AMERICAN INDIAN CULTURE AND RESEARCH JOURNAL 16:2 (1992) 121–137

# The Pawnee of Nebraska: Twice Removed

ORLAN J. SVINGEN

The policy of removing American Indian people from their traditional homelands to other locations considered by non-Indians to be more suitable forms a long and painful chapter in the history of Indian-white relations. The word itself—*removal*—is a negative term describing a volatile situation between the haves and the have-nots, the powerful and the powerless, between the "removers" and the "removed."

For the Pawnee, removal from Nebraska to Oklahoma created tremendous stress and dislocation. As the years passed, they adapted to their new home; ultimately, however, removal came to have another, even more dreadful meaning for the Pawnee than any of them could have imagined. Once they had departed Nebraska, non-Indians began removing the contents of Pawnee cemeteries, looting graves of Pawnee remains and funerary goods. Grave robbers and trophy hunters sought out abandoned Pawnee villages and included their cemeteries in their "treasure hunt" for what remained of Pawnee life in Nebraska. Amateur archaeologists continued the cultural plundering in the 1920s, systematizing their searches—even purchasing parcels of land believed to contain the remnants of Pawnee villages. In the 1930s and 1940s, Work Projects Administration personnel joined with the Nebraska State Historical Society to professionalize the activity, labeling their work *archaeological excavation*. By the 1950s, the Nebraska State Historical Society in Lincoln had in its possession between five

Orlan J. Svingen is an associate professor of history at Washington State University, Pullman, Washington.

hundred and one thousand Pawnee bodies and thousands of funerary goods taken from their graves. In this sense, the Pawnee of Nebraska were "twice removed" from their homeland.

Prior to removal, the Pawnee ranged over a wide territory on the Great Plains, extending from the Niobrara River in the north to the Arkansas River to the south, and from the mouth of the Platte west beyond the confluence of the North and South Platte rivers in western Nebraska. By the nineteenth century, their earthlodge villages stood along the Platte River in central and eastern Nebraska and on many of that river's tributaries, such as the Loup River. Pawnee population numbers vary somewhat, but during the 1830s they totaled at least ten thousand and possibly as many as 12,500.[1]

Treaties between the four confederated bands of the Pawnee (the Chaui, the Pirahawirata, the Kitkahahki, and the Skidi) and the United States began in 1818. With the treaty of 1833, the Pawnee lost their lands south of the Platte River. In 1848, they ceded a narrow strip along the Platte River. By 1857, Pawnee holdings had been reduced to a small 285,440-acre reservation on the Loup River north of the Platte in present-day Nance County, Nebraska. As Pawnee land holdings diminished, non-Indian settlement and government organization grew, with Nebraska Territory established in 1854 and statehood declared in 1867.[2]

By the mid-1870s, the Pawnee had departed Nebraska for a small reservation in Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma. Numerous scholars have argued that intertribal warfare between the Sioux and the Pawnee persuaded the Pawnee to abandon Nebraska for a more peaceful location in Indian Territory. These scholars cite, in particular, an encounter in August 1873 between a Pawnee hunting party and enemy Sioux. Oglala and Brulé warriors killed the Pawnee leader, Sky Chief, together with another one hundred Pawnee at what became known as Massacre Canyon near present-day Trenton, Nebraska.[3] "The massacre . . . ," historian James C. Olson concluded, "convinced many of the Pawnee that it was useless to try to remain in Nebraska."[4]

Other scholars have suggested that more complex factors played a role in addition to the "flight from the Sioux" argument. David J. Wishart argues that the Pawnee agreed to move to Indian Territory as a means for preserving their cultural traditions in a less hostile setting.[5] Richard White contends that a host of factors persuaded the Pawnee to remove to Indian Territory, including social, demographic, and ecological considerations. More, per-

haps, than any other non-Indian scholar, White acknowledges non-Indian intolerance toward the Pawnee in Nebraska, although his work focuses on centuries of warfare on the Plains that concluded with Sioux predominance.[6]

A recent work by Martha Royce Blaine accepts many aspects of earlier scholarship on Pawnee removal but addresses more squarely the deleterious effects that non-Indians had on Pawnee culture. Pawnee leaders, poised to respond to the government's plan to remove them to Indian Territory, drafted a "supplemental list of resolutions," which followed six previous resolutions signed by tribal leaders, superintendent Barclay White, and agent William Burgess. In particular, the second of the supplemental resolutions offers important insight into Pawnee perceptions of non-Indians. It states that

> outside traders and other white persons, near our present reservation having taken advantage of our necessities and received by purchase, in trade, or pawn, our government wagons, gov't plows, and poles of our winter lodges, we have by request that none of these parasites, or any white squaw men, be permitted to remove, or settle among us there. We have suffered from them in the past, we desire to be rid of them in the future.[7]

Blaine cites chronically unresolved problems such as starvation, reservation confinement, and non-Indian harassment as conditions that the government might have allowed or even encouraged so as to erode the determination of the Pawnee people to remain in Nebraska. "Perhaps the government did not force the Pawnee to leave," Blaine postulates, "but it programmed the outcome by allowing devastating conditions to exist."[8]

Still another important study examining Pawnee removal was conducted by James Riding In, an historian and an enrolled member of the Pawnee tribe of Oklahoma. Riding In criticizes the "Sioux theory" as a one-sided and incomplete explanation that ignores the tribal perspective regarding removal. From a Pawnee position, Riding In argues that a pervasive hatred toward Indians by non-Indians was the most important factor in Pawnee removal. "Racial hatred, rather than an insatiable hunger for Indian land," he argues, "was the primary motivating force behind the state-wide movement for Pawnee removal."[9] Stripped of legal protection, stereotypically depicted as lazy and worthless, denied access to their traditional livelihood, the Pawnee had no alternative but to accept removal.[10]

The conclusion reached by Olson and others oversimplifies a complex concern and clouds the issue by seemingly absolving non-Indians of responsibility in the matter of Pawnee removal. More to the point, the Sioux theory holds other tribal people—the Oglala and Brulé—largely responsible for Pawnee removal and might suggest to some that abandoning Nebraska for Indian Territory was actually a plan hatched by the Pawnee people themselves. Hostilities between the Sioux and the Pawnee had existed for years, but the latter had never before chosen to relocate to avoid conflict with the Sioux. Some scholars may regard Riding In's analysis as presentistic, but it underscores the attitudes of Americans in the nineteenth century who embraced scientific racism and the notion of greater and lesser "breeds" of people. That the Pawnee were *removed* to Indian Territory is crucial to the Pawnee's interpretation of their history, because any other definition suggests that they abandoned their homeland and forsook the graves of their ancestors who remained in Nebraska.

The removal of living Pawnee from Nebraska to Oklahoma was, however, followed by another form of removal: the removal of dead Pawnee from their graves. From early American contact in present-day Nebraska, Indian skeletal remains—Indian bodies—have been regarded as "fair game" for the curious, including scientists, soldiers, and pothunters. The Long expedition of 1820, a government-sponsored exploration into the Rocky Mountains, passed through Nebraska. En route, the expedition obtained the skull of a Pawnee who had been killed in 1818,[11] and, according to Edwin James, a botanist who chronicled the journey, "we thought it no sacrilege to compliment [the skull] with a place upon one of our pack-horses."[12] The skull appears to have been used later by the craniologist Dr. Samuel George Morton—one of the founders of American physical anthropology—in his 1839 *Crania Americana*, as one of the 144 Native American skulls that he examined and measured. Morton's studies scientifically "proved" the intellectual inferiority of Indians and African-Americans.[13]

The business of removing and collecting Pawnee body parts continued. Orders issued by the United States surgeon general in 1867 and 1868 directed army personnel to send Indian skulls to the Army Medical Museum for scientific study. Accordingly, in 1869 the post surgeon at Fort Harker, Kansas, sent the skulls of six Pawnee killed by the army to the Army Medical Museum. The surgeon described problems he encountered collecting the skulls:

> I had already obtained for the Museum the skull of one of the Pawnee, killed in the fight you speak of, & would have had all had it not been that immediately after the engagement, the Indians lurked about their dead & watched them so closely, that the guide I sent out was unable to secure but the one.[14]

In 1898, Harry Coons, a Pawnee visiting Nebraska from his home in Oklahoma, stopped at Wild Licorice Creek, a former Pawnee town, to visit the graves of his two sisters. He observed that a cornfield stood at the site of their burial and that the graves had been opened and their contents looted.[15]

Graphic evidence of Indian grave robbing appeared in a photograph on a Nebraska postcard in 1907. The photograph shows the remains of an individual removed from the vicinity of the 1873 Massacre Canyon site. A wooden Bromo Seltzer box had been placed on a sidewalk, with two large bones propped against it, and a skull placed in the middle of the box, presumably atop additional human bones. Handwriting on the postcard dubbed the remains "Pawnee Jim."[16]

These examples of disturbance of sepulcher pale, however, in comparison to the systematic procedures introduced by Asa T. Hill. In 1906, Hill had visited the unveiling of a monument in Kansas commemorating what was believed to be the site of the Pike-Pawnee village where the American explorer Zebulon Pike met with the Pawnee in 1806 and replaced a Spanish flag with the American flag. A long-time resident of Nebraska who was well traveled throughout the region, Hill questioned the accuracy of the Kansas claim.[17]

In November 1923, Hill obtained information indicating that a Pawnee town had been found on the George DeWitt farm near Red Cloud, Nebraska, in Webster County. The next week, accompanied by A. L. Dougherty and Dewitt, Hill visited the site, opened a grave, and uncovered the remains of an adult Indian. After removing the remains and funeral goods, Hill contacted superintendent Addison E. Sheldon of the Nebraska State Historical Society (NSHS) and described the village site and the contents of the grave.

The next spring, Hill "excavated" several more burials and concluded that the earthlodge rings and numerous burials indicated that the settlement had been occupied for many years. After examining and comparing the Webster County site with the Kansas Monument location, he and Sheldon concluded that the Webster County site was the actual location visited in 1806 by

Zebulon Pike. To reserve the Pawnee Indian village for his personal use, Hill purchased the 320-acre parcel from the landowners.[18]

In addition to Hill, early residents of Nebraska freely indulged their curiosity regarding the contents of Pawnee graves. In a 1925 letter written by Hill concerning Pawnee cemeteries on his recently acquired property, he acknowledged that "settlers have been digging into these graves for the last 50 years."[19] His estimation corroborates reports that indicate that the looting of Pawnee graves began almost immediately after the tribe's removal to Indian Territory.

Over the years, Hill, who became the curator of the museum and field archaeologist for the Nebraska State Historical Society, in conjunction with the federally sponsored Work Projects Administration, dug up the Pike-Pawnee village cemeteries, recovering scores of Pawnee bodies. In a 14 March 1941 letter, Hill informed Waldo Wedel (one of Hill's field assistants and later an authority on Pawnee archaeology) that his farm near Red Cloud, Nebraska, was "covered with Pawnee burials."[20] To date, approximately sixty-five bodies have been removed from graves on what has become known as the Hill site. Hill and his assistant recovered thousands of grave goods from the site.[21]

The Genoa site, which was located farther north in Nance County and was the place from which the Pawnee people were removed to Indian Territory, is an example of a location visited by a variety of individuals over the years. The National Register of Historic Places nomination form for the Genoa site indicates that the only excavations at the location were "salvage work done in State Roads Department barrow pits in 1960 and 1966."[22] Evidence suggests, however, that other excavations were conducted. For example, on a Nebraska State Historical Society Archeological Survey form dated 24 October 1938, Waldo Wedel observed that "large Pawnee cemeteries to west and north on bluffs have been extensively looted with several hundred graves said to have been opened."[23]

More recent activity continued there when, on 14 September 1966, the State Department of Roads informed archaeologist Wendell Frantz that it planned to conduct road repairs on highway N-39 south of Genoa that would require ground leveling on the Genoa site. Frantz traveled to Genoa, where he found and exposed five burials. Three Pawnee bodies and associated mortuary offerings were removed. Another, "an infant burial with two military buttons," was "not excavated, some bone saved." The

fifth individual was in poor condition, with "no artifacts, not excavated."[24]

On 10 September 1970, archaeologist Carl Hugh Jones learned from landowner Allen Atkins that he and others had been "land leveling on the Greek site [same land as Genoa site] and were hitting burials." Jones and three others (Curt Peacock, Ron Kivett, and Kevin Leitch) arrived at Genoa and found "six or eight pothunters gathered around a couple of burials trying to dig out the bones before the other guy could." As with other excavations, the Genoa site received many visitors. "A rural school showed up and kept us company much of the morning," Jones noted. "Some of these kids," he continued, "collected bones from the area where they had been scraped and dumped."[25]

The Genoa site is an example of a place where local landowners found opportunities to acquire "trophies." As Carl Jones explained, one of the landowners "brought us a skull that his boys had gotten from the site." Jones then added that other landowners had "some material" and that "sometimes the pothunters get all the good stuff."[26]

The Hill and Genoa sites are particular examples of non-Indian interest in the Pawnee dead, but numerous other instances portray cases of grave robbing, desecration, and disrespect. Archaeologists frequently recorded grave disturbances by landowners and private individuals throughout Nebraska. For example, at burial hill site 25HM2, which was excavated on 31 October 1940, archaeologists noted that extensive looting had occurred. Of the seven burial pits excavated at the site, only two retained burials. Archaeologist Robert B. Cumming observed that field burial number 7 lacked a skull and stated that "the region had been potted before and the owner of the land remembers digging up skulls here 55 years ago."[27]

In addition to accounts of looting, examples abound of disrespectful treatment of skeletal remains seemingly "in the way" or tossed aside as unimportant. While excavating the Larson site (25PT1) in 1936, George Lamb reported that a power canal had been built several years before, and project workmen "claimed that human bones were thrown out in a number of instances."[28] Furthermore, Webster County's first settlers discovered many Indian burial grounds during house and fence construction. Settlers frequently showed callous disregard for the graves. In his "Early History of Webster County," Emanual Peters described how a neighbor built a dugout and in the process "several skulls

were thrown out." The same neighbor later fenced in a hog lot. "The hogs soon rooted out so many skulls," Peters claimed, "[that they] would roll down and form a drift against the fence."[29]

In a site description on a National Register of Historic Places nomination form, the recorder explained that at the time of excavation in 1941, the Hill-Rupp site (25PT13) had been cultivated "for some 30 years and hunted over by collectors."[30] Webster County residents reported that pothunters optimized their visits to burial sites by arriving just after rain showers.[31]

The callous disregard evidenced by looters, grave robbers, and pothunters is paralleled by the attitudes of archaeologists who depicted grave goods as "treasures" in publications, reports, and correspondence. In a 1 September 1928 letter to A. T. Hill, Charles Bertrand Schultz remarked that "Webster County is getting up a little collection of relics . . . [and] they would like to have the products or contents of one of the graves on your farm." Schultz also claimed that he had "been out collecting bones ever since the first of June."[32] Likewise, Hill boasted, "I don't play golf . . . . [M]y only recreation is this Indian investigation. I come out here Sundays and dig up Indians . . . . [T]his hill is my golf course."[33]

It also appears that some excavations took on a sporting event atmosphere. Site files, photographs, and newspaper accounts record the presence of visitors to the sites during the excavations.[34] Hill, for instance, invited people through newspaper notices to visit his farm and to "join in the further hunt for 'finds.'" On one occasion, one hundred people responded and spent the afternoon digging, with two graves located and opened that day. A note by Hill indicated that sightseers were common: "We are having good luck finding skeletons. Have lots of visitors."[35]

In the 1970s, former NSHS director Marvin Kivett related a story involving Dr. L. M. Kunkel from Weeping Water, Nebraska. Reportedly, in the 1920s Dr. Kunkel accepted items unearthed from Indian villages located on his land as payment for medical services he provided.[36]

Another example of insensitivity and an unscientific and unprofessional attitude toward human remains appeared in photographs taken in 1940 at the Burkett site (25NC1). Two separate photographs illustrate non-Indian WPA personnel reclining inside a burial pit next to a partially exposed human skeleton, presumably Pawnee. Climbing into a burial pit, holding one's own head with one hand, placing the other hand on an exposed skull, and then being photographed while others look on is inconsistent

with professional and scientific behavior at an archaeological excavation.[37] It is, however, consistent with a mocking attitude, "trophyesque" posture, and grave desecration. The question begs to be asked: Would the pictured non-Indians have found it appropriate to display this type of behavior in a non-Indian cemetery?

Once the skeletal remains and burial offerings came into the possession of the historical society, archaeologists and WPA workers handled these items in a variety of ways. They began by photographing and bagging the burial goods. In some instances, site files reveal conservation measures that included applying shellac to the remains. Next they numbered and catalogued the remains and burial goods according to the site location.[38] By this point, archaeologists had separated the deceased Pawnee from their burial possessions. The funerary goods became "artifacts" that were identified and placed in an ethnographic collection, and NSHS personnel routinely incorporated selected grave goods into a variety of museum exhibits over the years. Rarely, if ever, were any of the hundreds—maybe thousands—of funerary articles used in historical exhibits identified as Pawnee grave goods; rather they simply were referred to as artifacts. In regard to the human remains, physical anthropologists have studied the Pawnee skeletal "material"—as it was commonly termed—for information on dental pathology, craniometrics, mortuary practices, and subsistence patterns.[39]

Pawnee removal continued well into the 1980s, for on 18 July 1984, Douglas Owsley, a member of the Department of Anthropology at Louisiana State University, concluded a loan agreement with NSHS. The society agreed to lend its entire Pawnee skeletal collection to Owsley for a period of five years. Owsley rented a moving van to transport the boxed Pawnee remains from Lincoln, Nebraska, to Baton Rouge, Louisiana. When Owsley was hired by the Smithsonian Institution three years later, he arranged for another specially equipped moving van to convey the remains from LSU to Washington, D. C.[40]

As the revelations regarding the second removal of Pawnee deceased became known to the general public and to the Pawnee people in the late 1980s, questions emerged over who held title to the Pawnee remains and whether permits had been required to exhume them. Despite clear and indisputable statutory law in Nebraska that protected the remains of the dead,[41] the only documentation relating to the "ownership" of Pawnee human skeletons and funerary goods was a bill of sale from Asa T. Hill to the

Nebraska State Historical Society dated 17 April 1942. The document plainly illustrates that Hill regarded the contents of Pawnee graves on his land as his personal property, to dispense with as he saw fit. Hill sold the entire collection to the society for one dollar. In addition to thousands of mortuary offerings, the Hill Collection included the bodies of approximately thirty Pawnee men, women, and children.[42]

Throughout his career as an amateur archaeologist, Hill represented himself in one way to Indian people and in another to non-Indians on the subject of grave excavation. In discussions with non-Indians concerning graves and grave goods, he spoke openly about bones, skulls, and "relics" such as spoons, mirrors, beads, and trinkets.[43] In a letter to Waldo Wedel, Hill boastfully declared himself "the champion pothunter of Nebraska."[44] Likewise, in a letter to Hill, Wedel referred to him as "The King of Pothunters."[45] In another instance, Charles Bertrand Schultz of Red Cloud informed Hill that he had "been out collecting bones since the first of June."[46] He then asked Hill's permission to hunt artifacts on Hill's farm in Webster County. Hill agreed, with the proviso that he would retain certain items such as medals. "Beads and the ordinary Indian trinkets that you find in the grave," Hill added, "you are welcome to keep."[47]

To Indian people, however, Hill's correspondence presented a very different attitude toward graves and their contents. For example, he never invited Pawnee to his farm to hunt for bones or artifacts. He never reported to them that he was having good luck finding skeletons or that the digs attracted many visitors. Nor did his correspondence with Indian people ever include references to himself as a pothunter. Instead of inviting Pawnee out for one of his Sunday afternoon digs, he informed them that he had "stopped the promiscuous digging." Although he described to Stacy Matlock, a Pawnee from Oklahoma, the removal of a "few of the contents" of the graves for the Nebraska State Historical Society's use, he failed to explain the extent of the grave disturbances and what he meant by the *society's use.* In the 5 June 1926 letter to Matlock in which he discussed his activities at the site, Hill never used the words *skeletons* or *dead bodies.* More to the point, Hill's vague and ambiguous language with Matlock contrasts with his actual activities, which can be described as exhuming Pawnee bodies and removing grave goods.[48]

Hill's correspondence gave Matlock no hint that thousands of mortuary offerings and scores of deceased Pawnee were "free for

the taking" or intended for permanent curation, preservation, scientific study, and display. Moreover, because of the generally poor condition of the graveyards, Hill declared his intention to "fill up all the old holes that had been dug previously, and place little markers at each grave," clearly implying that Pawnee remains were still interred in their resting places. Regarding a skeleton removed from a grave near Clarks, Nebraska, alleged to be Petalashero's, Hill claimed that "it is my intention to place this skull and the other stuff back in the grave and place a monument over it."[49]

The two sides of Asa T. Hill, regarded by some as the "father of archaeology in Nebraska," makes it clear that the man represented himself differently to Indian and non-Indian people. His actions and words to non-Indians reveal a man who spoke and behaved unprofessionally and insensitively toward Indian burials. To non-Indians, he compared excavating Pawnee to playing golf. In correspondence to Pawnee people, the same man cast himself as an advocate of reburial and a protector of Pawnee grave sites and cemeteries. The disparity between Hill's correspondence with Indians and his letters to non-Indians reveals an individual who used deception and misrepresentation in his relations with the Pawnee people.

Research uncovered no evidence of documentation establishing an NSHS right to exhume Pawnee remains and maintain them under perpetual curation. Although Nebraska state statutes require permits for the exhumation of human bodies, records reveal no court orders sanctioning exhumation, no permits by the Smithsonian Institution, and no Pawnee Tribal Council resolutions authorizing the disentombment of Pawnee Indian remains. Against the historic backdrop of unrestrained looting and pothunting, the state of Nebraska appears to have looked the other way in regard to Native American graves and cemeteries. The remains of Indian bodies were made available in the academic marketplace of scientific inquiry (e. g., the NSHS loan to Louisiana State University and the Smithsonian), where careers were established, furthered, and pursued over the bodies of dead Pawnee people without the consent of living tribal members.

Disturbances of Pawnee cemeteries by non-Indians prompted an outcry from Nebraska's tribal people and the Pawnee of Oklahoma, who saw the skeletal excavations as a desecration of their spiritual tradition. Lawrence Goodfox, former Pawnee Tribal Council chairman, described his people as distraught over the

"indignant, insulting, and sacrilegious treatment" of their ancestors.[50] Similarly, Reba White Shirt, former director of the Nebraska Indian Commission, observed that Indian people "want the graves of our ancestors to be treated with the same dignity and respect as anyone else's grave."[51]

Ethnologists acknowledge that Pawnee mortuary practices included formalized ritual treatment of the deceased. An individual would be painted, dressed, anointed, and then enveloped in a robe or blanket in preparation for interment. One observer, Father Peter DeSmet, witnessed a Pawnee burial in 1858. Members of the funeral party, DeSmet related, placed the young man's body into the grave "amid the acclamations and lamentations of the whole tribe."[52] A wide range of personal effects might be placed into an individual's grave, including such items as a bow and arrow, a pipe, and beads. Frequently, sacred medicine bundles were also entombed with the deceased. Ethnologists Dorsey and Murie explain that "the people believe that when they die they take all their belongings with them to Spirit Land." The aforementioned objects were considered to belong to the grave's occupant.[53] Only in rare and unusual circumstances did the Pawnee sanction grave disturbances. Such acts were undertaken only for compelling religious purposes and only with the permission of the family of the dead.

Pawnee earthlodge towns characteristically had cemeteries located in their vicinity, situated on hilltops and ridges near the towns. Subsequent to their departure to Oklahoma in the mid-1870s, the Pawnee continued to bury their dead in cemeteries in the same fashion they had followed in Nebraska. When deceased Pawnee were buried, it was understood that their graves would be a permanent resting place and that the sacred possessions of the dead would remain with them for their use in the afterlife. Leaving Nebraska for Oklahoma did not mean, however, that the remains left behind were abandoned to looters, grave robbers, or archaeologists. The sanctity of the grave was intended to be perpetual.

A 1971 statement adopted by the American Anthropological Association makes it clear that the "anthropologists' paramount responsibility is to those they study."[54] In other words, scientific study should not be considered more important than the dignity of human beings, living or dead. Because archaeologists are responsible to the people they study, they must make it their business to understand when their techniques are offensive to their subjects. Failure to do this will continue to expose archaeologists and the scientific community to charges of scientific ethno-

centrism and scientific racism. They will be seen as guilty of objectifying tribal culture by coldly severing remains and funerary objects from Native American mortuary traditions. They could, moreover, be seen as practitioners of a form of conquest scholarship wherein they sanction and promote academic and scientific investigations of indigenous cultures solely through the use of Euro-American standards and oblivious to the objections of the subjects. The persistent demand by non-Indian scientists and scholars for continued scientific activity against the wishes of protected minorities courts danger for all involved and endorses the undignified treatment of certain members of a society.

In June 1989, the Nebraska Unicameral passed the Unmarked Human Burial Sites and Skeletal Remains Protection Act, which set in motion a series of legal remedies that have begun to reverse the injustices suffered by the Pawnee and their deceased ancestors. Slightly more than one year later, on 10 September 1990, the Pawnee people reclaimed the remains of more than four hundred of their ancestors from the Nebraska State Historical Society in Lincoln, Nebraska. (In November 1990, President Bush signed into law H. R. 5237, which established the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act.) The return took place at the State Museum, where representatives of NSHS and the Pawnee tribe signed papers finalizing the process. Later that day, Pawnee representatives loaded more than four hundred small wooden coffins into a vehicle and transported them to Genoa, Nebraska, for reburial in the municipal cemetery there. Genoa was the site of the Pawnee Reservation before their removal to Oklahoma.

Louie LaRose, from the Winnebago Indian Reservation in Winnebago, Nebraska, attended the repatriation as a representative of his tribe and observed the transfer. During the exchange, LaRose spoke with John Ludwickson, a salvage archaeologist for the state of Nebraska. Throughout the repatriation debate, Ludwickson had remained a staunch opponent of returning skeletal remains and the attendant funerary goods. At one point in their conversation, LaRose commented to Ludwickson that the return of the Pawnee remains in the wooden coffins was a reason for celebration. Ludwickson countered that "those aren't coffins; they are storage boxes."[55]

Ludwickson's remark came after more than two years of intense controversy between the Pawnee and the Nebraska State Historical Society over the disposition of Pawnee remains held in the State Museum collection and lent to other institutions. It illustrates

deep, fundamental, and abiding cultural differences that made the dispute such a painful ordeal for both sides in this issue. LaRose could not have used any other term than *coffin* to describe the 1' x 1' x 2' wooden boxes, but Ludwickson stubbornly clung to the scientific, dehumanizing term *storage boxes*. LaRose's and Ludwickson's attitudes depict cultural polarization. At what should be a time of reconciliation and understanding, the John Ludwicksons of the world refuse to make allowances for the rightful claims of minorities to their traditional expressions of spirituality. These scholars have internalized their scientific training to such an extent that they no longer conduct themselves in a respectful manner when dealing with the contemporary culture of the people they study.

## NOTES

1. James C. Olson, *History of Nebraska*, 2d ed. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 20–23; George E. Hyde, *Pawnee Indians* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 10–11, 50–51, 110–11, 179.
2. Charles J. Kappler, comp., *Indian Treaties: 1778–1883* (1904, previous title *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*; New York: Interland Publishing, 1972), 156–59, 416–18, 571–72, 764–67.
3. Martha Royce Blaine, *Pawnee Passage, 1870–1875* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 139.
4. Olson, *History of Nebraska*, 132.
5. David J. Wishart, "The Dispossession of the Pawnee," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69 (September 1979): 398–401.
6. Richard White, "The Winning of the West: The Expansion of the Western Sioux in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of American History* 65 (September 1978): 339; idem, *The Roots of Dependency, Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 147–56, 199–211.
7. Blaine, *Pawnee Passage*, 232–33.
8. Ibid., 233.
9. An M. A. thesis by James Riding In examines in great detail the relations between the Pawnee people and the non-Indian population in Nebraska. Quotes and footnotes throughout the work indicate considerable research in the *Omaha Daily Republican*, the *Omaha Republican*, the *Omaha Weekly Herald*, and the *Platte Journal*. James Riding In, "Pawnee Removal: A Study of Pawnee-White Relations in Nebraska" (M.A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1985), 66.
10. Riding In, "Pawnee Removal," vi, 6.
11. Harlin M. Fuller and Leroy R. Hafen, eds., *The Journal of Captain John R. Bell: Official Journalist for the Stephen H. Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, 1820* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1973), 128.
12. Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, vol. 1 (readex microprint 1966), 485.

13. William Bass, "Skeletal Biology in the United States Great Plains: A History and Personal Narrative," *Plains Anthropologist* 94 (November 1981): 3. See also Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1981), 50–69.

14. Roger C. Echo-Hawk and Walter R. Echo-Hawk, "Battlefields and Burial Grounds: The Indian Struggle to Protect Ancestral Graves and Human Remains in the United States" (Draft report in progress for Lerner Publications, Minneapolis, MN, March 1991), 32.

15. Ibid., 31; Ruby E. Wilson, *Frank J. North: Pawnee Scout Commander and Pioneer* (Athens, OH: Swallow Press, 1984), 325–26 n. 8.

16. The Native American Rights Fund (NARF) retained the author in the spring of 1988 to "conduct historical research into the facts and circumstances surrounding the removal of bodies and grave goods from Pawnee cemeteries in Nebraska." NARF submitted the report as "written testimony of Dr. Orlan J. Svingen in support of LB340," which subsequently became known as the Nebraska Unmarked Human Burial Sites and Skeletal Remains Protection Act, signed by Governor Kay Orr in June 1989. The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Roger C. Echo-Hawk, Daryl Steinman, and Laura Barry-Steinman, research assistants throughout the project. Orlan J. Svingen, "History of the Expropriation of Pawnee Indian Graves in the Control of the Nebraska State Historical Society" (Prepared for the Native American Rights Fund, 25 January 1989), illustration 4.

17. "In 1910 Hill was employed by a Hastings, Nebraska, automotive firm and travelled extensively throughout central Nebraska," Diffendal explained, "thus giving him the opportunity to talk to local collectors and to identify sites." Anne Polk Diffendal, "A Centennial History of the Nebraska State Historical Society, 1878–1978," *Nebraska History* 59 (Fall 1978): 367; *Guide Rock Signal* (Guide Rock, Nebraska), 5 August, 12 August 1926; Svingen, "Expropriation of Pawnee Indian Graves," 4–5.

18. Diffendal, "A Centennial History," 357–84; Asa T. Hill Collection (ms. no. 3562, series 2, file 4), Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln, Nebraska. Cited hereafter as Hill Collection.

19. Correspondence, Asa T. Hill to Stacy Matlock, 1 September 1925, Hill Collection (series 1, file 70).

20. Hill to Waldo Wedel, 14 March 1941, Hill Collection (series 4, file 4).

21. "Census of Skeletal Remains," in Svingen, "Expropriation of Pawnee Indian Graves," 15.

22. Genoa site, prepared by Carl Hugh Jones, 10 July 1970, National Register of Historic Places Inventory–nomination form, NSHS, Lincoln, Nebraska. All National Register nomination forms were obtained from the NSHS archaeological site files; site files were also known as field notes.

23. Waldo Wedel, NSHS archaeological survey, 24 October 1938, Genoa site, NSHS archaeological site files.

24. Wendell Frantz, highway 39 maintenance salvage trip, Genoa site, NSHS archaeological site files.

25. Carl Hugh Jones, journal notes for 25NC20 (Genoa site), NSHS archaeological site files.

26. Ibid.

27. Field burial no. 7, "Burial Data Form," 25HM2 (burial hill site), NSHS archaeological site files.

28. George Lamb, 25PT1 (Larson site) report, NSHS archaeological site files.

29. Emanual Peters, *Early History of Webster County* (Guide Rock, NE: *Guide*

*Rock Signal*, 1915), 22; "Archeology of Webster County," file 210, record group 515, Work Projects Administration Collection, Nebraska State Historical Society.

30. Hill-Rupp site, prepared by Cathie Masters, March 1985, National Register of Historic Places Inventory–nomination form, NSHS.

31. Ibid.

32. Charles Bertrand Schultz to Hill, 1 September 1928, Hill Collection (series 1, file 80).

33. Leo J. Ryan, "Doesn't Play Golf So Digs Up History," *Omaha World Herald*, 13 September 1925.

34. 25PK1-17, Clarks site, Archaeological Photo Collection, Nebraska State Museum, Lincoln, NE.

35. Correspondence, Hill to Bernice Hermonie, 24 April 1938, "Office, 1938," Hill Collection (series 1, file 63). See Svingen, "Expropriation of Pawnee Indian Graves," illustrations 6 and 7.

36. "He 'Dug' Archeology as Youth," *Lincoln Star*, 28 September 1977.

37. Svingen, "Expropriation of Pawnee Indian Graves," illustrations 8 and 9.

38. An example of conservation techniques is evidenced in notes on site 25PT1 (Larson site) in the NSHS archaeological site files. An unidentified archaeologist (possibly George Lamb) recorded, "Before the skeletons were removed i shellacked the skulls & some of the body bones" (p. 9).

39. Letter from Douglas Owsley (Smithsonian Institution) to Senator Dennis Baack, 29 January 1988, author's files.

40. Orlan J. Svingen to Owsley, telephone interview, 5 January 1989.

41. Nebraska state law prohibits persons from possessing dead bodies. Revised Statutes of Nebraska, 28-1302. Nebraska Statute 71-605(5), (6) (1921) specifies that certain procedures be met before one might disinter a human body.

42. Hill to NSHS, bill of sale, 7 April 1942, Hill Collection (series 1, file 99).

43. Hill Declaration, 12 May 1926, Hill Collection (series 1, file 44).

44. Letter from Hill to Wedel, 1 September 1936, Hill Collection (series 4, file 2).

45. Letter from Wedel to Hill, 4 October 1939, Hill Collection (series 4, file 4).

46. Letter from Schultz to Hill, 1 September 1928, Hill Collection (series 1, file 80).

47. Letter from Hill to Schultz, 6 September 1928, Hill Collection (series 1, file 80).

48. Letter from Hill to Matlock, 5 June 1926, Hill Collection (series 1, file 70). This document is an unsigned draft or copy; the signed version sent to Matlock has not been found.

49. Ibid.

50. "Tribe Threatens to Sue to Get Skeletal Remains," *Omaha World Herald*, 25 June 1988.

51. Reba White Shirt, editorial, *Lincoln Journal*, 25 October 1988.

52. "Letter of Father De Smet, Nov. 1, 1859," in P. J. De Smet, *New Indian Sketches* (New York: D & J Sadler & Co., 1863), 67–85.

53. George A. Dorsey and James R. Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1904), 221, 342 n. 126; idem, *The Pawnee Mythology*, part 1 (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1906), 126–32, 250; Roger C. Echo-Hawk, "Pawnee Mortuary Tradition" (September 1988), reprinted in "Hearing Before the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs on Native American Museum Claims Commission Act," *S. 197*, 100th Cong., 2d sess. (29 July 1988), 282–307.

54. Letter from Robert M. Spire, attorney general for Nebraska, to Reba

White Shirt, executive director, Nebraska Indian Commission, 14 December 1988; "Statement on Ethics, Principles of Professional Responsibility, Adopted by the Council of the American Anthropological Association May 1971," appendix in *Handbook on Ethical Issues in Anthropology* 23, ed. Joan Cassell and Sue-Ellen Jacobs (Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association, 1987), 96.

55. Louis LaRose to the author, 16 December 1990, Pawnee, OK.