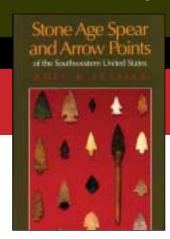
the SAArchaeological record November 2004 • Volume 4 • Number 5

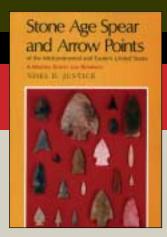


Focus on Stone Age Spear and Arrow Points books from Indiana University Press



STONE AGE SPEAR AND ARROW POINTS OF THE SOUTHWESTERN UNITED STATES

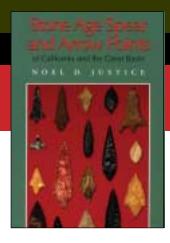
Noel D. Justice
The important reference
guide to projectile
points of the Southwest.
cloth \$59.95



STONE AGE SPEAR AND ARROW POINTS OF THE MIDCONTINENTAL AND EASTERN UNITED STATES

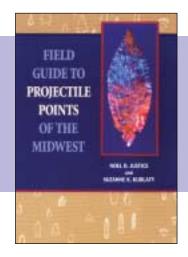
A Modern Survey and Reference Noel D. Justice

"... an indispensable guide to the literature. Attractive layout, design, and printing accent the useful text.... it should remain the standard reference on point typology of the midwest and eastern United States for many years to come."—Pennsylvania Archaeologist paper \$24.95



STONE AGE SPEAR AND ARROW POINTS OF CALIFORNIA AND THE GREAT BASIN

Noel D. Justice
The standard reference
guide to projectile
points of California
and the Great Basin.
cloth \$59.95



FIELD GUIDE TO PROJECTILE POINTS OF THE MIDWEST

Noel D. Justice and Suzanne K. Kudlaty
A handy beginner's field reference to spear
and arrow points found in the Midwest.
cloth \$34.95 paper \$12.95





The Magazine of the Society for American Archaeology
VOLUME 4, NO. 5
NOVEMBER 2004

2 John Kantn	2	Editor's Corner
3 Tobi A. Brir	3	In Brief
4	4	Letters to the Editor
5 David Linds	5	Archaeopolitics
6 Steve Simm	6	The Richness of Archaeology Rarifies Mountain Air in Salt Lake City
7 Garth Porti	7	On To Salt Lake City!
10 Mary L. Ma	10	The Archaeology of Asian Immigrants: 35 Years in the Making
14 Julia G. Cos	14	The Chinese in Gum San ("Golden Mountain")
18 Priscilla We	18	Heritage Tourism of Chinese Archaeological and Historical Sites in Idaho
22 Mary M. Fa Jeffery F. Bı	22	Civil Rights and Moral Wrongs: World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites
26 Marshall Jo	26	The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Can Historical Archaeology Extract the Ciconicin from the Melting Pot of Delaware?
29 Gary Warri	29	Working Together: The Haudenosaunee (Six Nations) and Archaeology
33 Robert L. Ke	33	Kennewick Man Is Native American
38 Charles R. I	38	Where Are They Now?
39	39	Financial Statements
41	41	NEWS & NOTES
42	42	POSITIONS OPEN

CALENDAR

44



Cover Photo: Interfaith service and flower offering at the Manzanar Cemetery, 35th Annual Manzanar Pilgrimage, April 2004. The obelisk monument was dedicated in August 1943. Each family contributed \$0.15 to purchase material for the memorial, and Ryozo Kado, a landscaper and stonemason for the Los Angeles Catholic diocese, supervised the work. The three characters on the front (east side) of the cemetery monument literally translate as "soul consoling tower" (I REI TO). More liberal translations include "memorial to the dead" and "monument to console the souls of the dead." Archaeological investigations and restoration was conducted at the cemetery by the National Park Service between 1999 and 2001. Photo credit: Jeff Burton, National Park Service.



The Magazine of the Society for American Archaeology

> VOLUME 4, No. 5 NOVEMBER 2004

@:@95@6

The SAA Archaeological Record (ISSN 1532-7299) is published five times a year and is edited by John Kantner with assistance from Erin Hudson.

Deadlines for submissions are: December 1 (January), February 1 (March), April 1 (May), August 1 (September), and October 1 (November); send to John Kantner, *The SAA Archaeological Record*, Department of Anthropology and Geography, Georgia State University, 33 Gilmer St., Atlanta, GA 30303-3083. For information, call (404) 651-1761; fax (404) 651-3235, or email kantner@gsu.edu.

Manuscript submission via email or by disk is encouraged. Advertising and placement ads should be sent to SAA headquarters, 900 Second St., NE #12, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 789-8200.

Associate editors include: Gabriela Uruñuela [Exchanges, Mexico & Central Americal email: gabriela@mail.udlap.mx Jose Luis Lanata [Exchanges, Southern Conel email: jllanata@filo.uba.ar Anne Vawser [Government] email: Anne_Vawser@nps.gov Cory Breternitz [Insights] email: COBRDSSI@aol.com Mark Aldenderfer [Interface] email: aldenderfer@anth.ucsb.edu John Hoopes [Networks] email: hoopes@ku.edu Teresa Hoffman [Public Education]

email: thoffman@acstempe.com

Kurt Dongoske [Working Together]

email: kdongoske@winslow-az.net

Inquiries and submissions should be addressed directly to them. The SAA Archaeological Record is provided free to members and institutional subscribers to American Antiquity and Latin American Antiquity worldwide. The SAA Archaeological Record can be found on the Web in PDF

www.saa.org/publications/ thesaaarchrec/index.html.

Past issues of the SAA Bulletin can be found at

www.saa.org/publications/ saabulletin/index.html.

Copyright © 2004 by the Society for American Archaeology. All Rights Reserved

> Manager, Publications: John Neikirk

Design: Victoria Russell Papertiger Studio • Washington, DC

Production: Peter Lindeman Oakland Street Publishing • Arlington, VA



EDITOR'S CORNER

John Kantner

John Kantner is an assistant professor of anthropology at Georgia State University.

The Archaeology of American Ethnicity, Volume 2

This issue of *The SAA Archaeological Record* is again dedicated to "The Archaeology of American Ethnicity." While the September issue featured general articles on ethnicity and on the archaeology of African American ethnicity, this issue considers the archaeology of Asian Americans and Native Americans. Mary Maniery starts the thematic articles with a review of the history of Asian American archaeology and a discussion of the difficulties encountered when working with descendent groups, while emphasizing the benefits that such consultations can provide the researcher. These issues are taken up by Julia Costello, who looks more specifically at Chinese American immigrant communities in California, and by Priscilla Wegars, who discusses the challenges of Chinese American heritage tourism in the western United States. The archaeology, preservation, and interpretation of Japanese American "relocation centers" from World War II are described by Mary Farrell and Jeffery Burton, with the important contribution of informants again emphasized for guiding archaeology and enriching interpretations. Ethnicity and its identification are dominant themes in all of these articles.

Three articles in this issue consider Native American ethnicity. In an intriguing article, Marshall Becker relates the history of the Ciconicin, a chiefly society in the Middle Atlantic region that bore the full brunt of European Contact, and discusses various reasons for its near-invisibility in the archaeological record. The next two articles discuss the connection of pre-Contact Native American archaeology with descendent groups today and the implications for the conduct of archaeology. A Working Together contribution by Paul General and Gary Warrick considers the role of Six Nations Iroquois in archaeological research and interpretation, especially emphasizing the responsibility that archaeologists have towards descendent groups. This is followed with an article by Robert Kelly on the Kennewick Man controversy, which considers how the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act defines "Native American." The latter two articles emphasize the relationship between descendent groups and their ancestors, a theme that has implications regarding the meaning and application of ethnicity in archaeological contexts.

Upcoming Thematic Issues

The May issue of *The SAA Archaeological Record* will consider Heritage Tourism. The issue is nearly full, with almost ten articles dedicated to the theme. If you are interested in contributing, please email or call co-editors Teresa L. Pinter (email: tpinter@acstempe.com; tel: [480] 894-5477) or Mary L. Kwas (email: mkwas@uark.edu; tel: [479] 575-6549).

The September issue will be dedicated to Cartoons in Archaeology. Several contributors

EDITOR'S CORNER, continued on page 43



IN BRIEF

Tobi A. Brimsek

Tobi A. Brimsek is executive director of the Society for American Archaeology.

Salt Lake City 2005!

The 70th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology promises to be a sure success with over 1,600 submissions. Please join your colleagues for this meeting March 30–April 3, 2005. Sessions will be held at the Salt Palace Convention Center, which is steps across the street from the Salt Lake City Marriott Downtown, SAA's headquarters hotel, and from the Hilton Salt Lake City Center, the overflow property. Please reserve early:

Headquarters Hotel

Salt Lake City Marriott Downtown 75 South West Temple Salt Lake City, UT 84101

Please note the name and address, as there are two Marriott hotels in Salt Lake City. This hotel is directly across the street from the entrance to the Salt Palace Convention Center.

For Phone Reservations, call 1-800-MARRIOTT (toll free) or (801) 537-6107. Ask for the SAA or Society for American Archaeology rate.

For Online Reservations, go to http://www.marriott.com/ SLCUT and select your dates, number of persons, and the appropriate group code below:

saasaaa for Single: \$132 US dollars saasaab for Double/Triple/Quad: \$145 US dollars aagaaga for Government rate

There are a limited number of rooms at the prevailing government rate. A government ID is required at check-in to qualify for the government rate.

Overflow Hotel

This property is located diagonally across the street from the Salt Palace Convention Center.

Hilton Salt Lake City Center 255 South West Temple Salt Lake City, UT 84101 USA For Phone Reservations, call (877) 776-4936 (toll free) or (801) 238-4814.

For Online Reservations, go to http://www.hilton.com/en/hi/hotels/index.jhtml?ctyhocn=SLCCCHH. Select "Book a Room" and enter your dates, number of persons, and the appropriate group code below:

saa for Single: \$130 US dollars saa for Double: \$145 US dollars saa for Triple: \$160 US dollars saa for Quad: \$175 US dollars aag for Government rate

There are a limited number of rooms at the prevailing government rate. A government ID is required at check-in to qualify for the government rate.

Student Properties

Please note that both of the student properties provide free transportation to and from the airport as well as breakfast included with the rate:

Shilo Inns 206 South West Temple Salt Lake City, UT 84101 \$89 single/double/triple/quad

This property is also across the street from an entrance of the Salt Palace Convention Center. Free hot breakfast and free transportation to/from airport included in rate. To be picked up from the airport, contact the Shiloh Inns once you are at the Salt Lake Airport by calling the front desk, (801) 521-9500, and identify the airline on which you have arrived.

For Phone Reservations, call (800) 222-2244; (801) 521-9500

For Online Reservations go to http://www.shiloinns.com (Note: only students may use the online reservations method at the Shilo Inns. If you are seeking a government rate room at the Shilo Inns, you must call for the reservation.)

This property is for students, who must present a current student ID to qualify for the rates. There are a limited number of

IN BRIEF, continued on page 9



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

When Will SAA Start Rejecting Papers?

"When will the SAA start rejecting papers??!!" I am one of those who have asked this question many times (the title of Lynne Sebastian's "From the President" column in *The SAA Archaeological Record* of September 2004). Although I recognize and appreciate the many diverse activities, responsibilities, and constituencies of the SAA, the primary role of the Society from my personal viewpoint focuses on scholarship and scholarly activity. The Society's other roles are important for the profession and the discipline, but I personally look to the SAA first for scholarship. It seems to me that the role of scholarship in the SAA has declined over the past few decades. The annual meeting programs that are now bloated with low-quality presentations are a symptom of this.

Poster sessions, electronic symposia, and the proposed "discussion symposia" are all good ideas and should be pursued vigorously. But if it is true, as the President suggests, that most SAA members would not be comfortable having others evaluate and rank their abstracts so as to cut down on the bloat, then the role of scholarship in the Society is even more marginalized than I had thought. Scholarship is a meritocracy, and the manuscripts and proposals of scholars undergo rigorous review all the time. Why should presentations at the SAA be any different?

Perhaps we need to develop new scholarly organizations that are smaller and more narrowly focused (along the lines of the Society for Economic Anthropology or the American Society for Ethnohistory) and that better serve the needs of scholars. I'd much rather go to a good meeting of archaeologists and historians working on ancient states than to the SAA meetings, and I'd probably still keep my SAA membership.

Michael E. Smith University at Albany, SUNY

What Native Americans Want

In his letter concerning my article "What Do I Really Want from a Relationship with Native Americans" (*The SAA Archae-ological Record* 4[3]:29–33), Deward Walker states that the other half of the question—what Native Americans want—is no less important. I agree fully, but that wasn't the question at hand. I also think that archaeologists are better situated at this point to begin to extend the current dialog by becoming more self-aware of both our motivations and concerns.

Walker also states that my "lofty presentation...does not really get to the heart of the matter, which, for many tribes, is 'who owns the past,' and who will control its exploitation for scientific, legal, political, and even economic purposes."

I am disappointed that my comments were seen as "lofty" since I believe archaeology must always relate to the local community—a view I've adhered to in 14 years working on Kamloops Indian Reserve.

But Walker is correct that the issue of control over both the processes and products of archaeology is indeed of absolute importance in the practice and continued development of archaeology. The question of who owns and should benefit from the past hosts a number of complex issues concerning cultural and intellectual property (see Nicholas, G.P., and K,P. Bannister, 2004, "Copyrighting the Past? Emerging Intellectual Property Rights Issues in Archaeology," *Current Anthropology* 45[3]:327–350). Indeed, as Julie Hollowell and I have noted, "archaeology cannot truly claim to be 'postcolonial' until it deals with issues of intellectual property rights and the equitable sharing of benefits and knowledge produced by research" (Nicholas , G.P., and J. Hollowell, 2004, "Intellectual Property Issues in Archaeology?" *Anthropology News*, April 2004: pp. 6, 8).

George Nicholas Department of Archaeology Simon Fraser University, British Columbia



STOPPING THE BLACK MARKET IN ANTIQUITIES AND THE LOOTING THAT FEEDS IT

David Lindsay

David Lindsay is manager, Government Affairs for the Society for American Archaeology.

s everyone involved in archaeology knows, the looting and pillaging of archaeological sites is one of the greatest threats to the furtherance of scientific investigation of the past. Many of those doing the looting are searching for items and artifacts that they can sell on the black market. Such treasure hunting, of course, destroys the sites, which means the information stored in those areas—information about the people who lived there—is lost forever. The story of humanity cannot be fully known and appreciated if the remnants of our past are destroyed.

There are numerous state and federal laws protecting archaeological sites in the U.S., the Archaeological Resources Protection Act and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act among them. Looting of sites in this nation remains, unfortunately, a serious problem in spite of the statutes and their enforcement. However, the adverse effects of international trafficking of artifacts, art, and other objects of cultural patrimony are particularly harmful in the developing nations that most commonly fall prey to such activity. The worldwide demand for art and artifacts from many developing nations is high. The U.S. is a major market for such objects. This demand results in the looting and destruction of archaeological sites.

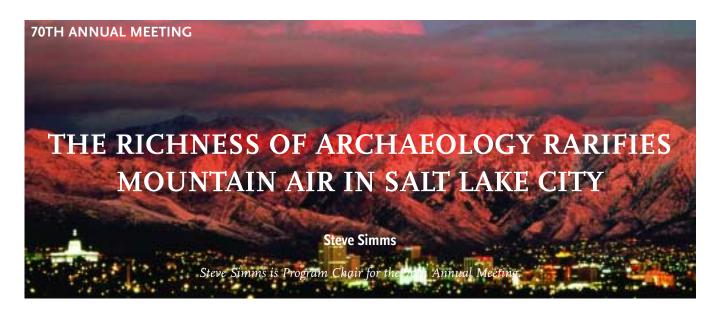
Fortunately, there is a mechanism by which the U.S. can help stop this practice. The Cultural Property Implementation Act of 1983 (CPIA) enables the U.S. to implement the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. Specifically, the CPIA authorizes the imposition of U.S. import restrictions on specified types of cultural property from another country. The restrictions are part of bilateral agreements that are reached between the U.S. and nations that are experiencing substantial looting, and are designed to make the U.S. border a barrier to items that have been exported illegally. The agreements also set out steps that the U.S. and the other national party will undertake to improve the protection of that nation's cultural resources.

The restrictions last for five years, with the possibility of extensions. Proposals for new agreements or the renewal of existing agreements are considered by the Cultural Property Advisory Committee (CPAC), which holds public hearings on the requests. Currently, there are bilateral agreements with Bolivia, Cambodia, Cyprus, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Mali, Nicaragua, and Peru. The Republic of Colombia recently sent a request for import restrictions to the CPAC.

The outright elimination of the looting of sites for material for the black market may not be possible. Every action, however, that can be taken to reduce such activity is vital. The agreements reached with the above nations form an important part of the international effort to preserve the world's cultural heritage. The creation of new agreements, and the renewal of existing ones, is therefore a priority.

To ensure that the CPAC, during its public hearings, gets a sense of the often dire situations on the ground in the nations requesting the import restrictions, it is imperative to provide expert testimony from archaeologists who work in those nations. To that end, the SAA worked with Dr. Robert Drennan, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh, on testimony for the CPAC's recent public hearing on the request by Colombia. Dr. Drennan has spent 20 years on archaeological research and teaching in Colombia, and in his testimony conveyed to the CPAC the very serious nature of the problem of looting in that nation. Dr. Drennan's testimony can be read at http://www.saa.org/goverment/index.html. The CPAC's decision on the Colombia request is expected in the near future.

A public hearing on the renewal of the bilateral agreement with El Salvador will take place in November. The SAA is working with archaeologists who have extensive experience in El Salvador to provide their expertise and insight to the CPAC. In addition, a renewal hearing for Nicaragua will take place early next year. To prepare for future renewal hearings, any SAA members who have firsthand knowledge of the situation in the above-mentioned nations are invited to contact the Society.



s we sort through the 1,650 submissions for the 70th Annual Meeting, it is hard to resist the tempting array of topics. My list of "must attend" sessions is already well beyond reason and time. The abundance of choices available to members attending the Salt Lake City meeting is a tribute to the diversity of the Society for American Archaeology. The wealth of topics and geographic areas reflects the excitement that archaeologists have for their work.

Posters continue their ascendancy as a medium for dialogue and contemplation. There are over 220 posters, and a fifth session will be added to accommodate them all. Still small in number, electronic symposia are nevertheless making inroads. Watch for these at the Salt Lake City meeting.

There are over 100 symposia on everything from "Rethinking Rain Forest Occupation: New Research Directions in Tropical Archaeology" to "Theoretical and Methodological Requirements for Archaeological Simulation," to "Comic Book and Cartoon Archaeology." Mesoamerican topics span over 15 symposia, with another 11 on Southwestern archaeology. Symposium topics range widely indeed and include: "Linking the Present to the Past: Recent Studies in Forager and Farmer Ethnoarchaeology," "Presenting Archaeology in Court," "The Peopling of South America: A Critical Review and Current Trends," and "Finding the Overlooked: Exploring Smaller Social and Ethnic Groups in the Archaeological Record."

The complexity of large-project Cultural Resource Management as well as its potential for synthesis is apparent in the symposium, "Diachronic Perspectives from the Great Basin: Highlights of Recent Research from the Kern River 2003 Expansion Gas Pipeline Project."

Symposia cover exciting areas beyond the Americas, such as "Contemporary Perspectives in Chinese Neolithic Archaeology," and "A Steppe Beyond: Archaeology on the Eastern Steppes."

The contributed papers and research reports comprising the 29 general sessions span all 21 of the geographic foci listed in the SAA submission guidelines. The integrative nature of modern archaeology increasingly transcends geographic boundaries.

Thanks to a rich array of submissions, we are able to arrange some general sessions around problems and issues within and between areas. A sample of these includes: "Feasting, Gender, and Symbolism in the Prehistoric Southwest," "The Neolithic in Southwest Asia and the Mediterranean," "Issues at Teotihuacan," "Patrimony, Diversity, Ethics, and Education," and "Paleoindians and the Peopling of the Americas."

The Opening Session, "Recent Research on the Prehistoric Archaeology of the Arid American West," features the forward-looking research of young to mid-career scholars. Topics include social complexity in California, agricultural transitions in the Southwest, gender and work among prehistoric Great Basin foragers, the Paleoindian period in the Desert West, and Basketmaker-Fremont bone chemistry. A moderated Q&A and discussion session will follow the user-friendly presentations. Watch for the website that previews the Opening Session (http://www.anthro.utah.edu/saa.html).

Public Education continues to gain momentum with a symposium, a poster session, and a presence in the general sessions. The SAA Public Education Committee is sponsoring "Archaeologyland," an event with hands-on outreach activities proven to be effective tools of public education. SAA members will be able to try activities, ask questions of developers, and take step-by-step instructions home with them so that they can recreate it at their next public event.

Consider registering for a Roundtable Luncheon. "Perspectives on Trans-Holocene Artiodactyl Hunting Behavior in Western North America," "Archaeology and Art," "Historic Pottery," "Teaching and Research in Indigenous Archaeology," and "Basketmaker II and the Uto-Aztecan Farmer Spread Model: Recent Research and Models," are just a sample of the possibilities. The full slate of Roundtable Luncheon topics will appear in the Preliminary Program, along with a registration form.

The Ethics Bowl and the CRM Expo will encore at the 2005 meetings, as will the President's Forum.

ANNUAL MEETING, continued on page 7

ON TO SALT LAKE CITY!

Garth Portillo

Garth Portillo is the chair of the Annual Meeting Local Advisory Committee.

Preparations for the 2005 Annual Meeting in Salt Lake City are well underway. For those so inclined, a full range of bus and walking tours has been arranged. The Salt Lake City Marriott Downtown is ready to take our reservations.

Wednesday evening, as the meeting opens, SAA has arranged for special entertainment in the Sundance Room expanded bar at the Salt Lake City Marriott Downtown (headquarters hotel)—check the preliminary program for details, but know this: Kevin Jones, the Utah State Archaeologist, is assembling a group to provide entertainment with an acoustic bluegrass jam.

As I write this second piece for *The SAA Archaeological Record*, I am reminded that all of the host towns are described in glowing terms as great venues, with great restaurants and a vibrant night life. I've already written about some of these same things, and I don't want to be the Tourist and Convention Board!

I do want to say that Salt Lake City is a great little city. We hosted the 2002 Winter Olympics, made them a huge success, pleasing a sophisticated international crowd. Take this opportunity to mark your calendars for a trip to Salt Lake in 2005. I am counting on seeing many old friends this next spring, and I hope to meet many new friends and colleagues as well.

ANNUAL MEETING, from page 6 🖘

The Salt Palace Convention Center (http://www.saltpalace.com) is a beautiful facility across the street from the conference hotel, the Marriott. A sunny atrium showcases the poster sessions and serves as a gateway to the exhibit hall and ballrooms. Our meeting rooms are just up the escalators, and are nicely clustered on two levels. You won't have to walk far to move among sessions. Workshops, committee meetings, and other events will be at the Marriott hotel.

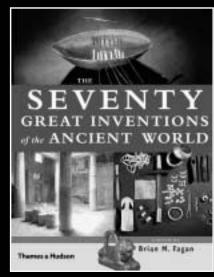
See you in Salt Lake City, March 31-April 3, 2005!

Two essential new reference works for every archaeologist's library...



Covering the lives of some 1,500 rulers and royal individuals, this handsomely illustrated volume is an invaluable resource for the study of ancient Egypt's pharaonic dynasties.

\$50.00 cloth/320 pages/300+ illus.



This fascinating compendium of early human innovations, many of which have shaped the world around us today, is illustrated with hundreds of evocative photographs and specially commissioned diagrams, reconstructions and plans.

\$40.00 cloth/304 pages/554 illus.





Get the information you need

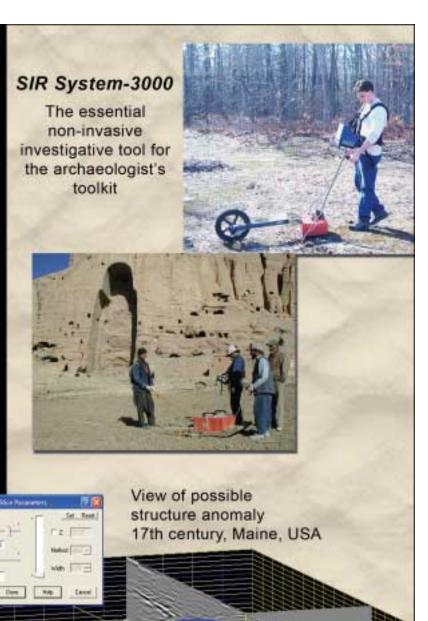
Locate areas for excavation planning

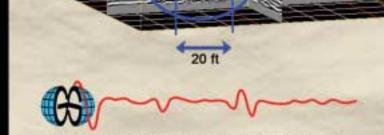
Identify sensitive areas for avoidance

Make the most of your field time

3D data images for excavation planning and archaeological survey

www.geophysical.com archaeology@geophysical.com





Geophysical Survey Systems, Inc.

The World Leader in Ground Penetrating Radar

IN BRIEF, from page 3 <

rooms, and they are available on a first-come, first-served basis. There are also a limited number of government rate rooms at this property. For a government rate room, you must call the Shiloh Inns directly.

Crystal Inn 230 West 500 South Salt Lake City Utah 84101 \$78 single/double/triple/quad

This property is approximately a 10-minute walk to the Salt Palace Convention Center. Free hot breakfast and free transportation to/from airport are included. To be picked up from the airport, you need to use the courtesy phone for the Crystal Inn in the Baggage Claim area.

This property is for students only, who must present a current student ID to qualify for the rates. There are a limited number of rooms, and they are available on a first-come, first-served basis.

January 12, 2005

A special opportunity for you!!!! Register for a room at any of the four meeting hotels for the SAA meeting by January 12, 2005, and your name will be entered into an SAA drawing for a terrific prize: a one-year membership in SAA! Make your room reservation today! There will be a drawing from each of the four hotel registration lists.

Getting To Salt Lake City

Delta Air Lines has been selected as the official airline for the 70th Annual Meeting in Salt Lake City.

Delta Air Lines is offering special rates that allow you a 5% discount off Delta's published round-trip fares* or 10% discount off of Delta's published unrestricted round-trip coach (Y06) rates. Special round-trip Zone Fares are also available with a two-day minimum stay; no Saturday night stay required. Only seven days advanced reservation and ticketing required.

Click on the Delta airlines logo on SAAweb, http://www.saa.org/meetings/travel.html, for your online reservations, or call Delta directly at (800) 241-6760 and refer to DM205775A.

By booking with Delta Air Lines, you will be supporting SAA. Thank you!

*Applicable restrictions must be met. Seats are limited. Booking classes A,D,I,U and T are not eligible for Delta Meeting Network® discounts. Travel applies within the continental U.S., Hawaii, Alaska, Canada, Mexico, Bermuda, San Juan, Nassau, the U.S. Virgin Islands and the Caribbean.

In Your Mailbox Or By Email?

You may have noticed that on your 2005 SAA dues renewal form (either the electronic or paper version), there is a new option this year. You may choose to receive future renewal notices exclusively electronically (email), which will link you to a secure website through which you then renew online. Fast, easy, and efficient! For those who prefer the traditional paper notice, those will continue to be sent as well. If you never want to receive a paper renewal again, please be sure to check that box! That will trigger email notices with the link to you. The only requirement is that you provide SAA with your email address and keep that address current in your record. If you have any questions, please contact us at membership@saa.org or call us at (202) 789-8200.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ASIAN IMMIGRANTS

35 YEARS IN THE MAKING

Mary L. Maniery

Mary L. Maniery is President of PAR Environmental Services, Inc. in Sacramento, California.

Then news of gold found in California raced around the world in the late 1840s, one of the first countries to respond was China. Disheartened by war, drought, famine, and other natural disasters occurring in their homeland, Chinese men by the thousands left their homes and sailed to the "Gold Mountain," entering the west through San Francisco and spreading out through the gold fields. By the 1860s, the workforce grew even larger as Chinese laborers were brought to America to build the transcontinental railroad, reclaim delta land for farming, and plant fields. These laborers were joined by Japanese counterparts in the early twentieth century. Throughout the western U.S., archaeological sites provide silent testimony to the efforts of these Asian workers in building the American West.

The study of Asian immigrant households, commercial enterprises, and industrial sites began in the late 1960s with excavations of Chinese labor camps associated with the transcontinental railroad. By the time I began working with Asian immigrant resources in 1984, dozens of Chinese sites had been excavated and reported, ranging from multi-block "Chinatowns" with a wide array of commercial and residential households to labor camps used by Chinese miners, fishermen, cannery workers, railroad builders, farm workers, and others. Today, attention has expanded to include Asian immigrant and Asian American sites associated with Japanese, Korean, Thai, and other groups, although Chinese-related resources remain in the forefront.

The growth of Asian immigrant historical archaeology has been steady for over 35 years despite the many obstacles to progress that at times seem insurmountable. Not only is the Asian immigrant experience poorly documented, there are significant written and oral language barriers to overcome. The cultural heritage and traditions inherent in Asian cultures are very different from the mainstream American experience, and over 150 years of prejudice, at times violent and extreme, create ethnocentric records and hamper oral interview efforts. In spite of these and many other difficulties, the study of these sites has blossomed, drawing in scholars from many disciplines and countries and creating a close-knit network of historians, archaeologists, botanists, linguists, and anthropologists who work to interpret and preserve America's Asian experience.

Symbols of Culture

Throughout the 1970s, there was a flurry of projects throughout the West focusing on the Chinese. Excavations in Nevada, Oregon, Arizona, New Mexico, Washington, Idaho, and California recovered literally tons of artifacts manufactured in China and documented related features. For many years, emphasis was placed on artifact and pattern identification and function. These early attempts at standardization were descriptive, based on visual observations and our American notions of function. Thus, porcelain artifacts were often labeled as rice bowls or tea cups with a floral or bird pattern. By the 1980s, studies into the material culture shifted from purely descriptive to a more holistic and cultural approach.

Chinese and Japanese artifacts often represent thousands of years of tradition. Many symbols of the belief system or way of life are reflected in the ceramic patterns manufactured in Asian countries and carried to America, New Zealand, Australia, and other countries by the immigrants (Figure 1). While there are basic patterns that are repetitive in Asian sites, there are many others found in excavations that represent "new" patterns. Today, identifying patterns often involves discussions with museum curators who specialize in Asian ceramics, historians, and the Asian American communities, as even the most common designs often are symbols of an underlying cultural belief system. For example, the Japanese-manufactured plate in Figure 2 contains a central clam with origami cranes, pine, bamboo, plum, and tortoise—all symbols of longevity. The pattern also depicts symbols of the Eight Treasures found on the *takara bune*, the Ship of Good Fortune that arrives at the New Year bringing gold, a treasure chest key, and other items of fortune (Costello and Maniery 1988:63).

Archaeological work on Chinese immigration sites over the past 35 years also has identified unique features in association with occupation sites, particularly cooking structures. Several varieties of cooking features made of stone and brick have been identified, including stone hearths (found in rural areas); multi- or single-burner wok stoves; and deep, tapered, cylindrical cookers used to roast or cook whole pigs (Figure 3). All three of these cooking feature types reflect a uniquely Chinese approach to food preparation, are distinctive of the story of the

tive archaeologically, and are just now capturing attention as important traditional cultural resources. An exciting aspect of this research is the international exchange of ideas, information, and oral-interview testimony between historical archaeologists. There is great similarity in Chinese immigrant cooking features found in Australia and California, for example, and researchers in both countries have tied into studies of traditional cooking practices in Hong Kong. This relatively recent research direction will draw increasing attention as more of these cooking features are identified, excavated, and interpreted.



Figure 1: Japanese military cup with the crossed flags of the army and navy under the cherry blossom of the Samurai (Costello and Maniery 1988:Figure 111).

Interpreting the Written Record: A Lesson in Frustration

Historical archaeology depends heavily on records; legal documents, probate, diaries, letters, store ledgers, deeds, and others provide a context to interpret the artifactual and stratigraphic information. The blending of written and archaeological data is crucial to well-documented and thorough interpretation of sites. This approach, however, loses its effectiveness when studying groups living on the outskirts of mainstream society, such as the Asian immigrants.

In nineteenth-century America, family-based Chinese associations headquartered in the West became record keepers for immigrants, keeping track of burial sites, transactions, numbers of immigrants, and other records. Many if not most of these Chinese-language records were destroyed by fire in the aftermath of the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. The remaining documents are maintained by modern associations, such as the Young Wo or Chung Wah, and are either unavailable for non-member researchers or require translation by specialists trained in pre-revolution Chinese characters.

Use of English-language records to interpret Asian culture and sites has significant drawbacks. Many documents that provide information on Asian immigrants are legal in nature, including immigration papers, court transactions, and census records. Little effort was taken to accurately document Chinese names, resulting in records filled with Americanized monikers, such as "Ah Charlie" or "Ah Fong." Tracking a particular person's movements through use of census and other records is usually impossible because of the casual assignment of generic names by English-speaking census takers, court recorders, and others. The extreme prejudice felt toward Chinese and later Japanese immigrants colored both legal and other records such as newspaper



Figure 2: Blue transfer-printed Japanese plate with longevity and Eight Treasures design (Costello and Maniery 1988:Figure 86).

ARTICLE

articles, letters, and personal accounts of Asian behavior, living conditions, and activities. This created a biased picture of the immigrant experience. While Sanborn Company Fire Insurance maps, census records, and newspapers can offer some avenues for assigning household function and development in larger cities and towns, interpreting rural sites relies heavily on a general understanding of Asian history and the results of historical archaeology studies.

Reclaiming the Past: The Importance of Outreach

At one time, most towns in the West had vibrant Asian quarters with stores, baths, boarding houses, and commercial ventures servicing fellow countrymen working in surrounding areas. By the 1880s, anti-Asian sentiment, hostile actions, and legislation worked together to drive Chinese out of rural areas and into large cities like San Francisco. Japanese immigrants arriving in the west by 1900 also encountered extreme prejudice soon after, culminating in the enforced relocation to camps during the



Figure 3: Remnants of a Chinese cylindrical cooker used for roasting whole pigs.

1940s. As a result of voluntary and forced removal of Asian immigrants and their families at early dates, many communities remain unaware of the rich Asian-related heritage within their town or city until construction or utility projects expose caches of Asian-manufactured artifacts.

In the past, Asian American groups involved in site interpretation, preservation, or research have been limited. The influx of a new generation of Chinese immigrants into Canada and the United States in the 1980s has resulted in the formation of new Chinese cultural groups and increased membership in existing organizations. These new members are eager to learn more about the past experiences of their fellow countrymen and often provide crucial information regarding ceramic pattern interpretation, translation of maker's marks or other characters found on artifacts, and insight into cooking methods or techniques. The links they provide between the China of the past, the modern traditions, and the immigrant experience are important to explore.

On the other side of the coin, the recovery of Asian American features and artifacts within small rural communities has generated an overwhelming response from local residents, even though the majority is not of Asian ancestry. Involving both interested Asian and non-Asian parties in fieldwork and interpretation is challenging yet very rewarding. In these times of limited funds and dwindling interest, it is essential to involve the communities and local interest groups as much as possible.

Lessons I have learned in the past decade have been sometimes painful but mostly rewarding. I have been successful in working with cities to overcome liability issues regarding use of volunteers on sites where work is driven by cultural resource management contracts. Soliciting volunteer help from Asian cultural groups, local historical or avocational archaeology societies, junior colleges, Boy Scout groups, and high school classes has saved countless dollars in artifact processing. The volunteers wash artifacts and do initial sorting and labeling. The hands-on experience gained through artifact processing and the exchange of historical and cultural information at informal gatherings of workers has helped build appreciation and respect within communities toward Asian immigrants and culture.

I have been fortunate to work with clients who are extremely amenable to public outreach programs as part of mitigation (Figure 4). With the support and encouragement of local agencies, we've been able to use local volunteers as docents providing site tours for school classes and to take artifacts and results of our excavations into classrooms. Local historical societies or Asian cultural groups often are willing to add ongoing archaeology work to their web pages. Providing a daily or weekly archaeologist log, digital

images, and historical information takes extra effort on our part, but it lets the community participate in virtual tours of the site. Web pages can also contain images of artifacts with unusual patterns or characters and solicit assistance in translation or identification. Requesting to be a guest speaker at local historical society or cultural group meetings, bringing artifacts out to the community, and working with cultural centers and groups like the Japanese American Civilian League (JACL) to identify translators, elders, and Asian studies scholars interested in interpreting the history and material culture of their ancestors all are essential elements of successful outreach programs.

Trends of the Future

Initially, research on Asian American sites focused on identifying material culture and trying to interpret the poorly documented Asian immigrant experience in America. These efforts have led to a greater understanding and appreciation for Chinese immigrant and Chinese American sites, but attention is turning to identifying and studying resources related to Japanese, Filipino, Korean, and other Asian groups. Awareness of the rich Asian history in many western rural and urban areas and dedication to preserving and interpreting these sites must continue to evolve and grow. In many areas, it is still a challenge to overcome both the prejudice of mainstream society and the reticence of the Asian community to freely talk with non-Asian researchers. Public outreach, education, and participation in local projects are essential elements in education and in building an appreciation of America's Asian history and material culture.

For those archaeologists who are working on their first Asian American site or encountering Chinese or Japanese ceramics in their work, I offer the following advice. First, contact the Asian American Comparative Collection (AACC) at the University of Idaho, Moscow. This repository houses a large comparative collection of Asian artifacts, publications, reports, and archaeological literature including sites in America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and other countries with a strong Asian immigrant history. Second, look for the closest Asian cultural group, historical society, or JACL group and tell them what you are doing. Although sometimes the nearest Asian American group could be many miles from your site, they still could have information, insights, and interests in your projects. Third, don't reinvent the wheel. Much work has been done to identify artifact types, and standard terminology has been developed through years of research. Ask the AACC for handouts on basic patterns and recording techniques

so that your work is consistent with others. Check out books like Hidden Heritage: Historical Archaeology of the Overseas Chinese (Wegars 1993). This and similar studies contain overviews of Chinese immigrant history as well as material culture articles and is an excellent source for delving into Asian American archaeology. Finally, enjoy! The material culture associated with Asian immigrant sites is fascinating, colorful, and easily addictive. Appreciate the heritage, learn how much of the West's development is owed to Asian laborers, and pass on your new knowledge and respect to others.

References Cited

Costello, Julia C., and Mary L. Maniery

1988 Rice Bowls in the Delta: Artifacts Recovered form the 1915 Asian Community of Walnut Grove, California. Occasional Paper 16, Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.

Wegars, Priscilla (compiler and editor)

1993 Hidden Heritage: Historical Archaeology of the Overseas Chinese. Baywood, Amityville, N.Y.



Figure 4: School children examining a Chinese cylindrical cooking feature in Folsom, California.

THE CHINESE IN GUM SAN ("GOLDEN MOUNTAIN")

Julia G. Costello

Julia G. Costello is with Foothill Resources, Ltd., in Mokelumne Hill, California.

were two weeks into the 1996 archaeological excavation in historic, downtown Los Angeles, systematically removing four feet of fill with heavy equipment. Underneath were buried remains of the 1818 Spanish Pueblo; an 1850s winery; a middle-class, nineteenth-century neighborhood; the 1880s–1907 Red-Light District; and the brothels' neighboring, contemporary Chinatown. The bulldozer's blade revealed the remains of a large brick structure, some 16 feet long and 4.5 feet wide (Figure 1). Three holes spaced along the center were accessed by long channels where ash and charcoal were present. It was a strange construction. Archaeologists were cleaning and drawing the enigmatic feature when I happened by with Suellen Cheng, Board Member of the Chinese American Museum. "Oh," she remarked when she looked over the edge of the pit, "a wok stove." Her spontaneous identification was our revelation. We were looking at the bottom course of a massive table-like cooking structure, part of the kitchen of a vegetable-sellers' community.

Although these vegetable sellers had considerable stature within their community—the men all spoke English and had regular sales territories and customers—they lived in simple barracks over the stables and warehouses. Among the wealth of modest artifacts recovered from the community's privies was a rare item of intrinsic value: a delicate image of Shou-xing, the God of Longevity, made of hammered 22-karat gold. Ms. Cheng examined the item and several months later called with the answer. A donor to the Museum had just brought in a child's traditional celebration hat, and sewn on to the front was an identical figure (Figure 2).

Such is the traditional, archaeological value of cultural informants: they are familiar with cultural items you are struggling to interpret. This is the first of five aspects of informant work (among many) touched on in this article, but it is countered by the second: there are historic objects, processes, and pastimes

unknown to modern descendant peoples who are far removed from their time and use. Third, archaeologists also encounter sensitive artifacts associated with negative stereotypes or currently unpopular topics that may be difficult to discuss with informants. At the same time-fourth-archaeologists' "research designs" that guide site studies and interpretations unavoidably contain personal biases and whimsy along with currently appropriate scientific questions. Finally, aside from how Chinese informants relate to our archaeological priorities, they are also recognized as "interested parties" in any legally mandated investigation of

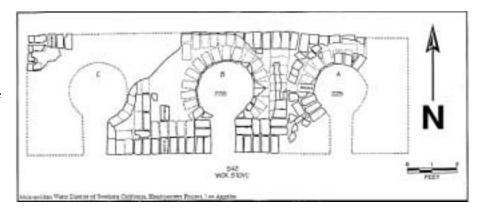


Figure 1: Plan view of the surviving bottom course of bricks from a three-burner wok stove found in Los Angeles's Chinatown.

their heritage. This ensures that the topics of interest to the Chinese about their own past are as valid as those posed by archaeologists. Before providing examples of these topics, a brief summary of Chinese immigration history is in order.

Chinese Immigration to California

Chinese have always been entrepreneurial travelers, establishing colonies in Pacific-Rim lands as economic opportunities occurred. Chinese immigration to the New World essentially began with the discovery of gold in California in 1848. By 1860, thousands of hopeful adventurers had sailed through the Golden Gate, the portal to riches in Gum San ("Golden Mountain," the Pacific Coast of North America). As drought, wars, and a restrictive social and economic climate at home made it impossible for families to advance economically, fathers, sons, and brothers swarmed to new opportunities abroad. Women were a decided minority, represented by a few merchants' wives, concubines, and prostitutes, many of this last group erstwhile "brides," treacherously assured that a husband awaited them overseas. In general, men left their families at home, working for several years at a stretch before



Figure 2: In the center of this child's ceremonial hat is sewn a deity of hammered gold, similar to the one recovered from the vegetable-sellers' privy in Los Angeles's Chinatown.

returning for respites. Monies earned allowed many to purchase land in home villages and establish their parents and families in comfort, preparing for eventual retirement.

Discriminated against by other miners, and tormented even by low-caste Native Americans, Chinese miners in Gum San were largely relegated to worked-over tailings and poor claims. In the 1860s, construction of the transcontinental railroad led to the controversial hiring of Chinese workers, spurring another surge of immigrants. After the railroad was completed, and the gold fields played out, Chinese spread out into other industries, predominantly agriculture, fishing, and manufacturing. Chinatowns grew as retail and cultural centers to support this working population. In 1880, the Chinese in California reached a population height of over 75,000.

In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed (the first to restrict immigration to the U.S.) and the flow of Chinese diminished markedly. Easy travel was curtailed and new immigrants had to devise ficti-

tious "paper" identities to validate their claims to prior residence. Anti-Chinese sentiment enflamed many communities, encouraging many immigrants to abandon Gum San for home. At the same time, children born in the U.S. were increasing, and these native-born citizens were purchasing property and putting down roots. For those who stayed, opportunities increased. By 1900, nearly 56,000 Chinese were still in the state, most of them in cities.

As surface gold was exhausted, Chinese abandoned mining regions for cities and valley agricultural lands, leaving large portions of the mountain West with no descendant communities at all. In the Mother Lode County of Calaveras, in 1870, one quarter of the entire population was Chinese. By the early decades of the twentieth century, nostalgic articles in the local paper chronicled the passing of each town's last, solitary, Chinese man. Memories of their lives disappeared. Our informants from Stockton and Sacramento now gaze on the simple

The two largest Chinese American organizations in western North America are the Chinese Historical Society of America in San Francisco and the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California in Los Angeles. Over the past few decades, organizations and university departments dedicated to Chinese American heritage have increased markedly. Recent popular novels and autobiographical reminiscences have established a cross-cultural audience, and exhibits of Chinese material culture are popular with museum-goers. This new popularity is a boon to archaeologists studying historic Chinese sites along the Pacific Coast, providing a wealth of resources and contacts. And just as importantly, aroused public interest provides a ready constituency for saving, interpreting, and preserving remnants of Chinese heritage.

ARTICLE

cooking hearths and tailing piles of their mining forbearers with curiosity and wonder (Figures 3 and 4).

Investigating the Chinese American Past

Because of this distance between immigrants and their descendants, stone pig roasting ovens, once standard features behind Chinatown stores, were initially difficult to identify. A nearly complete oven still stands in Fiddletown, but the last Chinese resident, Fong Chow Yow, died in 1965 and no one thought to ask him about it. Similar features were excavated during archaeological studies in Folsom, San Jose, and San Bernardino. With their use largely abandoned by the 1930s, we were fortunate to interview Irvin Lai who lived in the rural community of Locke, near Sacramento, during his youth. Locke continued as an island-like rural center for Asian agricultural workers well into the 1940s. Interested and observant, Lai's vivid memories of cooking meat for festivals and family celebrations—and of individual morsels sold in small folded papers—added meaning to our measured drawings.

Excavation of a Chinatown in San Jose involved the local Chinese community, one largely associated with the silicon and dot-com industries of the Bay Area. Although they knew little of residential life, artifacts, and pig-roasting of a hundred years ago, they delighted in regular site visits and participated in public days of artifact processing. Their contribution to our project was technological rather than historical: developing a weekly journal of the excavation attached to their Society's web page. While the archaeologists were thrilled with this media outlet, it was even more important that the local Chinese community participated in our study in a meaningful way.

The history of Chinese gambling is a problematical topic, an example of my third aspect of informant work. Excavation of the San Bernardino Chinatown in 2001 revealed dense artifact deposits in privies associated with a gambling facility. Over 3,000 gambling-related items were recovered, the largest documented cache ever found. Included were zhu pieces (from a game similar to the Japanese go), domino-type tiles (kwat p'ái), and a horde of over 1,300 traditional metal coins (used for gambling, not as currency). Researching these items, we delved into the history of Chinese gambling, an activity well reported in contemporary newspapers. Illegal gambling houses, attracting Euramerican as well as Chinese customers, were a prime object of complaint during anti-Chinese uprisings—the evil influence of the "Celestials" on innocent "Americans." Our modern lottery, bingo, and Keno all derive from these Chinese games. Our informants, however, had little information on this once-ubiquitous recreation. Despite numerous inquiries and interviews, our modern descendants expressed little interest in, or knowledge of, historic gambling practices. While some of this may



Figure 3: The plan view of the hearth of Ah Sun, who lived and worked on the Selkirk Ranch, California.



Figure 4: A Chinese mining camp from the mid-19th century, depicting a cooking hearth similar to Ah Sun's.

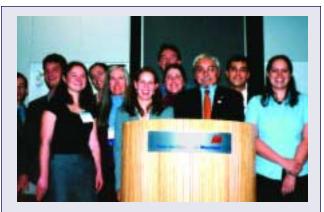
ARTICLE

reflect unfamiliarity with the topic, some reluctance also likely comes from the negative associations of gambling in Chinese American history.

While Chinese gambling history often evokes minimal responses, discussions with informants about opium consumption are nearly taboo. Opium-related artifacts are present on virtually all sites of Chinese occupation; fragments of clay pipe bowls, glass smoking lamps, and distinctive metal containers are unequivocal markers of opium consumption. These artifacts superficially confirm an unpleasant stereotype of dank dens and dreaming addicts popularized by anti-Chinese labor campaigns. In response to this, I have found myself minimizing discussion of this historical activity in deference to our Chinese audience, a practice certainly justifiable but not altogether scientifically honest. At the same time (my fourth topic), I wrestle with my personal fascination for drugrelated topics, inspired by coming of age in the 1960s. Also, my inclination to political activism manifests in my work as I take available opportunities (such as this one) to point out that the Opium Wars were waged by the British to force China to buy opium from English importers; prior to this there was not a "drug problem" in the Celestial Kingdom. This fourth topic acknowledges the subjectivity of an idealized "detached scientist."

Engaging Informants

I will close with an example of my final topic: the importance of allowing informants to influence research priorities. A dog burial provided one of my most enlightening moments with the Chinese descendant community. During the San Bernardino Chinatown excavation, we uncovered a small pit capped with a piece of sheet metal in the back yard of Wong Nim, a single man and the nineteenth-century patriarch of this community. Not knowing what lay underneath, we gave the feature a number and commenced formal recovery. We soon realized that it was the burial of a small pet dog. Somewhat amused, we nevertheless decided to complete documentation and analysis. While later touring the site with Suellen Cheng, our Chinese informant, I casually mentioned the recovery of the dog. Ms. Cheng immediately showed interest and wanted details of its circumstances. The 9-month-old dog was laid to rest coiled in a sleeping position, wearing its collar, and protected with a metal capping. She welcomed this preserved relationship between an owner and his pet with an enthusiasm that surprised me. Ms. Cheng explained that in her work with school children, she is too frequently asked about the Chinese practice of eating dog meat. We had found scientific evidence she could use in response: Chinese also had close relationships with their dogs, cared for them as household pets, and mourned their loss. Certainly more than the gambling and opium items, for her this was a finding of great importance.



Call for Participation Graduate Students: It's Time to Organize a Team!!

The Second Annual Ethics Bowl will take place at the 2005 Society for American Archaeology's 70th Annual Meeting in Salt Lake City, Utah. We are seeking teams, judges, and case studies for this spring's event.

The Ethics Bowl is a festive, debate-style competition that explores the ethics of archaeological practice. At least six weeks prior to the Annual Meeting, each team receives an identical set of case studies from which the scenarios discussed in each round will be chosen. During the Bowl, a moderator poses hypothetical scenarios based on ethical dilemmas faced by archaeologists to teams of three to five graduate students. The teams compete in pairs, receiving points from a distinguished panel of judges during each round based on the quality of their arguments and their responses to arguments made by the other team. The winning team will receive prizes and have its name engraved on the silver Ethics Bowl trophy.

We invite graduate students to organize a team with the assistance of faculty and practitioners for the 2005 Ethics Bowl. We also encourage, from all quarters, contributions of case studies illustrating ethical dilemmas that arise in archaeological practice.

The Ethics Bowl and accompanying case studies are wonderful activities to incorporate into any archaeology curriculum. The 2004 set of case studies, a great classroom resource, and the rules for the Ethics Bowl can be downloaded from the pull-down menu on SAA's website at http://www.saa.org/aboutsaa/committees/ethics/ebowl.html

If you would like more information about the Ethics Bowl, have case studies to contribute, or would consider serving as a judge, please contact Julie Hollowell at jjh@ indiana.edu or (812) 320-1887 or Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh at chip@cdarc.org or (520) 882-6946.

Congratulations to the winners of the First Annual Ethics Bowl—Indiana University/University of Nevada-Reno!!

HERITAGE TOURISM OF CHINESE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SITES IN IDAHO

Priscilla Wegars

Priscilla Wegars is a self-employed historian and historical archaeologist and is the volunteer curator of the University of Idaho's Asian American Comparative Collection.

thnic heritage tourism is a fairly recent concept. It may have originated with the influence of the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s, which led to Alex Haley's book *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*, published during America's Bicentennial in 1976. This partly fictionalized account, tracing Haley's African American family back to Africa, sold over one and a half million copies. The following year, in 1977, it became a television miniseries. For eight days in a row, more than 100 million Americans watched its gripping events come to life on the screen. *Roots* impacted all segments of the population, because it spoke to, and for, everyone. For the first time, millions of Americans realized that their family history could be significant even if their ancestors did not come over on the Mayflower, did not fight in the American Revolution, or did not emigrate from Europe. Everyone had roots, and tracing them could validate and affirm one's own identity.

The Civil Rights movement also influenced a parallel, scholarly development in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This was the establishment of ethnic studies programs, including Asian American studies, at various universities, including some with entire departments devoted to the latter discipline. The Association for Asian American Studies soon formed to bring scholars and students together on a regular basis. In addition, some Chinese-focused museums and historical societies were established as early as 1963, contributing to increasing interest in Chinese American heritage by both scholars and the general public.

Chinese Heritage Tourism in Idaho

In Idaho, Chinese heritage tourism began in 1984 with the visit of a prominent archaeologist from New Zealand who specialized there in the excavation of Chinese mining sites and who wanted to visit similar ones in Idaho for comparative purposes. Subsequently, the scope of Chinese heritage tourism in Idaho has increased substantially. Preservation of sites and artifacts is often the first step. In Lewiston, for example, concerned volunteers, guided by museum professionals, cleaned the altar and associated furnishings from Lewiston's late-nineteenth-century Beuk Aie Temple and reinstalled the assemblage as a permanent exhibit in the Lewis-Clark Center for Arts & History.

The Payette National Forest, in north-central Idaho, has long been a leader in investigating and documenting Chinese archaeological sites in the Forest. Over the years, surveys and excavations of Chinese terraced garden sites, habitations, and mining operations have produced a wealth of information on the area's former Chinese residents. Interpretive displays, audiotapes, inexpensive booklets, and a reconstructed semi-subterranean dwelling help people imagine what life was like for the Chinese miners and gardeners who lived in the region more than a century ago.

One important manifestation of heritage tourism is the U.S. Forest Service's Passport in Time (PIT)

program, which recently celebrated its tenth anniversary. PIT projects, as they are called, enable volunteers from all over the U.S. to participate in both archaeological excavations and non-archaeological projects on Forest Service lands, many of which are on Chinese sites in the West. The PIT Traveler, a free publication, lists excavations and other opportunities for volunteers, and a national clearinghouse coordinates applications. A PIT project at the 1860s-era Pon Yam House in Idaho City allowed excavators to examine the soil under the floorboards inside the house, where dry conditions facilitated the recovery of firecrackers, incense sticks, and even seeds from Chinese plants that were used medicinally and as snacks (Figure 1). The Pon Yam House will eventually be restored as a museum to interpret the history of the Chinese in the area, thus reclaiming that part of the region's past.

An additional house in Idaho with Chinese associations belonged to Polly Bemis, the Pacific Northwest's most famous Chinese woman resident. Although no excavations have yet been conducted at her former home, substantial "digging in the documents" has produced a wealth of information about this Chinese woman pioneer (see *Polly Bemis: A Chinese American Pioneer*, by Priscilla Wegars). Polly, who married a Caucasian man, lived adjacent to the remote Salmon River, "The River of No Return," from 1894 until her death in 1933. The couple's original home burned in 1922 and a similar dwelling replaced it. Restored in 1987 and listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1988, Polly's home is a popular stop on raft and jet boat trips.

Another well-received raft trip visits Chinese placer mining sites on the turbulent Lower Salmon River, including one with a Chinese miner's dwelling constructed between two natural boulders, with a rock fireplace just inside the entrance (Figure 2). Some summers, an eco-tour component has involved a Chinese hydraulic mining site with several rock dwellings that are in danger of being damaged by grazing cattle and eroded by high water. Eco-tourists, under professional supervision, place rocks in strategic locations to discourage cattle intrusions and reinforce the steep bank to prevent the river from eroding it further. Trip participants find this site particularly intriguing because of the abundant Chinese artifacts on the surface.

Issues of Cultural Sensitivity

Unfortunately, not all programs or exhibits are as successful as the ones described. Some have failed for various reasons and others are inaccurate, culturally insensitive, or both. For example, merely advertising something as Chinese heritage tourism does not guarantee that it will succeed. A common problem concerns museums, particularly in smaller communities, that have inappropriate exhibits and insensitive signage. This is especially prevalent with reference to opium smoking. Opium smoking was a Chinese custom that has been much misunderstood. Few people know that the U.S. government permitted opium for smoking to be legally imported into the United States until 1909, provided the importers paid the heavy taxes levied on it. Only Caucasians could import opium; they then sold it to Chinese people. According to



Figure 1: The Pon Yam House in Idaho City, Idaho.

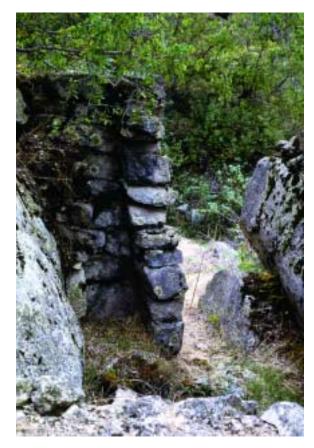


Figure 2: A Chinese miner's dwelling on the Lower Salmon River, Idaho.

ARTICLE

most researchers, fewer than half of the Chinese immigrants used it. Of those who did indulge, most did so in moderation, perhaps comparable to people in today's culture who enjoy today's legal drugs, tobacco and alcohol. Opium smoking was a social activity, somewhat like the modern custom of "happy hour," and opium also was used medicinally.

Sometimes opium-smoking paraphernalia is oversensationalized, incorrectly displayed, or mislabeled in an exhibit. For example, Chinese water pipes, for tobacco, are often inaccurately captioned "opium pipes," and small glass medicine vials with very narrow necks are frequently called "opium bottles." Opium prepared for smoking is a dark, gummy substance, rather like road tar on a hot day. Getting it into the tiny, long-necked bottles would have been impossible. Instead, opium came in rectangular metal cans. Such cans, in museums, sometimes still retain their tax stamps showing that they were legally imported and that duty was paid on them.

Other examples of cultural insensitivity include those related to the Chinese practice of footbinding. This cruel but once fashionable Chinese custom has been outlawed in that country for many years. Museums that display items such as shoes for bound feet often pander to people's fascination for the exotic while failing to observe that present-day women's footwear fashions in the U.S. have often sacrificed comfort for appearance in much the same way. As another example of insensitivity, occasionally museums display a Chinese laborer's hat labeled a "coolie hat." The word "coolie" has come to imply slave laborer, which is inaccurate, because the Chinese who came to the U.S. were more like indentured servants. Most came on a "credit ticket" system, meaning that labor contractors advanced them the money for their journey. Once working, they repaid the debt.

One can appreciate the many small, local museums that are run by hardworking people, often volunteers who "mean well" and who feel they are doing the best they can with limited resources, but some problems are overwhelming. One such facility, in a nearby state, displays a grotesque, stereotypical caricature of an elderly Chinese man, seated behind an actual Chinese gravestone probably "liberated" from a nearby cemetery. Elsewhere in that neighboring state, another insensitive display once contained ceramic fragments and artifacts that someone had collected from the local Chinese cemetery. Upon being asked why they did not have a comparable display of items collected from the local Christian cemetery, museum personnel subsequently removed the Chinese graveyard objects.

Legends, myths, and stereotypes are other areas requiring more cultural sensitivity. One example involves the so-called "Chinese tunnels" that are purported to exist underneath nearly every American city that once had Chinese residents (Figure 3). Nineteenth-century buildings often have basement-level passageways that run underneath the sidewalk. Architecturally, they are "sidewalk vaults" accessed by metal doors in the sidewalk above to facilitate delivery of merchandise into the building's basement. Sidewalks sometimes also had glass blocks in them to let light into the vaults. When a building is torn down, people often see these passageways and do not know their purpose. Because they often attribute anything "mysterious" to the Chinese, these structures have become known as "Chinese tunnels." Groups in some states have turned sidewalk vaults into popular tourist attractions. Unfortunately, instead of doing historical research on the early Chinese presence in these communities, they have relied instead on legends, myths, and stereotypes to present an insensitive and erroneous picture of Chinese life. Examples range from a Chinese caricature on one brochure, to unknowingly using Japanese costumes and artifacts, to claims that the Chinese built and lived in tunnels under a city's buildings and streets. Fortunately, "Chinese tunnels" are increasingly recognized as urban myths.

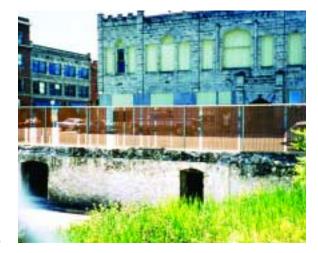


Figure 3: Basement of demolished building showing entrances to sidewalk vault, Baker City, Oregon.

Concluding Thoughts

Despite such insensitivities, Chinese heritage tourism is thriving in the western United States. Several factors have combined to influence this recent phenomenon. One is the rising interest in genealogical studies, facilitated through materials available on the Internet. Another is the school system's increasing emphasis on teaching multiethnic and multicultural diversity, fueled by the realization that America's Caucasian population will be in the minority by mid-century. Diversity education is also recognized as the key to operating in the global marketplace. Still another factor influencing the growth of heritage tourism is the continuing decline in local resource-based economies, such as timber and mining, with the consequent necessity of replacing them with something else. Often tourism is seen as the best way to rejuvenate the local economy, but by itself it is not the savior that many believe it to be. In the rush to lure tourist dollars, pseudo-heritage tourism has sometimes arisen from the all-too-easy substitution of readily available, and therefore inexpensive, legends and stereotypes in the place of genuine historical research.

Today, Chinese Americans are reclaiming and celebrating their own heritage, partly by becoming involved in its documentation, writing, and interpretation. By discarding outdated concepts that label the Chinese pioneers as passive victims of racist aggression and by taking control of their own history, they are increasingly demanding that Chinese heritage tourism portray the Chinese immigrant experience in a positive, sensitive, appropriate, and accurate manner.

Acknowledgment. Thanks to Terry Abraham for his helpful comments.

The National Endowment for the Humanities announces a 2005 Summer Institute Andean Worlds: New Directions in Scholarship and Teaching, June 26 – July 31, 2005 Application Deadline: March 1, 2005

The National Endowment for the Humanities announces a new Summer Institute for twenty-four faculty participants from community and four-year colleges and universities, on the topic of "Andean Worlds: New Directions in Scholarship and Teaching," to be held from June 26 to July 31, 2005. This five-week Institute, sponsored by The Community College Humanities Association and held on-site in locations in Peru and Bolivia, is an in-depth survey of Andean culture and history, focusing on pre-Columbian, colonial and contemporary manifestations of Andean culture. Participants will receive all lodging, internal travel and site-visit costs for all scheduled activities during the Institute, as specified in our detailed Daily Schedule. Participants are responsible for meal expenses, for personal expenses and for their own travel arrangements to Lima, Peru by Sunday June 26, 2005 and for return from Peru after July 31, 2005 Institute fellows will read and discuss materials from the disciplines of anthropology, history, art history and literary history and criticism. This multidisciplinary approach provides a distinct perspective which allows for greater understanding of the complexities of the culture histories of this large and diverse area.

Project Co-Directors are Laraine Fletcher (Anthropology, Adelphi University) and George Scheper (Humanities, Community College of Baltimore County).

Visiting guest scholars include: Richard Burger (Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University); Rolena Adorno (Reuben Post Halleck Professor of Spanish, Yale University); Dr. Walter Alva (Director, Brüning Archaeological Museum, Lambayeque); Tom Cummins (Dumbarton Oaks Professor of pre-Columbian and Colonial Latin American Art, Harvard University); Sara Castro-Klarén (Professor of Latin American Culture and Literature, The Johns Hopkins University); Gary Urton (Dumbarton Oaks Professor of Pre-Columbian Studies, Harvard University); Regina Harrison (Comparative Literature Program, and Departments of Spanish and Portuguese, and Anthropology, University of Maryland); and Charles Stanish (Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Cotson Institute of Archaeology, UCLA).

For Application and Information Packet, contact: David A. Berry, Executive Director, Community College Humanities Association, c/o Essex County College, 303 University Ave., Newark, NJ 07102-17998. Tel: (973) 877-3577, Fax: (973) 877-3578, Email: berry@essex.edu or download from our website: http://www.ccha-assoc.org/andeanworld/index.html.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND MORAL WRONGS

WORLD WAR II JAPANESE AMERICAN RELOCATION SITES

Mary M. Farrell and Jeffery F. Burton

Mary M. Farrell is Forest Archaeologist at the Coronado National Forest in Tucson, Arizona, and Jeffery F. Burton is an Archeologist with the National Park Service Western Archeological and Conservation Center in Tucson, Arizona.

In 1942, the United States incarcerated almost 120,000 American men, women, and children in "relocation centers," "assembly centers," and other prison camps without formal charges or trials. The "crime" of those incarcerated was their ethnicity: all were of Japanese ancestry. Although those incarcerated retained much of their Japanese culture and heritage, over two-thirds of them were American citizens who had been schooled in the ideals of equality, democracy, and justice, as embodied in the U.S. Constitution.

By the time the last internees were released in 1946, the Japanese Americans had lost homes and businesses estimated to be worth, in today's values, 4 to 5 billion dollars. Deleterious effects on Japanese American individuals, families, and communities were immeasurable. During World War II, the relocation was justified as a "military necessity," but decades later, a U.S. commission determined that the incarceration of Japanese Americans was due to wartime hysteria, failed leadership, and racial prejudice, rather than any true threat to national security (Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians 1982).

The story of this shameful episode in U.S. history has been recounted in numerous histories, diaries, analyses, and legal discussions and is the focus of exhibits and memorials from California to Arkansas. Archaeology, too, can complement, and even elicit, these written and oral histories to give an added dimension to the past.

Manzanar

In 1992, Congress set aside the former Manzanar Relocation Center, located in Owens Valley in eastern California, as Manzanar National Historic Site "to provide for the protection and interpretation of historic, cultural, and natural resources associated with the relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II" (Figure 1). At the same time, Congress authorized studies to determine if other sites associated with the relocation merited special designation and protection. Although sev-

eral cultural resource management studies included recording and discussion of relocation-related sites (e.g., Rose 1992; Sawyer-Lang 1989; Tamir et al. 1993), there had been no broadscale, nationwide overview of the archaeological remains associated with the relocation.

At Manzanar, archaeological survey determined that several significant Relocation Center features were located outside of the boundary originally set aside by Congress (Burton 1996). In 1996, Congress used the results to expand the boundary of the Historic Site to include some 300 additional acres, to incorporate these features.

The archaeological work also helped to dispel some misconceptions about the relocation. For example, some "old-timers" denied that there ever were guard towers or fences at the relocation centers; they claimed that the inmates were "coddled" while other Americans suffered rationing and shortages. The archaeological evidence at Manzanar proved these assertions to be false, without resorting to diatribe or rhetoric (Figure 2).

The archaeological studies at the camps testify not only to the national political environment but also to the "small things forgotten" of everyday life (Figure 3). It is the small things that show how the internees maintained their ethnicity, in the face of adversity. Japanese ceramics show that family heirlooms were brought to the camps even when luggage was strictly limited and military-issue "hotelware" was provided at mess halls. Lost "Go" pieces reflect the popularity of a traditional Japanese game, even while the children were playing with Americanstyle army toys and marbles. Most pervasively, traces of internee-built rock alignments, gardens, and ponds reflect not only the Japanese ideals of order, beauty, and harmony, but also the social cohesiveness and organization required to construct such features. Taken together, these overall patterns indicate the persistence of Japanese culture and its integration with "American" culture, even in the face of persecution, even when the dominant culture had defined "Japanese" as something to be afraid and ashamed of.



Figure 1: Manzanar Pilgrimage, 2004, at the relocation center's cemetery monument.

Archaeological work at Manzanar also uncovered significant evidence of other components within the Historic Site boundary (Burton 1996, 1998; Burton et al. 2001). Presentations at public meetings for the Manzanar General Management Plan helped gain local community support for the Historic Site; residents of Owens Valley were pleased to learn more about the prehistory and late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century history of the site and to know that their own families' and neighbors' histories would be interpreted too. The inclusiveness provided by the archaeological evidence allowed for interpretation of the Native American and early Anglo-American history within the boundary and lessened opposition to the establishment and development of the Historic Site.

Confinement and Ethnicity

All of the relocation centers are significant in Japanese American culture for their association with a defining event that had profoundly negative effects on the community's traditions, social structure, and finances. Even today, at which "camp" one was interned often serves as part of an individual's self-identity, and all of the relocation centers are pilgrimage sites. They are also significant for all Americans as reminders of how the basic civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the U.S. can be brushed aside in times of crisis.

But what of the physical remains at the sites? Relocation centers, built to house an average of 10,000 internees each, encompassed up to over 45,000 acres, including internee barracks, administration areas, farm land, sewage treatment plants, and other infrastructure. Over the past 60 years, the relocation center land and structures have been dismantled, demolished, or converted to other uses, so archaeological investigations have been key to assessing what's left.



Figure 2: Four "post holes" from guard tower foundations, Manzanar National Historic Site.

Under the Congressional mandate, the original goal of the National Park Service's (NPS) archaeological work at the former relocation centers was to gather information for future management and interpretation. At Manzanar, where most of the work has been done to date, the objectives were to document the current condition of the site and features related to the relocation center and to determine if other historical or prehistoric remains existed within the National Historic Site boundary. The information would then be used to help gauge interpretive potential of individual features and protection measures needed during the development and maintenance of visitor facilities. At the other relocation center sites, reconnaissance, survey, and some excavation would be used to determine whether sufficient features and artifacts remained to warrant National Register or National Landmark status and special treatment or protection.

The results, describing myriad mundane features such as latrine and barracks foundations as well as remnants of guard towers and fences, garnered a surprisingly wide audience. The NPS has filled over 10,000 requests for *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of Japanese American Relocation Sites*. The report was placed on the NPS's website (http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/anthropology74/i ndex.htm) and the University of Washington has printed a new edition to increase its availability (Burton et al. 2002).

Even though former internees were involved in the first stages of research, often volunteering to help identify features not listed in the documentary records, Japanese Americans have become more involved after the reports were published. The relocation still elicits very strong emotions, and many former evacuees have had difficulty talking about the experience. One woman related in a letter that she did not even know her

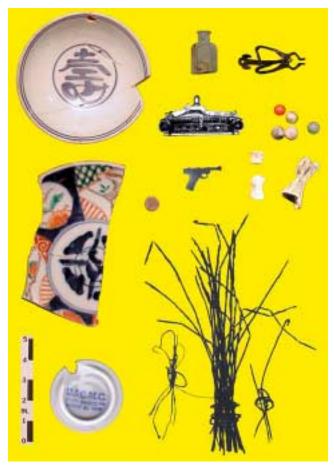


Figure 3: Sample of artifacts recovered during archaeological investigations at the Manzanar National Historic Site.

mother had been in a relocation center until they looked at *Confinement and Ethnicity* together; her mother had not told her about her relocation experience because she did not want her daughter to resent the government. The physical traces uncovered and recorded during the project have sparked memories and encouraged discussion, perhaps because they evoke the simple routines of daily living, and the transcendence of the human spirit, rather than the grand political issues and consequences.

Catalina Federal Honor Camp

The public discourse itself can lead to new evaluations of archaeological sites. The "Catalina Honor Camp," a former prison camp on the Coronado National Forest, Arizona was recorded in the 1980s. Because the prison camp had been in continual, changing use until the 1970s, when it was demol-

ished, it was determined to be not particularly significant from an archaeological perspective. However, by piecing together historical information, we came to believe it might have been the work camp where Gordon Hirabayashi was incarcerated for his principled stand against the internment.

Dr. Hirabayashi was one of only three Japanese Americans to formally refuse to go along with the internment. As a student at the University of Washington, he defied both curfew and relocation orders and turned himself in to the FBI, confident that the courts would exonerate him and condemn the internment. Instead, the Supreme Court upheld his conviction. Because Hirabayashi had already spent several months in a county jail, he requested that he be allowed to serve the rest of his sentence in a prison camp, where he could do useful work. With the court's permission, he hitchhiked to Tucson to finish his sentence at a road work camp there. Was the Forest Service's Catalina Honor Camp the same prison camp where Hirabayashi served time?

Dr. Hirabayashi confirmed this for us, and we began lobbying that a new campground planned for the area be named in his honor. By involving the Japanese American community, through the Japanese American Citizens League, the Japanese American National Museum, and Japanese American media, we learned that 45 other Japanese American resisters of conscience were also incarcerated there. These "draft resisters," some of them inspired by Hirabayashi's protest, refused to join the military while their families were held in the internment camps.

Through Dr. Hirabayashi, we also became aware of Hopi draft resisters held at the prison, because their religious beliefs and society affiliations prohibited them from serving in the military. With Dr. Hirabayashi's help, we were able to contact some of these former inmates and learned that the courts did not consider the Hopis' religious beliefs to be credible for conscientious objector status because Hopi religious beliefs did not conform to those of the dominant Christian culture.

This political and social context gave the prison camp site much greater significance in spite of its relatively recent history and modern disturbance. With the support of a Tucson newspaper (Erickson 1998a, 1998b), the Forest Service did dedicate the new recreation area as the "Gordon Hirabayashi Recreation Site" to recognize the prison camp's connection with this civil rights struggle (Figure 4). The public ceremony was attended by Dr. Hirabayashi, the surviving resisters, many members of the Japanese American community, one of the former Hopi draft resisters, Congressman Jim Kolbe, Assistant U.S. Attorney General Rose Ochi, and many others interested in civil rights. There is now an interpretive kiosk at the site that discusses the history of the Japanese American intern-



Figure 4: Guests of honor at the dedication of the interpretive kiosk at Gordon Hirabayashi Recreation Site, on the Coronado National Forest. Left to right: Roger Nasevaema, Ken Yoshida, Gordon Hirabayashi, Susumu Yenokida, Harry Yoshikawa, and Noboru Taguma.

ment and of the prison camp. Even better, the dedication has inspired other researchers to pursue the resisters' stories more thoroughly (e.g., Branton 2004).

Minidoka, Tule Lake, Bainbridge Island, and Beyond

Confinement and Ethnicity was used by the White House Millennium Council to develop recommendations for the preservation and interpretation of relocation-related sites across the country (U.S. Department of the Interior 2001). Their recommendations resulted in the designation of the Minidoka Internment National Monument in January 2001. Additional archaeological work has been undertaken at Minidoka (Burton and Farrell 2001; Burton et al. 2003), and a detailed historic resources study has been completed at the Tule Lake Segregation Center (Burton and Farrell 2004). Bainbridge Island's Eagledale Ferry Dock, the site of the first evacuation, is being studied by the NPS for designation as a national memorial. The NPS is also working with the Heart Mountain Foundation to develop a management plan for that relocation center, and detailed archaeological surveys have been completed at Topaz Relocation Center (Ellis 2002) and are in progress at the Amache Relocation Center.

These broad-scale ramifications show the importance of archaeology in providing support to the Japanese American community's efforts to have the relocation remembered, recognized, and not repeated. Yet the local and more personal implications have been as important as the national effects. Archaeology can be powerful because it allows the public to see, and feel, this important history. In this case, archaeology helped open up new instances of public discourse.

In an ideal research environment, one might expect that the oral histories would be largely completed before the archaeological work begins—knowledgeable informants could help inform research designs, to address the most practical and relevant questions. But our experience, in which most of the informant data have been elicited after the archaeological work was published, has been extremely gratifying. It is yet one more example of how important it is to get historical archaeological work out and available to the public. The first reports can elicit the interest and involvement of participants and their descendants, to inform the next stage of research and interpretation.

References Cited

Branton, Nicole Louise

2004 Drawing the Line: Places of Power in the Japanese American Internment Eventscape. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Arizona Tucson, Arizona.

Burton, Jeffery F.

1996 Three Farewells to Manzanar. The Archeology of Manzanar National Historic Site, California. Western Archeological and Conservation Center Publications in Anthropology 67.

1998 The Archeology of Somewhere: Archeological Testing Along U.S. Highway 395, Manzanar National Historic Site, California. Western Archeological and Conservation Center Publications in Anthropology 72.

Burton, Jeffery F., and Mary M. Farrell

2001 This is Minidoka: An Archeological Survey of Minidoka Internment National Monument, Idaho. Western Archeological and Conservation Center Publications in Anthropology 80.

2004 Tule Lake Historic Resources Inventory. National Park Service, Western Archeological and Conservation Center Tucson.

Burton, Jeffery F., Laura Bergstresser, and Anna Tamura

2003 Archeology at the Gate: Archeological Investigations at the Entrance of the Minidoka Relocation Center, Minidoka Internment National Monument. National Park, Service, Western Archeological and Conservation Center Tucson.

Burton, Jeffery F., Mary Farrell, Florence Lord, and Richard Lord
2002 Confinement and Ethnicity: An Archaeological Overview of World
War II Japanese American Relocation Sites. University of Washington Press, Seattle.

Burton, Jeffery F., Jeremy Haines, and Mary Farrell

2001 I Rei To: Archeological Investigations at the Manzanar Relocation Center Cemetery, Manzanar National Historic site, California. Western Archeological and Conservation Center Publications in Anthropology 79.

FARRELL AND BURTON, continued on page 28

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ETHNICITY

CAN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY EXTRACT THE CICONICIN FROM THE **MELTING POT OF DELAWARE?**

Marshall Joseph Becker

Marshall Joseph Becker is Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at West Chester University in West Chester, Pennsylvania.

utch hegemony throughout the New England region and down to Delaware Bay was well established long before the arrival of the Pilgrims. The Fresh River (Connecticut) and North River (Hudson) were principal arteries of trade to the interior. Dutch activities on the South River (Delaware) remain unknown prior to their establishment of a relatively permanent trading post for pelts in 1623. In 1629, the southern edge of the Dutch sphere of influence along this northeastern coastal zone was solidified through the purchase of a tract of land on the western side of Delaware Bay from the chief of the Ciconicin. That deed of purchase plus the patent (registration of the deed) provide the most significant pieces of evidence for what we know about the Ciconicin people and their social organization.

Who Were the Ciconicin?

From the various documents that survive from this region over the next century, we can reconstruct the basic structure of the Ciconicin chiefdom, led by the Teotacken who was a chief "under years" in 1629. This low-level chiefdom was the most northern of the true chiefdoms in the Middle Atlantic region. Its boundaries were near Indian River on the south and the Bombay Hook swamps on the north. Their territory extended ca. 25 miles (40 km) inland, to the heads of the steams that drain this region, ending close to the modern border with Maryland. For all the documentary records, this chiefdom remains completely unknown in the archaeological record. This may seem surprising, but even intensive study of several of the Powhatan and other chiefdoms to the west along Chesapeake Bay have produced surprisingly little evidence for their presence.

The documents relating to the Ciconicin provide us with a general view of the decline of this chiefdom as the numbers of European populations coming into this region grew. These immigrants provided economic, and even political, opportunities to the Ciconicin people. As seen among the native peoples on the opposite side of the Delmarva Peninsula, as well as

among the Lenape and other native peoples to the north, one of the more common responses to European settlement was to sell land and move into the interior. For the Ciconicin, this brought them increasingly close to the Chesapeake Bay's eastern shore peoples, whose movements inland were in the direction of what now is the Delaware-Maryland border.

The Ciconicin and the various native peoples to their south and west all maintained some food production systems, substantially supplemented by significant foraging activities. What we do not know is what type of housing was used by the Ciconicin in the Late Woodland period and into the final phases of their chiefdom during the seventeenth century. Critical questions concern the gradual adoption by the Ciconicin of construction forms, economic strategies, and ultimately language from European immigrants. A parallel question involves the process by which the dominant language became English, and when each of the many ethnic groups lost their native tongues.

Colonial Ethnicity in the Delaware Valley

The Dutch were only the first of the European groups to have a major presence in the Delaware Valley. The tract purchased by the Dutch on the Bay was intended to be the location for a whaling station. Another tract was purchased soon after on the opposite shore and a Dutch presence in the area continued thereafter. Yet the center of Dutch activity remained at Fort Amsterdam on Manhattan Island, and settlement beyond that hub remained very sparse.

The success of the Dutch trade in peltry on the South River led to the development of a Swedish venture into this area in 1638. The tiny Swedish colony was centered at Fortress Christina, where Wilmington, Delaware now stands. Among the Swedes were "Finns" and representatives of other northern European ethnic groups. These people were soon distributed along the shores of the river, but largely within the territories of the foraging bands of Lenape. Some "Swedish" farmsteads

26

may have existed across the river among the Lenopi bands, and some may later have extended into the buffer zone between the Lenape and the Ciconicin.

By the 1650s, English and other farmers were moving into the Delaware River drainage from New England. Various sects of English and German speakers were also coming into the region, each establishing small communities in a region that provided considerable religious tolerance. In 1655, as the English were squeezing the Dutch into a smaller area, the Dutch sent a military expedition from Fort Amsterdam to "conquer" the Swedish colony on the Delaware. By 1664, the English had effectively ended Dutch power in the region.

Direct immigration from England began to increase the English-speaking population. The numbers of local Swedish, Dutch, German, and even English dialects spoken in this region merit a study of their own. The various military governors all appear to have been multilingual, and important documents from any one group during that period commonly were translated into other languages. The European languages and/or dialects spoken all were in addition to the various native languages specific to each of the many cultures in the region. Now that we are working out the native cultural borders, we can better understand the complex interactions among all these peoples in the latter decades of the 1600s.

Identifying the Origins of Delaware Ethnicity

Historical archaeology is history or it is nothing. As an anthropologist, I also believe that archaeology is anthropology or it is nothing. Thus our understanding of that part of the historical past as revealed through archaeology requires that we be versed in anthropology and that we do significant historical research to place our excavation data into context. The use of both approaches is essential to any understanding of a specific culture and its historical development. In Delaware, as in much of the lower Delaware Valley, many of the early ethnic groups retained clear identities into the twentieth century. The decline in ethnic affiliation among the immigrant groups as well as among the native peoples of eastern coastal America commonly involved a gradual shift, from clear cultural borders (based on language, norms, rules), to an increasingly vague ethnic identity, to a generalized identity. In many cases, the loss of Swedish identity parallels that of the loss of Lenape identity, at least in the Philadelphia area. The Swedish colony never had more than 400 to 500 members, and intermarriage with natives and other Europeans was common. Like the Lenape, after Penn's arrival, many of these colonists moved into the interior. Swedish remained a common tongue into the 1700s, but declined rapidly thereafter. In recent years, the American Swedish Historical Society in Philadelphia has made great

strides in bringing together the many descendants of those early colonists. Their ethnicity is reinforced by festivals and customs that are alive and well in Sweden, if in modified form.

For the Ciconicin, their native identity appears to have been recognized by outsiders well into the 1700s. How long the language survived is unknown. Their location south of the Mason-Dixon line brought additional problems in self-identity in terms of racial definition. Records on the pelt trade suggest that in addition to some kind of farming economy, the Ciconicin descendants continued to forage within the more remote parts of their traditional territory, but language loss and blurring of ethnic boundaries left them with little or no sense of "Indian" identity. The archaeology of various farmsteads of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries throughout Delaware has produced an amazing variety of building clusters, but no clear evidence that any one type relates to any specific ethnic tradition. Here the historical record will be needed to document an "ethnicity" for the earliest farmers before we can determine if "ethnic" patterns can be recognized. More recently, cemetery excavations are producing some data that may better be tied to local early church populations and thereby to ethnic identities. These data may reveal some of the early threads that had, probably before the twentieth century, become woven into generic "racial" categories. Whether "Indians" can be discerned among these groups remains to be determined.

In addition to searching for archaeological evidence and documents relating to the Ciconicin, I contacted numbers of people in central Delaware who claim native ancestry. Many of these individuals belong to various groups that they have created to assert a native identity, with siblings often belonging to different units. In the northern parts of Delaware, the tendency is to claim descent from the Lenape, variously identified. In the southern parts of the state, the identification often is with the Nanticoke, also variously identified. None of these groups has federal recognition, and their understanding of the Federal law as well as the basic meaning of culture is irrelevant to the issues with which they wrestle. Some wish to have some ethnic affiliation, and linkage with a Native American past provides many possible advantages. For many of these people, the identification of a proud native heritage is sufficient. For others, the trendy nature of "Indian" ancestors or the possibility of casino wealth is a lingering theme. Those sufficiently sophisticated to understand the Federal benefits bestowed on recognized tribes usually are equally aware of the problems of establishing a linkage between themselves and any specific native group. Most of these people are too wise to adopt the Plains Indian costuming, but without some kinds of cultural models from the past, they turn to a wide variety of "Indian-like" activities. Powwows, feathers, and good intentions are common to all these groups.

ARTICLE

In general, the "claimants" to Indian ethnicity with whom I have spoken have no genealogical data or any documented link to any person who historically was identified as an "Indian." None had ever heard of the Ciconicin, although years ago an amateur historian had tried to link the "Sikonese" (a variant spelling) with the Lenape as well as with native groups living in New Jersey. This idea of a linkage was popular when all four of the native nations originally in the Delaware drainage were called "Delaware." The simplistic, if not racist, basis for this lumping of native nations into one group is an idea that has entered the popular mythology. This idea that all those Indians were alike can be demonstrated as fanciful by anthropologists but repeatedly emerges in the popular imagination. This perspective is mirrored by many in the pan-Indian movement, who view all Indians as a political force rather than members of separate cultures.

Concluding Thoughts

More than 15 years of ethnohistoric data gathering has produced an abundance of information on the Ciconicin. Lacking from this extensive record are linkages of natives with any specific European surnames. Among the Lenape and other peoples to the north, we have impressive records identifying specific individuals with native names who also used Europeanstyle identification. At present, I cannot with certainty identify one Ciconicin by any surname that might enable us to trace their descent to the present. The research to date has enabled us to rescue the Ciconicin from an unwarranted obscurity, revealing not only were they the northernmost chiefdom on the Atlantic coast, but the only native nation inhabiting a territory entirely within the boundaries of modern Delaware. Delineating their presence and their boundaries helps us to better shape research problems in ways that may enable us to extract further information regarding how these people merged into the ethnically and religiously diverse community that is the population of present Delaware.

ARTICLE

FARRELL AND BURTON, from page 25

Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians 1982 Personal Justice Denied. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Ellis, Sheri Murray

2002 Site Documentation and Management Plan for the Topaz Relocation Center, Millard County, Utah. Topaz Museum Board, Delta, Utah

Erickson, Jim

1998a WWII Internees' Lives in Catalinas Examined: Renowned Japanese American Looks Back. Arizona Daily Star, August 30, 1998.

1998b Forty-five Japanese Americans Lent Muscles to Build Highway. *Arizona Daily Star*, August 31, 1998.

Rose, James O.

1992 An Assessment of the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, Park County, Wyoming. MS on file, Bureau of Reclamation, Montana Project Office, Billings.

Sawyer-Lang, Monique

1989 Recovery of Additional Information from the Gila River Farms Expansion Area: A Study of a Japanese American Relocation Center. Cultural Resources Report 53. Archaeological Consulting Services, Ltd.

Tamir, Orit, Scott C. Russell, Karolyn Jackman Jensen, and Shereen

1993 Return to Butte Camp: A Japanese American World War II Relocation Center. Cultural Resources Report 82. Archaeological Consulting Services, Ltd.

U. S. Department of the Interior

2001 Report to the President: Japanese American Internment Sites Preservation. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.



THE HAUDENOSAUNEE (SIX NATIONS) AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Paul General and Gary Warrick

Paul General is a member of the Six Nations of the Grand River, Seneca Nation, Snipe Clan. During the past 11 years, Paul has been working as the Manager of the Six Nations Eco-Centre. Gary Warrick is an Assistant Professor at the Brantford Campus, Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada.

he *Haudenosaunee*, or Six Nations Iroquois, are one of the best-known Aboriginal peoples of northeastern North America. For the past 120 years, archaeologists have excavated ancestral Six Nations settlements and burials. However, Six Nations have been conspicuously absent from the archaeological arena. The authors have had many conversations over the last four years about why and how Six Nations people should be involved in archaeology. Kurt Dongoske invited us to share our conversations with the SAA membership.

Six Nations of the Grand River and Ontario Archaeology

After the American Revolution, over 1,800 Six Nations people were displaced from New York State to southern Ontario, Canada, and they established permanent communities in the Grand River valley in 1784–1785. In 1784, Six Nations owned 950,000 acres, six miles either side of the Grand River from its mouth to its source. Today, the 13,000-member Six Nations community is located on a 48,000-acre parcel of land, along the south bank of the Grand River (Figure 1). Six Nations consider the entire Grand River watershed and southern Ontario to be their traditional territory, and they have a deep sense of responsibility to past and future generations to care for the ancestral burials and sites within their territory. The Grand River valley contains one of the richest archaeological records in North America, documenting a continuous Aboriginal occupation from 11,000 years ago to the present.

In Ontario, archaeological sites are protected by provincial law (*Ontario Heritage Act*, R.S.O. 1990) on private and public land, and most of the archaeology is carried out in the context of land development (i.e., cultural resource management [CRM]). Approximately 500 new sites are found and registered every year, mostly on the outskirts of the cities of southern Ontario. Over 80 percent are pre-contact Aboriginal sites (Ferris 1998). While efforts are made to avoid sites in CRM work, the majority of significant sites are excavated prior to development. Under the Grand River Notification Agreement between Six Nations and relevant municipalities and government agencies, develop-

ment plans for the Grand River watershed are circulated to the Six Nations Eco-Centre. Beyond the Grand River, development and archaeology proceeds with little or no involvement of Six Nations.

Over the past decade, Paul General (Manager of the Six Nations Eco-Centre) has been most influential in raising an awareness that archaeology in Ontario must involve Aboriginal communities and be sensitive to Aboriginal views about the archaeological past. Gary Warrick's interaction with members of Six Nations community—through teaching Six Nations university students, working with Six Nations research assistants, and working as an archaeological advisor both formally and informally with the Six Nations Confederacy and elected members and staff of the Band Council—has made him aware that archaeologists working in southern Ontario are obliged to consult with and be accountable to Six Nations people (Figure 2).

The authors have had many conversations about the relationship between archaeologists and Six Nations people, over the phone, in their respective offices, and over a number of bowls of corn soup. The remainder of this paper presents one of those typical conversations. Just pretend that you are eavesdropping from an adjacent table in the restaurant.

GARY: Over the last five years in my residency at the Brantford Campus, Wilfrid Laurier University (a mere 20-minute drive from Six Nations of the Grand River), I have found myself in close conversation with members of the Six Nations Confederacy, Six Nations Band Council and staff, Eco-Centre staff, and a number of Six Nations students. Overall, Six Nations people have several recommendations for improving the current practice of archaeology in Ontario, including ensuring *in situ* protection of ancestral burials; increased avoidance of archaeological sites in development and research projects; more involvement of Six Nations in the archaeological process (e.g., notification of archaeological activity, monitoring archaeological fieldwork, and circulation of archaeological reports); more control over guardianship, interpretation, and display of artifacts;

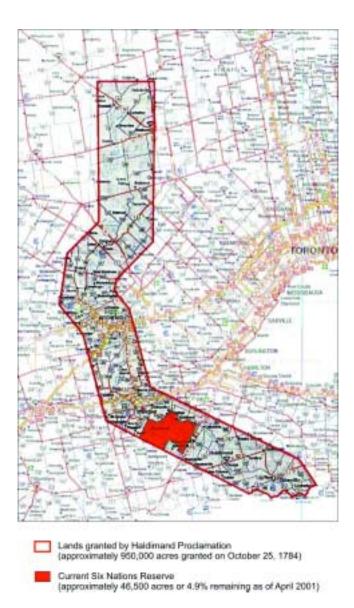


Figure 1: Location of Haldimand Tract and Six Nations Reserve (Copyright by Six Nations of the Grand River).

increased efforts by the Ontario government to apprehend and prosecute looters; and greater application of archaeological data and research to contemporary concerns of the community (e.g. public health, environment). Is there a priority to this list of recommendations?

PAUL: Control, guardianship, interpretation, display, and looting... is there a priority? No, there is not an order, as they are all

on the same plane of importance. The questions and recommendations will be different depending upon the questions asked and who is asking them. Ultimately, Six Nations should determine what, if anything, is to be done with the site and with any subsequent information. There are many reports already existing that should be shared with Six Nations but are not. In other words, there are obligations which are not being fulfilled; this needs to change. The archaeologist or developer should be obliged to provide all findings. There should be no need for Six Nations to ask for this information; it should be provided as part of conducting the excavation. If a site is located and after consultation it is determined that it can be excavated, then the work should be monitored by Six Nations and all efforts should be made by the archaeologists to protect against looting. As a related concern, will publishing these reports open a door to the location and access to sites, making looting a reality? What will happen, who will guard, and where is the mechanism for prosecution of looters? The data included in these reports are often filed away, and access is not and should not be made available to the general public. Six Nations, on the other hand, should be included and consulted before, during, and after excavation.

Archaeological data are best used for the betterment of the people whose ancestors are being disturbed. For example, data about diet and health of the ancestors could be used as a benchmark, a jumping-off point to be used by health care providers. Other data, such as the types of fish found in a local body of water, could be used to better understand what a pristine (i.e., pre-European) environment was like and then compare this with the environment of today to aid in making decisions involving development, land management, wildlife, and health.

GARY: The main messages that I am hearing from Six Nations are that the community wants to be involved in decisions about their buried past and wants less excavation done and more site inventory. CRM archaeologists in Ontario find it difficult to practice the "conservation ethic" because of the often lastminute request by a developer to assess a property. Generally, the only mitigative option for a significant site is to conduct a salvage excavation, sometimes under severe scheduling constraints. Six Nations are not normally consulted in the CRM process. However, even in situations when Six Nations are consulted, such as the current Red Hill Creek Expressway Project in the City of Hamilton, Ontario (a 30-minute drive from Six Nations), consultation occurs after-the-fact and avoidance of impacted archaeological sites (and potential human burials) is impossible. The CRM archaeologists offer consolation that the excavation of an archaeological site will result in a gain of knowledge about the past. How does Six Nations view archaeological excavation in the context of development?

PAUL: The consolation of gaining knowledge only holds true if



Figure 2: Paul General (left) and Gary Warrick at Six Nations Eco-Centre.

the knowledge is made available to the community. Only a select few have access to this information, and only if a person knows who to ask or how to access this information. I must reiterate that we do not support the concept of making this information available to the public at large—quite the contrary. It comes back to who has control and is able to determine what, if anything, should be done at a site. If the site is to be disturbed, is the information acquired from excavation going to be of benefit to Six Nations? Few have the ability to interpret the findings. My assumption is that in some cases the investigation and interpretation of a site may well be processed "under the gun"; that is to say, data collection may not be conducted as diligently in a CRM project as in a site investigation done solely for research. Is it possible that the time and money constraints in CRM will have an impact on those doing the investigation? Ideally, I would like to believe that the answer would be "no," but unfortunately we do not live in an ideal world; therefore, diligence is the key. Diligence is required on the part of the archaeologists to ensure that consultation and communication are maintained with Six Nations, and diligence on the part of Six Nations to ensure that the archaeologists are collecting and providing information with respect and discretion.

GARY: According to the Regulations of the *Ontario Cemeteries Act (Revised)*, R.S.O. 1990, discovered Aboriginal human burials can be relocated to accommodate land development. I have been told by traditional Six Nations people that disturbance, excavation, and reinterment of their ancestors is taboo and profoundly disturbing on social and spiritual grounds. While archaeolo-

gists working in Ontario respect Six Nations beliefs and values, Aboriginal burials are normally encountered at a stage in the land development process when it is impossible to leave them undisturbed in their original location. In Ontario, Aboriginal burials and associated artifacts are normally exhumed and reinterred as quickly as possible, according to the wishes of the geographically closest Aboriginal community, who under the *Cemeteries Act* acts as the guardian for the dead. Analyses of skeletal remains and artifacts, beyond that required by law to determine Aboriginal cultural affiliation, are only permitted with the consent of the Aboriginal community. How often are Six Nations contacted about the discovery of Aboriginal burials? What procedure is followed?

PAUL: There are many reports of burials being disturbed during development and other projects. Some of these are anecdotal and some are fact. There is a committee in place at Six Nations to deal with these reports. This is another problem of not being well-informed or consulted; one is left with doubt and mistrust. Certainly, the communities along the Grand River have grown extensively over the years, and with most development, there is a requirement to do an archaeological survey as part of the environmental assessment prior to work being initiated. However, this was not always the case and, of course, there is always the potential for an unethical developer to unearth a burial and choose not to report the incident for fear of delays and added cost to the project.

I have only a handful of the thousands of archaeological reports generated through the CRM process. Some of these sites may be significant, which causes me to ask: where is the information on the burial sites, how many burials have been disturbed in the name of development, and, most importantly, how many burials have been disturbed but not reported? Development is only one area of concern. I have spoken with many members of the general public who have stated and boasted that they are in possession of extensive collections of artifacts, either found on what they assume is their property (and, therefore, the artifacts are theirs) or found at actual excavations and taken without permission. To return to the original question, there have been instances of burial disturbances and we do have a committee to attempt to handle these occurrences. I do not wish to discuss the actual procedure, but it is worth mentioning at this point that there are many Six Nations people who believe that burials should be left in situ out of respect.

GARY: In 2001, a Six Nations visitor to my research excavation of an early nineteenth-century Mohawk cabin in Brantford asked me "who gave you permission to dig here?" I quickly replied that the private landowner had granted permission to enter and that I held an archaeological licence granted by the Ontario Ministry of Culture under the *Ontario Heritage Act*. The visitor

WORKING TOGETHER

replied: "That is not what I meant. You are on traditional Six Nations territory. Who in the Six Nations community gave you permission?" I sheepishly replied that I had not asked anyone in the community for permission. I felt embarrassed that I had hidden behind legal authority and considered the landowner and province of Ontario the legal owners of the archaeological material. In fact, most Ontario archaeologists do not believe that Aboriginal people should have exclusive rights of ownership over ancestral sites. However, from what I have been told, the people of Six Nations consider themselves the "owners" of archaeological remains within their territory, counter to archaeological opinion and interpretations of the Ontario Heritage Act and what has been published by Ontario government archaeologists (Ferris 2003).

PAUL: I believe that there has always been a dispute over issues of ownership or display of either artifacts or skeletal remains. Furthermore, ownership is probably an inappropriate word to use in this instance. We believe that we have an obligation to speak for those who cannot. Ownership is a concept derived directly from the European concepts of land and property. As already mentioned, I have spoken with many people in possession of collections of artifacts that they truly believe they own because these items have been found on property they believe to be theirs. Consequently, they feel they have the right to do whatever they want with the artifacts, including donation to museums, who in turn believe that they become the rightful owners. Even when off their own property, artifacts are taken and collected as if they are in the public domain. If you follow this concept of "finders-keepers," archaeology becomes a relatively new science based on trophy collection and self-gratification and not a discipline in search of answers to social and cultural change to the benefit of the descendants of those being studied.

GARY: Archaeology in Ontario is carried out in accordance with the *Ontario Heritage Act* and serves the people of Ontario. Archaeological sites and remains are considered irreplaceable resources and their preservation is ensured by protective provincial legislation (i.e., *Environmental Assessment Act*, R.S.O. 1990; *Planning Act*, R.S.O. 1990; *Aggregate Resources Act*, R.S.O. 1990; *Cemeteries Act*). When sites are excavated in advance of land development or for research purposes, the artifacts and data recovered are documented in a report that is filed with the Ministry of Culture. Few of these license reports—the "gray literature" of Ontario archaeology—are made accessible through publication. Reports are not routinely distributed to Aboriginal communities. The reports themselves can only be consulted with the permission of the authors. One begins to wonder why

archaeology is being done at all? What relevance does it have to contemporary society? What relevance could it have to Aboriginal communities?

PAUL: As mentioned previously, the reports should not be made available to the public at large unless there is a mechanism in place to guard against and prosecute looters. Looters should include those stealing from known sites and those stealing from sites found on private property by the landowners. However, these reports should be released to the Six Nations or any other appropriate First Nation as a courtesy and as a cost to the developer or archaeologist of doing business. If the information is collected in consultation with Six Nations, the importance is immeasurable. If the data contained within the report were not collected in consultation with Six Nations, then it may have little or no relevance to contemporary Six Nations society, but it should be shared regardless and left to us to decide whether or not it is relevant. If information is locked away or held close to the chest, only to benefit the archaeologist, this is doing a tremendous disservice, if not an immoral one, to those that could use the information the most. Archaeological inferences about such things as dietary intake, lifestyles regarding health, or environmental conditions can be used to give informed direction to decision-makers in the community.

Finally, archaeology as currently practiced in Ontario is in the hands of four stakeholders: developers, government, archaeologists, and First Nations. As already mentioned, the onus should not only be on the developer (their feet should always be held to the fire), but it should also rest with the government to change and enhance legislation to better reflect the needs not only of Six Nations but of all First Nations. The onus should be on the archaeologists to use more discretion when investigating sites and to consult with First Nations. Lastly, the onus should be on us, the First Nations, to ask the questions that need to be asked.

References Cited

Ferris, N.

1998 "I Don't Think We're in Kansas Anymore . . ." The Rise of the Archaeological Consulting Industry in Ontario. In *Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology*, edited by P. Smith and D. Mitchell. Museum of Civilization, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Mercury Series, Paper 158:225–247. Gatineau, Quebec.

2003 Between Colonial and Indigenous Archaeologies: Legal and Extra-legal Ownership of the Archaeological Past in North America. Canadian Journal of Archaeology 27:154–190.

KENNEWICK MAN IS NATIVE AMERICAN

Robert L. Kelly

Robert L. Kelly is professor of anthropology at the University of Wyoming.

ne purpose of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) is to give federally recognized Native American tribes control over those human remains, sacred and funerary objects, and objects of cultural patrimony that are culturally affiliated with a particular tribe. To achieve this, the Act defines "Native American" and "cultural affiliation." Court rulings in the Kennewick case confuse these two definitions and in so doing distort the meaning of "Native American" in the law and raise questions about how NAGPRA's legal objectives mesh with anthropological knowledge.

The Kennewick Discovery

"Kennewick Man" refers to a male human skeleton found in 1996 in the shallows of the Columbia River. Eroded from a riverbank, the remains included no artifacts, save for a stone projectile point embedded in his hip. Forensic observations suggested the remains could be those of a white settler, but radiocarbon dates place the remains at 9400 B.P. (although questions linger about the age, it is likely that the remains are quite ancient). Kennewick is of interest in part because of its age—few skeletons exist that are so old—and because its cranial morphology, like that of many other similarly ancient remains, is more similar to Japan's Ainu, southeast Asians, or Polynesians than to later Native Americans (e.g., Powell and Neves 1999). These skeletons cast new light on how the western hemisphere was colonized at the end of the Pleistocene.

What happened to Kennewick? Very briefly, the Army Corps of Engineers, on whose land the remains were found, halted studies and announced their intention to repatriate the skeleton to a consortium of local tribes who claimed it. Led by Rob Bonnichsen, a group of archaeologists and biological anthropologists challenged this decision and filed a lawsuit to permit study of the remains. Eventually, the court ordered the Department of the Interior (DOI) to conduct further studies. Based on these, DOI decided that the remains were Native American and were culturally affiliated with the Plateau tribes. This decision was

also challenged. And in August 2002, the U.S. District Court, District of Oregon ruled that Kennewick is *not* Native American; it also ruled that even if he were, his remains could *not* be culturally affiliated with the Plateau tribes. In February 2004, the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit agreed: Kennewick is *not* Native American, and NAGPRA does not apply.

Is Kennewick Native American?

Common sense might lead the average person to conclude that a 9,400-year-old skeleton found in the U.S. is Native American. In fact, DOI decided that Kennewick is Native American because he pre-dates A.D. 1492, the beginning of European colonization of the New World. But common sense does not matter here; what matters is whether Kennewick fits NAGPRA's definition of Native American. NAGPRA defined Native American as "of, or relating to, a tribe, people, or culture that is indigenous to the United States." The courts ruled that age alone does not make Kennewick Native American because "Congress did not create a presumption that items of a particular age are 'Native American'" (District Court's Order and Opinion, herein "DC," 31). The courts are correct that age alone cannot define human remains as Native American under NAGPRA.

What, then, constitutes evidence that an ancient skeleton is Native American under the law? To understand the courts' rulings we must first acknowledge that NAGPRA entails two lines of inquiry: first, are remains Native American? If they are not, then NAGPRA does not apply. But if they are, then the second line of inquiry comes into play: with which federally recognized tribe are the remains *culturally affiliated?* NAGPRA defines cultural affiliation as "a relationship of shared group identity which can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present-day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group."

In the courts' opinions, the key word in the definition of Native American is the word "is." Pointing out that the statute

ARTICLE

is written in the present tense, the courts argued that Congress intended "Native American" to mean a relationship between ancient remains and an *existing* tribe, culture, or people (DC: 27; appeals court opinion, herein "AC," 1596). At the same time, however, both courts affirmed that NAGPRA "also protects graves of persons not shown to be of current tribes in that it protects disjunctively remains 'of, or relating to' an existing tribe, people, or culture. Thus NAGPRA extends to all remains that relate to a tribe, people, or culture that is indigenous to the United States" (AC: 1597; DC: 30).

In the abstract, the courts understand NAGPRA, but their implementation of it in the Kennewick case raises some troubling questions.

Collapsing the Two Lines of Inquiry

Both courts acknowledge that NAGPRA's two lines of inquiry are separate, that the first concerns whether remains are Native American and the second a burial's relationship to a specific tribe. The district court pointed out that "the requirements for establishing 'Native American' status under NAGPRA are not onerous," and only require showing a "general relationship to a present-day tribe, people, or culture" (DC: 30). Cultural affiliation, the district court acknowledged, entails a more rigorous definition, with higher standards of proof.

Despite the courts' recognition of the separate lines of inquiry, the DOI Secretary argued that the district court conflated the two, placing a burden on the definition of "Native American" that Congress did not intend. The appeals court disagreed (AC: 1599), but I think the Secretary is right. The appeals court reiterated the district court's argument that "Because the record shows no relationship of Kennewick to the Tribal Claimants, the district court was correct in holding that NAGPRA has no application" (AC: 1599). This clearly confuses the definitions of Native American and cultural affiliation. Kennewick does not have to be "related" to the Tribal Claimants in order to be Native American under NAGPRA; it must be related to the Tribal Claimants in order to be culturally affiliated with them. While the courts can use the lack of continuity between an ancient skeleton and modern tribes as evidence that a skeleton is not Native American, such lack of continuity is not in and of itself proof that a skeleton is not Native American. Continuity speaks to the matter of cultural affiliation—since, as the courts noted, NAGPRA protects the remains of those individuals "not shown to be of current tribes." The courts confused the criteria to establish cultural affiliation with those used to define remains as Native American.

The district court (DC: 27) justified its emphasis on the present tense in the definition of "Native American" by noting that

the definition of "sacred object" in NAGPRA also uses the present tense: "ceremonial objects which are needed by traditional Native American religious leaders for the practice of traditional Native American religions by their present-day adherents." But Congress used the present tense here to solve a problem peculiar to sacred objects. Congress was concerned that "any object could be imbued with sacredness in the eyes of a Native American, from an ancient pottery shard to an arrowhead." Congress "did not intend this result." To solve the term's ambiguity, Congress decided that "sacred objects" would be "those that were devoted to a traditional religious ceremony or ritual and which has religious significance or function in the continued observance or renewal of such ceremony" (U.S. Senate Report 101-473: 7). Such a definition resolves the ambiguity by requiring that tribes show that an object has a role in ongoing religious activities. Use of the present tense here does not show the law's pervasive link between ancient people and living Native Americans.

The appeals court also justified its decision by noting that NAGPRA "was enacted with modern-day American Indians' identifiable ancestors in mind" (AC: 1602-1603). Yes, but the matter of identifying ancestors is a matter of identifying which Native American human remains are culturally affiliated with a particular tribe. Congress anticipated that many burials would not be culturally affiliated with specific tribes and yet would still be Native American (in fact, only about 25% of some 117,000 sets of inventoried remains have been culturally affiliated). If Congress intended that only remains that are culturally affiliated with a tribe would be classified as Native American, then there would be no "culturally unaffiliated" remains under NAGPRA—because, under the Court's reading of the law, that category would not exist. Note that the term "present-day" appears in the definition of cultural affiliation but not that of Native American.

The appeals court also cited as evidence the difference between the definitions of "Native American" and "Native Hawaiian." NAGPRA's definition of "Native American" is "of, or relating to, a tribe, people, or culture that is indigenous to the United States"; "Native Hawaiian" means "any individual who is a descendant of the aboriginal people who, prior to 1778, occupied and exercised sovereignty in the area that now constitutes the State of Hawaii" (AC: 1601, original emphasis). The court argued that the former calls attention to a political entity while the latter highlights geography. They argue that this supports "that Congress' use of the present tense ('that is indigenous') referred to tribes, peoples, and cultures that exist in modern times, not to those that may have existed thousands of years ago. By contrast, when Congress chose to harken back to earlier times, it described a geographic location ... rather than a political entity" (AC: 1601).

This argument suggests that "Native Hawaiian" and "Native American" refer to the same kind of social entity, but they do not. "Native American" includes many different cultural groups (Navajo, Cherokee, Tlingit, Seneca, etc.), but "Native Hawaiian" does not. "Native Hawaiian" is a complex term, but it is more equivalent to "Indian tribe" than to "Native American" because it pertains to determining claimants. And tribes often define membership based on descent from someone who was on the tribal roll in a particular year, as in the definition of "Native Hawaiian"; and for Hawaii, geography obviously lends itself to defining membership. "Native Hawaiian" has nothing to do with a desire to "harken back to earlier times," but with legally defining who gets land, lease payments, or entrance to Kamehameha School, just as definitions of tribal membership define who gets tribal resources or privileges. NAGPRA's regulations clearly include "Native Hawaiian" under "Native American" (Federal Register 60 [232]: 62137). NAGPRA preserves this equivalency when the definition of cultural affiliation, not Native American, refers to "a presentday Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization" (emphasis added). Again, the courts confused the two lines of inquiry.

Apparently, the courts consider a relationship to a present-day tribe as necessary to defining remains as Native American under NAGPRA. Kennewick fails this standard and hence is not Native American. But this clearly ignores the "of, or relating to" clause as well as relationships to a "people or culture that is indigenous to the United States."

Evidence of Native American Status

So, if we consider the definition more carefully, is "Kennewick Man" Native American? The appeals court noted that "NAG-PRA does not specify precisely what *kind* of a relationship or precisely *how strong* a relationship ancient human remains must bear to modern Indian groups to qualify as Native Americans" (AC: 1602). The district court (DC: 30) says that the definition can be met simply by showing a "relationship" to "American Indian culture."

Kennewick had no artifacts associated with it (save for the point in his hip), and since it had eroded from a riverbank, the nature of any mortuary rituals is gone. Thus, the district court declared that the culture of Kennewick Man "is unknown and apparently unknowable" (DC: 31). So, the court turned to Kennewick's skeletal biology. The cranial attributes that set Kennewick aside are things like a steep nasal bone, projecting cheekbones, and a long and narrow, rather than round, skull. Put these traits together, and you indeed have someone who looks different from many later Native Americans. The district court was clearly swayed by this evidence. The appeals court stated that biological relationships to show affinity must go

"beyond features common to all humanity" (p. 1599). But the courts were silent on how many similarities between ancient skulls and later ones are needed to establish a relationship between the two.

An important difference between scientific and legal analysis is that scientists look at *populations* (such as the population sampled by Kennewick and the "modern" Native American population) while legal analysis focuses on an individual: the Kennewick skeleton, in this case. Given the probabilistic nature of things, it is difficult to draw scientifically valid conclusions between Kennewick as an individual (rather than a sample of a population) and a later "Native American" population (it's like trying to prove that a particular person's cancer resulted from living downwind of Nevada's nuclear testing grounds rather than by diet, smoking, or another factor).

But legal analysis in NAGPRA must be informed by valid scientific analysis, and that means considering the relationships between skeletons as samples of populations. And, in fact, evidence suggests that Kennewick's population did contribute to the later Holocene Native American population. For example, although NAGPRA does not apply in Mexico, 30 burials recently found in Baja California are instructive because while the skulls fall into the Kennewick "paleoamerican" pattern, the burials date to the late Holocene and were found in an archaeological context that links them to the Pericú, native peoples of the peninsula (González-José et al. 2003). The researchers argue that this population retained the "paleoamerican" cranial morphology because they were physically and genetically isolated on the peninsula's tip. Thus, Kennewick's population did not go extinct, and it did contribute to the native peoples of the Americas. In addition, as SAA pointed out in its amicus brief to the district court, the 4300-year-old "Sydney" burial in Nebraska contains "paleoindian" as well as "Native American" characteristics (Lovvorn et al. 1999). In fact, researchers described this burial as "intermediate" between paleoindian and contact-period skeletal forms. Is the Sydney individual Native American? Does NAGPRA apply to it?

Likewise, not all ancient crania look like that of Kennewick. The cranial morphology of the 10,600 B.P Buhl burial in Idaho falls within the range of later Native Americans (Green et al. 1998; Neves and Blum 2000; recent analysis of Buhl's metric data suggest it shares at least one cranial attribute, "upper facial forwardness," with Kennewick [Jantz and Owsley 2003]). And the 9,200-year-old Wizard's Beach cranium, while not completely similar to later Native Americans, does not quite fit the Kennewick pattern either (Powell and Neves 1999). The use of cranial variation to determine ancestor-descendant relationships is not settled scientifically (e.g., Jantz and Owsley 2003; Powell and Neves 1999; Van Vark et al. 2003), but if we

ARTICLE

accept the plaintiffs' argument that cranial variation is a measure of such relationships, then the pattern emerging points to an overlap in time between Kennewick's population and a more classically "Native American" one and the (likely) possibility of gene flow between them. Explanations such as this need to be tested before arguing that Kennewick's cranium indicates he was *scientifically* and hence legally not Native American.

Given that the criteria to establish a body as Native American under the law are not supposed to be onerous, that Kennewick's population shares some skeletal similarities with later Native American populations, that a general relationship to a *people* who are *indigenous* to the U.S. fulfills the definition of "Native American," and that Kennewick's population was related to a population that is indigenous to the U.S., I conclude that Kennewick is Native American under NAGPRA.

Discussion

The courts privilege one category of relationship that defines remains as Native American under the law, that of a skeleton's relationship to a present-day tribe, and they downplay the significance of that skeleton's relationship to a people or culture that is indigenous to the United States. In doing so, they conflate NAGPRA's definitions of "Native American" and "cultural affiliation" and raise the bar for establishing Native American status under NAGPRA. This is not what Congress intended. A relationship to a present-day tribe is no more significant in defining remains as Native American than is a relationship to a "people" or "culture."

The Kennewick decision raises an important question: upon whom does the burden of proof fall? The appeals court argued that "the age of Kennewick Man's remains, given the limited studies to date, makes it almost impossible to establish any relationship between the remains and presently existing American Indians" (AC: 1603, original emphasis; see also DC: 31). My fear is that the courts have moved toward the position that human remains are not Native American unless proven otherwise. The appeals court's ruling underscores this by claiming that remains must have "a significant relationship to a presently existing 'tribe, people, or culture'" to be Native American (AC: 1599). But "significant" is not part of NAGPRA's definition of Native American; by using it (instead of the District Court's wording of a "general" relationship), the appeals court raised the bar for the definition of "Native American."

By focusing on the term "is," the courts read more into NAG-PRA's definition of "Native American" than Congress intended. SAA pointed out to the district court that the present tense is commonly used when speaking of the past. Indeed, both

courts pointed out that NAGPRA "also protects graves of persons not shown to be of current tribes" (AC: 1597), yet their application of the law suggests otherwise. The district court argued that

The physical features of Kennewick Man appear to be dissimilar to all modern American Indians, including the Tribal Claimants.... That does not preclude the possibility of a relationship between the two. However, absent a satisfactory explanation for those differences, it does make such a relationship less likely, and suggests that the Kennewick Man might have been part of a group that did not survive or whose remaining members were integrated into another group (DC: 42).

But the latter possibility, "integrated into another group," meets the "or relating to" element of NAGPRA's definition of "Native American."

The district court's focus on the present tense causes confusion and contradictions. Perhaps, then, the more significant term in the definition of "Native American" should be the word "indigenous," as SAA argued in its amicus brief to the district court. NAGPRA does not define "indigenous," hence, we accept its plain meaning, which the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) gives as "1. born or produced naturally in a land or region; native or belonging naturally to (the soil, region, etc.). (Used primarily of aboriginal inhabitants or natural products) and, 2. Of, pertaining to, or intended for the natives; 'native,' vernacular." The term "indigenous" uses the term "aboriginal," one OED definition of which is "dwelling in any country before the arrival of later (European) colonists." These definitions are encompassed within NAGPRA's definition of "Native American." In fact, drafters of the regulations "point out that 'Native American' is used in the Act and in these rules only to refer to particular human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony and not to any living individual or group of individuals." (Federal Register 60 [232]: 62137). It appears, then, that Congressional intent was that indigenous does not rely on demonstrating a contemporary presence.

Conclusion

In writing NAGPRA, Congress knew that it needed a definition that would separate Native Americans from European, Asian, and African immigrants. Could the present definition create confusion or errors if applied to pre-AD 1492 remains, to those of early Vikings or Chinese travelers (that have, to date, never been found), or to ancient skeletons found on tribal land today that may be the remains of immigrants unrelated to Native Americans (as DC: 29 noted)? Drafters of NAGPRA

ask us to use a little common sense here. For example, after one commenter on NAGPRA's proposed regulations recommended that regulations dealing with section 3 (finds on federal or tribal lands after NAGPRA's passage) "apply only to Native American human remains and not to non-Native American human remains such as mountain men or early settler burials," the government declined to change the language because the regulations "apply only to Native American human remains" (Federal Register 60 [232]:62141). NAGPRA does not cover mountain men; nor does it cover pre-A.D. 1492 Vikings, other Europeans, or Asians who might have crossed the oceans in the past 1,000 years. As SAA pointed out in its brief, even cursory analysis of such burials would quickly show a Viking or mountain man burial for what it is and deactivate the NAGPRA process.

Having said all this, I should point out that I do not think the Kennewick remains should be repatriated to the claimant tribes. Indeed, I believe that the district court correctly determined that Kennewick cannot be culturally affiliated with the tribal claimants under NAGPRA's definition of cultural affiliation. But that is the second line of inquiry, not the first.

As someone interested in the early colonization of the Americas, I want to see Kennewick, and all early human remains, studied thoroughly and remain available for future study. But I also recognize that human burials are a sensitive matter to Native Americans. More than a decade ago, we devised a law that balanced the quest for knowledge with human respect. My sole concern is that everyone, scientists and Indians alike, now abide by that law.

Note

To the best of my knowledge, the definition of "Native American that appears in NAGPRA first appeared in H.R. 5237; the companion Senate bill, S. 1980, used a simpler definition: "The term 'Native American' means an Indian, Alaska Native, or Native Hawaiian." Although there was considerable discussion of the definitions of other terms, especially "sacred object" and "cultural affiliation," I have not found any discussion of the definition of Native American in the hearings on the bills. However, as I wrote this final draft, Senator Campbell intro-

duced an amendment to NAGPRA to add the words "or was" after the troublesome "is" in the law's definition. As I point out here, Kennewick is Native American under the current definition, although the senator's amendment would allow us to reach the same conclusion with far less consternation.

Acknowledgments. Ken Ames, Susan Bruning, Don Craib, George Gill, Keith Kintigh, Robert McLaughlin, Sarah Neusius, Jennifer Richman, Vin Steponaitis, and Todd Surovell kindly read versions of this paper. Not all of them agree with my position, but I am grateful for their input and am solely responsible for any errors.

References Cited

- González-José, Rolando, Antonio González-Martín, Miguel Hernández, Héctor M. Pucciarelli, Marina Sardi, Alfonso Rosales, and Silvina Van der Molen
- 2003 Craniometric Evidence for Palaeoamerican Survival in Baja California. Nature 425:62–65.
- Green, T. J., Cochran, B., Fenton, T. W., Woods, J. C., Titmus, G. L., Tieszen, L., Davis, M. A., and S. J. Miller
- 1998 The Buhl Burial: A Paleoindian Woman from Southern Idaho. American Antiquity 63:437–457.
- Jantz, R.L., and D.W. Owsley
- 2001 Variation Among Early North American Crania. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 114:146–155.
- 2003 Reply to Van Vark et al.: Is European Upper Paleolithic Cranial Morphology a Useful Analog for Early Americans? American Journal of Physical Anthropology 121:185–188.
- Lovvorn, Marjorie B., George W. Gill, Gayle F. Carlson, John R. Bozell, and Terry L. Steinacher
- 1999 Microevolution and the Skeletal Traits of a Middle Archaic Burial: Metric and Multivariate Comparison to Paleoindians and Modern Amerindians. *American Antiquity* 64:527–545.
- Neves, W. A., and M. Blum
- 2000 The Buhl Burial: A Comment on Green et al. American Antiquity 65:191–193.
- Powell, J., and W. A. Neves
- 1999 Craniofacial Morphology of the First Americans: Pattern and Process in the Peopling of the New World. *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology* 42:153–188.
- Van Vark, D. Kuizenga, F.L. Williams
- 2003 Kennewick and Luzia: Lessons from the European Upper Paleolithic. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 121:181–184.

WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

Charles R. McGimsey III

here am I now? I am very fortunate to be in the exact same place I have been for almost 50 years and privileged to continue my association with the same great colleagues at the University of Arkansas.

I retired as Director of the Arkansas Archeological Survey in 1990, and immediately embarked on a three-month, around-theworld freighter cruise. The Survey has continued to allot me an office, which I inhabit at least part-time. In addition, my wife, Mary, and I contribute some 8-10 hours a week identifying slides for computerization. Much of my writing—the great bulk of my current archaeological activity—I do at home. Really the only major change in my professional life is that I am now free of the administrative responsibilities with which I was so involved for 33 years: University of Arkansas Museum 1957-1983, Arkansas Archeological Survey 1967-1990,

the anthropology program 1959–1969, and first chair of the independent department 1967–1971. It is wonderful to be able to concentrate on writing without having to drop everything because of some administrative crisis.

My archaeological activity since retirement has been two-fold: writing and, most recently, analyzing some Panamanian material that was put aside for years because of administrative demands and additional responsibilities, such as the develop-

NOTE FROM ASSOCIATE EDITOR HESTER DAVIS: It was easy for me to find a retired person this time, because he is usually just down the corridor. Bob McGimsey, although perhaps slowed physically a trifle by the conditions mentioned at the end of his piece, has not slowed mentally, which is a great example for us all. Seeing him make smoothly what is sometimes a difficult adjustment, I would recommend that everyone hop a freighter a few days after their last day of work and disappear for three months.



Mary and Bob McGimsey identifying people and places in color slides. Registrar's Office, Arkansas Archeological Survey, July 2004.

ment of the Arkansas Society Certification Program, the Airlie House seminars, SOPA/RPA, and, of course, the Moss-Bennett legislation. Despite the newfound freedom, the number of my

publications has decreased from an average of 9–10 per year to an average of 4–5 each year. Most of these have been contemplative or historical in nature, with a number concerned either with the transformation of SOPA into the RPA or with the responsibility of each archaeologist to become registered. I am just now completing a volume that compiles some 42 of my papers on cultural resource management written over a 35-year period, accompanied by a 60-page commentary (typescript at this point) on these papers that places them in historical context. This will be published by the Survey.

My other major activity has been travel. I traveled extensively before retirement,

sometimes being away from Fayetteville for as much as a third of the year. This has been reduced to about half of the year, but with two very pleasant changes: except for my around-the-world junket, I now am always accompanied by Mary, and we have visited a broader range of places—Australia, New Zealand, the Mediterranean, Russia, France, Britain, Central America, Hawaii, and the east coast (by boat) and west coast (by train) of North America. We also have traveled within the states quite extensively in our RV.

So long as health permits—I was diagnosed with Parkinson's disease in 1992 and have since had a melanoma removed, a hip replaced, and a detached retina repaired, but I am still normally active—I plan to continue as before, with perhaps a change of emphasis in my writing towards more personal material, including the last half of an autobiography and further genealogical research, both intended primarily for family consumption. There always seems to be more to do than there is time to do it.

SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN ARCHAELOGY

STATEMENTS OF ACTIVITIES

Year Ended December 31,

		20	2003			2002	12	
		Temporarily	Permanently			Temporarily	Permanently	
	Unrestricted	Restricted	Restricted	Total	Unrestricted	Restricted	Restricted	Total
REVENUE								
Membership Dues	\$ 574,053	•		\$ 574,053	\$ 590,466	40	•	\$ 590,466
Annual Meeting	358,932			358,932	432,471	•	•	432,471
Publications	255,308	•	•	255,308	266,991		٠,	266,991
Public Programs and Services	208,761	•		208,761	128,453	,•	•	128,453
Organization and Administration	174,312	4,390	31,813	210,515	36,053	12,720	25,205	73,978
Member Programs and Services	11,856	•		11,856	15,874	•	•	15,874
Awards	12,266		•	12,266	3,000	•	•	3,000
Net Assets Released from Restriction -								
Public Programs and Services	4,266	(4,266)	•		3,862	(3,862)	•	•
Total Revenue	1,599,754	124	31,813	1,631,691	1,477,170	8,858	25,205	1,511,233
EXPENSES								
Program Services								
Membership	123,730	•		123,730	114,320	,	•	114,320
Annual Meeting	278,527	•	•	278,527	266,901	,		266,901
Publications	275,085	•	•	275,085	277,765	•	•	277,765
Public Programs and Services	318,681	•	•	318,681	258,831	•	•	258,831
Member Programs and Services	172,791			172,791	18,881	•	•	18,881
Awards	12,292		,	12,292	11,332			11,332
	1,181,106	•	•	1,181,106	948,030	•	,	948,030
Supporting Services								
Management and General	245,057	•	•	245,057	426,355	•	•	426,355
Membership Development	26,325	,	•	26,325	22,351		,	22,351
	271,382		•	271,382	448,706			448,706
Total Expenses	1,452,488	1		1,452,488	1,396,736		,	1,396,736
CHANGE IN NET ASSETS	147,266	124	31,813	179,203	80,434	8,858	25,205	114,497
NET ASSETS, Beginning of Year	1,184,382	49,757	237,378	1,471,517	1,103,948	40,899	212,173	1,357,020
NET ASSETS, End of Year	\$ 1,331,648	\$ 49,881	\$ 269,191	\$ 1,650,720	\$ 1,184,382	\$ 49,757	\$ 237,378	\$ 1,471,517

The Accompanying Notes Are An Integral Part Of These Financial Statements

WATKINS, MEGGAN, DRURY & COMPANY, L.L.C., CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

BALANCE SHEETS

<u>ASSETS</u>

	Decen	nber 31,
	2003	2002
CURRENT ASSETS		
Cash and Cash Equivalents	\$ 1,418,097	\$ 1,457,245
Certificates of Deposit	-	118,411
Accounts Receivable, Net	57,162	37,131
Accrued Interest Receivable	455	7,518
Prepaid Expenses, Current Portion	73,598	18,185
Total Current Assets	1,549,312	1,638,490
		,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
	ė.	
PREPAID EXPENSES, Less Current Portion	7,901	26,140
INVESTMENTS	1,045,562	641,285
PROPERTY AND EQUIPMENT		
Equipment	130,561	130,561
Furniture and Fixtures	62,572	62,572
Computer Software	149,296	113,807
	`342,429	306,940
Less Accumulated Depreciation	247,657	219,976
	94,772	86,964
DEPOSITS	5,165	5,165
	\$ 2,702,712	\$ 2,398,044
		· ·

<u>LIABILITIES AND NET A</u>	SSETS -	•
	Decem	
	2003	2002
OURDENIT A LABOURITIES	•	
CURRENT LIABILITIES Accounts Payable and Accrued Expenses	\$ 43,113	\$ 25,061
Deferred Revenue	9 45,115	20,001
Membership Dues, Current Portion	419,964	368,200
Subscriptions	168,369	125,534
Cooperative Agreements	134,618	180,746
Meetings and Other	257,900	197,481
	980,851	871,961
Total Current Liabilities	1,023,964	897,022
DEFERRED MEMBERSHIP DUES,	*	
Net of Current Portion	28,028	29,505
Total Liabilities	1,051,992	926,527
NET ASSETS		
Unrestricted	1,010,759	838,630
Undesignated Board-Designated	320,889	345,752
board-Designated	1,331,648	1,184,382
Temporarily Restricted	49,881	49,757
Permanently Restricted	269,191	237,378
Total Net Assets	1,650,720	1,471,517
Intal Net Moore	1,000,720	



NEWS & NOTES

ntroducing The Petra National Foundation. The Petra National Foundation (PNF) is devoted exclusively to the protection, preservation, and presentation to the public of the ancient city of Petra in southern Jordan. A 501(c)(3) non-profit corporation, PNF was established in 2003 and launched in April 2004 at the time of the opening of the "Petra: Lost City of Stone" exhibit at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. The PNF exists to support efforts to preserve the archaeological and cultural heritage and the natural environment of this World Heritage site and to promote greater understanding in the United States of the importance of this ancient city. The PNF welcomes taxdeductible contributions from individuals, corporations, foundations, scholarly and professional organizations, and others with an interest in Petra for projects and activities to: preserve the archaeological and cultural heritage and the natural environment of Petra; promote the study of Petra and the region in American secondary schools, colleges, and universities; encourage exchanges among American and Jordanian scholars, non-profit organizations, site management specialists, and others which contribute to the preservation and protection of Petra and the surrounding area; finance internships for American students to work with Jordanian authorities and others on projects of historic, archaeological, cultural, and environmental significance, and projects that improve site management and public access; and encourage enlightened management of the Petra Archaeological Park. For more information, including the PNF Grant Program, contact The Petra National Foundation, Suite 900, 1100 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20036-4144; fax: (202) 293-7907.

winn Vivian, Linda Cordell, and Jim Walker are Cummings and Stoner Award Recipients for 2003. Since 1977, the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society has annually presented two awards: the Byron S. Cummings Award and the Victor R. Stoner Award. The Cummings award is given in honor of the principal professional founder of the Society who was also the first head of the Department of Anthropology (then Archaeology) at the University of Arizona and Director of the Arizona State Museum. It is given for outstanding research and contributions to knowledge in Southwestern archaeology, anthropology, ethnology, or history, Linda S. Cordell and R. Gwinn Vivian are the 2003 winners of the Byron S. Cummings Award. Linda S. Cordell is recognized for her role as a major contributor to research on ancestral Puebloans, for her influential writings, and for teaching and guiding new generations of Southwestern archaeologists. R. Gwinn Vivian is recognized for his contributions in the areas of Southwestern archaeology, museology, historic preservation, and cultural resource management. Of special importance are his contributions to the understanding of the prehistory of Chaco Canyon and the surrounding region. The Victor R. Stoner Award celebrates the promotion of historic awareness and preservation, and is awarded to someone who brings Southwestern anthropology, archaeology, ethnology, or history to the public over an extended period of time. James B. Walker is the 2003 winner of the Victor R. Stoner Award. He is recognized for his exemplary work in the preservation of significant archaeological properties throughout the Southwest. For the past 23 years, Jim has served as the Southwest Regional Director for The

Archaeological Conservancy. The awards were presented on August 15th at the Pecos Conference in Bluff, Utah.

niversity of South Florida Field School. The University of South Florida is now accepting applications from undergraduate and graduate students for the 2005 field season of the Palmarejo Community Archaeological Project and Field School. For more information, please contact Christian Wells (email: cwells@cas.usf.edu, tel: [813] 974.2337) or visit http://uweb.cas.usf.edu/~cwells/field school/Palmarejo Field School.htm.

ulian D. Hayden Student Paper Competition. The Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society is pleased to announce the 7th annual Julian D. Hayden Student Paper Competition. Named in honor of long-time AAHS luminary, Julian Dodge Hayden, the winning entry will receive a cash prize of \$500 and publication of the paper in Kiva, The Journal of Southwestern Anthropology and History. The competition is open only to bona fide undergraduate and graduate students at any recognized college or university. Coauthored papers will be accepted only if all authors are students. Subject matter may include the anthropology, archaeology, history, linguistics, and ethnology of the American Southwest and northern Mexico, or any other topic appropriate for publication in Kiva. Papers should be no more than 30 double-spaced, typewritten pages (approximately 8,000 words), including figures, tables, and references, and should conform to Kiva format. If the paper involves living human subjects, author should verify, in the paper or cover letter, that necessary per-

NEWS & NOTES, continued on page 43



POSITIONS OPEN

POSITION: ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, ARCHAEOLOGY

LOCATION: BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Archaeology position starting September 2005. Assistant Professor, Archaeology of Europe specialist. Ph.D. in hand, teaching experience, publications in standard or refereed journals, field research, demonstrated ability to obtain research funding. Must have experience in directing an archaeological excavation. Send letter of application and curriculum vita to: S. Milisauskas, Archaeology Search Committee, Department of Anthropology, SUNY at Buffalo, 380 MFAC, Buffalo NY 14261-0026. Deadline: December 1, 2004. SUNY at Buffalo is an equal opportunity, affirmative action employer, and provides reasonable accommodation to the known disabilities of applicants and employees. Women and minorities are encouraged to apply.

Position: Assistant Professor Location: Buffalo, New York

Buffalo State College will receive applications for a tenure-track assistant professor, Anthropology Department, to begin fall 2005. Salary is competitive. Responsibilities: teach archaeology courses, including lecture, field school, and laboratory. Conduct research. Collaborate with local archaeological community institutions such as museums. cultural resource management firms, state organizations, etc. Required Qualifications: Ph.D. in archaeology. Demonstrated ability to publish and compete successfully for grants, and experience mentoring and directing student projects and research. Long-term research interests in WNY region (prehistoric or historic). Preferred Qualifications: Field experience in WNY. Capacity to teach introduction to physical anthropology and archaeology. Ability to work effectively with persons of diverse back-

grounds. Review of applications will begin immediately and continue until the position is filled. Send letter of application, CV, and names of 3 references to: Dennis Gaffin, Search Committee Chair, Anthropology Department, Buffalo State College, HB 107, 1300 Elmwood Ave., Buffalo, NY 14222-1095, For more information about the college, visit http://www.buffalostate.edu. Buffalo State is the largest four-year comprehensive college in the State University of New York (SUNY) system. The campus is located in the museum district of Buffalo, the second-largest city in New York State. The area offers a variety of cultural and recreational activities. Buffalo State is an affirmative action/equal opportunity employer.

Position: Assistant/Associate Professor

LOCATION: WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

The College of William & Mary Department of Anthropology invites applications for a tenure-track position in historical archaeology to be filled at the level of assistant professor or associate professor starting in Fall 2005. The Department's new Ph.D. program in historical archaeology and historical anthropology strives to integrate social and cultural theory within historical studies in archaeology and anthropology. A major criterion for selection is a creative vision of historical work and graduate training at the disciplinary interfaces, capable of integrating different methods, evidence, and angles of vision. We seek a scholar (Ph.D. in hand) with a commitment to this integrative approach who can enhance the Department's strengths in comparative colonialism, the African Diaspora, and the historical anthropology of Native America. Area preferences are Eastern North America, the Caribbean, or Africa, although others will be considered. The applicant should have an active field research program, a strong publication record, and experience teaching at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Materials should include a detailed letter describing current and planned research activities, teaching qualifications and interests, a full curriculum vita, and the names and addresses (including telephone and email) of at least three academic references. Please mail materials to: Mary Voigt, Search Committee Chair, Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, P.O. Box 8795, Williamsburg, VA 23187-8795. Review begins January 2, 2005, and will continue until an appointment is made. The College is an EEO/AA employer.

Position: CAI Visiting Scholar Location: Carbondale, Illinois

Southern Illinois University Carbondale, Center for Archaeological Investigations, seeks its 2005-2006 Visiting Scholar (VS). The VS may organize and conduct an archaeological conference at SIUC, resulting in an edited volume of selected papers. VS assembles and edits conference volume while in residence. The successful candidate may also be expected to pursue her/his research and teach one seminar in her/his specialty. 11-month term appointment as a Visiting Scholar. Qualifications: Ph.D. in anthropology or related discipline with specialization in archaeology. Degree must be completed by August 16, 2005. VS selected on the basis of 5-page proposal outlining nature and structure of the conference and on the strength of vita and references. Pre-application inquiries recommended. Closing date: February 1, 2005. Send letter, vita, list of references, and proposal to: Heather Lapham, CAI, SIUC, Carbondale, Illinois 62901-4527; tel: (618) 453-5031; email: hlapham@siu.edu. SIUC is an

affirmative action/equal opportunity employer that strives to enhance its ability to develop a diverse faculty and staff and to increase its potential to serve a diverse student population. All applications are welcomed and encouraged and

Positions: Assistant Professors Location: Fort Collins, Colorado

will receive consideration.

The Department of Anthropology, Colorado State University announces two positions in Archaeology at the Assistant Professor level. Both are for a full-time tenure-track position. Position 1 is for a broadly trained archaeologist with expertise in methods. This person must have expertise in at least one of the following methodological areas: lithics, paleobotany, spatial analysis, including GIS, ethnoarchaeology, and/or geoarchaeology. Teaching will include an introductory course, an area class, a methods class and other related courses. Position 2 is for an individual with a history of fieldwork and publication on western North American archaeology. A strong quantitative background is preferred and the person must be willing to manage collections. Teaching will include an introductory course, an area class, a quantitative class, and other related courses. Appointments begin in the Fall semester 2005. Ph.D. must be completed by May 2005. Applications and nominations will be considered until the position is filled; however, applicants must submit applications by December 15, 2004 (postmark) for full consideration. Applicants are asked to send a letter that addresses how research, teaching interests, and experience fit requirements outlined above. Include vita and list of 3 references. State clearly what position is being applied for. Separate applications must be sent for each position. Mail to: Chair, Archaeology Position 1 Search Committee or Archaeology Position 2 Search Committee, Department of Anthropology, CSU, Fort Collins, CO 80523-1787.

NEWS & NOTES

NEWS & NOTES, from page 41 <

missions to publish have been obtained. Previous entries will not be considered, and all decisions of the judge are final. If no publishable papers are received, no award will be given. Judging criteria include, but are not limited to, quality of writing, degree of original research and use of original data, appropriateness of subject matter, and length. Deadline for receipt of submissions is January 15, 2005. Late entries will not be accepted. Send four copies of the paper and proof of student status to: Iulian D. Havden Student Paper Competition, AAHS, Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721-0026. For more information, contact Homer Thiel at homer@desert.com http://www.statemuseum.arizona.edu/a ahs/hayden_comp.shtml.

EDITOR'S CORNER

EDITORS CORNER, from page 1 🖘

are already committed to participate, including cartoonists who are not archaeologists but who illustrate archaeological themes and rely on our interpretations to flesh out their artwork. If you are interested in participating, please contact me (email: kantner@gsu.edu; tel: [404] 651-1761).

Remember that not all issues of *The SAA Archaeological Record* are dedicated to specific themes! If you have any ideas for contributions, do not hesitate to email or call!

COMING SOON FROM THE SAA PRESS!

CERAMICS IN AMERICAN
ARCHAEOLOGY:
READINGS FROM
AMERICAN ANTIQUITY 1936–2002

COMPILED BY HECTOR NEFF



CALENDAR

2005

FEBRUARY 12

Southeast Conference Mesoamerican Archaeology and Ethnohistory will be held at the University of South Florida in Tampa. The event will include 16 presentations Mesoamerican archaeologists, art historians, and ethnohistorians from the greater Southeastern U.S., who will report on active investigations of Precolumbian early and Colonial Mesoamerican societies. The keynote speaker will be Dr. David Grove from the University of Florida. For complete details, visit http://uweb.cas.usf.edu/ ~cwells/SECMAE.htm or contact Christian Wells, Department of Anthropology, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620: tel: (813) 974-2337: email: cwells@cas.usf.edu.

March 13–19

The Second International Congress of Maya Culture will take place in Mérida, Yucatán, México. The central theme of the conference is "The Land of the Maya: Cultural-Historical Dynamics in Mesoamerican Context." Sessions will explore six related topics: 1) revitalization and interaction among Maya and other Mesoamerican groups; 2) sociocultural dynamics, influences, and exchanges; 3) population movements and their effects on languages and ideology; 4) syncretism and processes of cultural-historic revitalization; 5) cosmovision and ideology; and 6) sociopolitical

development. For more information, please contact Arqlgo. Alfredo Barrera Rubio (email: Abarrerar@aol.com) or Dr. Ruth Gubler (email: rgubler@sureste.com), Centro INAH Yucatán, Km. 6.5 antigua carretera a Progreso, C.P. 97310, Mérida, Yucatán, México.

MARCH 18–19

The 2005 Visiting Scholar Conference at the Center for Archaeological Investigations at the Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, is titled "The Durable House: Architecture, Ancestors, and Origins." The conference will focus on the economic, ritual, and political organization of the social house, as defined by Claude Lévi-Strauss. Robin Beck (email:rabeck@ siu.edu; tel: [618] 453-5032).

MARCH 30-APRIL 3

70th Annual Meeting of The Society for American Archaeology will be held in Salt Lake City, Utah.

IUNE 8–13

The American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works Annual Meeting will take place in Minneapolis, MN. The topic for the General Session is "A Documentation Dilemma: Managing Conservation Data in the 21st Century." The Architectural Specialty Group (ASG) is organizing an interdisciplinary session that focuses on the documentation process for the conservation of monuments, heritage sites, objects, and other works of art. For more information, contact Dorothy Krotzer, ASG Program Chair, at Fairmount Park Historic Preservation Trust, 2020 Chaminoux Dr., Philadelphia, PA 19131; email: dorothykrotzer@fairmountparktrust.org; tel: (215) 877-8001; fax: (215) 877-8049.

JUNE 9–27

The 1st Rencontres Internationales du Films sur l'Art will be held at the Louvre Museum in Paris, France. The initiative dedicated to the visual arts (painting, sculpture, drawing), architecture, and archaeology will present films produced during the two preceding years, programming dedicated to a particular topic of art history, and videos by artists, in addition to related lectures and panels. For further information, contact Pascale Raynaud, Musée du Louvre, Direction de l'Auditorium, 57 rue St. Roch, 75058, Paris cedex 1, France; tel: (33.01) 40.20.58.59; fax: (33.01) 40.20.54.30; email: raynaud@louvre.fr.

NOVEMBER 18–20

The 6e Festival International du Film Archéologique held in Brussels, Belgium is a biennial festival focused on production made between 2000 and 20005 about all aspects of archaeology with an emphasis on good cinematography. The sixth festival will include a section dedicated to archival footage of excavations filmed before the 1950s. Entry deadline: May 15, 2004. For further information, contact Serge Lemaître, President or Benjamin Stewart, Secretary at Asbl Kineon, 55, rue du Croissant, B-1190 Brussels, Belgium; tel: +32(2) 672.82.91; fax: +32(2) 537.52.61; email: asblkineon@swing.be; web: http://users.swing.be/asblkineon.

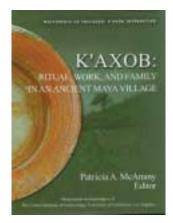


The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology

Research • Education • Publications



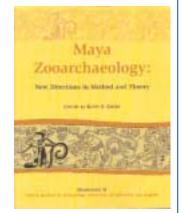
New from CIOA Publications



K'axob: Ritual, Work, and Family in an Ancient Maya Village / Edited by Patricia A. McAnany

A millennial-long record of Formative life reveals a conscious construction of identity and sheds light on the manner in which materiality was manipulated in response to larger political dictates. The accompanying interactive CD provides

complementary materials on a scale never before achieved and includes comprehensive data sets, over one thousand images (both photographs and line drawings), a tour of K'axob, and 3-D models of the excavation units. \$65 cloth with multimedia CD

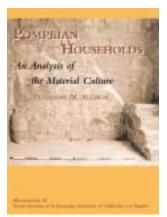


Maya Zooarchaeology: New Directions in Theory and Method / Edited by Kitty F. Emery

A comprehensive work with the newest developments in technical methods, the most recent trends in the analysis of "social zooarchaeology," and the broadening perspectives provided by a new geographic range of investigations. \$40 paper

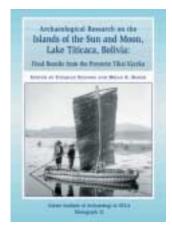
Archaeological Research on the Islands of the Sun and Moon, Lake Titicaca, Bolivia: Final Results from the Proyecto Tiksi Kjarka / Edited by Charles Stanish and Brian S. Bauer

Provides the final results of work on one of the most important locations in the circum-Titicaca Basin, with detailed survey and excavation data indispensable for Andeanists and other scholars interested in the development of complex political, economic, and ritual systems in prehistory. \$35 paper



Pompeian Households: An Analysis of the Material Culture / By Penelope M. Allison

A contextualized and materials-oriented approach to household activities at Pompeii that deepens our understanding of Roman domestic behavior. \$40 paper



See our full catalog: http://www.ioa.ucla.edu/publications.htm
Now distributed through Oxbow Books David Brown Book Co.

Mention this ad (code 121-04) when ordering and receive a 20% discount
For North American orders, please contact:

The David Brown Book Co., PO Box 511, Oakville CT 06779 800-791-9354, david.brown.bk.co@snet.net

Outside North America, please contact:
Oxbow Books, Park End Place
Oxford, OX1 1HN, UK
44 (0)1865 241249
oxbow@oxbowbooks.com
www.oxbowbooks.com

VOLUNTEERS: SAA NEEDS YOU NEXT MARCH!

Would you like the opportunity to meet people interested in archaeology, have fun, and save money? Then apply to be an SAA volunteer!

Volunteers are crucial to all on-site meeting services, and we are currently looking for people to assist the SAA staff at the 70th Annual Meeting in Salt Lake City, Utah on March 30-April 2, 2005.

In return for just 12 hours of your time, you will receive:

- complimentary meeting registration,
- a free copy of the Abstracts of the 70th Annual Meeting,
- a \$5 stipend per shift.

For details and a volunteer application, please go to SAAweb (www.saa.org) or contact Jennie Simpson at SAA (900 Second St. NE #12, Washington, DC, 20002-3557, phone [202] 789-8200, fax (202) 789-0284, e-mail jennie_simpson@saa.org). Applications are accepted on a first-come, first-serve basis through February 1, 2005, so contact us soon to take advantage of this great opportunity. See you in Salt Lake City!



Printed on recycled paper. The paper used in this publication meets the requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (Permanence of Paper). Washington DC 20002 USA SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY 900 Second Street NE #12

> St. Joseph, M Non-profit Org U.S. Postage PAID

Permit 38