

SPECIAL ISSUE: WORKING TOGETHER ON RACE AND RACIALISM IN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

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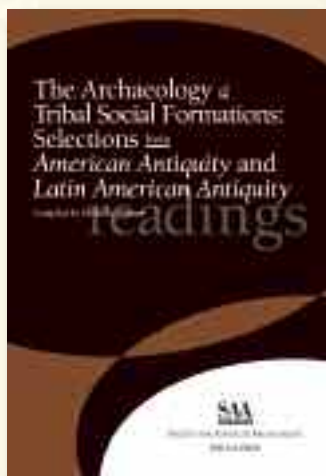
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the SAA Archaeological record

The Magazine of the Society for American Archaeology

VOLUME 10, No. 3

MAY 2010

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Edited by Kurt Dongoske and Larry Zimmerman

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Historic homestead with collapsed ramada, west-central New Mexico. Structure and ramada tree-ring dated to the 1910s.
Photograph: Andrew Duff.



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EDITOR'S CORNER

Andrew Duff

Andrew Duff is an Associate Professor of anthropology at Washington State University.

This issue of *The SAA Archaeological Record* brings my tenure as editor to a close. It has been a great pleasure to serve as editor and I am grateful for the opportunity. The incoming editor is Jane Baxter, and new manuscripts and other items should be submitted to her at the following:

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This issue features a group of papers on the issue of "Working Together on Race and Racism in American Archaeology," initially triggered by a contribution from Roger Echo-Hawk. This collection was developed, solicited, and edited by Kurt Dongoske and Larry Zimmerman, and the contributors provide a number of important perspectives on a topic that remains deeply entrenched in society—race. I, and the authors, hope this generates further discussion among the SAA membership and beyond, the start of which can be found in this group of papers.

The remainder of the issue features six articles and materials from the SAA Annual Meeting just held in St. Louis. This begins with a report from Ira Matt, recipient of an NSF scholarship awarded through the SAA, discussing how he has used this opportunity. Marcia Bezerra discusses the difficulty we sometime have in getting our points across to students, set in the context of heritage education Brazil. I can attest to the fact that this problem is borderless. Daniel Contreras and Neil Brodie report on an innovative application of Google Earth for detecting, monitoring, and quantifying looting, one that they hope can help increase public awareness of site destruction. Jonathan Thomas and Anna Waterman provide us with a brief tour through the history of "revolutions" in archaeology. Steve Nash discusses tree-ring dating efforts at Mesa Verde National Park, noting that this research resource is nearing full exploitation. Don Holly then uses the discovery of a time capsule on his campus as an illustration of what archaeology is often able to do—provide alternative narratives. The issue closes with a report from the Board, the annual awards material, and ceremonial resolutions, material derived from the 75th Anniversary meeting of the SAA, News & Notes and the Calendar.

In closing, I would like to thank all of who have contributed articles or items to *The SAA Archaeological Record* in the last three years. I would especially like to thank the active Associate Editors and John Neikirk (SAA Manager, Publications) for their time and work. As always, if you have written an article you would like to see in *The SAA Archaeological Record*, please send it in to Jane Baxter, the new editor (jbxater@depaul.edu).

WORKING TOGETHER ON RACE AND RACIALISM IN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Kurt Dongoske and Larry Zimmerman

Kurt Dongoske is Director and Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office, and the Principal Investigator for Zuni Cultural Resource Enterprise, Zuni, New Mexico. Larry Zimmerman is Professor of Anthropology and Museum Studies and Public Scholar of Native American Representation at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) and the Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art.

The idea for this thematic volume of *The SAA Archaeological Record* was set in motion when Roger Echo-Hawk submitted his article “Working Together on Race” for consideration to the Working Together column. At first reading, I (Kurt), as associate editor for the column, was not sure that Roger’s article was appropriate for the Working Together column, in part because it seemed to be directed at a very small subset of the SAA membership. Yet the message that Roger was sending in his essay struck me as very important and I continued to think that his points were necessary for the SAA membership to hear, contemplate, and respond to.

I telephoned Roger and we talked about his article. I tried to convince him to rewrite it so that it would appeal to a broader audience. Roger was adamant about his artistic privilege to present his message in his terms and wanted the article to appear as written. After reflecting on Roger’s position as an artist, followed by a long conversation with Larry Zimmerman about Roger’s article, the three of us agreed that it would be appropriate to publish Roger’s essay, but that the article needed to be contextualized rather than appear as a stand-alone piece. As a result, Larry Zimmerman and I presented the idea of an edited volume on race and racialism in American archaeology to Andrew Duff, the Editor of *The SAA Archaeological Record*. Andrew gave us his blessing. Larry and I proceeded to ask a number of colleagues to write accompanying articles on race and racialism in American archaeology or to write an article in reaction to Roger’s essay. The following collection of essays that comprise this thematic volume is the result.

The premise of this thematic volume is based on an ever-growing consensus in anthropology that the concept of race is best described as an expression of cultural ideology and not a biological reality. Within the past ten years, professional organizations such as the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, the American Anthropological Association, and the American Sociological Association have adopt-

ed formal position statements on race. All acknowledge the status of race as a cultural idea and not as a valid biological description of humankind. The Society for American Archaeology, however, has for the most part remained silent on the issue of race and racialism. In archaeology, the lack of useful professional discourse on race means that the strongest currents of social practice will necessarily shape the production of professional archaeology. With the establishment of new paradigms like “Indigenous archaeology,” “community-based” archaeology, and the systematic attention to “stakeholders,” it is increasingly apparent that SAA needs to encourage a useful and wide-ranging dialogue on race. In the absence of such a discourse, professional archaeology will necessarily defer to the status quo of mainstream social uses of race. The national media discussion about the human remains known as Kennewick Man, for example, focused almost exclusively on issues of race and the putative racial identity-assignment of those remains; American professional archaeology apparently had nothing to say other than stating that if Kennewick Man was pre-Columbian, then it must be Native American. Searching the extensive SAA positioning on Kennewick Man, one searches in vain for any input on race as culture versus race as biology.

The thematic volume begins with an article entitled “Deconstructing Roger Echo-Hawk (sort of),” in which Larry Zimmerman provides us with a background for understanding Roger Echo-Hawk’s essay, defines Closet Chickens, and provides us with useful additional definitions. Roger Echo-Hawk’s essay follows and challenges our notions about the usefulness of race as a meaningful construct for archaeology. Paul Mullins responds to Echo-Hawk by proposing that the key question in any scholarship of race is how differentiating rhetoric is used to leverage inequality between social groups. Carol McDavid offers us her professional use of racial constructs as a means of prompting people to examine their individual ideas about race. She also shares with us her own personal views of race and how they have evolved from expe-

periences as a child witnessing the civil rights movement. Eldon Yellowhorn provides us with his personal experience as a Native American starting out in archaeology in the early 1980s and now comparing those past experiences with his role as a professor of archaeology. Anne Kakaliouras presents a very thoughtful analysis of the concept of race from the perspective of physical anthropology and bioarchaeology. The

thematic volume concludes with an essay entitled “Merciless Greetings” by Roger Echo-Hawk, in which he reacts to the other essays and challenges the Society for American Archaeology to promote a meaningful discussion about race amongst its membership. Finally, Roger asks the question of whether the SAA should join other major anthropology organizations in producing a formal statement on race.

DECONSTRUCTING ROGER ECHO-HAWK (SORT OF)

Larry J. Zimmerman

Larry Zimmerman is Professor of Anthropology and Museum Studies and Public Scholar of Native American Representation at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) and the Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art.

For most readers, Roger Echo-Hawk's essay will need at least some illumination. The voices of both S&S and Kennewickman reflect Roger's “split personality.” Roger is a trained historian, a composer, a poet, and a member of the Pawnee nation, but he has not been an Indian for several years (Echo-Hawk and Zimmerman 2006: 662). (Yeah, I know. That last one probably surprises you, and it is related to the point of his essay!) He is no stranger to archaeology, observing and interacting with us since at least the 1980s. His first encounter with attitudes of archaeologists came when he worked closely with the Native American Rights Fund to repatriate remains of his ancestors from the Nebraska State Historical Society, the Smithsonian, and other places they were held. He also served as an archaeological monitor for construction of the Denver International Airport and handled repatriation for the Denver Art Museum and the Colorado Historical Society. Roger wrote a profoundly challenging essay about oral tradition published in *American Antiquity* (Echo-Hawk 2000), as well as a useful and thought-provoking guide on repatriation (2002). Like it or not, Roger knows enough about our discipline and how we think to make more than a few archaeologists uncomfortable!

Roger has been worrying about race-related issues for a long time. In late 2004, he and I began a discussion on race and

archaeology spinning off discussions by members of a Yahoo Group, the Closet Chickens (see below for an explanation), about the racialization of American archaeology. A news release had prompted intense discussion by the Chickens, recounting discovery in Mexico of remains supposedly more than 12,000 years old. The investigator and the reporter both described the remains in racial terms, the former contending that “[Native Americans] cannot claim to have been the first people there [in America]” and the reporter asserted that the findings were similar to those of the scientists who “won” the Kennewick court case (Rincon 2004). If you are curious, the spirited Closet Chickens discussion partly ended up in the article Roger and I wrote for *American Indian Quarterly's* special issue on decolonizing American archaeology (Echo-Hawk and Zimmerman 2006). You may also wish to read some of his other writing on race (Echo-Hawk 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d), several of them with archaeology-related content. His most recent pieces (Echo-Hawk 2009a, 2009b) are especially challenging!

What became apparent during the discussion was that Roger was able to play the anthropologist, on the outside-looking-in at a group of archaeologists, and with his focused questions, he forced us to compare our “reals” to our ideals and our good intentions to the sometimes questionable implications

of our actions. Making it doubly interesting was that the Closet Chickens is a group of archaeologists, most of whom would identify themselves as Native Americans, plus a few others who serve as elders, mentors, and concerned colleagues (of which Roger is one). The precise origins and lore of the Closet Chickens are known only to initiates, but the group organized just after a May 2001 conference, "On the Threshold: Native American-Archaeologist Relations in the Twenty-First Century," organized at Dartmouth College by Deborah Nichols and Joe Watkins. The Chickens invite membership by consensus, and members participate in a listserv discussion group, hold a gathering every spring at the SAA Annual Meeting, bestow somewhat secret names upon one another—based on some assumed characteristic, personality trait, attitude, or whim—and devote themselves to esoteric studies in archaeology. For clarity, I reveal Roger's and my own Chicken names in the list below.

As with most poets, Roger has figured out how to give his words prosody, once you go with the flow of the dialogue, but if you do not know some of his references or ponder their meaning, you can lose the rhythm. So read the list of terms below first:

- *Slim Shady*: Title of rapper Eminem's (Marshall Mathers) persona on his album *The Slim Shady LP*. Roger says that he is not really an Eminem fan, but that both "play in the foggy boundaries between racial groupings."
- *S&S*: Roger's Closet Chicken name that he always abbreviates like this is Sweet and Sour Chicken. He likes the similarity to the S&S of Slim Shady.
- *Jumpin' Jack Flash*: The 1968 Rolling Stones song where they attempted to return to their blues roots.
- *LB340*: a reference to the once-controversial Nebraska repatriation law that according to some became a template for NAGPRA.
- *Chicken Nuggets*: Larry Zimmerman's referent in the Closet Chicken Coop given because he's "all white meat." Comments about being homeless refers to my recent project on the archaeology of homelessness (see Albertson 2009 for a description).
- *CNAR*: the SAA's Committee on Native American Relations
- *S. 1980*: a reference to the Senate version of NAGPRA.
- *S. 2843*: an effort to alter the definition of "Native American" in NAGPRA, prompted by the Kennewick Man case.
- *HR 4027*: a bill to require under NAGPRA the demonstration of a significant relationship between remains and presently existing tribes (See the SAA's comments on these bills at <http://rla.unc.edu/saa/repatriation/>).

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WORKING TOGETHER ON RACE

Roger Echo-Hawk

Editors note: In the dialogue below, Roger Echo-Hawk suggests that academia needs a new discourse on race—one that acknowledges the objective anthropological rejection of the validity of race as a useful explanation of human biological diversity. Asserting that academia has yet to show signs of rethinking the doing of race in any meaningful way, Mr. Echo-Hawk subjectively takes off his shoes and throws them at the racial fundamentals that sustain traditional mainstream archaeological practice as well as the new paradigm of Indigenous archaeology. This raises a question for SAA membership: how should SAA respond to Mr. Echo-Hawk's outrageous behavior?

About the authors: Kennewickman is (or was). S&S was (or is).

So now that I have race, I'm really gonna have some serious fun!

Well, what did you end up with, Kennewickman? Cauca-white-guy-soid? Homo jomon? Some kind of 'nesian? We already know you're not Indian.

That's right. When I asked about what I'd end up with, the Court said that Congress didn't intend for me to be Native American!

Ha-ha-ha! No, really, Kennewickman—who are you if the Court and Congress won't let you be a racial Indian?

Well, over 90 percent of me voted for Obama!

No!

Yes! See, when I first stood up out of the earth, I started listening to Slim Shady. That helped to make me what I am. Because race is culture, isn't it? Not biology.

But he's a white guy! I mean—okay, using a more science-like lingo, Slim Shady is a Cauca-white-guy-soid! At least, that's what they'll say to you if you insist that race is just culture, if you really dare to insist on treating race as anything but an expression of biology.

Ha-ha-ha! They don't mean it, do they! All that hot air about race just being "culture." Race is such a gasgasgas! Because as a matter of cultural practice, they've gotta do race like it's something funny in the blood!

So when they all gathered around your table to give you race, Kennewickman, they put a spike right through your head?! One or two people lifted a finger to stop them, but most of us just wanted to vote on which race you'd end up getting.

Couldn't feel a thing. And now that I have race, I can see the fun in it. Now I know what they mean by "Indigenous" Archaeology! It's the kind of "Indigenous" where saying "indigenous" and "native" doesn't mean being born anywhere in specific. Ha-ha-ha! It means race!

Sure. But Indigenous Archaeology means more than that. See, you weren't there for very long back in the millennium

before this one. Back when archaeologists didn't talk much to Indians. In those days when I was a racial Indian, archaeologists acted like they'd talk to us only when we showed up with lawyers, senators, and new laws in hand. That's when I started my research on oral traditions and ancient American history. I thought they'd want to talk to me. Was I wrong about that! They stuck a spike right through my head!

But you didn't mind doing race then—you stuck that spike right through your own head! Maybe they couldn't help but see it as a matter of loyalty: being loyal to the precepts of racial Indianhood versus being loyal to the precepts of non-Indian scholarship. Maybe they thought it meant setting aside their quest for knowledge to talk to you, back when you were so loyal to racial Indianhood, standing there with your lawyers, senators, court orders, and LB 340s.

I see what you mean, Kennewickman. But I saw myself in a more complicated way. How could I not be an Indian? I didn't think I had a choice. I tried to be a loyal Indian and I tried to be a loyal scholar. I discovered that the archaeologists wouldn't listen to a loyal Indian, and the Indians wouldn't listen to a loyal scholar!

You should ask around a bit. They all still see you as an Indian—but you're not just an Indian—you're a traitor to race! The way they see it... if they were to take a peek inside your blood sometime, they'd still expect to see something running around like mad in there. Race!

Maybe they won't let me let go of race. People might always see me as an Indian as long as they see themselves as racially white, as "non-Indian," as racial Indians, as Indigenous versus non-Indigenous. But I feel encouraged when I hear academic adherents to race saying how they know race is just cultural belief, not biology. Many of them know the truth about race, that it obscures rather than clarifies our humanity.

And the next thing they plan to do is... racial Indigenous Archaeology for racial Indians! Their plan is to treat Whitefolk

Colonialistic Archaeologists like they need plenty of policing by Indianfolk Indigenous Archaeologists. You take a sharp stick and you clean up the white trash in your neighborhood, and everything will be good.

That's a little harsh, Kennewickman. Maybe some of them say that. Maybe some of them plan to do racial social justice by using Indian racism against white racism. But maybe some things do need policing. There's a lot of awful stuff littering our world—like race! After things get straightened up a bit, some of them will really want to relax about it and let themselves look for meaningful ways to get along, to coexist, and even to create dialogue and partnership and mutual respect. They'll be multicultural racials! I'd guess that they all want to enhance the quest for knowledge, not just police it.

Maybe someday you can do some real race-free scholarship on oral traditions and no one will try to police you! If you think they'll be open-minded like that, tell me this: Think of the online Closet Chicken Coop, S&S. If Chicken Nuggets ever decided to respectfully embrace his indigeneity, to take pride in his many cultural experiences with racial Indianhood, and to embrace the idea of being a cultural Indian, would he be accepted in the Coop as a practitioner of cultural Indianness, or would he just be dismissed as a wannabe Indigene?

I don't know, Kennewickman. Maybe Dr. Nuggets can never be a Native Ph.D.

Now that I have race, I understand. When racial Indigenists do race-based Indigenism, they're enjoying race by bonding as Indians. It feels good to them. Like that one time in the Coop. Remember, S&S, remember when all the Closet Chickens put their heads together to mull over their lists of Native anthropologist Ph.Ds....

I guess you're right, Kennewickman. They didn't put Chicken Nuggets on that list. I predicted how they'd never let him be a cultural Indian, and I turned out to be right about that. Race isn't just cultural for the Coop.

They treat it like something funny in the blood. Whatever they say about race being cultural, when you do race, pseudo-biology still does all the heavy lifting.

You're right. I can see how muscular racial Indians just wouldn't stand for people like Chicken Nuggets doing racial Indianhood as culture.

They'd kick sand in his face instead of nominating him for awards. In that world, in the midst of postcolonial Indigenous Archaeology, it's all about race as biology. And when they say "community-based," they mean "Indian" communities, not white-folk communities!

Hmm. I don't know, Kennewickman. Chicken Nuggets once published a paper about the Kensington Runestone and how he helped to create a dialogue about it—this is an object of great importance to the community of Alexandria, Min-

nesota. Proponents of "community-based" Indigenism could ask themselves if this qualifies as an example of Indigenous Archaeology. To say yes... maybe Indigenous Archaeology can forego race as an ideological basis. Maybe culturally elastic concepts of "community" can work as alternatives to the rigidities of race.

Ha-ha-ha! Under the rules of race, those whitefolk Minnesotans can never be Indigenous, and Chicken Nuggets can never be Indigenous; he'll always be homeless! And under the race-based ideological construction of Indigenous Archaeology, he'll always live invisibly, sleeping in an imported box under a racist bridge to nowhere. That's why I voted mostly for Obama. If anyone had ever asked before they gave me race, maybe I would've said, "Hello, I'm Kennewickman; I wanna be postracial."

That's not what they mean when they say "postracial." No. When they say "postracial," they really mean to say: "Let's not talk about race anymore." They don't ever mean: "Race is a lie that distorts humankind so let's not do it anymore."

Let me tell you, all the archaeologists feel that way. I know. Being postracial is way easier than challenging race, rejecting race, being anti-race. A lot of white academics know they don't really feel very white anymore, but they're all still used to doing race, what with their Paleo "Indians" and their Natives-this and Aborigines-that. I know. Ask SAA what their position is concerning my racial Native Americanness....

So I guess I'd be wasting their time, Kennewickman, if I were to suggest that SAA should do what the other anthros have done. Make a Statement on Race. Say it's a lie; tell the whole world how race is just culture doing something funny with the truth.

Didn't those other guys do something like that? I had recently appeared on the scene again....

That's right, Kennewickman. AAA.

But if you think back, when AAA did their Statement, they just hit the pause button on the laugh-track and said, Okay, it looks like race isn't real. And then they hurried on past that unpleasant news because they all wanted to keep on doing race.

AAA wanted everyone to see the problem as one of racial whiteness and white people and white colonialism. They urged us to be against white racism, not against race. I'm against white racism, too. But the way I see it, the best way to be against racism is to be against race. Race is the essential ingredient of racism.

But if AAA didn't see it that way, and if they have no problem with the doing of race-that-gives-rise-to-racism, why should SAA feel concerned?

Are you're saying that SAA won't care? Maybe not. But what if they do care about the scholarship on race? About how race twists things... things like the production of knowledge and the stories we tell about ourselves. About being

science-oriented archaeologists who respect what science says about race. After all, SAA is a major anthropological organization and it has so far been completely silent about the problem with race.

What do you suggest they should say?

I'm not sure, Kennewickman. But what if the SAA board got the president of SAA to request that CNAR initiate the process. To formulate a way to come up with a formal Statement on Race. A path.

That won't be enough; a path must go somewhere.

Well, this Statement might begin with racism, saying how it will always be a problem in a world that does race. And the best way to deal with racism is by confronting race itself. That's a good start. And... and as long as you're asking me for my opinion, I think race should be studied in the academy, not perpetuated by the academy.

Hmm... If they listen to you, will they try to take away my new ability to be racial? Doesn't sound like much fun!

Good point, Kennewickman. The academy should stay out of the business of suppressing the free choice of people to engage in faith-based belief systems. And people should choose for themselves whether to adhere to the belief systems of race. I don't like the idea of policing identity. For this reason, the academic community should refrain from proselytizing people into doing race, from forcing race upon people. So here's a balance worth striving for: to balance the truth we have in our minds about race against the truth that people do race with their hearts.

And Indigenous Archaeology? What about the Indigenist race-based mission to decolonize archaeology? What about that?

Well, Kennewickman, what if CNAR saw that doing Indigenous Archaeology could mean addressing the legacy of colonialism by confronting race itself. Race wasn't born in racial Native America. It didn't rise up first from racial Indian theorists. It came from colonialist Europe. Doing race is a colonialist thing to do. What if doing Indigenous Archaeology meant addressing race, all of us together, operating from the scholarly knowledge that race distorts the nature of human biological diversity.... What if Indigenous Archaeology meant changing archaeology, trying to see what humankind looks like through a non-racial lens.... Wouldn't that get us more clarity in the quest for knowledge? What if....

What if all those I'm-completely-loyal-to-race Indigenous Archaeologists just laughed at you and then built a racist bridge to nowhere, like AAA: a tepid token statement and then a whole lotta sad crazy fun stuff, keeping race alive by changing the subject to those funny white people and their white racism....

That's a cynical expectation, Kennewickman. Even a tepid token statement is better than nothing.

But the racial Indian Indigenists have their own agenda,

S&S. They'll ignore what you say and they'll hope everyone else will do likewise. They'll say, "C'mon SAA, let's keep on Working Together to decolonize the doing of unilateral whiterace archaeology by doing collaborative Indianrace archaeology." Is that such a bad thing?

Maybe SAA and the Indigenists will never want to get beyond the doing of race. And maybe they'll have good reasons for thinking that everyone ought to deal with race by being against racism, by doing some policing, even if it means getting caught up with lawyers and senators and court orders and S.1980s and S.2843s and HR.4027s. It's just that I don't see how we'll ever get past the harm of racism by doing the lie of race. This seems obvious to me.

So you believe SAA will listen thoughtfully to them... or to you? The racials have taught SAA the art of appearing to listen just enough to avoid the accusation of racism. SAA has yet to find a graceful way to build a consensus between the doing of scholarship and the doing of racial social justice.

You're right about that, Kennewickman. SAA prefers a balancing act when it comes to Indians. According to this logic, one does NAGPRA whole-heartedly on behalf of racial social justice and Indian religion and racial Indianhood, or one does NAGPRA half-heartedly on behalf of scholarship and science and the advancement of knowledge. SAA aims at a forever segregationist "balance," not at forever seeking integrative reconciliation. They seem to think reconciliation is impossible. They'll balance one expression of social power against another, and they'll hope this is enough. This means that racial Indians can't ever really do scholarship—they'll just be ignored. And those Indians who do scholarship can't ever really do racial Indianhood – they'll be race traitors. It's ugly, this kind of balancing!

And seeing things in the worst light, SAA and the racial Indigenists could very well go on with this balancing act by convincing each other to go on doing race. And as long as SAA is pro-race – with a little bit of CNAR, an annual racial Indian scholarship grant, and a big impressive racial bridge to nowhere – the SAA racial "non-Indigenes" won't have to ever worry about getting accused of being racist and anti-Indian. They'll be anti-racists-who-do-the-racism-that-creates-racism!

Race is full of practical jokes like that, Kennewickman. But even so, Indigenous Archaeology and NAGPRA don't have to be just about empowering the doing of ever more race in the world. I think Indigenous Archaeology has something to say even if it stays loyal to the production of racial ideology. And in the hands of some people, laws like NAGPRA can truly be about dialogue, mutual respect, social justice, partnership, and expanding knowledge about humankind.

You know more about that than me. My experience in that whole area is not so good.

Sorry, Kennewickman! In the end, if Indigenous Archaeology does anything in the world, it would be nice if it stood for something more than loyalty to the precepts of racial Indianhood—it should stand for a bridge that unites us all, and it should stand for the end of SAA's balancing act. I think it can begin to do that if it starts with the truth about race.

Oh, but the racialisists among them don't much like your version of the truth, S&S. They have their own truths to pursue.

Their truths will lock them into SAA's eternally ugly balancing act, and move everyone down the polarizing racial bridge to nowhere.

Maybe race will win in the end. Maybe it'll be a forever kind of thing.

Maybe. But maybe we can at least aim at really redefining race as culture, at discarding the biological basis of it, at encouraging Chicken Nuggets to take pride in his cultural Indianness! Can't we do that?

No. Because under the rules of race, we don't have a choice—

the racial colonialistic truth is an imposed truth, not optional. Colonialistic race is way too much sad crazy fun!

Are you okay with the thought of keeping your new racial identity forever?

Sure! It's a gasgasgas! A whole lotta buncha jumpin' jack flash!

Kennewickman... what are you doing with that spike?

Come here, S&S! I'll make you lafflafflaff at my new funfun-funnybones!

No!

Yes! Here it comes, S&S! Race is dead! Long live race!

No! ...ha!

Yes!

n... n... ha-ha! ...Yes! Race is... LONG LIVE RACE!

That's right! Now, come here, SAA!

Get 'em right in the forehead, Kennewickman! Ha-ha-ha!

I'll police that balancing act for you, SAA!

Yes! We'll police them all! Race is such a scream!

C'mon everyone, scream! scream! scream!

YELLOWHORN, from page 15

longer term I see a need to train cultural mediators to be expert witnesses to aid in litigation over land claims or challenges over cultural patrimony. Moreover, there are demographic changes taking place in our multicultural society that will alter loyalty to the historical narrative of the Indian and the White man. We are reaching a time when Aboriginal people are a growing population, while the majority is shrinking. Within the next few decades, minorities will be the majority. Fewer people will find their historical roots in the clash of cultures chronicled by historians of colonial America. When no dominant culture holds the power to structure the message, and as more voices contribute to public discourse, the need for Aboriginal people to rely on their own experts might become more crucial.

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ARCHAEOLOGIES OF INVISIBILITY AND NEO-RACISM

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Kennewickman and his interlocutor may well be correct that systems of difference masquerading within other metaphors are simply new forms of race. In a rush to deliver race's death rites and paint racism as somehow irrelevant to archaeology, underlying differentiating categories like ethnicity, immigration, indigeneity, or nationalism risk becoming "neo-racist" substitutes for vulgar racial collectives. Yet while Kennewickman's polemic sounds a familiar color line consciousness that acknowledges the constructed nature of race, his struggle to step outside it is a familiar one confronted by many racialized subjects. In this textual dialogue, for instance, there is a telling separation between the voices of Kennewickman and S&S, who confront each other as a divided self, aspiring to mend an individuality torn by race and separated across time. In many ways, this divided racial subject is utterly the product racial ideology aspires to create. Kennewickman's internal disheaval is much like the "double consciousness" that twentieth-century African American scholars have placed at the heart of African diasporan life. In the most famous formulation of that idea, W.E.B. Du Bois argued that African America viewed the world through what he described as the "veil" of race. That veil restricted African American privilege and shaped all sense of self and collective, yet it was utterly invisible to White Americans who took racial privilege for granted.

However, Kennewickman sounds a counterintuitive lament that in a racialized archaeology, those *without* racial subjectivity—such as the White professor christened "Chicken Nuggets"—will "always live invisibly." The metaphor of invisibility could almost have been torn wholesale from Ralph Ellison's argument that Black America had been rendered "invisible" and dehumanized by racism's capacity to strip African culture, ignore fundamental injustices, and deny African America individual identity. Situated at the heart of American life, Ellison argued, African America was ironically effaced by racial ideology. For most African diasporan scholars, though, race's ideological design is to make

racialized people "invisible" to a dominant gaze, and Kennewickman ironically yearns for just that invisibility.

The key question in any scholarship of race is how differentiating rhetoric is used to leverage inequality; archaeologically, the subsequent issue is how such rhetoric shapes the social practice of archaeology and in turn how material culture literally reproduces, negotiates, and resists such inequality. Kennewickman is skeptical of all sorts of collective distinction, and he is suspicious of the concrete reasons archaeologists make such divisions, but difference itself is not the issue; rather, the question is how difference was and is used to rationalize systematic inequalities like broken treaties, human rights inequities, and various racially exclusive citizen rights.

Scholars have often somewhat simplistically reduced race to color-based structural inequalities while disavowing biological difference, and the Kennewickman dialogue suggests that archaeologists have often merely taken aim on structural racist practices. Kennewickman's eagerness to confront race as an appropriately archaeological topic inevitably may be greeted by disdain that the social dimensions of race and racism are not useful archaeological metaphors and lack genuine material implications. Yet nothing could be more material than race and racism, and in a racialized society race is invested in all materiality. That easy philosophical statement, though, does not provide especially clear methodological guidance for how to interpret such a complex form of power in the most quotidian material culture. To further complicate matters, race took a vast range of contextually and historically specific forms. Nevertheless, this has never stopped archaeologists from interpreting equally dynamic dimensions of social identity such as ethnicity, class, or gender, so the question is how an archaeology of race might frame questions in ways that confront the link between race and materiality.

Kennewickman suggests that anthropologists have hollowly declared that race is not “real,” and in some hands race has been rendered as an ideological falsity to simply dispel with the objectivity of archaeological analysis. Yet confirming that various social groups did not conform to period xenophobia risks missing the genuine power of such ideology on its targets and the conflicted consciousness racism has long produced. For instance, in a 1910 travelogue on life in African America, English visitor William Archer concluded that many African Americans were in fact model consumers, an identity that implied some significant stake in citizenship as well. Yet he indicated that “What troubled me throughout my domiciliary visits was the sense that (with one or two exceptions) these homes were not homes at all. ... They were no more homelike than the shopwindow rooms of the up-to-date upholsterer. If they were lived in at all, it was from a sense of duty, a self-conscious effort after a life of ‘refinement.’ They were, in short, entirely imitative and mechanical tributes to the American ideal of the prosperous, cultivated home” (Archer 1910:162–163). Ironically, these genteel African Americans so completely reproduced dominant ideals that Archer found them oddly *inauthentic*. Confronted by Black genteel consumers who recognized the symbolic power of such materiality, Archer felt compelled to somehow make these households invisible once again. However, these “entirely imitative” African-American homes were a clear statement of citizenship by a genteel Black class denied such rights despite their genuine affluence. The trappings of idealized American parlors provided material confirmation of self-perceived genteel standing, both resisting Black invisibility and embracing ostensibly White-exclusive ideological notions of consumer citizenship.

Even seemingly inauthentic racist beliefs often have successfully masqueraded as reasonable metaphors defining all social experience. To conclude that race is ideological and simply false does not wrestle with how such ideologies conflict their targets just as their repetition distorts others’ view of those targeted racial collectives. In such a vision of race, distinctions between authentic experience and contrived

racial representation are exceptionally problematic. Ideologies of Blackness, for example, were not simply intended to disempower Black Americans; rather, they were mechanisms that disciplined White people, fostered differentiating social and material practices, and provided psychological if not material advantages to those citizens classed as White. To address the depth of such ideologies we might most productively turn our archaeological attention to “White sites” and ask how various Europeans who came to be considered White secured and attempted to reproduce that status with material consumption. The targets of an archaeology of race cannot simply be people of color if we hope to fathom the persistent hold race has had on the White imagination.

That same position compels us to assess where we stand as a discipline. Most archaeologists probably do not think, as S&S suggests, that racial “reconciliation is impossible,” but in the absence of clear statements on the color line and social justice it is difficult to gauge the discipline’s racial politics. For guidance we might productively return to Du Bois’ argument that double consciousness brings with it a unique political voice. For some thinkers, a distinctive color line consciousness made African America the most prescient of all observers of American life, because African Americans were systematically marginalized yet seated at the heart of the American experience. We might reasonably say much the same thing about indigenous peoples across the globe who were racialized in the wake of European colonization. No social and historical process could be more central to American if not world history than race and racism, yet it remained largely unaddressed in public space for most of five centuries. It is the tragic absence of that discussion archaeologists can now very productively confront and address.

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RACE IS NOT A LIE—NOT YET

Carol McDavid

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When I was asked to respond to “Working Together on Race,” I hesitated. Being personal and reflexive about race is almost always risky—professionally and personally—and even though I have written about race before, this writing has been cloaked in the niceties of scholarship (McDavid 2007). I will attempt to step outside this cloak now, because I know of no other way to respond to the rawness and boldness of Echo-Hawk’s piece. This will not be a response to all of what he has written—only to the idea of whether we (all) still “have race,” and if so, what we should do about it.

I am a middle-aged white female archaeologist who studies two main areas—the historical archaeology of the African Diaspora, and the ways that this archaeology intersects with public uses, needs, and agendas. Both areas of study are at least in part “about” race, but my choice to study them has very little to do with a fascination with archaeology or even with an interest in “the past”—other than my personal past. My professional agendas spring directly from my personal journey—from watching the hoses and dogs on TV during the civil rights movement in the 60s, and while doing so, keeping my own adolescent protests against those hoses and dogs quiet. They spring from sitting quietly by while my relatives spouted racist bile and anger as they bemoaned the integration of Mississippi’s schools. They spring from watching, without dissent, as the supposedly Christian members of my church responded with fear and hate after a black family visited our Houston church one Sunday morning. Did I speak out about race to others of my own race then? No. I only watched.

Then I grew up and after many years doing other things, I found in archaeology a pathway of study which allowed—no, forced—me to confront race and racism, and to do it openly. I do not want to elaborate on my personal journey, other than to contextualize these brief comments and to point out that it was the countless “everyday reminders” (Lippert 2008) of a

still-racialized America which finally offered a platform from which I could speak out.

I decided some years ago that, in addition to pursuing my scholarly interests, I would use whatever bully pulpits those interests provided—the public talks, lectures and tours about our archaeology—to speak directly to white people in ways that I did not (or to be fair to myself, could not) as a child. Simply put, I use these forums to initiate conversations, where I suggest that other white people stop denying the privilege we have because we are white, that we try to understand the structural racism that results from it, and that we work purposefully towards dismantling it. By using the archaeology of African America (and its role in the present) as a starting point, conversations like this can start people thinking about what white privilege is. They can call into relief the everyday realities of the “invisible package of unearned assets which [we] can count on cashing in each day...about which [we were] meant to remain oblivious” (to quote Peggy McIntosh’s seminal article—sadly, still fairly current; McIntosh 1988:1).

I do this little confrontation dance—some times gently, sometimes not—in just about every public talk I do about my “real” research, and the reactions are more or less what you might expect. Obviously not all of my audiences and fellow-conversationists are white, and I have found that responses from mixed groups are especially revealing. Blacks frequently approach me afterwards to express surprise at hearing a white person talk about such things, whereas whites are, with few exceptions, puzzled: “Who, me!?” But I voted for Obama!

With white audiences, I admit that I focus on the topic a bit more directly than I do with mixed ones, or black ones. For the most part I simply suggest that people think about the reality of white privilege—people will take the suggestion on board, or not, and hectoring from me will not help much in

whether they decide to do one or the other. But I do suggest that whiteness is *not* normative, neutral, and that white privilege means having the luxury, in most situations, to simply ignore race (Thandeka 1999). Sometimes I ask white people how often they refer to others as “my white friend,” or “my white colleague”? I listen closely to people’s responses (these are conversations, after all) and have noticed that most people will readily agree that this would feel odd, and will also admit that they have used the term “my black colleague” before—but they have never thought about why. We also talk about the term “color-blind,” because white people often tell me how they try to live their lives in a color-blind way. But when pressed, most will acknowledge that despite best intentions, most of us tend to notice each other’s colors whether we want to or not (McDavid 2003, 2007). The problem with color-blindness, as the critical race theorists have pointed out, is that because it is *presumed* to fully incorporate racial justice (“justice for all”) it has not allowed American society to develop a concept of justice (or anything else) that takes account of racial difference without being vulgarly essentializing (Bell 1992; Crenshaw et al. 1995; Delgado and Stefancic 2001). That is a new idea to many—but to paraphrase Roger, once white people see that they “have race” too, they start to understand. We also talk about the differences between “racism” and “prejudice”—this usually comes up in response to some comment about how “some blacks are racists too”—and how racism is not dead yet, despite recent electoral events.

They key point here is that my archaeological work gives me a platform to raise these issues, and that one of the reasons I *can* raise them, as frontally as I often do, is *because* I am white. I am aware, of course, of the irony that doing this is actually *enacting* white privilege, and as aware that I could be accused of essentializing “what white is,” ignoring the ways that whiteness itself is contested, fluid and multidimensional (Bonnett 1997). It is also true that by foregrounding race, acknowledging whiteness as a race, and in effect “owning” our whiteness, we whites run the risk of foregrounding ourselves. We have to take care that confronting and discussing white privilege does not deflect the conversation away from the real goal—to dismantle it.

For the most part, though, I choose to accept those risks—to be “real” about the “reality” of race. Yes, race is a cultural construct, and yes, “race distorts the nature of human biological diversity”. But I am not sure if knowing that really gets us anywhere. Race is not a lie, not yet...and until it is, Kennewickman, I will keep talking. And listening.

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WORKING TOGETHER ON RACE

THE VIEW FROM CANADA

Eldon Yellowhorn

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Making the study of antiquity my career means that I automatically consider my research topics within the long duration of their existence. Taking this expansive view does tend to put things in perspective, as it offers the opportunity to ponder the observable changes and to take stock of what remains unresolved. That retrospection also influences the personal impressions I hold when looking at events in my life.

Despite the diversity that is endemic to modern society, talk of race and racialism can still incite heated discussion in polite company. The sociologist E.B. Reuter (1945:453) described the problem of race relations as “isolated from the confused reality of common-sense experience and defined objectively and abstractly.” Perhaps for such reason, sixty-plus years later it is still a burr in our collective craw. While some might regard it as an abstraction, for members of a visible minority there is nothing abstract about race. It is literally “in your face.” Yet from the vantage point of my experience I can recognize some milestones that signify progress in race relations in society, but especially within the archaeological milieu.

When I first got involved with the Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) in the early 1980s, I was an undergraduate student and I attended mostly out of curiosity. I listened to the papers that were presented and I got to know their authors. However, I also noticed that Aboriginal people, or any minority for that matter, were conspicuous by their absence. I do not exaggerate in stating that I was the diversity at some meetings. By the time I reached graduate school, Aboriginal people were discovering their interest in archaeology. Most attended out of a desire to know what researchers were saying, some were there because settling land claims had meant taking responsibility for heritage sites, and a few were there because they had chosen to make it their careers. We started to make our presence felt almost immediately because our attendance coincided with changes then taking place in the larger society.

I participated in many of these events, but I never thought of them as milestones at the time. However, upon retrospection they stand out because of their singular quality. I began taking an active part in the association while I was a graduate student in the early 1990s. Research ethics was then a looming matter and the CAA decided to articulate a statement of best practices when liaising with Aboriginal people. I co-chaired the committee that had the task of gathering the concerns of stakeholders and then drafting the text to be presented to our members. Our final draft was discussed at the annual meeting in 1994 and by open vote was adopted by the membership. This marked the first time that the association formally acknowledged the unique connection between Aboriginal people and the archaeological record. Since then First Nations have become active partners in research and the trend has been toward cooperative efforts, collaborative research, and disseminating information to affected audiences. Involving aboriginal communities in all aspects of the research protocol is now standard practice on projects that directly affect them.

When I organized the first session of Aboriginal archaeologists at a CAA meeting in 1997, I witnessed the interest it generated because of its novelty. Back then there were no professionals who could provide direction or advice to students with Native ancestry, but we were a dedicated cohort and we were preparing to engage the profession by attaining all the recognizable credentials required. Together our efforts made a difference as we brought some parity for Aboriginal people into the profession, but only because we chose this career path. Many of the participants in that session are still active in archaeology as museum curators, consultants, and civil servants, while others now pursue their interests elsewhere. Moreover, it signified that they were not content to be mere observers of archaeological work, nor passive consumers of the explanations constructed for the material recovered during excavations. A new generation of Aboriginal students is now present in graduate school, some of whom I supervise, and my personal experience tells me that

they are motivated by the mantra of providing a service to their communities.

While there was a willingness to recruit Aboriginal people as faculty, filling vacant positions proved more difficult because the personnel were not in place. However, that situation is being corrected. In 2002, I swapped my student career for that of an assistant professor and began to train people whose career path intersected with mine. Through my research agenda and by supervising graduate students, archaeology will see more diversity in its ranks. Although I take a special interest in training Aboriginal students, I regularly recruit, supervise and support students from many backgrounds. Now that I am a professor of archaeology, I can look back on the mileposts that line my journey and take some satisfaction that I made a contribution to the discipline.

When I attended the most recent national meeting in 2009 in Thunder Bay, Ontario, I noticed that Aboriginal people were conspicuous because of their presence. Some came to report on projects in their communities, some were students presenting the results of their research, and some were professionals working in universities and museums. A Cree elder blessed the conference at the banquet. Just this year I was elected president of the CAA. Forty years ago at its first conference, Canadian archaeologists could not imagine such a scenario. This causes me to imagine what things will look like in forty more years.

Looking to the Future

While writing of indigenous perspectives on archaeology, Joe Watkins explained that the history of archaeology was one of the reasons Aboriginal people viewed it “through wary eyes” (Watkins 2005), due to its association with colonialist policies that used scientific explanations to make hegemonic, imperialist goals the natural order (Horsman 1975). Philosophers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries presented their speculation on the inequality among the races as science and used archaeological data to impress this idea on the public (Bieder 1981). Well into the era of processual archaeology, professionals still tended to uphold those negative stereotypes and implicitly interpreted their data to portray Native Americans as unprogressive, unchanging people. The practice of disregarding the human labor that formed the artifact further estranged scientific archaeology from the people whose ancestors were the subject of scrutiny (Trigger 1980).

Considering such baggage, the observation by Joseph C. Winter that “Indians and archaeologists have a unique rela-

tionship” (1980:121) may seem an understatement now, but at the time it acknowledged a changing tide. Until Aboriginal people entered the conversation about their heritage, archaeologists were comfortable with their soliloquy about ancient times. In retrospect the adversarial relationship that defined those early years can be regarded as the growing pains of a maturing dialogue. Nearly three decades into this relationship, Aboriginal people have moved beyond protest to fully embrace the potential of archaeology. Its appeal comes from its methods for extracting history from unwritten sources, in this case material culture, since writing is a linguistic device that has little time depth for most Native cultures. Therefore, searching for our history leads us to our oral traditions and the artifacts we find.

When Native archaeologists use their research to interpret their data, they are very conscious of their internalist perspective and they want to imagine the past through their cultural knowledge (Yellowhorn 2006). They can take this approach with the full understanding that archaeology offers a bundle of methods that aid our investigations, and that appropriating them does not entail accepting the theorizing prevalent in the mainstream. Defining their objectives might build on a narrative that emanates from their culture’s perspective on antiquity. While general explanations are not anathema to them, serving the community might be a laudable goal for their research. I speak from my own experience in my historical archaeology project on the Piikani First Nation, which is my home community. Residents there are not concerned with the big questions about the peopling of the Americas or the genetic markers that tie us to Africa. Their expectations orbit their local environment. They wish to know how our ancestors made the transition to farming reserve land after the buffalo went extinct in our homeland. My contribution to the community is to construct a history that triangulates data from archaeological, archival, and oral history sources to make some statements about how our identity took its modern contours. In the process I hope to overcome the adversarial image of archaeology by demonstrating its potency with new insights about our traditions.

I do not wish to appear too naïve; I know that we are far from the ideals that give us inspiration because the current situation is not perfect. However, there are enough milestones behind us that give us cause for hope. Together they support the conclusion that the divide between archaeologists and Indians is growing narrower. My goal is to use my position as a professor to grow the talent pool for archaeology so that Native communities can rely on their own expertise. In the

➦ YELLOWHORN, *continued on page 9*

RACE IS...ONLY AS RACE DOES

ESSENTIALISM AND ETHNICITY IN (BIO)ARCHAEOLOGY AND SKELETAL BIOLOGY

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In recent scholarly and public skirmishes over race, racialism, and the human past, perhaps no other anthropological subfield has been as implicated—or called out, as it were—as skeletal biology.¹ Few will soon forget the Kennewick Man/Ancient One “Caucasoid” kerfuffle, and in the last decade or so a unique literature has sprung up around how, or whether or not, skeletal biologists and bioarchaeologists continue to “do race,” despite the American Association of Physical Anthropology’s insistence that “pure races do not exist” and “discrete races made up chiefly of typical representatives” are “untenable” (AAPA 1996).

The fulcrum of this activity have been on the problems and possibilities of two sometimes distinct pursuits: forensic and skeletal biological classification, and biodistance research. Forensic anthropologists and skeletal biologists (craniometricians, principally) often employ reference collections of cranial data, placing ancient individuals metrically in relation to both past and present populations. The method of biodistance works on the principle that heritable differences in morphology between and within populations (or skeletal samples that must represent populations) are demonstrable through multivariate analyses of skeletal features. Interpretations of these patterns, therefore, may inform the reconstruction of past population profiles, movements, and interactions. In a few instances, some bioarchaeologists and anthropologists have critiqued these methods and inquiries as racialist and “racial-biological distance” respectively (Armstrong and Van Gerven 2003:61; and e.g., Goodman 1997; Smay and Armstrong 2000; Williams et al. 2005). On the other hand, other skeletal biologists and forensic anthropologists claim that skeletal individuals *can* be assigned population affinities, races, or even ethnicities based on morphological traits when compared to other skeletal samples (e.g., Owsley et al. 2009; Sparks and Jantz 2003). Likewise, biodistance researchers have responded that their work is neither racialist nor typological, but useful for both evolutionary and cultural approaches to past human populations (Stojanowski and Buikstra 2004).

As a bioarchaeologist with research interests in repatriation and Indigenous archaeology, I have noted elsewhere how intertwined issues of racialism, repatriation, and skeletal biology have become since the passage of NAGPRA (Kakaliouras 2008). To briefly provide a little historical context, during the first half of the twentieth century, race was the organizing principle for—and race determination was *de rigueur* methodology in—physical anthropology, losing favor as a research approach (but not as a pedagogical tool) during the New Physical Anthropology of the 1950s and 60s. Since the 1970s, both skeletal biologists and bioarchaeologists have focused their energies primarily on population and culture-based research, discerning and interpreting patterns of health/disease, trauma, growth, stress, activity patterns, as well as microevolutionary shifts in intra- and inter-population profiles due to gene flow and drift (e.g., Buikstra and Beck 2006; Larsen 1997).

Forensic anthropologists and some skeletal biologists have been and are the central proponents for skeletal race or, lately, “social race”² determination (e.g., Gill 1998; Sauer 1992). The notion that an individual’s morphology is material evidence for their cultural identity, and by extension their cultural affiliation for NAGPRA, proceeded to collide with Kennewick Man/The Ancient One (Owsley and Jantz 2002), and has continued to trouble repatriation processes, tribal governments, archaeology, and physical anthropology ever since. In the wake of struggles over cultural affiliation, then, individual classification, population affinity, and biodistance research have become the most politically incendiary lines of investigation in all of bioarchaeology and skeletal biology.

Are charges of racialism against skeletal biologists and bioarchaeologists who specialize in biodistance, however, actually deserved? Echo-Hawk and Zimmerman define racialism as “the cultural idea that humankind is composed of racial groups that are biologically distinct. These groups are based on what seem to be long-term, received wisdom from

straightforward [physical] observations of humanity" (2006:471). This explanation, though, is a rather blunt instrument for use in discourses about skeletal, or even genetic, classification and past identities, since one does not have to believe in the existence of race *per se* to graft phenotype (or genotype) onto past and present cultural or ethnic identities (and vice versa). To borrow and corrupt a rather technical philosophical term, perhaps "morphological essentialism"³ can be recast to describe the equation of biology and identity in the absence of other evidence. In other words, "morphological essentialism" in skeletal biology is the notion that the interpretation of metric or nonmetric skeletal trait patterns can be solely informative of a past individual's or group's cultural identity, independent of archaeological context (also see Zack 2000:453–457). In even more direct terms, populations are not cultures unless proven otherwise. If race, therefore, is to become ethnicity in archaeology, does it not stand to reason that biological data should inform biological interpretations, and cultural data, cultural ones?

Yet, besides all the other cultural and behavioral processes bioarchaeologists interpret from bones, gene flow (when different groups reproduce with each other) is as profoundly cultural a process as it is a microevolutionary one; documenting gene flow can be the pursuit of the material evidence of human cultural and political choices (e.g., Edgar 2009). Also, genetic drift may represent not only patterns of genetic ancestry, but also the effects of cultural and historical change. That these patterns alone—however based in cultural choice or historical events they might be—do not serve as direct indices or evidence for cultural or ethnic *identities* should be obvious. In order for the biological to inform the cultural, we need sociocultural context, which is only available for the past through archaeology and oral and documentary history.⁴

None of this means, however, that genetic and morphological studies are *inherently* racist or essentialist. Already it takes just one perusal of the literature in bioarchaeology and skeletal biology to notice that race is rarely on topic. In fact, in our current cultural moment, it is wrangling over race that seems to dominate academic discourse, not the productive use of a race concept to help us understand diverse pasts. Furthermore, scholarship focused on the contextualized analysis and interpretation of information from bones⁵ has jettisoned race as a pivot point for analysis, preferring populations, ethnic/cultural groups, and richly provenienced burial sites. So, pinning racialism in biological anthropology on entire methodologies (i.e., craniometrics and biological distance), as some critics have done, has certainly been an effective rhetorical device for convincing other anthropologists

that there are, in theory, better ways to see interactions between human morphologies, cultural processes, and ethnic identities. Such critique, though, only serves to marginalize some of the most compelling work on practice and identity in bioarchaeology, recent investigations by regional specialists who keep their interpretations fully grounded in relevant archaeological contexts (e.g., Knudson and Stojanowski 2009; Rakita et al. 2005). Further, it distracts us from beginning to work together on even better ways to detect and interpret the formation and trajectories of ethnicities in the archaeological record.

Rather than either continue to review or confront these discourses, then, I prefer to imagine a few more steps bioarchaeologists and skeletal biologists might take to actively resist racialism and "morphological essentialism" in our field.⁶ So, if for the most part bioarchaeologists and skeletal biologists are not actively "doing race," what is it that we are doing, or not doing, about race and racialism?⁷ Perhaps we are simply lacking the same kind of *practice* as the discipline of archaeology. Whatever our research specialties, we are not having rigorous public discussions about racialism or essentialism, and therefore we may continue to allow the slippage of biology, morphology, and population into potentially essentialist interpretations about culture and ethnicity (per the claims made about the SAA in this issue). Perhaps there are common avenues for archaeologists and bioarchaeologists to travel toward challenging each other to finally replace race with ethnicity or with other concepts that acknowledge the cultural construction and maintenance of people's identities.⁸ Additionally, in this pursuit there should be ways to invite further collaborations with descendant communities, thereby embracing the kind of multivocality about the past that has recently emerged in archaeological research and scholarship in general (Zimmerman 2007).

One place to continue this trend might be in the re-evaluation or re-conceptualization of the ways we use the concept of ancestry. Anthropologists and descendant communities all share deep interests in ancestry as an organizing principle for tracking descent, as an emic concept or way of understanding the past, and even as a force for the construction of contemporary social realities. Certainly, cultural, political, and often nationalist meanings are inscribed onto statements about biological ancestry. Is it not, though, intellectually troubling to let morphological similarities or differences trigger deeply ensconced cultural desires to fix ancestral identities, rather than complicate our assumed notions of past human contacts and interactions? Moreover, as the Kennewick cases show, the current cultural and legal context has tended to privilege the biological component of cultural

affiliation under NAGPRA. A central way to perhaps underline the “cultural” in “cultural affiliation” is to endeavor to do ethnicity better than essentialism (morphology as identity) is or was being done.⁹

To wit, the way that physical anthropologists in general discuss ancestral identities as functions of morphology deserves more nuanced discussion. Goodman, in reference to the African Burial Ground Project, describes not one but three different and potentially mutually exclusive concepts of ancestry as they are employed by the ABG researchers:

Each of these categories of identity—genetic, cultural, and geographic—incorporates complexity and heterogeneity. For example, groups move, so geographic ancestries are multiple; genetic systems are multiple, so there are many possible genetic ancestries; and, similarly, social ancestries are anything but stable and monolithic...[M]y point is that one needs to at least get away from the notion that knowing one type of ancestry predicts the others. But testing how the types intersect is interesting [2007:228].

Along these lines, bioarchaeology could more complexly explore and re-analyze our ancestor-descendant and “similarity” relationship interpretations. What does it mean to say, for one of many examples, that “the Kennewick individual is always on the same [statistical] twig as the Ainu of Japan and Polynesians, no matter what combination of other groups is used” (Brace et al. 2008:161)? This morphological statement—alone—has little bearing on the Kennewick Man/Ancient One’s social-ethnic, and possibly even geographic, ancestries. Even if we add the concept of morphological ancestry to the three described above, which is absolutely reasonable, his physical similarity to any Ainu, Japanese, or Polynesian, past or present, does not directly inform our understanding of his cultural ancestry.

Similarly, the way archaeologists and bioarchaeologists have developed, used, and passed down classifications applied to past peoples into the next disciplinary generation often has acculturated us into their uncritical use and reification. Like archaeological cultures—and often parallel and dependent on them—pre-modern population labels are etic constructions, sometimes traversing geographic and temporal distances unknown to the people whose remains¹⁰ are being investigated. As Dongoske et al. (1997) suggest, archaeological cultures and past or present ethnicities can and do operate with different definitional systems and on varied scales of analysis. But, is it possible to bring some of those classifications closer together? Can we allow clan, band, or tribal

genealogies and naming systems to interact, or exist alongside (bio)archaeological classifications? In some well-documented cases in the archaeological record, then, might it be at least interesting to employ emically derived terms for “ancestor” rather than stick to a strictly etic label, such as “Late Woodland,” or even “pre or proto” –group or culture? Re-evaluating our ancestral cultural terminologies, too, could be a conceptual nexus for scientists and descendant communities to continue reshaping a more collective understanding of the past, rather than one dependent on and accessible to only specialized knowledges and disciplines.

If these queries and imaginings seem impractical to the readership of *The SAA Archaeological Record*, they probably are, given the way skeletal biology and archaeology can still operate independently of each other. It is likely, as well, that disagreements will continue between biological anthropologists and others over the utility of “morphological ancestry” for understanding past cultures or for ethnically identifying skeletal individuals. Do we, however, need to raptly attend to or participate in these conflicts to enhance our understandings of the lives of past peoples? If we continued to embrace the notion that human *biocultural* history, culture, and ethnicity are our proper centers for analysis, would we actually have much to mourn in the loss of the “soft racialism” that equating morphology with cultural identity represents?

Many skeletal biologists and bioarchaeologists, though, have positioned themselves well vis-à-vis ethnicity in the last few years; I would invite them to use their multidisciplinary experiences to aid conversations about race and ethnicity between archaeologists, Indigenous archaeologists, anthropologists, and descendant communities. Further, the entire field of anthropology and many descendant communities will continue to struggle with larger cultural and economic pressures that impinge on daily life and practice, such as funding constraints, the often crushing workload generated by compliance with NAGPRA, teaching loads, joblessness, and poverty. Nevertheless, should we not explore—or keep exploring—the interactions between different and contradictory ancestries instead of passively limiting the profusion and complexity of past and present human identities? Only frank and potentially difficult discussions about race, ethnicity, and cultural affiliation will allow us to continue to productively neglect racialism and “morphological essentialism” in our research about, and interpretations of, diverse human pasts.

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Notes

1. Although anthropological genetics and ancient DNA studies have also been implicated as potentially essentialist pursuits, I have not focused on them here in order to preserve a consistent focus on skeletal biology and morphology.

2. See Ousley et al. (2009:68–69) for an explanation of social race.

3. Morphological essentialism in philosophy is expressed in the maxim: "objects cannot change their shape" (Casati and Varzi 2000:230). For an example of the term's use in a biological framework, see Stamos's (2004:119–120) discussion of essentialist ideas regarding species boundaries.

4. Additionally, while the samples that make up skeletal reference and cranial data collections (e.g., Hamann-Todd, Howells, Lisbon, and Terry) are mostly drawn from either known archaeological sites or known individuals, the statistical similarity or dissimilarity of individuals or groups to those represented in reference samples does not necessarily lead one to robust interpretations about cultural or population identities (e.g., Watkins 2006; Williams et al. 2005).

5. Those in the repatriation movement who wish for no scientific study of human remains whatsoever will no doubt be unimpressed with any claim that takes as a given the existence or perpetuation of fields like skeletal biology and bioarchaeology. Likewise, anti-repatriation or pro-science views are by no means dead (e.g., Friends of America's Past 2009; Weiss 2008). Extreme polarities will continue to color discourses over the study of human remains in general, though I make no essentialist assumptions about who stands where. That such study is likely to continue is, however, a reasonable speculation.

6. For a recent historical and contemporary picture of race and variation in biological anthropology, see the May 2009 special issue of *The American Journal of Physical Anthropology*.

7. I would assert that studying bones is not an inherently racist or racialist activity. It is, however, at least in the U.S., a privilege afforded to some because of a colonialist and racist past as well as continuing patterns of unequal access to higher education. Likewise, the cultural inclination to be interested in handling and

spending time with the remains of the dead is a part of the Western scientific tradition, and not valued universally by the diverse groups who make up the U.S.

8. The relatively modern and etic concept of ethnicity might also not always translate well into ancient contexts.

9. To be clear, I do not intend to imply that morphology and biology have nothing to contribute to efforts in determining cultural affiliation for the purposes of NAGPRA compliance—an already amazingly complicated job for anthropologists and tribal governments alike, especially given the current revisions proposed by the DOI for the disposition of culturally unaffiliated remains (SAA). However, dependence on biology to index identity is an essentialist and unfortunately attractive notion, one that should not be allowed to supersede other lines in the category "preponderance of the evidence" that Congress delineated in the original law.

10. The words "remains," "skeletal individuals," and perhaps other terms used in archaeology and biological anthropology are also not without political power, simultaneously placing their subjects within a scientific context and discouraging alternatives. I use them here out of convenience and cognizance of this publication's primary readership (i.e., Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2006).

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MERCILESS GREETINGS, WICKED SERVANTS OF THE AGE OF ARCHAEO-RACIALISM

Roger Echo-Hawk

In the archaeological origin story of ancient America, the first Americans appeared long ago in the chill dying mists of the terminal Pleistocene. The details of this event and the details of what happened after that have not been easy to gather, but it is a compelling tale of adventure, of discovery. Archaeological inquiry into these details surely gives us a marvelous way to encounter what it means to be human. And the way archaeologists tell this origin story would give us an innocent enough human drama, were it not for the way that the historically recent idea of race has insisted on writing itself into the distant past.

For in the hands of archaeology these ancient folk soon came to be called “Paleoindians”—a name that draws meaning from the undiluted ingredients of racial terminology. And hard upon the heels of these racially constructed Paleoindians, plenty of racial Indians, American Indians, and Native Americans came to throng archaeological constructions of ancient America. With this patently unhistorical origin story firmly in hand, it is ironic that these same archaeologists typically deem “Indian” origin stories to be patently unhistorical. This situation points to a serious problem in “science-like” archaeology.

Given the fact that the idea of race is a historically recent invention that science has discredited as an explanation of humankind, it seems appropriate for archaeology to rethink the doing of race and race-based storytelling. And since the truth about race is widely known among American archaeologists, it is puzzling that this truth has not already become more evident throughout archaeological discourse.

To proceed with promoting any substantive recalibration of race in archaeological practice, it would be desirable for SAA to have broad support from its membership, as well as from public constituencies who have come to expect the production of race-based archaeology. And to the degree that American archaeology focuses on the ancient human past of

America, it is of particular interest that in recent years ever-increasing numbers of stake-holding Indians—self-identified adherents to racial Indianhood—have appeared in archaeology, wielding Ph.D.s and trowels as they circle the archaeological meta-narrative. As open racialists bent on joining a field of study that has openly centered itself upon the precepts of race, these racialists will likely feel some suspicion about new efforts to reconfigure the traditional practices of racial archaeology. In fact, if SAA takes any action to truly change the master narrative of race in America, I predict that many racial Indians will strongly object.

If SAA is to find meaningful ways to engage with adherents to Indian racial identity, it must have an accurate and useful critique of race and racial Indianhood. This seems essential because most racial Indian archaeologists will stay deeply committed to race. In the story that Indians tell one another around their electronic online campfires, Indian racial identity serves as a unifying source of power in advancing both racial and community social agendas. An aura of optimistic possibility attends the doing of racial Indianhood since it has a record of success. Responding to historical American anti-Indian storytelling that portrayed Indianness as debilitating cultural baggage, the late twentieth-century Indian sovereignty movement proved that Indian racial identity could serve as a productive source of social power in shoring up embattled racial Indian sovereignties.

Indians see racial bonding as an effective response to white racism and its legacies. The master narrative of racial Indianhood treats white oppression as an almost insurmountable problem, and this story acts as a powerful bonding agent for Indian group identity. It also provides a compelling inspirational message, suggesting to Indian people that someday the heroic doing of racial Indianhood may well succeed in overcoming the implacable evils of white colonialism and white racism. For this miraculous epic achievement to ever have a fighting chance, all must stay faithful to race.

It is ironic that Indians believe that the doing of race will ultimately save them from the doing of race. In the tragic reality hidden beneath this worldview, race is enacted to save Indians from the racist outcomes of race, but doing race mainly serves to propagate ever more race and ever more racism. Academic Indian Studies advances this circular proposition and discourages inquiry into the shortcomings of racial Indianhood because adherents to Indian racial identity have invested so completely in the racial status quo. For Indians, allegiance to the idea of being Indian inspires hope and a devotional attitude toward race as a social project. Race must be enacted, not questioned. An enhanced interrogation of white racism is the proper agenda, not critical inquiry into racial Indianhood.

It is therefore difficult for racial Indians to see as a problem the way race commits their tribal governments to a subaltern role in an undemocratic arrangement—one that racially categorizes formerly independent sovereignties as “Indian tribes” subject to race-based “federal Indian law.” In the tripartite American polity, the federal government and state governments wield real sovereign power, while racially defined Indian tribes are third-class “domestic dependent nations” subject to federal plenary power, with no formal participatory voice in the exercise of that power. Seeing the coming end of race as a problem to ignore rather than as a strategic opportunity... well, no philosopher of Indian law has anything like a plan for evolving racial sovereignties away from race because racial Indians are way too busy with the project of convincing Americans to stay true to race-based storytelling and racial identity.

But an unforeseen and portentous problem has recently become evident. Aside from the scientific undermining of race as a viable biological reality—a rather cryptic bit of information that has successfully confined itself to esoteric technical academic literature—it turns out that ever-increasing numbers of adherents to racial whiteness have gradually become what I term “former whites.” When obliged to do race, former whites will always self-identify as “white.” But these alleged whites do not seek out white cultural venues, white social networks, and white careers. Former whites lack allegiance to any kind of social agenda that involves exclusively improving the social circumstances of white people. These people are not white people; they are former whites. Since former whites are tepid producers of racial culture, they must be forced to stay faithful to the making of race. This unacknowledged truth is even now powerfully reshaping the American world. With whispered rumors of how people can forego the doing of racial identity, the abandonment of racial whiteness portends the coming end of race.

I think these circumstances should give SAA and its membership pause in the doing of race. Indians often say they want more sovereignty, not less—they want old-fashioned sovereign independence. When they realize that race prevents this possibility by locking their “Indian” tribal governments into anachronistic and oppressive forms of American racialism, they will remember who actively urged them to keep bound to race. This may be largely irrelevant to SAA policy-making on race, but it is indisputably central to archaeo-identity that biological science has abandoned race. Bent on furthering the production of race in our midst, SAA will any day now begin to look like it is ignoring science, hurrying into an already dawning future while holding fast to discredited anti-science notions—even while its “white” membership has en masse forsaken the pleasures of white racial identity for the dignity of becoming former whites.

I believe that SAA has a public duty to explicitly reverse its commitment to making race. This means that SAA should resist efforts by racialists to impose a pro-race agenda upon the academic community, but in addressing race, SAA should refrain from interfering with the choice by individuals to embrace racial identity. Rather than combat race, academia must peacefully cultivate neutral ground, neither affirming race in a misguided anti-science way, nor opposing the ability of people to practice treasured belief systems. I make this sound simple, but it will no doubt require nuanced and complex engagement over time.

Members of SAA have options beyond what SAA can do. Each archaeologist can individually ponder what the doing and the undoing of race entails. As a matter of personal identity, the ambiguities of race require that we treat the making and remaking of racial identity as an ongoing art-form, not as an exact science. Any creative exploration of identity and culture will necessarily remain a mostly private affair, but I believe that SAA has a potential role in encouraging professional activities designed to promote useful introspection on race among its membership. Journal editors, for example, can raise useful questions with authors regarding the appropriate application of racial taxonomy and terminology.

Developing sincere and meaningful dialogue with racialists while resisting pro-race advocacy will not be easy for the academic community. In terms of relations with racial Indians, it is unfortunate that SAA has more notoriety than credibility on matters pertaining to racial Indianhood. Having aided in the perpetuation of race in American life for generations, and having expended much moral authority in recent years in clumsily alienating racial Indians on comparatively minor matters like NAGPRA and Kennewick Man, it will be

difficult—perhaps even impossible in the short-term—for SAA as an inclusive representative organization to effectively face the consequences of this history.

I guess I do not feel much pity for SAA. As a leading professional anthropology organization, SAA should look for ways to provide leadership in rethinking race. But I see no evidence of SAA taking action to curb the twisted unhistorical iniquities of race in archaeological practice. Quite the opposite is true. So feeling remorseless one day, I submitted to Kurt Dongoske the dialogue that opens this discussion, and Kurt took an interest and moved to place this pitiless discourse here before you all. Now it is time for you to ponder what must be done about race. Wicked SAA, den of racial iniquity, what will you do?

To help SAA answer the question of what should be done on race, Kurt Dongoske and Larry Zimmerman have gathered a range of contributions from a diverse group of scholars. These papers collectively articulate the complexity of race as a general topic in scholarship, but with some exceptions, most do little to clarify the specific problem at hand—that is, the problem of race as a discredited biological explanation of humankind and what this means for the traditional cultural practices of race in archaeology.

I have typically found it almost impossible to get academic scholars interested in directly tackling the race problem. Why is this? I do not know for sure. It certainly seems important that scientific scholarship has rejected race as a useful explanation of human biological diversity. Pondering this matter, I think back to my first years of doing what I term “wrestling with race.” It wasn’t very pretty. And it was personal. I must admit that my thinking then was shallow—I still don’t feel very confident about my ability to negotiate the deep end of the pool. It is no wonder that some scholars may feel nervous about plunging in for even a modest lap or two around this particular pool. I would guess that most academic scholars know that sticking with the status quo of extant racial practice is the wisest way to get plenty of status for your quo. Why stick your neck out on race?

For whatever reason, in the contributions at hand, we mostly encounter disquisitions on the traditional academic business of race. The wrestling is about such matters as racism, racial discrimination, white privilege, and the recent rise of Indigenous archaeology in contemporary archaeology. Very little guidance is offered for what to do about rethinking the ways we produce race. But if race is a cultural construction and not a useful biological description, shouldn’t we make it a priority to ponder what this means?

In Eldon Yellowhorn’s account of his career, we get some important insights into circumstances that will no doubt shape the coming dialogue—and here I mean the dialogue that has not yet materialized, but which will nevertheless come in time. I like the overall tone of what Yellowhorn says. He has earned a place of respect as one of the founding proponents of race-based “Indigenous archaeology.” Yellowhorn has helped to foster a progressive and growing engagement of racial Aboriginal people with archaeology in Canada, effectively bringing First Nation adherents to race together with white archaeologists. He wishes for a narrowing of the divide between the two groups. I like his thinking. It is essentially the kind of thinking that ultimately helped to take me down the path I have followed in my own professional life.

For Yellowhorn, however, it is a worthy professional agenda to have a racial identity and to ensure that members of his racial group have a meaningful voice in Canadian archaeology. Notably, there is no “wrestling” with racial identity as a cultural construction versus a biological one. Instead, someday there will be Aboriginal archaeologists working side-by-side with white archaeologists in Canada. Among Indigenous archaeology proponents in the United States, this multicultural model is also pervasive. Race is not questioned—pointed questioning enters the picture only when considering the way racial whites have set the historical agenda for archaeology. So when the future dawns, race itself will not be treated as a problem by proponents of indigenous archaeology. Indigenous archaeologists have no inclination to consider what it means that science has let go of race in the teachings of the academy. Race ought to continue to serve as an enduring biological truth. For members of SAA, this should serve as a powerful incentive to resist the impulse to redo the social project of the making of race in archaeology. Tinkering with race is okay, but if race-based Indigenous archaeology has its way, there will be no serious talk about redoing racialism.

Paul Mullins seeks to accomplish something quite interesting and quite complicated. Experimenting with conjoining the artificially distanced narratives of racial Indianhood and racial blackness, he explores territory that sounds important if we are to ever view race in its epic entirety. But he swiftly moves on to identify a question that truly interests him, advising us that “The key question in any scholarship of race is how differentiating rhetoric is used to leverage inequality....” This preferred focus on racism is only marginally related to the point of my Kennewickman dialogue. Racism is an important topic, for sure, but it is my intention to promote the idea that we should usefully broaden our race-talk to include discussion about what it means that race is a cultur-

al invention and not a biological reality. Mullins seems unconcerned with this point and instead stays focused on addressing race by confronting racism.

Mullins gets to a point that seems more sympathetic to my project on race when he suggests that he would like to see archaeology take a studied and nuanced approach to peering into the archaeological strata that pertain to race. He properly warns us that despite my point about race not being “real,” there is nevertheless a “genuine power” in the ideology of race, so we can indeed look for the outcomes of racialism in the sites where people have produced racial culture. This is a very useful point, but he misses something here.

Framing my internal private quest as a “Kennewickman dialogue,” I intentionally collide against the established notion that some kind of unspecified justification exists to interpret Kennewick Man in racial terms. SAA has invested much energy in making this claim. Mullins hopes for SAA to encourage archaeologists to take a nuanced and surgically precise look at the racialized elements of the archaeological record, but I suggest that SAA has instead deliberately elected to perform blunt-trauma anti-science racialism by urging us to see Kennewick Man as “Native American.” As a historian, I know that if SAA is right about Kennewick Man having race, then I can think of a few very good books on the history of race that need to be completely rewritten. Help me out, Paul Mullins... tell them to do race right!

I wish Mullins had more carefully grasped and characterized my arguments. He seems to think, for example, that my careful point about race as pseudobiology is somehow actually meant to suggest that the culture of race itself is not “real.” This is not my intended argument. The very real culture of race, I argue, is predicated upon the false notion that races are valid projections of the findings of science. The doing of race is real enough even if the sustaining ideas are false.

In the end, Mullins seems to advise SAA that it ought to do what it already does with race. That is, to study the outcomes of race in the archaeological record. In terms of racial Indianhood, archaeologists in America have spent many decades peering at what they believe to be evidences of racial culture lying around here and there inside the earth. In my view, SAA should follow the findings of science and history as a guide to looking for the presence of racial culture in the archaeological record, and SAA should stop the unwarranted making of race as a contemporary social project.

Carol McDavid wisely understands that my efforts to confront race are inherently personal. She describes herself as a

“white” archaeologist and she goes on to share some personal experiences with race in her life. This is a very moving gift. It is unusual in academic discourse on race. We need this kind of subjective storytelling because race only *visits* the objective footnotes of academic technical literature—race actually lives every day somewhere inside us where we spend time alone telling ourselves stories about what it means to be human. Academic America must do academic scholarship on race, but it is also necessary for all of us to confront race where it really lives.

I question Carol McDavid’s contention that she is “white.” It seems rude to do so, but perhaps this is an area of race-making that deserves what McDavid terms a “confrontation dance.” Race is certainly a manifold social reality, but I think I know perfectly well from personal experience what it is like to be racial, to do race. I know the feeling of affirming racial identity by attending Indian powwows, by socializing with Indians at Indian bars, by finding employment at an Indian law firm, by doing Indian history as a means of engaging in racial bonding, by working in a Native Arts Department, by implementing federal Indian law in order to promote the well-being of my racial group. Simply claiming an Indian identity is not enough; one must actively enact it. All adherents to racial Indianhood know this.

To support her claim to racial identity, I wonder whether Carol McDavid has actually spent any quality time as an adult actively affirming her alleged white identity by bonding with other whites through the practice of racial whiteness. Has she recently chosen to attend any kind of cultural event designed to explicitly aid with white bonding? Does she look for white bars where she can sip beers with racially selected white friends? Has she purposefully sought any employment situation aimed deliberately at white candidates? Does she do white scholarship as a way of bonding with other white people? Has she ever engaged in activities openly designed to promote the well-being of the white race? Has she lately bonded with other whites by laughing along with them at a racist joke?

Carol McDavid: you know racial whiteness from having seen it and having done it in your childhood. We both know what it is like to engage in the cultural production of race. Judging from the limited information in your personal account, I see no proof that you are white. To make your case, you rely only on the suggestion that you have been an inevitable beneficiary of an invisible empire of white privilege and structural white racism. Is this all you have to prop up your alleged racial credentials? In short, you stand accused of being a wannabe pseudo-racialist.

Carol McDavid implies that SAA ought to develop an awareness of the workings of white privilege and structural racism in archaeology. I think this well-meaning suggestion misdirects us away from something far more important: the fact that an ever-growing number of putative white people have actually abandoned racial identity. Carol McDavid's paper inadvertently contains a lot of direct evidence for this observation—evidence that she dismisses because it conflicts with her storytelling about white privilege. My framing of the present-day nature of racial whiteness is important because it means that it is possible to live without purposefully relying on race.

Carol McDavid could no doubt convince me of the importance of conducting a search for white privileging in American archaeology. But I am not inclined to join such a search-party when I feel a more pressing desire to hear her talk about the real non-racial Carol McDavid. We greatly need to hear about this real Carol McDavid who does not actually do white racial bonding. We will learn a lot from the real Carol McDavid who has successfully abandoned racial whiteness. If I am right in my assessment of Carol McDavid and her faux racial whiteness, this is hugely significant news; it deserves much analysis, much talk. I want to hear more. And this is important because an ever-growing number of so-called "white" archaeologists deserve a better explanation of what they really do and do not do with racial identity.

I have a personal stake here. We all do. I often go around saying I've given up race. Treating white privilege (and therefore racial privileging of every kind) as an inescapable routine condition of American life, we embrace the proposition that we cannot ever really escape race. We are trapped. If the critical race theorists are right about white privilege, we might as well stop our foolish criticism of the theory of race and resign ourselves to the chains of racialism forever. It does not matter that science tells us the truth about the lie of race, as McDavid concludes at the end of her paper. We should ignore all that stuff. Come on, everyone; let's tell them to just shut up about that!

I know what it is like to choose to not do race. For the moment it is not always an easy choice to make, but I think life can be lived without race. I see this happening all around me. We can unchain ourselves from the dehumanizing lie of race. So help us find ways to resist and reject race, Carol McDavid. I have given up racial Indianhood; and having done so, Carol McDavid, please do not force me into being white. Come on over here for a while, Carol McDavid. Let's be free. Over here we will be free of race. Free at last!

Well, I guess I might be somewhat of an idealist, but now we come to a practical-minded Ann Kakaliouras. She offers a wonderful contribution to the topic at hand. And yes I chuckled when I encountered her "is or was" joke. It was a relief to read something that made me smile and made me think. About six or eight years ago I read an online debate between George Gill and C. Loring Brace on the topic of race. I thought Gill's argument in favor of keeping race alive in biological anthropology was very weak. Brace kicked his ass.

Anyway, I am glad Ann Kakaliouras agreed to write something on race for this issue. I hope every SAA member reads it. SAA will see that their rich cousins down the hall actually have a thriving professional discourse on the production of race. They have debates; they spend time making race an issue—it is just too bad that this discourse appears so often in the form of latinate greekish techno-speak. They know many precisely chi-squared formulae for objectifying the doings of race, but they do not seem to know how to confront race where it really lives. For this we need storytelling. Conversations. It is subjective, race. It is not pretty, like a perfect graph. I guess this leaves plenty of room for much-needed Kennewickman-type dialogues about racialism. Learning from Ann Kakaliouras' insider portrayal of what goes on when those bio-types find themselves alone with their alleles, maybe the commoners at SAA need to panhandle a few bucks and get themselves a good discourse on race too.

In the end, whatever happens next, I presume that we must each wrestle with race at a very personal level. Technical anthropological literature has a role to play, but as Carol McDavid knows, we need personal storytelling about race. And we must each seek our own individual answers to the questions we encounter along the way. But we should not expect to find simple answers since race is such a complicated and deeply personal matter, deeply interwoven into the fabrics of American life and American archaeology. Somehow, I presume, this truth must usefully guide whatever happens next.



GRANTS, GIS AND EDUCATION

EVERYTHING I NEED TO MAKE MY WAY

Ira L. Matt

Ira Matt is an anthropology graduate student at the University of Montana.

In the spring of 2009, the Society of American Archaeology (SAA) allowed me the opportunity to further my education through the award of a National Science Foundation scholarship; I would like to begin by thanking the membership of the SAA for this opportunity.

My name is Ira L. Matt and my people are the Bitterroot Salish from western Montana. I live and work on the Flathead Indian Reservation, home to the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (CSKT). It is here where my interest and education in anthropology began. My interest is in helping my people and protecting our cultural resources. My education was a gift to me, handed down to me from my people. My family, the Elders, and the community have been patient and considerate during my time on the reservation, and it has aided me greatly in my pursuit of higher education. Through my affiliation with the University of Montana (U of M) I have gained knowledge, discipline, and confidence in my pursuit to make a difference for tribal people. To my family, the Elders, and the U of M, thank you, I will always appreciate the investments you have made in me.

The scholarship I was awarded (NSF Scholarship—Archaeological Training for Native Americans and Native Hawaiians) has allowed me to pursue advanced instruction in Geographic Information System (GIS) technology. ESRI, the global leader in GIS advancements and technology, states that GIS is a geographic information system that “integrates hardware, software, and data for capturing, managing, analyzing, and displaying all forms of geographically referenced information” (<http://www.esri.com/what-is-gis/index.html>). For the people of CSKT, GIS is a tool that helps us manage our cultural and natural resources, coordinate our planning, and bring traditional concepts and ideas into the modern era.

The training I attended was titled *ArcGIS II: Tools and Functionality* during March of 2009 in Phoenix, Arizona. Gregory Emmanuel, an employee of the ESRI Corporation, instructed the class. Gregory is an accomplished GIS professional who has worked in several countries to map and coordinate indigenous groups’ traditional resources. His experience was a definite

advantage as he led us through ESRI’s ArcGIS 9.3 software; this was their latest program release at the time of training and is the current software utilized by CSKT.

Through the training I received from ESRI, I was able to gain a strong knowledge of the capabilities, application, and setup that their software has to offer. Along the way I gained a healthy respect for geographic projections and data-management; without these prerequisites, utilization and interpretation of data can be a confusing venture. Understanding why people integrate GIS systems into their data collection and processing methods soon became clear as I learned new ways to utilize data at speeds and in quantities that I had not attempted before. What is compelling about this software is that you can integrate data as old, complex, or unique as is needed to complete a project.

Personally, the best point of this training was when I realized that I could do what was in front of me and that it could be very useful. I became aware of how to use, and what else there is to learn about, the program. GIS is a driving force in the industry and I am happy to have the opportunity to move forward with it. The skills I gained are already affecting my professional and personal life. Having GIS capabilities in a world where spatial analysis, detailed mapping, data analysis, and predictive modeling are gaining ground—due to the advances of technology, maintaining a cutting-edge education—allows people to continue to thrive professionally in archaeology and CRM.

Since the training I received in March 2009, I have had a number of opportunities to utilize my newly acquired skills through my work at the Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO) on my reservation. During the ongoing water rights mitigation between CSKT and the State of Montana, I worked to digitize data linking historic newspaper articles, photographs, journal entries, oral histories, maps, letters, and government documents



Ira Matt working on the Jocko Trail project at the THPO on the Flathead Indian Reservation in western Montana.

to the geographic locations they referenced within the Salish, Kootenai and Pend d'Oreille aboriginal territories. This digitization of data allows for analyses to be conducted concerning the spatial distribution of traditional activities that were conducted in varying aboriginal territory areas. These analyses allow us the opportunity to reference that geographic location and gain instant access to the related documents, maps, images, and other associated historic/modern data. Having a way to tie resources and information together in a system that can effectively manage them helps make large projects like this historical records database possible. This project was my first since the training to incorporate what I had recently learned about ArcGIS; it was an educational and engaging experience. Working with other staff members who have advanced GIS abilities, historical research specialists who have gathered data for 30+ years, and being involved within a project large enough to impact tens of thousands of people was invigorating, and the training I received made it possible for me to help my people on this project.

Where my training has been the greatest benefit to me is in the projects it allows me to create that have critical GIS components written into the deliverables. I authored a grant to the National Park Service (NPS) titled *The Jocko Trail: A Living Legend*. This project is aimed at locating, hiking, and recording a prehistorically and historically utilized trail in western Montana. In recent years, threats from fire, site destruction from recreation, and development have threatened the integrity of this unique and primitive trail system. Through NPS funding, I am attempting to record this trail system, but not merely through ground recordation. By piecing together the historical timeline of this trail from tribal occupation, through European settler migration, and up to its modern utilization, people who wish to know more about the ways in which trails aid and influence people's lives can get a glimpse at the anthropogenic impact this trail has made, as well as endured. The trail's story will be told through the use of historical records and documents, by interviewing people who have used and/or know about the trails history, and through GPS recordation of the trail's pathways. A primary reason for pursuing this trail is that it holds a special place in the hearts of those who have used and/or remember those who have used the trail. These living memories help maintain its identity by keeping it alive in the hearts and minds of the people, and that is why it will be recorded. GPS recordation is important to this project so that spatial analysis of the trail and its correlated cultural resources can be placed into a context that may help promote understanding beyond single site



Recording GPS data while hiking the Jocko Trail.

boundaries. Viewing resources as part of a landscape continuum will enable the archaeological process to integrate the people and culture as vested components. The trail and the traditional Salish place names that mark movement and action along this feature will be overlaid with the cultural resources and historic data. Together they will relate the history of this trail as an entity that has, and will continue to influence, the lives of those who are a part of this landscape. As an added benefit, the University of

Montana is working with me as I progress through my project. My goal is to bring the grant together with my educational studies to fulfill the professional project criteria needed to receive a Master's degree in anthropology with a cultural heritage emphasis.

The State of Montana has recently awarded CSKT's THPO the Montana Land Information Act (MLIA) grant, a grant designed "[t]o collect, maintain, and disseminate information (in digital format) about the natural and artificial land characteristics of Montana" (<http://giscoordination.mt.gov/mlia.asp>). This grant has a large GIS emphasis, and was written among members of the office, including myself. *American Indian Battle Sites in Western Montana: Protection for Ancient Places through a Modern Technology* is aimed at locating and recording Native American battle sites in western Montana. By creating and managing a database aimed at protecting these unique and vanishing features, our hope is to better preserve and protect these resources for the future generations. As with many of the GIS databases, link-

ing geographic location to its correlated photographs, site forms, historical documents, and oral histories will allow those protecting these resources the best possible opportunity to understand their dynamics and importance to those people who have historical and cultural ties to them. Our project is a collaborative effort between our office and the Montana State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO); upon our completion the SHPO will house the data we collect and facilitate its future preservation and use for educational purposes.

Due to my involvement in field recordation and data processing for these projects, the knowledge I gained from the training has proven invaluable. The projects could not have been accomplished without the support provided to me by the SAA and their dedication to furthering the discipline of archaeology through the support of higher education. The benefits of the training have gone farther than I imagined and I hope to continue my educational and professional endeavors that my family, the SAA, CSKT, and the U of M have helped to build.



WHERE DID I GO WRONG?

SOME COMMENTS ON TEACHING ARCHAEOLOGY AND HERITAGE IN BRAZIL

Marcia Bezerra

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Some years ago I was teaching the course “Archaeology and Heritage Education” in a Master’s Program geared toward training cultural resource managers. The debates concerning the importance of preserving the archaeological patrimony were contagious and intense, and focused on the relationship between the public and archaeological patrimony in Brazil. Despite that, in the third month of classes, upon his return from a trip to Egypt, one of the students brought *souvenirs* to give as gifts to the entire class, mine being the most “important.” I unwrapped the package to find, to my surprise, a small ceramic piece taken from an Egyptian archaeological site by the student. At that moment I realized the situation was rather complex: first, the student in question was one of the most participative and eloquent concerning the preservation of archaeological sites in his native area; second, he was striving to become a cultural resource manager and had contributed to the destruction of an archaeological site; third, and most curious, is that the object was given to me with no inhibitions—the professor who, for months, had discussed this kind of behavior. When I confronted him about the episode, he replied: “There are many sherds around the area, everyone collects them.” That made me ask: “Where did I go wrong?”

The attraction that archaeological objects have upon people is very complex and we know that even Freud would have succumbed to this desire. According to this reasoning, I could argue that the student was moved by the “irresistible passion” caused by such objects, especially an Egyptian piece. What interests me the most, however, is what we think about what we do. Freud started his collection in the nineteenth century when there were no restrictions on the antiquity market. The concern with the commercialization of antiquities began during World War I; therefore, the “father of psychoanalysis” could organize his collection and assume his “passion.”

My student, a future cultural resource manager, removed an archaeological object from an Egyptian site and not only reported his “accomplishment,” but also offered his “souvenir” to me. I can speculate that, concerning obtaining artifacts, Freud had

no reason to show concern and my student did not show any signs of embarrassment. It was clear that—for him—there were no ethical conflicts between what he said in the classroom and what he did outside of it. It is important to mention that in Brazil archaeological heritage is protected by federal laws whether it is on public or private land.

Discussing this episode with colleagues from other universities in Brazil, I realized that this case was not an exception. Some reported cases of students who cunningly stole material from archaeological sites during technical visits. It seemed to me that reflection on the topic was necessary—reflection with an attempt at understanding these attitudes, evaluating the responsibility of the professionals that teach archaeology, and the cultural element or series of cultural elements that propitiate and encourage this type of behavior. The first mistake relates to not considering the students and their perceptions and understandings of the world. Dealing with any kind of public requires knowledge of that public; it implies starting with what this public knows and how it knows it, and working to what it does not know. If we disregard the worldview of the student, we are imposing a monolithic, unidirectional discourse, which denies their idiosyncrasies; the key is to instead establish a dialogue. An anthropological approach to the educational experience brings about an estrangement that makes the students both distinct and distant, as well as closer to you, because transforming them into objects of our reflections implies understanding them as subjects of educational practice.

I agree with Bender when she states that “those who teach archaeology in the twenty-first century must convey to our students why we believe that archaeology is important” (2001:35). In other words, the relevance of the discipline, including archaeological patrimony, is not evident. And this is where we find the second mistake: considering that the students who choose to take a course in this area have any kind of a prior commitment and consciousness concerning the importance and necessity of preserving this patrimony. We need to question the meaning that the patrimony has to students. What is the meaning that

students attribute to material culture? How do the “others” perceive material culture from a general perspective? How is it that they construct their version of the patrimony? Furthermore, in what sense/senses is the idea of a patrimony grounded? The meaning of the material culture is, for each individual, group, or culture, spun with different threads, and this is concomitantly accomplished through emic and etic perspectives. Therefore, presupposing that perspectives can be distinguished only in the choice of the threads is equivalent to assuming a deeply ego-centric discourse; it implies a natural logic and unique connection of the individuals with the objects, with the past, and with patrimony. The third point considers the contradiction created by what we say inside a classroom, which tries to impose a logic. This creates an opposition: on the one side, the manager, the archaeologist, the professor—the specialist; on the other, the uninitiated, the layman, the student (see Chaui 1981). Whether found in the popular Brazilian motto, “Do as I say, but not as I do,” or in Malinowski’s thought “What do natives say about what they do?”—what we see is that we are all constituted by small idiosyncrasies and human incoherencies. They are, in fact, raw material for reflection, for negotiation, for changes in thinking, perspectives, thoughts, attitudes, and paradigms. It could be argued that the example presented here is isolated, but as mentioned previously, the testimonies of several colleagues from other universities support mine. I believe that many others have experienced similar situations. Then, what are the elements implied in those contexts?

In this sense it is necessary to consider the grammar underlying educational practice: in this case, the Brazilian grammar. Attempting to understand Brazil from a relational perspective between the categories house and street, DaMatta states that “the secret of a correct interpretation of Brazil lays in the possibility of studying what is ‘between things’” (1997:26). For him, Brazilian society is eminently relational, in other words, it is necessary for a person to understand its connections, its bonds, and the interdependencies of its elements (DaMatta 1997:25). By choosing the “house” and the “street” as analytical categories, the author establishes an opposition that, according to him, is basic to understanding Brazil’s grammar. The house, in this sense, would be the place of affection, cordiality, privacy, of the prerogative of rights that turn individuals into “super-citizens” (DaMatta 1997). In the house we establish our own rules, our limits, our values, in other words, an ethic proper to what is familiar and close. In the street, in opposition, the individuals feel like “sub-citizens.” The street is where the law, the obligations, the duties, and the authority prevail. Street is the strange, the distant and the unknown. In the street, according to DaMatta (1997), the motto is: “Everyone for him or herself and God for all.”

In this sense, I believe that archaeology’s discourse when attempting to highlight the importance of archaeological heritage is an authoritarian discourse. We try to make students con-

scious about its relevance, but this is an imposing attitude. To become conscious is an action self-exercised by an individual from his/her own reflections. In other words, to attempt to make someone conscious is to impose oneself. The discourse of preservation is still permeated by legal issues, obviously necessary, but that establishes the duties and rules, more than rights and negotiations. Could this be the discourse of the street? Of unknown domains, of the law, of those things that make people into “sub-citizens,” of what has nothing to do with you, of what belongs to the state? Or from the “house” where everything is permitted? We hope that the public, the student, the other, take a stake, and appropriate patrimony. To appropriate means to recognize yourself in such cultural patrimony, it presupposes proximity, identification, and agreement. In other words, we use the discourse of the “house” to talk of the importance of the “street”; we present the “street,” but expect the behavior of the “house”; we are in the “street,” but invite them to the “house.” So, where is the mistake here? Unless we consider educational practice from a coercive perspective, there is no mistake. The classroom is a space of interaction, intersection, and dialogue. When we choose coherence, order, and harmony as the essential elements to understand this panorama, we conjure an ideal situation in which there are neither contradictions nor conflicts.

Could it be, then, that our discourse is not structured from the standpoint of an idea of patrimony that caters, especially in the Brazilian case, to this logic of the offer, of organization, and of the law? When we talk about what is public and what is private, are we not perpetuating the discourse of order? Are we teaching archaeology *to* or *with* students? What kind of archaeology are we dealing with in the classrooms? I have come to realize that, on the one hand, we should not classify the attitudes of the public, in this case the students, concerning archaeological patrimony as right or wrong; on the other hand, I believe that the contradictions that appear in the classroom should be understood as a space for doubt, questioning, and reflection. Finally, by approaching the teaching of archaeology from the perspective of public archaeology, I go back to Malinowski who used to say that by understanding the “other” we could better understand ourselves, to which I would add—ourselves and our contradictions!

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SHINING LIGHT ON LOOTING

USING GOOGLE EARTH TO QUANTIFY DAMAGE AND RAISE PUBLIC AWARENESS

Daniel A. Contreras and Neil Brodie

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The market-driven looting of archaeological sites is an internationally recognized problem, but consensual solutions and the political will to implement them remain elusive. A key reason for the failure of the international community to articulate a coherent response is the difficulty of obtaining reliable quantitative information “on-the-ground” about either the extent and intensity of looting or the material damage being caused (see Brodie and Renfrew 2005:345–347 for an overview). Archaeological field surveys tend not to record such information because it is regarded as “non-archaeological,” and aerial photography is poorly suited to the task because of the costs involved in flying non-targeted reconnaissance missions. The scarcity of reliable information about the scale of archaeological site looting facilitates claims that the seriousness of the problem is being exaggerated: that most artifacts reaching the market are either “chance finds” (objects discovered through building or agricultural activities), or are from “old collections.” Therefore, the argument goes, no strong responses are necessary. Compelling horror stories about the damage caused by looting (e.g., Atwood 2007; Politis 1994) are dismissed as anecdotal and unrepresentative cases (see, for instance, comments in Mead 2007). The scarcity of information also makes it difficult to monitor the effectiveness of any ameliorating policies—how are we to know when looting is increasing or decreasing?

In principle, quantitative information can be obtained from high-resolution satellite imagery, which offers a means of identifying and assessing site damage without time-consuming and expensive site visits (see Stone 2008). In practice, however, the cost of obtaining suitable images has until recently been prohibitive for regional-scale projects. The imagery made publicly available on Google Earth now promises to overcome the obstacle of cost, though problems of coverage, appropriate resolution, and surface visibility remain (see Beck 2006; Scollar and Palmer 2008; Ur 2006). We have recently (Contreras and Brodie 2010) explored the use of Google Earth imagery for the investigation of site looting in Jordan, concluding—parallel to suggestions made by Parcak (2009) and Kennedy and Bewley (2009)—that

Google Earth is a tool well-suited to the task. We identified heavily looted areas, searched the published literature for relevant information, and visited the majority of these sites to ground-truth our assessments. The result is a corpus of data that includes estimates of the total area damaged by looting, information (where available in the archaeological literature) about the time period and cultural affiliation of looted sites, and on-the-ground photos detailing some of the looting damage (for examples see Figures 1 and 2). This information is being used for further research into the socio-economic contexts of looting, both locally and internationally.

Demonstrating the utility of the method, however, is only a first step. While most archaeologists might not need convincing that looting does significant damage, and that Google Earth may represent a means of quantifying that damage, there are more appropriate—if more difficult—targets. Looting is a problem that, like the drug trade or traffic in products derived from endangered species, is international in scope, and because of the power of the economic incentives in play, the market forces driving it are often beyond the reach of national authorities to police. Strategies of “social persuasion” can be more productive than legislative countermeasures. In particular, it is important to engage with the collectors who, in buying illicit antiquities, indirectly cause such destruction, and the policymakers charged with site protection and/or the movement, sale, and purchase of antiquities. To this end, we are investigating the use of Google Earth not only as a research tool, but also as a means of compelling, visceral communication.

Google Earth can serve as a tool for public outreach in archaeology by drawing the attention of *non-archaeologists* to the damage inflicted by extensive looting, and inviting them to participate in the research effort. Thus our outreach project has two aims: (1) to make looting damage visible—and visceral, and (2) to provide a means by which colleagues (and the public!) can collaborate, either by contributing documentation (for example photos, maps, etc.) or by identifying new sites that should be included.



Figure 1. Example of looting damage as seen in Google Earth; the pockmarked landscape visible is the result of numerous and densely spaced looters' pits. The site is Bab adh-Dhra, in a Google Earth image from 2007.



Figure 2. Bab adh-Dhra as seen from the ground in June 2009 (photograph by Daniel Contreras). On-the-ground images like this one both serve to ground-truth the identification of looting damage made on the basis of Google Earth images like that seen in Figure 1 and provide a dramatic sense of real effects of looting damage.

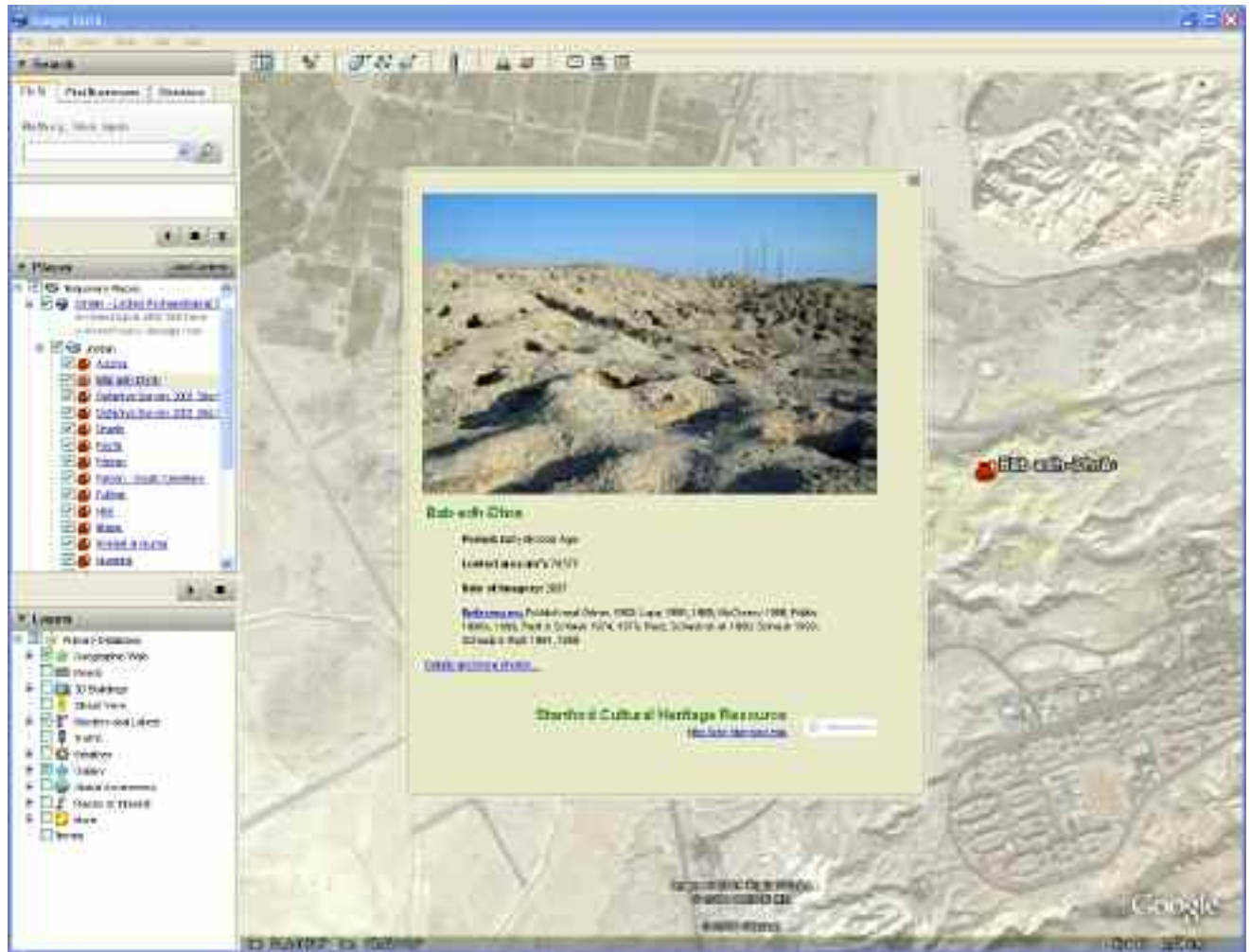


Figure 3. Screen capture of looting data maintained in Spreadsheet Mapper, as seen in Google Earth.

Drawing on the suite of tools that Google has made available through Google Earth Outreach, the arm of Google Earth dedicated to encouraging and enabling non-profit use of Google Earth (<http://earth.google.com/outreach/index.html>), we have published the array of data on looting damage that we have collected on Jordan. Publishing to both the web (see <http://chr.stanford.edu>) and Google Earth (either for internal or public consumption), we argue, is a useful means of raising public awareness, soliciting information and collaboration from colleagues, and advocating the implementation of the research equivalent of “sunshine laws” for looting.¹ In other words, we hope that employing Google Earth in an interactive manner can facilitate publicizing as well as quantifying looting damage, making the consequences for archaeological sites of the inter-

national trade in illicit antiquities more apparent to all.

The Spreadsheet Mapper tool provided by Google Earth Outreach² is admirably suited to our purposes. We provide (see <http://www.stanford.edu/group/chr/drupal/content/looting-jordan>) a network link to a spreadsheet that we maintain as a Google Document, which produces a Google Earth layer of site locations, with pop-up balloons providing further information about the sites, a photo of what the damage looks like on-the-ground, and links to further information on the web, which we host at chr.stanford.edu (see Figure 3). The layer is dynamically linked to the spreadsheet, meaning that as we update any information hosted there, the Google Earth layer will change appropriately. This allows interested viewers to stay up-to-date with

current research and to see that any contributions that they may make (identifying a looted site which we may then include in the database) are actively incorporated into the research effort.

Two challenges remain. The first, as Ur (2006) and Parcak (2009:224) have pointed out, is that publicizing site locations on Google Earth may invite looting of said sites. In the case of our use of Google Earth, however, the publication of locations of sites that are already heavily looted carries minimal risk, as looters presumably have nothing to learn from publication of their own work; the danger is one more associated with publicizing locations of sites newly located by archaeological survey. The second will require pushing the limits of the methodology itself. Using Google Earth imagery can only give us a snapshot of the extent of looting damage on the date of image acquisition; it cannot tell us anything about patterns of looting over time. Addition of older imagery would be particularly useful; where such imagery has ever been available in Google Earth it is now accessible in version 4.0 of Google Earth. Where previous satellite imagery is unavailable or of resolution too low to be useful, historical aerial photographs have proven useful for calculating the time periods with which extensive looting is associated (Contreras 2010). Even where time series of images are not available, however, establishing a baseline measure of looting damage for a given date provides a means of monitoring the rate of contemporary looting should it continue.

As more researchers tackle the problems of looting and traffic in illicit antiquities (e.g., Bowman 2008; Brodie and Renfrew 2005), it has become increasingly clear that the scale of looting damage is truly alarming. Attention has understandably tended to focus, however, on single exceptional artifacts (e.g., the Euphronios krater) or small assemblages (e.g., the Morgantina silver), which dramatize the appearance of prize materials in private or institutional collections and the associated disappearance of archaeological contexts. Our work complements this focus by emphasizing concern over a scale of looting damage that goes far beyond the loss of individual contexts, and that cuts archaeologists even closer to the bone: the wholesale loss of patterns of material culture that occurs when a cemetery is looted. We hope that Google Earth may serve to help educate the public generally, and policymakers and collectors in particular, about the gravity of this problem.

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Notes

1. This is currently the province primarily of NGOs like ICOMOS (<http://www.international.icomos.org/home.htm>), Saving Antiquities for Everyone (<http://www.savingantiquities.org/index.php>) and the Global Heritage Fund (<http://www.globalheritagefund.org/home.html>); the latter is preparing to launch the Global Heritage Network (http://www.globalheritagefund.org/what/ghf_network.html), intended to facilitate such monitoring.
2. For details see http://earth.google.com/outreach/tutorial_spreadsheet.html.



YOU SAY YOU WANT A REVOLUTION

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL REVOLUTIONS

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When V. Gordon Childe, at the time arguably the most famous prehistorian of the twentieth century, coined the terms “Neolithic Revolution” and “Urban Revolution” in the mid 1930s, he was likely unaware that he was inaugurating what was to become a time-honored tradition in our discipline: the archaeological revolution. Although the popular use of the term “revolution” to describe social, political, or technological turning points dates to the Enlightenment,¹ archaeologists were slow to adopt the term to describe processes of cultural change (though Childe alluded to prehistoric revolutions in earlier works, its first official use was in 1936). Since this time, “revolutions” have flourished within the discipline,² with archaeologists suggesting no fewer than nine revolutionary moments in prehistory.

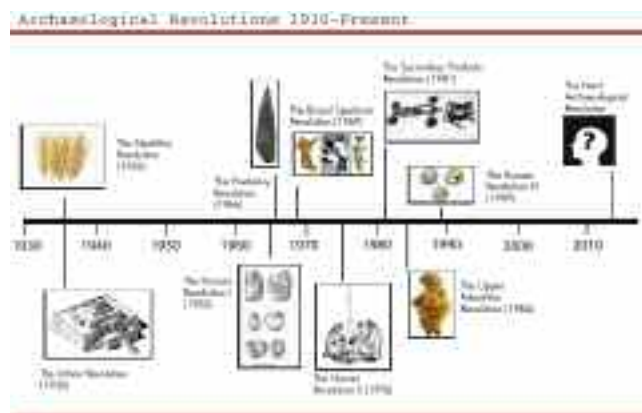
The Neolithic (ca. 12,000 B.P.) and Urban Revolutions (ca. 7,000 B.P.)

Childe was the first archaeologist to invoke the term “revolution” to explain stark discontinuities in the archaeological record as important turning points in the past, but clearly noted that “the word ‘revolution’ must not of course be taken as denoting a sudden violent catastrophe” (1950:3). Instead of reflecting the series of political revolutions that wracked Europe throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Childe’s revolutions were modeled on the Industrial Revolution, which had brought about rapid technological and social reorganization in both Europe and the United States. Still included in virtually every Introduction to Prehistory textbook, Childe’s “Neolithic” and “Urban Revolutions” have undergone a cycle of decline and resurgence over the years, and continue to spark intellectual debate. Although he discussed the idea of prehistoric revolutions during the 1920s, it was not until the publication of *Man Makes Himself* (1936) that Childe characterized the domestication of plants and animals as the Neolithic Revolution. According to Childe, people’s ability to produce their own food *in situ*—rather than to scour the landscape for it—had enormous implications for the origins of sedentism, larger populations, and the accumulation of property. In Childe’s mind, the Neolithic Revolution also led directly to the second major cultural development of all time, the Urban

Revolution—the advent of large, organized towns and cities. In the early urban planning of Mesopotamian city-states, Childe saw all the prerequisites—the blueprint if you will—of modern civilization. For Childe, the archaeological evidence of these watershed moments was largely demographic in nature: revolutions were a “culmination of a progressive change in the economic structure and social organization of communities that causes, or was accompanied by, a dramatic increase in the population affected” (1950:3).

The Human Revolution I (ca. 2.5 million B.P.)

Although archaeology would give birth to its first two prehistoric revolutions within a single decade, the discipline had to wait nearly another thirty years for its third. Perhaps best known for challenging the validity of the concept of biological race, paleoanthropologist Ashley Montagu published *The Human Revolution*³ in 1965, in which he suggested that the production of Oldowan tools over two million years ago was “the moment when a prehuman animal became a human animal, and the human revolution began” (1965:15). First developed as a series of lectures in 1963, Montagu argued that hominid evolution from *Homo habilis* to modern humans comprised a revolutionary set of traits and behaviors: patterned tool use and production, high-



ly organized hunting, sexual division of labor, increased linguistic and intellectual capacity, and new strategies of cultural transmission. Despite some speculative digressions regarding the evolutionary significance of several unique human behaviors, *The Human Revolution* was influential because it supported a coevolutionary model that acknowledged the interplay between cultural and genetic change in the development of social behavior. Montagu argued for a recursive gene-culture interaction unique to human groups in which “[e]very new invention, every new discovery had, as it were, a self-accelerating, autocatalytic effect upon the genetic and the cultural systems” (1965:120).

The Predatory Revolution (ca. 30,000 B.P.)

Probably the least well-known and most misunderstood of all of archaeological revolutions to date, the next revolution was a joke—literally. Typically remembered for their substantial intellectual contributions to archaeological method and theory, in 1966 Lewis and Sally Binford unveiled the “Predatory Revolution” in the *Brief Communications* section of *American Anthropologist*. Ostensibly a serious account of the shift toward modern strategies of predation following the invention of blade-based technology in the Upper Paleolithic, the “Predatory Revolution” was actually a practical joke poking fun at Robert Braidwood’s distinction between prehistoric food-gatherers (who move people to food) and food-collectors (who move food to people),⁴ a process that Braidwood suggested preceded the “first basic change in human life,” the Neolithic Revolution (1959:99). However, the joke was so artful that few people other than the authors and the editor recognized the tongue-in-cheek nature of the piece⁵—including the reviewers and many readers, who, according to Lewis Binford (Renfrew 1987:688), read the article without realizing that it was a spoof. Facetiously agreeing with Braidwood’s seemingly finicky nomenclatural distinction between “level” and “stage,” the Binfords joke: “We find this a lucid and refreshing approach, liberating us from the bondage of neo-Grecisms all too prevalent in the literature” (1966:508). Thus the “Predatory Revolution” was both a thoughtful commentary on archaeological periodization and a not-so-subtle dig at the Neolithic Revolution, in which Braidwood and a great many other archaeologists were still invested. While the “Predatory Revolution” remains the least influential archaeological revolution (and for good reason), it was notably plausible enough to be taken seriously by much of its professional audience—certainly a commentary on how easily any numbers of shifts in the archaeological record might be characterized as revolutions.



V. Gordon Childe

The Broad Spectrum Revolution (ca. 15,000 B.P.)

Kent Flannery closed out what was the most “revolutionary” decade for archaeology to date, the 1960s, with the “Broad Spectrum Revolution” (1969). This model emerged as the first enduring, well-recognized archaeological revolution since the Neolithic and Urban Revolutions. In it, Flannery suggested that environmental amelioration during the Epipaleolithic gave rise to an unprecedented dietary breadth in human populations. Subsequent Holocene populations had greater access to the environment, and thus were better able to capitalize on a variety of resources previously unavailable. Flannery’s largely environmentally determined model of diet diversification laid the foundation for both the regional resource specialization and sedentism that appeared in the Neolithic. As with Childe’s revolutions, the Broad Spectrum Revolution led to population growth, and social change that could be tracked through “stages” of social evolution (i.e., bands, tribes, chiefdoms, and ultimately states). Although Flannery suggested economic reasons for the emergence of the Mesolithic and Neolithic, unlike Childe, he placed the primacy for change within gradual environmental shifts.

The Human Revolution II (ca. 2.5 million—100,000 B.P.)

In 1976, archaeologist Desmond Collins suggested a second Human Revolution, stressing the human break from the animal kingdom.

In his words: “Mastery of stone tool-making and a new-found success as a hunter, the emergence of family life and the development of speech were seen to have constituted...the original Human Revolution” (Collins 1976:7). Written for a popular audience and less detailed than Montagu’s Human Revolution, Collins’ volume argued that a combination of linguistic and hunting proficiencies constituted the true Human Revolution (Collins 1976:95). Although Collins’s ideas were generally in line with the perceived wisdom on the subject, the second Human Revolution was not highly influential in terms of archaeological thought.

The Secondary Products Revolution (ca. 6000 B.P.)

There was a second rush of archaeological revolutions in the 1980s, ushered in by Andrew Sherratt’s Secondary Products Revolution in 1981. Similar to Flannery’s Broad Spectrum Revolution, the Secondary Products Revolution was connected to the Neolithic revolution *via* changes in technology and social complexity. The Secondary Products Revolution proposed that the domestication of plants and animals had consequences far

beyond basic subsistence by creating renewable, “secondary” products such as milk, wool, and animal labor. As with Neolithic and Urban innovations, these secondary products were wildly successful and socially transformative, harkening a new way of life in the Near East and Europe. Intimately linked to technological innovation and diffusion, the Secondary Products Revolution was at the time the most obvious heir to Childe’s ideas about social change.

The Upper Paleolithic Revolution (ca. 36,000 B.P.)

In 1984, following Feustel’s (1968) article “Evolution und Revolution im Ablauf der Steinzeit” (Evolution and Revolution at the End of the Stone Age), Antonio Gilman attempted to explain what has become one of the most widely discussed archaeological revolutions of all time, the “Upper Paleolithic Revolution.” Gilman proposed that the explosion of technological changes in material culture during the Upper Paleolithic constituted a prehistoric social revolution. For archaeologists, the Upper Paleolithic Revolution typically embodies a complex set of events: the arrival of behaviorally modern humans in Europe and the rapid disappearance of Neandertals, a suite of highly complex tools made from a diverse range of materials, the widespread use of personal ornamentation and burial offerings, long-distance exchange networks, and an explosion in both mobile and parietal art. Gilman posited that the widespread improvement in technology had several outcomes: (1) it increased the capacity of humans to efficiently extract resources from the environment in a variety of regions, thus increasing overall population sizes; and (2) it led to changes in social organization directed at internal group interests as groups become more technologically efficient and independent (Gilman 1984:122–123). These changes, which accumulated gradually toward the end of the Middle Paleolithic (before 40 kya) and culminated in a qualitative shift during the Upper Paleolithic, were not tied to a specific geographic locality or genetic population but instead to a new mode of production.

The Human Revolution III (ca. 100,000–50,000 B.P.)

The most hotly debated prehistoric revolution (although no Molotov cocktails have yet been thrown) appeared in 1989 with the publication of Paul Mellars and Christopher Stringer’s edited volume *The Human Revolution: Behavioral and Biological Perspectives on the Origins of Modern Humans*. This model quickly emerged as one of the most written about and widely discussed archaeological revolutions of all time. Like Montagu’s earlier version, Mellars and Stringer’s Human Revolution (revisited in the 2007 volume *Rethinking the Human Revolution*) interprets the dramatic social changes seen in the Late Stone Age and the Upper Paleolithic as the result of a late Middle Paleolithic gene-culture interaction among anatomically modern humans that

left them cognitively superior to earlier hominids. Although the behavioral changes associated with the Human Revolution (personal ornamentation, notational objects, color symbolism, etc.) are thought to have appeared in Africa between 100–50 kya, the symbolic efflorescence of the European Upper Paleolithic is typically pointed out as its most visible manifestation. Some versions of this model attribute this dramatic shift to a radical adaptation in behavioral and biological capacity as evidenced by new symbolic and technological behaviors (Mellars 2005), rather than to a change in the material conditions of human groups (as did the Upper Paleolithic Revolution). Other proponents of the Human Revolution consider it to be *the* seminal revolution, driven by neurological change and a fortuitous but yet to be identified genetic mutation,⁶ without which other revolutions in human culture would not have been possible (Klein and Edgar 2002:270). Both versions attribute dramatic social change not simply to the proliferation of innovations or ideas, but to the spread of genetically and anatomically modern human populations.

“Revolution is not a one-time event.”—Audre Lorde

Averaging about one per decade since the publication of Childe’s *Man Makes Himself*, archaeological revolutions have now proliferated to the point that just being *Homo sapiens* at all qualifies us as “revolutionaries” (ponder that the next time you feel you’ve lost your radical edge). While it is clear that prehistoric revolutions are here to stay, as consumers of these ideas we are left to wonder about the disparate nature of changes deemed deserving of the moniker “revolution,” and how best to characterize the pivotal moments—the births, deaths, and marriages if you will—of the human past. Are biological and genetic changes revolutionary in the same way that social, political, and technological ones are? Are archaeological revolutions abrupt and irreversible breaks with the past, or the culminations of long-term processes? As subtly pointed out in the Binford’s satirical “Predatory Revolution,” what are the criteria by which we judge whether or not events in the past were revolutionary? Perhaps the only agreed upon aspect of the “archaeological revolution” is that it is a rhetorically attractive way to characterize change. New archaeological revolutions, such as Smith’s (2007:35) “quiet revolution” in which indigenous approaches constitute a response to archaeology’s colonial past, will likely embrace the idea that revolutions are ultimately as much of a disciplinary phenomenon as they are a prehistoric one. Perhaps for now the only question that remains is: what will the next archaeological revolution be?

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Notes

1. Though “revolution” was initially popularized as an astronomical term by Copernicus at the end of the fifteenth century, by 1651 scientist Robert Boyle had used it to describe an overturning of the religious and philosophical order. In 1688, King James II of England was overthrown in what was known as the “Glorious Revolution.” It was the American and French Revolutions, however, that galvanized the separate social, technological, and political meanings into a form closely resembling the one used today. The French Revolution in turn directly influenced ideas about the rapid mechanization in Europe, and was quickly dubbed the Grande Révolution Industrielle. By 1867, Karl Marx was referring to revolutions in Europe as “the locomotives of history.” Childe’s Neolithic and Urban Revolutions were a logical extension of this concept into the archaeological past.

2. Including modern technological innovations, such as Walter Libby’s perfection of carbon-14 dating in 1949, subsequently dubbed the “Radiocarbon Revolution” by Colin Renfrew in 1973.

3. This volume is not to be confused with Desmond Collins’ 1976 volume *The Human Revolution*, or with the formalized archaeological model presented in the similarly titled 1989 volume on the origins of anatomically and behaviorally modern humans by Paul Mellars and Christopher Stringer, both of which are discussed below.

4. Ideas interestingly not dissimilar from models of residential vs. logistical mobility developed by Binford in the 1980s.

5. Similarly, Childe once facetiously suggested at a conference that Woodhenge was in fact a cheap imitation of the older, more durable Stonehenge constructed by the Neolithic nouveau riche. His opinion apparently carried so much weight that no one in the audience got the joke.

6. Potentially a mutation in the FOXP2 gene (a gene associated with speech, language, and other aspects of biological development) that appears to be roughly coeval with the emergence of anatomically modern humans, but which appears significantly earlier than widespread changes in the archaeological record associated with the advent of behavioral modernity (Enard et al. 2002; Klein and Edgar 2002).



ASYMPTOTICALLY APPROACHING ZERO

TREE-RING DATING AT MESA VERDE NATIONAL PARK

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Tree-ring dating has been an integral part of archaeological research at Mesa Verde National Park since 1923, when members of the National Geographic Society's First Beam Expedition collected samples from Cliff Palace, Spruce Tree House, and other sites (Douglass 1929, 1942; Nash 1999; Nichols 1963; Smiley 1947). Notable and intensive projects since then include Harry T. Getty's efforts for the University of Arizona in the early 1930s (Figure 1; Getty 1935a, 1935b), Deric O'Bryan's efforts for the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation in the early 1940s (see Nash 1999: 114–140), the extensive archaeological and climatological activity of the Wetherill Mesa Archaeological Project of the 1950s and 1960s (Nichols and Harlan 1967), and various published and unpublished 100 percent sampling projects in the late 1990s and 2000s (Dean 2001; Parks and Dean 1997; Street 2001a, 2001b, *2003; Windes 1995). Given the intensity of these efforts, as well as the poorly documented history of site visitation during which many beams were simply burned in campfires, the number of undated, but datable, beams remaining to be sampled in the Park is asymptotically approaching zero. That said, the full dendrochronological potential of the Park has not yet been tapped. With five named fires having burned more than 50 percent (28,340 acres) of the Park since 1997, a sense of urgency is justified.

In late 2006, I was awarded a grant from the KT Challenge Program at the Denver Museum of Nature & Science (DMNS) to undertake a small pilot archaeological tree-ring dating program that focused on collecting samples from some of the last datable beams remaining in the Park. In early 2008, I parlayed that pilot program into a larger grant from the State Historical Fund of the Colorado Historical Society for a more comprehensive research and outreach effort that involves five separate sub-projects, for which I offer the following as a progress report.

Given my background working with previously collected but uncatalogued museum collections (see Nash 2003, 2006), the first goal of my project is to ensure that ALL previously collected, but unanalyzed, tree-ring specimens collected at Mesa Verde National Park have been analyzed, and hopefully dated, by specialists at the Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research (LTRR) at the

University of Arizona in Tucson. During the summer of 2008, I delivered approximately 400 previously unanalyzed specimens to the LTRR. Although the analysis of those specimens is ongoing, dozens of new dates have already been obtained, particularly from the Schulman Grove (see below).

The second goal is to collect new tree-ring specimens from back-country cliff sites that still contain datable wood. In addition to the five well-known Mesa Verde cliff dwellings that are open to visitation by the public (Balcony House, Long House, and Step House on Wetherill Mesa; Cliff Palace and Spruce Tree House on Chapin Mesa), there are nearly 600 documented cliff-sites within the Park boundaries, ranging from small masonry granaries with no remnant wood to large cliff sites like Mug House which were once open to the public on a limited basis. Of these 600, roughly 250 are known by the Park's Archaeological Site Conservation Program to contain wood, but only about two dozen of those contain wood that is likely to be datable. (The others include lintels, wall pegs, or loose wood specimens that are too small, or of the wrong species, to be datable.) Collecting trips occurred in June 2007, June 2009, and August 2009; additional trips requiring technical access skills (e.g., rappelling) are in the planning stages. New dates have confirmed previous dating of sites such as Painted Kiva House and Mug House; new dates have also been obtained for a historic ladder leading to Painted Kiva House, which was once open to the public, a Navajo sweat lodge on Chapin Mesa, and for Sun Temple (5MV352). The eight Sun Temple dates are particularly interesting, as the earliest is a noncutting date of A.D. 1542, and the latest is a noncutting date of 1909. As many researchers have long suspected, Sun Temple bears strong evidence of Jesse Walter Fewkes's use of deadwood in his extensive (re-)construction of the site (Fewkes 1915).¹ We eagerly await the results of analyses of newly collected samples from Sunset House (5MV626), Nordenskiöld Site 16 (5MV1241), Kodak House, and others.

The third goal of the CHS-funded project is to re-examine the Schulman Grove (5MV4814), in Navajo Canyon, which is home to Douglas fir trees that were purportedly manipulated by pre-Columbian inhabitants of Mesa Verde in order to produce



Figure 1: Harry T. Getty using a hollow-bit drill to collect a $\frac{1}{2}$ " core from a pinyon primary beam in Room 15 at Spruce Tree House in 1932. After re-sampling by the Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research in 1993, this beam's pith (center) dated to A.D. 1115 and yielded a non-cutting outer date of 1252v (personal communication, Jeffrey S. Dean, April 29, 2009). Field Museum Negative No. A78462, Courtesy of the Field Museum.

stems, and therefore construction beams, of predictable size and shape (Nichols and Smith 1965). To better understand this complex hypothesis and potential phenomenon, some background is necessary.

In the 1940s, pioneering dendrochronologist Edmund Schulman visited the now-eponymous Schulman Grove in search of living trees that would help him bridge a gap in a tree-ring chronology between its recent portion, based on the analysis of living-tree cores, and its ancient portion, based on the analysis of archaeological cores (Schulman 1946). The recent portion went back to A.D. 1288; the ancient portion went up to A.D. 1274, leaving a small but significant gap created in part by ring growth anomalies caused by the "Great Drought" (Douglass 1929). Because Mesa Verde was well-known, even in the 1940s,



Figure 2: Liz Francisco, Richard V.N. Ahlstrom and Steve Nash at Schulman Old Tree, June 2007. Note the striking and distinctive horizontal growth of the stem along the cliff face. Photo by John Whittaker.

to have been depopulated in the A.D. 1280s or shortly thereafter, Schulman looked for old living trees, not archaeological sites, for specimens that would bridge the gap. On July 9, 1947, he discovered and cored the "Schulman Old Tree" (SOT; Figure 2), which yielded an inner date of ca. A.D. 1150, making it by far the oldest tree known in the Park and one of the oldest Douglas firs known anywhere in the Southwest (Schulman 1947). The Schulman Old Tree is distinctive to say the least, with a stem growing horizontally for a few feet before angling slightly upward along a north-facing slope. It is still alive, and we collected new cores from it in order to help bring the Mesa Verde chronology up to 2009.

While working on the Wetherill Mesa Archaeological Project (WMAF) in the early 1960s, Robert Nichols and David Smith collected additional living-tree cores from the Schulman Old Tree, and used archaeological coring equipment to collect samples from two dead limbs on it that they thought might have been cut with stone axes. Nichols and Smith also re-located and sampled two additional old-growth (but now dead) Douglas firs that had been dubbed "Lancaster Old Tree- 1" (LOT-1; Figure 3) and "Lancaster Old Tree-2" (LOT-2) because James Allen Lancaster had identified them in 1954 as potentially having stone axe cuts on them as well. LOT-1 is particularly intriguing because Lancaster cut "Stumpie" (Figure 4) off the main trunk in 1954.

Given that the Schulman Grove contains the ONLY supposed evidence for such activity, and the ONLY purported stone-axe cut beam ends on living tree-stumps known anywhere in the



Figure 3. Steve Nash and Kara Naber examining Lancaster Old Tree – 1 in June 2007. The dead tree fell sometime within the next two years. Just to Nash's left is the location from which "Stumpie" (see Figure 4) was collected in 1954 (Nichols and Smith 1965:59). Photo by John Whittaker.

Southwest, it was ripe for detailed and critical re-examination in an attempt to confirm, or refute, the hypothesis that the trees are culturally manipulated. In 2008, I delivered previously collected but unanalyzed Schulman Grove specimens to the LTRR. Curiously, only two of 21 newly derived tree-ring dates from SOT, LOT-1, and LOT-2 pre-date to the final occupation of Mesa Verde (e.g., before A.D. 1280); the remaining 19 newly derived dates are non-cuttings ranging from 1321 to 1899.

For three days in August 2009, we collected many additional samples from the Schulman Grove, including living tree cores from the SOT and cross-sections of dead Douglas firs, including LOT-1 and, we believe, LOT-2. Those specimens are currently at the LTRR and, once dated, we will analyze the entire corpus of dates from Schulman Grove. In 1965, Nichols and Smith (1965:63-4) were cautiously optimistic: "The Schulman Old Tree area is probably not unique in Mesa Verde." In 2009, after having visited Schulman Grove half a dozen times, I am even more



Figure 4. Cut from Lancaster Old Tree 1 in 1954, "Stumpie" has multiple stems that appear to have been cut with a stone axe during the 13th century (see Figure 6 in Nichols and Smith 1965). Courtesy of Mesa Verde National Park.

skeptical than before. Evidence for pre-Columbian cultural manipulation of these trees seems tenuous at best and their interpretations seem too good to be true, but the jury is still out. Stay tuned.

The fourth goal is a corollary to the third, and involves the search for culturally manipulated ponderosa pine specimens. At various locations in the greater North American West, including southern and western Colorado, there is evidence that indigenous populations peeled the bark off of ponderosa pine trees in order to gain access to, and eat, the living cambium during periods of resource stress (Martorano 1990, 1999, and references therein). To my knowledge, a systematic search for such peeled-bark trees had never occurred within the Park boundaries. After conferring with Park ecologists, we examined ponderosa pine groves in Bobcat Canyon, Morefield Canyon, and elsewhere. Only two peeled-bark trees have been found in the Park, on the south side of the main access road where it cuts across More-



Figure 5: Proposed cover art for *Talkative Tree-Rings: A Guide to the Amazing Science of Tree-Ring Dating*. Courtesy of Mary Ann Bonnell.

field Canyon. The Bircher Fire in 2000 burned these trees; the remaining bark fell off in about 2005. I collected an archaeological core from the scar face in an effort to date the peeling event; this specimen is currently being analyzed. I am not optimistic that it will yield a date, however, because the trees were well-watered when living and the ring series is short and complacent (i.e., does not show requisite variability or length to be accurately cross-dated).

The fifth goal of the project focused on distance learning and public outreach. DMNS has an extensive *Science-In-Action* program, during which middle school children from Denver and the surrounding seven-county area can ask questions of scientists in the field using a live, closed-circuit satellite television broadcast link. On October 10, 2008, while broadcasting from Mug House on Wetherill Mesa, I gleefully answered live questions from a sample of some 450 school children and adults during three separate broadcast events in Denver. During one particularly notable exchange, a middle school student with a distinctive Mohawk haircut asked, "How long have you been an archaeologist?" He had forgotten that we could see him, and after being tipped off by the crew, I answered "I don't know, how

long have you had the Mohawk?" and much laughter ensued. All jokes aside, teachers and students involved in the *Science-in-Action* program receive written and video resources in advance of the main event, and are expected to become familiar with the scientist and the research presented. As such, the *Sciences-in-Action* program meets numerous state and local science standards.

Since the CHS grant proposal was submitted, three other important projects have come to the fore. First, I have been working with artist and author Mary Ann Bonnell to develop a children's book on tree-ring dating entitled *Talkative Tree-Rings: A Simple Guide to the Amazing Science of Tree-Ring Dating* (Nash and Bonnell 2009; Figure 5). The title is a play on Andrew Ellicott Douglass' seminal 1929 publication that introduced with the world to the science of tree-ring dating (Douglass 1929). The second ancillary project is the Village Ecosystem Dynamics Project II, run by Crow Canyon Archaeological Center and Washington State University, for which I will create a database of all known tree-ring dates from Mesa Verde National Park and write a history of the same. Finally, Jeff Dean's (2001) synthetic but unpublished report on Wetherill Mesa tree-ring dates will be submitted for publication with the newly reconstituted DMNS Annals series.

Mesa Verde National Park is a world heritage site for a reason—the archaeology and preservation are remarkable. That said, archaeological wood resources have on the one hand suffered decades of abuse by public visitation from the 1870s through at least the 1920s, while on the other have enjoyed significant dendrochronological research attention. The current project is designed to tie up many of the loose ends left behind, even if we are asymptotically approaching a situation in which no more datable samples are left to be analyzed.

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Note

1. Fewkes (1915:345) noted that a juniper tree growing in the middle of Sun Temple had at least 360 rings on it, and that Sun Temple dated back to at least A.D. 1555. Based on the wall-fall patterns, he estimated the site to be at least two centuries older than that, or dating to ca. A.D. 1355. Although Fewkes was not practicing dendrochronology in the modern sense, it is indeed curious that these calculations take the date to within about 75 years of the end of the now well-dated occupation of Mesa Verde. Not bad for inspired guesswork.

The Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC)



Is seeking qualified experts to serve as dispute resolution third panel members (TPM). Occasionally, disputes arise between FERC and federal agencies or Indian tribes with mandatory conditioning authority regarding the best way to study potential aquatic, terrestrial, cultural, recreation, land use, aesthetics, geology, socio-economics, or engineering issues. In such cases, a three person panel (consisting of a FERC staff member, an agency or tribal representative, and an outside expert) is created to review the facts and make recommendations to resolve the issue.

Individuals with expertise in one or more of the above resource areas, familiarity with laws relevant to the expertise area, and knowledge of the effects of construction and operation of hydroelectric projects are encouraged to apply for selection to the approved TPM list. Applicants on the existing TPM list do not need to reapply.

The application deadline is August 15, 2010.

All application materials should be sent to Office of the Secretary, FERC, 888 First Street N.E., Washington, DC 20246.

Please put docket AD04-4-001 in the subject line. For more information and application process, visit:

<http://elibrary.ferc.gov/idmws/common/opennat.asp?fileID=12178391>



TRICK AND TREAT

ARCHAEOLOGICAL LESSONS FROM A TIME CAPSULE

Donald H. Holly Jr.

Don Holly is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Eastern Illinois University

Clink! The sound I heard was a sound familiar to many of us. It was the sound of something unnatural buried in the earth. As part of homecoming celebrations at my university and to commemorate the hundredth year anniversary of the campus' oldest residence hall—Pemberton Hall—I was assisting a team of students, staff, and administrators to locate a time-capsule that had been buried at Pemberton Hall 45 years earlier. Judging from the sound emanating off the shovel, I suspected we had just found it. As it turns out we had indeed found a time capsule, but not the one we were looking for.

The fact that a time capsule was even buried here was a surprise. Our university's director of housing and dining, Mark Hudson, had been spending the previous months in the University Archives and elsewhere, looking for pictures and mementos to showcase as part of Pemberton's 100-year anniversary. In the process he stumbled across a photograph in the 1962-3 Pemberton Hall scrapbook that showed students burying a time capsule just outside the hall. It was a lucky discovery. Without the picture there would have been no indication that anything was buried there—no plaque, engraved brick, or X marked the spot. Mark did some additional research, and even tracked down a few of the students in the photographs to ask them about the capsule. They remembered burying it, but not what was in it. Finding that out was our task.

The capsule we unearthed was in bad shape. It was clearly once a metal box of some sort, but time and conditions had since rusted it to the point that the walls had split apart and it had filled with earth. As carefully as we could, Mark and I opened the box and examined the contents. They were soiled, sodden, and rusty, but the front page of the student run newspaper that had been enclosed in the capsule was still legible. The headline read: "Homecoming 79." The crowd that had gathered to watch the event was confused—the capsule should have been from 1962, not 1979. As students wiped the mud off a small beer stein, examined a rusty pin, and tried to unfold a soggy handwritten letter that had been preserved inside a plastic bag, you could hear the murmurs of people trying to come to grips with the unexpected date. Perhaps hoping to resolve the matter, Mark

began to read the enclosed letter to the crowd: "On Halloween Eve (Oct 30th) 1979, we the undersigned dug up this time capsule buried by the girls of Pemberton 1969," but the letter only added to the confusion. It suggested that the students who buried the 1979 time capsule had found one that had been buried in 1969, not 1962.

What happened to the 1962 capsule? My guess is that it was unearthed several years later in the Spring of 1969. On the weekend of May 18–19th of that year, Pemberton Hall celebrated its 60th anniversary. Weekend activities included a banquet on Saturday night and an open house on Sunday afternoon. According to a student reporter, refreshments would be served at the open house and "old yearbooks, clippings, scrapbooks and items..." would be on display (Painter 1969:1). I suspect that it was at this time that students discovered that a capsule was buried outside their residence hall—from perusing photographs in the 1962 scrapbook—and the decision was made to excavate it. Then they put a new capsule in its place.

Ten years later, four students unearthed the 1969 capsule the day before Halloween. Like us, they probably expected to find the 1962 capsule, for there seems to be no record of the burial of a time capsule in 1969—it was not documented for posterity in the 1969 scrapbook nor reported in the student newspaper. Accordingly, I imagine that the students who unearthed the 1969 capsule in 1979 were just as surprised as we were by what they found. Then, as was fitting for Halloween, they planted a trick for us.

As it turns out, their trick was my treat. While I could sense some disappointment in the crowd when we dated the capsule to 1979, I was ecstatic. To me, the discovery of the 1979 time capsule where a 1962 capsule should have been was more exciting to me than if we had found the 1962 capsule. Our unexpected discovery spoke to lessons I try to convey to my students about the power of archaeology to reveal hidden and "alternative" histories. For students of "prehistory," the lesson that archaeology can reveal undocumented history is self evident and easily understood: the archaeological record of the Upper



Figure 1. Mark Hudson (center) and students examine the contents of the time capsule. Photo courtesy of Ken Tylman (Vidpro).



Figure 2. A student reads the letter included in the time capsule. Photo courtesy of Ken Tylman (Vidpro).

Paleolithic is the *only* record. But for students of “history,” the notion that archaeology can unearth undocumented “recent” events or accounts that challenge the written record is less apparent and usually greeted with some skepticism. Most of my students, after all, have seen television shows where artifacts salvaged from shipwrecks or battlefields are used as props to tell stories that are already well known and understood. They are less familiar with the ways that archaeology can contribute new and different accounts of the past. This could explain the disconcerting effect of the 1979 time capsule on the crowd. The capsule offered tangible evidence of a “historical” event that was undocumented and unknown (the student newspaper and Pemberton Hall’s 1979 scrapbook did not record the events of October 30th 1979 either).

The discovery of the 1979 time capsule is instructive in other ways too. Like the written record, most time capsules are prone to bias. Their contents often represent a selective and highly edited interpretation of the present. I imagine that most time capsules on college campuses, for instance, are buried with the approval and under the close supervision of the powers that be. As such, their contents are carefully screened and sanitized for future consumption and interpretation before they are buried. In contrast, the archaeological record tends to capture a wider and more diverse spectrum of evidence—from stelae carved by the elite, to the homes of common peasants and animal remains consumed by slaves. As such, archaeologists usually take pride in their ability to use material culture to interrogate the written record and as a basis for writing new (and different) histories.

Like all time capsules, the 1979 capsule can be read as a carefully crafted message to the future. But this capsule is unusual in that it was buried by students—probably in the dead of night—and certainly without the University’s blessing. Stelae it is not. The capsule contained a small beer-stein (that may have

served as a shot glass), an ashtray, and a note that went on to declare that the party represented members of “Pemberton’s ‘....ing’ [illegible] and drinking sorority.” The note also contained the signatures of three sorority members and a male visitor from Colorado, who added that he was a GDI [God Damn Independent]. The “artifacts” and the letter drew a few chuckles from the students, and nervous laughter from staff and administrators. One of the latter quickly added that the drinking age was lower in 1979, as if to soften the message. And indeed it is true that the drinking age was 19 in October of 1979, but not for long. The drinking age in Illinois would jump to 21 in just a couple months, on January 1st 1980, much to the chagrin of many students on campus. Indeed, just a week prior to the burial of the time capsule, students had protested the Governor’s decision to raise the drinking age by erecting a giant sign on the face of a nearby residence hall that read “We want the right to drink!” to coincide with his visit to campus (Eastern News 10/23/1979) and there were letters of protest in the opinion pages. As such, the beer stein, ashtray, drinking declarations, and defiant John Hancocks’ are best understood as artifacts of subversion. They are precisely the sorts of things that help archaeologists write peasant histories.

The discovery of an unauthorized time capsule in the place where the 1962 time capsule should have been is what we might call “a teaching moment.” It nicely illustrates archaeology’s ability to contribute new and different accounts of the past—in this case, a window into the life and times of the common college student, circa 1979.

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REPORT FROM THE SAA BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Barbara J. Mills

Barbara J. Mills is the Secretary for the Society for American Archaeology.

The SAA Board of Directors met over two separate days at the 75th Anniversary Meeting, the 14th and 17th of April. The first meeting included outgoing Directors Katherine Kamp and Jon Driver, and Treasurer Paul Welch; the second meeting included new Director Alston Thoms, and Secretary-elect Janet Levy. Incoming Director Melinda Zeder was unable to attend, as was President-elect Fred Limp although the President-elect was able to participate remotely for a number of important discussion items.

In her report to the Board President Conkey discussed the fiscal situation, including new challenges from declining revenue streams. She mentioned that one issue that arose regarding the annual meeting is that the learning curve for the abstract submission system is too steep for program chairs, and that a plan for restructuring the staff and program committee responsibilities has been proposed (this plan was later approved by the Board). She discussed several significant meetings, including a one-day meeting of the Executive Committee at the Robert S. Peabody Museum at Phillips Andover Academy, where the first SAA meeting was held 75 years ago. Two other special meetings were held: a Board planning meeting in January to brainstorm new initiatives and a retreat at the Amerind Foundation in Dagoon attended by the President, executive director and members of the Repatriation Committee and the Committee on Native American Relations. Both meetings were highly successful in that they moved forward on new ideas for the Society and will improve the collaboration of members of different committees on SAA issues. One of the new initiatives proposed at the January Board meeting was a new conference to draw in more Latin American members—the Conferencia Intercontinental (this proposal was approved by the Board, see below). President Conkey also described efforts that she engaged in, along with David Lindsay of the SAA staff, with government leaders to discuss archaeological priorities. She also summarized the rewarding collaboration among

leaders of multiple professional organizations that resulted in the removal from sale of Yale's Skull and Bones Society ballot box. The status of the Society's publications was summarized, including the unanticipated turnover in the editors of *Latin American Antiquity*. She ended with a discussion of digital technologies, including the SAA's improved use of digital platforms for communicating with members.

The Executive Director, Tobi Brimsek, then presented her report to the Board and discussed some of the highlights. This included the impact of the new deadline for membership renewal for those participating in the annual meeting. Fiscal issues include lower advertising revenues, higher annual meeting costs (even with higher than expected registration), and a dip in institutional subscriptions. Executive Director Brimsek pointed out that the SAA audit is requiring more and more staff time because of new regulations. She outlined the various accomplishments of she and the SAA staff over the past year including in the areas of Fund Development, Government Affairs, Information Services, Leadership Services/Governance, Publications, Marketing, Meetings, Membership, Public Education and Outreach, and Media Relations. Happily, she noted that the Society's Facebook page has many visitors, with Lima and Los Angeles the two cities with the most visitors.

The Secretary reported on the results of the elections. Fred Limp was elected as President-elect and Janet E. Levy as Secretary-elect. New Directors are Melinda Zeder and Alston Thoms, and Virginia Butler and Sarah Herr were elected to the Nominations Committee. The total number of ballots sent out was 7,580 and 1,834 were returned (24.1 percent).

SAA Treasurer, Paul Welch, described the annual cycle for finances in his report to the Board. At the spring meeting, surpluses are allocated to different accounts. One of the goals this spring is to put aside funds for a possible new journal. A second goal is to put funds into a technology fund for unanticipated hardware and software needs as well as for the expected significant software upgrades required in the new 2–3 years. He noted that expenses are increasing at the same time that revenue is



SAA President
Margaret Conkey



The SAA Board of Directors (left to right): Karen S. Hartgen, Alston V. Thoms, Tobi A. Brimsek, Christopher D. Dore, Margaret W. Conkey, Barbara Arroyo, Patricia L. Crown, Cory Breternitz, Janet Levy, and Barbara J. Mills (not pictured: Fred Limp and Melinda Zeder).

decreasing, which makes the operating contingency fund an important fund to maintain. The Reserves Fund is still being contributed to—it now stands at 73 percent of the FY10 operating budget and will go up to between 74 percent and 75 percent with the new contributions.

Following the reports of the Executive Director and Executive Committee members, the Board moved on to consideration of agenda items. The Board established the Minority Scholarships Committee, which is charged with developing and proposing an implementation plan for the Committee in consultation with the Fund Raising Committee. The Board also established a committee for awarding the new UCLA Archaeology Field Programs Prizes for the two best undergraduate presentations at the annual meeting.

As discussed in the summary of the January Board meeting (see *The SAA Archaeological Record* 10(2):4–5), the Board approved the creation of the Conferencia Intercontinental. The first meeting will be held January 2012 in Panama and the Board established the Conferencia Intercontinental Fund. It also appointed Dan Sandweiss as Special Advisor to the SAA Board for the

Conferencia Intercontinental and met with the Special Advisor to discuss the basic parameters of the meeting.

Planning for future SAA Annual meetings moved ahead. As noted above, a policy shift was voted upon transferring many of the responsibilities formerly done by the Program Chair to SAA Staff, including production of the annual meeting program. This should enable the program chairs to focus more on the intellectual content of the meetings rather than the mechanics.

Amongst new initiatives, a forward-looking Committee Appointment Policy and Procedures was adopted. Each year the Society will put out a call to members with a list of committees with available slots, asking members who are interested in serving to put their names forward. The purpose of this policy is to endure greater transparency and diversity in the appointment of committee members. The first call will be in October 2010 for slots opening in April 2011.

Visitors to the Board included Megg Heath, incoming Chair of the Public Education Committee, who presented her vision for the PEC's upcoming activities at the Wednesday Board meeting.

On Saturday, Nelly Robles García, Head of the Consejo de Arqueología de INAH visited with the Board and read a letter from Alfonso de Maria y Campos Castelló, Director General of INAH in celebration of SAA's 75th Anniversary Meeting. William Doelle, outgoing Chair of the Fundraising Committee, presented his summary of the 75th Annual Meeting campaign and suggested several areas for future development. Joe Watkins, Chair of the Committee on Ethics made two important points. First, that the Ethics Bowl has become so popular that a revision to playoff schedules and final round timing may need to be made. And second that the committee thinks that some revisions to the SAA Code of Ethics are needed.

As is traditional, the Board had Saturday lunch with the various editors and committee chairs involved with our publications program including Publications Committee Chair Katharina Schreiber, SAA Press Editor Paul Minnis, *American Antiquity* Editor Alison Rautman, and one of the two incoming *Latin American Antiquity* editor Christopher Pool (Gabriela Uruñuela was unable to attend). Also unable to attend was incoming *The SAA Archaeological Record* Editor, Jane Baxter.

Another initiative that was discussed in our January meeting was the possibility of a new journal focusing on archaeological practice. The Board authorized the use of the new Journal Start-up Fund for doing market research for a new peer-reviewed journal. The Board also established a subcommittee of the Board whose charge is to work with the SAA staff to prepare a mock up for the new peer-reviewed journal that could be used in market research.

Government Affairs Committee Chair, David Cushman, along with SAA staff member David Lindsay, filled the Board in on latest legislative action on the Hill. One of the most important issues is the issuing of the final regulations on Culturally Unidentifiable Human Remains (CUHR). The Board discussed comments on the new regulations for culturally unidentifiable human remains prepared by several SAA committees, which were issued as a final rule and published in the *Federal Register* on Monday March 15, 2010 (43 CFR Part 10). The Chair of the Committee on Native American Relations, Wendy Teeter, visited the Board of Directors and read a letter that reaffirmed the need for a balanced response that takes into account the relationships and processes that already are in place through NAG-PRA. The Chair of the Repatriation Committee, Susan Bruning, also visited with the Board. The Board directed her to consult with other committees to draft a response and circulate to the Board for comments.

The Board sincerely thanks outgoing committee and task force chairs for their service to the Society: Kenneth Ames, John Blitz, Colin Busby, Linda Cordell, William H. Doelle, Michael Frachet-

ti, John G. Jones, Douglas Kennett, Mary Lou Larson, Jill Neitzel, Lisa LeCount, Laurie Rush, Jeremy Sabloff, Daniel Sandweiss, Katharina Schreiber, James Skibo, James Snead, Joe E. Watkins, Donald J. Weir, and Diana Zaragoza. We also thank Jon Muller for his perennial role as Chair of Ceremonial Resolutions.

SAA 2011 CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

The 2011 Nominating Committee of the Society for American Archaeology requests nominations for the following positions:

Treasurer-elect (2011) to succeed to the office of Treasurer for 2012-2014

Board of Directors member, Position #1 (2011-2014), replacement for current member Barbara Arroyo

Board of Directors member, Position #2 (2011-2014), replacement for current member Cory Breternitz

Nominating Committee Member, Member #1 (2011)

Nominating Committee Member, Member #2 (2011)

If SAA is to have effective officers and a representative Board, the membership must be involved in the nomination of candidates. Members are urged to submit nominations and, if they so desire, to discuss possible candidates with the 2011 Nominating Committee Chair Paul Welch (email: pwelch@siu.edu).

Please send all nominations, along with an address and phone number for the nominated individual, to:

Chair, 2011 Nominating Committee

c/o SAA Executive Director

900 Second St., NE #12

Washington DC 20003-3560

or fax to 202 789-0284

or email to tobi_brimsek@saa.org

Please note that nominees must be current members of SAA. Nominations should be received no later than September 1, 2010.



SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

75TH ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

MINUTES OF THE MEETING

Barbara J. Mills, Secretary

President Meg Conkey called the SAA's 75th Annual Business Meeting meeting to order at 5:15 PM on Friday April 16, 2010 after a quorum was determined to be present by the Secretary. She asked for the minutes of last year's business meeting in Atlanta to be approved. The motion was moved, seconded, and approved by the membership.

President Conkey presented her report to the members. She emphasized how forward looking the activities of the Board have been. She invited everyone to the party celebrating the 75th Anniversary on Saturday evening and announced the publication of *Voices in American Archaeology*, edited by Wendy Ashmore, Dorothy Lippert, and Barbara Mills (published through The SAA Press). She noted that there are nearly 4,000 people in attendance at this SAA meeting. The 75th Anniversary fundraising campaign is still going on and we are only \$50,000 short of the campaign and urged members to contribute. The fundraising will go to different activities of the Society, including general operations and Native American scholarships. Next year the meetings will be in the "New Orleans of the West"—Sacramento—a destination city near Yosemite and the Napa Wine country. She urged the members to attend.

The President announced some of the new things that the Society is engaging in. SAA is on Facebook with nearly 3,000 friends. We are also on Twitter. Lima, Peru, and Mexico City were the most popular cities for Facebook friends, although Los Angeles is now taking over Mexico City. There is a new initiative to encourage more participation on committees—a call will come out and there will be two students on most committees. Several new task forces, including one for student development, have been created. A new conference, the Conferencia Intercontinental, will be coordinated by Dan Sandweiss. In addition, there will be a new minority scholarship program.

President Conkey extended thanks to all of our sponsors of the 75th Annual Meeting. She also thanked all SAA committee mem-



The 75th Anniversary Business Meeting.

bers for their service—we have nearly 300 people serving on the committees and their efforts are greatly appreciated—as well as extending a hearty thanks to Tobi Brimsek and the rest of the SAA staff.

The President reported that a set of rulings was just released on the Culturally Unidentifiable Human Remains. It was issued as a final rule but with a comment period. Several committees have offered comments including the Committee on Repatriation, the Committee on Native American Relations, the Ethics Committee, the Government Affairs Committee, and the Committee on Museums, Collections, and Curation. We are initiating discussions with our legal counsel and when we receive the information we will be making a decision about how to comment and will let the membership know, most likely over the Internet, about what the SAA will do.

Paul Welch, the outgoing Treasurer, gave his report. The SAA is fiscally sound but the current national economic situation is still of concern. We have a narrow surplus of \$32K and luckily expenses last year were low and attendance high. So we got through 2009 okay, but the question is what happens next. This meeting's attendance is higher than expected, but so are expenses. Meanwhile, almost all of our revenue streams, including advertising, are down. They are going down faster and farther than expected.

75TH ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The SAA Reserves Fund is at a high, and is now about 74 percent of the operating budget. He specifically thanked Bill Doelle for his fund raising and noted that our endowments are now at \$1.2 million. These produced the \$32K in surplus. If we look at next year and beyond: universities and CRM companies will probably not rebound in the near future and SAA revenues may be down. Some of our initiatives may have to wait.

Secretary Barbara Mills announced the results of the elections: our President-elect is Fred Limp, Secretary-elect is Janet Levy. New Board members are Melinda Zeder and Alston Thoms. The elected members of the Nominating Committee are Virginia Butler and Sarah Herr. She thanked all of those who agreed to stand for election.

Tobi Brimsek, the SAA's Executive Director then gave her report. She began with the observation that on Dec 29th 1935, when the first SAA meeting was held there were only 75 people in attendance (see *American Antiquity* 1:310–316), but today we have nearly 100 times that number in our membership. Following up on President Conkey's report about new initiatives mentioned many of the changes that have been instituted by the SAA staff, including putting technology to work to increase the density of communications. Kevin Fahey, our Manager of Membership and Marketing has revamped communications and changed the new member forms. Divya Kadiyam, our new Manager of Information Services, has introduced a new submission system. Change for the better is always accompanied by some drawbacks. We are looking at a new submission system that will smooth out some of the problems encountered for this meeting. David Lindsay, our Manager of Government Affairs, has also assumed a change maker roll and SAA has expanded to include international issues. Be sure to sign up for the monthly updates that he sends out. John Neikirk, our Publications Manager, has maintained a diverse publication program. He has been responsible for overseeing three important transitions: (1) a 2-year window for our journals on JSTOR; (2) an online journal manuscript system; and (3) electronic abstracts for SAA presentations. Maureen Malloy, Manager of Public Education, has been key for moving our maintaining our archaeology for the public web pages. Through the clearinghouse approach we have increased the resources available. Keisan Griffith-Roberts, our Coordinator of Administrative and Financial Services, institutionalized more rapid check processing. Technology is a key component of our work and there will be more paper calls for the annual meeting submissions. Executive Director Brimsek closed by saying See You in Sacramento!

The editors of the SAA in attendance were introduced by President Conkey: Alison Rautman, Editor of *American Antiquity*; Paul Minnis, Editor of SAA Press; and outgoing Editor of *The SAA Archaeological Record*, Andrew Duff. One of the two new



Scenes from the 75th Anniversary Shindig.



SAA booth in the exhibit hall.

editors of *Latin American Antiquity*, Christopher Pool, was introduced and his co-editor Gabriela Ureñuela, who was unable to attend, was welcomed. President Conkey made a special point of saying that the *The SAA Archaeological Record* is now available online and immediately upon publication. Our new editor of this publication is Jane Baxter. She also noted that as part of the new electronic system the reports of all of the SAA editors will soon be available on the web.

Following the introduction of the SAA editors, the presentation of awards was made.

Following the awards, the President called for comments from the floor. There being none, she moved to the report of the Ceremonial Resolutions Committee, chaired by Jon Muller. Resolutions were made thanking our retiring officers, Treasurer Paul Welch and retiring Directors Kathryn Kamp and Jonathan Driver; the SAA staff and volunteers; the program chairs John Blitz and Lisa LeCount, and the members of the Annual Program Committee; and Michael Frchetti, chair of the Annual Meeting Local Advisory Committee, and all of his committee members. He also extended sincere wishes that those members of the Society who are now serving in the armed forces return safely from their posts overseas. The membership approved these resolutions with a general round of applause.

Jon Muller then read the names of departed colleagues over the past year: Albert Dekin, Kathleen Gilmore, Claude Levi-Strauss, Frank Schnell, Juan Santiago Rene Schobinger, Harold W. Thompson, James C. Waggoner Jr., and Richard B. Woodbury. A moment of silence was held in their remembrance.

The President called for a motion to adjourn, which was made and seconded. The meeting adjourned at 6:30 PM.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

Welcome to the Business Meeting of the 75th annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology! We are nearly 4,000 registrants with welcome banners on the streets of St Louis! There are many wonderful events surrounding this important anniversary. For one, the Executive Committee of the Board had an unusual and rewarding opportunity, by invitation, to visit the site of the very first meeting of the SAA that was held at the Phillips-Andover Academy in Massachusetts in late December 1935. Today's staff and some Board members of the Robert S. Peabody Museum at Phillips-Andover welcomed us for a full day of festivities to view the original meeting room, and especially to learn about the impressive ways that the museum has been integrating their collections into the P-A high school curriculum. Watch for news stories in *The SAA Archaeological Record* about their innovative programs!

But here in St Louis, our Task Force on the 75th anniversary meeting has lined up some superb programs and activities—the 7.5 Film Fest with over 60 entries by media wizard archaeologists (thank you, Bruce Smith as organizer, and to the National Geographic Society for hosting the initial viewings by the judges, and for copying the CDs to send to judges e!Sewhere); the Saturday night *Shindig* to be opened by a native American drum band, and the production of the new edited volume, *Voices in American Archaeology*, edited by Wendy Ashmore, Barbara Mills, and Dorothy Lippert. In fact, the first volume in a new series of publications on the latest approaches to regional archaeologies of the Americas is also making its appearance here, this one on California (by Jeanne Arnold and Michael Wash) (thank you, SAA Press Editor Paul Minnis). So be sure to celebrate and enjoy the anniversary events. Many of you are likely to be surprised by some of the wonderful material manifestations of the anniver-



Scenes from the exhibit hall.

sary provided by various sponsors—the tote bag, the luggage tag, the pen, the tablet and such—with our thanks going to the various Sponsors of these special anniversary mementos.

Of course, we cannot begin to talk about the 75th without mentioning the quite successful fund-raising campaign, spearheaded by Bill Doelle. We are ever so close to our goal and here, at the meeting, YOU have the opportunity to give a gift of any and all amounts that will be matched dollar-for-dollar. Bill and others are at the door now, so give on your way out. To paraphrase that famous slogan supposedly from the Chicago elections, “give early and give often”! We need only one fourth of our meeting attendees (1,000 people) to give a mere \$50 to meet our goal.

Fortunately, there will be a 76th annual meeting next year—to be held in what some have said is the “New Orleans of the Far West”—Sacramento, California! Jennifer Perry (Pomona) will be the Program Chair and you can expect a fun time along the River Walk, in the Historic District and with many California activities nearby—Yosemite, Napa Valley and other wine-country, Lake Tahoe, to name a few.

Look for changes and new aspects to our annual meetings as this very creative SAA Board has been developing a variety of initiatives to improve our meetings and other activities and member services. We will no longer have a category of Organizer but only that of Chair (reducing the number of potential roles, while retaining the option that anyone can hold three roles); we will inaugurate a new format, that of a Debate; we will allow an extra 15-minute slot anywhere in a session for Discussion (not just another Discussant), and there are quite a few initiatives for students—our future SAA leaders! And thinking about today’s world of communications, we *do* have a Facebook page for the SAA, with nearly 3,000 friends. Our three largest populations of friends are in Los Angeles, Lima, Peru, and Mexico City.

As I mentioned this SAA Board has been busy developing initiatives, including having held a special Board meeting in January just to brainstorm and develop a variety of new directions and activities. For one, the ways in which our Committees are formed will change. In the Fall (2010) we will issue a Call for committee service inviting all members to submit requests to join various committees of interest. Of particular note is that most committees will now be required to have at least two students, which we trust will also bring in the next generation of leaders. We are forming some task forces to consider professional development, especially for students and more widely. We are already beginning to organize a Conferencia Intercontinental—where the SAA will host an SAA meeting in Latin America. Dan Sandweiss will be the Coordinator of this Conferencia initiative; watch for more news on this exciting venture. As well, we will be doing more translation of web infor-

mation into Spanish. The Board has also voted to develop a Minority Scholarship program, given how successful the Native American Scholarship Program has become, as you will see when we get to announcing awards later in this meeting.

During the course of this meeting, many of you have inquired about the SAA’s position and potential actions regarding the recent issuing of the Final Rule on Culturally Unidentifiable Human Remains (CUHR), expected to go into effect on May 14, 2010. We have requested all of our immediately relevant committees—that is, the Committee on Repatriation, the Committee on Native American Relations, the Committee on Ethics, the Committee on Government Affairs and the Committee on Museums, Collections and Curation—to review these regulations and to advise the Board as the Board develops Comments. An initial discussion of this Final Rule took place at a special retreat of two relevant committees—The Committee on Repatriation and the Committee on Native American Relations (CNAR)—that was held at the Amerind Foundation (thank you, John Ware) in mid-March of this year. We appreciate the concern and attention to this important issue that the Board will discuss in considerable detail at tomorrow’s Board meeting and thereafter. The Comments that we are likely to issue will be posted on the SAA website.

In conclusion, I want to thank the many people who keep the SAA going, especially the Washington DC based staff, led by our Executive Director Extraordinaire, Tobi Brimsek. You, the membership, are crucial in a volunteer Society so be sure to thank yourselves and your many colleagues who have made the SAA as successful as it is. We look forward to your continued service and continued ideas and actions that move us along in increasingly innovative and responsible directions.

THE FOLLOWING REPORTS FROM THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING CAN BE VIEWED ON SAAWEB UNDER ABOUT THE SOCIETY

- REPORT OF THE TREASURER
- REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
- REPORT OF THE EDITOR, *THE SAA ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD*
- REPORT OF THE EDITOR, *AMERICAN ANTIQUITY*
- REPORT OF THE COEDITORS, *LATIN AMERICAN ANTIQUITY*
- REPORT OF THE EDITOR, *THE SAA PRESS*



2010 AWARD RECIPIENTS

SAA award recipients are selected by individual committees of SAA members—one for each award. The Board of Directors wishes to thank the award committees for their hard work and excellent selections, and to encourage any members who have an interest in a particular award to volunteer to serve on a future committee.



Left to right: David Browman, Wendy Ashmore, Lisa Lecount, James Snead, Jerry Sabloff, and Don Fowler.

Presidential Recognition Award

75TH ANNIVERSARY TASK FORCE

Members: Jerry Sabloff, James Snead, Wendy Ashmore, David Browman, Don Fowler, Lisa Lecount, Linda Manzanilla, Bruce Smith.

The Task Force for the 75th Anniversary has developed a unique and substantive program of events to mark this anniversary, including a first-time Film Festival with over fifty entries, an edited volume that represents a breadth and depth of thoughts on the multiple voices of contemporary and future archaeology, a meeting program of scholarship that displays the best of archaeology today, fieldtrips, a dance and other events that has drawn one of the largest attendances at an SAA Annual Meeting. The fiscal and material support of many who have contributed 75th Anniversary items and a program that was envisioned and implemented in a timely and professional manner are some of the hallmarks of this Task Force and their remarkable contribution to this event and to the SAA.

Presidential Recognition Award

FUNDRAISING COMMITTEE

Members: William Doelle, Susan Bender, Cathy Cameron, John E. Kelly, Paul Minnis, Linda Pierce, Bruce Rippeteau, Martha Rolingson, and Ken Sassaman.



Left to Right: Paul Minnis, Cathy Cameron, William Doelle, and John E. Kelly.

The Fundraising Committee set its goals on a substantial target of funds to raise to help sustain key projects and the overall mission of the SAA. Under the dedicated and relentless leadership of Bill Doelle, the committee generated creative ways to reach the membership, including a close-out campaign based on a matching gifts program, original ads, buttons and slogans, and extraordinary one-on-one efforts to provide potential donors with both the encouragement and recognition to donate to the SAA Endowments. With the termination of the Campaign to “Give the SAA a Gift on its 75th” at this meeting, we are extremely grateful for heroic and sustained efforts by this Committee to provide a continued material base for the activities and programs of the SAA well into the future.

Gene Stuart Award

ANDREA COOPER

Andrea Cooper, a freelance journalist and essay writer, has earned the 2010 Gene S. Stuart Award for her thoughtful, informative, and timely article about ongoing changing relationships between archaeological and Native American communities. “Embracing Archaeology” focuses on the dynamic perspectives of The Eastern Band of the Cherokee regarding the value of archaeology as a means to understanding Cherokee his-

tory. By focusing on individuals, Cooper brings to life difficult issues while shedding light on the points of view of both communities. Her sensitive discussion of the intersection of Native interests and those of the archaeological community highlights emerging interests in developing archaeological expertise within Native communities and for Native interests. The subject matter of this piece is timely, discussing both the value of archaeological work for Native communities and the value of cooperation by archaeologists with Native communities for promoting archaeological research.



Thomas Lincoln



Joseph Craig



Chris Simon



Metin I. Eren

Student Poster Award

METIN I. EREN, ADAM DURANT AND CHRISTINA NEUDORF

Metin I. Eren, Adam Durant and Christina Neudorf for their poster "An Experimental Examination of Animal Trampling in Dry and Saturated Substrates, Kurnool District, South India."

Each year the State Archaeology Week Poster Contest is held at the annual Meeting, sponsored by the Public Education Committee and the Council of Affiliated Societies. Winners are decided by a vote of those viewing the posters and turning in a ballot included with their registration packets. The winners are:

First Prize: WASHINGTON

Second Prize: NEVADA

Third Prize: NEW MEXICO



Bonnie C. Clark

7.5 Film Fest Winners

AMACHE

Bonnie C. Clark and Krystal Griffith

HELLUVA WAY TO TREAT A SOLDIER

Thomas Lincoln, Robert Aukerman, & Blake Miller

THE 78TH STREET ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE

Joseph Craig and Jason Rein

VISIT WITH RESPECT

Victoria Atkins, Margie Connolly, Shirley Powell, and Chris Simon – Sageland Media



Dienje Kenyon Fellowship

ASHLEY SHARPE



Fred Plog Memorial Fellowship

MATTHEW PEEPLES



Arthur C. Parker Scholarship for Archaeological Training for Native Americans and Native Hawaiians

PAULETTE FAITH STEEVES (CREE)

NSF Scholarships for Archaeological Training for Native Americans and Native Hawaiians

WESLEY D. MILES (NAVAJO)

SIMON ARTHUR SOLOMON (HENVEY INLET BAND OF ANISHNABE)

ELIJAH SANDERSON (CHOCTAW)

SAA Native American Undergraduate Archaeology Scholarship

VANESSA T. CABRERA (CHAMORRO)

SAA Native American Graduate Archaeology Scholarship

ASHLEY LANE ATKINS (PAMUNKEY)

ence at Teotihuacan. Comprehensively synthesizing mortuary, bioarchaeological, and household data from three locales within the city and from a nearby rural settlement, the author uses painstaking qualitative and statistical analyses to show the extent to which basic residential groups were socially delineated through distinctive burial treatments and associated ideologies. The work draws fruitfully from diverse bodies of theory to present a House Society and practice theory approach to Teotihuacan mortuary activities that lucidly uncovers their role in the formation of gender, age, class, ethnic and residential identities. This research, offering a new view of Teotihuacan's social topography, illustrates the analytical potential of ritual practices in studying key issues of social dynamics and integration in complex societies.



Student Paper Award

JOHN M. MARSTON

This year's SAA Student Paper Award is presented to John "Mac" Marston of the University of California at Los Angeles for his paper titled "Identifying Agricultural Risk Management Using Paleoethnobotanical Remains." Marston compellingly

employs a combination of theory and archaeological data to argue that the degree of agricultural diversification practiced by a society is a good indicator of the level of that society's perceived need to manage economic risk. To demonstrate this, he identifies lines of paleoethnobotanical evidence that indicate agricultural diversification (e.g., agropastoralism, field scattering, seasonality) and intensification (e.g., irrigation, foddering) and tracks changes in economic practices at the site of Gordion in central Turkey from ancient through Medieval times, interpreting those data within broader historical contexts. His conclusion that economic diversification is a better indicator of risk management than is economic intensification has implications for studies of agricultural societies outside Anatolia, and potentially even for non-agricultural societies.



Dissertation Award

SARAH CLAYTON

Sarah Clayton's dissertation, "Ritual Diversity and Social Identities: A Study of Mortuary Behaviors at Teotihuacan" (Arizona State University, 2009), explores the role of mortuary practices in the ritual formation of social identity and social differ-



Jeanne Moe

Award For Excellence In Public Education

PROJECT ARCHAEOLOGY

Project Archaeology has earned the SAA Excellence in Public Education Award for the curriculum entitled Investigating Shelter, a module designed for grades 3-5, the latest example of its long-standing commitment to provide quality education

about archaeology to the public. Investigating Shelter is a creative and unique national curriculum that uses archaeology to teach scientific inquiry, citizenship, personal ethics, and cultural understanding. The content features actual archaeological and historical data and oral histories from different sites to allow classroom applications to be most relevant to the regions where they are used. The module underwent rigorous and thorough testing and evaluation by a wide range of educators and archaeologists and is promulgated to an ever-wider audience through the Internet. The Investigating Shelter curriculum module can be a model for others for its inclusion of a variety of opinions and viewpoints during its development, and for its use in classrooms with underserved students.

BOOK AWARDS

The Society for American Archaeology annually awards a prize honoring a recently published book that has had, or is expected to have, a major impact on the direction and character of archaeological research, and/or is expected to make a substantial contribution to the archaeology of an area. The Society for American Archaeology also annually recognizes a book that has made, or is expected to make, a substantial contribution to the presentation of the goals, methods, and results of archaeological research to a more general public.



Book Award

DAVID W. ANTHONY

David W. Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World*. *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language* is a revolutionary melding of complex linguistic data with the rich archaeological record to address the formerly intractable problem of Indo-European origins. David Anthony deftly pulls together the linguistic arguments, a large body of Russian archaeology not generally accessible to the English-speaking world, and his own extensive research to address big questions, such as the extent to which language borders can be detected with material culture, the role of migration as an explanation for culture change, and the origins of pastoral nomadism. Anthony's accomplishment is inspiring in its scope and commitment to seriously engaging complex and detailed archaeological evidence, ranging from individual sites, graves, and artifacts, while challenging the traditional archaeological skepticism of linguistics. Anthony's writing strikes an effective balance between accessibility and erudition. Princeton University Press has published the work handsomely and with conscientious attention to accuracy.



Public Audience Book Award

REBECCA YAMIN, *DIGGING IN THE CITY OF BROTHERLY LOVE: STORIES FROM PHILADELPHIA ARCHAEOLOGY*

Digging in the City of Brotherly Love brings eighteenth-century Philadelphia alive as Rebecca Yamin weaves together the material remains of the city's colonial residents with its rich historical record. Integrating discussions of specific artifacts and sites with a broad historical perspective, Yamin does an admirable job of integrating a considerable body of research that too often remains buried in the so-called grey literature. The result is an admirably concise yet rich summary of Philadelphia's historic archaeological heritage. But this is more than an archaeologically informed history of Philadelphia. Yamin also conveys much about the value of Cultural Resource Management as well as the challenges and rewards of doing urban archaeology. Yamin has a strong voice and communicates her passion for her work, along with its frustrations. The tone, content, and visual organization of this book are exemplary. Yale University Press has done Yamin proud with a well produced volume exhibiting effective design and a conscientious attention to accuracy.



Award for Excellence in Archaeological Analysis

TIMOTHY A. KOHLER

Timothy A. Kohler is awarded the SAA's Excellence in Archaeological Analysis Award for his pioneering and sustained contributions to understanding Puebloan ecodynamics using simulation, his worldwide reputation for developing agent-based models of archaeological and related data, his important contributions to understanding Puebloan demography through accumulations research, and most recently through his identification of a late but significant Neolithic Demographic Transition in the US Southwest, and finally, for his leadership in developing PhD training that emphasizes evolutionary modeling. Results of Tim's research are published in a broad venue and are cited widely, but he has also worked to translate his research to the general public and to the greater scientific community. Tim is a worthy recipient of this award for his life-long commitment to modeling human ecodynamics in prehistory and for his work in developing agent-based modeling as a tool for archaeologists.



Award for Excellence in Cultural Resource Management

WILLIAM H. DOELLE

William H. Doelle has earned this award for his outstanding research, his steadfast commitment to original research as a key part of the CRM industry, and his untiring support and encouragement of research among his staff, students, and colleagues. The strength of his vision of applied archaeology serving a bigger mission is an inspiration to all who know him and his work. Even as many other CRM firms increasingly take a bureaucratic or compliance-only approach to archaeology, his vision is one in which research is at the forefront, serving the client, the public, and the profession. He insists that research and preservation must be the engines that drive the CRM process. The work he undertakes is done for the purpose of preserving places and knowledge for future generations; it is done for building meaningful collaborations among researchers and Native peoples; and it is done to foster a sense of community for the public as we grow to know and appreciate the history that surrounds us.



Crabtree Award

LARRY KINSELLA

Larry Kinsella is eminently worthy of Crabtree Award for his commitment to volunteerism and site stewardship, service to avocational organizations, efforts in education and public outreach, experimental and replicative archaeology, high excavation standards, and knowledge of American Bottom archaeology. Mr. Kinsella has served several terms as president of both regional and local combined avocational/professional societies. He is an expert in primitive technology with a special focus on lithic technology. His efforts at education and public outreach are exemplary with demonstrations and lectures for all age groups (first graders, elderhostels, field schools, community colleges). He maintains a web site and has replicated stone tools for the Discovery, Learning, and History channels. He is known for his efforts to preserve archaeological sites, and his impeccable field techniques. He serves as a role model for all, but especially for adults who wish to become avocational archaeologists.



Lifetime Achievement Award

PATTY JO WATSON

Patty Jo Watson is the 2010 recipient of the SAA Lifetime Achievement Award in recognition of her multi-decade, international record of scholarship and service to the profession. Dr. Watson has produced an outstanding corpus of scholarly research that has changed our field. She has contributed substantially to scholarship in the Near East and North America; she has pioneered research on the origins of agriculture, ethnoarchaeology, and archaeological epistemology; and she has been instrumental in establishing an interdisciplinary research paradigm that Americanist archaeologists now use. She has mentored countless students and junior colleagues. Her service to the profession is also exemplary, from editing *American Antiquity* and serving on many SAA committees to representing our discipline in local, regional, state and national organizations. Patty Jo Watson is a global role model for archaeologists as a person and as a consummate professional, and we are pleased to present her with this award.

The Fryxell Award for Interdisciplinary Research

JANE BUIKSTRA

Jane E. Buikstra's career exemplifies the true spirit of interdisciplinary archaeological research and it is a great honor to present her with the Society for American Archaeology's 2010 Fryxell Award. In the 1970's, Dr. Buikstra initiated a series of groundbreaking archaeological research projects that combined the detailed study of mortuary practices with human osteological analysis. This work focused on populations, was regional in scale, and was framed with an explicit problem-oriented research agenda that addressed significant questions within anthropological archaeology. The scope of her research program has expanded topically and geographically since that time and parallels her ever-widening national and international influence on the archaeological community. During this time Buikstra has trained a generation of scholars to make inter-disciplinary connections and to combine bioarchaeological research with innovative techniques (e.g., stable isotope geochemistry, ancient DNA) to test ideas about past diets, population movements, and other aspects of human history and prehistory. This award is presented in recognition of her life-long commitment to interdisciplinary scholarship and teaching.

CEREMONIAL RESOLUTIONS

The Resolutions Committee offers the following resolutions:

Be it resolved that the appreciation and congratulations on a job well done be tendered to the

Retiring OFFICERS

Paul Welch, Treasurer

and the retiring BOARD MEMBERS

Jonathan Driver
Kathryn Kemp

To the Staff, and especially Tobi A. Brimsek, the Executive Director, who planned the meeting, and to all the volunteers who worked at Registration and other tasks;

To the **Program Committee**, co-chaired by

John H. Blitz and Lisa J. LeCount

and to the **Committee Members of the Program Committee**

Carolyn E. Boyd
David M. Carballo
Detlef Gronenborn
John E. Kelly
Elizabeth A. Klarich

Sandra L. Lopez Varela
Teresita Majewski
Augusto Oyuela-Caycedo
John D. Risetto
Monica L. Smith
Amber M. VanDerwarker
Mark D. Varien
Gregory D. Wilson
Lori E. Wright

To the **Annual Meeting Local Advisory Committee**, chaired by

Michael D. Frchetti

And to the **Committee Members**

John E. Kelly
Timothy M. Schilling
Mary Ann Vicari

And to other committee chairs and members completing their service and to the many members who have served the Society on its committees and in other ways;

And sincere wishes that those members of the society who are now serving in the armed forces return safely.

Will the membership please signal approval of these motions by a general round of applause. [APPLAUSE]

And be it further resolved that thanks again be given to those who inform us of the deaths of colleagues, and finally,

A resolution of sympathy to the families and friends of

Albert E. Dekin,
Kathleen Gilmore
Claude Levi-Strauss
Frank Schnell
Juan Santiago
Rene Schobinger
Harold W. Thompson
James C. Waggoner, Jr
Richard B. Woodbury

Will the members please rise for a moment of silence in honor of our departed colleagues.

Respectfully submitted,

Jon Muller

on behalf of the Resolutions Committee



NEWS & NOTES

SeeKING Information on the Smithsonian Institution River Basin Surveys/Inter-Agency Archaeological and Paleontological Salvage Program. Jon Czaplicki and Kimball Banks are in the process of preparing a book on the Smithsonian Institution River Basin Surveys/Inter-Agency Archaeological and Paleontological Salvage Program. This publication is an outgrowth of a session the two organized for the 2001 annual meeting of the SAA. This project is sponsored in part by the Bureau of Reclamation and the North Dakota Humanities Council. These two programs had a major impact on the development of American archaeology—in methodology, theory, and in our understanding of American archaeology, especially in the Upper Missouri River basin. The objective will be to examine these programs through the eyes of the men and women who participated in them, especially the personal aspects—camp life, daily operations, life in the field, and the challenges these archaeologists faced saving the rich archaeological heritage associated with the projects on which they worked. The authors are seeking photographs, notes, letters, field journals, diaries, and personal reminiscences that you may have and may be willing to share. If interested, please contact either Jon Czaplicki or Kimball Banks: Jon S. Czaplicki, Archaeologist, Bureau of Reclamation, Phoenix Area Office PXAO-1500, 6150 West Thunderbird Road, Glendale, Arizona 85306-4001, 623-773-6253 (work), 623-773-6486 (fax), jczaplicki@usbr.gov; Kimball Banks, Regional Manager, Metcalf Archaeological Consultants, Inc., P.O. Box 2154, Bismarck ND 58501, 701-258-1215 (work), 406-670-8374 (cell), 701-258-7156 (fax), kbanks@metcalfarchaeology.com.

River Basin Survey Women Wanted! I am preparing a chapter on the women involved in the River Basin Survey program in the 1940s through 1960s in the Plains, Pacific Northwest, California, Glen Canyon,

Texas, and Southeast, for Kimball Banks' and Jon Czaplicki's upcoming volume on the Survey. I'm looking for information, and I think it is sparse—hence, very valuable! If you were involved in any Survey projects, or know of a woman who was involved in any capacity, I would like to hear about it from you. I have several months to develop this, but sooner is better than later. I would love to have some first-person stories, but I know the storytellers are getting few and far between these days. I think there were a number of spouses who did significant unpaid labor on these projects (e.g., Mrs. Al Bowers), and I would like to hear about them. Your help would be appreciated. Please contact Ruthann Knudson, paleoknute@3rivers.net.

The 16th Biennial Mogollon Archaeology Conference will be held October 14-16, 2010, in Las Cruces, New Mexico. The conference is hosted by New Mexico State University and the conference website is: <http://www.lonjul.net/mog2010/>. Papers or presentations are invited that relate to Mogollon archaeology including Jornada Mogollon and Northern Chihuahua. Abstracts will be reviewed by the Conference Program Committee for acceptance. Please submit your abstract before July 15, 2010 to the conference chair, Dr. Lonnie C. Ludeman, by e-mail: lludeman@nmsu.edu.

The Fiber Reference Image Library (FRIL), a database of micrographs of textile fibers acquired through the use of multiple microscopic techniques, is now available at <https://fril.osu.edu/>. Scientists who deal with textiles and fibers, including textile conservators, archaeologists, forensic scientists and students, will find the site to be a useful a source of comparative images to aid in fiber identification and characterization. The database is divided into three large categories, Plant fibers, Animal fibers, and Man-made fibers. Each category includes many collections organized by generic class. Micrographs

are shown of single fibers and fiber groups examined using brightfield, dark-field, polarized light, and differential interference contrast techniques. Through these sequences of images, differentiating characteristics of the fibers may be seen, aiding in identification. The site has a number of support pages as well as a "Search" tab that can be used to locate a fiber generic type or a specific feature of interest. This website was developed under a grant from the National Park Service and the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training, with the first phase primarily focused on construction of the website and inclusion of images of fibers from the Comparative Plant Fiber Collection, a collection of plant fibers typical of those used by prehistoric native Americans in eastern North America. Since the fibers were processed from the plant stems in different ways, the images provide evidence for the cellular structures that remain attached to phloem fiber cells with different types of processing and aid in fiber identification. This will be particularly useful for those who study fiber perishables. The site also incorporates images of animal and man-made fibers, with more images planned for these sections. Images of fibers from selected nineteenth and twentieth century garments from Ohio State University's Historic Costume & Textiles Collection (HCTC) are included and these are linked to images and information about the garments from which they came, housed under the HCTC website (<https://mediamanager.osu.edu/>). FRIL can also be used as a teaching tool, providing information about fibers, microscopy, and forensic techniques of fiber identification. With continued support, FRIL will continue to grow and serve the needs of textile researchers. For additional information, contact Kathryn Jakes, Ohio State University, College of Education and Human Ecology (jakes.1@osu.edu).



POSITIONS OPEN

T. Douglas Price, Professor in Anthropology at University of Wisconsin-Madison and University of Aberdeen, has been elected the recipient of a Humboldt Research Award. The award is granted in recognition of a researcher's entire achievements to date to academics whose fundamental discoveries, new theories, or insights have had a significant impact on their own discipline and who are expected to continue producing cutting-edge achievements. The awardee is also invited to conduct research projects in cooperation with specialist colleagues in Germany.

The Denver Museum of Nature & Science received a \$324,385 grant, awarded to Steve Nash, from the *Save America's Treasures* program for work to preserve and conserve the Museum's Anthropology Collection. The collection, with its associated archives and documentary photographs, constitute one of the nation's great resources for studying the intellectual and cultural heritage and diversity of the United States. Consisting of nearly 60,000 objects collected since 1927, this outstanding collection preserves the artistic, ceremonial, and utilitarian legacies of dozens of pre-Columbian and historic Native American cultures, as well as cultures from around the world. The *Save America's Treasures* grant will be used to hire two collections managers for the two-year duration of the project to re-house collections, an archivist to create finding aids for the Ruth Underhill papers and other document collections, and a conservator to perform preventive and interventive conservation treatments on selected objects. The *Save America's Treasures*-funded work will complement on-going efforts to prepare the collections for installation in a new, underground storage facility, slated for completion in 2014.

POSITION: POSTDOCTORAL FELLOW

LOCATION: CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Department of Anthropology at The Field Museum invites applications for the America for Bulgaria Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship starting in fall 2011. We invite applications from scholars who have completed the Ph.D. recently with a specialization in the archaeology or bioanthropology of the Balkan region. The position is currently funded for one academic year (nine months). The ABF Postdoctoral Fellow will be expected to carry out independent research resulting in significant publications, as well as to assist with the establishment and implementation of a formal proposal procedure for funding collaborative archaeological and bioarchaeological research, as well as site and museum preservation and improvement in Bulgaria. Ideally, the Fellow will be a Bulgarian national who intends to pursue a scholarly career in Bulgaria. We seek scholars whose work has broad appeal and will take advantage of the collections and research facilities available at The Field Museum and elsewhere in the Chicagoland area. The salary for this position will be \$40,000 per year, plus benefits, and \$2,000 in research funds. Review of applications will begin immediately and will continue until a decision is made. Eligibility: Applicants must have completed all requirements for the Ph.D. (including filing the dissertation) by time of application, and must demonstrate advanced proficiency in the English language. Applications: Please send, by hard copy only, the following: (1) a letter of application, (2) a statement of research interests and goals to be completed during the tenure of the fellowship, (3) curriculum vita, (4) writing sample, (5) evidence of English proficiency, and (6) three letters of reference to: ABF Postdoctoral Search, Department of Anthropology, The Field Museum, 1400 S. Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, IL, 60605. The deadline for the receipt of applications is November 15, 2010.

POSITION: POSTDOCTORAL FELLOW

LOCATION: CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Department of Anthropology at The Field Museum invites applications for the G. E. and Katharine P. Boone Postdoctoral Fellowship for East Asian Studies starting in July 2010. We invite applications from scholars who have completed their Ph.D. recently with a specialization in East Asian Anthropological Archaeology. We are especially interested in scholars whose research focuses on ancient trade in East Asia and outlying regions. The position is currently funded for one year (Nine months). The G. E. and Katharine P Boone Postdoctoral Fellow will be expected to carry out collection-based based research on our significant East Asian collections, initiate independent and collaborative projects with Curators, and supervise Boone interns. Ideally, the Fellow will be an anthropological archaeologist whose research has broad appeal to archaeologists, historians and economic anthropologists. The salary for the position will be \$40,000 per year, plus benefits and \$2000 in research funds. Review of applications will begin immediately and will continue until the position is filled. Applicants must have a Ph.D. in hand by the time of application and must demonstrate advanced proficiency in the English language. Applications: Please send, by hard copy only, the following: (1) letter of application, (2) a statement of research interests and goals to be completed during tenure of fellowship, (3) curriculum vita, (4) writing sample, (5) evidence of English proficiency, and (6) three letters of reference to Boone Postdoctoral Search, Department of Anthropology, The Field Museum, 1400 South Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60605 USA.



CALENDAR

2010

SEPTEMBER 25

The Pre-Columbian Society of Washington, DC will hold its 17th annual symposium at the U.S. Navy Memorial and Naval Heritage Center, Washington, D.C. The symposium title is "Under Cover of Darkness: The Meaning of Night in Ancient Mesoamerica." Speakers include Linda Brown, Cecelia Klein, John Pohl, Keith Prufer, Kent Reilly and Marc Zender. For program details and registration information, please visit www.pcswdc.org.

OCTOBER 9

The 6th annual Midwest Historical Archaeology Conference will be held on the campus of Heidelberg University in Tiffin, Ohio. This year's theme is: "Archaeological Approaches to the Study of Conflict." For more information, please visit <http://herald.heidelberg.edu/mwhac10>.

OCTOBER 14–16

The 16th Biennial Mogollon Archaeology Conference will be held in Las Cruces, New Mexico. The conference is hosted by New Mexico State University. For information, please visit <http://www.lonjul.net/mog2010/>.


NOVEMBER 17–21

The 109th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association will be held in New Orleans. The theme of this year's meeting is "Circulation." For more information, please visit <http://www.aaanet.org/meetings/index.cfm>.

2011

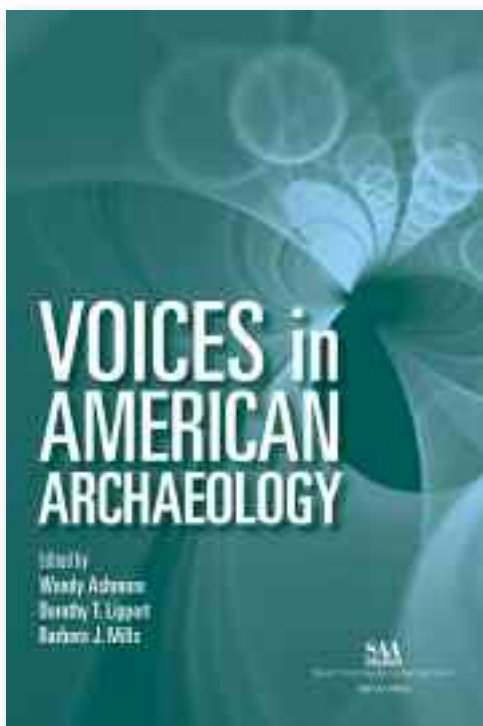
MARCH 30–APRIL 3

The 76th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology will be held in Sacramento, California. Deadline for submissions is September 9, 2010. For more information, please visit <http://www.saa.org/>.

NEWS & NOTES, from page 59 

WARP (the Wetland Archaeology Research Project) is an informal world-wide network of archaeologists and others engaged in wetland archaeology. Twenty-five years ago we set up WARP to encourage contact and the exchange of information and ideas around the world. This led to the appearance of the newsletter NewsWARP, conferences and publications and, from 2000, the newsletter was replaced by the *Journal of Wetland Archaeology*. Now, thanks to WARP's Pacific Co-ordinators Dale Croes and Akira Matsui, together with European Co-ordinator Francesco Menotti, we welcome the return of NewsWARP—on the web. Have a look for yourselves at <http://newswarp.info/> and send in your news, comments, photos, questions, book announcements, etc., in pdf format to Dale Croes (dcroes@spscc.ctu.edu) – the more you contribute, the better NewsWARP will be.

NEW FROM THE SAA PRESS



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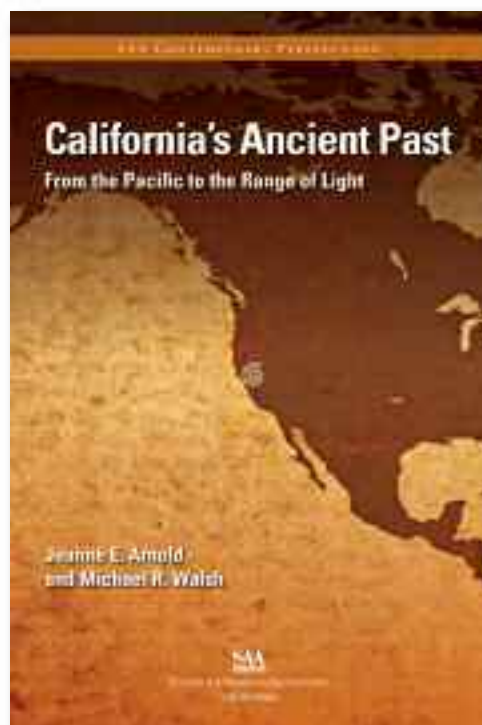
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JOIN US IN SACRAMENTO FOR THE 76TH ANNUAL MEETING MARCH 30–APRIL 3, 2011



The online submission system is now open.
If you have questions, please contact the SAA staff at 202-789-8200 or meetings@saa.org