service's portfolio remained underway.

Despite the third failure at establishing a park on the Pajarito Plateau, National Park Service Director Stephen Mather stayed focused on acquiring Puye. After consulting with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and learning that the site was in poor condition and in need of repairs and stabilization, Mather placed Associate Director Arthur E. Demaray in charge of facilitating the creation of Puye National Monument. With the promise that the Tewa people of Kha'p'oe Ówîngeh would be allowed to collect entry fees for the site, the National Park Service would ensure the safety and preservation of the "ruins." Again, Nusbaum aided in the effort. He met with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Charles S. Rhoades, and together they drafted a proposal for the federal government to assume control and administration of Puye. However, in February 1932, the Pueblo voted unanimously against turning Puye over to the National Park Service, resulting in Rhoades withdrawing the Bureau of Indian Affairs's support. After over three decades, the attempts to see Puye placed under the federal government's protection finally came to an end.[35]

Despite the National Park Service belief that it was up to them to preserve and protect the Puye cliff dwellings, the Tewa people of Kha'p'oe Ówîngeh have mainly managed on their own. Into the twenty-first century, the Puye Cliff dwellings continued to be a vibrant part of the Santa Clara Pueblo and its people. In contrast to its designation and inclusion as a national park, the Santa Clara people interpret the Puye ancestral site, its artifacts, their past, and culture on their own terms.

Today, they make up the Puye Cliff Dwellings Tribal Park, having been successfully

administered since that time. Unlike other monuments and museums and ancestral sites in the U.S. Southwest, the history presented at these sites was and remains a Native-centric one reflecting Pueblo peoples' values and worldviews. What Hewett, Nusbaum, and others would have seen absorbed into the national park system is instead a thriving exemplar of how Native peoples can effectively represent their own cultural histories in terms meaningful to their values and worldview.

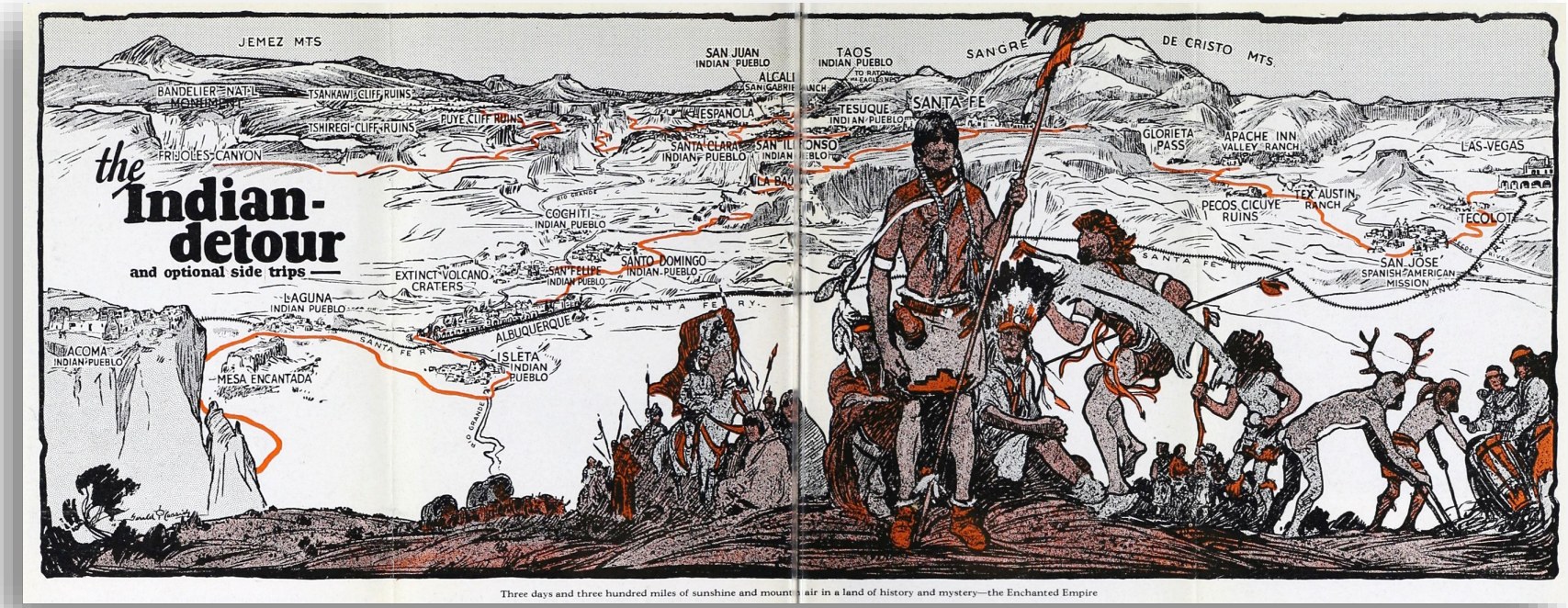


Figure 9.1. The caption in this four-page spread read, “Three days and three hundred miles of sunshine and mountain air in a land of history and mystery—the Enchanted Empire.” Santa Clara appears in the top-center of the image. (*Indian Detour - The Harvey Company* [Chicago, IL: Rand McNally & Co., 1926], 31-34.)

Zuni-Cibola

In 1540, as described at the beginning of Chapter One, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, led by Fray Marcos de Niza, crossed into what would become the modern-day U.S.-Mexico border and entered the "Southwest" in search of the "City of Cibola." Niza's account from the previous year that he had glimpsed a "city made of gold" encouraged Viceroy Mendoza to send the first well-outfitted Spanish expedition northward. The *A:shiwi* village *Hawikkuh* was the first city north of the modern U.S.-Mexico border encountered by the expedition.[36] The famed "Seven Cities of Cibola" was comprised of modest A:shiwi farming villages. Following a skirmish that forced most of the A:shiwi to flee to nearby *Dowa Yalanne*, Coronado and his used men remained in Hawikku and used the village as their headquarters to continue exploring the immediate area.[37] After four months, Coronado and his men moved on from Hawikkuh and traveled as far as present-day Kansas, ever searching for elusive signs of wealth, but there was no gold to be found.[38]

Hawikkuh, *Halona Idiwan'a* (the Pueblo of Zuni), and the A:shiwi people remain central to the still-evolving story of European (and EuroAmerican) colonization, exploration, and exploitation in the U.S. Southwest. The Spanish eventually laid the village of Hawikku to ruin during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, and it remained abandoned and relatively undisturbed for nearly 250 years. Frank Hamilton Cushing, discussed in Chapters One and Four, was responsible for bringing the "Zuñi" people and Hawikku to the attention and interest of anthropologists, archaeologists, and the broader public. His five-year stay among the A:shiwi people observing and recording details of their society and culture established the foundational ethnographic corpus upon which all later ethnological and archaeological

studies of the A:shiwi would be undertaken, including those by Matilda Coxe Stevenson and Stewart Culin. While Cushing is heralded as a pioneer in the discipline of archaeology, the A:shiwi people felt betrayed by his revelation of sacred A:shiwi stories, beliefs, and customs to the broader world.

Two years after Cushing completed his five-year stay with the A:shiwi, Mary Tileston Hemenway hired him to lead the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition. In addition to Cushing, the expedition included writer Sylvester Baxter, Adolph Bandelier, and, later, Jesse Walter Fewkes, who took over as the expedition's director in 1889 upon the departure of Cushing. In addition, John Wesley Powell of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology assigned a secretary, Frederick Webb Hodge, to join Cushing. Having learned of Cushing's work with the A:shiwi people, the twenty-two-year-old Hodge "jumped with joy" at the opportunity which would begin a nearly seventy-year archaeology career.[39]

Hodge's first-hand experience on the Hemenway expedition encouraged his return to Halona Idiwan'a for a more in-depth study than time allowed, in addition to contributing to his reputation as an archaeologist. He was named the editor of *American Anthropologist* in 1903 and in 1910 was promoted to Ethnologist-in-charge of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Around that time, he caught the attention of George Gustav Heye. Although it would be several more years before Heye opened the Museum of the American Indian, his planning had already begun, and he was looking to recruit Hodge to New York. Along with George Pepper, Hodge, and Heye—along with his new wife Thea, on their honeymoon—undertook excavation work on in the summer of 1915 as a joint expedition of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and the Bureau of American Ethnology of the

Smithsonian Institution.[40] During the summer, Heye and Hodge discussed working together further. When Hodge brought up the possibility of excavating Hawikku, Heye was immediately interested. Heye shared the idea with close friend Harmon Hendricks, a member of the Museum of the American Indian board, and together they agreed Hawikku sounded like an ideal expedition.

In November 1915, Stephen Mather, then Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, wrote to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Charles D. Walcott, granting permission to the Bureau of Ethnology and the Museum of the American Indian under the supervision of Hodge to excavate at Hawikku. The permit specified permission for the expedition "to conduct archaeological excavations in and to gather collections from the historic pueblo ruin of Hawikuh, about one mile northwest of the summer village of Ojo Caliente belonging to the Zuni Indians, the said ruin believed to lie within the limits of the southwestern boundary of the Zuni Indian Reservation."[41] Mather's ambiguity as to the geographical position of Hawikku demonstrated that the A:shiwi themselves were not consulted prior to the Secretary of the Interior, who held sole legal authority over such requests, granting this permit.

Starting June 1917, Frederick Hodge began leading the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition's excavations of Hawikku under the joint auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution and the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. They employed a crew of A:shiwi workers, thirty-nine in total over the course of the project, and started digging. When asked about his "Zuni workers" during a tape-recorded oral history interview in April 1956, the ninety-one-year-old Hodge told Corinne Gilo of the Regional Cultural History Project,

> [T]hey did very careful work. There was one old man, named Guyalito, he must have been 75 who objected at first to the excavations, didn't want to run across the bones of their ancestors. He was a little ugly about it. But he evidently got over it, because within a week he came over, picked a set of tools for excavating, and if you please, without leave or license, he went over to the other end to dig![42]

Much like the Native workers employed at Tuzigoot, described in Chapter Six, many A:shiwi men had found it challenging to locate steady work. Facing basic needs insecurity, Hodge's A:shiwi workers had few other choices than to continue.

In February 1918, Hodge resigned from the Bureau of American Ethnology and accepted a permanent position with the Museum of the American Indian, where he could devote more time to Hawikku. Aside from a halitus in 1922, Hodge continued work at Hawikku until 1923. (See Figure 9.2) All of the recovered artifacts and human remains, crate after crate, were shipped back to New York or Washing D.C. for display, study, and storage at the Museum of the American Indian and Smithsonian National Museum.



Figure 9.2. On the steps believed to be the entrance to Hawikku. STANDING, CENTER: George Gustav Heye. SITTING, CENTER-LEFT: Frederick Webb Hodge. TOP-CENTER: Harmon W. Hendricks. (1918 Catalog Number: P11804 https://flic.kr/p/7g9EPb)

By 1933, ten years following the end of the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition, Hodge still had not published his report. In its place, he published a dozen smaller pieces on specific aspects of Hawikku (e.g., "Circular Kivas" [1923]), descriptions of the excavation work (e.g. "Excavations at Kechipauan" [1924]), and his interpretation of Spanish colonial history (e.g., "The Six Cities of Cibola" [1926]). His most substantial publication at ninety pages, "Hawikuh Bonework," was essentially a picture book, showing images and succinct descriptions. Although Hodge had extensive experience as an editor and had read the site reports of many other archaeologists, Hawikku was the first excavation he directed and was the first site report he was responsible for writing himself. After five years of excavations, Hodge's findings and conclusions were eagerly anticipated.

When Hodge published "Volume 1" of his report fourteen years after the conclusion of excavations, it must have seemed like a joke. Archaeologist Neil Judd reviewed *History of Hawikuh, New Mexico: One of the So-Called Cities of Cibola* for the January 1938 issue of *American Antiquity* and observed, "we have here a reexamination of 16th and 17th century Spanish documents. . . . The pre-Spanish phase, or prehistory of the pueblo, as revealed by the author's excavations of 1917-1923, is reserved for the future. . . . Let us hope the volumes next to follow will present the prehistory of Hawikuh, a subject all students of Southwestern archaeology have awaited with mounting interest."[43] Hodge never wrote Volume Two.

A decade after Hodge's death, with permission and use of Hodge's data, Watson Smith, Richard B. Woodbury, and Nathalie F. S. Woodbury's published *Report of the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition*. The report was meticulously detailed, as archaeologists had anticipated back in 1937. Regarding Hodge's inaction, without providing any details, the authors stated ambiguously, "due to factors beyond his personal control, the complete report

on the general archaeology of the site never was written."[44]

Since Hodge did not publish his results, what could have possibly brought him to Zuni in the first place if not the science—aside from the thrill of "discovery," the renown of having excavated one of the "Seven Cities of Cibola" and the location of the first battle in the ongoing 350-year war of conquest between European and Americans, and adding to the already tremendous size of the collection belonging to his new, fabulously wealthy, boss, George Heye?[45] After exhuming and extirpating about 1,000 Zuni graves, completely clearing nearly 400 rooms of Zuni artifacts, and recovering at least "l,600 entire or restorable pottery vessels," Hodge was barely able to muster a hundred or so pages on his findings over the remaining thirty-three years of his life. His fifteen miscellaneous Hawikku publications (excluding "Hawikuh Bonework") averaged less than ten pages each, inclusive of pictures. One could wonder why Walter W. Taylor did not pillory Hodge along with James B. Griffin, Alfred V. Kidder, Emil Haury, William Ritchie, Frank H.H. Roberts Jr., and William S. Webb in his 1948 *A Study of Archeology*; however, the reason was likely Hodge's irrelevance, or that Hodge was simply too soft of a target.

The artifacts and human remains that the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition recovered remained in the Heye Foundation Museum of the American Indian decades after the death of both Hodge and Heye. In 1989, the collection was transferred to the Smithsonian and moved from New York to Washington. The Heye Collection, nearly a million objects, made up the bulk of the National Museum of the American Indian, which opened in 2004. The artifacts taken from Hawikku, as well as the exhumed human remains, continue to be held in Washington.

In 1969, a collaboration between local, state, and federal agencies, and the Pueblo of

Zuni completed the Zuni Comprehensive Development Plan with three primary goals: raising income to a level comparable with the American average, increasing educational opportunities, and improving living conditions. The proposal included the creation of the Zuni-Cibola National Cultural Park, a new national park that would feature the cultural heritage of Halona Idiwan'a, as well as the A:shiwi people themselves. In the "Master Plan" of the 1977 park proposal, the National Park Service viewed its three primary responsibilities of implementing the project as: "direct management of nationally significant historic and archeological sites," "consultation with the Zuni authorities concerning the preservation of the historic character of the inhabited villages and development of recreation resources," and "training for members of the Zuni community in interpretation and park management."[46] Combined, these three provisions gave the National Park Service extensive control over the proposed Zuni-Cibola National Cultural Park and what visitors would experience there.

The master plan outlined primary themes, preservation, and interpretation expressly to solicit feedback and comments on its included proposals. Among the interpretative themes were various aspects of A:shiwi history, neatly delimited into periods, the A:shiwi approach to the environment and managing natural resources, and Spanish exploration and mission system, "without memorializing the Spaniards' achievements or condemning their excesses."[47] The proposal also called for the preservation of cultural resources. This aspect entailed the excavation and stabilization of selected sites. When Hodge completed fieldwork in 1923, the Hawikku site was backfilled and covered over in an attempt to protect architectural features that had not been destroyed during excavation and cultural artifacts that had accidentally been missed during collection. The Park Service also recommended the restoration and maintenance of Halona Idiwan'a in order to "maintain the historic

character."[48] Lastly, the plan outlined special conditions for the village of Ojo Caliente.

Following the Spanish reconquest in 1692, the A:shiwi people established themselves in Halona Idiwan'a, consolidating into a single village. In the late nineteenth century, they established a few outlying seasonal villages exclusively used for farming where canyon-fed springs supplied ample water for crops. Among those was Ojo Caliente, located a little over two miles south-southeast of Hawikku near the A:shiwi sacred springs. The National Park Service's 1977 called for the maintenance of "Ojo Caliente as a late 19th-century farming village."[49] The reason for this decision was a simple one. The village would allow visitors to glimpse into the past to see traditional A:shiwi life. Its location, too, was ideal. Not only was it near the reservoir that would be developed for watersports recreation, but a natural overlook would also provide visitors with a view of the village without a bunch of tourists interrupting A:shiwi village life, "while maintaining the desired privacy and integrity of the village."[50] (See Figure 9.3.) Nevertheless, the key element was ensuring that Ojo Caliente would characterize traditional late-1700s appearances, leaving the A:shiwi locked into the past while gawking EuroAmerican visitors confirmed their notions about Native peoples as static, unchanging, and from a time forgotten. The A:shiwi of Ojo Caliente would be subjects contained within an ageless living museum.

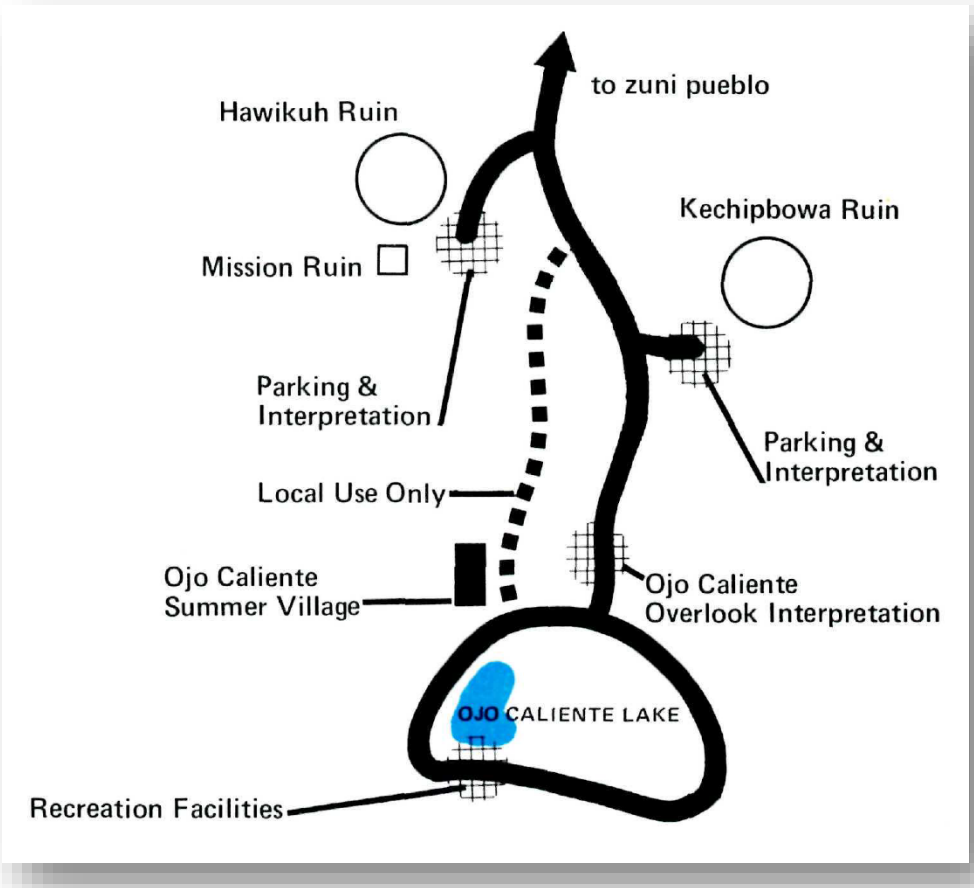


Figure 9.3: "Proposed Ultimate Plan B" P. 33 Master Plan 1977

In 1988, with many of the details between the U.S. federal government and the A:shiwi Tribal Council agreed upon, legislating the park was the next step. New Mexico Representative Bill Richardson and Arizona Representative Morris Udall co-sponsored a bill to create Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park. On October 31st, 1988, the law passed. Like the proposed Hohokam Pima National Monument, this law *authorized* the park's establishment but did not actually create it. The park's establishment would go into effect after the Secretary of the Interior secured a lease of no more than 800 acres of A:shiwi reservation land that required no payments or rents for a term of at least ninety-nine years.[51] Unlike the Hohokam-Pima Act, this one had an expiration date of only two years.

By early 1990, the Secretary of the Interior still had not secured the necessary lease agreements, and the park, established on paper, still had not been created. Fearing the exportation of the bill that represented nearly two decades of collaboration between the A:shiwi people and various agencies in the federal and state governments, in early April 1990, New Mexico Senators Jeff Bingaman and Pete Domenici introduced legislation that would extend the deadline and allow the Secretary of the Interior more time to give his staff to negotiate a mutually acceptable agreement.[52] Within a week, the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources requested a report from the Department of the Interior, and James M. Ridenour, Director of the National Park Service, appeared shortly thereafter to discuss the status of Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park. According to Ridenour, the National Park Service worked with the A:shiwi Tribal Council to establish an acceptable plan for management, interpretation, and park facilities. Nevertheless, he said,

> During the process of preparing preliminary documents for the operation of the park, various individuals in the Zuni Tribe became concerned about the details of the proposed leasehold agreement with the Federal Government. . . . As a result of concerns by some tribal members, Zuni Pueblo Governor Robert Lewis and the Tribal Council decided to have an election on the issue of establishing the park on the basis of the 1988 legislation. On January 30, 1988, the Zuni Tribe held an election on the park issue. The result of this election was that 863 Zuni voters cast votes against the park concept and 125 voted in favor of the leasehold and proceeding with the park. As a result of this election, actions by the National Park Service to proceed with operational agreements have been terminated.[53]

Although Ridenour added that the tribal governor believed a five-year amendment would provide the A:shiwi people to work through their differences and evaluation an acceptable plan of action, the bill died in committee a short time later.

According to anthropologist Alisa A. Mallari and tribal member James A. Enote, then-vice-president of the board of the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center, the

A:shiwi rejected the park because they grew concerned about how the park status and heavy influx of visitors would affect their religious activities.[54] When the National Park Service could not offer the A:shiwi assurance that their activities would be satisfactorily respected, in conjunction with the general A:shiwi public not feeling that the Tribal Council had adequately consulted with them, a staggering majority turned out to vote that the Park Service not be granted the necessary lease agreements. The original act authorizing the establishment of the Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park expired on October 31st, 1990, and another has never been introduced.

The National Park Service proposal would have placed extensive restrictions on A:shiwi life and their autonomy in managing the pueblo. Due to the influence of Cushing, Hodge, and others, the A:shiwi started to isolate themselves and developed specific rules that plied to visiting outsiders. Nevertheless, a large portion of their limited economy depended on tourism, hence their entertaining the park proposal in the first place. But the nature of the lease agreements and handover of interpretation and management of several key sites, excluding the main village of Halona Idiwan'a, which the A:shiwi forbade being part of the proposed park. In any event, the proposal, in its draft 1977 form, would have restricted their ability to follow pueblo rules that restricted photography in designated areas, regulated outsider observation of certain religious practices, and mandated that visitors be accompanied by a tribal guide when visiting certain cultural sites.[55] (See Figure 9.4.)



Figure 9.4. TOP-LEFT: sign in front of historic mission. BOTTOM-LEFT: sign on Pia Mesa Road, 50 m south of New Mexico State Road 53. RIGHT: sign at the intersection of Pia Mesa Road and Sunshine Street. (Photographs by Kenny Bowekaty. March 1, 2022.)

Unlike the architectural remains at Aztec, Chaco, Mesa Verde, and Tuzigoot, the A:shiwi site of Hawikku exists today as a barely recognizable pile of rubble. (See Figure 9.5.) After exhausting the site's archaeological resources, excavators backfilled it over to

preserve what little was left for future research. Perhaps surprisingly, despite the provisions of NAGPRA, the A:shiwi people have limited and conflicting interests in having Hawikku's cultural items and ancestral remains returned to them. From the A:shiwi perspective, once removed from tribal lands, there is no way of knowing or understanding what happened to those artifacts, preternaturally speaking, or what their return would mean to the land. In this sense, the effects of Cushing, Hodge, and Heye's outside influences continue to scar A:shiwi lives spiritually.



Figure 9.5. TOP: R. E. Twitchell, “Frederick Webb Hodge and the Excavations at Hawikuh,” *El Palacio* Vol. 11, no. 3 (August 1, 1921): 33. BOTTOM: Photograph by the author, August 30, 2021.

Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii

Few landscapes epitomize the mystique of the Southwest quite like *Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii*. The probable reason for this reality is its prominent place in popular culture, with a history spanning a century. Over fifty motion pictures, numerous television shows, music videos, and television commercials have been filmed in its valley. The first, a silent film directed by George B. Seitz and distributed by Paramount Pictures in 1925, *The Vanishing American*, was comprised of a narrative depicting the slow loss of traditional Native lifeways, as the title hints. Several Westerns were comprised of a considerable number of scenes filmed in the park; the most notable among these early films were *Stagecoach* (1939), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), and *The Searchers* (1956), all directed by John Ford and starring John Wayne. Ford filmed countless scenes in the park within individual movies, mostly from different vantage points and angles, providing viewers with ever so slightly distinct vantage points and backdrops. In *The Searchers*, during a five-year search for his niece, the scenes containing the buttes and mesas of *Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii* were a ubiquitous setting for Ethan Edwards's character, played by Wayne.[56] While Edwards fictionally covered some hundreds of miles, Wayne, on the other hand, covered an area of just five square miles.

To unwitting viewers, it is not difficult to imagine how the West might be imagined after seeing dozens of movies filmed similarly to these. For Westerns, the valley was a particularly appealing filming location, especially due to Ford's earlier influence, as the rock formations provided a sense of authenticity, as viewers developed expectations of how, precisely, the West *ought* to look. (see Figure 9.6.) Other prominent films from the Western

genre that were filmed on-location in the valley included *Kit Carson* (1940), *Laramie* (1949), *How The West Was Won* (1962), *Once Upon a Time in the West* (1968), and *The Lone Ranger* (2013).



Figure 9.6: *Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii* facing east from John Wayne Point. Photograph by the author. September 4, 2021.

However, a far more regular usage of the landscape, more commonly known as Monument Valley Tribal Park (or simply, Monument Valley) were by the many other non-Western films that took advantage of the scenery, including: *Easy Rider* (1969), *National Lampoon's Vacation* (1983), *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989), *Back to the Future, Part III* (1990), *Thelma & Louise* (1991), *Forrest Gump* (1994), *Mission: Impossible 2* (2000), *Fantastic Beasts and Where to Find Them* (2016), and *Jurassic World: Fallen Kingdom* (2018). The small screen took advantage of Monument Valley's picturesque surroundings, too. Episodes of "MacGyver" (1986), "Doctor Who" (2011), "Westworld" (2016), and "The Man in the High Castle" (2018) were filmed there, as were television commercials for Jeep, Marlboro, and Levi's. Fictional representations, created in various mediums, also feature modified yet recognizable representations of the valley floor and rising

buttes, such as in the animated features *An American Tail: Fievel Goes West* (1991), *Cars* (2006), and *The Lego Movie* (2014); video games *Grand Theft Auto: San Andreas* (2004), *MotorStorm* (2006), and *Red Dead Redemption* (2010); as well as being prominently employed as a familiar backdrop for the Warner Bros.' *Looney Tunes* and *Merrie Melodies'* duo Wile E. Coyote and the Road Runner. (See Figure 9.7.) In each of these examples, *Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii* served to set scenes in the quintessential West. Instantly recognizable, it served as a dramatic backdrop as well as a tacit indication to viewers precisely where the action was taking place. Indeed, film and pop culture critic Keith Phipps wrote of Monument Valley in 2009, "its five square miles have defined what decades of moviegoers think of when they imagine the American West."[57] Based on the valley's extensive film and television credits, it is not difficult to suppose why that is the case.



Figure 9.7: Wile E. Coyote (*carnivorous-vulgaris*) and the Road Runner (*accelerati-incredibilus*) in their second cartoon together; Chuck M. Jones, dir., "Beep, Beep," *Merrie Melodies* (Burbank, CA: Warner Bros., May 24, 1952).

With its iconic status and instant recognizability as a uniquely U.S. West landscape, *Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii* would have fit perfectly with other national parks known for their scenic beauty and splendor. Much like Yellowstone, Yosemite, or Zion, *Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii* offered visitors sprawling landscapes, scenic views, and unforgettable geological formations. *Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii*'s rise to prominence in the American zeitgeist began in the earlier part of the twentieth century before even reliable roads made access possible. In 1910, John and Louisa Wade Wetherill left their Monument Valley adjacent trading post in Oljeto, Utah, and moved south to Kayenta, Arizona, opening the valley for other Anglos to set up a trading post. When Harry Goulding and his wife, "Mike," arrived in 1925, they set about creating a post of their

own to trade with the local Paiute and Diné groups. The Gouldings' involvement and connection to the local people helped capture the allure of *Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii* for John Ford and, by extension, the rest of the nation. In 1937, Goulding heard over the radio that Hollywood producers were looking for a unique location to shoot an "Indian film."[58] With plenty of photographs already developed and in-hard, the Gouldings piled into the Buick and headed for California. By serendipitous happenstance, within minutes of arriving at United Artists' studios, Goulding was show pictures of the valley and its inhabitants to a location manager and, by the end of the afternoon, Ford himself, who seemed just as eager to learn about the Diné as he did the buttes and mittens. Ford, the film's location manager, and several others made the trip to the valley via Flagstaff to see it for themselves and afterward were committed to filming there only days later. The film was 1939's *Stagecoach.* (See Figure 9.8.) It was a tremendous box office and critical success, launching Wayne into mainstream stardom and making *Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii* into a mythical representation of the U.S. West and of the American frontier.



Figure 9.8: Ford filmed only a minority of *Stagecoach's* scenes at *Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii* and much of that was created with pre-recorded backdrops. However, several shots, including the one shown above, he filmed on-location. (John Ford, dir., *Stagecoach* (Hollywood, CA: United Artists, 1939.)

After the release of *Stagecoach*, interest in the valley gradually grew, aided by subsequent Ford pictures filmed there, including *My Darling Clementine* (1946), *Fort Apache* (1947), and *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), each employing the Gouldings as guides, outfitters, and hosts, and using the trading post as the films' headquarters while on location. As more and more visitors arrived, the Gouldings began expanding their business significantly. Beginning in 1949, they started offering visitors Jeep tours led by Diné guides,

and, in 1953, they opened Goulding's Lodge.[59] Coinciding with the Gouldings' increasing success, in 1958, the Diné established Monument Valley Tribal Park. Its establishment, however, was not due to the valley's rising fame but rather in response to the U.S. federal government's increasing pressure applied to hand over the land.

Even without John Ford's substantial influence, the scenic vistas at Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii would not have escaped much longer without the widespread attention of the U.S. public, a fact the National Park Service recognized seven years before the filmmaker had even heard of Monument Valley. The National Park Service's second director, Horace Albright, had lofty goals during leadership, and one of his administration's highest priorities was the continued expansion of park holdings. In 1930, plans were already underway at the Department of the Interior for what would be one of the largest and most ambitious parks to date, Navajo National Park.

Conceptualized to include the Diné people, as George Catlin had first suggested in 1842, the sprawling park would have incorporated the holdings of Navajo National Monument, Rainbow Bridge National Monument, Canyon de Chelly—proclaimed a National Monument in 1931 and the site of the last major battle between the U.S., led by Kit Carson, and the Diné before The Long Walk—and Monument Valley. Albright's only obstacles seemed to be gaining the support of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Charles Rhoades, and of the State of Arizona. As these plans were being made prior to the Indian New Deal, no consideration needed to be given to what the Diné people themselves may have wanted. However, Commissioner Rhoades was unconvinced.

Because of Diné control over the area, the Valley itself has rarely been the subject of archaeological studies. Given its massive size, the handful of studies that have taken place

failed to construct narratives about its pre-European past. Part of this had to do with the Diné control of the area itself and their disinterest. Unlike the previous sites discussed, Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii did not have a primer to take lands based on scientific and archaeological value. Instead, the inclusion of Navajo National Monument, Rainbow Bridge National Monument, and Canyon De Chelley, and the promise of archaeological sites at Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii helped provide the Park Service's rationale. Although Diné friends showed John and Louisa Wetherill several ancestral sites, not until 1938 did the Rainbow Bridge-Monument Valley Expedition explore the valley floor, and even then, they only performed a surface survey.[60]

Commissioner Rhoades's main contention was that the Diné needed additional land for grading and could not sustainably give any up for such a park. Nevertheless, Albright continued making proposals to implement a national park, and the Park Service's counsel, George A. Moskey, suggested a cooperative agreement like the one implemented at Canyon De Chelly. By 1933, the Navajo National Park looked as if it was a genuine possibility. However, in July of that year, the Navajo Tribal Council delayed voting on the agreement until autumn. The delay and hesitation made Park Service officials nervous, but they continued developing plans undeterred. As at Zuni-Cibola, the National Park Service proposal would have restricted how the Diné could use and develop the land. These restrictions would force them to maintain "traditional" lifeways within the park's confines and leave the Diné with limited control. So, in autumn 1933, the Navajo Tribal Council voted against Navajo National Park.

Conclusion

What is disconcerting about each of these three National Park Service proposals was that they featured Native peoples as part of the attraction. One could almost call it a zoo or a safari park. At Cliff Cities, Zuni-Cibola, and Navajo National Parks, Native peoples would have been one of the main attractions. Nevertheless, the National Park Service did create a park similar to these in a park similar to these, established in 1965. In contrast, however, this park comprises multiple smaller parcels of land, a so-called "string of pearls," purchased or received as donations from the state of Idaho, private landowners, and from the Nez Perce people.

Repeated persistent efforts by the National Park Service to acquire Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii led to the Diné Tribal Council, feeling pressured by the U.S. government, to declare it a Tribal Park in 1958 that the Navajo Tribal Council decided to proclaim it a National Park.[61] Perhaps if the Navajo were not desperately trying to protect and retain control of Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii, it would have never been turned into a Tribal Park in the first place as it still contains various peoples' homes. Still, Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii encapsulated everything about what the West was to the EuroAmerican people of the U.S., Native peoples, an extension of that landscape, captured that fictional West as well. Just as Deloria has argued about the Native peoples themselves, the buttes rising from the valley floor of Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii "represented images, emotions, and ideologies that signified Americanness."[62]

Possessing these Native landscapes would have helped the U.S. federal government more firmly establish its control on precisely what "Americanness" meant. Nevertheless, each remains a shining example of Native peoples maintaining and protecting control over

their lands' past, present, and future. It is impossible to know how much more of Akimel O'Odham, Tewa, A:shiwi, and Diné culture and history might have been lost, minimized, or erased if absolute control over their homelands was given away.

Notes

1. "An Act to provide for the establishment of the Hohokam Pima National Monument in the vicinity of the Snaketown archeological site, Arizona, and for other purposes. U.S. Congress," No. 92-525—October 21, 1972—74 Stat. 86.

2 "Arizona: Hohokam Pima National Monument," National Park Service – U.S. Department of the Interior, accessed February 25, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/hohokam.htm.

3 "Feature ID: 24621, Name: Snaketown," *United States Geological Survey*, entry date February 7, 1980, https://edits.nationalmap.gov/apps/gaz-domestic/public/summary/24621. David R. Wilcox, Thomas R. McGuire, and Charles Sternberg, *Snaketown Revisited: a Partial Cultural Resource Survey, Analysis of Site Structure and an Ethnohistoric Study of the Proposed Hohokam-Pima National Monument* (Tucson, AZ: Cultural Resource Management Division, Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, 1981), 1.

4. Quoted by Emil Haury with "permission of the Director, The Bancroft Library, University of California," in *The Hohokam, Desert Farmers and Craftsmen* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1976), 5.

5 Frank Russell "The Pima Indians," in *Twenty-Sixth Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1904-1905*, William Henry Holmes, ed. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1908), 24.

6. Haury, *The Hohokam*, 5.

7. Harold S. Gladwin, Emil W. Haury, E. B. Sayles, and Nora Gladwin, "Excavations at Snaketown: Material Culture," *Medallion Papers* 25 (1937): 6.

8. See Gladwin et al., "Excavations at Snaketown: Material Culture," and Harold S. Gladwin, "Excavations at Snaketown, II: Comparisons and Theories," *Medallion Papers* 26

(1937).

9. See Charles C. Di Peso, *The Upper Pima of San Cayetano Del Tumacacori : an Archaeohistorical Reconstruction of the Ootam of Pimeria Alta* (Dragoon, AZ: Amerind Foundation, 1956) and Charles Di Peso, *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca* Vol. 1-8 (Dragoon, AZ: The Amerind Foundation Inc., 1974).

10. See Harold S. Gladwin, "Excavations at Snaketown, III: Revisions," *Medallion Papers* 30 (1942), and Harold S. Gladwin, "Excavations at Snaketown, IV: Reviews and Conclusions," *Medallion Papers* 38 (1948).

11. Emil W. Haury, "Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation: A History and Some Personal Notes," *Kiva* 54, no. 1 (1988): 61-62.

12 . Haury, *The Hohokam*, 338.

13. "An Act to provide for the establishment of the Hohokam Pima National Monument," No. 92-525.

14. "An Act to provide for the establishment of the Hohokam Pima National Monument," No. 92-525.

15. "An Act to provide for the establishment of the Hohokam Pima National Monument," No. 92-525.

16. Kyle Woodson, Ph.D., Director of the Cultural Resource Management Program, Gila River Indian Community, personal communication.

17. Kyle Woodson, personal communication.

18. Wilcox, McGuire, and Sternberg, *Snaketown Revisited*, v-vi, 223.

19. Wilcox, McGuire, and Sternberg, *Snaketown Revisited*, 4.

20. Wilcox, McGuire, and Sternberg, *Snaketown Revisited*, 223-224.

21. Svetlana Alpers, "The Museum as a Way of Seeing," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 25.

22 In their halcyon days, certain Native cities and the "metropolitan" subcommunities, like Cahokia in southwestern Illinois, which peaked in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, had comparable populations to contemporaneous European cities of the time, Cologne, London, Paris, or Prague. Milner's 1997 estimate maximum puts Cahokia and

the surrounding American Bottom Mississippi floodplain at 50,000 (See George R. Milner, *The Cahokia Chiefdom: The Archaeology of a Mississippian Society* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998). This estimate would have exceeded any other city in the continental United States until Philadelphia surpassed that total in the late eighteenth century. Timothy R. Pauketat estimated 16,000 in 2003 for Cahokia alone is estimated at 16,000 in "Resettled Farmers and the Making of a Mississippian Polity," *American Antiquity* 68, no. 1 (2003): 48, 55. Nevertheless, these populations are modest compared to William Denevan's high estimate of Tenōchtitlan during the time of European arrival right around 1500 CE, which was 400,000, and, if correct, would have made it one of the world's five most populous cities at the time along with Beijing, Vijayanagar, Cairo, and Paris. However, these estimates are unavoidably a cause for debate. See David P. Henige, *Numbers from Nowhere: The American Indian Contact Population Debate* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); despite Henige's title, the numbers did not arise from "nowhere," and rather than making his own estimates, he demonstrated—sometimes better than others—that some data simply do not support making demographic estimates. These population sizes, in comparison, substantially eclipse the population estimates for even the largest settlements in the Southwest, such as at Chaco Canyon, which has been estimated as high as 5,500 or as low as 2,000. See Stephen H. Lekson, "Standing Architecture at Chaco Canyon and the Interpretation of Local and Regional Organization" and Thomas Windes, "A New Look at Population in Chaco Canyon" in *Recent Research on Chaco Prehistory*, ed. W. James Judge and John D. Schelberg (Albuquerque, NM: Division of Cultural Research, National Park Service, 1985)

23. Adolph F. Bandelier, Charles H. Lange and Carroll L. Riley, and Elizabeth M. Lange, *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier* Vol. 3 (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 261.

24. Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885 Part 2*, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, 3-4 (Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Institute of America, 1890), 7.

25. Thomas L. Altherr, "The Pajarito or Cliff Dwellers' National Park Proposal, 1900–1920," *New Mexico Historical Review* 60, no. 3 (1985), 276.

26. Edgar L. Hewett, *Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest and Their Preservation* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 5-6.

27. Edgar L. Hewett, "Anthropologic Miscellanea: Preservation of Antiquities," *American Anthropologist* 7, no. 3 (July - September 1905): 570.

28. James E. Snead, *Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archaeology* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 86.

29 Sylvanus Griswold Morley, "Vol. 3, part 1, Diary of Sylvanus Griswold Morley 1907-01-01 to 1907-09-30," Sylvanus Griswold Morley diaries, 1905-1947, Mss.B.M828 American Philosophical Society, https://diglib.amphilsoc.org/islandora/object/text:271751.

30. Sylvanus Griswold Morley "Vol. 3, part 1, Diary of Sylvanus Griswold Morley," "August 22--Thursday: The digging continued to-day. We succeeded in laying bare the whole north side. About 11 o'clock we were visited by a delegation of Indians from Santa Clara, composed of the Governor, the Principale, and the Cacique head and another Indian, escorted by Mr. McGibbon, the Indian police. They were looking for Hewett to protest against our digging on their land but they did not stay long. Hewett came up later with Miss du Bois and Mrs. Wood and stayed for dinner. In the afternoon I came across a room very rich in pottery. Kidder also uncovered two or three inverted bowls under which were some bones. He left it until to-morrow to take out. When we got back to camp we found Maj. Randolph there. August 23--Friday: A lemon of a day, archaeologically speaking. We uncovered the whole W. side of the building and found practically nothing. One of my rooms netted one broken k, one bird's call and for pot shards of a cooking pot. Hewett did not come up at all, having gone down to Espanola with Major Randolph. The only real interesting feature of the day was the first thing in the morning, when Kidder took out the skeleton that he had uncovered last night. This proved to be of a newborn babe or possibly a miscarriage. The skull fragments word like paper, scarcely any material matter. Tonight Hewett told us of the result of his pow-wow with the Santa Clara delegation. He patched it up all right as he always does."

31. Altherr, "The Pajarito or Cliff Dwellers' National Park Proposal," 287.

32. Hal Rothman, "Conflict on the Pajarito: Frank Pinkley, the Forest Service, and the Bandelier Controversy, 1925-32," *Journal of Forest History* (April 1985): 72.

33. Rothman, "Conflict on the Pajarito," 77.

34. *Indian Detour - The Harvey Company* (Chicago, IL: Rand McNally & Co., 1926), 5.

35. Hal Rothman, *Bandelier National Monument: An Administrative History* (Santa Fe, NM: Division of History, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, National Park Service, 1988), 44.

36. Bandelier came to this conclusion in 1890, calling the village "Hauicu," and it was a point regularly agreed upon, including by the Zuni people themselves. See A. F. Bandelier, *Contributions to the history of the south-western portion of the United States*, Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, American Series, 5 (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son, 1890), 166-174. A 2005 study found sixteenth-century Spanish artifacts through metal detection. See Jonathan E. Damp, *The Battle of Hawikku: Archaeological Investigations of the Zuni-Coronado Encounter at Hawikku, the Ensuing*

Battle, and the Aftermath during the Summer of 1540, Zuni Cultural Enterprise Research Series 13 (Zuni, NM: Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise, 2005), especially "Chapter 6: Results of the Metal Detection Survey," 26-69.

37. Clay Mathers, Dan Simplico, and Tom Kennedy, "'Everywhere They Told Us He Had Been There': Evidence of the Vásquez de Coronado Entrada at the Ancestral Zuni Pueblo of Kechiba:wa, New Mexico," *The Latest Word From 1540: People, Places, and Portrayals Of The Coronado Expedition*, ed. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2011), 266.

38. Richard Flint, "When East Was West: The Oriental Aim of the Coronado Expedition," in *The Latest Word From 1540*, 111-112.

39. Frederick Webb Hodge, tape-recorded interview by Corinne Gilb, April 2-26, 1969, 22-23, transcript, Regional Oral History Office, Regional Cultural History Project, University of California Library at Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.

40.George G. Heye, Frederick Webb Hodge, and George H. Pepper, *The Nacoochee Mound in Georgia*, Contributions From the Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation 4, no. 3 (New York, NY: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1918), 3.

41. Stephen T. Mather to Charles D. Walcott, November 17, 1915, Museum of the American Indian-Heye Foundation Records, box 194, folder 7, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Many source documents use the Anglo spelling "Hawikuh" instead of the A:shiwi spelling "Hawikku."

42. Hodge, oral history, 146-47.

43. Neil Judd, "History of Hawikuh, New Mexico: One of the So-Called Cities of Cibola," *American Antiquity* 3, no. 3 (January 1938): 286.

44. Frederick Webb Hodge, Watson Smith, Richard B. Woodbury, and Nathalie F. S Woodbury, *The Excavation of Hawikuh by Frederick Webb Hodge : Report of the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition, 1917-1923* (New York, NY: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1966), 4.

45. Hodge, oral history; Hodge explained his early fascination with Native peoples as "every boy is interested in Indians" (1), described "Hawikuh" as "this pet site of mine… which I had almost wept over years before when I first went down with the Hemenway expedition" (132), which upon seeing for the first time, he thought, "oh, wouldn't I like to dig in there" (132).

46. *Master Plan: Zuni-Cibola National Cultural Park, New Mexico* (Washington,

DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1977), 3.

47. *Master Plan: Zuni-Cibola*, 25.

48. *Master Plan: Zuni-Cibola*, 35-36.

49. *Master Plan: Zuni-Cibola*, 23.

50. *Master Plan: Zuni-Cibola*, 36.

51. "An Act To authorize the establishment of the Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park," No. 100-567—October 31, 1988—100 Stat. 2847.

52. "A Bill To amend the Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park Establishment Act of 1988 to enlarge the time in which the Secretary of the Interior may accept a leasehold interest for inclusion in the park," No. 101-323—April 5, 1990—101 SB 2430.

53."A Bill To amend the Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park Establishment Act of 1988 to enlarge the time in which the Secretary of the Interior may accept a leasehold interest for inclusion in the park," June 8 (Legislative Day, April 18), 1990, Ordered to Be Printed Mr. Johnston, from the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, (To Accompany SB 2430).

54. Alisa A. Mallari and James A. Enote, "Maintaining Control: Culture and Tourism in the Pueblo of Zuni, New Mexico," in *People and Tourism in Fragile Environments*, ed. Martin F. Price (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), 24-26.

55. "Discover Enchantment at Zuni Pueblo," Zuni Visitor Center, accessed March 26, 2022, http://zunitourism.com/downloads/ZuniBrochure.pdf.

56. Ford's films, his depictions of women and Native peoples, and his portrayals of frontier life have not survived without academic critiques. See Angela Aleiss, "A Race Divided: The Indian Westerns of John Ford," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 18, no. 3 (1994): 167–186; and *The Searchers: Essays and Reflections on John Ford's Classic Western*, ed. Arthur Eckstein and Peter Lehman (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2004).

57. Keith Phipps, "Monument Valley, Where Peter and Henry Fonda's Careers Intersected," *Slate*, November 17, 2009, https://slate.com/culture/2009/11/monument-valley-where-peter-and-henry-fonda-s-careers-intersected.html.

58. Samuel Moon, *Tall Sheep: Harry Goulding, Monument Valley Trader*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 144.

59. Aside from various campgrounds, Goulding's Lodge was the only site of overnight accommodations in the immediate area until The View Hotel opened in 2008.

60. Ralph L. Beals, George W. Brainerd, Watson Smith, John T. Hack, and Volney H. Jones, *Archaeological Studies in Northeast Arizona: a Report on the Archaeological Work of the Rainbow Bridge-Monument Valley Expedition* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1945), 6.

61. Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek, *American Indians & National Parks* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 213. It is also worth noting that in December 2016, the National Park Service gained control over the area in Southern Utah named *Tsé Bii' Tah Hoghni Tli Dalichee* (or more commonly "The Valley of Gods,"), popularly known as the "Miniature Monument Valley," when President Obama established Bears Ears National Monument through presidential proclamation in December 2016.

62. Philip Joseph Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 103.

Part Three

Gatekeeping and Negotiation at Archaeology's Boundaries

Chapter Ten: Charles Di Peso and the Gran Chichimeca

"I want out."[1]

Artist Don Perceval was livid. A job that was supposed to promise an opportunity to be part of a monumental report, not to mention an easy $5,000, had turned into a nightmare. He felt the berating he regularly received from his employer was unbelievable, and his blood pressure was paying the price. A week prior, he received a letter from The Amerind Foundation at his Santa Barbara home—where he lived less than a mile from Harold Gladwin in the upscale community of Montecito. It was July 1969, and the letter from Charles Di Peso "chewing [him] out for not understanding some pipe dream that [his] staff [had] cooked up" was the final straw. Perceval had all that he could take from this "damn foolishness." Until that point, he had diluted himself with the idea that, as the project illustrator, it was his duty—and in fact, professional responsibility—to point out the erroneous ideas with which he was presented to draw. He saw "no particular pleasure in this situation and it seem[ed] to be rapidly getting less pleasant."[2]

Since he was a child, Perceval was fascinated by the landscapes of the U.S. Southwest. Although he was born in Woodford, Essex County, England, his love for "Indian country" drew him to the states. After World War II, he moved to Southern California along with his wife and daughter and accepted a job first teaching at the Chouinard Institute of Art and later at Pomona College. His drawings and illustrations appeared in over fifty books, becoming an especially popular illustrator for the Los Angeles Westerners *Brand Book*. To capture inspiration for his drawings, Perceval spent extensive time among the peoples and landscapes of the Southwest, and the Hopi had adopted him as a member. Perceval took his

work seriously. What the Amerind Foundation's Charles Di Peso was proposing that he do felt unconscionable; and, when Perceval asked questions about his tasks, he felt resented.[3]

Perceval's main problem was that, in directing his drawings for the upcoming site report of Amerind's work at Paquimé, Di Peso and others were disregarding the facts. "In spite of your pontifical lecture about using 'the evidence on hand,'" Perceval wrote, "you completely disregard the only evidence you have: – the church building itself, and Bartlett's description." In attempting to make his drawings as accurate as possible, Perceval was zealous about consulting all available source material. When these conflicted with Amerind's directions, he frequently protested. Adamant, Perceval forcefully asserted at last, "I'm not about to fake up stuff that I don't believe in… although I have already done far more reading, studying, drawing, and traveling than anyone could buy for five grand, if you want your money back you can have it. Let the staff do the drawings for your book."

Of course, back in 1963, Perceval's attitude had been different. The project had seemed different. "Of course I am interested in the Casas Grades book," he wrote Di Peso that autumn. Di Peso wanted to hire Perceval as the project illustrator for his archaeological site report on the Casas Grandes region. However, Di Peso's laboratory work took longer than intended, and it was not until the beginning of 1967 that Perceval got to work on illustrations. He worked with Amerind and Di Peso from his home in California almost exclusively through correspondence, sending notes and sketches as they were completed, but their professional relationship quickly turned to petty quarreling. Rate of pay, speed of production, and volume of drawings were frequent topics of discussion and disagreement.

Perceval also frequently demurred the lack of supporting data he was provided to complete the drawings. Di Peso was enthusiastic about adding drawings of Native peoples to

the report. Partially, the report would be intended for a public audience, and he reasoned that figures would add a visual appeal to the medium. “It would be easy to draw fake Indians who had matted hair and wore a string of beads and a smile. This has been done too many times already. But our [Casas Grandes] people were much more complicated than that. If I am to attempt these reconstructions I will need more data.” He even went as far as to suggest that Di Peso scratch the idea of using figures in the illustrations at all.

> If you cannot give me a complete description of everything worn by the [Casas Grandes] people; and I am not allowed to find it out for myself except at my own expense, I suggest that we drop the idea of using figures, not only to decorate the book, but to demonstrate the functions of the artifacts. This will detract from the quality and usefulness of the book but may save you a few bucks and me a lot of headaches.[4]

Perceval was very clearly quite scrupulous about his work. Once he finally questioned the accuracy of what Di Peso was telling him, his exit from the project became imminent.

Early on, Di Peso had tried to exhibit editorial control over Perceval’s drawings, but he was ultimately unsuccessful. Likewise, Perceval, an artist-historian who was no stranger to the archaeology of the Southwest, challenged the rigor of the excavation, the dating, and the ethnographic analogy, in addition to Di Peso’s drawing directions. Perceval stated his position quite clearly in a letter from July 1969:

> As far as I can see from all you have said, there is no evidence of the second tower except in someone’s imagination. The fact that the wall is even thinner than I thought would further tend to confirm its nonexistence. I know of no mission anywhere where the padres goofed up so badly as to try to support a tower on 60 cm of Adobe wall. What did they use at Casas Grandes? Skyhooks?[5]

By the time this letter was written, it seemed that the relationship between Amerind and Perceval had utterly soured. In early 1970, Amerind accepted Perceval’s resignation. Nearly six years into the process of preparing its final Casas Grandes publication, Amerind lost its

illustrator.

Introduction

Charles Di Peso's eight-volume 1974 *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca* achieved legendary status among archaeologists for several reasons, not the least of which was the manner in which it was extravagantly illustrated. However, Di Peso and *Casas Grandes*'s utility is to help understand how archaeologists, isolated from the mainstream, can drift off-track. Part of what the institutional structures in place, such as conference proceedings and peer review, accomplish is to guard against the influx of bias and ensure methodologies, approaches, and theories align with the overall discipline's ethos. Nevertheless, that is not to say Charles Di Peso was a friend archaeologist. Di Peso was a founding member of the Society for Historical Archaeology and served as president for the Society for American Archaeology in the early 1970s. His work had been distinguished with the prestigious A.V. Kidder award by the American Anthropological Association in 1959. Nonetheless, he thoroughly enjoyed—some would even say relished—taking on the established ideas of these same societies.

Di Peso's career as an archaeologist consisted entirely of his thirty-four-year tenure at the Amerind Foundation. This privately funded career allowed him to focus full-time on archaeological fieldwork and research. Indeed, the direction of the foundation itself was shaped by Di Peso's interests. However, Amerind's location, geographically, was such that Di Peso's contact with other archaeologists and scholars was not as frequent as he may have liked. This sequestration, no doubt, contributed to his independent way of thinking.

The year 1952 was a watershed moment in Southwestern archaeology. After over fifty years of the region being raided by eastern institutions and archaeologists educated at those institutions, Arizona had finally realized the goal of granting doctorates in the discipline of archaeology in the Southwest, and Di Peso represented the new hope of archaeology in the region. Emil Haury, the preeminent southwestern archaeologist, mentored Di Peso. Haury had himself studied at Harvard and, at the University of Arizona, he headed both the archaeology Ph.D. program and the Arizona State Museum. Di Peso's Ph.D. and his subsequent decision to continue work in the Southwest were lauded by archaeologists in the region who were thrilled that a homegrown archaeologist would finally add his southwestern perspective to the discipline.

What Di Peso sought to demonstrate, essentially, was that migration came from Mesoamerica into a central location like Paquimé and ultimately into the southwestern United States. This perspective was the exact opposite of what Morgan and Bandelier believed but was what many other archaeologists had suspected for some time. In the end, Di Peso's ideas were rejected for multiple reasons. Archaeologists pointed out problems in his report related to the treatment of Ramos Polychrome type ceramics, tree ring dating techniques, and the strange concept of Putchtecas. These traveling merchants, Di Peso argued, journey from the Toltec capital spreading influence, religion, ball courts, and trade goods all through the Southwest. As far as the drawings of Native peoples, most archaeologists found them "amusing" or "delightful." However, to "Indianize" the Paquimé inhabitants for readers—who may not otherwise recognize them as Natives, he thought— Di Peso made characterizations that depicted them in the worst ways.

In contrast to previous sections of this dissertation, this chapter examines the work of

a single man. Charles Di Peso was undoubtedly a maverick, but he was also a man of vision and a man of shortsightedness. His magnum opus, *Casas Grandes*, was undoubtedly an archaeological site report unlike any that had produced before it and, arguably, distinct from any others since its release in 1974. The illustrations aside, the publication was a massive accomplishment. All told, its eight volumes contained over 3,600 pages, including five volumes dedicated entirely to the site data Di Peso recorded, something few archaeologists, before or since, have offered to the broader research community. At the same time, Di Peso helps understand how information flows between vetted repositories of archaeological knowledge, professional archaeology, gray literature, and the publics. In addition, it helps to further understand the manner in which gatekeeping occurs in the discipline, how new data is evaluated, and what occurs when conclusions and suppositions were at odds with mainstream disciplinary modes of thought. Lastly, Di Peso's illustrations provide an opportunity to explore the racial undertones prevalent in all archaeological study of the period, though by Di Peso's time, these tendencies were becoming more understated than his audacious and evident outlook.

In this chapter, I explore the Amerind Foundation, Charles Di Peso, and *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca.* I argue (1) Di Peso's approach to archaeology was singularly innovative and unique; (2) that his approach was also a dated one, relying on outmoded sources and theories; (3) combined, these two characteristics predictably led to the rejection of his conclusions from the broader archaeological community; and (4) one of the consequences of his misinterpretations was the over racialization of ancestral Chihuahuan peoples for an audience Di Peso assumed correctly were accustomed to unrealistic exaggerations and ludicrous distortions of Native peoples and

Native life.

A Study of Archeology

When Walter Taylor published *A Study of Archeology* in 1948, archaeology was grappling with a limited purview that had led to several critiques of the discipline.[6] In an attempt to combat the shortcomings he perceived in archaeology at the time, Taylor proposed the Conjunctive approach as a potential way to ameliorate what he viewed as the discipline's deficits. One of the critiques of Taylor's work—and there were many—was that he failed to demonstrate in any cohesive manner his own Conjunctive program. In fact, Taylor never employed the Conjunctive approach in any prior or subsequent archaeological research. Although Taylor compiled a report using the Conjunctive approach on a site in Coahuila, Mexico, he was never satisfied with it and did not publish it before his death. As a result, *A Study* evoked discussion and reevaluation within the discipline but made no clear improvements or modifications to the way archaeologists undertook research. Nevertheless, archaeologists Stephen Dyson, Brian Fagan, Jesse Jennings, Patty Jo Watson, and others have argued that Taylor was—to one degree or another—an evident influence on the emergence of the "New Archaeology," heralded by Lewis Binford in the early 1960s.

Archaeologist Jonathan Reyman, the last of Taylor's three Ph.D. students, argued that a demonstration of the Conjunctive approach would have helped to overcome much of the professional rancor which followed his 1948 publication.[7] While there are some archaeologists who successfully adopted the Conjunctive approach for the study of pre-European peoples (most notably in the Mayan area of central Mexico), Taylor failed to gain

any adherents, and his proposal for a new approach remained untested.[8] However, in 1974, archaeologists Robert Euler and James Spuhler heralded *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca*—an exhaustive archaeological publication based on excavations in northern Mexico by Charles C. Di Peso—as a clear demonstration of Taylor's Conjunctive principles. Although all eight volumes of Di Peso's approach and publication was certainly different, it was not conceived or written under the parasol of the Conjunctive school of archaeology. Furthermore, Di Peso's method and approach were not part of the New Archaeology, also called the Processual, that many--including this author--contend Taylor influenced or inspired. Instead, Di Peso's approach was exclusive and relied on an even older archaeological tradition than Taylor's. Comparing Taylor's *A Study* to Di Peso's *Casas Grandes* is worthwhile in that it demonstrates the malleability of the field of archaeology, as well as a case in which differing interpretations were made from a similar corpus of scholarship. Situating Taylor and Di Peso's definitive works within the history of archaeology, and relating them to one another, provides a greater understanding of how Americanist archaeology transformed itself during the second half of the twentieth century.

Although Taylor and Di Peso's respective approaches to understanding prehistory were altogether different, they shared a similarity in that each aspired to provide a more holistic view of the past in which finite details of culture could be recovered, analyzed, and interpreted. While neither had a particularly lucid plan for transformative changes capable of reshaping the discipline, in their own ways, they both labored under the awareness that archaeology had much more to learn about the past and much more to learn about itself as a discipline.

Walter Taylor's dilemma with archaeological theory did not develop out of thin air or

a vacuum. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, an increasing number of archaeologists had become frustrated with the state of the discipline and the lack of an enlightened approach to the analysis and interpretation of archaeological materials. Bruce Trigger argued that the large, labor-intensive, horizontal excavations carried out during the depression years of the 1930s helped to revive the interest of American archaeologists in viewing archaeological data from a functionalist perspective.[9] However, Taylor ignored much of the innovative fieldwork of that time and the accompanying movement toward a functionalist interpretation of archaeological data.

In the late 1930s, archaeologists noted that ethnology and archaeology were drifting apart from one another, a point brought to bear by Julian Steward and Frank Setzler in their 1938 article titled "Function and Configuration in Archaeology."[10]Their frequently cited critique noted tendencies in the discipline which minimized attention to culture while providing a dizzying amount of banal information about artifact types. Little consideration, they argued, was generally paid to the relationships between the culture and environment. Doing so, they stipulated, would provide an understanding of the relative importance of the kind of horticulture, fishing, or hunting and gathering practiced, thereby situating the culture to the natural landscape. "We believe also that treatment of archaeological objects would be more meaningful if they were regarded not simply as museum specimens but as tools employed by human beings in some pattern of behavior. This requires a deliberate effort to understand their functional place in the total configuration of activity."[11] These authors grew concerned that ignoring culture would ultimately lead to the discipline becoming obsolete, and they pressed archaeologists to reflect on their own work at that present moment. Bruce Trigger and Matthew Johnson have both noted the influence of Clyde Kluckhohn's (1940)

arguments towards a more scientific archaeology on Taylor's work. In some cases, Taylor's was simply a more specific and pointed critique of what Kluckhohn had already drawn attention to in the field. Indeed, Taylor recognized this fact by attributing parts of his own argument to Kluckhohn's "with minor modifications."[12] Kluckhohn advocated for a more scientific approach to archaeology, noting that "anthropologists generally have not quite kept on the forward march to the scientific frontiers."[13] He believed that embracing a scientific approach would provide the necessary framework for understanding human behavior and culture change. He posited that these aims were the primary goals of archaeology and ethnology. By 1943, John W. Bennett, too, recognized this tendency in the field and published "Recent Developments in the Functional Interpretation of Archaeological Data" in response to what he viewed as a growing trend towards a more nuanced and scientific view of archaeological data. He stressed the need to consider functional implications of the archaeological data as well as methodological implications for interpretation. He stated, "In the past interpretation was taken much for granted, since the obvious goals of the professional archaeologist were primarily historical, and it was considered that no other possible approach was methodologically feasible."[14] Bennett maintained that recent explanations and interpretations that replied upon cultural diffusion required a functional understanding of recipient cultures.

Unlike Taylor, the archaeologists who called attention to concerning trends in the discipline were already established archaeologists who had demonstrated rigor in the field. When Taylor published *A Study*, he did so with a newly minted Ph.D. and no immediate job prospects. The effect of this misstep was a clear indication that he should have followed Kluckhohn's suggestion to wait and publish it until after he secured an academic position.[15]

In the early 1940s, Walter Taylor was putting the finishing touches on his Ph.D. dissertation at Harvard with the help of a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship in the Humanities.[16] His doctoral research was initially focused on Coahuila, Mexico, but his advisor, Kluckhohn, suggested Taylor compose an "armchair thesis" that did not require the rigorous fieldwork and subsequent site analysis typical for the discipline.[17] Taylor received his Ph.D. in 1943; however, its publication would be delayed until 1948 due to WWII. This lapse allowed Taylor to include and critique more recent material.

Printed reviews for *A Study* were mixed. Robert Burgh's review of Taylor's book exposed what he repeatedly called fallacies and contradictions. Burgh's critique of the Conjunctive approach was especially trenchant, noting, "[T]he examples given by Taylor to persuade us that the Conjunctive approach will yield richer returns than any other approach, for the most part fail, by reason of invalid argument and insufficient evidence, to carry the intended conviction."[18] Conversely, a review by Glyn Daniel called it "welcome as a most distinguished, thoughtful, and thought-provoking study.... A very important book, which should be read carefully, and pondered over."[19] However, Richard Woodbury's appraisal of the book's reception five years after the initial publication provided a perhaps more realistic retrospective in stating:

> [I]t is in verbal, and more generally informal, comments that archaeologists have been most out-spoken concerning *A Study of Archaeology*, at it is my impression that such comments have been preponderantly disapproving and rarely favorable. Some comments have been in the nature of outraged resentment that such "disagreeable" things should have been said in print, especially about those such respected leaders in the field of archaeology.[20]

This review attacked Taylor's "grandiose language" and "highly opinionated views," asserting that Taylor had not given the history of the discipline fair treatment, nor had he

outlined an acceptable and feasible approach for the future.[21] The short-term effect of Taylor's publication was that he was unable to secure an academic position until ten years after the commotion caused by his didactic publication had abated. In his book, Taylor lambasted the discipline for not having a comprehensive conceptual scheme for conducting archaeological research. He accused the most prominent names in the field, including James Griffin, Emil Haury, A.V. Kidder, William Ritchie, Frank Roberts Jr., and William Webb, as impeding archaeological progress through either misdirection or neglect. Nevertheless, though his charges might have been in part warranted, Reyman informed us Taylor ''could not obtain a permanent academic or museum position in the United States." In the interim, Taylor worked as a visiting lecturer at the University of Texas, the University of Washington, Mexico City College, and finally at *La Escuela Nacional de Antropologia e Historia*, where he crossed paths with Di Peso in 1958.[22]

Taylor and Di Peso's careers overlapped at an interesting time when they were both in a significant transition period in terms of their professional careers. Ten years following the publication of *A Study*, Taylor was working for the *Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, having failed to secure a tenure-track position in the U.S. As part of his professional duties, he traveled alongside Di Peso and Ignacio Bernal to survey Casas Grandes in 1958 shortly before Di Peso commenced fieldwork. Several months later, Taylor returned to academia by accepting a position with Southern Illinois University, where he would establish the Department of Anthropology. After the damage from his 1948 publication was mitigated, and as hard feelings on the part of Kidder and others had softened, Taylor's career turned from the interim positions he had undertaken to return to academic life.[23] Intriguingly, Carroll Riley, one of Di Peso's biographers, stated that Di Peso's professional career could

be divided into two major periods, “the pre-Casas Grandes period and the Casas Grandes Period.”[24] The juxtaposition of these two men’s careers at consequential turning points provides the backdrop for examining the claims that Di Peso followed Taylor’s Conjunctive lead.

Di Peso’s approach to research at Casas Grandes and the subsequent publication of his results was entirely unique to archaeology. Perhaps in part due to the nature of his publication being a seemingly public-facing offering, the narrative it contained could not avoid culture and change, which he almost exclusively attributed to the tired concepts of migration and diffusion. Nonetheless, he attempted to provide a holistic and accurate account of the data he retrieved. The archaeological expedition, which began in 1958, explored the largely uninvestigated site of Casas Grandes, located in Chihuahua, Mexico. This joint expedition with Mexico’s *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* endeavored to place Casas Grandes within the context of the larger Southwestern and Mesoamerican archaeological regions; this was the first attempt to carry out extensive excavation and study at the site. In the final report released in 1974, Di Peso depicted Casas Grandes as the center of a vast, Mesoamerican-driven trading network centered in a region he called “The Gran Chichimeca.” It was an ambitious claim.

Many of Di Peso’s suppositions did not agree with contemporary scholars’ understanding of either the time-frames or connections between Native peoples of pre-European North America. In 2022, Casas Grandes continues to be viewed in one of two conflicting ways: either as a region distinct from Mesoamerica or as a peripheral outpost of Mesoamerica with strong economic ties to the core civilization. In the years following its publication in 1974, fellow archaeologists, including Jeffrey Dean and John Ravesloot,

rebutted Di Peso's tree-ring dates, upon which his central hypotheses of Casas Grandes were founded. Di Peso envisioned Casas Grandes—also called Paquimé—as a central trading hub that linked the Toltecs and other Mesoamerican peoples in the south to Chaco Canyon and others in the Four Corners region in the north; however, the revised dating sequence excluded this possibility.

Archaeologists Michael Whalen and Paul Minnis critiqued Di Peso for employing an ethnohistory-derived approach for explaining the Casas Grandes archaeological data.[25] Di Peso relied heavily on ethnographic and ethnohistoric approaches and analogies in order to provide a humanizing construct to his findings. Indeed, the first three volumes of his publication were written in a very pedestrian manner, with the purpose of being intelligible to the layperson. But at times, these volumes read almost as a historical narrative, including particulars that sometimes lack supporting evidence in data-heavy volumes four through eight. Di Peso felt that employing historical records would help define an eleventh-century post-Classic Mesoamerican world system as it was reflected in what he called Gran Chichimeca. However, once the dating for Casas Grandes was re-evaluated, Di Peso's choice of ethnographic sources no longer met the appropriate corresponding temporal timeframe for the city's occupation.[26] The lasting influence of Di Peso is generally perceived as extending only to the rejuvenated interest he produced in furthering research by later scholars investigating this region in northern Mexico.

At the time of publication, however, Di Peso's *Casas Grandes* volumes garnered acclaim for their uniqueness, exhaustiveness, and provocative use of illustrations—the pages contain over 600 individual illustrations of the residents of Casas Grandes, plus countless more illustrations of artifacts, animals, and architecture.[27] Archaeologist Robert Euler, lead

archaeologist of the Grand Canyon National Park for thirty-five years, stated succinctly, "The archaeological description is carefully set out in the best tradition of Walter Taylor's Conjunctive approach with sections on social organization, economics, community development, religious paraphernalia, and the people and their possessions."[28] Likewise, John Spuhler's review, published within weeks of Euler's, described Di Peso's work by stating, "The archaeology and ethnohistory of the great trading center at Paquimé (Casas Grandes) is the core of the monograph, the comparative anthropology following Walter Taylor's Conjunctive approach."[29] As can be observed by Maca's difficulty in assessing the use of the Conjunctive in Mayan archaeology, an evaluation of these claims likewise requires close scrutiny.

Unlike Taylor's heavily prescribed approach with little or no attention paid to the demonstration of the method itself, Di Peso produced eight volumes that illustrated how his methodology would function in practice but never deigned to define his approach. Instead, he merely indicated to readers that his approach was one of "archaeo-history."[30] Di Peso defined this term nine years after the initial publication, shortly before his death:

> I have been very concerned with the definitional difference of the terms historical archaeology and archaeohistory. For a considerable period I felt that they were synonyms, but I now note a subtle, but ever growing, difference. In my opinion, historical archaeology has come to define the action of applying archaeological techniques to a historical record. Archaeohistory, on the other hand, is evoked whenever historical techniques are applied to an archaeologically determined event.[31]

Whalen, Minnis, and others have questioned this method and its definition—or lack thereof—attributing Di Peso's unique style to the culture-history approach of the first half of the twentieth century.[32] I would tentatively agree with these assertions, given the concession that Di Peso updated the early twentieth-century framework to include contemporary

excavation and laboratory analysis technology and a mind towards the amassing of as much data as possible. Di Peso believed that the more data he could collect, the more accurate his assertions could be. (In fact, included in the archives of the Amerind Foundation exists evidence of an abandoned project to code a computer-aided analysis of the Casas Grandes data using punchcards.[33]) However, because the dating and correlated ethnographic material Di Peso relied upon was imprecise, many of his claims were patently untenable.

Di Peso's research and publication came at an inopportune time. With Taylor's call for action in 1948, followed by pieces by Willey and Phillips, Binford, Flannery, and Spaulding, the discipline of archaeology seemed to be headed down a different path.[34] Di Peso, undeterred or uninterested in recent developments in the field, continued with his excavations and publications at Casas Grandes using his peculiar approach. By the time the publication was complete, the field of archaeology had largely transitioned to Processualist approaches. Culture-history, the closest analog to Di Peso's *Casas Grande*s, was an increasingly outmoded approach, replaced by the aim to understand humanity through the deductive reasoning of general laws about the underlying processes that caused culture change. Given the questions Di Peso attempted to answer in his massive 3,603-page publication, it is clear that his approach was not one interested in formulating general rules about how and why Casas Grandes' culture had changed. The field of archaeology was generally unimpressed by his approach, and later studies rebuked and rebutted his central theses.[35]

One of the most irreconcilable differences between Taylor's Conjunctive and Binford's processual archaeology was their differences in the definition of culture. Di Peso, on the other hand, never defined culture in any terms, even though he used the word

"culture" in the first three volumes a total of 399 times. From even a broad reading of *Casas Grandes*, it is clear that Di Peso's approach had nothing to do with understanding the cultural processes that shaped the culture. Instead, Di Peso employed all the tools at his disposal to construct a conjectural account of the past events at Casas Grandes. (For a bibliographic and citation analysis comparing Taylor's *A Study of Archeology* to Di Peso's *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca*, see Appendix B.)

Charles Di Peso, the Amerind Foundation, and Casas Grades

William Fulton established the Amerind Foundation as a private organization with a long-held mission "to foster and promote knowledge and understanding of the Native Peoples of the Americas."[36] Its independent status makes it wary of external influence. Indeed, as a part of the foundation's articles of incorporation, the desire was unequivocally stated to "keep the Foundation free from any political entanglements or control by any university or college."[37] To founder William Fulton, it was imperative that Amerind and the direction of any research conducted be controlled internally. Clearly, from the beginning, there was an explicit understanding of the type of organization they endeavored to be: self-regulating.

Fulton was a Connecticut-born businessman and entrepreneur whose chance encounter with pre-European history ultimately led to the Amerind's establishment. During trips to Arizona and New Mexico to investigate copper and oil investment potential in the 1920s, he became enamored with the Southwest. He developed an amateur interest in archaeology and, due in part to this fascination, in 1930, purchased approximately 2,000

acres in southeastern Arizona's Texas Canyon. Over the course of the next several years, Fulton constructed a home and conducted amateur archaeology expeditions in and around his newly purchased ranch. Fulton successfully published several archaeological site reports during this time, though his observations and conclusions were often rudimentary.[38]

Over the course of the next several years, Fulton corresponded with archaeologists and other individuals with a shared interest in the peoples of the Southwest. One of those with whom he corresponded was noted archaeologist A.V. Kidder, to whom Fulton had been certain to promote his findings by forwarding a copy of his most recent site report.[39] Kidder commented that he was "particularly pleased by [Fulton's] remarks regarding the setting of the site in the general picture of Southern Arizona archaeology."[40] This encouragement was formative for Fulton, who had also commenced corresponding with the eminent southwestern archaeologist Emil Haury. However, perhaps most relevant to his intense interest in the Southwest were his conversations with two wealthy businessmen from the East Coast: Harold Gladwin and George Heye.

Gladwin and Heye, like Fulton, had become captivated by the Southwest and its prehistory. To that end, Heye established the Museum of the American Indian in New York in 1916.[41] A short time later, Gladwin, together with Winifred MacCurdy, founded the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation in Globe, AZ, in 1928.[42] The 1906 Antiquities Act had called for the protection of culturally significant features, and, in order for Fulton to commence legally curating an archaeological collection, it required him to comply with federal law. Heye had given Fulton membership on the museum's board and extended to Fulton the offer to conduct research under the umbrella of the Museum of the American Indian.[43] But Fulton was determined to go his own way, so, in 1937, Fulton signed articles of

incorporation officially inaugurating the Amerind Foundation with the mission to uncover new knowledge about the peoples of the Southwest. Later correspondence with Haury resulted in the recommendation of a young Charles Di Peso, who began work with Amerind in 1948 as the lead archaeologist.[44]

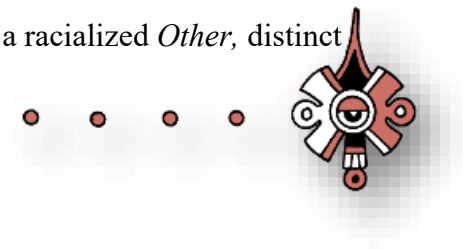
The Amerind Foundation's contributions to archaeology are primarily judged by the accomplishments of Di Peso, their late director. Di Peso's The eight-volume *Casas Grandes* publication represents a truly unique approach to compiling an archaeological site report and communicating with a broad audience. Volumes 1-3 of *Casas Grandes* contained the evaluations and conclusions that were drawn from the excavation source data, presented, at times, as a historical narrative, including rich, intricate details. Unlike contemporaneous site reports, Di Peso's publication was intended to be read by a general audience. By contrast, volumes 4-8 contained the source data for the first three volumes, heavily laden with charts, drawings, and measurements. These later volumes were explicitly intended for other archaeologists and contained little information intelligible to the layperson. Although these volumes list John B. Rinaldo and Gloria J. Fenner as co-authors, Di Peso ultimately had complete authority in the editorial process as the lead investigator and director of the foundation.

Beginning in 1958, following several years of preparation and planning, the Amerind Foundation, led by their executive director and chief archaeologist, Charles Di Peso, began an archaeological expedition at the largely uninvestigated site of Casas Grandes, located in Chihuahua, Mexico. This undertaking was a joint expedition with Mexico's National Museum of Anthropology and History that endeavored to place the largely unstudied Casas Grandes within the context of the larger Southwestern and Mesoamerican archaeological

regions. The fieldwork took place over 36 months, beginning in 1958, while the subsequent analysis and site report composition encompassed an additional thirteen years.[45] Archaeologist Michael Whalen has since called this undertaking the "most influential project in the history of northwest Mexican archaeology."[46]

One result of the expedition was the extravagantly conceived, lavishly illustrated, eight-volume *Casas Grandes* in which Di Peso depicted Paquimé as the center of a vast, Mesoamerican-driven trading network centered in a region he called "The Gran Chichimeca." It described the development of hunters and gatherers into agriculturalists, then examined the cultural, technological, and economic impact which resulted from contact with more advanced Mesoamerican merchants. It concluded with a discussion of the collapse of this colonial trading network, the abandonment or destruction of the trading centers, and the first contacts with Spanish invaders. It was a grandiose narrative and, in the absence of any peer-review process, contrasted sharply against prevailing and long-held archaeological theories. However, unlike most archaeologists of the time, Di Peso conceived of and produced the site report with a broad public audience prominently in mind.

The first three volumes of the *Casas Grandes* publication contained what Di Peso described as an "archaeo-historical narrative," heavily illustrated by Mesoamerican-Codex-inspired figures and illustrations decorating the pages, providing a visual medium to the story. In fact, 96% of the combined 1,104 pages in the first 3 volumes (excluding notes and references) contain one or more illustrations, maps, photographs, drawings, and margin embellishments, as shown on the bottom of this page. Drawings of Native peoples were caricaturized and racialized in a way that clearly cast them as a racialized *Other,* distinct from their European counterparts. (See Figure 10.1.)



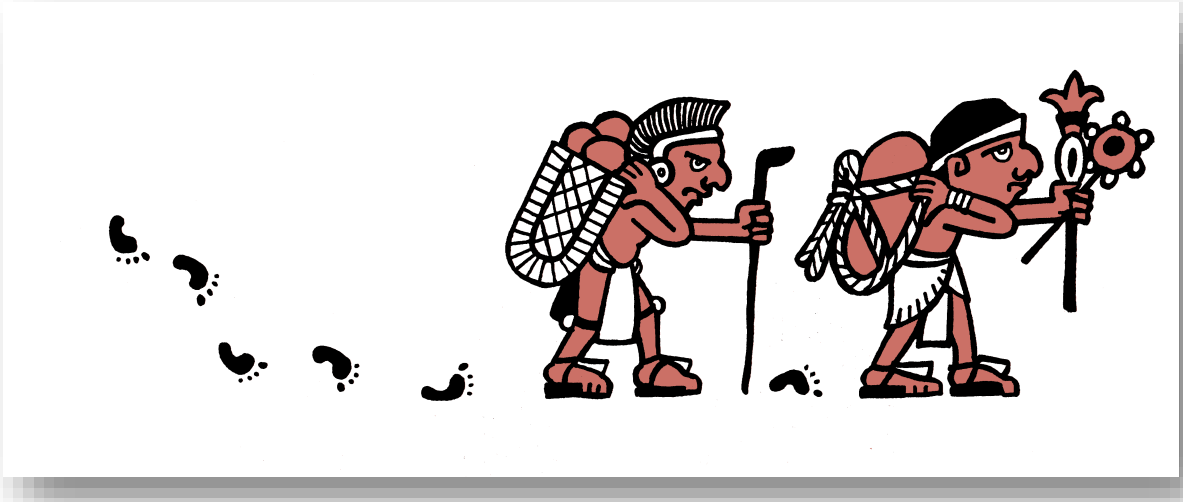


Figure 10.1. Digital image of drawing walking figures with burdens *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca* Vol. 1, page 96. Courtesy of The Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Alice Wesche, Illustrator.

On August 28th, 1958, the Joint Casas Grandes Expedition left the Amerind Foundation in Dragoon, Arizona, and headed towards Mexico. After trouble crossing the border delayed their journey by twenty-one days, the caravan finally continued overnight to the pre-European site of Casas Grandes, located in Northern Chihuahua.[47] With its location far from the core of Mesoamerican activity in the Valley of Mexico and the Yucatan, Casas Grandes garnered little interest among Mexican archaeologists as a site for archaeological research. The location of Casas Grandes in relation to contemporary borders and pre-European centers of populations directly resulted in its failure to garner due scrutiny. The site was beyond the southern international border and thus beyond consideration for most American archaeologists. On the northern side of the border, archaeologists were busy with Ancestral Pueblo, Hohokam, and Mogollon cultures. A few U.S. archaeologists had

completed surveys in the area just south of the border, but it was predominately sporadic survey work that left northern Mexico's significance or history largely unknown. Likewise, few Mexican archaeologists wanted to leave central Mexico, one of the most intensely studied archaeological regions in the Americas, in order to investigate an ancestral site in the Chihuahua desert. Due to where the Casas Grandes region is located—on the modern border of the United States and Mexico and the pre-European border between the Southwest and Mesoamerica—academic archaeologists had not yet considered its potential significance. The lack of interest by academic archaeologists, combined with Amerind's desire to make a significant contribution to the field, provided a niche for Casas Grandes to be explored by an organization outside of academic archaeology.

The Casas Grandes region is situated in a pre-European borderland in an already complicated locus of understanding. The main complex is referred to as Paquimé so as not to confuse the general term for the region with the prominent archaeological site. It lies south of what is typically conceived of as the "Southwest," as well as north of the area most commonly defined as Mesoamerica. Indeed, the archaeologists who studied these regions most always focused their research on the immediate area at the core of the various cultures. Archaeologists rarely spoke in terms of peripheral cultures and instead focused on dominating central narratives, such as Chacoan, Toltec, and Aztec. The site was well known, having been visited by Don Francisco de Ibarra and chronicled by Baltasar de Obregón in 1557. In the years since, however, interest in Casas Grandes was almost non-existent.

After completing excavations and while compiling the site report, Di Peso corresponded with several Southwestern authorities, including Erik Reed, the National Park Service Regional Chief in Santa Fe. He wanted to discuss his thoughts on adopting the term

Gran Chichimeca when describing this area. Di Peso felt conflicted over using the terms "Southwest" or even "Greater Southwest" in reference to the area as it included a large portion of northern Mexico. Reed's response was not a favorable one. He wrote, "The term Chichimeca I do not go for at all. I think it would be undesirable and confusing and unnecessary to add this to the repertory." Adding that he thought this term would be useful "only by a Mexicanist looking north."[48] Di Peso was partial to the historical term as its use could "destroy the international border barrier."[49] He strongly felt that the language employed by archaeologists solidified the international border in ways that disturbed scholarly inquiry. For Di Peso, the vocabulary associated with the region was, in part, the reason for Casas Grandes' failure to garner due acclaim. Of course, the bureaucratic barriers that needed to be surmounted to undertake such an excavation were not easy to navigate, nor were they cheap. However, recognizing that the international border caused such difficulties for researchers was what made the site attractive from the onset to those at Amerind.

From his correspondence, it seems clear that Di Peso saw the Chichimeca as being on the barbarian fringes of Mesoamerican high culture. For example, in his 1979 keynote address delivered at the conference History and Identity: the Southwest in World Perspective, Di Peso stated, "The northern barbarian recipients of the 16th-century Iberian culture conquest were for the most part as harsh and hard as their land."[50] However, after the publication of *Casas Grandes*, he never fully developed his thoughts on the temporal and geospatial relationship of the people who inhabited the lands in question. Thus, the conceptions of the Gran Chichimeca as a region deteriorated, while archaeologists remain divided on how to situate Casas Grandes within the context of the broader continental history.

“I Knew I Should’ve Taken That Left Turn at Albuquerque!”

In 1929, Alfred E. Douglass demonstrated dendrochronology to be a boon to archaeology in the Southwestern United States. The dating technique was employed in the dating of sites from all over the Southwest and was successful in dating sites that, prior to its inception, had only been able to be dated relative to one another. Given its prolific utilization, it is no surprise that Di Peso, a former student of one of dendrochronology’s preeminent scholars, Haury, chose this dating method to corroborate his Casas Grandes evidence.

Outer growth rings, which included tree bark, provided researchers with an objective reference point to the final years of growth any given tree experienced prior to being felled and employed in construction. Unlike timbers recovered from much of the Southwest, Casas Grandes’s were worked by artisans who, in preparing the lumber for use in building, had shaven the outside of the logs in order to create a smooth surface. In doing so, Casas Grandes’ workers had obliterated the crucial data that would have fundamentally altered Di Peso’s conclusions. Before he undertook the excavations at Casas Grandes, Di Peso had agreed with the widely-accepted notion that the city had first been constructed at some point in the fourteenth century. With no known absolute dates upon which to rely, he had also previously accepted the date of Gila Polychrome pottery type as being introduced sometime in the late 1300s.[51] He modified his attitude regarding their precise temporal context until he began examining the artifacts and wood specimens.

The initial analysis of Casas Grandes’s artifacts supplied Di Peso with previously unexamined data. His initial findings resulted in dating the site to the period of 1060-1340

C.E., a date that would largely contest many earlier suppositions about the area's construction. The recovery of the Gila Polychrome ceramic type, commonly found in sites dating to 1300-1450 C.E., was now associated with a site Di Peso dated to as early as the eleventh century. Had his conclusions been accepted, this would have resulted in the complete reworking and restructuring of the large bands of ceramic temporal pre-history.[52] In order to account for this discrepancy, Di Peso argued that Casas Grandes had been the source of the Gila Polychrome tradition, and only at a later date had it spread throughout New Mexico and Arizona, eventually making its way to the Four Corners region.

The significance of Di Peso's assertions about the dates of occupation for Casas Grandes cannot be understated. His approach, results, conclusions, and final publication all tenuously were founded upon his errant dating methodology and outcomes. These dates related the Casas Grandes peoples with incorrect northern and southern neighbors. The people with whom Di Peso believed Casas Grandes shared such formidable relationships were, in reality, a century and a half out of place. The surrounding hierarchical social structures required by Di Peso's narrative had long since vanished by the time Casas Grandes reached its apex.

Although what Di Peso proposed challenged all preconceived knowledge about ceramics in the Southwest, he addressed the "misconceptions" of decades' worth of prior scholars in Volume Three of his published work. In defense of his ceramic dating methods, which were based upon the dates he established for Casas Grandes, Di Peso wrote:

> Many individuals (Smiley *et al*., 1953; Breternitz, 1966; Bannister *et al*., 1966) have made serious efforts to coordinate "dendro-dated architectural features" with associated ceramic types. Unfortunately, in far too many cases, the assumptions were based upon the grossest kind of associations. Smiley (Smiley *et al*., 1953, p. 12), and his thorough study, remarked that "in only a few instances, such as Pecos and Pindi, are the assured listings derived from excavated material. In the majority of sites the

> shared lists are made on the basis of surface survey collections, and, therefore, do not reflect the true relationship between the dates and pottery types."[53]

This broad statement sought to reinterpret previous dates of later ceramics, such as Gila Polychrome, justifying Casas Grandes's earlier dates.

Di Peso would assert his challenge to the validity of all tree-ring dated ceramics in the Southwest as an anticipated counterargument to his position. The placement of Casas Grandes ceramics into a temporal range approximately 150 years earlier than presupposed resulted in his attempt to establish cause for the impropriety of ceramics as a sequential indicator.

> The question as to whether or not there are any accurately "dendrodated" pottery types (Scott, 1966, p. 66) other than ones of the dullest or grossest form of relationships is one which is herein raised only to alert students to the demands of their profession. To wit: such pottery types as Gila Poly, which is dated in the American Southwest *ca.* 1109 to 1385 (Breternitz, 1966, pp. 76-77) and at best at 1250 to 1400, may actually have been used by the Casas Grandes occupants *ca*. C.E. 1060 to 1340, and if so, would suggest that the Gila Poly tradition originated somewhere in the S[outh] and entered the American Southwest via the Casas Grandes pottery trade as suggested by Kelley (Wauchope, 1966, p. 107)[54]

Di Peso's eschewing of traditional ceramic dates in favor of his tree-ring derived dates suggests that the shift to absolute dating techniques over those of the more archaic relative dating techniques had reached a zenith in the field of archaeology. In doing so, he allowed the dates which agreed with his suppositions to drown out those of dissent. Due to this fact, his views of where Casas Grandes fit into the overarching chronological sequence of the Southwest—and, perhaps more importantly, its relatedness to Mesoamerica—fundamentally altered how he analyzed the rest of his findings.

Most Southwestern archaeologists were hesitant to accept Di Peso's findings with any amount of confidence. The rebuttals of Di Peso's work, including that of Wilcox and Shenk,

insisted that the meager evidence provided by Di Peso was not conclusive enough to call for a complete revision of agreed-upon ceramic chronology.[55] Archaeologist David Doyle identified several of the inconsistencies in a 1976 article published in *The Kiva*:

> The suggestion that Gila Polychrome may be as early as C.E. 1060 at Casas Grandes was sufficient stimulus to investigate the means by which the material was dated… Over 50 percent of Salado Polychrome pottery found in Casas Grandes was recovered from a single room (room 18, unit 8). A number of tree ring dates were also obtained from this room, and these dates range from C.E. 1042 to1243 but none are cutting dates…Furthermore the ceramics recovered from the fill of the room, indicating that a question exists regarding the association of the pottery with the room dates (Di Peso 1974:703).[56]

In a single rebuttal, Doyle pinpointed the primary problems he and other archaeologists observed in Di Peso's conclusions. He identified the inherent difficulties with securing firm dates for sites in Chihuahua, but he also questioned how Di Peso would have arrived at accurate dates due to how the timbers were cut and prepared as building materials. The association of Gila and Solado Polychrome with the site, recovered from a single room, left lingering questions about their proper context at Casas Grandes. In his resignation, Perceval had stated, "Your professional conferees are undoubtedly eagerly awaiting your publication so that they can pounce upon every slight slip up and tear you apart on them."[57] While they may not have been "waiting," they did "pounce."

During the Joint Casas Grandes Expedition, excavators did not uncover a single wood specimen that retained bark, which was imperative in determining a cutting date, and, thus, an absolute reliable date.[58] The ancestral peoples at Casas Grande shaped the timbers in either circular or rectangular sections, creating a smooth and flat surface. (See 10.2.) This technique resulted in data loss that would have indicated the date specific to when the timbers were felled. Lacking this vital piece of information, Di Peso developed his own

erroneous method of determining a cutting date based upon the data that was available to him.

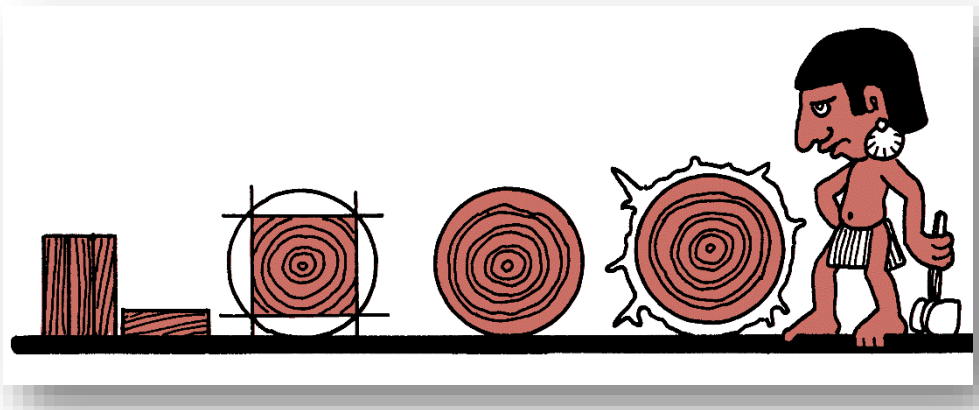


Figure 10.2. Digital image of drawing showing building timber cutting from *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca* Vol. 2, page 437. Courtesy of The Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Alice Wesche, Illustrator.

By ignorance—or indifference—to the limitations of the tree ring dating method, Di Peso based all subsequent analyses and interpretations from this single misapplication of the tree-ring dating method. In employing tree-ring dating in a faulty manner, Di Peso caused fervor in the world of Southwestern archaeology and ensured a legacy that would be defined by his improper conclusions of where Casas Grandes fit into the larger picture of pre-Columbian history.

Di Peso identified the problems that the loss of outer rings would present for the employment of dendrochronology in his research, stating, "although the final outer ring was not present, the published dates could be used assuming a loss constant."[59] He incorrectly assumed that only a few outer rings had been lost from the specimens they collected and treated the outermost rings as "near-cutting dates."[60] Di Peso demonstrated this belief when

he related the findings at Casas Grandes to a small pithouse site nearby:

> The date of C.E. 1060 was chosen as the beginning of the Buena Fe Phase of the Medio Period. The early pre-C.E. 1060 dates found at CHIH:D:9:1[61], of which there were three, and the end Carbon-14 date of the Perros Bravos Phase at CHIH:D:9:2[62] (C.E. 1060±190) permitted a suggested Christian calendar correlation, allowing for some 16 years for outer annual ring loss.[63]

Di Peso quickly identified a solution for the further utilization of dendrochronology in his research and findings. By comparing specimens that shared similar dates, Di Peso believed that the correlation between the loss of tree rings at the two sites could be concluded to be analogous.

Although many of Di Peso's conclusions, as they related to the chronological sequence at Casas Grandes, were almost immediately rebuffed by contemporary archaeologists, his voluminous publications still held noteworthy usefulness. One of the problems dealt with how archaeologists should now interpret Southwestern ceramics given their newly conceived dates. Di Peso's dates placed Casas Grandes into contemporary temporal context to that of Chaco Canyon in the Four Corners region.[64] Though ultimately not accepted by others scholars, this dating would have changed the perceived relationship between Casas Grandes, Mesoamerica, and Chaco Canyon entirely. For Di Peso, this timeframe suggested a grand network of trade, social interaction, and reciprocity that pervaded the Southwest and extended over 2,000 km.

Many of Di Peso's suppositions did not agree with contemporary scholars' understanding of either the time-frames or connections between the Native peoples of pre-European North America. From where did Di Peso conceive of such a lavish narrative? In the years since Di Peso's research, the discussion of Mesoamerican influence on Casas Grandes has continued, but without any concrete resolution that satisfies all scholars. Casas Grandes

continues to be viewed in one of two conflicting ways: either as a region distinct from Mesoamerica or as a peripheral outpost of Mesoamerica with strong economic ties to the core civilization. Similar to Di Peso, archaeologists Michael Foster and J. Charles Kelley continue to view Casas Grandes as recipients and bearers of Mesoamerican culture.[65] However, others, including Jeffrey Dean and John Ravesloot, reject the Mesoamerican-laden conclusions that necessitate direct and sustained contact for which they see no compelling archaeological evidence.[66] With a forthright diffusionist mindset, Steven Lekson argues that Casas Grandes was merely attempting to imitate Mesoamerican empires and was a secondary state that existed as a product.[67] Nevertheless, most archaeologists view Casas Grandes as particularly complex. Ravesloot *et al*. reevaluated the tree-ring specimens from Casas Grandes and arrived at considerably different verdicts than Di Peso and his co-authors Rinaldo and Fenner. In doing so, they considered many of the shortcomings that affected the samples and their derived conclusions. They employed the Robinson-Ahlstrom regression equation, which estimates the number of new growth rings from the number and size of core rings. They then estimated the number of outer rings that had been lost in various beams Di Peso had used for dating by comparing them to living pine trees near the site.[68] The dates that they arrived at were estimations of the actual felling dates; they even concluded that the dates were likely even later than their own projections.

Given the tenuous nature of Di Peso's investigation, it is implausible that these considerations were accounted for in his research. This point was evident in the implications of his conclusions which did not fit into the archetypal arrangement of relative dates in the Southwest. The conclusions that Dean and Ravesloot arrived at were:

> The minimal conclusions that can be drawn from these results are that (1) the occupation of the units that yielded tree-ring dates postdated C.E. 1200; (2) building

> activity connected with this occupation was concentrated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; (3) the site was inhabited in the fifteenth century; and (4) some construction or repair activity may have occurred as late as the C.E. 1470s.[69]

In comparison to the Amerind Foundation's analyses, this subsequent team of researchers accounted for many of the shortcomings that were disregarded in Di Peso's work. The later studies of the tree-ring dates were drawn out of careful study and scrutiny that Di Peso had not employed initially.

The grand conclusions he made were not in line with the comprehension he demonstrated in the dendrochronological method. Samples were recovered from thirty-four rooms which yielded results from 1040 to 1338 C.E. The dates were placed into three sequential phases, Buena Fe (1060-1205), Paquimé (1205-1261), and Diablo (1261-1338).[70] Di Peso then utilized these phases to fashion an ostentatious narrative that accounted for the apparent changes in architecture. Di Peso defended his tree-ring evidence and conclusions by correlating them with radiocarbon and obsidian hydration dating methods. According to Di Peso, "The Joint Casas Grandes Expedition diligently collected some 223 C-14 samples….out of this number only ten (4.5%) were given the stamp of approval….and only four (1.7%) of the actual carbon samples were utilized."[71] Given the complexity and scale of the site, a far greater number of samples were needed to be analyzed in order to ascertain accurate dates. Quoting geochemist Paul E. Damon *et al.*, Di Peso stated, "The C14 chronology of these and other dates at the site agrees within the experimental error with the tree-ring chronology."[72] Given the earliest possible date in a range that for some samples included a margin of error of 360 years, dates in the eleventh century could be deduced. Di Peso seems to have ignored all evidence to the contrary, and, equipped with this data, he authored his definitive work that spanned eight volumes.

Charles Di Peso's 1974: *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca*

Thirteen years after the conclusion of fieldwork, the Amerind Foundation published the eight-volume *Casas Grandes*, which depicted a narrative that was widely panned by the archaeological community. Nevertheless, in orienting the first three volumes toward a public audience, Di Peso felt that employing historical records would help define an eleventh-century post-Classic Mesoamerican world system as it was reflected in his vision of "the Gran Chichimeca." Di Peso selected his sources from Mexico's late Post-classic period because he believed that Casas Grandes was a center of development for Mesoamerican culture in the north. However, once the dating for Casas Grandes was re-evaluated by Dean and Ravesloot (among others), Di Peso's choice of ethnographic sources no longer met the appropriate corresponding temporal timeframe for the city's occupation.

Preparation for the publication of the *Casas Grandes* site report began in 1964, a short time after fieldwork had completed. Information regarding the day-to-day decision-making processes that drove the creation of the site report is scarce, mainly due to the large staff working on-site at Amerind headquarters, yet there exist some clues that provide clarity to the sequence of events that led to the final publication. The first three volumes of *Casas Grandes* were filled with illustrations and drawings. One of the first tasks Di Peso undertook was locating and contracting an artist to be in charge of the books' many illustrations. Clearly, from the start, he felt that the visual medium of the story would play an important role.

Following the departure of Perceval in 1970, Di Peso hired Alice Wesche to the position of lead illustrator. Marge Lambert, an archaeologist at the Museum of New Mexico friend and of Di Peso's, recommended Wesche for the position, who was in her 70s at the time. She lived in Santa Fe and had done occasional artwork for the Museum of New Mexico's publications. There is no doubt that Di Peso found Wesche more tractable than he had Perceval. He worked with her to outline and describe what he wanted, and she employed her imagination and creativity in order to realize his vision. Gloria Fenner, one of Amerind's archaeologists, described Di Peso's approach as an attempt to "draw in and educate non-professional readers."[73] Di Peso and Wesche worked together closely to imagine, outline, and draw the figures, but Di Pedo ultimately held creative control. It is worth noting that Wesche's previous illustrations bear no resemblance to those in the *Casas Grandes* publication. Furthermore, when her job at Amerind was completed, she published a children's book about Casas Grandes in 1982 titled *Runs Far, Son of the Chichimecs*, which contains substantial illustrations, albeit none in the same visual style as *Casas Grandes* (See Figure 10.3.).



Figure 10.3. Alice Wesche, *Runs Far* (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1982).

In the interest of cost, a decision late in the publication process was made to produce all eight volumes in duotone. The team working on the publication was forced to decide what other color to include in addition to black. The best description of the color may be terra-cotta, but it was certainly employed in more ways than simply shading pottery. Throughout the publications, this color was used to represent not only Native peoples' skin color but also mountains, clothing, flora, and fauna. In many panels, the Paquiméians were cast in the same earthen color as the animals among which they lived. Selecting an appropriate color proved to be problematic and resulted in skin tone that added to the already racially-laden depictions.

Analysis of illustrations

Influential archaeologist Lewis Binford argued that ethnographic analogies must be employed cautiously and never in a way that betrays the archaeological method. He viewed ethnohistorical data as a way to test future predictions instead of as a tool to explain observable patterns in the archaeological record.[74] Di Peso described his peculiar approach, archaeohistory, as "historical techniques are applied to an archaeologically determined event."[75] Through the utilization of historical records and archaeological data, he attempted to define a Mesoamerican world system as it was reflected in the artifacts at Casas Grandes. In doing so, he extrapolated these data to show evidence for a compatible outlook of Gran Chichimecan archaeology.

The *Casas Grandes* volumes contain over 600 individual illustrations of the Casas Grandes region's inhabitants as well as that of Spanish explorers, priests, pirates, and conquistadors. Additionally, forty more illustrations represent hand-drawn reproductions of Mesoamerican Codices, including the Becker, Borgia, Bourbon, Dresden, Florentine, Laud, Magliabeach, Mendoza, and Vienna Codices. The illustrations, even those which were not attempted reproductions of the precolonial codices, were illustrated in a visually similar style.

Indeed, Mesoamerican archaeologist J. Charles Kelley once referred to the publication as the "Codex Di Peso."[76] But what exactly was the purpose of the illustrations, and what story do they actually tell? Although reproductions of Codex illustrations frequently appear throughout, Di Peso never once provides the reader with an explanation of the drawings' purpose or why they were included. Moreover, he fails to introduce and

explain precisely what these Mesoamerican Codices were, where they had come from, who had written them, or what relationship the codices had—if any—to the Casas Grandes region and its peoples.

While the illustrations in *Casas Grandes* appear as whimsical accouterments to supplement the text, by contrast, Mesoamerican Codices and the images that appear in them constitute a written language. Although they might appear similarly cartoonish, the authentic Mesoamerican illustrations depicted calendrical and astronomical information and described the rituals connected to the passing of time, marriage, and worships of the gods.[77] (See Figure 10.4.) The lines separating the panels provide for the narrative flow from one sequence to another, while the colored dots represent day numbers. If they were intended as an homage to Mesoamerican scribes, Di Peso's figures fell short and instead served as a racialized, ethnicized parody of Mesoamerican high culture.



Figure 10.4. Gisele Díaz, Alan Rodgers, and Bruce E. Byland, eds., *The Codex Borgia: A Full-Color Restoration of the Ancient Mexican Manuscript* (New York: Dover Publications, 1993), 18.

By comparison, the figures illustrated in *Casas Grandes* were cartoonish, out of proportion, depicted in various states of dress and undress, and have exaggerated racial features. A random sampling of twenty-five of the *Casas Grandes* illustrations reveals an approximate proportion of 1:1:1. By contrast, a comparable random sampling from the Borgia Codex, the most frequently referenced Codex in the collection, reveals an approximate proportion 2:3:4. As such, Di Peso's figures gave the illustrations an unrealistic and cartoonish appearance when compared to authentic, Mesoamerican counterparts. (See Figure 10.5.)

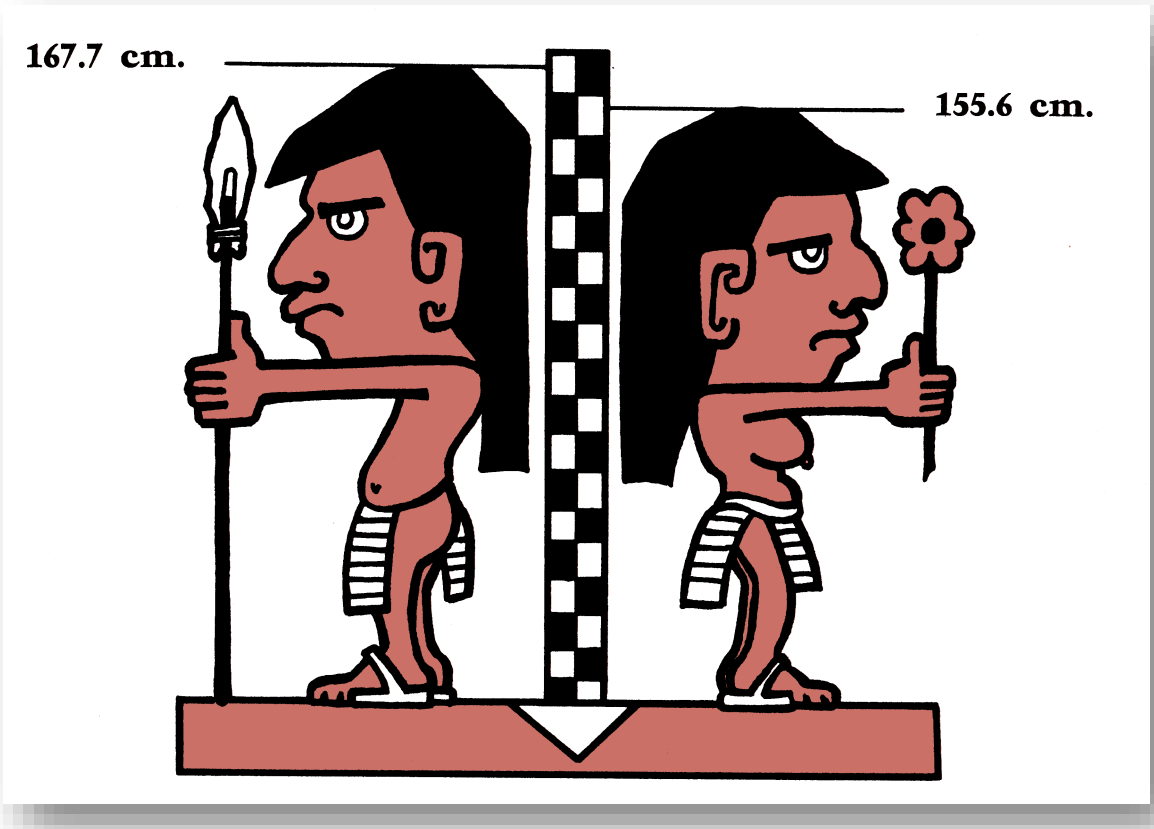


Figure 10.5. Digital image of drawing showing average heights from *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca* Vol. 1, page 123. Courtesy of The Amerind Foundation, Inc., Dragoon, Arizona. Alice Wesche, Illustrator.

An examination of how the *Casas Grandes* drawings directly compare to the original Codex source material is possible, given that forty illustrations from the first three volumes were hand-drawn reproductions, in whole or in part, of the originals. Though the majority of the illustrations were in color, several, most notably many of the Codex reproductions, were reproduced as line drawings in black and white. This decision was undoubtedly due to the levels of intricacy involved in the piebald Codex depictions, combined with the *Casas Grandes* publication's limitation of duotone. The result was a loss of detail that was

improvised with varying levels of line drawings.

In addition to making a borrowing of Mesoamerican Codices through the appropriation of Mesoamerican illustration style, Di Peso managed to provide inadequate or incorrect context. Two such examples of corresponding images are shown below. (See Figure 10.6.) The image on the left was taken from Plate 50 of the Borgia Codex and, according to Mesoamerican archaeologist Bruce Byland, depicts Xiuhtecuhlti, "the old fire god" who "supports the Southern dark, starry sky."[78] Plate 50 describes the cardinal direction north and includes sixteen additional figures not shown. Meanwhile, the drawing on the right is from page 313, Volume 2, of *Casas Grandes* and was provided the simple title, "Huitzilopochtli," famously knowns as the Mesoamerican god of war and the patron god of the Aztec capital city, Tenōchtitlan. Huitzilopochtli was briefly mentioned in the text as the sun god of the "Mexica-Chichimeca barbarians." Nowhere on the page, or on pages immediately preceding or following, was any context given for how Huitzilopochtli fits within the larger history of Casas Grandes. This observation is beside the fact that the actual god depicted was Xiuhtecuhlti.

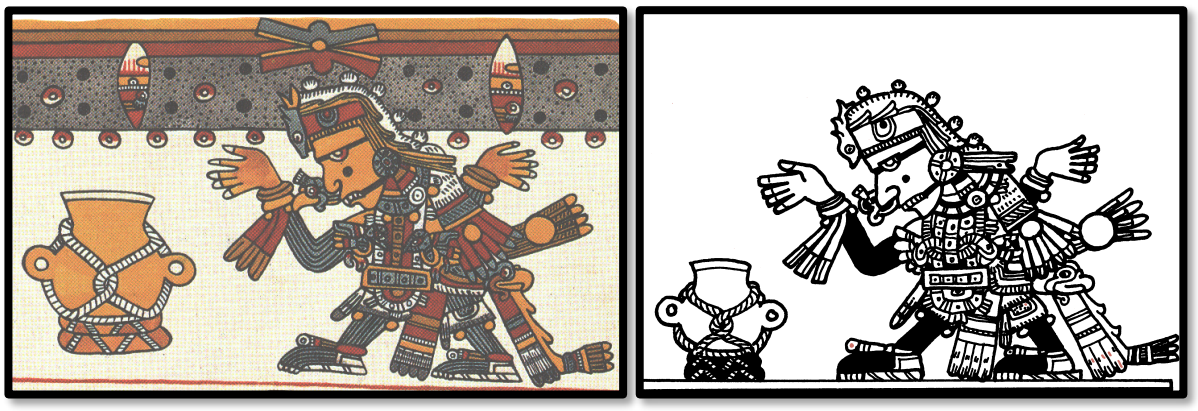


Figure 10.6.: Diaz et al., 28.; Di Peso, Vol 2, 313.

Upon closer examination, it is clear that, while this was a relatively faithful reproduction, several key elements have been modified and seem to represent mere stylistic changes. The body frames and types are visibly different, with the original Borgia Codex exhibiting a more slender, proportionate body. The linework in *Casas Grandes* was of a noticeably heavier thickness, resulting in the inability to reproduce the finer details. The shape of the hands, fingers, and feet was modified to more accurately match the figures pictured elsewhere throughout the volumes. However, perhaps the most startling modification was to physiognomy. A detailed side-by-side comparison of the two drawings with the Borgia's color bleached reveals profound modifications to the shape and size of the figure's nose. While the original rendering has a small, rounded nose, this feature was exaggerated in Di Peso's reproduction. (See Figure 10.7.)

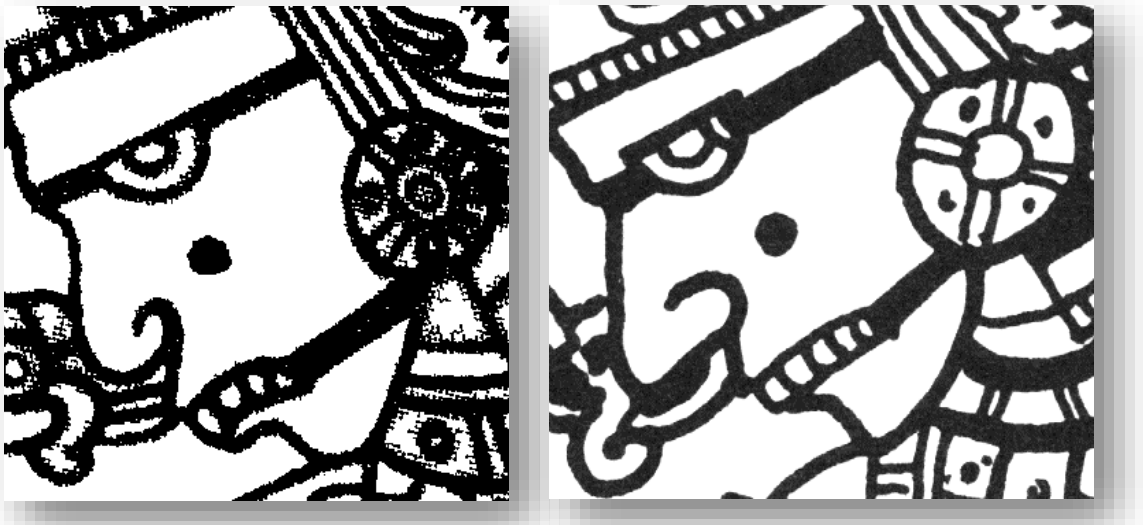


Figure 10.7. Diaz *et al*., 28 from original Borgia Codex (color bleached); Di Peso, Vol 2, 313.

With the possible exception of White Europeans, Di Peso's illustrations were presented in a caricaturized form. The most obvious of these caricatures was the relative size and shape of the nose, which was a consistent exaggeration across all illustrations of Native peoples. Moreover, the bridge of the nose for their depictions was consistently at or above eye level, while the aquiline noses of the European illustrations consistently had a bridge below eye level. Although the reason for Di Peso's employment of such exaggerated features remains unclear, I contend that Di Peso was not being intentionally racist with these modifications—though the images themselves indeed were racist and inappropriate—but was instead pandering to a public audience who had centuries of half-truths and distortions of Native peoples fed to them by various sources.

In 1991, psychologist Tim Valentine outlined a framework that accounted for the effects of race, in which human faces were encoded as points in a multidimensional space.

He proposed and supported with evidence two separate models for facial recognition that predicted comparable results. The first encoded faces as variation from the norm, while the second encoded faces based on the minimization of similar exemplar traits. Each predicted the efficacy of caricature in other-race facial recognition. Valentine argued that this effect could be explained by the role of knowledge of the population of faces previously encountered.[79] The lack of familiarity with other-race physiognomy necessitates the exaggeration of features for easier recognition. In 1997, *Superportraits: Caricatures and Recognition* by Gillian Rhodes argued that the power of caricatures to aid our brains' recognition systems is not confined to faces but extends to a variety of features. She argued that caricatures allow us to discriminate between stimuli more efficiently and that familiarity and expertise with a particular class of stimuli require simpler discriminations. However, expertise is necessarily required, though it does the stronger exaggeration of relational features. In closing, she argues that caricatures' effectiveness results from the exaggeration of those features which are prominently "associated with particular faces, i.e., features that are distinctive for those faces."[80] In a later collaboration with Graham Byatt the following year, Rhodes demonstrated that all faces are recognized more accurately when caricatured against their own-race norm. They found the most effective caricatures were those which were distortions relative to the average of the same race as the target (e.g., a European face caricatured relative to the average European face).[81]

However, Di Peso was not using caricatures to distinguish between individual faces, and the features he exaggerated were intended to demonstrate distinctiveness between his two disparate groups of historical actors: Europeans and Native peoples. The exaggerations made to the terra-cotta skinned Chichimecans were clearly intended to inform the reader that

the peoples depicted were the racial *Other* to the Eurocentric norm. Depictions of Europeans required no embellishment beyond the lack of brownish-red ink in the spaces between the lines that represented the body.

Di Peso argued that the disparate peoples of the Gran Chichimeca remained isolated from the south because the latter considered the land and its people so bleak that they renounced all claims to this northern wasteland after the Post-Classic Period. When the Spanish arrived, they found that the northern frontier could not easily be absorbed into the Spanish Empire as they could not simply replace the elite classes of Native peoples as they did in the south. Di Peso viewed the fall of Casas Grandes as the impetus for the north "cast[ing] off any semblance of the southern native tribute bureaus."[82] If indeed, this was the case as Di Peso believed, then the inhabitants of the Casas Grandes region would have no connection to the authors of the original codices. None of the codices that still exist were found outside the Valley of Mexico or Yucatan. Given this fact, the illustrations were inappropriate both historically and racially.

Conclusion

Di Peso's attempts to convince other archaeologists of his hypotheses, especially his conception of the region he called the "Gran Chichimeca," fell short. Nevertheless, in the introduction to the most recent publication on Casas Grandes, an edited volume titled, *Ancient Paquimé and the Casas Grandes World*, series editor John Ware stated that he hoped "the legacy of Charlie Di Peso will continue to inspire creative research on the deep history of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands."[83] Indeed, the past forty years have produced additional

research and activity that hopes to elucidate further Casas Grandes' place in the prehistory of Chihuahua. Di Peso viewed Casas Grandes as on the northern frontier of central Mesoamerica, providing a link to the Southwest.

Despite the rejection of Di Peso's central hypothesis, what can be said for the vast amount of data he and his team collected? How should one view Amerind and Di Peso's contribution to archaeology? Di Peso's central hypothesis concerning putchtecas—Aztec traders and merchants—and the forced spread of Mesoamerican culture into the Southwest has been almost universally rejected by archaeologists and scholars, yet his other contributions continue to be of great interest to the archaeological community.

With the establishment of Amerind, Fulton extended his commitment to research into the Southwest's pre-European past. During the first several decades of the foundation's history, the focus was on self-sponsored excavations and investigations. The culmination of these efforts was Di Peso's work at Casas Grandes. However, much has changed since that time. Following Di Peso's death in 1982, the new director, Anne Woosley, led the foundation down a decidedly different path. As opposed to a focus on excavation and analysis, under Woosley's leadership beginning in 1984, the museum became the focal point of Amerind's efforts. To that end, the museum was renovated and reimagined with interpretive and gallery exhibits. She also introduced an advanced seminar series that brought together archaeologists and other academics to discuss research questions related to Native peoples, as well as other education programs. Frequently, Native artists and artisans lead workshops, discussions, and similar offerings. In keeping with its desire to include Native voices, The Amerind Foundation's Board of Directors selected its first Native member in 2009. Due in large part to Woosley's efforts, a walk through the foundation's museum today is decidedly different

from Fulton and Di Peso's time when it was open by appointment only. The new museum highlights the art, culture, and history of Native peoples of the Southwest, while an abundance of unopened, unsold, and unutilized volumes of *Casas Grandes* remains stored in the museum's archives. The crux of the matter is that museum leadership is not entirely sure what to do with these remaining copies; the narratives and images they contain simply do not mesh with the foundation's newly affirmed goals or image.

Most archaeologists now overwhelmingly agree that Di Peso's dating, based on tree-ring sequences, was incorrect. Instead, the period of significance for Casas Grandes has been demonstrated to be over an entire century later. This detail meant that his approach to explaining these pre-European peoples through the combined use of archaeological, historical, and ethnographic data did not align with the people or time frames he described. The data he relied upon was incomplete or from the incorrect temporal contexts. In some cases, Jeffrey Dean and John Ravesloot argue that the archaeological evidence did not sufficiently support his suppositions.[84]

Notes

1. Don Perceval to Charles Di Peso, 31 July 1969, MSS001, box 4, folder 13, Amerind Foundation Collection, Dragoon, AZ.

2. Perceval to Di Peso, 31 July 1969, Amerind Foundation Collection.

3. Paul Bailey, "In Remembrance: Don Louis Perceval, 1908-1979," *The Branding Iron* 136 (September 1979): 3-6.

4. Don Perceval to Charles Di Peso, 13 May 1964, MSS001, box 4, folder 13, Amerind Foundation Collection, Dragoon, AZ.

5. Perceval to Charles Di Peso, 31 July 1969, MSS001, box 4, folder 13, Amerind Foundation Collection, Dragoon, AZ

6. The non-standard spelling "archeology" was a common spelling before the spelling was standardized as "archaeology."

7. Johnathan E. Reyman, "Walter W. Taylor, 1913-1997," in *Encyclopedia of Archaeology: The Great Archaeologists*, ed. T. A. Murray, (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1999), 681-700.

8. Allan Maca, "Walter Taylor's Conjunctive Approach in Maya Archaeology," in *Prophet, Pariah, and Pioneer: Walter W. Taylor and Dissension in American Archaeology*, ed. Allan L. Maca, Jonathan E. Reyman, and William J. Folan (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2010), 273.

9. Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, Second Edition (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 301-03.

10. Julian H. Steward and Frank M. Setzler, "Function and Configuration in Archaeology," *American Antiquity* 4, no. 1 (July 1938): 4-10.

11. Steward and Setzler, "Function and Configuration," 8.

12. Walter W. Taylor, *A Study of Archeology* (Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association, 1948), 107.

13. Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Conceptual Structure in Middle American Studies," in *The Maya and their Neighbors* (New York, NY: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1940) 46.

14. John W. Bennett, "Recent developments in the functional interpretation of archaeological data," *American Antiquity* 9, no. 2 (1943): 208.

15. Reyman, "Walter W. Taylor, 1913-1997," 686.

16. Jonathan E. Reyman, "Walter Willard Taylor, Jr.: A Biographical Sketch and Bibliography," in *Prophet, Pariah, and Pioneer*, 62.

17. Walter W. Taylor, "Clyde Kluckhohn and American archaeology," in *Culture and Life: Essays in Memory of Clyde Kluckhohn*, ed. Walter Taylor, J. L. Fischer, and E. Z. Vogt (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973) 25-26.

18. Robert F. Burgh, "Comment on Taylor's 'A Study of Archeology,'" *American Anthropologist* 52 (1950): 114-117.

19. Glyn E. Daniel, "Review: A Study of Archaeology. by W. W. Taylor," *Man*, 51 (June 1951): 82-83.

20. Richard B. Woodbury, "Reviewed Work: A Study of Archeology by Walter W. Taylor," *American Antiquity* 19, no. 3 (January 1954): 292.

21. Woodbury, "Review: A Study of Archeology," 292.

22. Reyman, "Walter W. Taylor, 1913-1997," 687; Charles Di Peso, *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca* Vol. 1 (Dragoon, AZ: The Amerind Foundation Inc., 1974), 21.

23. Richard B. Woodbury, *Alfred V. Kidder*, (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1973), 76.

24. Carroll L. Riley, "Charles C. Di Peso: An Intellectual Biography, in *Culture and Contact: Charles C. Di Peso's Gran Chichimeca*, ed. Anne I. Woosley and John C. Ravesloot (Dragoon, AZ: The Amerind Foundation, 1993), 16.

25. Michael E. Whalen and Paul E. Minnis, *Casas Grandes and its Hinterland*, (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2001), 48-49.

26. See Jeffrey S. Dean and John C. Ravesloot, "The Chronology of Cultural Interaction in the Gran Chichimeca," in *Culture and Contact*, 16.

27. Robert C. Euler, "Review: *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca* by Charles C. Di Peso and Gloria J. Fenner," *American Anthropologist* 78, no. 2 (June 1976): 469; John N. Spuhler, "Review: *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca* by Charles C. Di Peso and Gloria J. Fenner," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 32, no. 2 (Summer, 1976): 199.

28. Euler, "Review," 470.

29. Spuhler, "Review," 199.

30. Di Peso, *Casas Grandes* Vol. 1, 247.

31. Charles C. Di Peso, "The Northern Sector of the Mesoamerican World System," in *Forgotten Places and Things:Archaeological Perspectives on American History*, ed. A. E. Ward (Albuquerque, NM: Center for Anthropological Research, 1983), 11.

32. Whalen and Minnis, *Casas Grandes and its Hinterland*, 47-49.

33. "Casas Grandes Computer Programming," PFC, box 1, folder 15, Amerind Foundation Collection, Dragoon, AZ.

34. Gordon R. Willey and Phillip Phillips, *Method and Theory in American Archaeology* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1958); Lewis R. Binford, "Archaeology as Anthropology," *American Antiquity* 28, no. 2 (1962): 217-225; Kent V. Flannery, "Archaeology with a Capital S," in *Research and Theory in Current Archaeology*, ed. C. L. Redman (New York, NY: John Wiley, 1973), 47-53; Albert C. Spaulding, "Explanation in Archaeology," in *New Perspectives in Archaeology*, ed. Sally R. Binford and Lewis R. Binford (Chicago, IL: Aldine, 1968), 33-41.

35. See Woosley and Ravesloot, *Culture and Contact*.

36. "About Us," Amerind Foundation and Museum, accessed March 26, 2022, https://www.amerind.org/about-amerind/.

37. "Founding Fathers' Policy Statement," 30 November 30 1937, Articles of Incorporation, Amerind Foundation Collection, Dragoon, AZ.

38. William Shirley Fulton, *Archaeological Notes on Texas Canyon, Arizona* (New York, NY: Heye Foundation, 1934).

39 . A.V. Kidder to William Fulton, 28 November 1938, Fulton – Misc. Correspondence, Amerind Foundation Collection, Dragoon, AZ.

40. Kidder to Fulton, 28 November 1938.

41. "History of the Collections," National Museum of the American Indian, accessed March 1, 2022, https://americanindian.si.edu/explore/collections/history.

42. J. Jefferson Reid, "Emil Walter Haury: The Archaeologist as Humanist and Scientist," in *Emil W. Haury's Prehistory of the American Southwest*, ed. Emil W. Haury, J. Jefferson Reid, and David E. Doyel (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1986), 7.

43. George Heye to William Fulton, 15 Apil. 1937, Correspondence – Heye Foundation 1936-1939, Amerind Foundation Collection, Dragoon, AZ.

44. William Fulton to Emil Haury, 20 May 1948, Fulton Correspondence, box 3,

folder 6, Amerind Foundation Collection, Dragoon, AZ.

45. Di Peso, *Casas Grandes* Vol. 3, 800.

46. Whalen and Minnis, *Casas Grandes and Its Hinterland*, 32.

47. Di Peso, *Casas Grandes* Vol. 1, 22-24.

48. Erik Reed to Charles Di Peso, n.d., MSS001, Box 3, Folder 8, Amerind Foundation Collection, Dragoon, AZ.

49. Charles Di Peso to Erik Reed, 9 June 1964, MSS001, box 3, folder 8, Amerind Foundation Collection, Dragoon, AZ.

50. Charles C. Di Peso, "Gran Chichimecca," keynote address delivered at the History and Identity: the Southwest in World Perspective, Tucson, AZ November 30, 1979.

51. Di Peso, "The Babocomari Village Site," 221.

52. Charles Di Peso, "Casas Grandes and the Gran Chichimeca," *El Palacio* 75, no. 4 (Winter 1968): 45-61.

53. Charles Di Peso, John B. Rinaldo and Gloria J. Fenner, *A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca* Vol. 4 (Dragoon, AZ: The Amerind Foundation Inc., 1974), 29.

54. Di Peso, Rinaldo and Fenner, *Casas Grandes*, Vol. 4, 29.

55. David R. Wilcox and Lynette O. Shenk, "The Architecture of the Casa Grades and Its Interpretation," in *Arizona State Museum Archaeological Series* 115 (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona, 1977).

56. David E. Doyle, "Salado cultural development in the Tonto basin and Globe-Miami areas, Central Arizona," *The Kiva* 42 (1976):12-13.

57. Perceval to Di Peso, 31 Jul. 1969, Amerind Foundation Collection.

58. Di Peso, Rinaldo and Fenner, *Casas Grandes*, Vol. 4, 9.

59. Di Peso, Rinaldo and Fenner, *Casas Grandes*, Vol. 4, 11.

60. Dean and Ravesloot, "The Chronology of Cultural Interaction in the Gran Chichimeca," 89.

61. CHIH:D:9:1 was the site identifier for Casas Grandes by the Joint Casas Grandes

Expedition.

62. CHIH:D:9:2 was the site identifier for the Convento site, a late pithouse period site located nearby Casas Grandes.

63. Di Peso, Rinaldo and Fenner, *Casas Grandes*, Vol. 4, 14.

64. Charles Di Peso, *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca* Vol. 2 (Dragoon, AZ: The Amerind Foundation Inc., 1974), 292.

65. Michael S. Foster, "The Aztlan Tradition of West and Northwest Mexico and Casas Grandes: Speculations on the Medio Period Florescence," in *The Casas Grandes World*, ed. Curtis F. Schaafsma and Carroll L. Riley (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1999); Charles J. Kelley, "Zenith Passage: The View from Chalchihuites," in *Culture and Contact*, 227-250.

66. Dean and Ravesloot, "The Chronology of Cultural Interaction in the Gran Chichimeca," 83-103.

67. Stephen H. Lekson, *The Chaco Meridian: Centers of Political Power in the Ancient Southwest* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1999,) 94-95.

68. John C. Ravesloot, Jeffrey S. Dean and Michael S. Foster, "A New Perspective on the Casas Grandes Tree-Ring Dates," *Paper presented at the Fourth Mogollon Conference, University of Arizona, Tucson*, October 1986.

69. Jeffrey S. Dean and John C. Ravesloot, "The Chronology of Cultural Interaction in the Gran Chichimeca," 93.

70. Di Peso, Rinaldo and Fenner, *Casas Grandes*, Vol. 4, 11-13

71. Di Peso, Rinaldo and Fenner, *Casas Grandes*, Vol. 4, 24.

72. Di Peso, Rinaldo and Fenner, *Casas Grandes*, Vol. 4, 24.

73. Gloria Fenner, personal communication.

74. Lewis Binford, "Archaeology as Anthropology," *American Antiquity* 28 (1962): 217-225.

75. Charles C. Di Peso, "The Northern Sector of the Mesoamerican World System," *Meetings of Society for Historical Archaeology and Conference on Underwater Archaeology*, January 8-11, 1980, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

76. Paul E. Minnis and Michael E. Whalen, ed., *Ancient Paquimé and the Casas*

Grandes World, Amerind Studies in Anthropology (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2015), ix.

77. Gisele Díaz, Alan Rodgers, and Bruce E. Byland, ed., *The Codex Borgia: A Full-Color Restoration of the Ancient Mexican Manuscript* (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1993).

78. Díaz, Rodgers, and Byland, eds., *The Codex Borgia*, xxvii.

79. Tim Valentine, "A Unified Account of the Effects of Distinctiveness, Inversion, and Race in Face Recognition," *The Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology* 43A, no. 2 (1991): 161-204.

80. Gillian Rhodes, *Superportraits: Caricatures and Recognition* (New York, NY: Psychology Press, 1997), 118.

81. Graham Byatt and Gillian Rhodes, "Recognition of Own-Race and Other-Race Caricatures: Implications for Models of Face Recognition," *Vision Research*, 38, nos. 15-16 (August 1998): 2455–2468.

82. Charles C. Di Peso, "Gran Chichimecca," keynote address, 1979.

83. Minnis and Whalen, ed., *Ancient Paquimé*, xii.

84. Dean and Ravesloot, "The Chronology of Cultural Interaction in the Gran Chichimeca," 84.

Chapter: Conclusion

This dissertation is framed by generating movement toward acts of restorative justice through understanding the history of institutions' engagement with Native histories and their past. Specifically, I have concerned the discussion here with archaeology and how it has adversely affected historical as well as modern conceptions of human difference, specifically between EuroAmericans and Native peoples of the U.S.

Undeniably, archaeology has generated a lot of data about the Native past in the United States. Much of this data is uncontestable. For example, the diameter of the great kivas at Chaco Canyon, the length of Cliff Palace at Mesa Verde, and the height of the architectural remains at Casa Grande are all largely undebatable facts. While each of these is derived from Western frameworks of knowledge, they constitute objective truth as nearly as the discipline of archaeology could be said to accomplish. There are also other data that are uncontestable. Some of these include the number of Native remains exhumed from ancestral burial grounds by archaeologists, the number of cultural artifacts removed from Native lands by archaeologists, and the number of acres of Native lands administered under the federal government through the National Park Service, many of which were only available because the Dawes Act reduced Native reservations and landholdings by 90,000,000 acres.

Other points of data continue to be open for debate and reevaluation. The dates of ancestral sites based on tree-ring dating, while believed to be very reliable, are not representations of objective fact. Even the connections of living Native peoples to ancestral sites through DNA analysis remains only objective as the science upon which these conclusions were built—and that science was built upon scientific racism. As historian Paul

Spickard observes, "[p]eople have moved back and forth across great distances and mixed everywhere;" DNA tests do not produce the sort of history for which they are purported to do.[1]

Some facets of archaeological study are infinitely unknowable in the sense that no matter how broad the consensus or how solid the data appears to be, conclusions remain merely science's best explanation. The peopling of the Americas, for example, remains under debate in terms of timeframe and geographical routes. No amount of data will ever be enough to definitively say how many people migrated to the Americas and at what times and by which routes. Equally unknowable is the number of those first migrants' descendants who were detrimentally and unequivocally affected personally by archaeologists' pursuit of science. While archaeologists' have always been concerned with the human past, their research and conclusions—for better or for worse and to more or less of a degree—had and continues to have quantifiable effects in the human present. Although most of the archaeologists discussed in this dissertation have themselves joined the past tense of human history, the legacy of their work has not. Untangling the implications of their research on human lives in 2022 requires a deep dive into the history of Americanist archaeology in order to trace how their often-racial perspectives of the past continue to echo through time and pollute our present.

I do not doubt that many archaeologists saw themselves as doing the world and indeed Native peoples a great service with their research, sometimes perhaps even at great expense to themselves. When Jesse Walter Fewkes recorded A:shiwi and Hopi songs into a phonograph, he ensured their preservation for posterity. Did it ever occur to him, I wonder, if the people themselves rather than their melodious singing was what needed preservation

most? Indeed, as did many others, he would have believed that the former was a lost cause since 400 years of colonial history established these peoples as a dying and vanishing race. Philosopher Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak would terms this sort of race-based science a "remotely orchestrated, far-flung, and heterogeneous project to constitute the colonial subject as Other," the story of which she argues are the clearest examples of epistemic violence.[2] And indeed, what was archaeology if not a vehicle for rendering distance between White EuroAmericans and the ancestral custodians of the continent?

With all of the scholarly negotiation and back-and-forth that has defined archaeology, a tremendous amount of knowledge was still distilled down to be consumed by the public. This information had included scientific formations of race, the definition of Native peoples as the anthropological ~~*Other*~~, and the preferencing of EuroAmerican narrative in public spaces, at museums, and on the landscape. Those scientific ideas sometimes evolved drastically and rapidly over time, yet their broader interpretation to public audiences did not. Indeed, developments were less a product of new scientific developments and instead a gradual and ongoing abandonment of racially pseudoscientific ideas. To the public, the pace with which outmoded ideas reached them was woefully delayed.

The rise and fall of Adolph Hitler and the Nazi Party engendered a change in perspectives on race and ethnicity by many scientists of the Western world. In 1950, The United Nations' *Statement on Race* aspired to establish a post-racial world for those scientists particularly interested in human variation and evolution.[3] Historian Tracy Teslow detailed this history along with the implications for how theories were disseminated to the public through art, museum exhibitions, books, and pamphlets but stopped short of addressing anthropology's legacy in the creation and continued cultivation of global racial stereotypes

past 1950.[4] On the other hand, legal scholar Dorothy Roberts asserted that anthropology's continued application of racial categories to contemporary studies further supports and bolsters racial stereotypes, as well as the public image of race as a legitimate biological concept.[5] Even with Nazism as an impetus, the progress all anthropological fields, including archaeology, have made in the last seventy years, distancing itself from the race concept has been slow and irregular.

The study of humankind in the late nineteenth century was heavily influenced by the work of Samuel Morton, Lewis Henry Morgan, and Francis Galton, each of whom approached the study of the human race through quantifiable characteristics of human morphology. In turn, they influenced anthropologists and archaeologists, among whom were the eugenicists that inspired the Third Reich. While these racial scientists intended to uncover patterns that would enable those who studied humankind to sort and classify human diversity successfully, the construction of zoological classifications—for any species—allows room for subjectivity. As such, all such attempts, and every similar undertaking since, inevitably encountered difficulty in the creation of discrete racial and physical types as their chosen characteristics were never distributed in a geographically uniform manner.[6] Nonetheless, the acceptance of ideas inspired by such methods was generally ubiquitous throughout the early twentieth century and remains essential for some scientists, such as geneticists, today.

By the 1910s and 1920s, several influential scholars in the United States, including Franz Boas and W. E. B Du Bois, disputed the validity of race as a legitimate biological concept. In the context of the Americas, specifically, race seemed an unstable concept, quickly complicated by constant intermixing. These critiques stemmed from both changing social and scientific theories that clashed with the existing racial climate of classification.

Rather than fully engaging with these debates, scholars such as Boas argued that anthropologists should instead concern themselves with the idea of culture instead of the concept of race.[7] While the number of anthropologists who fell into the mold of Boasian anthropology grew throughout the first half of the twentieth century, many scholars continued with broad assumptions that their scientific inquiries would be necessary for the study of race.[8] For Americanist archaeologists, this assumption meant desecrating burial grounds and exhuming as many Native human remains as possible.

Undoing anthropology's contributions to public perceptions of race took an entire generation of scientists to address, and the job was left unfinished, as it remains. When Nazi Germany extended Social Darwinism and Eugenics to their zenith in the 1930s, scientists responded with an outpouring of popular works that criticized the political use of "superiority" and "inferiority" through the anthropological lens of race. Biologists Julian Huxley and A.C. Haddon authored perhaps the most influential piece of the World War II period in 1935, titled *We Europeans: a survey of racial problems*. Together, they argued for the primacy of population genetics over that of limited definitions of race, presenting a summary of the fallacies and contradictions of racial biology.[9] In a book review, historian Lawrence Reddick called *We Europeans* required reading for "every school teacher, editor, and public official...south of the Ohio River."[10] Similarly, in 1948, Ruth Benedict and her Columbia colleague, Gene Weltfish, depicted perceived racial differences as primarily superficial in *In Henry's Backyard: The Races of Mankind*.[11] The text of this book was based on the 1943 pamphlet *Races of Mankind*, previously published by Public Affairs Committee Inc. and also authored by Benedict and Weltfish.[12] The book presented the scientific case against racist beliefs in simple language with cartoon illustrations. The illustrations contained

were adapted from "Brotherhood of Man," an animated color film based on the original pamphlet and produced by United Productions of America, Hollywood, on the initiative of the United Automobile Workers-CIO as a contribution to the American people. In the original 1946 film, the narrator explained,

> The first people on earth knew only a very small section of it. They lived close together and looked alike. But pretty soon, they started to spread out. And as they drifted further apart, little differences started to appear. Most of the people of the world had the same in-between skin color as their ancestors and still do. But three groups on the very edges of the world population developed distinct differences in color. These exceptional groups gave rise to our idea of three separate races of mankind.[13]

Although exhibiting marked differences in skin tone, the illustrations did not otherwise caricature racial features, although they did rely upon stereotypical appearances for the different shapes of eyes. The short video ends with an upbeat message that frames equality as the cornerstone to ensuring that, in the future, we will "all work together."

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established in November 1945 in the wake of the genocide of Nazism. The UNESCO 1945 constitution declared that "[t]he great and terrible war which now has ended was made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races."[14] The first of the UNESCO statements on race was "The Race Question," issued in July 1950. Anthropologist Ashley Montagu drafted the statement, and it was endorsed by some of the leading researchers of the time in the fields of psychology, biology, and cultural anthropology. The statement included both a rejection of a scientific basis for theories of racial hierarchies and a moral condemnation of racism.[15] Its first statement suggested, in particular, to drop the term race altogether and instead speak of

ethnic groups, which proved to be controversial: “Scientists have reached general agreement in recognizing that mankind is one: that all men belong to the same species, Homo sapiens.”[16] Although this statement is frequently lauded for its change in thinking, historian Anthony Hazard has argued that Montagu’s stance on race merely echoed the pre-war sentiment and fostered the acceptance of environmentalism and synthetic evolutionary theory.[17]

The 1950 statement was most concerned with dispelling the notion of race as species. It defined the concept of race in terms of a population defined by specific anatomical and physiological characteristics as divergent from other populations; it gives examples of the Caucasian, Mongoloid, and Negroid races.[18] The statements maintain that biological race is a social myth and that biological variability was as significant within any race as between races. It argued that there is no scientific basis for believing that there exist any innate differences in intellectual, psychological, or emotional potential among races.[19] As a result of a lack of representation of physical anthropologists in the drafting committee, the 1950 publication was criticized by biologists and physical anthropologists for confusing the biological and social senses of race and for going beyond the scientific facts, although there was a general agreement about the statements conclusions.[20]

Similarly, *What Is Race? Evidence from Scientists,* published in 1952, was a picture book intended for schoolchildren published by UNESCO as part of a high-profile campaign on race. The booklet contains bold, semi-abstract, pared-down images accompanied by text and presented concepts “often in a necessarily oversimplified form-so as to make them more easily intelligible to the layman.”[21] Among the questions it attempted to answer for readers was “Did the sun develop skin color?”[22] Produced by UNESCO’s Department of Mass

Communication, the picture book represented the organization's early-postwar confidence in the power of scientific knowledge as a social remedy and diplomatic tool. In keeping with a significant component of the race campaign, *What Is Race?* presented genetics as the route to an enlightened, scientific, non-prejudiced understanding of race.

As the second half of the twentieth century began, anthropology began to fashion for itself a new notion of human variation, as well as the concept of the ~~*Other*~~. As support for the study of populations replacing racial archetypes, anthropologists frequently struggled to adapt to a framework that viewed human variation along a spectrum. The employment of discrete racial types had been a helpful method for interpreting the ~~*Other*~~, as well as for communicating those interpretations to a Western audience. As anthropologists struggled to adapt to a post-1950 society, global racial upheaval–manifested in the U.S. as the Civil Rights Movement–confronted scholars and challenged dogmatic conceptions of humanity. There were many missteps along the way as anthropologists fumbled to adapt to emerging ideologies while communicating their findings in a manner relatable to a general audience. In some instances, these pronouncements were capable of taking the discipline one step backward, given the discipline's tenuous footing.

As Charles Di Peso finalized his site report for publication, the field of anthropology was still coming to terms with acknowledging its racist past. In 1973, a year prior to Di Peso's massive publication, anthropologist Diane Lewis described anthropology's then-current challenges in accepting responsibility for the political implications of their work. Regarding the colonial framework in which anthropology operates, she argued that although the discipline had begun to criticize its history, anthropology contributed to the "gulf between Western and non-Western culture by providing information that supports the mental

constructs developed" by Western powers.[23] Recording the differences between two groups—an act Lewis does not consider inherently racist—acquires a context of racism in the climate of a colonial setting, further arguing that anthropologists sometimes exploited these differences for their own benefit.[24]

In addition to examining the implications for race, in this dissertation, I have also attempted to trace how knowledge production and negotiation have occurred within the discipline. I see these two components as vastly interconnected. As anthropology continued to try to define race throughout the nineteenth century scientifically, archaeology became the next logical step in that study by extending the examination backward in time. When Morgan sent Bandelier into the Southwest, his goal was to clarify the question at the center of anthropology, the oldest and first question of the discipline: what human races, and where did they come from? The question of race was central to everything Morgan wanted to prove and Bandelier sought to accomplish. Who built the ancestral sites in the Southwest, where did they come from, how are they connected to living peoples, and what do those answers tell us about humankind more broadly? Until archaeology disconnects itself from trying to refine those definitions of human difference further, it will witness no scientific revolution.

In further revisions of this manuscript, I intend to augment Part Three with additional chapters exploring people and topics related to archaeology. Although Edgar Lee Hewett has never had a proper biography written would undoubtedly make an excellent candidate for this endeavor, I feel, physically, that I have already discussed him *ad nauseam*. Nevertheless, he played a tremendous part in defining the Southwest, especially as it exists in the minds of the broader public. The Santa Fe of the twentieth century and twenty-first century has been

described as the "Disneyland of the Southwest." This recognition comes primarily from the facelift it gave itself in the early decades of the twentieth century. Its transformation from a "modern" U.S. city into a romantic Pueblo town owes much of its image to Hewett's redesign of Santa Fe's New Mexico state Museum, the first building restyled in the now well-known Santa Fe style. An indelible image was born as other buildings followed in the Pueblo Style. To cement it as a tourist destination, Hewett reintroduced the *Fiestas de Santa Fe* in 1912, where local Native peoples paraded around the historic Santa Fe Plaza where their ancestors were murdered in mock displays of their defeat at the hands of the Spanish led by Diego de Vargas. Instead, I will likely turn to more educational subjects.

The rise of Indigenous archaeology in the twentieth century put an entirely different perspective on what it means to be an archaeologist. With their histories erased from the landscape and minds of their elders, Native people have turned to archaeology as a way for understanding the past. Notable scholars have undertaken enriching and meaningful work throughout various parts of the Southwest.

Harold Gladwin, I believe, deserves a closer look as well. Like George Heye and William Fulton, Gladwin was a wealthy man who became an archaeologist through his passion and ability to finance his own endeavors. But he did attempt to be a serious scientist, and he published exhaustively. His foundation closed its doors only after their best archaeologists had been lured away by larger institutions. Although his personal work may not have demonstrated the same scientific rigor as someone like Emil Haury, his one-time employee, I believe he nevertheless offers lessons for the present. Much like Di Peso, he provides a gateway for understanding how archaeology as a discipline solidified its borders and self-defined who was qualified to contribute data, knowledge, and theory.

There are reasons to be optimistic for the future of the National Park Service as well. In 2009, a committee provided recommendations for Native, Indigenous, and Sovereign peoples to become "full reciprocal partners" with the Park Service. Their suggestions included: "assure American Indian Tribal, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian consultation on all appropriate activities of National Parks and National Park Service programs," "increase recruitment of Native Americans as National Park Service employees," "use native stories and languages in park interpretation," "cooperate with and provide assistance to tribes in developing and operating tribal park systems and tribal programs to preserve natural and cultural resources and in other endeavors that are part of the National Park Idea," and "update policies to facilitate connections by Native peoples and their living cultures to parks and other areas, including private access for ecologically sustainable traditional cultural practices."[25] Examining the outcomes of these initiatives would, I believe, provide some balance to the narrative presented in Part Two.

Notes

1. Paul R. Spickard with Jeffrey Moniz, and Ingrid Dineen-Wimberly, *Race in Mind: Critical Essays* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015), 157.

2. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 280-81.

3. Tracy Teslow, *Constructing Race: The Science of Bodies and Cultures in American Anthropology* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 306.

4. Teslow, *Constructing Race*, 306.

5. Dorothy E. Roberts, *Fatal Invention: How Science, Politics, and Big Business Re-Create Race in the Twenty-First Century* (New York, NY: New Press, 2011).

6. Teslow, *Constructing Race*, 45-49.

7. See Franz Boas, "The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology," Science 4, (1896): 901-908; and Boas, "The Mind of Primitive Man," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 14 (1901): l-11.

8. Teslow, *Constructing Race*, 44.

9. Julian Huxley, Alfred C. Haddon, and A. M. Carr-Saunders, *We Europeans: A Survey of 'Racial' Problems* (New York, NY: Harper, 1936).

10. Lawrence D. Reddick, "Review of *We Europeans,* by Julian Huxley and A.C. Haddon," *The Journal of Negro History* 22, no. 2 (1937): 255-57.

11. Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, *In Henry's Backyard the Races of Mankind* (New York, NY: H. Schuman, 1948).

12. Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, *The Races of Mankind* (New York, NY: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1943).

13. See "HD transfer of 1946 'Brotherhood of Man,'" by UPA productions, accessed 3 May 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Qr0X1BmJ0Q.

14. UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), *Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)*, 16 November 1945, http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ddb73094.html.

15. Ernest Beaglehole, Ashley Montagu, and UNESCO, *The Race Question* (Paris, FR: UNESCO, 1950).

16. Beaglehole, Montagu, and UNESCO, *The Race Question*.

17. Anthony Q. Hazard. "A Racialized Deconstruction? Ashley Montagu and the 1950 UNESCO Statement on Race," *Transforming Anthropology* 19, no. 2 (2011): 174-186.

18. Beaglehole, Montagu, and UNESCO, *The Race Question*.

19. Beaglehole, Montagu, and UNESCO, *The Race Question*.

20. R. A. M. Bergman, et al., *The Race Concept: Results of an Inquiry* (Paris, FR: UNESCO, 1952), 7.

21. Diana Tead, L. C. Dunn, and UNESCO Department of Mass Communications, *What Is Race? Evidence from Scientists* (Paris, FR: UNESCO, 1952), 4.

22. Tead and Dunn, *What Is Race?*, 35.

23. Diane Lewis, "Anthropology and Colonialism," *Current Anthropology* 14, no. 5 (December 1973): 582-583.

24. Lewis, "Anthropology and Colonialism," 584.

25. "Cultural Resource and Historic Preservation Committee Report Advancing the National Park Idea: National Parks Second Century Commission Committee Reports," National Park Service, accessed March 26, 2022, https://irma.nps.gov/DataStore/DownloadFile/483299.

Epilogue

I love museums. I always have. I convinced my family to shape our summer vacations during the summer around going to museums. Among my favorites, was the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown New York, the Kennedy Space Center in Florida, Fort McHenry in coastal Maryland, and my most favorite of all because it was home to the famous "Star-Spangled Banner," the Smithsonian. As an adult, I can turn this interest into a bit more of an obsession. Three days in the Louvre. Four days in the American Museum of Natural History. A week at the Smithsonian. Fourteen Southwestern museums Twenty-five days. If there's a sign up ahead for a museum, or monument, or outdoor display then I'm stopping because I want to see the story that's being told. All museums or monuments or ancestral sites or exhibitions or wayside displays inherently contain a narrative. Those narratives become much more intriguing, and disturbing, to me when they fail to tell a balanced story about the people involved.

Through the research in this dissertation, I have tried to make sense of how and why racialized depictions of Native peoples remains part of our national landscape. I have particularly concerned myself with anthropology and archaeology. I have attempted to not be presentist, but the past has implications for the present and there remains lessons to be learned. Throughout my research, I still am left wondering why isn't the history of archaeology and anthropology a bigger concern to the discipline? And why aren't archeologist taught about it more explicitly? In March 2022, I am currently enrolled in graduate course titled "Anthropology and Race." However, the day before the quarter is set

to begin, only three students are enrolled and the class is in danger of the University of California, Santa Barbara canceling it. This matter seems like cause for concern. It seems to me that "teaching graduate students not to be racist researchers" should be a priority, but maybe it is not.

At the close, I still find myself with unanswered questions. Is all of the archaeology currently being done by universities, private companies, federal government, and others genuinely leading to the production of knowledge? If so, whose knowledge is being produced? And why are we still digging if there are millions of untouched materials and records in archives all across the country and world? Why is funding unavailable for archaeology doctoral students who want to pursue archival laboratory research? When did looting actually end? This dissertation has represented merely the first step in beginning to comprehend some of these more vexing questions.

Appendix A: Native Terminology

Term	Language	Common Equivalent	Language
Sivan Vahki	O'odham	*Casa Grande*	Spanish
Diné	Atahabaskan-Diné	*Navajo*	Spanish
Goyaałé		*Geronimo*	English
Tȟatȟáŋka Íyotake		*Sitting Bull*	English
A:shiwi		*Zuni (People)*	Spanish
Halona Idiwan'a		*Zuni (Pueblo)*	Spanish
Ska'kaik	Akimel O'Odham	*Snaketown*	English
Diné	Atahabaskan-Diné	*Navajo*	Spanish
Kits'iil	Atahabaskan-Diné	*Keet Seel*	English transliteration of Atahabaskan-Diné
Kawestima	Hopi	*Keet Seel*	English transliteration of Atahabaskan-Diné
Kin Dootł'izh	Atahabaskan-Diné	*Aztec Ruins*	English
Tsé Bii' Ndzisgaii	Atahabaskan-Diné	*Monument Valley*	English
tú zighoot	Tonto Apache	*Tuzigoot*	English
Tsé Bii' Ttah Hoghni Tli Dalichee	Atahabaskan-Diné	*Valley of the Gods*	English
Tuah Tah	Taos	*Taos*	Taos

Appendix B: Bibliographic and Citation Analysis – Taylor 1948 compared to Di Peso 1974

A comparative citation analysis helps determine the specific pieces of literature that profoundly influenced these two seemingly related works. It also offers a peek at the sources that the respective authors ostensibly ignored. Archaeologist Tom Brughmans has recently demonstrated the efficacy of citation analyses in understanding how conversations within archaeology can be decoded.[1] However, this type of analysis is not without limitations, and Brughmans has claimed that archaeologists' citation and publication behavior is, in fact, different from other disciplines. Nevertheless, in practical terms, citation analysis provides a new perspective by identifying the essential divergences and convergences in citation densities between groups. Of course, a simple text-based analysis is no substitute for thinking deeply about those connections and requires further reflection on the part of the commentator.[2]

For the purposes of this analysis, I relied solely upon Di Peso's citations that were listed in the first three volumes of *Casas Grandes*. This decision was made, in part, due to the large amount of data and the manual labor required to compile an accurate and complete dataset. However, the structuring of volumes one through three and of volumes four through eight were entirely different; volumes four through eight include the data-heavy archaeological records and analysis upon which three first three volumes were based.

The most prominent evidence from the compiled data is the extent to which Taylor and Di Peso utilized recent publications published in the preceding ten years (see Figure B.1). Although Taylor primarily referred to citations from the previous ten to fifteen years,

Di Peso relied heavily on earlier publications, the most prominent of which extended back forty-five years prior to publication. The last datum of years which marked the most significant number of Di Peso's citations—over 100—was 1928. Most of these citations come from a single book—the most cited entry in the entire three volumes—Hammond and Rey's 1928 translation of *Obregon's History of 16th Century Explorations in Western America.* These data clearly indicate that the historiography and scholarship into which Di Peso situated himself was an older tradition than that of Taylor.

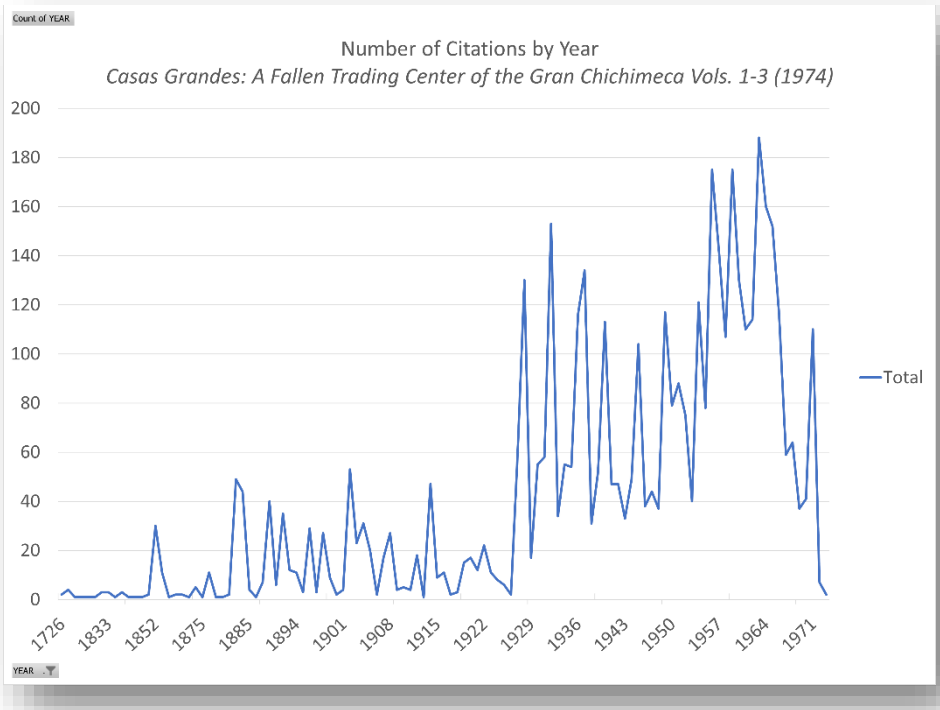


Figure B.1a.

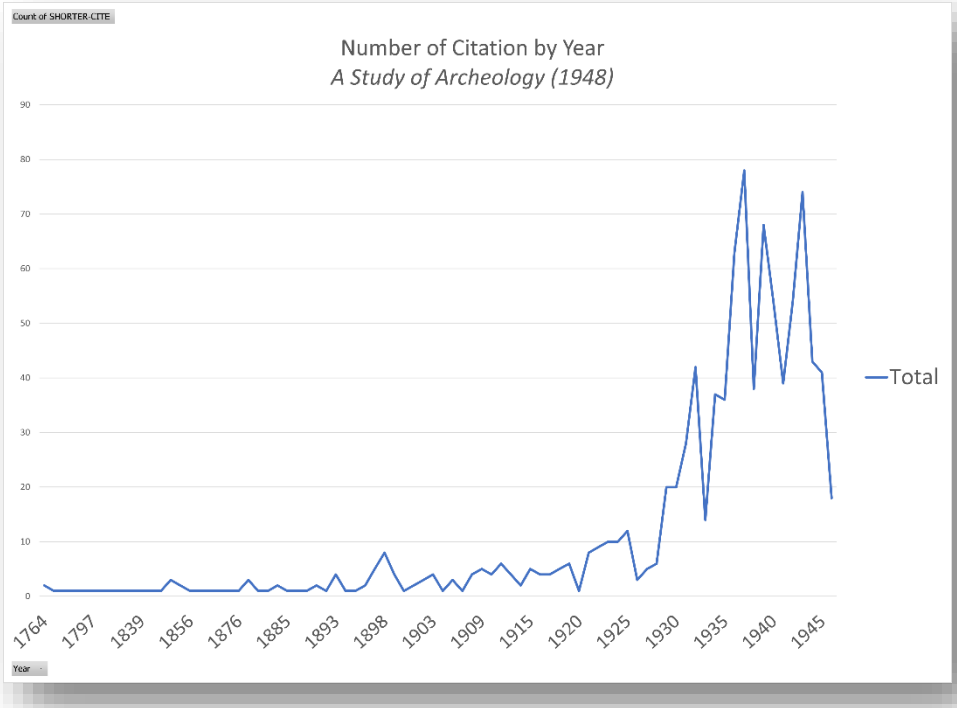


Figure B.1b.

The top ten citations by each author reveal no commonalities that frequently appear between the two books aside from 1937 Harold Gladwin et al., *Excavations at Snaketown* (see Figure B.2.). Harold Gladwin was a New York stockbroker-turned-archaeologist who founded the Gila Pueblo Foundation in Globe, Arizona, while the "et al." included Emil Haury, E.B. Sayles, and Nora Gladwin. At the time of publication, Emil Haury worked for Gila Pueblo as the archaeologist-in-charge. Taylor evoked the Gladwin et al. article primarily as a means to attack Haury in Chapter Three. Taylor addressed this fact by stating, "It is difficult to evaluate Haury's part in the account of the Snaketown excavations (Gladwin et al., 1937). But those sections that carry his by-line will be analyzed as indicators of the direction which his contributions, if not his original and personal intention, have taken in this particular case."[3] Taylor then proceeded with his critique of Haury's input: "[T]ime and time again, he notes the presence of 'headdresses', 'articles of clothing and leg and ankle bands', 'ornaments' and 'tattooing', yet nowhere was there an attempt to describe, interpret, or synthesize these items to derive a picture of the costume and ornamentation of the ancient Hohokam."[4]

	Di Peso		Taylor	
	Citation	Count	Citation	Count
1	Hammond and Rey, 1928	116	Griffin, 1943	39
2	Gladwin et al., 1937	81	Webb and DeJarnette, 1942	18
3	Peterson, 1959	70	Linton, 1936	17
4	Di Peso et al., 1956	70	Kidder, 1932	13
5	Lumholtz, 1902	52	Brew, 1946	11
6	Stephen, 1936	49	Parker, 1932	9
7	Dibble and Anderson, 1961	48	Griffin, 1937	8
8	Bancroft, 1884	43	Linton, 1945	8
9	Tozzer, 1957	40	Gladwin et al., 1937	8
10	Bandelier, 1890	39	Kidder, 1937	8

Figure B.2.

Conversely, Di Peso employed Gladwin et al. and the data contained within to support his own suppositions: "Gladwin also mentioned the similarity between the Vahki Phase houses and the large communal huts of the Chumash of the Santa Barbara coast in California (Gladwin et al., 1937, p. 252)."[5] Yet, Di Peso did not always agree entirely with Gladwin et al., with the most egregious disagreement being over the age of Casas Grandes: "Prior to the retrieval of these data, it was falsely assumed that the Casas Grandes Culture came into being C.E. 1300 or later (Gladwin, 1957, pp. 329, 332). Now, however, the dendro evidence indicates that early Paquimé was actually mid-11th century and was contemporaneous with such Anasazi-Chichimecan centers as Pueblo Bonito."[6] However, unlike Taylor, for the most part, Di Peso seemed complimentary of Gladwin and Haury's work at Snaketown, citing their findings frequently, just as he had in previous publications.[7]

A hasty examination of cited sources can be misleading. An aggregation of citation counts by authorship demonstrates a strong correlation between Taylor's citations and the

archaeologists he critiqued in Chapter Three, to the exclusion only of Ritchie, whom Taylor cited a mere eleven times (see Figure B.3). Meanwhile, the reorganization of the data reveals much stronger correlations between Di Peso and the late-nineteenth-century archaeologists Adolph Bandelier, Hubert Bancroft, and Walter Fewkes while still demonstrating the primacy of Hammond and Rey.

	Di Peso		Taylor	
	Author	**Count**	**Author**	**Count**
1	Hammond and Rey	168	Griffin	68
2	Bandelier	103	Kidder	65
3	Bancroft	93	Parker	35
4	Dibble and Anderson	89	Linton	27
5	Fewkes	86	Thompson	26
6	Di Peso et al.	86	Kroeber	24
7	Gladwin et al.	82	Roberts	23
8	Peterson	70	McKern	23
9	Sahagun	67	Haury	19
10	Sauer	60	Webb and DeJarnette	18

Figure B.3.

Conspicuously missing from Di Peso's top ten cited authors was his Ph.D. advisor, Emil Haury. But, if Haury et al., 1950; Haury and Sayles, 1947; and Haury and Hargrave, 1931 are aggregated, the total for partial or total authorships for Haury was seventy-four. Likewise, by combining Di Peso et al., 1953; Di Peso et al., 1956; and Di Peso and Matson, 1965; the total authorships for Di Peso publications become 147. Whereas Taylor cited a prior self-publication only twice, Di Peso leaned extremely heavily upon his own previously published scholarships, further illustrating the contracted framework within which Di Peso conducted his research.

In one sense, Di Peso's Archeohistory could be considered an analog to Taylor's Conjunctive; they share numerous similarities. And although they share common contemporary source materials as citations, they approach the use of that intellectual heritage in wildly different ways. Furthermore, Di Peso never found it appropriate to attack the work of other archaeologists, as did Taylor. Di Peso was content to proceed in his own fashion, employing the contrived and imagined tools of the archeohistorian, in order to weave a tale of incredible fashion. He did not bother to describe his approach; he simply noted for the record what approach he had selected to employ, then continued unflinchingly at the notion that the name for his method was not entirely self-explanatory. Riley argued that Di Peso's approach was "invented or at least popularized by Adolph Bandelier."[8] However, Bandelier's approach was itself a product of earlier work by Lewis Henry Morgan. His research agenda became the basis for Bandelier's work in the Southwest, and subsequently, Di Peso's, albeit updated with the most modern technological contrivances available as well as reorienting migrations from south to north.

Addressing the differences in the stated aims of Walter Taylor and Charles Di Peso,

their definitions of culture—or lack thereof, and the connections between the Conjunctive, Processualist, and Archeohistorical approaches demonstrates that Di Peso was not the unsung hero of Taylor's Conjunctivism and instead followed an approach all his own. Di Peso and those who influenced his methodology were all part of a pre-Taylor tradition, including such predecessors as Bandelier, Bancroft, and Fewkes. In attempting to replicate those approaches, Di Peso updated and modernized the methods that had been employed eighty years earlier. Though relying on an old-fashioned and outmoded approach, Di Peso added modern-day zest by extending the collection of data to include that which was impossible to come by prior to the development of novel technology.

Notes

1. Tom Brughmans, "Networks of Networks: A Citation Network Analysis of the Adoption, Use, and Adaptation of Formal Network Techniques in Archaeology," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 28, no. 4 (2013): 538-562.

2. Before completing my citation analysis, both texts (including all eight volumes of Di Peso's Casas Grandes) had to be digitally captured as no digital copies have been produced. In order to digitize the texts for analysis, I used the UCSB Transcription Center's Scanner Praxis, which performed at speeds of around sixteen pages per minute. After acquiring the digital images, I processed them using Adobe Photoshop for maximum quality and sharpness. Next, I converted them to PDFs using Adobe Acrobat and applied optical character recognition (OCR). Despite an accuracy rating of >95%, the OCR text required manual corrections to a substantial number of entries for misspellings and other reasons. For example, citations marked "ibid" had to be replaced with the proper names, citations that included the author's name in the text, but the publication year in the endnotes had to be reconciled, and citations where the author and publication year were separated by a block quote likewise were relinked. Taylor and Di Peso relied upon both in-text citations and endnotes, requiring each book to be manually combed.

3. Taylor, *A Study*, 67.

4. Taylor, *A Study*, 67.

5. Di Peso, *Casas Grandes* Vol. 1, 269.

6. Charles Di Peso, *Casas Grandes: A Fallen Trading Center of the Gran Chichimeca* Vol. 3 (Dragoon, AZ: The Amerind Foundation Inc., 1974), 653.

7. Charles C. Di Peso, *The Babocomari Village Site on the Babocomari River, Southeastern Arizona*, Publication No. 5 (Dragoon, AZ: The Amerind Foundation Inc., 1951); Charles C. Di Peso, *The Upper Pima of San Cayetano del Tumacacori: An Archaeohistorical Reconstruction of the Ootam of Pimeria Alta* (Dragoon, AZ: The Amerind Foundation Inc., 1956).

8. Riley, "Charles C. Di Peso," 22.

Appendix C: Acts, Laws, and Proclamations

(Listed in chronological order.)

Treaty With The Quapaw – 1819

August 24, 1818—7 Stat. 176

Proclaimed January 5, 1819.

A treaty of friendship, cession, and limits, made and entered into, this twenty-fourth day of August, eighteen hundred and eighteen, by, and between, William Clark and Auguste Chouteau, Commissioners on the part and behalf of the United States, of the one part, and the undersigned, chiefs and warriors of the Quapaw tribe or nation, on the part and behalf of their said tribe or nation, of the other part.

ARTICLE 1. The undersigned chiefs and warriors, for themselves and their said tribe or nation, do hereby acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other state, power, or sovereignty, whatsoever.

ARTICLE 2. The undersigned chiefs and warriors, for themselves and their said tribe or nation, do hereby, for, and in consideration of, the promises and stipulations hereinafter named, cede and relinquish to the United States, forever, all the lands within the following boundaries, viz:

> Beginning at the mouth of the Arkansaw river; thence extending up the Arkansaw, to the Canadian fork, and up the Canadian fork to its source; thence south, to Big Red river, and down the middle of that river, to the Big Raft; thence, a direct line, so as to strike the Mississippi river, thirty leagues in a straight line, below the mouth of Arkansaw; together with all their claims to land east of the Mississippi, and north of the Arkansaw river, included within the coloured lines 1, 2, and 3, on the above map,(*) with the exception and reservation following, that is to say: the tract of country bounded as follows: Beginning at a point on the Arkansaw river, opposite the present post of Arkansaw, and running thence, a due southwest course, to the Washita river; thence, up that river, to the Saline fork; and up the Saline fork to a point, from whence a due north course would strike the Arkansaw river at the Little Rock; and thence, down the right bank of the Arkansaw, to the place of beginning:

which said tract of land, last above designated and reserved, shall be surveyed and marked off, at the expense of the United States, as soon as the same can be done with convenience, and shall not be sold or disposed of, by the said Quapaw tribe or nation, to any individual whatever, nor to any state or nation, without the approbation of the United States first had and obtained.

ARTICLE 3. It is agreed, between the United States and the said tribe or nation, that the individuals of the said tribe or nation shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory by them ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury or annoyance to any of the citizens of the United States, and until the said United States may think proper to assign the same, or any portion thereof, as hunting grounds to other friendly Indians.

ARTICLE 4. No citizen of the United States, or any other person, shall be permitted to settle on any of the lands hereby allotted to, and reserved for, the said Quapaw tribe or nation, to live and hunt on; yet it is expressly understood and agreed on, by, and between, the parties aforesaid, that, at all times, the citizens of the United States shall have the right to travel and pass freely, without toll or exaction, through the Quapaw reservation, by such roads or routes as now are, or hereafter may be, established.

ARTICLE 5. In consideration of the cession and stipulations aforesaid, the United States do hereby promise and bind themselves to pay and deliver to the said Quapaw tribe or nation, immediately upon the execution of this treaty, goods and merchandise to the value of four thousand dollars, and to deliver, or cause to be delivered, to them, yearly, and every year, goods and merchandise to the value of one thousand dollars, to be estimated in the city or place, in the United States, where the same are procured or purchased.

ARTICLE 6. Least the friendship which now exists between the United States and the said tribe or nation, should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, it is hereby agreed, that, for injuries done by individuals, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but, instead thereof, complaints shall be made by the party injured, to the other; by the tribe or nation aforesaid, to the governor, superintendent of Indian affairs, or some other person authorized and appointed for that purpose; and by the governor, superintendent, or other person authorized, to the chiefs of the said tribe or nation. And it shall be the duty of the said tribe or nation, upon complaint being made, as aforesaid, to deliver up the person or persons, against whom the complaint is made, to the end that he or they may be punished, agreeably to the laws of the state or territory where the offence may have been committed; and, in like manner, if any robbery, violence, or murder, shall be committed on any Indian or Indians, belonging to the said tribe or nation, the person or persons so offending shall be tried, and, if found guilty, punished in like manner as if the injury had been done to a white man. And it is further agreed, that the chiefs of the said tribe or nation shall, to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to recover horses, or other property, which may be stolen from any citizen or citizens of the United States, by any individual or individuals of the said tribe or nation; and the property so recovered, shall be forthwith delivered to the governor, superintendent, or other person authorized to receive the same, that it may be restored to the proper owner. And in cases where the exertions of the chief shall be ineffectual in recovering the property stolen,

as aforesaid, if sufficient proof can be obtained that such property was actually stolen by an Indian or Indians, belonging to the said tribe or nation, a sum, equal to the value, of the property which has been stolen, may be deducted, by the United States, from the annuity of said tribe or nation. And the United States hereby guaranty to the individuals of the said tribe or nation, a full indemnification for any horse or horses, or other property, which may be taken from them by any of their citizens: *Provided*, the property so stolen cannot be recovered, and that sufficient proof is produced that it was actually stolen by a citizen or citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE 7. This treaty shall take effect, and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

William Clarke,
Aug. Chouteau,

Krakaton, or the Dry Man, his x mark,
Hradapaa, or the Eagle's Bill, his x mark,
Mahraka, or Buck Wheat, his x mark,
Honkadagni, his x mark,
Wagonkedatton, his x mark,
Hradaskamonmini, or the Pipe Bird, his x mark,
Patongdi, or the Approaching Summer, his x mark,
Tehonka, or the Tame Buffaloe, his x mark,
Hamonmini, or the Night Walker, his x mark,
Washingteteton, orMocking Bird's Bill, his x mark,
Hontikani, his x mark,
Tataonsa, or the Whistling Wind, his x mark,

Mozatete, his x mark,

Done at St. Louis in the presence of-

R. Wash, Secretary to the commission,
R. Paul, Col. M. M. C. I.
Jn. Ruland, Sub. Agent, &c.
R. Graham, Indian Agent,
M. Lewis Clark,
J. T. Honore, Indian Interpreter,
Joseph Bonne, Interpreter,
Julius Pescay,
Stephen Julian, U. S. Indian Interpreter,
James Loper,
William P. Clark.

Establishment of Hot Springs Reservation – 1832

April 20, 1832—4 Stat. 505

Chap. LXX—An Act authorizing the governor of the territory of Arkansas to lease the salt springs, in said territory, and for other proposes. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the salt springs lying the Washita river, on Little river, and on Saline creek, in said territory of Arkansas, together with as many contiguous sections to each of said springs as shall be equal to one township, and every other salt spring which may be discovered in said territory, with the section of one mile square which includes it, shall be reserved for the future disposal of the United States, and shall not be liable to be entered, located, or appropriated, for any other purpose whatever.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That the governor of said territory shall be, and is hereby, authorized to let out or lease said springs, for a term not exceeding five years; and the rents and profits arising from said springs shall be applied, by the legislature of said territory, to the opening and improving such roads in said territory, as said legislature may direct, and to no other purpose whatever.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That the hot springs in said terrtory, together with four sections of land including said springs, as near the centre thereof as may be, shall be reserved for the future disposal of the United States, and shall not be entered, located, or appropriated, for any other purpose whatever.

APPROVED, April 20, 1832.

An Act granting Yo-Semite to the State of California – 1864

June 30, 1864—13 Stat. 325.

An Act Authorizing a Grant to the State of California of the "Yo-Semite Valley," and of the Land Embracing the "Mariposa Big Tree Grove."

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there shall be, and is hereby, granted to the State of California the "cleft" or "gorge" in the granite peak of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, situated in the county of Mariposa, in the State aforesaid, and the headwaters of the Merced River, and known as the Yo-Semite Valley, with its branches or spurs, in estimated length fifteen miles, and in average width one mile back from the main edge of the precipice, on each side of the valley, with the stipulation, nevertheless, that the said State shall accept this grant upon the express conditions that the premises shall be held for public use, resort, and recreation; shall be inalienable for all time; but leases not exceeding ten years may be granted for portions of said premises. All incomes derived from leases of privileges to be expended in the preservation and improvement of the property, or the roads leading thereto; the boundaries to be established at the cost of said State by the United States surveyor-general of California, whose official plat, when affirmed by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, shall constitute the evidence of the locus, extent, and limits of the said cleft or gorge; the premises to be managed by the governor of the State with eight other commissioners, to be appointed by the executive of California, and who shall receive no compensation for their services.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That there shall likewise be, and there is hereby, granted to the said State of California the tracts embracing what is known as the "Mariposa Big Tree Grove," not to exceed the area of four sections, and to be taken in legal subdivisions of one quarter section each, with the like stipulation as expressed in the first section of this act as to the State's acceptance, with like conditions as in the first section of this act as to inalienability, yet with same lease privilege; the income to be expended in preservation, improvement, and protection of the property; the premises to be managed by commissioners as stipulated in the first section of this act, and to be taken in legal subdivisions as aforesaid; and the official plat of the United States surveyor general, when affirmed by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, to be the evidence of the locus of the said Mariposa Big Tree Grove.

Establishment of Yellowstone National Park – 1872

March 1, 1872—17 Stat. 32

"An Act to Set Apart a Certain Tract of Land Lying near the Headwaters of the Yellowstone River as a Public Park,".

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the tract of land in the Territories of Montana and Wyoming, lying near the headwaters of the Yellowstone River, and described as follows, to wit, commencing at the junction of Gardiner's river with the Yellowstone river, and running east to the meridian passing ten miles to the eastward of the most eastern point of Yellowstone lake; thence south along said meridian to the parallel of latitude passing ten miles south of the most southern point of Yellowstone lake; thence west along said parallel to the meridian passing fifteen miles west of the most western point of Madison lake; thence north along said meridian to the latitude of the junction of Yellowstone and Gardiner's rivers; thence east to the place of beginning, is hereby reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale under the laws of the United States, and dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people; and all persons who shall locate or settle upon or occupy the same, or any part thereof, except as hereinafter provided, shall be considered trespassers and removed therefrom. (U.S.C., title 16, sec. 21.)

SEC 2. That said public park shall be under the exclusive control of the Secretary of the Interior, whose duty it shall be, as soon as practicable, to make and publish such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary or proper for the care and management of the same. Such regulations shall provide for the preservation, from injury or spoliation, of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonders within said park, and their retention in their natural condition. The Secretary may in his discretion, grant leases for building purposes for terms not exceeding ten years, of small parcels of ground, at such places in said park as shall require the erection of buildings for the accommodation of visitors; all of the proceeds of said leases, and all other revenues that may be derived from any source connected with said park, to be expended under his direction in the management of the same, and the construction of roads and bridle-paths therein. He shall provide against the wanton destruction of the fish and game found within said park, and against their capture or destruction for the purposes of merchandise or profit. He shall also cause all persons trespassing upon the same after the passage of this act to be removed therefrom, and generally shall be authorized to take all such measures as shall be necessary or proper to fully carry out the objects and purposes of this act.

Dedication of Hot Springs Reservation to park use – 1880

June 16, 1880.—21 Stat. 288

CHAP. 246.—An act for the establishment of titles in Hot Springs, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled That any person, his heirs or legal representatives in whose favor the commissioners appointed under, the acts of Congress of eighteen hundred and seventy-seven and eighteen hundred and seventy-eight, relative to the Hot Springs of Arkansas, have adjudicated, shall have the sole right to enter and pay for the amount of land the commissioners may have adjudged him entitled to purchase, within eighteen months next after the expiration of the notice required by the tenth section of the act of Congress of March third eighteen hundred and seventy-seven, to be given by paying to the receiver of public moneys at the land-office in Little Rock, Arkansas, forty per centum of the assessed value of said land as placed thereon by said commissioners; and that such assessments be reduced to that extent: and that in any cases where any church or church association has been adjudged entitled to purchase land it may do so by paying five dollars per lot.

SEC. 2. That the certificates (except certificate Number one hundred and sixty-two, issued to Samuel H. Stitt, DeWitt C Rugg, and Samuel W. Fordyce for twenty-two thousand dollars, which exceptions shall not prejudice the rights of the United States or the holders of said certificate.) issued for condemned buildings by said commissioners be made receivable for the amounts named therein as so many dollars lawful money of the United States in the entry and purchase of the lands that may be sold in the Hot Springs Reservation; and that such certificates be assignable, and when assigned in the presence of two subscribing witnesses or the execution of the assignment thereof shall have been acknowledged before a court of record or clerk thereof, the land officers in like manner shall receive them from the assignee in payment of lands purchased by himself or others; and in case the amount of the cortifioate presented and received at such land-office shall exceed that necessary to make the purchase and entry desired, there shall be executed by the register and receiver, and delivered to the person from whom the same is received, a certificate giving the number of the original, the date and amount thereof; the balance due such person thereon, and the certificate thus issued shall be assignable and receivable in like manner as the original, and in all cases where such certificates are issued the register of the land office shall certify on the original certificate taken up, the number of the lots purchased therewith, and the price thereof.

SEC. 3. That those divisions of the Hot Springs Reservation, known as the mountainous districts, not divided by streets on the maps made by the commissioners, but known and defined on the map and in the report of the commissioners as North Mountain, West Mountain, and Sugar Loaf Mountain, be, and the same are hereby forever reserved from sale, and dedicated to public use as parks, to be known, with Hot Springs Mountain, as the permanent reservation.

SEC 4. That whenever the town of Hot Springs shall procure elsewhere a suitable burying-

ground and shall cause the bodies now buried in the cemetery lot, within the limits of said town, to be decently removed and reinterred, the title to said cemetery lot shall vest in the corporation of said town, to be held and used forever as a town or city park, and not otherwise.

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to designate six lots from the unawarded grounds on the Hot Springs Reservation for the use of the common schools of the corporation of the town of Hot Springs, as sites for school houses, and the lots when so designated are hereby dedicated to the use of common schools, and shall be used, controlled, and managed by the common school officials of the district in which they may be located for such purposes only. The Secretary of the Interior is also authorized to convey to the Baptist Church of Hot Springs, whose church edifice was destroyed by fire, a suitable lot of ground not exceeding one-eighth of an acre from that portion of the Hot Springs Reservation laid off into lots and blocks, and forming part of the town site but not awarded to any claimants and not otherwise disposed of by this act said conveyance to be on consideration of the payment of a sum equal to ten dollars per acre for said lot.

SEC. 6. That the streets, courts, and alleys and other thoroughfares of the town of Hot Springs, as surveyed, opened, or established by the commissioners and represented on the map of said town, and not included in the permanent reservation, be, and the same are hereby, ceded to the corporation of the town of Hot Springs for public use: Provided however that nothing in this act shall be so construed as to impair the rights or equities conferred upon claimants to said land by an act of Congress approved March third, eighteen hundred and seventy-seven, and an act approved December sixteenth eighteen hundred and seventy-eight, in relation to the Hot Springs reservation in the State of Arkansas.

SEC. 7. That that portion of the Hot Springs Reservation laid off into lots and blocks and forming part of the town site, but not awarded to any claimants, and not otherwise disposed of or reserved by this act, shall be sold at public auction to the highest bidder, at not less than its appraised value, to be made from time to time, at the discretion and under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, and after public notice in the usual way in the sale of public lands; and the money arising from said sales, as well as any money paid in under section one of this act, shall be held as a special fund for the improvement and care of the permanent reservation at Hot Springs and of the Hot Springs Creek adjacent to and between the permanent reservations, and for the maintenance of free baths for the invalid poor of the United States, as provided by acts of Congress.

Approved, June 16, 1880

Protection of Casa Grande – 1889

March 2, 1889—Chap 411

An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, eighteen hundred and ninety, and for other purposes.

REPAIR OF THE RUIN OF CASA GRANDE, ARIZONA: To enable he Secretary of the Interior to repair and protect the ruin of Casa Grande, situate in Pinal County, near Florence, Arizona, two thousand dollars; and the President is authorized to reserve from settlement and sale the land on which said ruin is situated and so much of the public land adjacent thereto as in his judgement may be necessary for the protection of said ruin and of the ancient city of which it is a part.

American Antiquities Act – 1906

June 8, 1906—Chap. 3060

An Act For the preservation of American antiquities.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That any person who shall appropriate, excavate, injure, or destroy any historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or any object of antiquity, situated on lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States, without the permission of the Secretary of the Department of the Government having jurisdiction over the lands on which said antiquities are situated, shall, upon conviction, be fined in a sum of not more than five hundred dollars or be imprisoned for a period of not more than ninety days, or shall suffer both fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 2. That the President of the United States is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments, and may reserve as a part thereof parcels of land, the limits of which in all cases shall be confined to the smallest area compatible with proper care and management of the objects to be protected: Provided, That when such objects are situated upon a tract covered by a bona fied unperfected claim or held in private ownership, the tract, or so much thereof as may be necessary for the proper care and management of the object, may be relinquished to the Government, and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to accept the relinquishment of such tracts in behalf of the Government of the United States.

Sec. 3. That permits for the examination of ruins, the excavation of archaeological sites, and the gathering of objects of antiquity upon the lands under their respective jurisdictions may be granted by the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, and War to institutions which they may deem properly qualified to conduct such examination, excavation, or gathering, subject to such rules and regulation as they may prescribe: Provided, That the examinations, excavations, and gatherings are undertaken for the benefit of reputable museums, universities, colleges, or other recognized scientific or educational institutions, with a view to increasing the knowledge of such objects, and that the gatherings shall be made for permanent preservation in public museums.

Sec. 4. That the Secretaries of the Departments aforesaid shall make and publish from time to time uniform rules and regulations for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act.

Approved, June 8, 1906

Proclamation of Tumacacori National Monument – 1908

No. 821—September 15, 1908—35 Stat. 2205.

By the President of the United States of America
A Proclamation

Whereas, the Tumacacori Mission, an ancient Spanish ruin, which is one of the oldest mission ruins in the southwest, erected probably in the latter part of the sixteenth century, being largely of burned brick and cement mortar instead of adobe, and in remarkable repair, considering its great age, and of great historical interest, and it appears that the public interests would be promoted by reserving this ruin with as much land as may be necessary for the protection thereof, and Whereas:

Under the terms of the Act entitled "An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities", approved June 8, 1906, one Carmen Mendez, whose homestead entry is No. 3035, has relinquished to the United States ten acres of ground thereof upon which said mission ruin is located, and the Secretary of the Interior has accepted such relinquishment for the purposes specified in said Act:

Now, therefore, I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by section two of the Act above referred to, do hereby set aside as the Tumacacori National Monument, the Tumacacori Mission ruins and ten acres of land upon which the same are located, situated in Santa Cruz County, Arizona, more particularly described as follows, to wit:

The east half of northwest quarter of southwest quarter of southeast quarter and the west half of northeast quarter of southwest quarter of southeast quarter of section thirty, township twenty-one south, range thirteen east of Gila and Salt River Meridian, Arizona.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, excavate, injure or destroy any of the ruins or relics hereby declared to be a National Monument or to locate or settle upon any of the lands reserved and made a part of said monument by this Proclamation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this 15 day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eight, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-third.

Theodore Roosevelt

Proclamation of Mukuntuweap National Monument – 1909

No. 1985—Jan. 11, 1932—47 Stat. 2498

By the President of the United States of America
A Proclamation

Whereas, the Mukuntuweap Canyon, through which flows the North Fork of the Rio Virgin, or Zion River, in Southwestern Utah, is an extraordinary example of canyon erosion and is of the greatest scientific interest, and it appears that the public interest would be promoted by reserving it as a National monument, with such other land as may be necessary for its protection;

Now, therefore, I, William H. Taft, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by Section 2 of the Act of Congress approved June 8, 1906, entitled, "An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities", do hereby set aside, as the Mukuntuweap National Monument, the Mukuntuweap Canyon of the North Fork * of the Rio Virgin, or Zion River, embracing Sections three, four, five, six, eight, nine, ten, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, twenty-one, twenty-two, twenty-three, twentysix, twenty-seven, twenty-eight, thirty-three and thirty-four, Township forty South, Range ten, and all of the said canyon of the Rio Virgin, or Zion River, in Township forty-one South, Range ten, all west of the Salt Lake Meridian, Utah, as shown upon the diagram hereto attached and made a part of this proclamation.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure or destroy any feature of this National Monument, or to locate or settle upon any of the lands reserved by this proclamation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 31st day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nine, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-fourth.

Wm. H. Taft

Proclamation of Navajo National Monument – 1909

No. 873—Mar. 20, 1909—36 Stat. 2491

By the President of the United States of America
A Proclamation

Whereas, a number of prehistoric cliff dwellings and pueblo ruins, situated within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona, and which are new to science and wholly unexplored, and because of their isolation and size are of the very greatest ethnological, scientific and educational interest, and it appears that the public interest would be promoted by reserving these extraordinary ruins of an unknown people, with as much land as may be necessary for the proper protection thereof ;

Now, therefore, I, William H. Taft, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by Section two of the Act of Congress approved June 8, 1906, entitled, "An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities", do hereby set aside as the Navajo National Monument all prehistoric cliff dwellings, pueblo and other ruins and relics of prehistoric peoples, situated upon the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona, between the parallels of latitude thirty-six degrees thirty minutes North, and thirty-seven degrees North, and between longitude one hundred and ten degrees West and one hundred and ten degrees forty-five minutes West from Greenwich, more particularly located along the arroyas, canyons and their tributaries, near the sources of and draining into Laguna Creek, embracing the Bubbling Spring group, along Navajo Creek and along Moonlight and Tsagt-at-sosa canyons, together with forty acres of land upon which each ruin is located, in square form, the side lines running north and south and east and west, equidistant from the respective centers of said ruins. The diagram hereto attached and made a part of this proclamation shows the approximate location of these ruins only.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, excavate, injure or destroy any of the ruins or relics hereby declared to be a National Monument, or to locate or settle upon any of the lands reserved and made a part of said Monument by this proclamation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the City of Washington, this 20th day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nine, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-third.

Wm. H. Taft

Revision of Navajo National Monument – 1912

No. 1186—March 14, 1912—37 Stat. 1733

By the President of the United States of America
A Proclamation

Whereas, the Navajo National Monument, Arizona, created by proclamation dated March 20, 1909, after careful examination and survey of the prehistoric cliff dwelling pueblo ruins, has been found to reserve a much larger tract of land than is necessary for the protection of such of the ruins as should be reserved, and therefore the same should be reduced in area to conform to the requirements of the act authorizing the creation of National Monuments;

Now, therefore, I, William H. Taft, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by Section two of the act of Congress entitled, "An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities", approved June 8, 1906, do hereby set aside and reserve, subject to any valid existing rights, as the Navajo National Monument, within the Navajo Indian Reservation, two tracts of land containing one hundred and sixty acres each, and within which are situated prehistoric ruins known as "Betata Kin" and "Keet Seel", respectively, and one tract of land, containing forty acres, and within which is situated a prehistoric ruin known as "Inscription House". The approximate location of these tracts is shown upon the diagram which is hereto attached and made a part of this proclamation.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, excavate, injure or destroy any of the ruins or relics hereby declared to be a National Monument, or to locate or settle upon any of the lands reserved and made a part of this Monument by this proclamation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 14th day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twelve, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and thirty-sixth.

Wm. H. Taft

Proclamation of Bandelier National Monument – 1916

No. 1322—Feb. 11, 1916—39 Stat. 1764

By the President of the United States of America
A Proclamation

Whereas, certain prehistoric aboriginal ruins situated upon public lands of the United States, within the Santa Fe National Forest, in the State of New Mexico, are of unusual ethnologic, scientific, and educational interest, and it appears that the public interests would be promoted by reserving these relics of a vanished people, with as much land as may be necessary for the proper protection thereof, as a National Monument ;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by section two of the Act of Congress approved June 8, 1906, entitled "An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities", do proclaim that there are hereby reserved from appropriation and use of all kinds under all of the public land laws, subject to all prior valid adverse claims, and set apart as a National Monument, all the tracts of land, in the State of New Mexico, shown as the Bandelier National Monument on the diagram forming a part hereof.

The reservation made by this proclamation is not intended to prevent the use of the lands for forest purposes under the proclamation establishing the Santa Fe National Forest. The two reservations shall both be effective on the land withdrawn, but the National Monument hereby established shall be the dominant reservation, and any use of the land which interferes with its preservation or protection as a National Monument is hereby forbidden.

Warning is hereby given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, remove, or destroy any feature of this National Monument, or to locate or settle on any of the lands reserved by this proclamation.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the City of Washington this eleventh day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixteen, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and fortieth.

Woodrow Wilson

Act To Establish A National Park Service – 1916

August 25, 1916—39 Stat. 535

An Act To Establish A National Park Service, And For Other Purposes,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby created in the Department of the Interior a service to be called the National Park Service, which shall be under the charge of a director, who shall be appointed by the Secretary and who shall receive a salary of $4,500 per annum. There shall also be appointed by the Secretary the following assistants and other employees at the salaries designated: One assistant director, at $2,500 per annum; one chief clerk, at $2.000 per annum; one draftsman, at $1,800 per annum; one messenger, at $600 per annum; and, in addition thereto, such other employees as the Secretary of the Interior shall deem necessary: Provided, That not more than $8,100 annually shall be expended for salaries of experts, assistants, and employees within the District of Columbia not herein specifically enumerated unless previously authorized by law. The service thus established shall promote and regulate the use of the Federal areas known as national parks, monuments, and reservations hereinafter specified by such means and measures as conform to the fundamental purpose of the said parks, monuments, and reservations, which purpose is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.

SEC. 2. That the director shall, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, have the supervision, management, and control of the several national parks and national monuments which are now under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, and of the Hot Springs Reservation in the State of Arkansas, and of such other national parks and reservations of like character as may be hereafter created by Congress: Provided, That in the supervision, management, and control of national monuments contiguous to national forests he Secretary of Agriculture may cooperate with said National Park Service to such extent as may be requested by the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Interior shall make and publish such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary or proper for he use and management of the parks, monuments, and reservations under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, and any violations of any of the rules and regulations authorized by this Act shall be punished as provided for in section fifty of the Act entitled "An Act to codify and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March fourth, nineteen hundred and nine, as amended by section six of the Act of June twenty-fifth, nineteen hundred and ten (Thirty-sixth United States Statutes at Large, page eight hundred and fifty-seven). He may also, upon terms and conditions to be fixed by him, sell or dispose of timber in those cases where in his judgment the cutting of such timber is required in order to control the attacks of insects or diseases or otherwise conserve the scenery or the natural or historic objects in any such park, monument, or reservation. He may also provide in his discretion for the destruction of such animals and of

such plant life as may be detrimental to the use of any of said parks, monuments, or reservations. He may also grant privileges, leases, and permits for the use of land for the accommodation of visitors in the various parks, monuments, or other reservations herein provided for, but for periods not exceeding twenty years; and no natural curiosities, wonders, or objects of interest shall be leased, rented, or granted to anyone on such terms as to interfere with free access to them by the public: Provided, however, That the Secretary of the Interior may, under such rules and regulations and on such terms as he may prescribe, grant the privilege to graze live stock within any national park, monument, or reservation herein referred to when in his judgment such use is not detrimental to the primary purpose for which such park, monument, or reservation was created, except that this provision shall not apply to the Yellowstone National Park.

SEC. 4. That nothing in this Act contained shall affect or modify the provisions of the Act approved February fifteenth, nineteen hundred and one, entitled "An Act relating to rights of way through certain parks, reservations, and other public lands."

Expansion and Redesignation of Zion National Monument – 1918

No. 1435—Mar. 18, 1918—40 Stat. 1760

By the President of the United States of America
A Proclamation

Whereas, It has been established by the research of competent observers that certain lands directly bordering upon the Mukuntuweap National Monument, reserved by proclamation dated July 31, 1909, said monument and adjacent lands being in the State of Utah, contain many natural features of unusual archaeologic, geologic, and geographic interest, unknown at the time the monument was created,

And whereas, The archaeologic features pertain to the prehistoric races of America and to the ancestral Indian tribes,

And whereas, The geologic features include craters of extinct volcanoes, fossiliferous deposits of unusual nature, and brilliantly colored strata of unique composition, among which are some believed to be the best representatives in the world of a rare type of sedimentation,

And whereas, The features of geographic interest include a labyrinth of remarkable canyons with highly ornate and beautifully colored walls, in which are plainly recorded the geologic events of past ages,

And whereas, It appears that the entire area herein referred to should be preserved intact for the purpose of scientific research and for the enjoyment and enlightenment of the public,

And whereas, The canyon of the North Fork of the Virgin River, the principal natural feature of geologic and geographic interest included within the boundaries of the said Mukuntuweap National Monument, was named "Zion Canyon" by Mormon settlers many years before the name "Mukuntuweap" was given to this region because it was regarded as a safe refuge in the event of Indian attacks on neighboring settlements,

And whereas, The name "Zion" is still applied to this region to the exclusion of the name "Mukuntuweap,"

And whereas, It is desirable that the national monument embracing said region shall bear the generally accepted name "Zion,"

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power and authority in me vested by section two of the Act of Congress entitled "An Act for the preservation of American antiquities," approved June 8, 1906 (34 Stat., 225), do proclaim that there are hereby reserved from all forms of appropriation under the public-land laws, and set apart as the Zion National Monument, certain tracts of land particularly described as follows, to wit, all of township forty south, range ten west; all of township forty

south, range ten and one-half west, with the exceptions of sections one and two ; sections one, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, twenty-three, twenty-four, twenty-five, twenty-six, thirtyfive, and thirty-six of township forty south, range eleven west; sections one, two, three, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, twenty-two, twenty-three, twenty-four, twenty-five, twenty-six, and twenty-seven of township forty-one south, range eleven west; and sections one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, the north half and southeast quarter of twenty-two, twenty-three, twenty-four, twenty-five, twenty-six, the south half and northeast quarter of twenty-seven, thirty, thirty-four, thirty-five, and thirty-six of township forty-one south, range ten, all west of the Salt Lake Meridian in the State of Utah, which tracts include the lands embraced in the Mukuntuweap National Monument as reserved by the proclamation of July 31, 1909, and that the boundaries of said Zion National Monument are as shown on the diagram hereto attached and made a part hereof.

Warning is hereby given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate or injure any natural feature of this monument or to occupy, exploit, settle, or locate upon any of the lands reserved by this proclamation.

The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of this monument, as provided in the Act of Congress entitled “An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes,” approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat., 535).

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia This eighteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eighteen, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-second.

Woodrow Wilson.

Proclamation of Casa Grande National Monument – 1918

No. 14-70—Aug. 3, 1918—40 Stat. 1818

By the President of the United States of America
A Proclamation
]
Whereas, by authority of the Act of Congress approved March 8, 1889 (25 Stat., 961), there was set aside and reserved by Executive Order dated June 22, 1892, certain land in the State of Arizona on which is located the prehistoric ruin known as Casa Grande, the boundaries of which reservation were later amended by proclamation of December 10, 1909 (36 Stat., 2504) ; and

Whereas it is in the public interest that this reservation be made a national monument under authority of the Act of Congress entitled "An Act for the preservation of American antiquities," approved June 8, 1906 (34 Stat., 225), in order that better provision may be made for the protection, preservation and care of the ruins of the ancient buildings and other objects of prehistoric interest thereon;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by section two of the aforesaid Act of Congress, do proclaim as the Casa Grande National Monument the land heretofore reserved and set aside as aforesaid, to-wit: the northwest quarter, the northeast quarter, the north half of the southwest quarter, and the north half of the southeast quarter of section sixteen, township five south, range eight east, Gila and Salt River meridian, State of Arizona, the boundaries of said national monument being as shown on diagram annexed to said proclamation of December 10, 1909 (36 Stat., 2504), which diagram is made a part hereof.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, remove, or destroy any feature of this national monument, or to locate or settle on any of the lands reserved by this proclamation. The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have supervision, management and control of this monument, as provided in the Act of Congress entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat., 535).

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia This 3d day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eighteen, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-third.

Woodrow Wilson

Redesignation of Hot Springs National Park – 1921

Chap. 161—March 4, 1921—41 Stat. 1407

Hereafter the Hot Springs Reservation shall be known as the Hot Springs National Park.

Proclamation of Aztec Ruin National Monument – 1921

No. 1650—Jan. 24, 1923—42 Stat. 2295

By the President of the United States of America
A Proclamation

Whereas, there is near the town of Aztec, New Mexico, a ruin of great antiquity and historical interest; and

Whereas, the ground on which said ruin stands has been donated to the United States for the establishment of a national monument with a view to the preservation of said ruin for the enlightenment and culture of the Nation.

Now, therefore, I, Warren G. Harding, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by section two of the act of Congress entitled, "An Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities," approved June 8, 1906 (34 Stat., 225) do proclaim that there is hereby reserved and set apart as a national monument to be known as the Aztec Ruin National Monument all that piece or parcel of land in the County of San Juan, State of New Mexico, shown upon the diagram hereto annexed and made a part hereof, and more particularly described as follows: Beginning at a point 347 feet north from the south line of section 4 and 20 feet east from the west side of the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter of section 4, township 30 north, range 11 west, N. M. P. M. and running thence north 0°53' east 179.1 feet; thence north 64°46' east 385 feet; thence south 81°23' east 52.3 feet; thence south 42°45' east 436.4 feet; thence south 67°01' west 501.4 feet; thence north 0°53' east 176.5 feet; thence west 240 feet to place of beginning, containing 4.6 acres, all in the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter of section 4, township 30 north, range 1 1 west.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy or remove any of the features or objects included within the boundaries of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management and control of this monument, as provided in the act of Congress entitled, "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat., 535), as amended June 2, 1920 (41 Stat., 732).

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this twenty-fourth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-seventh.

Warren G. Harding

Expansion and Redesignation of Aztec Ruins – 1928

No. 1140—July 2, 1928—15 Stat. 2954

By the President of the United States of America
A Proclamation

Whereas, the American Museum of Natural History, a corporation organized and existing by virtue of the laws of the State of New York, did on March 28, 1928, pursuant to the act of Congress entitled, "An Act for the preservation of American Antiquities" approved June 8, 1906, by its certain deed of conveyance, properly executed in writing and acknowledged, remise, release, and quit claim to the United States of America, the following mentioned lands at that time held in private ownership and situated in the County of San Juan in the State of New Mexico, and bounded and particularly described as follows, to wit:

Beginning 694.9 feet north and 376.25 feet east of the southwest corner of the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter of section four (4) township thirty (30) north, range eleven (11) west, New Mexico Principal Meridian, and from said beginning point running, N. 70°20' E. 405.3 feet, thence N. 37°41' E. 79.8 feet, thence N. 47°20' E. 157 feet, thence N. 5°00' E. 44 feet, thence N. 41°40' W. 45.3 feet, thence N. 15°40' W. 47 feet, thence N. 71°07' E. 38.7 feet, then S. 76°26' E. 180 feet, then N. 77°42' E. 227 feet, thence S. 00°24' W. 1163 feet, thence N. 89°24' W. 129.6 feet, thence N. 21°40' W. 538 feet, thence S. 66°25' W. 282.5 feet, thence N. 42°45' W. 436.4 feet, thence N. 81°23' W. 52.3 feet to place of beginning, containing 12.6 acres more or less, all in the southeast quarter of the southwest quarter of section four (4), township thirty (30) north, range eleven (11) west, New Mexico Principal Meridian, and

Whereas, said conveyance has been accepted by the Secretary of the Interior in the manner and for the purposes described in said act of Congress, and Whereas, there is located on said land a cluster of ruins related in historical and scientific interest with the single ruin embraced within the Aztec Ruin National Monument,

Now, therefore, I, Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power vested in me by Section 2 of said act of Congress, do proclaim that said land hereinbefore described is hereby reserved from appropriation and use of all kinds under the public land laws and set aside as an addition to the Aztec Ruin National Monument, which shall hereafter be known as the "Aztec Ruins National Monument", and that the boundaries of said national monument are now as shown on the diagram hereto annexed and forming a part hereof.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy or remove any of the features or objects included within the boundaries of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior,

shall have the supervision, management and control of this monument, as provided in the act of Congress entitled, “An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes,” approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat., 535) as amended June 2, 1920 (41 Stat., 732), and March 7, 1928 (Public No. 100—70th Congress).

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this second day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fifty-second.

Calvin Coolidge

Preservation of Historic Sites Act – 1935

August 21, 1935—49 Stat. 666

An Act
To provide for the preservation of historic American sites, buildings, objects, and antiquities of national significance and other purposes,"

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is hereby declared that it is a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the Secretary), through the National Park Service, for the purpose of effectuating the policy expressed in section 1 hereof, shall have the following powers and perform the following duties and functions:
(a) Secure, collate, and preserve drawings, plans, photographs, and other data of historic and archaeologic sites, buildings, and objects.
(b) Make a survey of historic and archaeologic sites, buildings, and objects for the purpose of determining which possess exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States.
(c) Make necessary investigations and researches in the United States relating to particular sites, buildings, or objects to obtain true and accurate historical and archaeological facts and information concerning the same.
(d) For the purpose of this Act, acquire in the name of the United States by gift, purchase, or otherwise any property, personal or real, or any interest or estate therein, title to any real property to be satisfactory to the Secretary: Provided, That no such property which is owned by any religious or educational institution, or which is owned or administered for the benefit of the public shall be so acquired without the consent of the owners: Provided further: That no such property shall be acquired or contract or agreement for the acquisition thereof made which will obligate the general fund of the Treasury for the payment of such property, unless or until Congress has appropriated money which is available for that purpose.
(e) Contract and make cooperative agreements with States, municipal subdivisions, corporations, associations, or individuals, with proper bond where deemed advisable, to protect, preserve, maintain, or operate any historic or archaeologic building, site, object, or property used in connection therewith for public use, regardless as to whether the title thereto is in the United States: Provided, That no contract or cooperative agreement shall be made or entered into which will obligate the general fund of the Treasury unless or until Congress has appropriated money for such purpose.
(f) Restore, reconstruct, rehabilitate, preserve, and maintain historic or prehistoric sites, buildings, objects, and properties of national historical or archaeological significance and where deemed desirable establish and maintain museums in connection therewith.
(g) Erect and maintain tablets to mark or commemorate historic or prehistoric places and events of national historical or archaeological significance.
(h) Operate and manage historic and archaeologic sites, buildings, and properties acquired

under the provisions of this Act together with lands and subordinate buildings for the benefit of the public, such authority to include the power to charge reasonable visitation fees and grant concessions, leases, or permits for the use of land, building space, roads, or trails when necessary or desirable either to accommodate the public or to facilitate administration:

Provided, That such concessions, leases, or permits, shall be let at competitive bidding, to the person making the highest and best bid.
(i) When the Secretary determines that it would be administratively burdensome to restore, reconstruct, operate, or maintain any particular historic or archaeologic site, building, or property donated to the United States through the National Park Service, he may cause the same to be done by organizing a corporation for that purpose under the laws of the District of Columbia or any State.
(j) Develop an educational program and service for the purpose of making available to the public facts and information pertaining to American historic and archaeologic sites, buildings, and properties of national significance. Reasonable charges may be made for the dissemination of any such facts or information.
(k) Perform any and all acts, and make such rules and regulations not inconsistent with this Act as may be necessary and proper to carry out the provisions thereof. Any person violating any of the rules and regulations authorized by this Act shall be punished by a fine of not more than $500 and be adjudged to pay all cost of the proceedings.

SEC. 3. A general advisory board to be known as the "Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments" is hereby established, to be composed of not to exceed eleven persons, citizens of the United States, to include representatives competent in the fields of history, archaeology, architecture, and human geography, who shall be appointed by the Secretary and serve at his pleasure. The members of such board shall receive no salary but may be paid expenses incidental to travel when engaged in discharging their duties as such members. It shall be the duty of such board to advise on any matters relating to national parks and to the administration of this Act submitted to it for consideration by the Secretary. It may also recommend policies to the Secretary from time to time pertaining to national parks and to the restoration, reconstruction, conservation, and general administration of historic and archaeologic sites, buildings, and properties.

SEC. 4. The Secretary, in administering this Act, is authorized to cooperate with and may seek and accept the assistance of any Federal, State, or municipal department or agency, or any educational or scientific institution, or any patriotic association, or any individual.
(b) When deemed necessary, technical advisory committees may be established to act in an advisory capacity in connection with the restoration or reconstruction of any historic or prehistoric building or structure.
(c) Such professional and technical assistance may be employed without regard to the civil-service laws, and such service may be established as may be required to accomplish the purposes of this Act and for which money may be appropriated by Congress or made available by gifts for such purpose.

SEC. 5. Nothing in this Act shall be held to deprive any State, or political subdivision thereof, of its civil and criminal jurisdiction in and over lands acquired by the United States

under this Act.

SEC. 6. There is authorized to be appropriated for carrying out the purposes of this Act such sums as the Congress may from time to time determine.

SEC. 7. The provisions of this Act shall control if any of them are in conflict with any other Act or Acts relating to the same subject matter.

Enlarging Hovenweep National Monument – 1951

No. 2924—April 26, 1951—65 Stat. c8

By the President of the United States of America
A Proclamation

WHEREAS Proclamation No. 1654 of March 2, 1923, established the Hovenweep National Monument on certain public lands in southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah for the purpose of protecting and preserving four groups of ruins including structures of the finest prehistoric masonry to be found in the United States; and

WHEREAS it has been determined that the public lands described and set apart as the said Hovenweep National Monument do not include the lands containing one of the said group of ruins known as the Hackberry Ruin; and

WHEREAS another ruin, known as the Goodman Point Ruin, situated in the vicinity of the Hovenweep National Monument, has been found to be of significance comparable to, and suitable for preservation with, the ruins comprising the said Monument; and

WHEREAS it is deemed desirable in the public interest that the lands embracing the Hackberry Ruin and the Goodman Point Ruin be added to and reserved as parts of the Hovenweep National Monument:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, HARRY, S. TRUMAN, President of the United States of America, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 2 of the act of June 8, 1906 (ch. 3060, 34 Stat. 225, 16 U.S.C. 431), do proclaim that, subject to valid existing rights and the provisions of existing withdrawals, the following-described tracts of land in Colorado are hereby added to and reserved as parts of the Hovenweep National Monument:

NEW MEXICO PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN
T. 36 N., R. 20 W.,
Sec. 2, lot 3, and SE1/4 NW1/4
T. 36 N., R. 17 W.,
Sec. 4, lot 2, and SW 1/4 NE1/4

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any feature of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of the lands hereby added to the monument as provided in the act of Congress entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535; 16 U.S.C. 1-3),

and acts supplementary thereto or amendatory thereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 26th day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventy-fifth.

HARRY S TRUMAN

National Historic Preservation Act – 1966

October 15, 1966—80 Stat. 915

An Act to Establish a Program for the Preservation of Additional Historic Properties throughout the Nation, and for Other Purposes,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, The Congress finds and declares—
(a) that the spirit and direction of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its historic past;
(b) that the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people;
(c) that, in the face of ever-increasing extensions of urban centers, highways, and residential, commercial, and industrial developments, the present governmental and nongovernmental historic preservation programs and activities are inadequate to insure future generations a genuine opportunity to appreciate and enjoy the rich heritage of our Nation; and
(d) that, although the major burdens of historic preservation have been borne and major efforts initiated by private agencies and individuals, and both should continue to play a vital role, it is nevertheless necessary and appropriate for the Federal Government to accelerate its historic preservation programs and activities, to give maximum encouragement to agencies and individuals undertaking preservation by private means, and to assist State and local governments and the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States to expand and accelerate their historic preservation programs and activities.

TITLE I

SEC. 101. (a) The Secretary of the Interior is authorized—
(1) to expand and maintain a national register of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture, hereinafter referred to as the National Register, and to grant funds to States for the purpose of preparing comprehensive statewide historic surveys and plans, in accordance with criteria established by the Secretary, for the preservation, acquisition, and development of such properties;
(2) to establish a program of matching grants-in-aid to States for projects having as their purpose the preservation for public benefit of properties that are significant in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture; and
(3) to establish a program of matching grants-in-aid to the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States, chartered by act of Congress approved October 26, 1949 (63 Stat. 927), as amended, for the purpose of carrying out the responsibilities of the National Trust. (b) As used in this Act—

(1) The term “State” includes, in addition to the several States of the Union, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and American Samoa.

(2) The term "project" means programs of State and local governments and other public bodies and private organizations and individuals for the acquisition of title or interests in, and for the development of, any district, site, building, structure, or object that is significant in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture, or property used in connection therewith, and for its development in order to assure the preservation for public benefit of any such historical properties.
(3) The term "historic preservation" includes the protection, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, or culture.
(4) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 102. (a) No grant may be made under this Act—
(1) unless application therefor is submitted to the Secretary in accordance with regulations and procedures prescribed by him;
(2) unless the application is in accordance with the comprehensive statewide historic preservation plan which has been approved by the Secretary after considering its relationship to the comprehensive statewide outdoor recreation plan prepared pursuant to the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 (78 Stat. 897);
(3) for more than 50 per centum of the total cost involved, as determined by the Secretary and his determination shall be final;
(4) unless the grantee has agreed to make such reports, in such form and containing such information as the Secretary may from time to time require;
(5) unless the grantee has agreed to assume, after completion of the project, the total cost of the continued maintenance, repair, and administration of the property in a manner satisfactory to the Secretary; and
(6) until the grantee has complied with such further terms and conditions as the Secretary may deem necessary or advisable.
(b) The Secretary may in his discretion waive the requirements of subsection (a), paragraphs (2) and (5) of this section for any grant under this Act to the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States, in which case a grant to the National Trust may include funds for the maintenance, repair, and administration of the property in a manner satisfactory to the Secretary.
(b) No State shall be permitted to utilize the value of real property obtained before the date of approval of this Act in meeting the remaining cost of a project for which a grant is made under this Act.

SEC. 103. (a) The amounts appropriated and made available for grants to the States for comprehensive statewide historic surveys and plans under this Act shall be apportioned among the States by the Secretary on the basic of needs as determined by him: Provided, however, That the amount granted to any one State shall not exceed 50 per centum of the total cost of the comprehensive statewide historic survey and plan for that State, as determined by the Secretary.
(b) The amounts appropriated and made available for grants to the States for projects under this Act for each fiscal year shall be apportioned among the States by the Secretary in accordance with needs as disclosed in approved statewide historic preservation plans.
The Secretary shall notify each State of its apportionment, and the amounts thereof shall be

available thereafter for payment to such State for projects in accordance with the provisions of this Act. Any amount of any apportionment that has not been paid or obligated by the Secretary during the fiscal year in which such notification is given, and for two fiscal years thereafter, shall be reapportioned by the Secretary in accordance with this subsection.

SEC. 104. (a) No grant may be made by the Secretary for or on account of any survey or project under this Act with respect to which financial assistance has been given or promised under any other Federal program or activity, and no financial assistance may be given under any other Federal program or activity for or on account of any survey or project with respect to which assistance has been given or promised under this Act.
(b) In order to assure consistency in policies and actions under this Act with other related Federal programs and activities, and to assure coordination of the planning, acquisition, and development assistance to States under this Act with other related Federal programs and activities, the President may issue such regulations with respect thereto as he deems desirable, and such assistance may be provided only in accordance with such regulations.

SEC. 105. The beneficiary of assistance under this Act shall keep such records as the Secretary shall prescribe, including records which fully disclose the disposition by the beneficiary of the proceeds of such assistance, the total cost of the project or undertaking in connection with which such assistance is given or used, and the amount and nature of that portion of the cost of the project or undertaking supplied by other sources, and such other records as will facilitate an effective audit.

SEC. 106. The head of any Federal agency having direct or indirect jurisdiction over a proposed Federal or federally assisted undertaking in any State and the head of any Federal department or independent agency having authority to license any undertaking shall, prior to the approval of the expenditure of any Federal funds on the undertaking or prior to the issuance of any license, as the case may be, take into account the effect of the undertaking on any district, site, building, structure, or object that is included in the National Register. The head of any such Federal agency shall afford the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation established under title II of this Act a reasonable opportunity to comment with regard to such undertaking.

SEC. 107. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to be applicable to the White House and its grounds, the Supreme Court building and its grounds, or the United States Capitol and its related buildings and grounds.

SEC. 108. There are authorized to be appropriated not to exceed $2,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this Act for the fiscal year 1967, and not more than $10,000,000 for each of the three succeeding fiscal years. Such appropriations shall be available for the financial assistance authorized by this title and for the administrative expenses of the Secretary in connection therewith, and shall remain available until expended.

TITLE II

SEC. 201. (a) There is established an Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (hereinafter

referred to as the "Council") which shall be composed of seventeen members as follows:
(1) The Secretary of the Interior.
(2) The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.
(3) The Secretary of Commerce.
(4) The Administrator of the General Services Administration
(5) The Secretary of the Treasury.
(6) The Attorney General.
(7) The Chairman of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.
(8) Ten appointed by the President from outside the Federal Government. In making these appointments, the President shall give due consideration to the selection of officers of State and local governments and individuals who are significantly interested and experienced in the matters to be considered by the Council.
(b) Each member of the Council specified in paragraphs (1) through (6) of subsection (a) may designate another officer of his department or agency to serve on the Council in his stead.
(c) Each member of the Council appointed under paragraph (8) of subsection (a) shall serve for a term of five years from the expiration of his predecessor's term; except that the members first appointed under that paragraph shall serve for terms of from one to five years, as designated by the President at the time of appointment, in such manner as to insure that the terms of not less than one nor more than two of them will expire in any one year.
(d) A vacancy in the Council shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment (and for the balance of the unexpired term).
(e) The Chairman of the Council shall be designated by the President.
(f) Eight members of the Council shall constitute a quorum. SEC. 202. (a) The Council shall—
(1) advise the President and the Congress on matters relating to historic preservation; recommend measures to coordinate activities of Federal, State, and local agencies and private institutions and individuals relating to historic preservation; and advise on the dissemination of information pertaining to such activities;
(2) encourage, in cooperation with the National Trust for Historic Preservation and appropriate private agencies, public interest and participation in historic preservation;
(3) recommend the conduct of studies in such areas as the adequacy of legislative and administrative statutes and regulations pertaining to historic preservation activities of State and local governments and the effects of tax policies at all levels of government on historic preservation;
(4) advise as to guidelines for the assistance of State and local governments in drafting legislation relating to historic preservation; and
(5) encourage, in cooperation with appropriate public and private agencies and institutions, training and education in the field of historic preservation.
(b) The Council shall submit annually a comprehensive report of its activities and the results of its studies to the President and the Congress and shall from time to time submit such additional and special reports as it deems advisable. Each report shall propose such legislative enactments and other actions as, in the judgment of the Council, are necessary and appropriate to carry out its recommendations.

SEC. 203. The Council is authorized to secure directly from any department, bureau, agency,

board, commission, office, independent establishment or instrumentality of the executive branch of the Federal
Government information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics for the purpose of this title; and each such department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, independent establishment or instrumentality is authorized to furnish such information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics to the extent permitted by law and within available funds.

SEC. 204. The members of the Council specified in paragraphs (1) through (7) of section 201 (a) shall serve without additional compensation. The members of the Council appointed under paragraph (8) of section 201 (a) shall receive $100 per diem when engaged in the performance of the duties of the Council. All members of the Council shall receive reimbursement for necessary traveling and subsistence expenses incurred by them in the performance of the duties of the Council.

SEC. 205. (a) The Director of the National Park Service or his designee shall be the Executive Director of the Council. Financial and administrative services (including those related to budgeting, accounting, financial reporting, personnel and procurement) shall be provided the Council by the Department of the Interior, for which payments shall be made in advance, or by reimbursement, from funds of the Council in such amounts as may be agreed upon by the Chairman of the Council and the Secretary of the Interior: Provided, That the regulations of the Department of the Interior for the collection of indebtness of personnel resulting from erroneous payments (5 U.S.C. 46e) shall apply to the collection of erroneous payments made to or on behalf of a Council employee, and regulations of said Secretary for the administrative control of funds (31 U.S.C. 665(g)) shall apply to appropriations of the Council; And provided further, That the Council shall not be required to prescribe such regulations.
(b) That the Council shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such additional personnel as may be necessary to carry out its duties, without regard to the provisions of the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949.
(c) The Council may also procure, without regard to the civil service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized for the executive departments by section 15 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a) but at rates not to exceed $50 per diem for individuals.
(d) The members of the Council specified in paragraphs (1) through (6) of section 201 (a) shall provide the Council, on a reimbursable basis, with such facilities and services under their jurisdiction and control as may be needed by the Council to carry out its duties, to the extent that such facilities and services are requested by the Council and are otherwise available for that purpose. To the extent of available appropriations, the Council may obtain, by purchase, rental, donation, or otherwise, such additional property, facilities, and services as may be needed to carry out its duties.

Approved October 15, 1966

An Act to Provide for the Establishment of the Hohokam Pima National Monument – 1972

No. 92-525—October 21, 1972—74 Stat. 86.

An Act
To provide for the establishment of the Hohokam Pima National Monument in the vicinity of the Snaketown archeological site, Arizona, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in order to preserve and interpret for the benefit and inspiration of the people a site containing significant archeological values, including the irrigation systems in the valleys of central Arizona developed by the Hohokam and Pima Indians, and their descendants, the Secretary of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") is authorized to establish the Hohokam Pima National Monument (hereinafter referred to as the "monument"). Such monument, which shall not exceed two thousand acres in size, shall comprise lands in the vicinity of and including the Snaketown archeological site on the Gila River Indian Reservation, Arizona, as generally depicted on the drawing entitled '"Boundary Map Snaketown National Monument", numbered NM-SNA 20,003-A and dated October 1971. The monument may be established by the Secretary when he determines that the beneficial interest in a sufficient amount of land has been transferred to constitute an efficiently administrable unit.

SEC. 2. (a) The Gila River Indian Community Council (hereinafter referred to as the "council") for the Gila River Indian Community (hereinafter referred to as the "community") may acquire the beneficial interest in any allotted lands located within the boundaries of the monument and may, in exchange therefor, convey to such allottees, or their successors in interest, the beneficial interest in any lands of at least equal value outside the boundaries of the monument which are held in trust for the benefit of the community. In arranging such equal exchanges with allottees the council may acquire beneficial whole or fractionated interests in tracts outside the boundaries of the monument. When the council is unable to acquire such interests, it may request that the Secretary, on its behalf and with funds which it provides, acquire such beneficial interest in any lands within the boundaries of the monument, and the Secretary may acquire such interest by condemnation.
(b) The council is authorized to transfer to the Secretary the beneficial interest in any lands held in trust for the benefit of the community, including such interests as are acquired pursuant to subsection (a) of this section, located within the boundaries of the monument. In exchange for such transfer, the Secretary shall declare that title to public lands of at least equal value which are under his jurisdiction are held in trust for the community.

SEC. 3. (a) The administration and protection of the Hohokam Pima National Monument shall be exercised by the Secretary in accordance with the Act of August 25,1916 (39 Stat. 535), as amended (16 U.S.C. 1 et seq.) ; except that the council shall be permitted to develop and operate revenue-producing visitor services and facilities within such monument in

accordance with plans and regulations of the Secretary. Any revenues resulting from the operation of such services and facilities may be retained by the council.
(b) An appropriate portion of any admission fees attributable to such services and facilities may, in accordance with an agreement between the Secretary and the Council, be transferred to the council.

SEC. 4. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated not more than $135,000 for the acquisition of lands and not more than $1,781,000 for the development of the monument.

Approved October 21, 1972

An Act To Authorize the Establishment of the Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park – 1988

No. 100-567—October 31, 1988—100 Stat. 2847.

An Act
To authorize the establishment of the Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park in the State of New Mexico, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
This Act may be cited as the "Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park Establishment Act of 1988".

SEC. 2. ESTABLISHMENT OF PARK.
(a) Establishment.—In order to preserve and protect for the benefit of present and future generations certain nationally significant historical, archeological, cultural, and natural sites and resources associated with the Zuni Tribe, and in order to assist members of the Zuni Tribe in preserving and interpreting their tribal culture, there is hereby established the Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park. The park shall consist of lands with respect to which the Secretary of the Interior has accepted a leasehold pursuant to section 3 of this Act.
(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall take effect on the date of publication by the Secretary, pursuant to section 3 of this Act, of a notice that the Secretary has accepted a leasehold interest that meets the requirements of this Act.
(c) TERMINATION.—This section shall terminate and shall be ineffective 24 months after the date of enactment of this Act unless prior to the end of such 24-month period the Secretary has published a notice of acceptance of a leasehold pursuant to section 3 of this Act.

SEC. 3. ACQUISITION OF LEASEHOLD.
(a) AUTHORITY OF SECRETARY.—If, no later than 18 months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Zuni Tribe, after consultation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, offers to the Secretary a lease-hold interest in trust lands of the Zuni Indian Reservation, in New Mexico, meeting the requirements of this Act, the Secretary is authorized and directed to accept such leasehold on behalf of the National Park Service and to publish in the Federal Register a notice of such acceptance.
(b) REQUIREMENTS.—The Secretary shall accept a leasehold under subsection (a) of this section if such leasehold—
(1) would continue for a period of at least 99 years;
(2) would require no rentals or other payments by the United States to the Zuni Tribe or any other party;

(3) would be applicable to no more than 800 acres of lands within the Zuni Indian Reservation that the Director of the National Park Service, after consultation with the Zuni Tribe and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has determined to be necessary and adequate to carry out the purposes specified in section 4(a) of this Act; and
(4) would not be inconsistent with any of the provisions of this Act.
(c) MAP,—As soon as possible after publication of a notice of acceptance pursuant to subsection (a) of this section, the Secretary shall prepare a map of the park and shall provide copies of such map to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources and the Select Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate.
(d) BOUNDARY ADJUSTMENTS.—The Secretary, after consultation with the Advisory Commission and with the agreement of the Zuni Tribe, may make minor revisions in the boundary of the park. Prior to making any such revision, the Secretary shall provide notice of the proposed change in the boundary to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources and Select Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate. No such revision shall take effect sooner than 60 days after such notice has been provided to such Committees. After the effective date of any such revision, the Secretary shall prepare a revised map of the park, copies of which shall be provided to such Committees.

SEC. 4. MANAGEMENT.
(a) PURPOSES.—(1) The Secretary, acting through the Director of the National Park Service, and in consultation with the Advisory Commission established pursuant to section 6 of this Act, shall manage the lands covered by any leasehold accepted by the Secretary pursuant to section 3 as a unit of the National Park System consistent with the provisions of this Act, and the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535; 16 U.S.C. 1 et seq.), as amended and supplemented, and the Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666; 16 U.S.C. 461), as amended.
(2) The Secretary shall protect, manage, and administer the park for the purposes of preserving the historical, archeological, natural, scientific, cultural, and other resources and values of the park and providing for the public understanding and enjoyment of the same in such a manner as to perpetuate these resources and values for future generations.
(3) In implementing this Act, the Secretary shall cooperate with the Zuni Tribe.
(b) JURISDICTION.—The Secretary is authorized to accept concurrent jurisdiction from the Zuni Tribe for the purpose of law enforcement.
(c) CONSULTATION.—The Secretary, acting through the Director of the National Park Service, shedl consult regularly with the Commission established pursuant to section 6 of this Act. The Commission shall advise the Secretary on the management and operation of the park.
(d) FEES.—All enrolled members of the Zuni Tribe shall be exempt from the payment of fees for admission into the park.
(e) TRAINING.—In furtherance of the purposes specified in subsection (a)(2), and after consultation with the Advisory Commission established by section 6, the Secretary is authorized to enter into cooperative agreements with the Zuni Tribe, its subordinate boards, committees and enterprises, and individual members of the Zuni Tribe for the purpose of providing training of Zuni tribal members on the interpretation, management, protection, and preservation of archaeological and historical properties and in the provision of public

services on the Zuni Indian Reservation needed for the fulfillment of the purposes specified in subsection (a)(2).
(f) PREFERENCE.—To the extent feasible, the Secretary shall exercise existing authorities so as to give preference to employing qualified members of the Zuni Tribe in the development, interpretation, and management of the park and in carrying out other activities related to the park.

SEC. 5. FEDERAL CONSISTENCY.
(a) FEDERAL ACTIONS.—The head of any Federal agency conducting or supporting activities directly or indirectly affecting the park shall—
(1) consult with, cooperate with, and, to the maximum extent practicable, coordinate its activities with the Secretary and with the Advisory Commission; and
(2) conduct or support such activities in a manner which—
(A) to the maximum extent practicable is consistent with the standards and criteria established pursuant to the plan required in section 7 of this Act, and
(B) will not have a significant adverse effect on the resources or values of the park, as determined by the Secretary.
(b) PERMITS.—No Federal agency may issue any license or permit to any person to conduct any activity within the park or which could affect the resources or values of the park unless the Secretary determines that any such proposed activity within the park will be conducted in a manner consistent with the standards and criteria established pursuant to the plan required in section 7 of this Act and wherever occurring will not have a significant adverse effect on the resources or values of the park.
(c) LIMITATION.—The provisions of this section shall apply only with respect to activities begun and licenses or permits issued after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 6. ESTABLISHMENT OF ZUNI-CIBOLA ADVISORY COMMISSION.
(a) Establishment.—(1) There is established within the Department of the Interior a commission to be known as the Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park Advisory Commission which shall advise regularly the Director of the National Park Service on the planning, management, and administration of the park. The Advisory Commission shall consist of the Governor of the Zuni Tribe, the Director of the National Park Service, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the State Historic Preservation Officer of New Mexico (or their designees), and three members appointed by the Secretary from recommendations made by the Governor of the Zuni Tribe.
(2) The Advisory Commission is authorized to employ an administrative director who shall be appointed by the Advisory Commission and who shall be paid at a rate not to exceed the rate of pay payable for grade GS-12 of the General Schedule.
(3) The administrative director of the Advisory Commission may be appointed without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and may be paid without regard to the provisions of chapter 51, and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, except that the individual so appointed may not receive pay in excess of the annual rate of basic pay payable for grade GS-12 of the (General Schedule.
(4) The Administrator of the General Services Administration shall provide to the Advisory Commission on a reimbursable basis such administrative support services as the Advisory

Commission may request.
(b) TERMS.—The initial terms of members of the Advisory Commission appointed by the Secretary pursuant to subsection (a) shall be staggered, as determined by the Secretary, in order to assure continuity in the administration of the Advisory Commission. Thereafter the term shall be four years. Any member of the Advisory Commission appointed for a definite term may serve after the expiration of such member's term until a successor is appointed. A vacancy in the Advisory Commission shall be filled in the manner in which the original appointment was made. The advisory Commission shall exist for the duration of a leasehold accepted by the Secretary pursuant to section 3, and any extensions or renewals thereof.
(c) EXPENSES.—The non-Federal members of the Advisory Commission appointed pursuant to subsection (a) while away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the Advisory Commission, shall be allowed travel and all other related expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same manner as persons employed intermittently in Government service are allowed expenses under section 5703 of title 5 of the United States Code.
(d) CHAIR.—The Governor of the Zuni Tribe shall be the Chair of the Advisory Commission. Other officers of the Advisory Commission shall be elected by a majority of the members of the Advisory Commission to serve for terms established by the Advisory Commission.
(e) MEETINGS.—The Advisory Commission shall meet at the call of the Chair or a majority of its members. Consistent with the public meeting requirements of the Federal Advisory Committee Act, the Advisory Commission shall from time to time meet with persons concerned with park issues relating to the Zuni Tribe.
(f) APPUCATION OF FEDERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ACT.—Except with respect to any requirement for reissuance of a charter and except as otherwise provided in this Act, the provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act shall apply to the Advisory Commission established by this section.

SEC. 7. PARK PLAN.
(a) DEADLINE.—No later than 3 years after the date of the publication of a notice pursuant to section 3(a), the Secretary, acting through the Director of the National Park Service and in consultation with the Advisory Commission, shall develop and transmit to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources and the Select Committee on Indian Affairs of the Senate, a general management plan for the park which shall describe the appropriate uses and development of the park consistent with the purposes of this Act.
(b) ELEMENTS.—The park plan shall include but not be limited to) the following:
(1) Plans for implementation of a continuing program of interpretation and visitor education about the resources and values of the park.
(2) Proposals for visitor use facilities to be developed for the park.
(3) Plans for management of the natural and cultural resources of the park in order to carry out the purposes specified in section 4(a)(2) of this Act, with particular emphasis on the preservation and long-term scientific use of archeological resources, giving high priority to the enforcement of the provisions of the Archeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (16 U.S.C. 470aa et seq.) and the National Historic Preservation Act (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.) within the park. The natural and cultural resources management plans shall be prepared in

close consultation with the New Mexico State Historic Preservation Office and the Zuni Tribe and their traditional cultural and religious authorities.
(4) Proposals for training members of the Zuni Tribe in such fields as interpretation, management, and artifact curation.
(5) A plan to implement the provisions of section 8 of this Act so as to ensure the protection of the right of the Zuni people to practice traditional Zuni religious activities within the park boundaries in a manner consistent with the purpose and intent of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of August 11, 1978 (42 U.S.C. 1996).
(6) Proposals for cooperative research and interpretive programs within the park to be carried out by the Zuni Tribe through its archeology program, with technical assistance from the National Park Service.
(7) Proposals for implementing the provisions of this Act relating to the operation and supply of park concessions by qualified Zuni-owned businesses.

SEC. 8. CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS USES
In furtherance of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the Secretary, upon the request of an appropriate official of the Zuni Tribe, may, from time to time, temporarily close to general public use one or more specific portions of the park in order to protect the privacy of religious activities in such areas by Indian people. Any such closure shall be made so as to affect the smallest practicable area for the minimum period necessary for such purposes. Not later than 7 days after the first day on which any such closure takes effect, the Secretary shall provide written notification of such action to the Energy and Natural Resources Committee and Select Committee on Indian Affairs of the United States Senate and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives.

SEC. 9. DEFINITIONS.
As used in this Act—
(1) the term “Advisory Commission” means the Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park Advisory Commission established under section 6;
(2) the term “park” means lands constituting a Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park established under section 2;
(3) the term “park plan” means the general management plan developed pursuant to section 7; and
(4) the term “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 10. ADDITION TO MASAU TRAIL.
The first sentence of section 202 of the Act of December 31, 1987 16 use (Public Law 100-225; 101 Stat. 1540) is amended by striking out “and 460UU-12. Gila Cliff Dwelling National Monument.” and inserting in lieu thereof “Gila Cliff Dwellings National Monument, and Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park.”.

SEC. 11. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.
There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary for the purposes of this Act.

Approved October 31, 1988

A Bill To Amend the Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park Establishment Act of 1988 – 1990

No. 101-323—April 5, 1990—101 SB 2430.

A Bill
To amend the Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park Establishment Act of 1988 to enlarge the time in which the Secretary of the Interior may accept a leasehold interest for inclusion in the park.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. ENLARGEMENT OF TIME.
The Zuni-Cibola National Historical Park Establishment Act of 1988 (16 U.S.C. 410pp et seq.) is amended
(1) in section 2(c)
(A) by striking '24 months' and inserting '6 years'; and
(B) by striking '24-month' and inserting '6-year'; and
(2) in section 3(a) by striking '18 months' and inserting '5 1/2 years'.

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act – 1990

November 16, 1990—104 Stat. 3048

An Act
To provide for the protection of Native American graves, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
This Act may be cited as the "Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act".

SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.
For purposes of this Act, the term—
(1) "burial site" means any natural or prepared physical location, whether originally below, on, or above the surface of the earth, into which as a part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, individual human remains are deposited.
(2) "cultural affiliation" means that there is a relationship of shared group identity which can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group.
(3) "cultural items" means human remains and—
(A) "associated funerary objects" which shall mean objects that, as a part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, are reasonably believed to have been placed with individual human remains either at the time of death or later, and both the human remains and associated funerary objects are presently in the possession or control of a Federal agency or museum, except that other items exclusively made for burial purposes or to contain human remains shall be considered as associated funerary objects.
(B) "unassociated funerary objects" which shall mean objects that, as a part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, are reasonably believed to have been placed with individual human remains either at the time of death or later, where the remains are not in the possession or control of the Federal agency or museum and the objects can be identified by a preponderance of the evidence as related to specific individuals or families or to known human remains or, by a preponderance of the evidence, as having been removed from a specific burial site of an individual culturally affiliated with a particular Indian tribe,
(C) "sacred objects" which shall mean specific ceremonial objects which are needed by traditional Native American religious leaders for the practice of traditional Native American religions by their present day adherents, and
(D) "cultural patrimony" which shall mean an object having ongoing historical, traditional, or cultural importance central to the Native American group or culture itself, rather than property owned by an individual Native American, and which, therefore, cannot be alienated, appropriated, or conveyed by any individual regardless of whether or not the individual is a member of the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and such object shall have been considered inalienable by such Native American group at the time the object was separated

from such group.
(4) “Federal agency” means any department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States. Such term does not include the Smithsonian Institution.
(5) “Federal lands” means any land other than tribal lands which are controlled or owned by the United States, including lands selected by but not yet conveyed to Alaska Native Corporations and groups organized pursuant to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971.
(6) “Hui Malama I Na Kupuna 0 Hawai’i Nei” means the nonprofit, Native Hawaiian organization incorporated under the laws of the State of Hawaii by that name on April 17, 1989, for the purpose of providing guidance and expertise in decisions dealing with Native Hawaiian cultural issues, particularly burial issues.
(7) “Indian tribe” means any tribe, band, nation, or other organized group or community of Indians, including any Alaska Native village (as defined in, or established pursuant to, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act), which is recognized as eligible for the special programs and services provided by the United States to Indians because of their status as Indians.
(8) “museum” means any institution or State or local government agency (including any institution of higher learning) that receives Federal funds and has possession of, or control over. Native American cultural items. Such term does not include the Smithsonian Institution or any other Federal agency.
(9) “Native American” means of, or relating to, a tribe, people, or culture that is indigenous to the United States.
(10) Native Hawaiian” means any individual who is a descendant of the aboriginal people who, prior to 1887, occupied and exercised sovereignty in the area that now constitutes the State of Hawaii.
(11) “Native Hawaiian organization” means any organization which—
(A) serves and represents the interests of Native Hawaiians,
(B) has as a primary and stated purpose the provision of services to Native Hawaiians, and
(C) has expertise in Native Hawaiian Affairs, and shall include the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and Hui Malama I Na Kupuna 0 Hawai’i Nei.
(12) “Office of Hawaiian Affairs” means the Office of Hawaiian Affairs established by the constitution of the State of Hawaii.
(13) “right of possession” means possession obtained with the voluntary consent of an individual or group that had authority of alienation. The original acquisition of a Native American unassociated funerary object, sacred object or object of cultural patrimony from an Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization with the voluntary consent of an individual or group with authority to alienate such object is deemed to give right of possession of that object, unless the phrase so defined would, as applied in section 7(c), result in a Fifth Amendment taking by the United States as determined by the United States Claims Court pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 1491 in which event the “right of possession” shall be as provided under otherwise applicable property law. The original acquisition of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects which were excavated, exhumed, or otherwise obtained with full knowledge and consent of the next of kin or the official governing body of the appropriate culturally affiliated Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization is deemed to give right of possession to those remains.
(14) “Secretary” means the Secretary of the Interior.

(15) “tribal land” means—
(A) all lands within the exterior boundaries of any Indian reservation;
(B) all dependent Indian communities;
(C) any lands administered for the benefit of Native Hawaiians pursuant to the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920, and section 4 of Public Law 86-3.
(a) NATIVE AMERICAN HUMAN REMAINS AND OBJECTS.—The ownership or control of Native American cultural items which are excavated or discovered on Federal or tribal lands after the date of enactment of this Act shall be (with priority given in the order listed)—
(1) in the case of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects, in the lineal descendants of the Native American; or
(2) in any case in which such lineal descendants cannot be ascertained, and in the case of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony—
(A) in the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization on whose tribal land such objects or remains were discovered;
(B) in the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization which has the closest cultural affiliation with such remains or objects and which, upon notice, states a claim for such remains or objects; or
(C) if the cultural affiliation of the objects cannot be reasonably ascertained and if the objects were discovered on Federal land that is recognized by a final judgment of the Indian Claims Commission or the United States Court of Claims as the aboriginal land of some Indian tribe—
(1) in the Indian tribe that is recognized as aboriginally occupying the area in which the objects were discovered, if upon notice, such tribe states a claim for such remains or objects, or
(2) if it can be shown by a preponderance of the evidence that a different tribe has a stronger cultural relationship with the remains or objects that the tribe or organization specified in paragraph (1), in the Indian tribe that has the strongest demonstrated relationship, if upon notice, such tribe states a claim for such remains or objects.
(b) UNCLAIMED NATIVE AMERICAN HUMAN REMAINS AND OBJECTS.—Native American cultural items not claimed under subsection (a) shall be disposed of in accordance with regulations promulgated by the Secretary in consultation with the review committee established under section 8, Native American groups, representatives of museums and the scientific community.
(c) INTENTIONAL EXCAVATION AND REMOVAL OF NATIVE AMERICAN HUMAN REMAINS AND OBJECTS—The intentional removal from or excavation of Native American cultural items from Federal or tribal lands for purposes of discovery, study, or removal of such items is permitted only if—
(1) such items are excavated or removed pursuant to a permit issued under section 4 of the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (93 Stat. 721; 16 U.S.C. 470aa et seq.) which shall be consistent with this Act;
(2) such items are excavated or removed after consultation with or, in the case of tribal lands, consent of the appropriate (if any) Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization;
(3) the ownership and right of control of the disposition of such items shall be as provided in subsections (a) and (b); and
(4) proof of consultation or consent under paragraph (2) is shown.

(d) INADVERTENT DISCOVERY OF NATIVE AMERICAN REMAINS AND OBJECTS.—(1) Any person who knows, or has reason to know, that such person has discovered Native American cultural items on Federal or tribal lands after the date of enactment of this Act shall notify, in writing, the Secretary of the Department, or head of any other agency or instrumentality of the United States, having primary management authority with respect to Federal lands and the appropriate Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization with respect to tribal lands, if known or readily ascertainable, and, in the case of lands that have been selected by an Alaska Native Corporation or group organized pursuant to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, the appropriate corporation or group. If the discovery occurred in connection with an activity, including (but not limited to) construction, mining, logging, and agriculture, the person shall cease the activity in the area of the discovery, make a reasonable effort to protect the items discovered before resuming such activity, and provide notice under this subsection. Following the notification under this subsection, and upon certification by the Secretary of the department or the head of any agency or instrumentality of the United States or the appropriate Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization that notification has been received, the activity may resume after 30 days of such certification.
(2) The disposition of and control over any cultural items excavated or removed under this subsection shall be determined as provided for in this section.
(3) If the Secretary of the Interior consents, the responsibilities (in whole or in part) under paragraphs (1) and (2) of the Secretary of any department (other than the Department of the Interior) or the head of any other agency or instrumentality may be delegated to the Secretary with respect to any land managed by such other Secretary or agency head.
(e) RELINQUISHMENT.— Nothing in this section shall prevent the governing body of an Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization from expressly relinquishing control over any Native American human remains, or title to or control over any funerary object, or sacred object.

SEC. 4. ILLEGAL TRAFFICKING.
(a) ILLEGAL TRAFFICKING.—Chapter 53 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:
"§ 1170. Illegal Trafficking in Native American Human Remains
and Cultural Items
"(a) Whoever knowingly sells, purchases, uses for profit, or transports for sale or profit, the human remains of a Native American without the right of possession to those remains as provided in the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act shall be fined in accordance with this title, or imprisoned not more than 12 months, or both, and in the case of a second or subsequent violation, be fined in accordance with this title, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.
"(b) Whoever knowingly sells, purchases, uses for profit, or transports for sale or profit any Native American cultural items obtained in violation of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act shall be fined in accordance with this title, imprisoned not more than one year, or both, and in the case of a second or subsequent violation, be fined in accordance with this title, imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.".
(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS. —The table of contents for chapter 53 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new item:

“1170. Illegal Trafficking in Native American Human Remains and Cultural Items.”.

SEC. 5. INVENTORY FOR HUMAN REMAINS AND ASSOCIATED FUNERARY OBJECTS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Each Federal agency and each museum which has possession or control over holdings or collections of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects shall compile inventory of such items and, to the extent possible based on information possessed by such museum or Federal agency, identify the geographical and cultural affiliation of such item.

(b) REQUIREMENTS.—(1) The inventories and identifications required under subsection (a) shall be—

(A) completed in consultation with tribal government and Native Hawaiian organization officials and traditional religious leaders;

(B) completed by not later than the date that is 5 years after the date of enactment of this Act, and

(C) made available both during the time they are being conducted and afterward to a review committee established under section 8.

(2) Upon request by an Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization which receives or should have received notice, a museum or Federal agency shall supply additional available documentation to supplement the information required by subsection (a) of this section. The term “documentation” means a summary of existing museum or Federal agency records, including inventories or catalogues, relevant studies, or other pertinent data for the limited purpose of determining the geographical origin, cultural affiliation, and basic facts surrounding acquisition and accession of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects subject to this section. Such term does not mean, and this Act shall not be construed to be an authorization for, the initiation of new scientific studies of such remains and associated funerary objects or other means of acquiring or preserving additional scientific information from such remains and objects.

(c) EXTENSION OF TIME FOR INVENTORY.—Any museum which has made a good faith effort to carry out an inventory and identification under this section, but which has been unable to complete the process, may appeal to the Secretary for an extension of the time requirements set forth in subsection (b)(l)(B). The Secretary may extend such time requirements for any such museum upon a finding of good faith effort. An indication of good faith shall include the development of a plan to carry out the inventory and identification process.

(d) NOTIFICATION.—(1) If the cultural affiliation of any particular Native American human remains or associated funerary objects is determined pursuant to this section, the Federal agency or museum concerned shall, not later than 6 months after the completion of the inventory, notify the affected Indian tribes or Native Hawaiian organizations.

(2) The notice required by paragraph (1) shall include information—

(A) which identifies each Native American human remains or associated funerary objects and the circumstances surrounding its acquisition;

(B) which lists the human remains or associated funerary objects that are clearly identifiable as to tribal origin; and

(C) which lists the Native American human remains and associated funerary objects that are not clearly identifiable as being culturally affiliated with that Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian

organization, but which, given the totality of circumstances surrounding acquisition of the remains or objects, are determined by a reasonable belief to be remains or objects culturally affiliated with the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization.
(3) A copy of each notice provided under paragraph (1) shall be sent to the Secretary who shall publish each notice in the Federal Register.
(e) INVENTORY.—For the purposes of this section, the term "inventory" means a simple itemized list that summarizes the information called for by this section.

SEC. 6. SUMMARY FOR UNASSOCIATED FUNERARY OBJECTS, SACRED OBJECTS, AND CULTURAL PATRIMONY.
(a) IN GENERAL.—Each Federal agency or museum which has possession or control over holdings or collections of Native American unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony shall provide a written summary of such objects based upon available information held by such agency or museum. The summary shall describe the scope of the collection, kinds of objects included, reference to geographical location, means and period of acquisition and cultural affiliation, where readily ascertainable.
(b) REQUIREMENTS.—(1) The summary required under subsection (a) shall be—
(A) in lieu of an object-by-object inventory;
(B) followed by consultation with tribal government and Native Hawaiian organization officials and traditional religious leaders; and
(C) completed by not later than the date that is 3 years after the date of enactment of this Act.
(2) Upon request, Indian Tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations shall have access to records, catalogues, relevant studies or other pertinent data for the limited purposes of determining the geographic origin, cultural affiliation, and basic facts surrounding acquisition and accession of Native American objects subject to this section. Such information shall be provided in a reasonable manner to be agreed upon by all parties.

SEC. 7. REPATRIATION.
(a) REPATRIATION OF NATIVE AMERICAN HUMAN REMAINS AND OBJECTS POSSESSED OR CONTROLLED BY FEDERAL AGENCIES AND MUSEUMS.—(1) If, pursuant to section 5, the cultural affiliation of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects with a particular Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization is established, then the Federal agency or museum, upon the request of a known lineal descendant of the Native American or of the tribe or organization and pursuant to subsections (b) and (e) of this section, shall expeditiously return such remains and associated funerary objects.
(2) If, pursuant to section 6, the cultural affiliation with a particular Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization is shown with respect to unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects or objects of cultural patrimony, then the Federal agency or museum, upon the request of the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and pursuant to subsections (b), (c) and (e) of this section, shall expeditiously return such objects.
(3) The return of cultural items covered by this Act shall be in consultation with the requesting lineal descendant or tribe or organization to determine the place and manner of delivery of such items.
(4) Where cultural affiliation of Native American human remains and funerary objects has not been established in an inventory prepared pursuant to section 5, or the summary pursuant

to section 6, or where Native American human remains and funerary objects are not included upon any such inventory, then, upon request and pursuant to subsections (b) and (e) and, in the case of unassociated funerary objects, subsection (c), such Native American human remains and funerary objects shall be expeditiously returned where the requesting Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization can show cultural affiliation by a preponderance of the evidence based upon geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, anthropological, linguistic, folk-loric, oral traditional, historical, or other relevant information or expert opinion.

(5) Upon request and pursuant to subsections (b), (c) and (e), sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony shall be expeditiously returned where—

(A) the requesting party is the direct lineal descendant of an individual who owned the sacred object;

(B) the requesting Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization can show that the object was owned or controlled by the tribe or organization; or

(C) the requesting Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization can show that the sacred object was owned or controlled by a member thereof, provided that in the case where a sacred object was owned by a member thereof, there are no identifiable lineal descendants of said member or the lineal descendants, upon notice, have failed to make a claim for the object under this Act.

(b) SCIENTIFIC STUDY.—If the lineal descendant, Indian tribe, or Native Hawaiian organization requests the return of culturally affiliated Native American cultural items, the Federal agency or museum shall expeditiously return such items unless such items are indispensable for completion of a specific scientific study, the outcome of which would be of major benefit to the United States. Such items shall be returned by no later than 90 days after the date on which the scientific study is completed.

(c) STANDARD OF REPATRIATION.—If a known lineal descendant or an Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization requests the return of Native American unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects or objects of cultural patrimony pursuant to this Act and presents evidence which, if standing alone before the introduction of evidence to the contrary, would support a finding that the Federal agency or museum did not have the right of possession, then such agency or museum shall return such objects unless it can overcome such inference and prove that it has a right of possession to the objects.

(d) SHARING OF INFORMATION BY FEDERAL AGENCIES AND MUSEUMS.—Any Federal agency or museum shall share what information it does possess regarding the object in question with the known lineal descendant, Indian tribe, or Native Hawaiian organization to assist in making a claim under this section.

(e) COMPETING CLAIMS.—Where there are multiple requests for repatriation of any cultural item and, after complying with the requirements of this Act, the Federal agency or museum cannot clearly determine which requesting party is the most appropriate claimant, the agency or museum may retain such item until the requesting parties agree upon its disposition or the dispute is otherwise resolved pursuant to the provisions of this Act or by a court of competent jurisdiction.

(f) MUSEUM OBLIGATION.—Any museum which repatriates any item in good faith pursuant to this Act shall not be liable for claims by an aggrieved party or for claims of breach of fiduciary duty, public trust, or violations of state law that are inconsistent with the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 8. REVIEW COMMITTEE.
(a) ESTABLISHMENT—Within 120 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall establish a committee to monitor and review the implementation of the inventory and identification process and repatriation activities required under sections 5, 6 and 7.
(b) MEMBERSHIP.--(1) The Committee established under subsection (a) shall be composed of 7 members,
(A) 3 of whom shall be appointed by the Secretary from nominations submitted by Indian tribes. Native Hawaiian organizations, and traditional Native American religious leaders with at least 2 of such persons being traditional Indian religious leaders;
(B) 3 of whom shall be appointed by the Secretary from nominations submitted by national museum organizations and scientific organizations; and
(C) 1 who shall be appointed by the Secretary from a list of persons developed and consented to by all of the members appointed pursuant to subparagraphs (A) and (B).
(2) The Secretary may not appoint Federal officers or employses to the committee.
(3) In the event vacancies shall occur, such vacancies shall be Filled by the Secretary in the same manner as the original appointment within 90 days of the occurrence of such vacancy.
(4) Members of the committee established under subsection (a) shall serve without pay, but shall be reimbursed at a rate equal to the daily rate for GS-18 of the General Schedule for each day (includng travel time) for which the member is actually engaged in committee business. Each member shall receive travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in accordance with sections 5702 and 5703 of title 5. United States Code.
(c) RESPONSIBILITIES.—The committee established under subsection (a) shall be responsible for—
(1) designating one of the members of the committee as chairman;
(2) monitoring the inventory and identification process conducted under sections 5 and 6 to ensure a fair, objective consideration and assessment of all available relevant information and evidence;
(3) upon the request of any affected party, reviewing and making findings related to
(A) the identity or cultural affiliation of cultural items, or
(B) the return of such items;
(4) facilitating the resolution of any disputes among Indian tribes. Native Hawaiian organizations, or lineal descendants and Federal agencies or museums relating to the return of such items including convening the parties to the dispute if deemed desirable;
(5) compiling an inventory of culturally unidentifiable human remains that are in the possession or control of each Federal agency and museum and recommending specific actions for developing a process for disposition of such remains;
(6) consulting with Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations and museums on matters within the scope of the work of the committee affecting such tribes or organizations;
(7) consulting with the Secretary in the development of regulations to carry out this Act;
(8) performing such other related functions as the Secretary may assign to the committee; and
(9) making recommendations, if appropriate, regarding future care of cultural items which are to be repatriated.
(d) Any records and findings made by the review committee pursuant to this Act relating to the identity or cultural affiliation of any cultural items and the return of such items may be

admissible in any action brought under section 15 of this Act.
(e) RECOMMENDATIONS AND REPORT.—The committee shall make the recommendations under paragraph (c)(5) in consultation with Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations and appropriate scientific and museum groups.
(f) ACCESS.—The Secretary shall ensure that the committee established under subsection (a) and the members of the committee have reasonable access to Native American cultural items under review and to associated scientific and historical documents.
(g) DUTIES OF SECRETARY.—The Secretary shall—
(1) establish such rules and regulations for the committee as may be necessary, and
(2) provide reasonable administrative and staff support necessary for the deliberations of the committee.
(h) ANNUAL REPORT.—The committee established under subsection (a) shall submit an annual report to the Congress on the progress made, and any barriers encountered, in implementing this section during the previous year.
(i) TERMINATION.—The committee established under subsection (a) shall terminate at the end of the 120-day period beginning on the day the Secretary certifies, in a report submitted to Congress, that the work of the committee has been completed.

SEC. 9. PENALTY.
(a) PENALTY.—Any museum that fails to comply with the requirements of this Act may be assessed a civil penalty by the Secretary of the Interior pursuant to procedures established by the Secretary through regulation. A penalty assessed under this subsection shall be determined on the record after opportunity for an agency hearing. Each violation under this subsection shall be a separate offence.
(b) AMOUNT OF PENALTY.—The amount of a penalty assessed under subsection (a) shall be determined under regulations promulgated pursuant to this Act, taking into account, in addition to other factors—
(1) the archaeological, historical, or commercial value of the item involved;
(2) the damages suffered, both economic and noneconomic, by an aggrieved party, and
(3) the number of violations that have occurred.
(c) ACTIONS TO RECOVER PENALTIES.—If any museum fails to pay an assessment of a civil penalty pursuant to a final order of the Secretary that has been issued under subsection (a) and not appealed or after a final judgment has been rendered on appeal of such order, the Attorney General may institute a civil action in an appropriate district court of the United States to collect the penalty. In such action, the validity and amount of such penalty shall not be subject to review.

(d) SUBPOENAS.—In hearings held pursuant to subsection (a), subpoenas may be issued for the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of relevant papers, books, and documents. Witnesses so summoned shall be paid the same fees and mileage that are paid to witnesses in the courts of the United States.
(a) INDIAN TRIBES AND NATIVE HAWAIIAN ORGANIZATIONS. —The Secretary is authorized to make grants to Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations for the purpose of assisting such tribes and organizations in the repatriation of Native American cultural items.
(b) MUSEUMS.—The Secretary is authorized to make grants to museums for the purpose of

assisting the museums in conducting the inventories and identification required under sections 5 and 6.

SEC. 11. SAVINGS PROVISIONS.
Nothing in this Act shall be construed to—
(1) limit the authority of any Federal agency or museum to
(A) return or repatriate Native American cultural items to Indian tribes, Native Hawaiian organizations, or individuals, and
(B) enter into any other agreement with the consent of the culturally affiliated tribe or organization as to the disposition of, or control over, items covered by this Act;
(2) delay actions on repatriation requests that are pending on the date of enactment of this Act;
(3) deny or otherwise affect access to any court;
(4) limit any procedural or substantive right which may otherwise be secured to individuals or Indian tribes or Native Hawaiian organizations; or
(5) limit the application of any State or Federal law pertaining to theft or stolen property.

SEC. 12. SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND INDIAN TRIBES.
This Act reflects the unique relationship between the Federal Government and Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations and should not be construed to establish a precedent with respect to any other individual, organization or foreign government.

SEC. 13. REGULATIONS.
The Secretary shall promulgate regulations to carry out this Act within 12 months of enactment.

SEC. 14. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.
There is authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out this Act.

SEC. 15. ENFORCEMENT.
The United States district courts shall have jurisdiction over any action brought by any person alleging a violation of this Act and shall have the authority to issue such orders as may be necessary to enforce the provisions of this Act.

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