Handbook of North American Indians

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General Editor

VOLUME 1

Introduction

IGOR KRUPNIK

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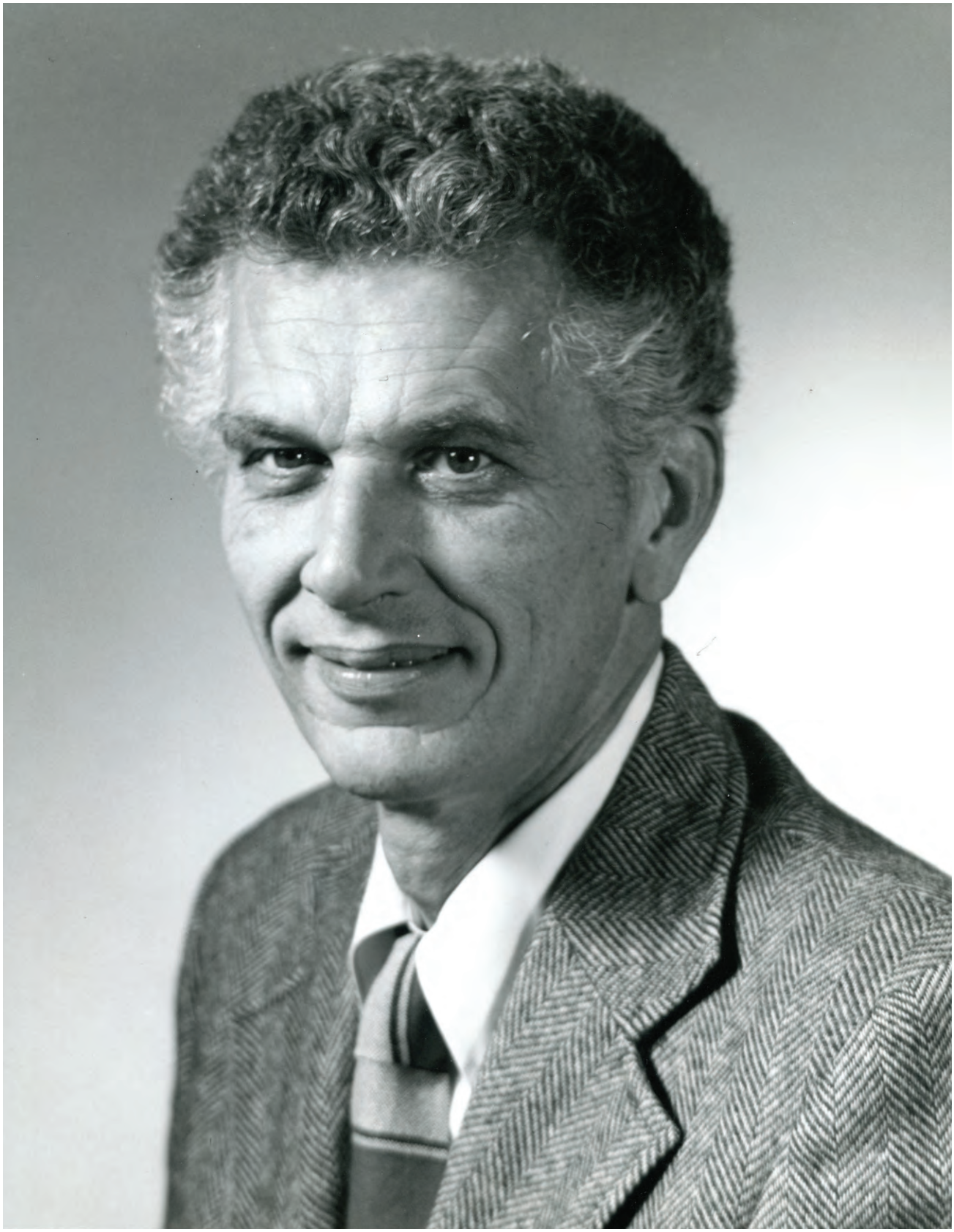


This volume is dedicated to the lasting memory of
William C. Sturtevant (1926–2007), the *Handbook* series general editor.
(NAA, HNAI Papers, box 485_x008)

This map is a diagrammatic guide to the 10 culture areas of Native North America referred to in this volume and throughout the *Handbook*. These culture areas are used in organizing and referring to information about contiguous groups that are or were similar in culture and history. They do not imply that there are only a few sharply distinct ways of life in the continent. Each group exhibits a unique combination of particular cultural features, while all neighboring peoples are always similar in some ways and dissimilar in others. The lines separating the culture areas represent a compromise among many factors and sometimes reflect arbitrary decisions. For more specific information, see the chapter "Introduction" in volumes 5–15 of the *Handbook*.

Conventions for Illustrations

Tribe/Nation

• Native settlement

Missoula Settlement, fort or mission

Drainage

Columbia R. Geographic feature

Body of water

National border

State/provincial border

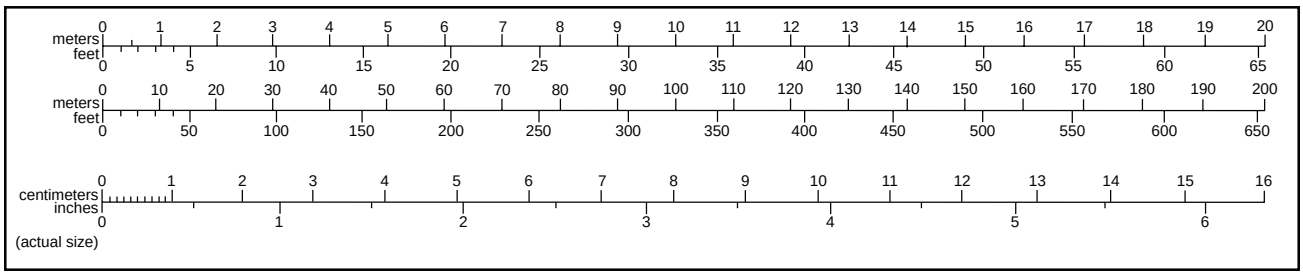
Credits and Captions

Each credit line provides the name of the photographer, if known, the source organization, and/or the collection where the artifact(s) shown are located. Numbers in credit lines are catalog or negative numbers assigned by the source. "After" means that the *Handbook* illustrator has redrawn, rearranged, or abstracted an illustration from the one in the cited source. The following abbreviations are used in credit lines:

Amer.	American
Anthr.	Anthropology, Anthropological
Arch.	Archives
Arch(a)eol.	Arch(a)eology, Arch(a)eological
b.	born
Bur.	Bureau
cat.	catalog
coll.	Collection(s)
©	copyright
d.	died
Dept.	Department
Div.	Division
Ethnol.	Ethnology, Ethnological
fig.	figure
Ft	Fort
HNAI	Handbook of North American Indians
Hist	History
Histl.	Historical
I.	Island
Inc.	Incorporated
Ind.	Indian(s)
Inst.	Institute
Lab.	Laboratory
Lib.	Library
ms	Manuscript
Mt.	Mount
Mus.	Museum
NAA	National Anthropological Archives
Nat.	Natural
Natl.	National
neg.	negative
no.	number
opp.	opposite
pl.	plate
Prov.	Provincial
Res.	Reservation, Reserve
Soc.	Society
St.	Saint
Terr.	Territory
U.	University
vol.	volume

Metric Equivalents

10 mm = 1cm	10 cm ==3.937 in.	1 km = .62 mi.	1 in. = 2.54 cm	25 ft. = 7.62 m
100 cm = 1 m	1 m –39.37 in.	5 km = 3.1 mi.	1 ft. = 30.48 cm.	1 mi. = 1.60 km
1,000 m = 1 km	10 m = 32.81 ft.	10 km = 6.2 mi.		



Preface

This is chronologically the sixteenth volume of a 20-volume set planned to give an encyclopedic summary of what is known about the history, languages, cultures, and contemporary development of the Indigenous peoples of North America north of the urban civilizations of Central Mexico. The present volume also provides a general introduction to the entire series. The titles of all the *Handbook* volumes, and their dates of publication, appear on p. *i*.

Volumes 1–4 and 16–20 of the *Handbook* series aim to be continental in scope and coverage, addressing a wide variety of topics. Specifically, volume 2 (2008) contains detailed accounts of the sociopolitical and legal issues that Native American/First Nations communities faced in the United States and Canada, primarily in the twentieth century, and their fight for political recognition, social justice, and cultural revitalization. Volume 3 (2006) examines the environmental and biological backgrounds within which Native American societies developed; summarizes the early prehistory and human biology, as well as contemporary health and demographic issues. Volume 4 (1988) provides a general history of interactions between the aboriginal peoples of North America and the primarily European but also African newcomers after 1492. Volume 16 (in progress) is a continent-wide survey of technology and visual arts—of Native American material cultures broadly defined—from precontact times to the present. Volume 17 (1996) surveys the Native languages of North America, their characteristics, and historical relationships. Volumes 18 and 19 were initially planned as a comprehensive biographical dictionary of historical figures and modern individuals of Native American descent prominent in their communities and in national history. Volume 20 was originally designed to serve as an index to the entire *Handbook* series.

Volumes 5–15 of the *Handbook* series have specific regional focuses and offer syntheses of aboriginal (Native American/First Nation) cultures, societies, and their histories in each of the 10 culture areas of Native North America; the latter are shown in the diagrammatic map inserted in opening pages of each volume. Each area volume contains information on the status of indigenous communities at the time the volumes were released, between 1978 (vols. 8 and 15) and 2004 (vol. 14). All published *Handbook* volumes feature numerous illustrations—maps, indexes, and extensive bibliographies relating to their specific coverage.

Brief History of Volume 1

Preliminary discussions on the feasibility of the *Handbook* series and alternatives for producing it began in December 1965 in what was then the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology (SOA). (For the early history of the *Handbook*, see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.). An "introductory" volume 1 had been part of the planned series since active work on it began in 1970; soon after, William C. Sturtevant, the series general editor, agreed to serve also as the lead editor for the introductory volume (see "Introduction: A Gateway to the *Handbook* Series," this vol.).

Sturtevant drafted the first preliminary structure for volume 1 in September 1970; the first extensive outline with the proposed chapter titles and individual contributors' names was available by March 1972 (see "Introduction: A Gateway to the *Handbook* Series," this vol.). In April and May 1972, Sturtevant circulated a detailed memo, in which he introduced the volume, with the proposed size and abstract for each of 53 anticipated chapters to future contributors. The deadline for chapter submission was set as May 1973.

Chapters for volume 1 arrived at a much slower pace than for most other volumes. When, in late 1973, members of the Handbook office staff decided to concentrate their efforts on the production of volume 8, *California*, and volume 15, *Northeast* (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.), volume 1 was quietly put on hold. Eventually, it was decided that it would be "one of the last to be organized" (in Sturtevant's own words), and its publication was moved several times to the end of the *Handbook* "production line." Although every progress report and the Preface to each published volume referred to the eventual publication of volume 1, there was no active work on it for almost 40 years. The failing health of Sturtevant and his passing in March 2007, followed

by the termination of the Handbook office later that year, removed all hope that volume 1 would soon be produced.

In February 2013, Mary Jo Arnoldi, then chair of the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) Department of Anthropology, raised the issue of the "missing" volume 1. Igor Krupnik, then head of the department's Ethnology Division, volunteered to explore its status by examining related *Handbook* archival files at the National Anthropological Archives (NAA). Following his survey of the material available for volume 1, Krupnik wrote a memo, in which he stated that the existing chapter files, as well as the outline from 1972 were out-of-date and not suitable for publication (see "Introduction: A Gateway to the *Handbook* Series," this vol.).

Krupnik continued his exploration of volume 1, assisted by a small advisory group including Ives Goddard, William Merrill, Daniel Rogers (all at the Department of Anthropology, NMNH), and Sergei Kan (Dartmouth College). When they expressed enthusiasm about resuming the work on volume 1, Krupnik invited them to serve on its planning committee and volunteered to serve as the volume's new editor. The group started reaching out for prospective contributors, and the first new outline for volume 1, then comprising of 31 chapters in three large parts, was prepared in August 2013.

In November 2013, Krupnik—together with William Merrill, Candace Greene (both at the Department of Anthropology, NMNH), Tim Johnson and David Penney (both at the National Museum of the American Indian [NMAI]), Gina Rappaport (NAA), and Ginger Strader Minkiewicz (Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press)—submitted a proposal to the Smithsonian "Grand Challenges" Consortia program requesting funds to organize a planning workshop for the new *Handbook* volume in 2014 and to bring together prospective contributors.

With the funding available in early 2014, Krupnik reached out to more than 60 scholars prominent in Native American research and invited them to contribute chapters to the future volume and to attend its planning workshop. Four more people—Ira Jacknis (b. 1952, d. 2021, then at the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California Berkeley), Ann McMullen (NMAI), Gabrielle Tayac (Piscataway, then at NMAI), and Joe Watkins (Choctaw, then National Park Service, American Indian Liaison Office)—agreed to serve on the volume planning committee with Krupnik, Goddard, Kan, Merrill, and Rogers. This group of nine eventually became the volume's editorial board. During the volume preparation, Rogers, Watkins, and Krupnik assumed responsibility for the opening block of chapters addressing Native American experience and new research in the twenty-first century; Kan and McMullen, for the "area" chapters that review Native North American development and research from the 1970s till the late 2010s, by each culture area; and Jacknis, Merrill, and Krupnik, for a concluding section dedicated to the production history and impact of the *Handbook* series.

By late 2014, the new team of contributors was mostly in place, and it convened at two-day planning sessions in December 2014, held successively at NMAI and at NMNH. The group approved the new volume's outline, and intensive work on volume 1 began. The first chapters arrived in June–October 2015. By early 2016, most of the chapters for the volume had been received.

Each submitted chapter manuscript was reviewed by the volume and section editors. Most chapters were initially returned to the authors with detailed instructions for improvement and revision, and then resubmitted. When accepted in principle, each chapter was forwarded to two or three external reviewers selected from among recognized experts in the field; the list of more than 70 reviewers engaged in this process can be found in the back matter (see "Reviewers," this vol.). Extensive changes often resulted from many subsequent readings of each manuscript. This cycle of review, revision, resubmission, and reevaluation extended over most of 2016, 2017, and 2018. The date of final acceptance of each chapter is given in the list of contributors (see "Contributors," this vol.).

Unlike the previous *Handbook* volumes that favor single-author chapters, 18 out of 35 chapters in volume 1 are written by two or more coauthors, often with additional contributing authors, reflecting the collaborative style of scholarship today. Many chapters feature acknowledgments with names of people who provided assistance to the authors—another departure from the original *Handbook* pattern.

Terminology and Style

In the four decades since production of the *Handbook* series began, many things have changed in the ways the aboriginal peoples of North America are referred to, in the academic and popular literature alike. The once dominant terms *Indians* and *American Indians* are often replaced by new terms, such as *Native Americans* in the United States, *First Nations* in Canada, and *Indigenous Peoples* (*pueblos indígenas*) in Mexico. Yet, after more than 500 years, the term *American Indian* is imbedded in everyday language, academic literature, and in the names of certain institutions (Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Museum of

the American Indian, etc.). It has been also used in the title of this series since its origins in 1966. Therefore, we opted *not* to adopt one standard designation across this volume and allow chapter authors to apply their preferred terms in each particular story. This includes using *Indian* and *American Indian*, even in contemporary context, if this is an author's preferred choice. In both Canada and the United States, arctic indigenous peoples, the Inuit/Iñupiat/Yupik/Alutiit and Unangax̂/Aleut, are not officially included in the "American Indians" category and constitute a special legal and cultural designation, together with the Métis in Canada (see vol. 2).

Another major change during the time of the production of the *Handbook* series has been the replacement of many historical or Anglicized/Gallicized group names by traditional or newly adopted self-designations in respective indigenous languages. The *Handbook* volumes printed between 1978 and 2008 reflect various steps in this transition. They differ substantially in the use of alternating names, often for the same indigenous groups, and they address the multitude of known ethnic and tribal names in special sections called "Synonymy" in practically each tribal or regional chapter in volumes 5–15. Many historical names used in the earlier series volumes (such as *Eskimo*, *Dogrib*, S*lavey*, *Flathead*, and others) are now considered derogatory by the respective indigenous nations; many others are viewed as "colonial legacy" and are not welcome by Indigenous users. Again, we offered chapter authors enough flexibility to select the preferred ethnic names for their geographic or thematic areas. For consistency, the earlier name applied in other *Handbook* volumes is commonly given in parentheses next to the modern self-designation. More detailed explanations and the full list of "new-versus-old" names are provided in Appendix 3.

There are also marked differences in the use of uppercase/lowercase letters for terms such as *indigenous/Indigenous*, *aboriginal/Aboriginal*, *native/Native* when applied to aboriginal people across North America. In Canada and Mexico, *Indigenous* is commonly capitalized, as are both words in the term *First Nations* in Canada. In Alaska, the word *Native* is also commonly capitalized when applied to Alaskan indigenous residents (*Native Alaskans*), whereas lowercase *native* is used to refer to all people born in the State of Alaska. Recognizing the diversity of the current terminology, we generally opted for the most common forms: *indigenous people* (lowercase), *aboriginal people/cultures/languages*" (lowercase), and *Native American/First Nations* (capitalized) as synonyms, letting chapter authors select patterns of their own. We offered the same choice to the authors to select uppercase (or lowercase) for terms like Elders/elders, Tribe/tribe, Traditional Ecological Knowledge, and others.

In a similar way, the term *tribe*, once used broadly as the most general term for various social units of Native American people, is now applied primarily in a contemporary legal sense (*recognized tribes*, *tribal membership*, etc.) and, again, mostly in historical literature and official documentation. The most widespread current denominations for diverse groupings of indigenous people are *community* and *Nation*; the latter is more popular in indigenous and political context. While not eliminating the term *tribe*, we encouraged our contributors to use contemporary terms (*community*, *society*, *Nation*, etc.) wherever possible.

This volume preserves all style features applied in the subsequent *Handbook* volumes, including those related to chapter formatting, use of various types of headings, citations of other *Handbook* volumes and/or chapters from the present one, and quotations from other sources. All editors' comments inserted into the text are marked with brackets and no footnotes or endnotes common in today's literature were allowed. By adhering to the *Handbook* publication template in use since 1978, we ensure that this volume will be a full member of its series, even if produced in a different era and by a different editorial team.

Bibliography

All references cited in the individual chapters have been unified in a single list at the end of the volume (see "Bibliography," this vol.). Citations within the text, by author, date, and often page, identify the works in this unified list. Whenever possible, our volume bibliographer, Corey Sattes (Heyward), assisted by the former *Handbook* series acting bibliographer, Cesare Marino (and Kelly Lindberg, at the early stage), worked to resolve conflicts between citations of different editions and corrected inaccuracies and omissions. The citation template and the bibliographic style selected for this volume are the same as those developed for the previous volumes in the *Handbook* series, including the now-established use of "et al." for the growing number of publications with multiple authors and editors; it reflects the more interdisciplinary and collaborative nature of today's research.

"Additional Reading" sections at the ends of many chapters provide suggested resources of information on the topics covered in the respective chapters and, particularly, some of the most relevant publications that appeared during the active preparation of our volume in 2015–2019. We aimed to bring the most crucial publications in each respective field up to the year 2020,

though a few references from 2021 are also included in a few chapters.

Illustrations

Producing a new volume in the era of electronic publishing and without the support of the Handbook office staff required substantial modifications to our process, compared to all prior *Handbook* volumes. This volume, from the very beginning, was planned to be released in both print and electronic format, so all its illustration materials had to conform to different licensing terms. All chapter authors were asked to supply 8–10 potential illustrations and draft maps, preferably from photographs and archival images in their personal collections or for which they might obtain permission for online reproduction. This approach resulted in a slightly smaller number of illustrations compared to many earlier volumes.

Additional illustrations were sought in the Smithsonian NAA, with the assistance of Gina Rappoport, photo archivist, and Daisy Njoku, NAA media archivist. Joanna Cohan Scherer (former *Handbook* illustrations researcher) served as illustration editor for five historical chapters and secured numerous photographs from the early production decades of the *Handbook* series and from her personal collection. Dawn Biddison at the NMNH Arctic Studies Center's Anchorage office was instrumental in obtaining high-resolution image files and permissions from individual contributors and copyright holding institutions. Igor Chechushkov checked and enhanced the illustrations for production.

Maps

All volume maps were drawn by Daniel G. Cole, the GIS coordinator and chief cartographer of the Smithsonian Institution and author of nearly all maps in the *Handbook* series published after 1986. Cole redrew certain draft maps submitted by chapter authors; his responsibility was also to make all maps in the present volume adhere to the same standards, base maps, and general outlook as applied across the entire series.

Maps for all culture area chapters, from "Arctic" to "Northeast," have been prepared as diagrammatic guides to illustrate the coverage and mainly correspond to the "Key to Tribal Territories" map in the area *Handbook* volumes (vols. 5–15). They are not an authoritative depiction of Native American/First Nations group territories but rather compilations that depict the situation at the earliest periods for which historical evidence is available. The ranges mapped for different groups often refer to different periods, so that the group areas in the eastern portion of North America generally relate to the situation in the 1700s, even the 1600s, while for those in the central and western portion of the continent, they are closer to the mid-nineteenth century. They reflect, for the most part, the areas of cultural-linguistic groups as drawn in volumes 5–15, with added new autonyms in use by the corresponding Indigenous groups today. The group boundaries featured on the maps have always been approximate, and the ethnographic knowledge on which they were originally based was not uniform from area to area; shared occupation and use of territory, and sometimes contested territorial overlaps, were and remain common. For more specific information, readers are advised to see the maps and text in the relevant group (tribal) chapters in the respective area volumes.

The ethnic (tribal) names on the maps also display the shifting realities of each major region, as many once-established ethnic names across North America were replaced by new forms between 1978 and 2008. These are now widely used as Native self-designations and in general and scholarly context. For each chapter map, we based our decision on various relevant sources, authors' and reviewers' advice, and established practices, as of 2018–2020. More details and the full list of new ethnic and tribal names used in volume 1, compared to the previously published volumes, are presented in Appendix 3.

Acknowledgments

This is the first volume of the *Handbook* series produced without direct input from the late general editor, William Curtis Sturtevant (1926–2007), or the involvement of the dedicated professional team of the former Handbook office, which was closed in 2007. Yet Sturtevant's intellectual impact and grand vision for the series, its mission, and its outlook continued to be our guiding principles, even without his physical presence. The editorial team views this volume as a tribute to William Sturtevant's lasting memory.

In the production of the volume, we were privileged to enjoy the support of several original members of the *Handbook* production team: Ives Goddard (linguistic editor and technical editor), Cesare Marino (researcher and acting bibliographer), Joanna Cohan Scherer (illustrations researcher), and Daniel G. Cole (cartographer). We also benefited from enthusiasm of many colleagues engaged in the production of the previously published *Handbook* volumes, including Garrick Bailey, William Fitzhugh, Catherine Fowler, Ira

Jacknis, Sergei Kan, William Merrill, Daniel Rogers, and others. We extend our warmest thanks to all of them, to nearly 50 new contributors and to the eight members of the volume's editorial board, who made the completion of this volume possible. This includes our late colleague, Ira Jacknis, who passed away in 2021; to honor his legacy and to acknowledge several other late authors of the *Handbook* series, we added a "Tributes" section at the end of the volume.

The volume editor would like particularly to acknowledge the exceptional role played by Corey Sattes (Heyward) in the editorial process. During the most critical production years, starting in the summer of 2015, she served as the de facto volume office manager, providing lists of weekly tasks; organizing volume archival files; monitoring editor's correspondence with contributors and reviewers; keeping electronic files of the volume's master bibliography, list of place and ethnic/tribal names, chapter reviewers; and more. Heidi Fritschel offered invaluable copy-editing input on all 35 submitted chapters. At various stages in the preparation of the volume, we received assistance from Janet Danek, Kelly Lindberg, and Carolyn Smith, while Laura Sharp was instrumental in organizing the volume's planning workshop in December 2014. Joanna Cohan Scherer would like to acknowledge the assistance of several interns who helped with the illustrations to the historical section of the volume: Kerrie Monahan (2014–2015), Sarah Dressel (2015), Emily Solomon (2016), Hannah Toombs (2016–2017), Elizabeth Gibbons (2017), Meagan Shirley (2017), and Etta Zajic (2018–2020).

We are grateful to more than 70 external reviewers and our colleagues across the Smithsonian Institution who generously contributed their time to evaluate submitted manuscripts and help convert them into better texts (see "Reviewers," this vol.).

Preparation of this volume was supported by funding provided by the Smithsonian Scholarly Studies Awards Program in the Arts and Humanities (2015–2016), by the Smithsonian "Grand Challenges" Consortia grant (2014), and by many financial and in-kind contributions from NMNH, its Department of Anthropology, NAA, Arctic Studies Center, and their staffs. The publication of the volume was made possible thanks to the Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press (SISP), its director, Ginger Strader Minkiewicz, who was also production editor for this volume, and copy editor Susan G. Harris.

We are particularly grateful to SISP for its commitment to use the same general design, cover, font, and style template as applied throughout the *Handbook* series since the 1970s. Many people worked hard to make this opening volume an integral part of the series not only in its content and style but also in its general look. We thank you all!

Igor Krupnik
February 2022

Introduction: A Gateway to the *Handbook* Series

IGOR KRUPNIK

Since the early days of the Smithsonian *Handbook of North American Indians* (*HNAI*), its opening volume 1, *Introduction*, was intended to serve as a general prologue to the series: in 1971–1972, when it was started, and in 2019–2020, when it was finally completed. Coming more than 40 years after the release of the first *HNAI* volumes (Heizer 1978b; Trigger 1978a) and 14 years following its most recent installment, volume 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society* (Bailey 2008a), this introductory tome closes the long-standing gap in the massive, now 16-piece, set. It also illuminates the profound changes in the way its authors and editors have presented Native North American (American Indian) cultures, societies, and voices—then and now. This opening essay explains *why* the new volume 1 of 2022 is so different from its prototype of 50 years ago, outlines the history of the "first" volume 1 of 1971–1975, and explains the vision developed by the new editorial team to fulfill its mission in 2013–2021.

The *Handbook* Enterprise: 1966–2008

The production of the *HNAI* series, since it was first discussed in early 1966 and up to the release of its most recent published volume (Bailey 2008a), was a venture of monumental proportions. By all accounts, it constituted the most seminal (and memorable) contribution to public knowledge about indigenous North American societies and cultures prior to the 2004 opening of the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) on the National Mall in Washington, D.C.

By all standards, the production of the *HNAI* series may be viewed as the largest ever concerted engagement of the Americanist scholarly community with the Indigenous cultures of North America, from the Arctic to northern Mexico. For almost 40 years, hundreds of specialists in Native American history, anthropology, arts, political and public life worked under a common plan implemented by a small team at the Handbook office in the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History (see "William Curtis Sturtevant," "Production of the *Handbook*: 1970–2008," "Organization and Operation," this vol.). The *HNAI* series surpassed all of its predecessors in the history of Native North American studies: by the number of its contributors (almost 850, including this volume), submitted chapters and essays (almost 900), maps and rare historical photographs used as illustrations (more than 15,000), the scope of references on all aspects of Native American life (more than 60,000), and the sheer number of pages in its 16 (now 17) massive, richly illustrated *in quarto* books (see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.). As the most authoritative source on all things Native American, the *HNAI* set or its individual volumes are currently being held in more than 2,100 libraries worldwide (Worldcat.org, https://www.worldcat.org/title/handbook-of-north-american-indians/oclc/921901458&referer=brief_results, active December 31, 2020), as well as in hundreds of Native tribal offices, colleges, and federal, state, and local institutions.

The strong roots of the *Handbook* in the history of research and literature on North American indigenous peoples, beginning in the 1800s, were instrumental to its success. In spite of these strengths, the series faced formidable challenges during its planning and production phases. The era from the 1960s to the 2000s, when it was developed and produced, was a time of radical shifts in how all three main continental societies—American, Canadian, and Mexican—treated their Native American/First Nations/Indigenous constituents. Similarly, it ushered in a rapid transformation in the ways aboriginal societies interpreted and presented themselves. The readers in the twenty-first century must constantly keep in mind how different their world is from that of the 1970s and how people, then called "American Indians," had been viewed by political powers, scholars, and popular culture, when the first *Handbook* volumes rolled off the printing press.

Internally, the *Handbook* team also faced a daunting mission to reconcile two very different tasks: the demand for consistency in academic quality and scholarly depth, and the ongoing changes in data, vision, and, most importantly, in public mind. This same challenge of reconciling conflicting demands for consistency and change is also central to the narrative of volume 1, the series' introduction. By comparing what its editors vowed to *introduce* in the 1970s and, again,

in 2013–2015, it illuminates the shifting alliances in Native American research and public status to the twenty-first-century readers—Indigenous, academic, and lay alike.

The Saga of the "Unfinished" Volume 1, 1966–1975

By definition, each multivolume series possesses a volume 1, but such opening volumes are not always designed as introductions. When deliberations about the future outline of the *HNAI* series began at the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology (SOA) in 1966, there was uncertainty about the scope, even the title, of volume 1. From January to May 1966, two opposing views were debated: Should the series be organized alphabetically, from A to Z, or thematically, by topics or culture areas (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.)? Under the alphabetical structure of the series, no general introductory volume was needed, and volume 1 would simply start with "A." According to the opposing *thematic* vision, under the first outline from April 1966 by SOA archaeologist Richard B. Woodbury, volume 1 would cover "Geography, Culture, and Natural Areas, Linguistics, the History of the Study of the American Indian" (Woodbury 1966). Thus, the very idea of a special volume called *Introduction* came relatively late, was hotly contested, and represented a break with the tradition of multivolume encyclopedic series.

The *Handbook's* most often cited predecessor, the two-volume *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Hodge 1907–1910), was organized alphabetically. Its first volume featured entries from A to M and had a short, mostly technical preface (Hodge 1907:v–ix). Its second volume had no preface to speak of. The next major multivolume Bureau of American Ethnology set, the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward 1946–1959), a six-piece series, dedicated its volume 1 to the so-called Marginal Tribes, including Indigenous peoples of the southern tip of South America, the Gran Chaco area, and eastern Brazil. It had a one-page foreword by Alexander Wetmore, then the acting secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and a nine-page introduction by the series' editor, Julian H. Steward (1946).

The 16-volume series *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Wauchope 1964–1976), the closest analog to the *HNAI* (see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.), originally envisioned the first volume titled *Introduction* (Wauchope 1960:139). When that volume was released, it had a different title, *Natural Environment and Early Cultures* (West 1964; see Evans 1966a; Flannery 1965) and was dedicated to what we today call "ecology" and "early prehistory." It started with the first thematic chapter (Maldonado-Koerdell 1965), without any editor's preface. Evidently, the concept of a special introductory volume was not yet established at the very time the *HNAI* was to be launched.

When William C. Sturtevant's Smithsonian colleagues voted for him to serve as general editor of the *HNAI* in May 1966, the alphabetical vision for the series was quickly put to rest in favor of a thematic focus for individual volumes. Nonetheless, the fate of volume 1 was by no means resolved. The first outline for the series from October 1966 included volume 1 under the title "Origins," made of three sections: "The Land" (natural environment), "People" (including physical anthropology, demography, and health), and "Culture" (primarily archaeology and the origins of early cultures of North America) (Anonymous 1966; Smithsonian Office of Anthropology 1966a). This structure was eventually used for the *Handbook* volume 3 (Ubelaker 2006a).

The first indication that Sturtevant was thinking of a special introductory volume and of himself as its editor comes from his memo to Sidney R. Galler, Smithsonian undersecretary, and Sol Tax, director of the Center for the Study of Man, from March 23, 1970 (Sturtevant 1970b; see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.). It took the *Handbook* planners four years to finally accept the new vision for volume 1, but its content remained unclear for another year. In February 1971, Sturtevant circulated an 11-page memo on the *Handbook* project, with draft outlines for then-17 planned volumes. For volume 1, it envisioned 10 major sections: introduction to the whole *Handbook*; history of knowledge of North American Indians; sources; general culture history; social and political organization; religion and medicine; socialization, psychology, and national character; verbal art; music and dance; and games. The same structure was also repeated in the only published account of the series preparation in spring of 1971 (Sturtevant 1972c:6).

The earliest detailed outline for volume 1 from March 1972 (Sturtevant 1972b, 1972c) (fig. 1) contained the titles of 52 (later 53) chapters, with the tentative number of pages assigned, and the names of prospective authors, often with possible alternates. It generally followed the basic organization proposed in 1971 but offered more insight into Sturtevant's thinking. Some chapters were envisioned as huge overview essays, like those on "Indian–European relations" (of 100 pages, by Edward Spicer), on the history of "Indian Studies since 1879" (80 pages, by Dell Hymes), and on the history prior to 1879 (50 pages, by William Fenton). Most other chapters would be 20–30 pages.

If implemented according to its 1972 outline, volume 1 would have been a monumental tome of more than 800 pages, with copious references, historical photographs, maps, and an index. It would have been an authoritative compendium of knowledge on Native American societies and history, with a strongly academic bent. It would have offered lengthy seminal overviews of major developments in the study of Native North American societies; basic sources available in all related fields of research; and succinct summaries of various elements of indigenous sociopolitical organization, religion, and cultures. Listed among its prospective authors were several future editors of other *Handbook* volumes (Ives Goddard, Robert Heizer, Frederick Hulse, Alfonso Ortiz, Deward Walker, Wilcomb Washburn), prominent Native American intellectuals (Vine Deloria, Jr., Roger Buffalohead, N. Scott Momaday, Rupert Costo), many anthropological luminaries of the era (Fred Eggan, George P. Murdock, William Fenton, E. Adamson Hoebel, Edward H. Spicer), and scores of active American, Canadian, and European anthropologists.

Sturtevant defined the mission of volume 1 as follows:

> The volume has two purposes . . . 1. It is to provide a general introduction to the whole 20-volume Handbook. The history, purpose, and organization of the work will be presented. We also need nontechnical, introductory explanations to serve as background for the material in the following volumes, especially for non-anthropologists and non-Americanists. . . . [2] The volume should serve as an introduction to the methods, resources, and results of North Americanist anthropology and history. It might even turn out to be suitable as a text-book for some kinds of courses on North American Indian anthropology and history (Sturtevant 1972c:1).

Nevertheless, the book envisioned in 1972 would have been a scholarly and public masterpiece if published in the 1950s, even in the early 1960s. By 1972, that same structure projected a mostly, academic nature of the series—to the Americanist scholars, Native American readers, and the general public. That image was already "out-of-date" in the aftermath of the civil rights movement, Vietnam War protests, and Red Power/American Indian activism, marked by the occupation of Alcatraz (1969–1971) and Mount Rushmore (1970), the Trail of Broken Treaties (1972), and the military standoff at Wounded Knee (see Deloria 2008; Fixico 2013b; Hertzberg 1988; Johansen 2013; Smith and Warrior 1997)—of which the series organizers were acutely aware (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.).

Plans laid out in 1972 started to unravel quickly. In contrast to other series volumes, Sturtevant aspired to build a large planning committee that would include editors of all series volumes plus five members of its General Advisory Board. Such arrangement of more than 20 people was hardly practical; the group reportedly met but once in April 1972, as attested by Ives Goddard, who attended that meeting:

> The volume planning committee had met here [at the Smithsonian] shortly before May 1972. They [we] planned the volume and suggested authors and in some cases back-up authors for the chapters. . . . The planning committees of all the volumes were just that, the people [were] brought in to plan the volume and suggest writers (Ives Goddard to Igor Krupnik, personal communication, March 2, 2013).

Shortly after, in May–June 1972, the Handbook office mailed standard invitation letters signed by Sturtevant to almost 50 prospective authors. They were accompanied by a detailed 15-page outline of the volume (Sturtevant 1972c), with a list of all 53 chapters, their short abstracts and size assignments. During the summer of 1972, 16 contacted authors excused themselves; other requested an extension; some never bothered to respond. By the fall of 1972, many chapters still lacked assigned writers. By the first announced deadline of May–June 1973, only 3 out of 53 planned chapters had arrived. By February 1974, only 10 out of 53 proposed chapters for the volume had been submitted and preparation was already behind schedule.

As volume 1 ground to a halt, the *Handbook* production team had to make painful decisions. In late 1973, members of the Handbook office quietly agreed to concentrate their effort on two of the most advanced volumes, *California* (vol. 8, Heizer 1978b) and *Northeast* (vol. 15, Trigger 1978a; see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.). In a letter to one of the contributors, Werner Müller, Sturtevant acknowledged that "the volume will be postponed. . . . I am sorry to say that Volume 1 will probably be one of the last to appear" (Sturtevant 1979).

Volume 1 soon slipped further down the production schedule. Though the preface sections in each published series volume featured a standard statement that "readers should refer to volume 1, Introduction, for general descriptions of anthropological and historical methods and sources" and for "detailed history of the early development of the *Handbook*" (e.g., Bailey 2008c:xi; Fogelson 2004:xiii; Helm 1981:xiii; Ortiz 1979:xiii), no active work on volume 1 was undertaken after 1975. Following Sturtevant's retirement and death in 2007, and the termination of the Handbook office in December 2007, all materials related to volume 1 were transferred to the National Anthropological Archives (NAA). Notably, they all fit in one archival box.

September 1972
(2)

HANDBOOK OF NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

Volume I: Introduction

General and Volume Editor: William C. Sturtevant (Smithsonian Institution)

Planning Committee: All the other Volume Editors (Bleibtreu replacing Hulse, d'Azevedo and Trigger absent)

TENTATIVE OUTLINE

1.	Editor's Introduction	(10)	Sturtevant
2.	Guide to other general works	(5)	Sturtevant
3.	Human Ecology of Native North America	(40)	(alt: Wilmsen)
4.	The Culture Area Concept	(30)	Driver
5.	North American Indian Cultures in World Perspective	(20)	Eggan
6.	Extra-continental Influences & Other Popular Theories	(30)	Heizer
7.	Race and Racial Theories	(15)	Bleibtreu
8.	Outline of Prehistory	(50)	
9.	Outline of History	(50)	Lurie
10.	The Indian Claims Commission: Functions and History	(20)	Vance
11.	Indians in the 1970's	(20)	Deloria
12.	Indian-European Relations in World Context (perhaps in 2 parts: General; Compared with Latin America)	(100)	Spicer
13.	North American Indian Influences on World Culture	(50)	Ortiz/Sturtevant
14.	History of Indian Studies to 1879	(50)	Fenton
15.	History of Indian Studies since 1879	(80)	Hymes (alt: Darnell, Morris Opler, Codere, Bunzel, Gruber, Bidney)
16.	Contributions of Indian Studies to the Arts, Sciences, & Humanities	(30)	
17.	Indians in Textbooks & General Education	(30)	R. & J. Costo (note on Canada by H. Cardinal) (alts: J. Chilcott, D. Warren, B. Lane)
18.	Introduction to Methods and Sources	(5)	Sturtevant
19.	Methods: Archeology	(20)	Heizer
20.	Methods: History	(20)	Washburn
21.	Methods: Ethnology, Ethnography	(20)	Hoebel
22.	Methods: Physical Anthropology	(20)	Hulse/Bleibtreu
23.	Methods: Linguistics	(20)	Goddard

Fig. 1. Copy of the two-page outline for original volume 1 produced by William Sturtevant in March 1972 and circulated in advance of the volume planning meeting in April 1972 (Sturtevant 1972b; see also Anonymous 1972a; NAA, HNAI Papers, Series 4, Central Editorial Files, Box 140, Folder “Vol. 1.”).

	Sources:		
24.	Published literature, anthropology	(20)	O'Leary (alt: Mgt.Currier)
25.	Published literature, history	(20)	Buffalohead (alt: McNickle)
26.	Archives	(20)	
27.	Museum collections	(20)	Ewers/Sturtevant
28.	Paintings, drawings, film	(20)	Ewers/Sturtevant
29.	Sound recordings	(10)	T. Isaacs
30.	Travel liars, ethnological and linguistic hoaxes and radical misinterpretations	(30)	Adams/Goddard
31.	Archeological hoaxes and radical misinterpretations	(30)	S. Williams
	Social and Political Organization:		
32.	Introduction	(15)	Eggan
33.	Family and Life Cycle	(30)	Eggan
34.	Kinship Terminologies	(50)	Scheffler
35.	Descent groups, age sets, sodalities	(50)	(alt: Driver)
36.	Territoriality	(20)	
37.	Political organization, and leadership	(30)	Deloria (alts: Hoebel, Frank Miller, Walter Miller
38.	Custom Law	(20)	Hoebel
39.	Ranking and prestige systems	(20)	(alts: Edmondson, Codere)
40.	Warfare	(30)	Ewers (alt: K. Otterbein)
41.	Socialization	(20)	
42.	Personality	(30)	
43.	Values, World View, Philosophy	(30)	Momaday/Ortiz
	Religion and Medicine:		
44.	Introduction	(10)	Ortiz
45.	Traditional Religions	(40)	Werner Müller (alt: Hultkrantz)
46.	Concepts and Uses of Spiritual Power	(30)	Walker
47.	New Religions	(30)	(alts: O.Stewart, LaBarre, Thomas)
48.	Indian Christianity	(20)	A. Dial (alts: V.Deloria Sr., C.Corbett)
49.	Therapeutics and Theories of Illness	(30)	
50.	Verbal Art	(40)	Tedlock
51.	Music	(30)	McAllester
52.	Dance	(20)	Kurath
53.	Games	(30)	J. Roberts
54.	Index		

The Second Birth of Volume 1: 2013–2014

In February 2013, when I volunteered to explore materials related to volume 1 in the massive *Handbook* archives (see "Preface," this vol.), I had little knowledge of its checkered history. The files stored in one archival box (NAA, HNAI Papers, Series 4, Box 140) (fig. 2) contained several folders arranged in alphabetical order by the names of chapter authors/proposed contributors, plus four general folders: "Introduction" (mostly with copies of the volume outline from 1972), "Preliminary Outlines," "Letters to Contributors," and "Negative Responses." An undated summary of the volume deliverables, evidently from early 1975, listed 12 chapters as "received"; 29 chapters as "assigned, not received"; and 11 chapters as "not assigned," meaning they lacked a committed author. There were no documents of any general content after 1975, and I found no evidence that any of the "assigned, not received" or "not assigned" chapter manuscripts were ever delivered. The *Handbook Quarterly Report* from March 1979 gave the same number of "received" chapters, 12 (Della-Loggia 1979).

Though a few of the "received" chapters were reviewed, none was developed according to the Handbook office standards or had accompanying illustrations and style edits. Only one chapter, "Kinship Terminologies" by Harold Scheffer, featured post-1975 revisions; it was also the only essay that had an electronic file on an old eight-inch floppy disk. All other papers and correspondence associated with volume 1 were typed documents from the predigital era. By 2013, most of the original volume contributors from 1972 had passed away, except for a few survivors in their late 70s, even 80s. Against this backdrop, the status of volume 1 was bleak. It was hard to imagine how Sturtevant's ambitious assemblage of 53 chapters could be resurrected 40 years later, even under the best conditions possible.

When the discussion on volume 1 resumed in spring–summer 2013 within a small planning group at the NMNH Department of Anthropology (see "Preface," this vol.), we faced a daunting challenge. It would be the first series volume to be produced without the seasoned team at the Handbook office and any involvement by the late general editor. Though some former Handbook office members eventually joined the effort (Ives Goddard, Joanna Cohan Scherer, Cesare Marino, and Daniel Cole), we could not muster the human resources needed for an 800-page volume—with no operational office, no budget, and a limited production window.

The intellectual challenges were even more formidable. The majestic 16-book gray-cloth *Handbook* set (volume 13 was printed in two books) had already earned its exceptional standing among professionals and the general public as a prime source of scholarly, reference, and visual information on all subjects related to the Native American/First Nation societies, past and present. Many topics planned for original chapters in volume 1, such as Indian–European relations and Native American economies, history, kinship, religion, social systems, and arts were already covered in great depth. Overviews of critical resources in major fields—historical, documentary, museum, bibliographic, and visual—were spread across the *HNAI* series. The new *Introduction* was to be produced *after* the series al-

Photographs by Igor Krupnik, 2013.

Fig. 2. Archival box (Box 140) with the materials for the unfinished production of *Handbook*, vol. 1, 1972–1975.

ready had had an average shelf life of 20–25 years, and some early volumes close to 40 years (Heizer 1978b; Ortiz 1979; Trigger 1978a). It would also face intellectual competition from several later synopses of the Native American/First Nations cultures published after 1972 (Biolsi 2004; Kan and Strong 2006; Thompson 1996), all excellent analogs to Sturtevant's outlines for volume 1.

Even more challenging was the presence of scores of published summaries on various subjects related to Native North Americans—from oral history to music to spiritual beliefs to ecological knowledge to political life (Biolsi and Zimmerman 1997a; Browner 2009; Jones 2007; Mills and Slobodin 1994; Moerman 2009, 2010; Trigger and Washburn 1996; Vescey and Venables 1980; Wiget 1996; and more). We could not compete with this army of excellent books with our limited resources.

Nevertheless, we had a special asset when planning our new introduction, the *Handbook*'s volume 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society* (Bailey 2008a). Until it was published, the series' most obvious shortcoming was the lack of a concerted Indigenous perspective on key matters pertaining to the Native/First Nations/Indigenous peoples of North America in the contemporary era. Its editorial team also demonstrated a path on how to produce a focused up-to-date contribution, with a new structure, a new set of authors, and without the towering presence of the late general editor. If any series volume were to serve as our prototype in 2013–2014, it would be volume 2.

We found compelling reasons for a new introductory volume to address a different set of topics centered on contemporary scholarship on Indigenous Peoples/First Nations of North America, rather than the one envisioned in the 1970s. Parting with the 1972 outline and starting from scratch had obvious advantages. We could explore new themes that were not touched in the 15 published *HNAI* volumes. Some were not considered originally, such as the issues of ethics in research with Native American/First Nations communities, the role of cultural and heritage laws, and interaction between museums and Native constituencies. Others did not even exist in the *Handbook* planning era and surfaced only after 2000, such as climate change and new digital domains, including social media, electronic collection catalogs, museum networks, and 3D replication.

By producing the series introduction *after* most other volumes were published, we could point to the transitions in research and to many emerging areas of the twenty-first century. We could engage a new cadre of contributors and reviewers, particularly Native American/First Nation scholars, and feature more perspectives and new voices. Lastly, we could explore bringing the new volume to the electronic domain, perhaps opening a path for the entire series to be one day accessible online, a transition that no other *Handbook* volume has made.

Another factor instrumental to our planning was how to secure funding for production. With the termination of the *HNAI* series in 2007, there were no obvious sources from which to seek funds to produce a missing piece for a multivolume set started in the 1970s. In the fall of 2013, we applied to the Smithsonian "Grand Challenges" Consortia for a modest grant for a planning session titled "Emerging Themes in Native North American Research: Planning the Smithsonian Agenda for the 21st Century." By the rules of the funding, the event had to be forward looking and collaborative—that is, it had to focus on the current and future research and to reflect various interests in the broad Smithsonian system. Our proposal for a two-day planning session was submitted on behalf of the Smithsonian NMNH's Department of Anthropology, the NMAI, the NAA, and the Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press (SISP). To jump-start the preparation of the long-abandoned volume 1, we had to build a new coalition of players. The planning meeting in December 2014 was started at NMAI, which had not been a party to the original *Handbook* effort. By that time, the volume had its lead editor and editorial board of nine members representing the diverse visions on our venture (see "Preface," this vol.).

Striking a New Balance in 2015

A calculated break in favor of a new organization and more diverse team was a path that we selected to present volume 1 and the entire *Handbook* series to twenty-first-century readers. We agreed that the new volume could be neither a condensed summary of the series nor a collection of continental overviews of the topics covered in its individual volumes. Besides that, there was no unanimity among its planners and contributors. Some authors wanted to celebrate the illustrious legacy of the *HNAI* series; others aspired to fill its gaps, particularly related to today's Native communities; still others argued for a modern book aimed at a broad and electronically savvy audience. We debated these considerations between the summer of 2013 and December 2014 and then, again, in 2017–2018, when the volume manuscript was mostly completed.

The balance we achieved had little in common with the proposed organization of volume 1 in 1972, and it was unlike that of other *Handbook* volumes. We retained just one contributor from the former team (Ives

Goddard) and have hardly any overlap in topics with the 53 original chapters from 1972.

The much slimmer volume 1, now 35 chapters, is organized in five sections that reflect its three-pronged mission—to look forward (18 chapters), to update (11 chapters), and to preserve the story of the *HNAI* series (6 chapters). By decisively steering it toward contemporary themes and developments, we aim to advance the series' reach into the new century. It is no accident that volume 1 is the first (and so far, the only) *Handbook* volume to be accessible online in electronic format, in addition to the printed book.

The opening part, of 19 chapters, is the largest in the volume and focuses on the issues facing Native American communities and the field of American Indian studies in the twenty-first century. It covers topics or approaches that did not exist during the early *Handbook* era and did not receive the requisite attention in the volumes produced in 1978–2008. Its first section of six chapters under a common title, "Native American Histories in the Twenty-First Century" (editor: Joe Watkins), is dedicated to the new philosophy of Indigenous heritage rights, sharing, and partnership in research and in the Native Americans'/First Nations' pursuit of social justice. The chapters explore the emergence of the "New Indian History" in Native American research; the development of the special codes of ethics in relations between scientists and Native American communities; the new field of "Indigenous archaeology"; the role of cultural heritage legislation in the United States and Canada; culture contacts and the emergence of cultural diversity in precontact and early contact North America; and new prominence of maritime/coastal adaptations in understanding Native American economies. The belated production of volume 1 offered an opportunity to insert these topics to the *Handbook* series.

The second section, "New Cultural Domains" (editor: Igor Krupnik), of seven chapters, addresses the ongoing ascendance of North American Indigenous peoples in the new "domains" of the twenty-first century: social media; new electronic tools used to support and revitalize indigenous languages; museum outreach programs addressed to Native communities; digital networks and electronic collection catalogs; and the emerging field of 3D digital replication of objects of indigenous cultural patrimony. These fields are new research and collaborative "hotspots" that are being actively investigated by Native communities, cultural activists, museums, and other heritage institutions in the first decades of the twenty-first century.

The next section, "Native American Experiences in the Twenty-First Century" (editor: J. Daniel Rogers), of five chapters, examines certain topics that have emerged since the 1990s (and even later) as new products of globalization, such as the struggle for Indigenous food sovereignty, the impact of climate change and of the cross-border migrations, the future of Indigenous languages, and the place of North American Indigenous peoples in the emerging new "world order." Hardly any of these issues received recognition or adequate treatment in the volumes published in 1978–2008 (with the possible exception of vol. 2, Bailey 2008a).

The largest portion of the volume, titled "Transitions in Native North American Research" (editors: Sergei Kan and Ann McMullen) is organized in 11 chapters corresponding to the respective "culture area" volumes (vols. 5–15) for the 10 culture areas of North America, from the Arctic to northern Mexico. The sequence of chapters, from the "Arctic" to "Northeast" mirrors the order of regional volumes in the *HNAI* series, including *two* chapters for the most complex culture area, the Southwest, emulating the two Southwest volumes covering Pueblo and non-Pueblo/northern Mexico Indigenous communities respectively (Ortiz 1979, 1983). Unlike the highly standardized chapters on individual Native groups in the *Handbook* series, regional chapters in volume 1 offer an assortment of topics that reflect the multitude of local developments and of their authors' specializations. The chapters are framed as overviews of major trends in research and political and cultural developments since the release of the respective *Handbook* regional volumes, which is almost 40 years for California, Northeast, Southwest, and the Subarctic, and about 15–20 years for the most recent volumes, the Plateau, Plains, and the Southeast. Such brief overviews complement the more thorough treatment of subjects in the respective regional volumes; they also help bring them all to a common date, about 2016–2018.

The final section, "The Smithsonian *Handbook* Project, 1965–2008" (editors: William L. Merrill, Ira Jacknis, and Igor Krupnik), fulfills the pledge given in the prefaces of each published volume, from 2 to 17, that "volume 1 would provide . . . a detailed history of the early development of the *Handbook* and the listing of the entire editorial staff." Yet this section goes much further, as it also examines the intellectual roots of the *HNAI* project, critical role of the general editor in designing and steering the series, and the operations of the Handbook office, from two personal perspectives. It concludes with a thorough assessment of the many other legacies and components of the *Handbook* venture.

The volume includes three appendixes: a detailed *Handbook* timeline, with more than 240 dates important to *Handbook* history between 1964 and 2014; a list of all people instrumental in the *Handbook* produc-

tion; and a list of the conventions for Indigenous tribal and ethnic names used in this volume and throughout the *Handbook* series. It is completed by a massive bibliography of 7,480 entries, produced by Corey Sattes (Heyward) and Cesare Marino.

With this publication, the *Handbook* series finally receives a comprehensive treatment and a detailed history. Until now, the readers had nowhere to go for the general overview of the project besides Sturtevant's short paper of 1971 (Sturtevant 1971f), a segment in a review of volume 17 (Renner 1998:43–44) in a German Americanist journal, a Wikipedia entry (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Handbook_of_North_American_Indians), and a brief section in Sturtevant's academic biography (Merrill 2002a). Such regrettable lack of assessment of the series is striking compared with the literature on the history of its many academic predecessors (e.g., Darnell 1998; Driver 1962; Faulhaber 2012; Hinsley 1981; Marcus and Spores 1978; Woodbury and Woodbury 1999; see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.).

We hope that readers will welcome this new and critical addition to the Smithsonian *Handbook* series that will help extend its reach in the new century.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to my partners in the planning and production of volume 1—Garrick Bailey, Ives Goddard, the late Ira Jacknis, Sergei Kan, Cesare Marino, Ann McMullen, William Merrill, J. Daniel Rogers, Joanna Cohan Scherer, Gabriel Tayac, and Joe Watkins—and also to Curtis Hinsley, Alice Kehoe, and Michael Silverstein for many useful insights and additions to this book's "Introduction."

Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project: 1800s–1965

IGOR KRUPNIK

The intellectual foundations of the Smithsonian *Handbook of North American Indians* (*HNAI*) series lie in the history of Americanist anthropology that preceded, often by many decades, the *Handbook* production. When in 1965–1966 Smithsonian anthropologists debated their new initiative, they promptly related it to *four* established scholarly practices. The first was the concept of an ethnological "handbook," a book or series of volumes dedicated to peoples and cultures from a certain region. The second was a tradition of synthesis of Native American/First Nations history, languages, and political relations using a certain template to bring it under one cover. The third was a practice of providing data on Native American societies with a broad and practically oriented audience in mind. And, fourthly, such work had to be done by working in partnership with Indigenous knowledge holders, also with experts at government, research, and educational institutions. In 1966, when the formats for the future *HNAI* series were first discussed, all critical intellectual foundations for a new venture were firmly in place (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.).

The planned volume 1 of the *Handbook* was expected to include two opening chapters called "Editor's Introduction" (2,500 words) and "Guide to Other General Works" (1,250 words), both to be authored by the volume and series general editor, William C. Sturtevant. The former chapter was to be an overview of "previous handbooks," whereas the latter was defined as an "essay on general and regional sourcebooks on North American Indian cultures, prehistory and history; textbooks; sources of information; introductory and encyclopedic works" (Sturtevant 1972c:1). We have no record of these chapters ever having been written; it leaves us with a daunting task to fulfill Sturtevant's pledge half a century later. Other factors critical to *HNAI* planning in the 1960s and 1970s, such as the rise of the American Indian movement, the emergence of new Native leadership, and the changing face of Americanist anthropology, are covered elsewhere (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971" and "Codes of Ethics," this vol.).

The *Handbook* Template

Origins of the Term Handbook; Early Handbooks

The English word *handbook* commonly means a compact reference book or a manual small enough to be conveniently carried and typically containing a compendium of information on a particular subject (e.g., Oxford dictionaries; Merriam-Webster dictionaries). It was reportedly first mentioned in 1538 as *hand booke*, a literal translation from the much older Greek word *enchiridion* (that which is held in the hand) or its Latin equivalent, *manualis* (from *manus* [hand], French *manuel*). The first "handbooks" were practical books, often tailored for special fields and audiences, like for military tasks (Duane 1812, 1813), technology (Appleby 1882), domestic activities, and arts (Bramah 1898). In the 1800s, the term *handbook* was also applied to travel guides (Koshar 1998; Lister 1993). The latter half of the nineteenth century also witnessed the proliferation of handbooks covering various fields of science, such as chemistry (Appleton 1888; Bowman 1866), geology and geography (Page 1865), natural sciences (Furneaux 1893), and medicine (Seaton 1868). They were formatted as concise, practical guides and general reference sources for a wide audience of practitioners and students.

Handbook versus Encyclopedia

A competing format called *encyclopaedia* or *cyclopaedia* (a common term in the 1700s and 1800s) denotes a reference work containing articles on various topics within a broad range of human knowledge or within particular fields or specialties. An encyclopedia generally assumes more in-depth treatment, often in several volumes, with the entries commonly arranged in alphabetical order. The term *encyclopaedia* was introduced by sixteenth-century European humanists, who combined two Greek words—*enkyklios* and *paideia* (in [the] circle/[of knowledge] education)—used by Plutarch, the Greek historian (b. A.D. 46, d. A.D. 120). The earliest modern-era *Cyclopaedia*

appeared in two volumes in 1728 (Chambers 1728). The French *Encyclopédie* had 17 volumes of articles, plus 11 volumes of illustrations (Diderot 1751–1765). The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the oldest continuing English-language series, contained 3 volumes when first released in 1768–1771 and 20 volumes in the fourth edition of 1801–1810.

During the nineteenth century, multivolume encyclopedias proliferated in major European countries, also in the United States, such as *The New American Cyclopedia* in 16 volumes (Ripley and Dana 1857–1866). By the mid-1800s, both genres of reference sources, the handbook and the encyclopedia, were quite familiar to the public in Europe and North America.

Early Continental Overviews of North American Native Cultures

With contributions by Cesare Marino and Ives Goddard

Thanks to the popularity of ethnographic themes in the nineteenth-century literature, the first scholarly treatments of Native Americans appeared beside the myriad fiction books, travelogues, memoirs, and government documents (see Additional Readings, this chapter). Organized materials on Indian tribes and Canadian First Nations had many users, and accurate information was at a premium, as policies toward Native Americans were changing rapidly (Horsman 1988; Prucha 1988; Surtees 1988a).

The scholarly materials on the American Indian nations available by the 1880s and pertinent to the intellectual "roots" of the *HNAI* project fell into *five* major categories.

General Overviews

Following the purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803, the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804–1806 accomplished the first government-sponsored survey of the areas populated by the Indian Nations between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Coast. A two-volume summary of the expedition, based on the explorers' field notebooks, was published shortly after (Biddle 1814); the first edition of the expedition journals appeared decades later in four volumes (Coues 1893), doubling to eight in the next decade (Thwaites 1904–1905).

In 1820, President James Monroe commissioned an official overview of the Native American tribes within the territory of the United States by the Rev. Jedidiah Morse (b. 1761, d. 1826), an antiquarian (historian) and geographer. The resulting single-volume report included statistical tables and a map of the tribal areas (Morse 1822). The governor of Michigan Territory, Lewis Cass (b. 1782, d. 1866), produced his own overview of the Indian nations within the territory of the United States (Cass 1821 [2nd ed., 1823]). Albert Gallatin (b. 1761, d. 1849), a Swiss-born language teacher and later a successful American businessman, politician, and founding president of the American Ethnological Society (1842), provided the first continental treatment of the North American Indigenous groups, from the Arctic to the Gulf of Mexico. Beyond its detailed treatment of Native languages (Goddard 1996a, 1996b), it was accompanied by a continental map of tribal areas and included many other subjects, like climate, vegetation, Native economies, and the origins of the early civilizations of central Mexico (Gallatin 1836; Hallowell 1960; Bieder 1986; Campbell 1997).

Coinciding with Gallatin's work, Thomas L. McKenney (b. 1785, d. 1859), superintendent of Indian affairs in the U.S. War Department, and James Hall (b. 1793, d. 1868) produced a three-volume, richly illustrated *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* (McKenney and Hall 1836–1844). It included more than 100 biographical sketches and lithograph portraits of "Indian types" and historical characters. Other synopses of Native American cultures of the era covered a mixture of subjects, often including excerpts from personal travels, letters, and remarks on Native leaders (e.g., Brownell 1853).

Arrangements of Statistical Sources

By the 1840s, government agencies and policy makers were short of reliable and systematic data on Native North American tribes and Canadian First Nations. In 1847, the U.S. Congress authorized the secretary of war, then responsible for Indian affairs, to "collect and digest such statistics and materials as may illustrate the history, the present conditions, and future prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States" (Schoolcraft 1851:iv). That task fell to Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (b. 1793, d. 1864) (fig. 1), American geographer and former Indian agent (Bieder 1986:146–193), who produced six folio volumes filled with records, narratives, statistical tables, and illustrations, including a continental map (fig. 2) (Schoolcraft 1851–1857; Nichols 1954). The last volume provided a summary of the history of Indian nations, from the first contacts in the 1500s to their relations with the U.S. government. Schoolcraft's

Fig. 1. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793–1864).

monumental series was, nonetheless, criticized for being eclectic and difficult to use (Brinton 1868; Hallowell 1960:42–48).

Continental Analysis of Particular Cultural Features

Lewis Henry Morgan (b. 1818, d. 1881), an attorney from Aurora, New York, became one of the leading ethnologists of nineteenth-century America (Bieder 1986; Hallowell 1960; Powell 1880; Tooker 1978, 1984, 1992). Morgan's second book, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity* (Morgan 1871) was published in the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge series. His last work, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines* (Morgan 1881), appeared in the Bureau of Ethnology's Contributions to North American Ethnology. It reviewed a broad range of Native American societies from North and Central America and illustrated the increasing complexity of the dwelling and house-life structure, from barbarism to ancient agricultural civilizations, according to the then-dominant evolutionary vision. A similar evolutionary approach framed Daniel G. Brinton's books (1868, 1882) on American Indian mythology.

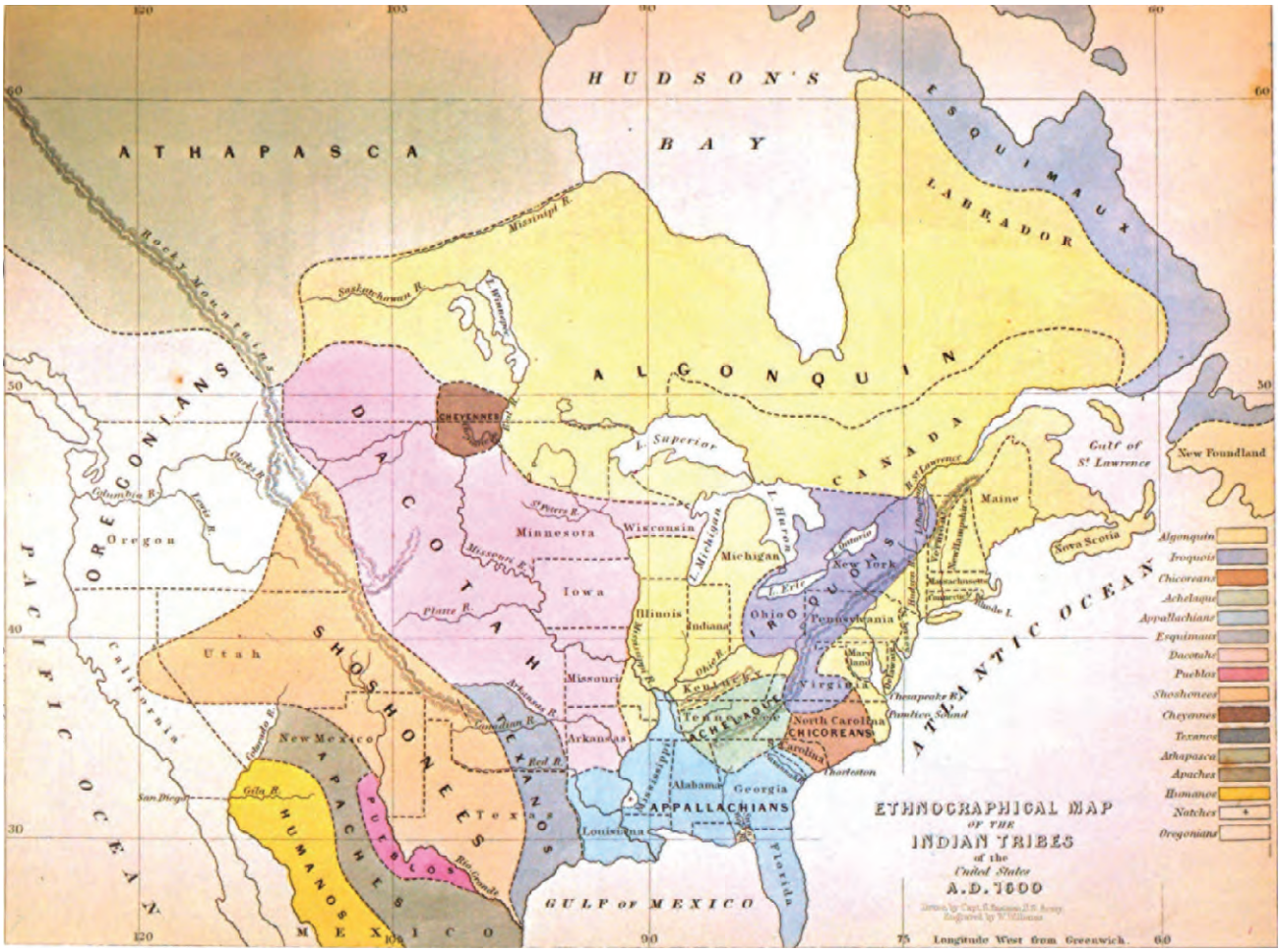
North Americans in Popular Global Overviews

Books on the world's "exotic" peoples became an established genre of scholarly and popular literature in the 1800s (Müller 1873; Pickering 1872; Reclus 1875–1894, 1878–1894). Friedrich Ratzel's three-volume *Völkerkunde* (Ratzel 1885–1888), lavishly illustrated with images of tribal peoples and ethnographic objects from European museums, offered a powerful new form of ethnographic synopsis (Frazer 1887; Morton 1842; Nott and Gliddon 1854; Tylor 1871, 1881). In this book groups from both North and South America were merged under a combined "New World" section (Ratzel 1885–1888, 2:525–753). In the United States, Ratzel's approach was emulated by Daniel G. Brinton (b. 1837, d. 1899), first in his short collection of "lectures" on world cultures (Brinton 1890) and later in an influential volume, *The American Race* (Brinton 1891; Darnell 1974, 1998, 2001).

Illustrated Albums and Photographic Catalogs

Subscribing to the "vanishing race" paradigm, the work of George Catlin (b. 1796, d. 1872) combined his talents as an artist with a wide-ranging ethnographic interest in the Native peoples of the Americas (Truettner 1979). Catlin traveled among the Native groups of North, Central, and South America and produced hundreds of paintings and sketches, many of them now in the collection of the Smithsonian American Art Museum. He published a selection of his paintings in his two-volume synthesis, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Catlin 1841 [3rd ed., 1844]).

Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, the arrival of photography helped expand the visual documentation of Native American peoples (Taft 1942). Photographers in Washington, DC, took dozens of portraits of individual Indian leaders and Native delegations (Viola 1981). In 1869, the Smithsonian organized its first exhibit of 300 Native American photographs and published the accompanying catalog of photographic portraits of North American Indians (Shindler 1869; Fleming 2003). That number was soon tripled in another massive catalog produced by William Henry Jackson (b. 1843, d. 1942), photographer for the U.S. Geological Survey (Jackson 1877). The images listed in both catalogs soon formed the basis of the Native American photographic collection at the Smithsonian Bureau of Ethnology and were later used in the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Hodge 1907–1910) and the *HNAI* series.



Map drawn by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S. Army. From Anonymous 1860.

Fig. 2. Ethnographical Map of the Indian Tribes of the United States, A.D. 1600.

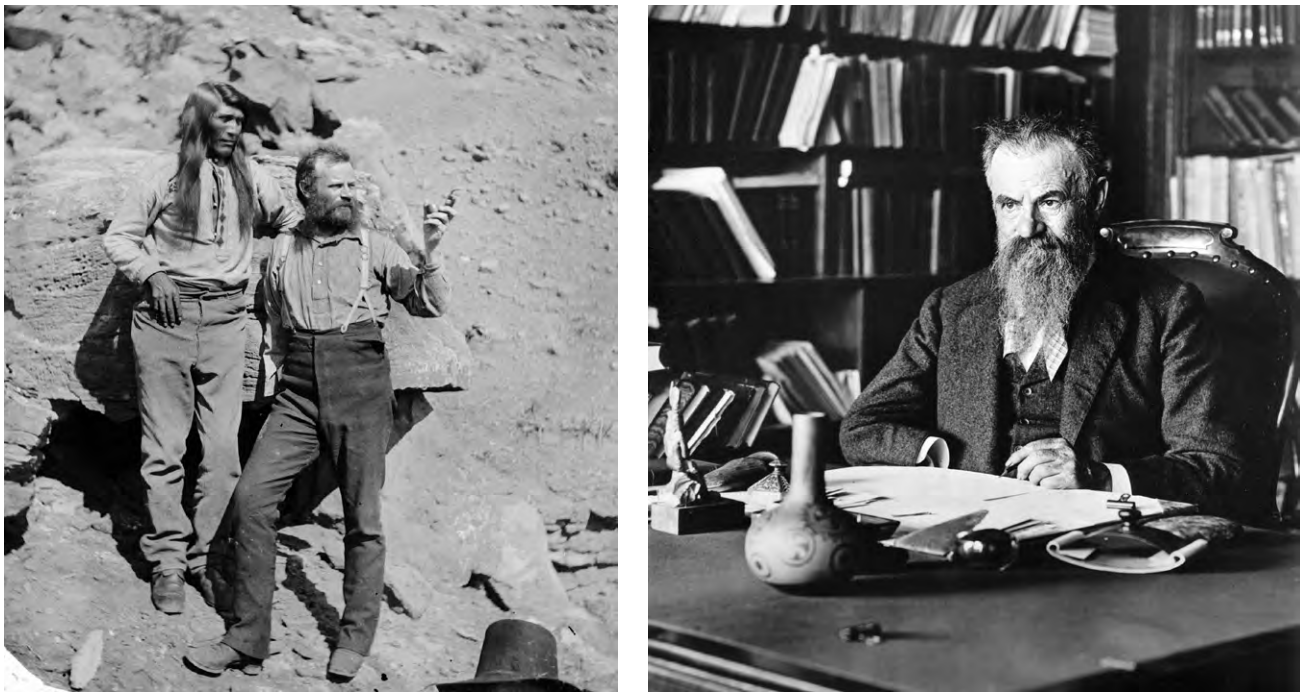
The Bureau of American Ethnology and Its Mission

With contributions by Ives Goddard

The Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, founded by an act of the U.S. Congress in 1846 to serve as the nation's prime scientific establishment (Bunzel 1960; Ewing 2007; Hinsley 1981, 1994), soon evolved into the main center of research on Native societies and cultures of North America. The first Smithsonian secretaries, Joseph Henry (b. 1797, d. 1878) and Spencer F. Baird (b. 1823, d. 1887), had strong ethnological interests and solicited information on Native American tribes from explorers, Army officers, government agents, and, increasingly, from trained naturalists (Fitzhugh 1988, 2002a, 2009; Lindsay 1993; Woodbury and Woodbury 1999).

The Smithsonian's role as the prime institution for Native American research was acknowledged in 1879, when the U.S. Congress created the Bureau of Ethnology (renamed the Bureau of American Ethnology [BAE] in 1897) within the institution (Hinsley 1994:147; Judd 1967:3–4). John Wesley Powell (b. 1834, d. 1902) (fig. 3) served as its first director from 1879 until his death (Stegner 1954). From the beginning, he insisted that the BAE's main priority should be a thorough study of American Indian groups, particularly of their languages (Powell 1881:xv; Campbell 1997; Goddard 1996a; Shaul 1999). It was assumed that the Smithsonian and the BAE would serve as a producer and national repository of knowledge, including practical information for the administration of Native American tribes under the U.S. governmental supervision.

The BAE struggled with many competing scholarly and practical demands under its congressional mandate



left, Photograph by John K. Hillers, 1873, National Anthropological Archives (BAE GN 01636 06282600). right, Photograph by DeLancey Gill, circa 1890, National Anthropological Archives Portraits (64-a-13-a).

Fig. 3. left, Paiute leader Tau-Gu with John Wesley Powell (b. 1834, d. 1902), during Powell's 1873 expedition to the Great Basin region of Utah and Nevada. right, Powell in his office in the Adams Building on F Street NW in Washington, DC.

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (left to right: NAA INV 02861400; NAA INV 02862900, Photo Lot 33; NAA INV 02870700; NAA INV 10057100/Portraits 22-a).

Fig. 4. left to right, USNM and BAE Americanist staff Otis Tufton Mason (1838–1908), James Mooney (1861–1921), Matilda Coxe Stevenson (1849–1915), and Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857–1900).

to provide valuable information for government agencies (Hinsley 1994). It promptly produced the compilation of the *Proof-sheets of a Bibliography of the Languages of the North American Indians* (Pilling 1885) with more than 1,000 pages, from which nine heavily annotated volumes on major Native language families were published between 1887 and 1894 (C. Evans 1971:16–17). The BAE's second major contribution was Powell's *Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico* (1891) and the accompanying color map of 58 Native language families or "stocks" (Goddard 1996a; Shaul 1999). The BAE staff also spent more than two decades compiling a vast list ("synonymy") of names for Native American tribes and languages cited in myriad sources. That effort was initiated independently by several Smithsonian anthropologists and BAE staffers, such as Otis T. Mason (b. 1838, d. 1908), James Mooney (b. 1861, d. 1921), Henry Henshaw (b. 1850, d. 1930), and Garrick Mallery (b. 1831, d. 1894) (Darnell 1969, 1998; Judd 1967; Woodbury and Woodbury 1999) (fig. 4).

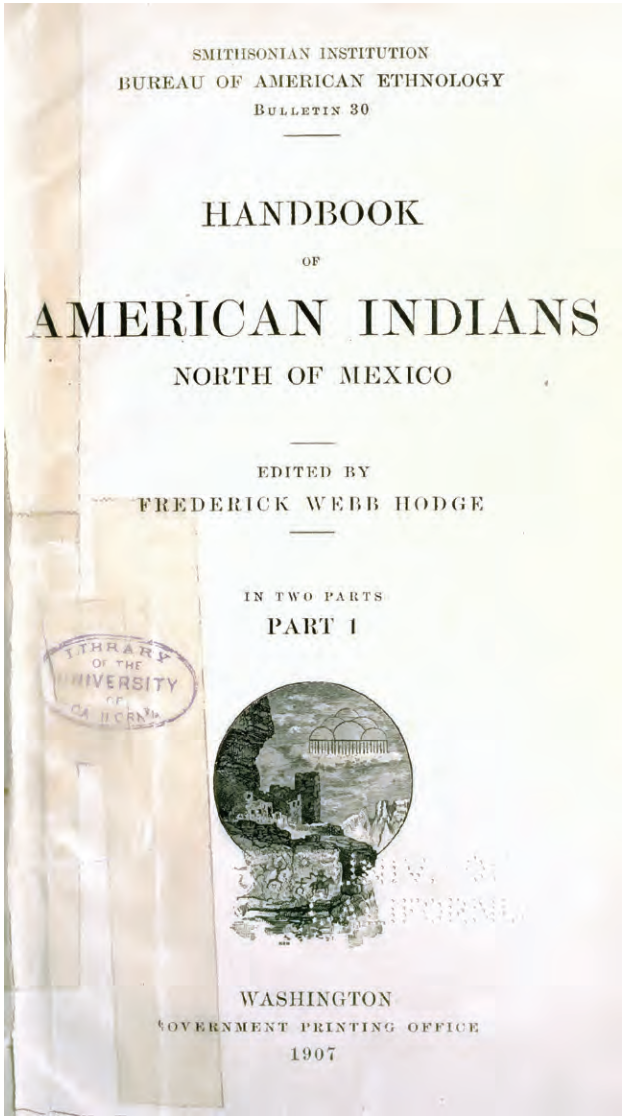
The *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*

Among the BAE activities, Powell's classification and map of Native language families and the synonymy of tribal names were instrumental to the next BAE effort of 15 years, the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (*HAINM*). The work on an "Indian cyclopedia" was first listed among the BAE's activities in its annual report for 1895 (Powell 1897:lxxi). Powell's original plan was to publish a set of monographs in the BAE bulletin series, each focused on a specific language "stock" (family) and eventually build an "Indian cyclopedia" series of many volumes (Powell 1897:lxxi; Darnell 1998).

The work moved slowly until Powell's death in 1902, when the Smithsonian secretary, Samuel P. Langley (b. 1834, d. 1906), demanded a speedy completion. Soon after, the entire BAE personnel were engaged in the production of the book that had already changed its official title to the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Holmes 1907b:xxv; 1908:xxiii; 1911:9; Powell 1904b:xl; Darnell 1969; Hinsley 1994:158). The scope of the handbook was also expanded to include practical topics of interest, such as the relations between Indian tribes and the government, biographies of notable Native American leaders, and the words from aboriginal languages incorporated into English (Holmes 1907b:xxv). The first volume with alphabetical entries from A to M was completed in July 1905 (Hodge 1907:iii). It took two more years to get it published; the second volume, with the entries from N to Z was released in 1910.

The two-volume set of more than 2,100 double-column pages featured 12,800 alphabetically arranged entries written by BAE staff researchers, curators from the U.S. National Museum, officers of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and external authors, including some Native American contributors (see below). BAE chief William H. Holmes (b. 1846, d. 1933) (fig. 5), rightly claimed "that no work so comprehensive in its scope

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (portraits 44-b).



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 30

HANDBOOK
OF
AMERICAN INDIANS
NORTH OF MEXICO

EDITED BY
FREDERICK WEBB HODGE

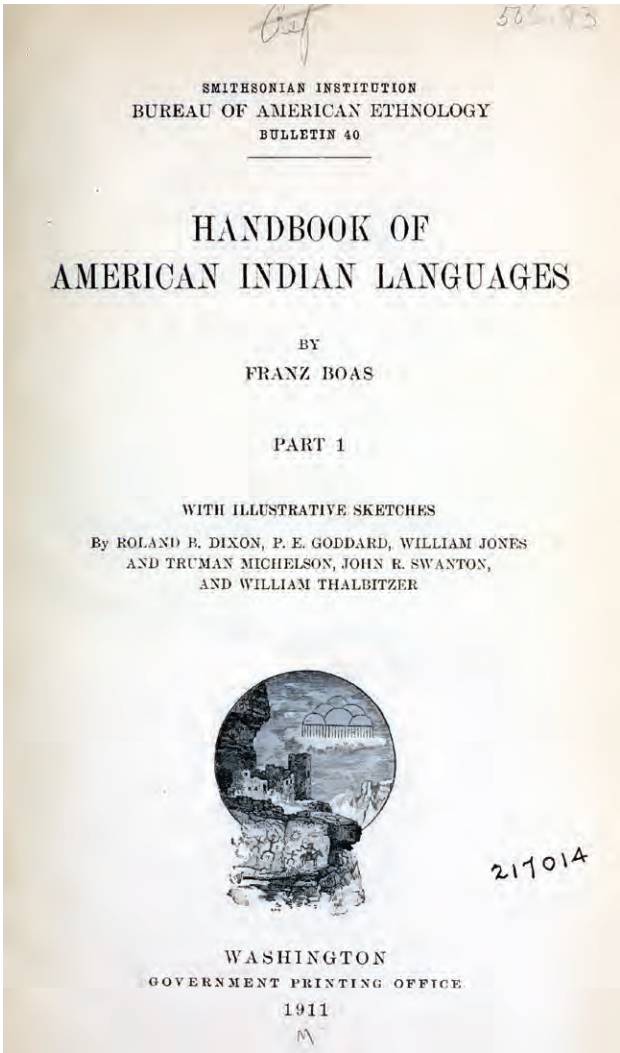
IN TWO PARTS
PART 1

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1907

Fig. 5. top, Frederick W. Hodge (b. 1864, d. 1956), *HAINM* general editor. right, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* Part 1 (1907), title page, BAE Bulletin 30.

had hitherto been attempted" (Holmes 1908:xxiii). Most of the *Handbook* (fig. 5) entries were short and anonymous, but some articles on the largest Indian nations contained 4,000–5,000 words, with sections on history, language, settlements, material culture, religion, and social organization. The two longest essays, "Reservations" and "Treaties" (Thomas 1910a, 1910b), included tables of all Indian reservations in the United States and Canada and a list of about 370 Indian treaties made between 1778 and 1880. Both were products of decades of research by BAE staff (Darnell 1969, 1998; Hinsley 1981, 1994).

Volume 2 of *HAINM*, included two other valuable elements: an Indian tribal synonymy of 158 pages in small font (Hodge 1910, 2:1021–1178) and a 43-page bibliography of about 2,500 sources. The synonymy based chiefly on a manuscript by ethnologist James Mooney (b. 1861, d. 1921) contained about 2,800 tribal, band, and other Native group names in alphabetical order. These basic elements of the *HAINM*, tribal synonymy and bibliography, decades later influenced the format of the *Handbook of North American Indians* volumes of 1978–2008.



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 40

HANDBOOK OF
AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

BY
FRANZ BOAS

PART 1

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCHES
By ROLAND B. DIXON, P. E. GODDARD, WILLIAM JONES
AND TRUMAN MICHELSON, JOHN R. SWANTON,
AND WILLIAM THALBITZER

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1911

left, Canadian Museum of History (79-796).

Fig. 6. top, Franz Boas (b. 1858, d. 1942), circa 1915. right, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, vol. 1 (Boas 1911), title page, BAE Bulletin 40.

The monumental handbook had no parallel in contemporary scholarship, and its success was immediate (Judd 1967:114). Recognizing its value, the U.S. Congress ordered a second printing of 6,500 copies in 1912 and kept 6,000 to distribute across the nation.

Later BAE Initiatives

BAE chief William H. Holmes (1919:xiii), claimed that the BAE "once planned to have a series of at least 12 separate handbooks [to] cover as many grand divisions of the subject matter" related to American Indians. Two more handbook-style publications were started by BAE; other never materialized.

Handbook of American Indian Languages

Historically, the second BAE handbook (Boas 1911–1941) was an outgrowth of Powell's plan to produce

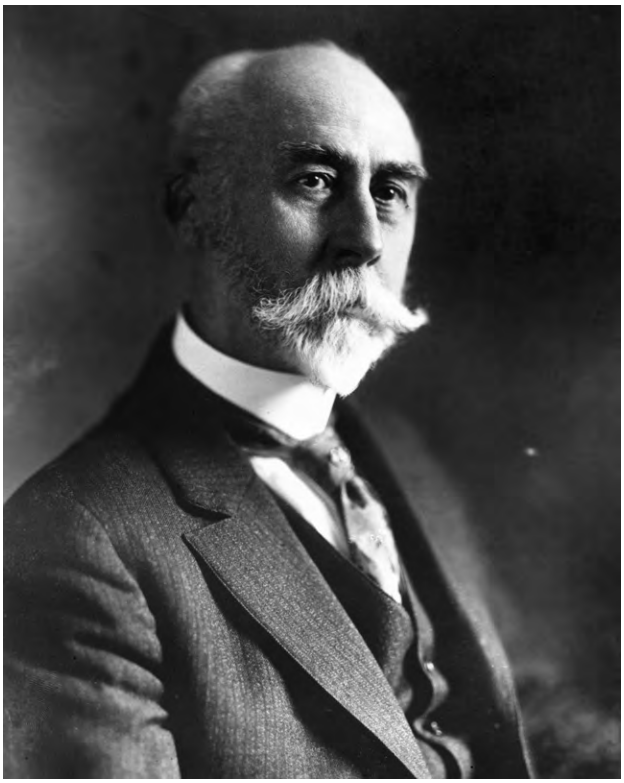
detailed descriptions of all major Native American linguistic "stocks" (families). In 1902, Franz Boas (fig. 6), then at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York, was appointed as an "honorary philologist" at BAE to oversee the preparation of manuscripts for a "handbook" of the American (Indian) languages (Holmes 1907b:xxiii) (fig. 6). The work continued for a decade (Holmes 1907b:x; 1908:xxi); the first volume appeared in 1911.

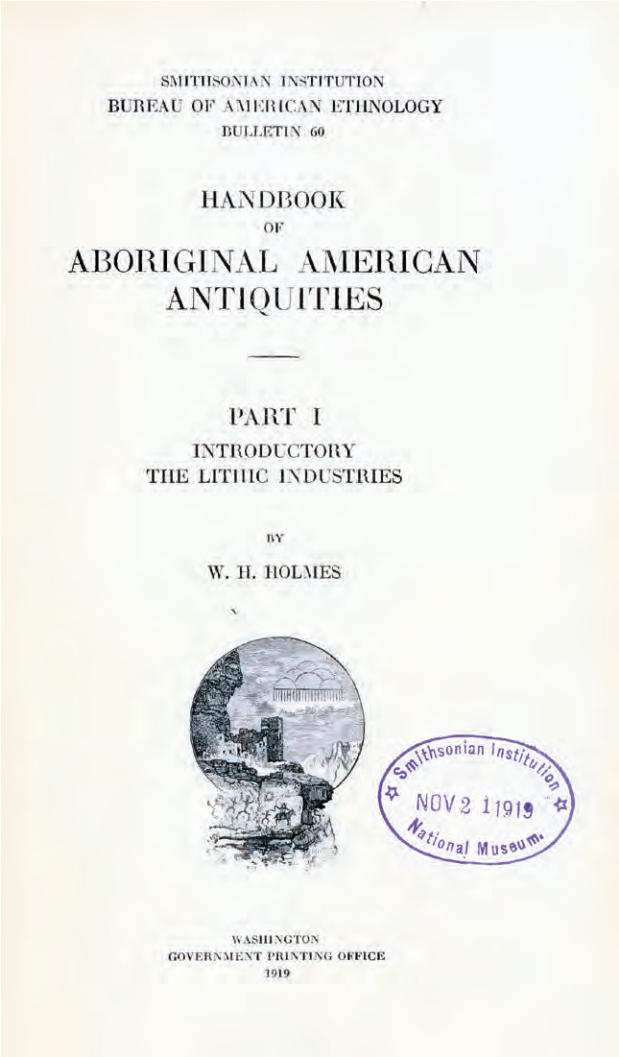
The new *Handbook* could not be more different from *HAINM*. It had a long introduction by Boas, with Powell's language stocks barely listed at its very conclusion (Boas 1911; Silverstein 2017). The 10 following sketches of individual Native American languages were detailed, technical, and hardly suitable for nonspecialists. The volume had no index or maps. The second volume (part 2), published in 1922 (Boas 1911–1941), contained four additional long descriptions of individual Native languages, including that of the Chukchi people on the Asian side of the Bering Strait (Bogoras 1922). By that time, Boas' affiliation with BAE was terminated (Judd 1967:45). Several years later, he released two more volumes (Boas 1911–1941, Pts. 3 and 4) published at Columbia University; the use of the title "handbook" was but a passing tribute to its BAE original.

Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities

Another BAE initiative, the *Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities* was conceived by a single author, BAE archaeologist William H. Holmes (fig. 7). The plan was to publish an archaeological synthesis in several volumes, with both thematic and geographic coverage on a large scale. Only the first volume (Holmes 1919), *Introductory: The Lithic Industries*, appeared in the BAE Bulletin series. It covered the entire New World, with brief overviews of 22 "areas" from the Arctic to the southern tip of South America, with 223 illustrations. It was highly praised by contemporary scholars (McCurdy 1920; Nuttall 1920; Swanton 1935:229).

Holmes's planned second volume was a similar encyclopedic treatise on stone artifacts; subsequent





SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 60

HANDBOOK
OF
ABORIGINAL AMERICAN
ANTIQUITIES

PART I
INTRODUCTORY
THE LITHIC INDUSTRIES

BY
W. H. HOLMES

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1919

top, National Museum of American History (MAH-4986A).

Fig. 7. top, William H. Holmes (1846–1933) MAH-4986A. right, *Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities*, vol. 1 (Holmes 1919), title page, BAE Bulletin 60.

volumes were to be dedicated to other materials, such as mineral, animal, and vegetable, as well as the arts and industries of Native Americans (Holmes 1919: xiv). Yet the project was put on hold after 1920 (Swanton 1935:232–233), and the announced antiquities "handbook" series never materialized.

Native American Contribution to Early Scholarship

With contributions by Ives Goddard

The European and Euro-American exploration and colonial expansion in North America could never have succeeded without the knowledge shared by the Indigenous inhabitants of the land. Besides the "iconic" American stories of Pocahontas (Matoaka, known as Amonute and eventually Rebecca Rolfe, b. 1596, d. 1617) and Sacagawea (b. circa 1788, d. 1812) assisting the Lewis and Clark Expedition, numerous other Native American/First Nations people served as guides, mapmakers, cultural mediators, and sources of information. They were rarely acknowledged in their day and hardly viewed as contributors to "scholarly knowledge."

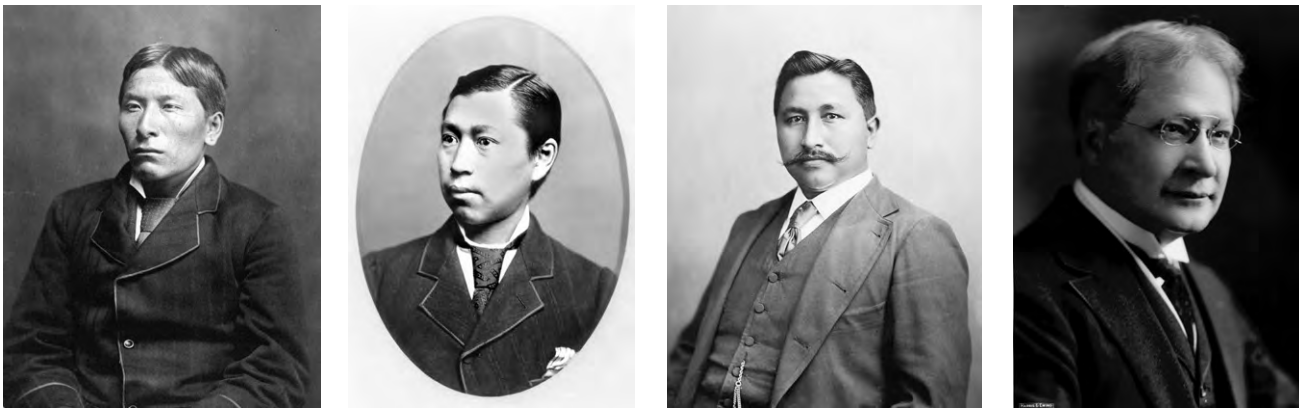
Besides explorers, government administrators, missionaries, and naturalists, who relied on Indigenous knowledge holders, there was another notable group of experts, who generated a more in-depth information. These were White men married to Native women who relied on their Native kin as mentors, storytellers, language teachers, and conduits to Indigenous cultures. Henry Schoolcraft's introduction to the Ojibwe way of life as an Indian agent in Sault Ste. Marie was greatly facilitated by his marriage to Jane Johnston, the mixed-blood daughter of a local merchant, John Johnston (Bieder 1986:148–151); her entire family assisted Schoolcraft in his work (Johnston Schoolcraft 2008). Another notable example, Scotsman James A. Teit (b. 1864, d. 1922), in 1884, moved to Spences Bridge, British Columbia, and married a local Nlaka'pamux (Thompson Indian) woman, Susannah Lucy Antko (Wickwire 1993, 2003). He became a prolific writer of local ethnography relying on the knowledge of his relatives. After meeting Franz Boas in 1894, Teit produced 42 publications and over 5,000 pages of unpublished records on the First Nations of British Columbia (Sprague 1991).

Perhaps the best-known case of Native Americans' role in early scholarly work was the partnership between Ely S. Parker (b.1828, d.1881, Seneca) and Lewis Henry Morgan (see above) in research on the Iroquois social system and history (C. Marino 2015; Michaelsen 1996; A.C. Parker 1919; Tooker 1978, 1984). Morgan's first book, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois* (Morgan 1851) opened with a dedication to "Ha-sa-no-an-da (Ely S. Parker), a Seneca Indian, this work the materials of which are the fruit of our joint researches." It was the first acknowledgment of a joint authorship in a science publication on Native Americans.

The Smithsonian Institution, particularly the BAE, was at the forefront of the engagement of Native Americans in research and the dissemination of knowledge about Native cultures. In 1878, the Smithsonian formally employed two Native Americans, a Cheyenne man named Tichkematse (also called Squint Eyes or Quchkeimus, b. 1857, d. 1932), and a young, educated Aleut from Unalaska, George Tsaroff (b. 1857?, d. 1880) (fig. 8). They worked as "guides to the public" in the ethnological hall at the U.S. National Museum (Annual Report 1883:40, 291). Tsaroff was an orphan boy adopted by Smithsonian naturalist William H. Dall (b. 1845, d. 1927) during his fieldwork in Alaska. Educated at the University of Michigan, Tsaroff was hired by the Smithsonian to provide services to the public (Loring and Veltre 2003:309). Unfortunately, Tsaroff died at an early age. Tichkematse, a gifted artist (Greene 2013), soon returned to the Indian Territory and continued working for the Smithsonian as taxidermist, collector, and assistant to BAE ethnologist Frank Hamilton Cushing (b. 1857, d. 1900).

Far more extensive was the contribution by Francis La Flesche (b. 1857, d. 1932) (fig. 8), son of Omaha chief Joseph "Estamaza" (Iron Eye) La Flesche, a Métis of French and Ponca descent (C. Marino 2015:125). Fully bilingual and educated in a Presbyterian mission school, La Flesche collaborated with BAE anthropologist Alice C. Fletcher (b. 1838, d. 1923) on her field trip to the Rosebud Indian Reservation in South Dakota in 1881 (DeMallie 2001a; C. Marino 2015; Mark 1982). Fletcher encouraged La Flesche to come to Washington, DC, where he was hired by the BAE to work as copyist, translator, and collection assistant. He earned a master's degree from the National University Law School, now George Washington University. He worked as a BAE ethnologist from 1910 to 1929 and produced several books and papers with Fletcher (Fletcher and La Flesche 1893, 1911), as well as many seminal works of his own on Osage religion, mythology, and language (La Flesche 1921, 1925, 1932, 1939; Hartley 1933).

In 1886, another educated Native American of mixed descent, John N.B. Hewitt (b. 1859, d. 1937) (fig. 8) was hired by the BAE, for what would become a lifelong research career. Hewitt's mother was of French, English, and Tuscarora descent, and he grew



National Anthropological Archives and Smithsonian Archives (left to right: NAA INV 00439500T; SIA Acc. 11-006, Box 001, MAH-1234; NAA INV 00688600; NAA INV 02858800).

Fig. 8. American Indian BAE staff and contributors to Smithsonian/BAE research. left to right, Tichkematse or "Squint Eyes" (1857–1932), Cheyenne; George Tsaroff (1857?–1880), Unangax̂-Aleut; Francis La Flesche (1857–1932), Omaha; John N.B. Hewitt (1859–1937), Tuscarora.

up on the Tuscarora Reservation in New York State (Tooker and Graymont 2007). Hewitt eventually became the prime BAE specialist on the Iroquois and perhaps the leading authority on the Iroquois League after the death of Morgan. He also worked on many other Native American groups, including Ojibwe, Ottawa, Delaware, Cherokee, several Yuman tribes, and others. He published extensively with the BAE (see Swanton 1938:289–290) and assembled a massive collection of manuscripts and data on catalog cards at the BAE archives, of which he was an official custodian. Both La Flesche and Hewitt contributed numerous entries to the BAE *Handbook* (Hodge 1907–1910) and were listed among its authors; Hewitt alone wrote over 100 entries. Hewitt also served on the United States Board on Geographical Names, was a founder and vice president of the American Anthropological Association, and the president of the Anthropological Society of Washington in 1932–1934.

Another Native contributor to the *HAINM* (Hodge 1907–1910) was William Jones (b.1871, b. 1909), the first Native American to receive a PhD in anthropology. Of Meskwaki (Fox)-White descent, he was raised by his Meskwaki paternal grandmother and was fluent in the Meskwaki language. He received a BA at Harvard and a PhD in linguistic anthropology under Boas at Columbia University (Hinsley 1996; C. Marino 2015; VanStone 1998). He became an acknowledged specialist in Algonquian linguistics and folklore (Jones 1904, 1907, 1939), conducted linguistic fieldwork among the Ojibwe of Canada and the United States (Jones and Michelson 1917, 1919) and was later an assistant curator at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. His dissertation on Meskwaki grammar, which expanded on the basis of his texts and other notes, was published as a chapter in Boas' *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (Jones 1911).

Several other bilingual and educated Native American/First Nations people achieved prominence working at museums or contributing to the collection of knowledge on Native cultures. Louis Shotridge (b. 1882, d. 1937) was a full-blood Tlingit born in the village of Klukwan, in southeast Alaska, whose anglicized last name derived from his paternal grandfather's name, Shaaduxisht or Shaadbaxhícht (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 2003:166). In 1905, Shotridge and his Tlingit wife, Florence, encountered Dr. George Gordon of the University of Pennsylvania Museum (UPM), who invited them to come to the UPM in Philadelphia to work for the museum. At UPM, the Shotridges first conducted "show and tell" in the American Indian halls dressed in Native clothing, but in 1915, Louis received full-time employment as an assistant curator in the UPM North American section. During his 20-year tenure at UPM, Shotridge published articles in the University of Pennsylvania *Museum Journal* (Shotridge 1920, 1921, 1928; Shotridge and Shotridge 1913; see Milburn 1997:364–365) and was instrumental in securing numerous Northwest Coast objects and recordings of myths, songs, linguistic materials, and historical texts (Boas 1917; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 2003; Durlach 1928; Mason 1960; Milburn 1986, 1994, 1997).

The first Native American to achieve a position of administrative leadership in heritage research was Arthur C. Parker (b. 1881, d. 1955), grandnephew of Ely S. Parker (Bruchac 2018b). Born on the Cattaraugus Reservation of the Seneca Nation of New York,

of Seneca and Scots-English descent, he became the first trained Native American archaeologist, the director of the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences (1924–1945), the first president of the Society for American Archaeology (1935), and one of the founding members of the National Congress of American Indians in 1944 (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009; Hertzberg 1979; Parker 1968; Porter 2001). His daughter, Bertha ("Birdie") Parker Cody (b. 1907, d. 1978) of Abenaki-Seneca-White descent, became the first Indigenous female archaeologist; she later worked at the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles and published science articles in the museum's journal (Bruchac 2018b; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009; see "Indigenous North Americans and Archaeology," this vol.).

In British Columbia, William Beynon (b. 1888, d. 1958), of mixed Tsimshian and Welsh descent, was a highly respected oral historian of the Tsimshian nation and the hereditary chief of the Gitlaan tribe. He served as ethnographer, translator, and consultant to anthropologists C. Marius Barbeau (b. 1883, d. 1969), from the Geological Survey of Canada, also to Boas, Viola Garfield (b. 1899, d. 1993), and others. Beynon and Barbeau's partnership resulted in thousands of pages of correspondence and field notes, now housed at the Canadian Museum of History (MacDonald and Cove 1987) and called "the most complete body of information on the social organization of any Indian nation" (Duff 1964; see also Beynon 1941; Halpin 1978).

Perhaps no anthropologist encouraged Native Americans' contributions to the study of Indigenous cultures and languages more than Franz Boas (b. 1858, d. 1942). Boas' 40-year long partnership with George Hunt (b. 1854, d. 1933), of mixed Tlingit-English descent and an expert on Kwakwaka'wakw traditions, language, and mythology resulted in several coauthored publications (see J. Berman 1994, 1996, 2001; Bruchac 2018b; Codere 1966; Jacknis 1991; Jonaitis 1991). Through Hunt, Boas established communication with an educated Tsimshian man, Henry W. Tate (b. circa 1860, d. 1914), who contributed his knowledge and writing skills to the collection of Tsimshian myths and oratories published by Boas, with a full acknowledgment of Tate's critical contribution (Boas 1916: 31–32; Barbeau 1917; Maud 2000). Besides Hunt, Jones, and Shotridge, Boas engaged other Native Americans in the collection of objects, myths, music, and language texts and in the pursuit of higher education and professional careers. He mentored Ella Deloria (b. 1889, d. 1979, Yankton Sioux) in the field of anthropology (C. Marino 2015:137–138), thus opening her long career as Native American scholar and cultural and political activist (Liberty 1978). Another Native American student of Boas at Columbia, Archie Phinney (b. 1904, d. 1949) of mixed Nez Perce–White origin, published a collection of 50 myths and stories he recorded from his Nez Perce mother in 1929–1930 on the Fort Lapwai Reservation in Idaho (Phinney 1934). Phinney later worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and was among the founders of the National Congress of American Indians (Willard 2000).

Whereas some U.S. and Canadian government agencies, museums, and individual anthropologists actively promoted Native American/First Nations contribution to the study and documentation of aboriginal cultures starting in the mid-late 1800s, these relationships were never a harmonious "symbiosis" as once portrayed (Lurie 1988; see "Codes of Ethics," this vol.). It by no means could have offset the oppressive impact of government-induced relocations, appropriation of tribal lands, "English only" education policies, and the imposed bans on Native cultural practices. Yet the Americanist scholarly tradition differed from the studies of Indigenous peoples elsewhere in the colonial world of the 1800s and 1900s, such as by British, French, German, and other European anthropologists, in that it encouraged educated bilingual Native Americans, commonly of mixed descent, to contribute to the study of their peoples.

It comes as no surprise that so many followers of this tradition were politically active on behalf of Native American tribes and cultural practices, starting from Morgan's effort on behalf of the Tonawanda Senecas (Armstrong 1978; Tooker 1984) and Boas' vocal opposition to the Canadian "potlatch ban" of 1885. In 1918, BAE employees, ethnologist James Mooney, linguist Truman Michelson, and Native anthropologist Francis La Flesche testified together at the U.S. congressional hearings in defense of the ritual use of peyote in the Ghost Dance Movement (Baker 2006; C. Marino 2015; Mooney 1896; Stewart 1987). This activist streak of the BAE and, generally, Americanist anthropology surfaced many decades later during the preparation of the Smithsonian *HNAI* series (see "Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.).

Other Formats of Early Ethnographic Syntheses

Beyond the BAE handbooks, several competing regional and continental syntheses were published in the same and later decades of the twentieth century. The growing diversity of styles and formats reflected the expansion of knowledge about Native American soci-

eties and the gradual advancement of research beyond the BAE and the Smithsonian (Darnell 1969, 1998, 1999b, 2001; Hinsley 1994; Jacknis 2015a; Woodbury and Woodbury 1999).

Edward Curtis and "The North American Indian" (1907–1930)

Edward Sheriff Curtis (b. 1868, d. 1952), a professional photographer-turned-ethnologist, is best known for his 20-volume series *The North American Indian* and his lifelong passion for photographing Native Americans (Cardozo 2000; Egan 2012; Gidley 1998, 2003; Lawlor 1994; Scherer 2008). Curtis launched his series in 1907; its massive volumes included short ethnographic essays on individual Native American tribes in the continental United States and Alaska, illustrated with his stunning photographs. The full set took 23 years to produce; its 300 copies were sold primarily to libraries. In addition, Curtis amassed an archive of some 40,000 negatives, scores of ethnographic objects, and 10,000 wax-cylinder recordings of language, music, tribal lore, and histories collected over the years (Volpe 2018). The project engaged a team of ethnologists, photographic assistants, and informants, among them Curtis's assistant, journalist William E. Myers and BAE anthropologist Frederick Hodge, who served as the series editor till 1920 (Judd 1967). Curtis also credited his Native American collaborators, Alexander B. Upshaw (Crow), George Hunt (see above), Sojero (Tewa-speaking Pueblo), and Paul Ivanoff (Russian-Inupiat assistant in his Alaskan research). Many of Curtis's beautiful photographs were later used as illustrations to the *HNAI* series.

Handbooks of the American Museum of Natural History (1912 to circa 1960s)

Soon after the release of the *HAINM*, the AMNH in New York launched a handbook series of its own made of small, almost pocket-sized, popular guidebooks. Unlike the BAE works, the AMNH handbooks were slim publications of 100–200 pages, written in plain language mostly by AMNH curators. The AMNH handbooks were not intended to be scholarly publications; they often covered individual museum halls with an introductory map of the gallery. The first AMNH handbook, *North American Indians of the Plains* (Wissler 1912), was followed by those featuring the Southwest and the Northwest Coast Native people (P. Goddard 1913, 1924), peoples of the Philippines (Kroeber 1919), and the ancient civilizations of Mexico, Central America, and Peru (Bennett and Bird 1949; Mead 1924; Spinden 1917). The series quickly expanded beyond anthropology (e.g., Griscom 1923; Lucas 1901/1913; Matthew 1915; Winslow 1917).

Alfred L. Kroeber and the Handbook of the Indians of California (1925)

A 1,000-page volume by Alfred L. Kroeber (b. 1876, d. 1960) (fig. 9) was a genuine West Coast intellectual product under the BAE Bulletin series (Driver 1962:3; Kroeber 1925). Although Kroeber offered thanks to Frederick Hodge, the head of the BAE, for his encouragement, he developed his own innovative structure, dedicating 53 of the book's 60 chapters to individual Californian Native groups, covering their geography, social institutions, arts, and religion. Because of its structure of geographically arranged tribal chapters organized in "culture provinces" within large continental "culture areas" (Driver 1962; Kroeber 1920:151–153), the California handbook was an influential model for the regional volumes in the Smithsonian *HNAI* series (see "California," this vol.).

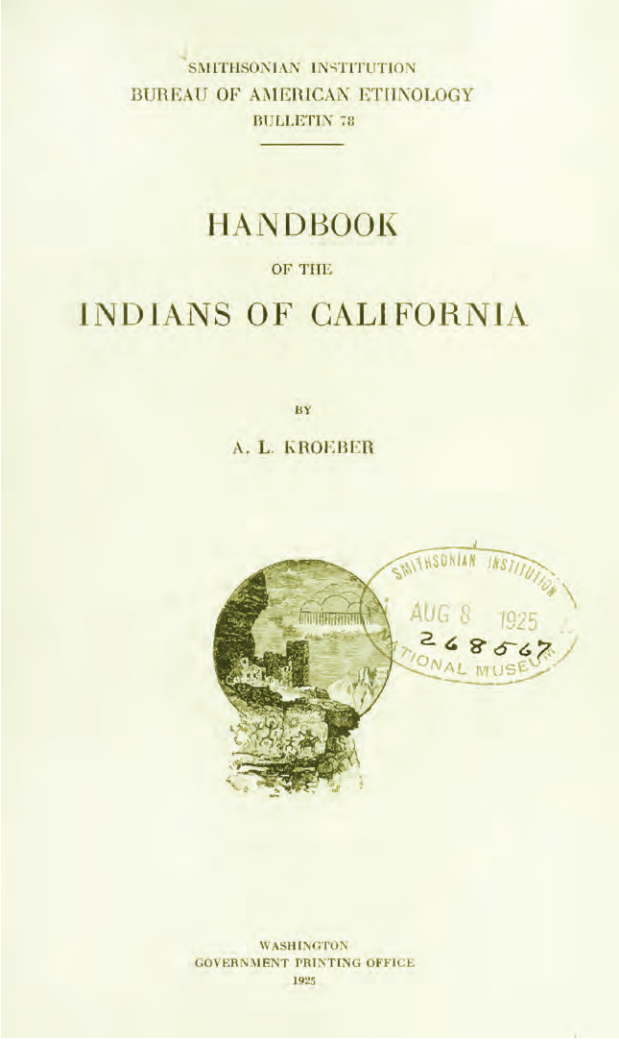
Felix S. Cohen and the Handbook of Federal Indian Law (1942)

Contributed by Cesare Marino

The "New Deal" in U.S. Indian policy was inaugurated in 1934 by the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act, also known as the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) under commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier (b. 1884, d. 1968) Kelly 1983, 1988). Assisting Collier was New York lawyer Felix S. Cohen (b. 1907, d. 1953), who was also trained in anthropology. In 1942, Cohen published the first comprehensive *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, a practical, thematically organized 650-page volume aimed at people involved in Indian affairs, both Native and not. Its primary purpose was not scholarly but legally practical, with 23 thematic chapters on treaties, federal and state powers over Indian affairs, individual and tribal rights, taxation, and criminal and civil jurisdiction (Cohen 1942). This *Handbook* saw numerous reprints, including one curated by Rennard Strickland (Osage/Cherokee) (Cohen 1942; also Newton et al. 2012).

The Handbook of South American Indians (1946–1959)

The seven-volume *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward 1946–1959) was a product of an alliance



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 78

HANDBOOK
OF THE
INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

BY
A. L. KROEBER

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1925

between the National Research Council (NRC) of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and the Smithsonian. It was proposed in 1932, as a match to the BAE North American counterpart (Faulhaber 2012; Steward 1941b:48, 1946:1–2). BAE anthropologist Julian H. Steward (b. 1902, d. 1972) (fig. 10) served as its general editor. All seven volumes appeared as independent issues of the BAE Bulletin 143.

Unlike the two-volume *HNAIM* with its alphabetical order, the first four volumes of Steward's *Handbook* followed four major "culture areas" of South America established by American anthropologist John M. Cooper (b. 1881, d. 1949) (Cooper 1925, 1941, 1942). Volume 5 contained comparative ethnology of South American Indians; volume 6 covered physical anthropology, linguistics, and cultural geography; and volume 7 was a general index to the series. The South American handbook anticipated many principles of the *HNAI* series: the organization by culture areas, broad use of photographs and maps, a large index, and a diverse list of authors from many nations, though no Indigenous contributions.

Robert Wauchope and the Handbook of Middle American Indians (1964–1975)

The next major synthetic venture, the 16-volume *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, was produced right before the start of the *HNAI* series under the editorship of archaeologist Robert Wauchope (b. 1909, d. 1979). It was advocated in 1956 to match the *HAINM* and Steward's South American handbook. The original series outline listed 11 volumes (Wauchope 1960); it eventually grew to 16. NRC, again, asked the Smithsonian to host the project, but the Smithsonian administration refused. The National Science Foundation funded the production at Tulane University in New Orleans, Wauchope's home institution (Andrews and Harrison 1981; Evans 1966a; Marcus and Spores 1978).

Unlike the *HAINM* and the South American handbook, Wauchope's *Handbook* was organized by subdisciplines. It contained an introductory volume, three archaeological volumes (vols. 2–4), one on linguistics (vol. 5), three on ethnology and social anthropology (vols. 6–8), one on physical anthropology (vol. 9), two more on archaeology (vols. 10–11), and four on ethnohistorical sources (vols.12–15). The final volume

top, Smithsonian Archives (SIA2008-4745).

Fig. 9. top, Alfred L. Kroeber (1876–1960), editor of the *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925). bottom, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925), title page, BAE Bulletin 78.

comprised lists of sources and artifacts used for illustrations. Six "Supplement" volumes were published between 1981 and 2000.

Major Single-Volume Cultural Syntheses

Livingston Farrand and The Basis of American History (1904)

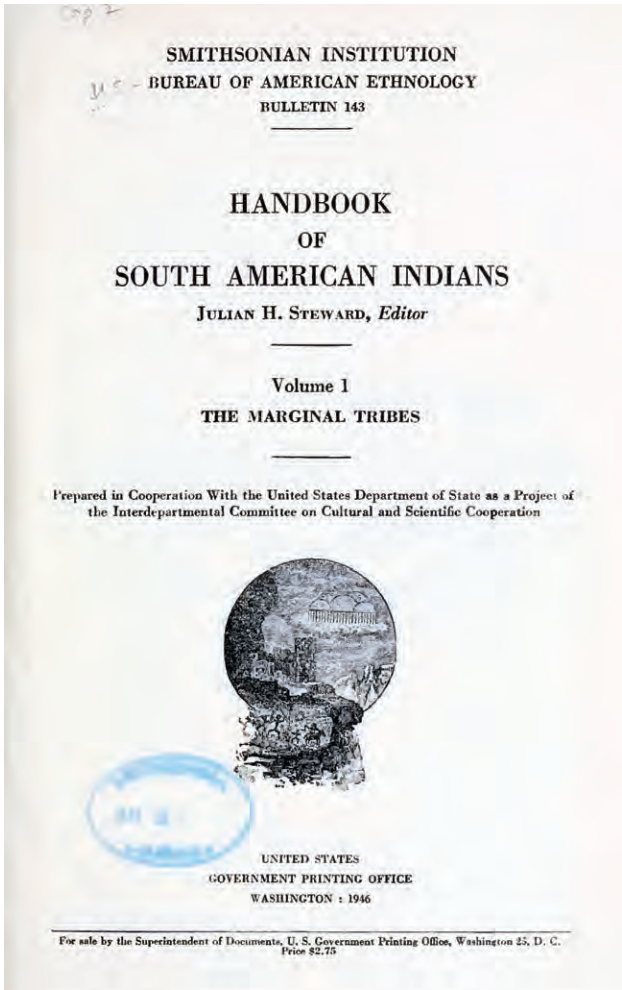
In 1903, historian Albert Bushnell Hart (b. 1854, d. 1943) launched the 27-volume series *The American Nation: A History* (Hart 1904–1908). For its second volume, Hart commissioned anthropologist Livingston Farrand (b. 1867, d. 1939), of Columbia University, to write a synthesis of North American Native peoples in the centuries since Columbus's arrival. The 300-page volume (Farrand 1904) offered a concise summary of the major developments that affected American Indian nations from 1500 to 1900. It combined scores of thematic chapters with regional overviews of tribes by seven large areas: Arctic, North Pacific Coast, Mackenzie River Basin, Columbia River and California, Plains, Eastern Woodlands, and the Southwest and northern Mexico. It preceded the "culture area" approach (see below) that was the key to the planning of the *HNAI* series in the 1960s.

Clark Wissler and The American Indian (1917)

Clark Wissler (b. 1870, d. 1947), an AMNH anthropology curator, produced perhaps the most ambitious single-authored counterpart to the BAE's *HAINM* set. His seminal tome, *The American Indian: An Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World* (1917), covered a broad set of topics for both North and South America, from archaeology and architecture to physical anthropology, languages, ritualism, mythology, and social structure. The book contained more than 100 ethnographic photographs and maps and a detailed index. Wissler's volume pioneered the concept of "food areas" (Wissler 1917:7–10) and "culture areas" to describe the Native cultures of the Americas that provided the core organizational principle for the *HNAI* series five decades later (see below).

Diamond Jenness and the Indians of Canada (1932)

In 1932, New Zealand–born Canadian anthropologist Diamond Jenness (b. 1886, d. 1969) published *The Indians of Canada*, the first anthropological synthesis of the northern portion of the North American continent. Released jointly by the National Museum of Canada and the Canadian Department of Mines (Jenness



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 143

HANDBOOK
OF
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS
JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 1
THE MARGINAL TRIBES

Prepared in Cooperation With the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1946

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.
Price $2.75

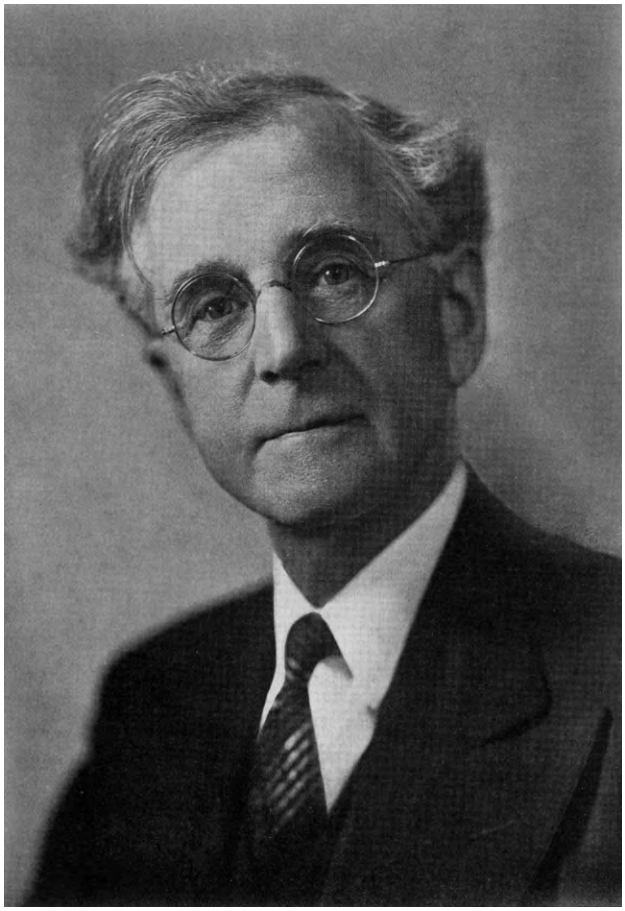
top, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (NAA INV 02871300).

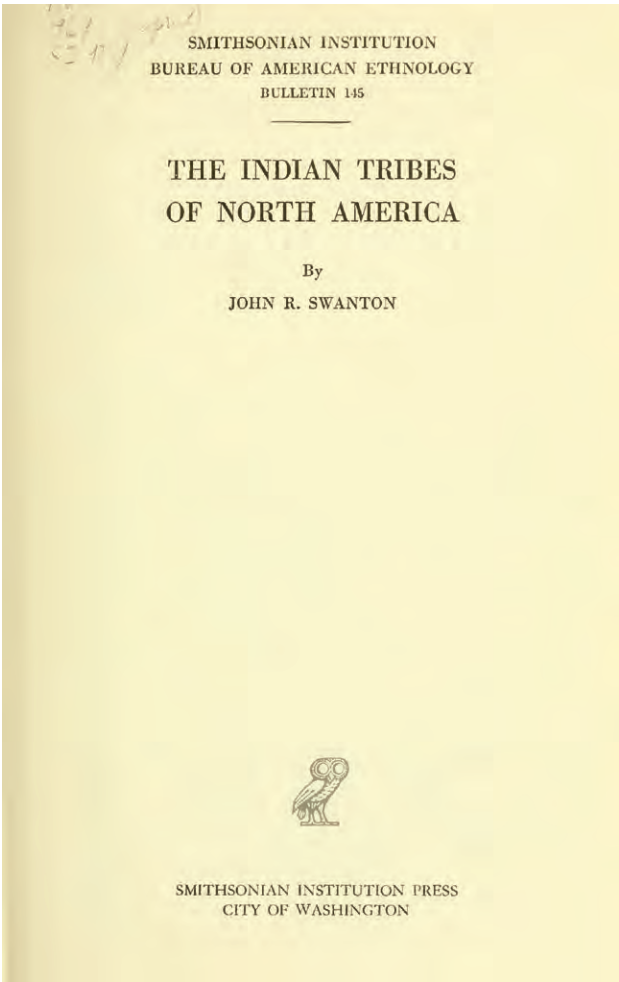
Fig. 10. top, Julian H. Steward (b. 1902, d. 1972) with Chief Louis Billy Prince (?), reportedly taken in 1940 when Steward was working among the Carrier (Dakelh) at Fort St. James, British Columbia. bottom, *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 1 (1946), title page, BAE Bulletin 143.

1932), it was written with a broad audience in mind. The 450-page book had 24 chapters in two large parts: the first part covered major categories of material and social culture, such as languages, economic conditions, dwellings, clothing, social life, religion, arts, and folklore; whereas, the second part featured the Native groups of Canada in seven major ecocultural divisions (analogous to the "culture areas"). It provided detailed treatment of more than 40 individual aboriginal nations of Canada. The tome was an inviting and user-friendly book and a valuable reference source, with many illustrations, in-text maps, and a larger folded pocket map of Canada

John R. Swanton and the Indian Tribes of North America (1952)

John R. Swanton (b. 1873, d. 1958) (fig. 11), lifelong BAE ethnologist (Steward 1960:331), single-handedly produced two major syntheses: a 943-page regional overview of the Native tribes of the Southeastern United States (Swanton 1946) and the 726-page continental treatment of all Native groups of North America covering the United States, Canada, Mexico, and Central America (Swanton 1952) (fig. 11). Neither was named a handbook, though Swanton certainly followed the *HAINM* format, particularly for his second book. It was structured around the then-48 states of the United States, followed by Alaska, Canada, the West Indies, Mexico, and Central America. Each state section (chapter) provided an alphabetical list of major Indian tribes, their location, major subdivisions, brief history, and early contact population estimates taken from James Mooney's compilations made for the *HAINM* some 40 years prior (Mooney 1928; Ubelaker [1976] 1992). Entries on Native groups south of the U.S.-Mexican border were rudimentary. The volume included four folded regional maps of North American tribal areas and a 47-page index with hundreds of names of Native groups and their historic subunits, another legacy of the BAE *HAINM* tradition.





SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 145

THE INDIAN TRIBES
OF NORTH AMERICA

By
JOHN R. SWANTON

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION PRESS
CITY OF WASHINGTON

top, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (NAA INV 02871900).

Fig. 11. top, John R. Swanton (1873–1958). right, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (1952), title page, BAE Bulletin 145.

Harold E. Driver and Indians of North America (1961)

Indians of North America was a 650-page volume by Harold E. Driver (b. 1907, d. 1982), a student of Kroeber, who published scores of books and essays on the continental distribution of Native American cultural elements between the 1930s and the 1970s (e.g., Driver and Massey 1957; see below). It was an ambitious summary of Native North American cultures, including economies, languages, religion, and personality, though Driver's scholarly style appealed primarily to anthropology students and teachers.

The Native Americans (1965)

The Native Americans (Spencer et al. 1965) was a single-volume textbook written by a team of seven American anthropologists, with Robert F. Spencer and Jesse D. Jennings as principal contributors. It featured a broad range of topics in short chapters, including archaeology, languages, and modern urban Native communities. Its 11 core chapters described the main "culture areas" of North America, from the Arctic to Mesoamerica (see below), covering the local environment, main tribal groups featured on regional maps, economy and technology, social organization, arts and religion. The 600-page synthesis, filled with illustrations, extensive bibliography, and alphabetical list of tribes, was close in scope to the future *HNAI* series, except for its single-volume format and more popular style.

The "Culture Areas": Mapping and Classification of Native Cultures

The final essential element of any continental treatment of cultures is their classification and mapping. *HAINM* two-volume set (Hodge 1907–1910) used an alphabetical order for "tribes" and tribal names (compared to Gallatin's language families and Powell's "linguistic stocks"), evidently for easy practical use. Yet another concept of classifying Native American/First Nations groups by "culture areas" was already in the making.

Its origin was associated with the famed debate in 1887 among Franz Boas and Otis T. Mason, John W. Powell, and William H. Dall, of the Smithsonian, about the similarities in human cultures and their representation in museums and ethnographic classifications (Boas 1887a, 1887b, 1987c; Buettner-Janush 1957; Dall 1887; Driver 1962; Hinsley 1981:98–100; Jacknis 1985; Mason 1887; Powell 1887; Stocking 1974:61–67, 1974). Both Boas and Mason soon had a chance to implement their vision in Native American ethnological displays at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 (also known as the Chicago World's Fair (Hinsley and Wilcox 2016; Jacknis 2016; Rydell 1987). Mason used Powell's map of "linguistic families" (Powell 1891) for a display of 16 selected "families" represented by life groups of costumed mannequins of Native people from each family (Mason 1894:211; DeMallie 2001b:2). After the exposition, the mannequins were transferred to the U.S. National Museum, where Mason reinstalled them using another framework he called "culture areas" or "environments." Mason distinguished 10 "culture areas" within North America (18 altogether for the Western Hemisphere) and penned their names, a combination of geography and linguistics: Arctic, Athapscan, Algonquian, Iroquoian, Plains, North Pacific Coast, Columbia Drainage, and so on (Mason 1896:647–652).

Ten years later, for the *HAINM* entry on "Environment," Mason (1907:427–430) used a slightly modified set of 12 "ethnic environments" in North America. A map was produced by his BAE colleague William Holmes that featured 23 "geo-ethnic groups" or "geographical culture provinces" for North and Central America, including 12 to the north of the U.S.-Mexican border (Holmes 1903:269; 1914) (fig. 12a). Holmes's map became the basis for Native American ethnological displays at the U.S. National Museum, later the NMNH, until the 1990s (Fitzhugh 1997a; U.S. National Museum 1967) ("Code of Ethics," this vol., fig. 3).

Boas at AMNH in New York pioneered his own vision in 1900, when he created the first true North American "culture area" hall of the Northwest Coast cultures (Freed 2012:402–403; Jacknis 2004a). Three other "culture area" halls at AMNH for Plains, Southwest, and Eastern Woodland were built by Boas' successor, Clark Wissler (Freed 2012:402–422; Jacknis 1985, 2015a, 2015b). Wissler advanced the "culture area" concept (Wissler 1906, 1914) in his treatment of nine culture areas of North America: Southwest, California, Plateau, Plains, Southeast, Eastern Woodland, Mackenzie, North Pacific Coast, and the Arctic (Wissler 1914) (fig. 12b), accompanied by a large map featuring more than 200 Native tribes in these areas. Later, Wissler (1917) added six more "culture areas" for Central and South America (see Driver and Coffin 1973; Freed and Freed 1983; Kroeber 1918; Murdock 1948; Woods 1934). Wissler's "culture area" classification (which was close to that of Mason and Holmes at the U.S. National Museum) was eventually used for Native American ethnographic displays in all major museums in the United States, Canada, and Europe.

Alfred L. Kroeber, another leading proponent of the "culture area" concept (Driver 1962:1; Kroeber 1904,

Redrawn by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 12. Early maps of "culture areas" of North America. Created by: a, William H. Holmes (1914); b, Clark Wissler (1914); c, Alfred L. Kroeber (1939); d, Harold Driver (1961).

1908, 1920, 1923b, 1925) produced a new continental map of culture areas of North America (Kroeber 1923a:337) (fig. 12c). Kroeber's major contribution was his seminal overview of the cultural and natural areas of North America (Kroeber 1939), accompanied by a large map featuring 6 grand areas, 56 smaller areas, and 43 subareas, a major advancement compared to the much shorter typologies of Mason, Holmes, and Wissler.

During the same decade, Diamond Jenness at the National Museum of Canada published the first map of culture areas of Canada—seven total (Jenness 1932:11), while geographer Carl Sauer (b. 1889, d. 1975) introduced a similar system of 14 historical culture areas of North America in an influential children's textbook (Sauer 1939). Anthropologist George P. Murdock (b. 1897, d. 1986) used his classification of 15 culture areas in North America for the multivolume "Ethnographic Bibliography" series (Murdock 1941, 1953, 1960). Harold Driver, another active proponent of "culture areas" identified 11 large "areas" to the north of the U.S.-Mexican border, plus three areas across Mexico, Mesoamerica, and the Caribbean (fig. 12d**)** (Driver et al., 1953:4–7; Driver and Massey 1957:172–173; Driver 1961:12–20; Vogt 1962).

Lastly, Sturtevant, the future *HNAI* general editor, created a new map of North American "culture areas" in 1965 for the *National Atlas of the United States* published by the U.S. Department of the Interior (Sturtevant 1967c, 1970c) (fig. 13). Originally asked to compile a map of what was called "Indian Tribes, Cultures, and Languages," Sturtevant mailed copies of available maps of Indian tribal areas (like those of Swanton, Driver, and others) to a number of his peers and invited them to draw in boundaries for key culture areas (Driver and Coffin 1973:16). The *National Geographic Magazine* printed a large continental version of Sturtevant's map under the title "Indians of North America" (1972) and issued it as a wall map in 1979 that went through several later reprints (in 2000, 2004, and 2009 – National Geographic Society n.d.).

By the 1950s and 1960s, the concept of "culture areas" had become a basic tool in North American anthropology, so that in Steward's (1955:79) words "to question it might seem to throw doubt on anthropology itself." Sturtevant's map, in particular, served as the basis for all subsequent maps and classifications of Native American societies for general public (Waldman 1985:30–43), including for the *HNAI* series.

Conclusion

In 1966, when members of the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology (SOA) debated the organization of the *HNAI* series (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.), the concept of the anthropological "handbook" pioneered by the BAE was a time-honored format that influenced generations of Americanist scholars. Sturtevant (1985) argued for keeping the term *handbook* for the *HNAI* project in his memo to the Smithsonian officials:

> There are good reasons for retaining *Handbook of North American Indians* as the title for (this) work. This is the fourth work in a series [of similar publications], and will return that series to S.I. auspices:
>
> 1. *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* published by the S.I. in 1907–1910. . . .
> 2. *Handbook of South American Indians* published by the S.I. in 1946–1959. . . .
> 3. *Handbook of Middle American Indians* published by the University of Texas. . . .
>
> Our present one is designed as a replacement and updating for the first of these, and the title was chosen both to reflect that fact and to conform to the style of the South American and Middle American Handbooks. We thereby keep a form of the title that is well recognized by scholars, librarians, teachers, and others. . . .

By the 1960s, the prevailing format for a *large-scale* encyclopedic synthesis was a set of many volumes. In addition to the ongoing handbook of Middle American Indians of 16 volumes, the *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America*, in its fourth edition, had expanded to five volumes plus three volumes of supplements (Murdock and O'Leary 1975 [1990]). In the same decade, the *Biographical and Historical Index of American Indians* appeared in eight volumes (U.S. Department of the Interior 1966), and the new edition of the *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, in 17 volumes (Sills and Merton 1968; Rosen 1968).

The organization and mapping of Native American/First Nations societies by "culture areas" was another crucial element established in the mid-twentieth century as the basis for continental syntheses (Driver and Massey 1957; Kroeber 1925, 1939; Swanton 1946), museum ethnographic displays, including at the Smithsonian (Smith 1988; U.S. National Museum 1967, 1970; Yochelson 1985), college course packs (Spencer 1956), and maps for public use (National Geographic Magazine 1972; Sturtevant 1967c). The then-dominant Americanist scholarly tradition was rooted since its early years to reach out to diverse readership, including people in government agencies, federal and local legislators, teachers, students, and a growing cohort of American Indian intellectuals, who increasingly participated in this production of published cultural knowledge (Liberty 1978).

These and other "antecedent" factors helped shape the vision on the format and prospective audience of

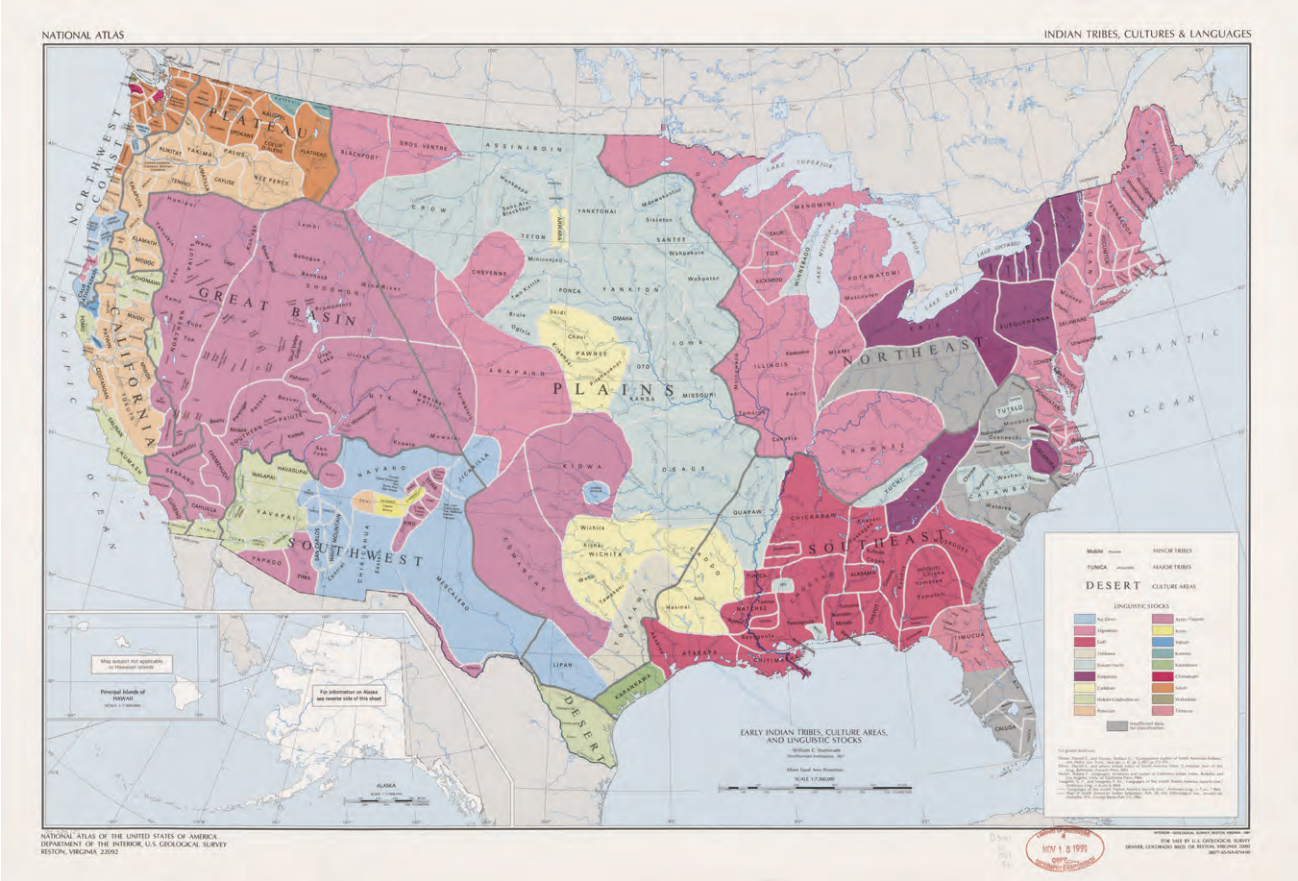


Fig. 13. Map of culture areas of the United States (originally called "Indian Tribes, Cultures and Languages"), by William C. Sturtevant. top, Continental United States. opposite page, Alaska. (Sturtevant 1967c; https://www.loc.gov/item/95682185/)

the Smithsonian *HNAI* series (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971" this vol.). Planned almost simultaneously with the rise of the American Indian Movement (Deloria 2008; Hertzberg 1988), the new series was expected to offer *modern* perspectives on Native American societies and sociopolitical developments. The Smithsonian Institution had the required name recognition, honored history of scholarship, and tradition of partnering with Native American knowledge holders to lead such a project.

Additional Readings

With Cesare Marino

Concise summaries of the early era of anthropological research on Native North Americans are available in Bieder (1986), Hallowell (1960), and Whiteley (2004b). All regional volumes of the *HNAI* series contain special chapters on the history of anthropological research in respective areas, with a multitude of references, including the most detailed for Plains (DeMallie and Ewers 2001), Northeast (Tooker 1978), Southwest (Basso 1979a), and Southeast (Jackson et al. 2004). For specific topics or areas, see Trigger (1989) and Zimmerman (2004) for archaeology; Campbell (1997) and Tooker (2002) for linguistics, also I. Goddard (1996a, 1996b) and Mithun (1996a) in *Handbook* volume 17, *Languages* (Goddard 1996c), including on Powell, Boas, the BAE, and its *Handbook*; Morse (1822), Sanford (1819), Drake (1833), and Thwaites (1904–1907) for early historical sources on the Indian country; and Kan (2018).

Many topics addressed in this chapter are also covered at length in *Handbook* volume 4, *History of Indian–White Relations* (Washburn 1988a), particularly in Feest (1988), Fiedler (1988), Hagan (1988), Horsman (1988), Prucha (1988), and Surtees (1988a). A useful compilation of "Non-Indian Biographies" (Washburn 1988a:617–699) offers information on many historical figures listed here. The best resources on the history of the U.S. National Museum and BAE anthropology are monographs by Hinsley (1981, 1994) and Darnell (1998, based on her PhD dissertation: Darnell [1969]), as well as the annual reports of

EARLY INDIAN TRIBES, CULTURE AREAS, AND LINGUISTIC STOCKS

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTIONS

Tribal distributions depicted on these maps (and on all other tribal maps covering a comparable area) are arbitrary at many points. Detailed knowledge of tribal areas was acquired at different times in different regions. For example, by the time knowledge was gained of the areas occupied by Plains tribes, many groups in the East had become extinct or had moved from their aboriginal locations. Some of these movements ultimately affected distributions on the Plains prior to reasonably detailed knowledge of Plains occupancy. Hence, it is not possible to approximate aboriginal areas of occupancy on a single map of continental scope. Furthermore, most groups did not occupy sharply defined areas, so that the delineation of territories is misleading.

Distributions were derived, with slight modifications, from *Indian tribes of North America* (Driver and others, 1953), and boundaries within California were simplified after *Languages, territories, and names of California Indian tribes* (Heizer, 1966). According to the authors of these publications, the boundaries shown are those of the mid-17th century in the Southeast and the eastern part of the Northeast, the late 17th and early 18th centuries farther west in the Northeast, the late 18th and early 19th centuries in the Plains, the late 18th century in California, and the middle-to-late 19th century elsewhere. Even so, many compromises had to be made.

CULTURE AREAS

Culture areas, which indicate groupings of tribes of similar cultural type, are after "Comparative studies of North American Indians" (Driver and Massey, 1957), with revisions by William C. Sturtevant in consultation with John C. Ewers, Smithsonian Institution. Boundaries are arbitrary in many places because the basis of classification is vague and distributions of most cultural traits do not coincide. The groupings shown are fairly representative of classifications found useful by several generations of anthropologists.

LINGUISTIC STOCKS

Genetic relationships between Indian languages are shown on these maps. Subgroupings of more closely related languages and several remote relationships are omitted. The linguistic stocks are based on "Languages of the world: Native America fascicle one" and "Languages of the world: Native America fascicle two" (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1964 and 1965), and *Map of North American Indian languages* (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1966). A few modifications and corrections were made by the present author (partly following suggestions by Ives Goddard, Harvard University, and Dell Hymes, University of Pennsylvania).

Research on this subject is advancing rapidly. These maps try to give a reasonable balance between fact, probable fact, and probable future opinion and take into account some of the unevenness of data and of research in different regions and different stocks.

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the BAE director (later, chief) for 1880–1920. Other notable sources on anthropology at the Smithsonian include Darnell (1999b, 2001); Ewers (1959); Goode (1897); Hanson (2004); Judd (1967); Meltzer (1983); Meltzer and Dunnell (1992); Oehser (1949); Rivinus and Youssef (1992); Trigger (1989); Washburn (1967); Woodbury and Woodbury (1999); and Yochelson (1985, 2004). Most useful brief summaries on the history of research on Indigenous peoples of North America are Kan (2018) and Whiteley (2004b) for the United States, Harrison and Darnell (2007) for Canada, and Liffman (2015) for Mexico.

Detailed entries on Native American contribution to the early studies of Indian cultures and languages are presented in Liberty (1978), including an expanded list of more than 100 individual names (Liberty and Sturtevant 1978), also in Bruchac (2018b), Kan (2003), C. Marino (2015), and Hoxie (1996). Hinsley 1981[1994] and Darnell (1998) remain the best sources regarding the BAE/Smithsonian engagement of Native American/First Nations knowledge experts in research and publications.

For "culture areas," valuable overviews include Ehrich and Henderson (1968); Spencer et al. (1965); Freed (2012); Freed and Freed (1983, on Wissler); and Driver (1962, on Kroeber), also the unpublished chapter by Driver and Coffin (1973) prepared for *Handbook*, vol. 1.

Later publications blurred again the distinction between a thematic anthropological handbook and an alphabetically-arranged encyclopedia (Lee and Daly 1999; Levinson 1991–1996; Nuttall 2004; Peregrine and Embler 2001–2003). The smaller one- or two-volume handbooks and encyclopedias made a return in the 2000s, thanks to the prestigious Oxford *Handbooks* series that produced several hundred single-volume handbooks in many fields, including 18 handbooks in anthropology, and several in Native American cultures and history (Cox and Justice 2014; Hoxie 2016; Pauketat 2012).

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Writing American Indian Histories in the Twenty-First Century

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Writing American Indian history in the twenty-first century involves acknowledging the complexity of tribal and urban communities from different perspectives. Although American Indian history does not have a lengthy historiography, like several other fields, it began as a subject that nineteenth-century writers, historians, and scholars from other disciplines wrote about. As American history evolved as a professional discipline in the early twentieth century, Indian history became a subfield. While mainstream historians pursued studies of Europe and other parts of the world, the history of North American Indians began to emerge on its own, apart from American military history and general Western history (Edmunds 2008:6).

Most history departments in U.S. and Canadian colleges and universities did not consider Native Americans as the subject of teaching, deeming them a casualty of the rise of American Manifest Destiny. Yet telling American Indian history from the victors' point of view left more than half of the story untold, considering the U.S. military's more than 1,500 wars, battles, and skirmishes against Indians (see Leach 1988; Mahon 1988; Utley 1988). Steadily, more historians and other scholars became interested in American Indians, and the post–World War II period added new chapters that, eventually, opened the era of "modern" Indian history. Termination, relocation, urbanization, and activism in the 1960s became issues of national concern when Indian activists captured headlines during the civil rights movement.

It was not until February 1969 that the newsletter of the American Historical Association (AHA) advertised the first faculty opening for an Indian historian "in colonial and/or American Indian" history at the University of Wisconsin–Stevens Point (Edmunds 2008:6). At the same time, the introduction of an "American Indian studies program" at the University of California, Los Angeles, in January 1968 created new interest in Native American subjects. More students and young scholars became interested in American Indians, especially in issues and events of the twentieth century. Whereas most historians of the earlier generation focused on the nineteenth century, by the last decade of the twentieth century, the majority of graduate students in the field studied American Indian history *after* 1900. There was another indicator of growth: while there were just six Native American scholars active in the discipline of history in the 1970s, by the end of the twentieth century, the number had grown to more than two dozen. Compared to the large number of non-native historians writing Indian history, this was a small number.

Before the 1970s, most historians writing on American Indians focused primarily on individual tribal or regional histories, but the new cohort of Indian historians started to look into broader topics related to Indian–White interactions, such as wars, the impact of boarding schools, and government policies. With the nationwide rise of Indian activism and the publication of two pivotal books—*Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (Deloria 1969b) by Native political activist and philosopher Vine Deloria, Jr. (b. 1933, d. 2005), and *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (Brown 1970) by novelist and historian Dee Brown (b. 1908, d. 2002)—the Indian perspective on historical and contemporary issues became acceptable, even desirable. After the founding of the first American Indian studies programs in the 1960s (Kidwell 2008b), Indian history emerged quickly on academic and political scenes as young scholars sought to learn what actually happened on the "other side" of the North American frontier.

The "other side" of the frontier experience meant thinking about "Indian views," as first presented by George B. Grinnell in his classic "The Fighting Cheyennes" (Grinnell 1915:vi). What did an Indian warrior think when he shot his arrows? What did Native women say when they saw their men sign 374 treaties that gave away homelands and forced them to pack their family's belongings to move to new homelands? When asking these questions, it is important to keep in mind that each Indian tribe has a special worldview. Although there is some overlap, with some tribes sharing the same perspective, there were more than 573 federally recognized tribes in the United States as of January 2018 (variously called tribes, nations, bands, pueblos, communities, and native villages (National Congress of American Indians 2018). There are also 634 First Nations Indigenous groups recognized by the Canadian

government as of 2020 (Crown-Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada 2014), and roughly 600,000 people speaking more than 20 Indigenous languages in northern Mexico as of 2005 (see "Southwest-2," this vol.). There is hardly a single "Indian view" but actually many views.

American Indian Historical Research

About one-third of the Smithsonian *Handbook of North American Indians* series (1978–2008) is devoted to American Indian history in one form or the other, stressing chronological and geographical perspectives. Of the 20 originally planned *Handbook* volumes, volumes 2 (Bailey 2008a) and 4 (Washburn 1988a), in particular, focus on American Indian historical research. Together, these two volumes cover more than 500 years of American Indian history: from early European–Indian relations at the time of the first White–Indian contacts in North America to the end of the nineteenth century (vol. 4), and from the beginning of the twentieth century to the first decade of the twenty-first century (vol. 2).

Other volumes of the *Handbook* also have relevance, as they similarly investigate "historic" and "prehistoric" themes. Volume 3, *Environment, Origins, and Population* (Ubelaker 2006a), divides the contents into prehistoric and historic times, starting from the first peopling of North America, according to scientists' understanding. Volumes 5, 6, and 7 on the Arctic (Damas 1984), the Subarctic (Helm 1981), and Northwest Coast (Suttles 1990) likewise examine topics related to the history of tribal groups, as well as entire regions, from precontact ("prehistory") to the present day. Most other volumes in the *Handbook* series delve into American Indian history to some extent as well, exemplifying the difference between presenting Indians *historically* and presenting *Indian history* as a special science field or discipline.

This chapter addresses the ways the professional field of Indian history has developed in North America and elsewhere. It looks at events that led to its emergence as a separate discipline in the second half of the twentieth century and then at the formulation and growth of its specific approach, as exemplified in new research themes and publications of the early twenty-first century.

Books on American Indian History as a Field

Writing Indian history raises a multilayered challenge of recognizing problems and accounting for multiple and often conflicting perspectives. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed an outpouring of historical literature, thanks to the rise of Indian activism at the time. This stage of development called for scholarship to provide an explanation for this remarkable growth of interest in Indian history. An influential overview (Swagerty 1984:vii) noted that "dozens of Indian and non-Indian scholars [were] focusing on Native American history," with young American Indians entering pertinent fields. The swelling number of Indian scholars established a new Indian presence in history, anthropology, sociology, literature, and other disciplines.

Shortly after, a volume of nine essays written by various academics appeared with the promising title *New Directions in American Indian History* (Calloway 1988). In its introduction, the editor, historian Colin G. Calloway, observed that the growing shift from writing mainly about Indian wars and "the persistence of Indian history" established "a new set of needs among students and teachers," as well as scholars committed to the field (Calloway 1988:ix). Indians had been rediscovered, and it soon became clear that most scholars were now interested more in Indian–White relations rather than in tribal case studies.

Another groundbreaking anthology, *The American Indian and the Problem of History* (Martin 1987), envisioned historians correcting the imbalance of viewing Indians as subalterns or at best marginalized figures to find a true "meaning of Indian-Whites in concert." It argued that historians had typecast American Indians as a particular subfield and that "Indian-White history has lagged behind [other fields of history] in developing respectful approaches to advancing the field" (Martin 1987:9). Yet most historians of the time persisted in exploring the "White side" of Indian–White relations. While the majority of historians of Indian history continued to write "about" American Indians, the Indians themselves "spoke (and many still speak) of a world, a place, and a way of living and being, all alien to my Western cast of mind" (Martin 1992:1–2).

Laurence M. Hauptman, a leading authority on the Iroquois, heeded the warning by arguing for the need to get over many Western misassumptions about American Indians and to be honest in the search for truth about Indian–White relations. He stipulated two urgent tasks: to stimulate new students' interest in American Indian history, and to raise the level of intellectual debate about Native Americans and their histories (Hauptman 1995:xiv). While both Indian historians and Native scholars were eager to join the intellectual debate, the majority of people in the field continued to pursue "Indian-White history," whereas Hauptman recognized the significance of tribal histories as *Indian history*, or rather as "Indians' Indian history."

The anthology *Rethinking American Indian History* (Fixico 1997) was a response to the intellectual challenge of undoing the subaltern restriction of "one voice, one view" with regard to American Indian history. The obvious had to be noted: "The complexity of Native American life and the various cultures and languages of more than five hundred Indian nations" required new tools and the use of "innovative analytical theories and cross-disciplinary methods" (Fixico 1997:3).

Cherokee sociologist Russell Thornton echoed this call in his collection *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects* (Thornton 1998), with essays by 17 contributors, both Native and non-Native. He argued that comprehending the Indian past as broader than just "history" requires a holistic approach. In order to understand this holistic view of the past, it is necessary "to broaden the knowledge and education of both Native Americans and non-Native Americans" (Thornton 1998:5). In the same year, another Native American historian, Devon A. Mihesuah (Choctaw), proclaimed that new Western history and new Indian history still neglected Indians and Indian scholars. "Many scholars who write the 'New Indian History' or 'New Western History' are doing nothing new and different." She then asked, "Where are the Indian voices? Where are Indian views of history?" (Mihesuah 1998:1). The state of the field was quickly transitioning from old "war stories" to a reexamination of the Indian past with new questions, and the conclusion was that much more work needed to be done.

The turn of the twenty-first century marked another transition in the 150-year-old field of writing American Indian history from the first compilations of anthropologists' field notes to its status as a marginalized subfield (of Indian–White history) to its emergence as an independent discipline. The complexity of the American Indian past was illustrated in the seminal 550-page volume of 15 mostly chronological chapters accompanied by copies of historical documents (Hurtado and Iverson 2001 [1994]). In the book, the authors stressed new ways for Indian perspectives to break through the mainstream's version of Indian history, further eclipsing the "victors-writing-histories" approach. They insisted that using "field work, oral histories, and tribal narratives" would provide sufficient evidence and give American Indians more agency in writing their history. This approach would place "less emphasis on what is often labeled *victimization*. . . . Without denying the terrible traumas and costs of the Indians' past, scholars now give greater weight to the ability of Native individuals and communities to adapt, to persist, to survive, and, at times, to prosper" (Hurtado and Iverson 2001:xv–xvi). Another influential anthology, *A Companion to American Indian History* (Deloria and Salisbury 2002), included chapters on various aspects of Native American cultural practices, beliefs, contact history, and Indian–government relations in all three nation-states of North America. The editors noted that both the social sciences and the humanities have "increasingly emphasized multicultural approaches," thus enabling American Indian history to "grow in stature, analytical power, and diversity of approach" (Deloria and Salisbury 2002:2).

The state of the field at the start of the twenty-first century still has a majority of non-Native and some Native scholars writing American Indian history, often with little perspective coming from tribes and tribal historians. A call for greater involvement of tribal communities and intercultural collaboration was a paradigm introduced by Wendat/Huron academic Georges E. Sioui (b. 1948) through the concept of "Amerindian Autohistory" (Sioui 1992), which presented guidelines for the study of Native history from an Amerindian point of view (Emmerich 1993). A similar multivoiced approach was employed in Peter Nabokov's chronicle of Indian–White relations (Nabokov 1999) and in his study of American Indian ways of history (Nabokov 2002). Nabokov closely observed elements of "Indianness," such as myth, truth, place, stories, and memories, and he concluded that "the historical discourses of non-Western societies [are] too important to be left to historians alone" (Nabokov 2002:6).

Nabokov's words proved to be prophetic. Indians writing history in the academy began with Indians simply writing, but with heavy hearts. In the pointedly titled book *Learning to Write "Indian,"* Amelia V. Katanski (2005) noted that writing about the past was not the same as writing history. Using literature as a tool to unlock the past, she wrote, "The path these writers [young boarding school students] took to expression was neither painless nor easy, but they fought for the means to articulate their complexity in print" (Katanski 2005:14). A path to freedom of expression emerged when the boarding schools taught young Indians the tools to write about their cultures and pasts, corroborating what Swagerty (1984) said earlier about dozens of Indians and non-Indians producing American Indian histories.

Historiography of American Indian History

In writing about American Indians, it is important to view how early authors described them (Fiedler 1988; Zolla 1974). Most of the early portrayals of Indians were not histories per se, but they, nonetheless, contributed to public vision of the Indian past.

The American Indian past was more often written as a literary narrative, like by James Fenimore Cooper (b. 1789, d. 1851), who portrayed Indians and their cultures in fictional story plots (but actually researched available written sources and interviewed Indian elders). In Germany, novelist Karl May (b. 1842, d. 1912) published dozens of fiction books on American Indians, featuring "Winnetou, the Indian hero" and a German blood brother, "Old Shatterhand," in their adventures across the Wild West.

These were, of course, fictional accounts that kept Indians in the minds of contemporary society, but in the late nineteenth century, American poet and writer Helen Hunt Jackson (b. 1830, d. 1885) completed a pivotal work of nonfiction. Jackson's massive book, *A Century of Dishonor*, (Jackson 1881) provided the first account of the U.S. government's dealings with several Indian nations (the Delaware, the Cheyenne, the Sioux/Lakota, the Cherokee, and others), including a chapter titled "The Massacres of Indians by Whites" and 15 appendices filled with similar stories. It also triggered the first detailed government census of the Indian tribes and their economic conditions within the main territory of the United States (Department of the Interior 1895) and provoked a reform movement to solve the "Indian problem" of poverty and ill health on nearly 200 Indian reservations then existing across the country.

Jackson blamed the government for creating the problem through its policy of Indian removal, which forced Indigenous people onto newly assigned lands out of the way of America's (and Canada's) westward expansion. As the end of the Indian wars culminated in the massacre of Lakota Ghost Dancers at Wounded Knee in 1890, most mainstream American scholars, particularly ethnographers and historians, studied Indians and wrote cultural treatises in an effort to preserve the record of their past cultures that soon became known as "salvage ethnography" (Gruber 1970). It is commonly associated with the school established by German-born anthropologist Franz Boas (b. 1858, d. 1942) and his students, but it was pioneered by earlier writers about American Indians, including the government-paid scientists at the Smithsonian Bureau of American Ethnology (see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.).

The seminal presentation by historian Frederick Jackson Turner (b. 1861, d. 1932) of his concept of "frontier" and its role in American history at an AHA conference held in 1893 inspired a new stream of writings glorifying the settlement of the West while marginalizing American Indians, other people of color, and women (Turner 1894, 1920). Enthused by Turner's "frontier thesis," a new school of frontier historians exalted the conquest of the West, including the pushing out of "wild savages," who depended upon their natural surroundings (see overviews in Billington 1966; W. Coleman 1966; Hofstader and Lipset 1968; Slotkin 1973; Smith 1950). For several decades, this breed of "Americentrism" advanced the story of how Americans had subjugated Indians, pushing them into a second-class role, and that they were inferior to Whites, at least socially and politically. At the same time, "Indian wars" sold books, and the first wave of amateur writers and history buffs produced romanticized narratives about the West and Indians, regularly stretching the facts to tell a good story.

These writings set the standard for narratives about the West and Indian history. It all but ignored the contribution of the handful of Native writers and scholars of the time, such as William W. Warren (b. 1825, d. 1853), of Ojibwe and Euro-American descent, the first historian of the Ojibwe nation (Warren 2009 [1885]); Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (b. 1844, d. 1891), the daughter of a Northern Paiute chief from Nevada (Winnemucca 1883; Canfield 1983; Scherer 1988; Carpenter and Sorisio 2015); and Charles Alexander Eastman (b. 1858, d. 1939), a Dakota Sioux medical doctor and philosopher from Minnesota (Martinez 2009), who published 13 books from 1902 to 1918 (Eastman 1902, 1911, 1916, 1918; Fitzgerald 2007). A later example was professional historian Muriel Hazel Wright (Choctaw, b. 1889, d. 1975), who wrote several books on the history of Oklahoma and its Indian tribes (Wright 1929, 1951).

The educated Indian intellectuals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.), many of whom were members of the Society of American Indians (SAI 1987), raised awareness of a new pan-Indian identity (Hertzberg 1971). They also fought for social and political reform and paved the way for the more militant political activism of the mid-twentieth century (Deloria 2008; Hertzberg 1988; Liberty 1978; Maddox 2006; Vigil 2015).

In the late nineteenth century, with the idea that Indians were a "vanishing race" soon to become extinct, anthropologists and ethnographers raced to do fieldwork, observe Native ceremonies, and publish their field notes and written tribal histories. At the same time, a Kansas girl named Angie Debo (b. 1890, d. 1988) arrived in the Indian Territory in the family wagon and settled with her family in what became the state of Oklahoma in 1907. Debo earned a bachelor's degree, a master's, and then a doctorate in history from the University of Oklahoma. Her dissertation became a prize-winning book about the rise and fall of the Choctaw Nation (Debo 1934). During her long career as a historian,

Debo wrote 13 books and numerous articles about Native American and Oklahoma history.

History doctoral dissertations on tribal studies were logical book publications if a tribe did not have a written history. The University of Oklahoma Press risked its future on its Civilization of the American Indian series, started in 1934, and gained an international acclaim for publishing books about American Indians starting in 1929. As of 2022, it had published roughly 3,500 titles and maintained 36 book series.

The 1960s exploded with Indian history books and other works about Native American people, from William T. Hagan's bestseller survey (Hagan 1961) to Dee Brown's manifesto (Brown 1970). They led many writers to revisit Turner's "frontier thesis" and to address how it had misrepresented the Indian presence as a vital part of the American heritage record.

Histories of tribes involved relations with the government. The signing of 374 Indian treaties recognized by the U.S. Congress (Deloria and DeMallie 1999; Kappler 1904-1941; Kvasnicka 1988) was preceded by several hundred treaties signed by Native American tribes with Britain and British colonies (Jones 1988; Vaughan 1979–2004), plus numerous treaties signed with the Canadian government (Asch 2014; Fenge and Aldridge 2015; Poelzer and Coates 2015; Surtees 1988a). It ushered in a long history of federal and Indian relations running from President George Washington to recent administrations. The topic of U.S. federal Indian policy became an area of concentration for authors of history, Native studies, and other disciplines. Jesuit Father Francis Paul Prucha (b. 1921, d. 2015) emerged as the leading scholar of federal Indian policy, with studies of several major treaties (Prucha 1988, 1994; Marten and Naylor 2015). His seminal study on the role of the Christian church in establishing the school system for American Indian children (Prucha 1979) paved the way for many scholars who have since become interested in writing about Indian boarding schools (Adams 1995; Archuleta, Child, and Lomawaima 2000; Katanski 2005; Lomawaima 1995; Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006).

The Indian New Deal policies of the early 1930s that culminated in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 became one of the first policy areas that appealed to historians writing Native history (Taylor 1980; Deloria 2002). Again, Prucha's seminal works on U.S. government–Indian relations stood out (Prucha 1984). American Indians serving in World War II generated about half a dozen books, including historical overviews by Bernstein (1999) and Viola (2008; also, Bennett and Holm 2008). By 2015, urban Indians (Weibel-Orlando 1991) were the subject of a dozen books (see "Southwest-1," this vol.). Native biographies, written by history buffs and academic historians, have always been popular. Histories of American Indian women became popular with the rise of women's studies in the 1970s and the use of gender analysis, and at least a dozen books on Indian identity have appeared as of 2015.

"As Told To" Accounts and Oral Histories

In the summer of 1930, John Neihardt, a poet and writer, met Black Elk (b. circa 1863, d. 1950), an Oglala Lakota medicine man, on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota (Jackson 2016). This collaboration yielded a keystone book, *Black Elk Speaks* (Neihardt 1932). Neihardt's account generated controversy; there was criticism that he reinterpreted and edited Black Elk's story (DeMallie 1984), and questions arose about Black Elk's conversion to Catholicism and preaching of Christianity (Costello 2005; Holler 1995, 2000; Steltenkamp 1993, 2009). Still, the book opened the gate for other American Indian elders to tell their stories to non-Indian writers.

Perhaps the earliest examples of this genre came decades prior, with the autobiographies of William Apes (b. 1798, d. 1839), ordained minister of Pequot descent (Apes 1829); Sauk war leader Black Hawk (b. 1767, d. 1838) (Jackson 1955); and of Chiricahua Apache chief Geronimo (b. 1829, d. 1909), as told to S.M. Barrett (Barrett 1906). Throughout the twentieth century, "as told to" publications proliferated. Many historians, anthropologists, and writers, who worked in the field, interviewed respected elderly Native individuals and assisted them in telling their stories in print. Notable accounts included the life story of Left Handed (b. 1868, d. circa 1950), Navajo, as told to German-born anthropologist Walter Dyk (Dyk 1938), and the autobiography of Frank Mitchell (b. 1881, d. 1969), also Navajo, edited by Frisbie and McAllester (1977). Margot Liberty (Liberty 1967, 2013) published the memories of Cheyenne tribal historian John Stands in Timber (b. 1884, d. 1967). Anthropologist Paul Radin published the autobiography of Winnebago peyotist Crashing Thunder (Sam Blowsnake) (Radin 1926). Crashing Thunder's sister Mountain Wolf Woman (b. 1884, d. 1960) related her life story to her adopted kinswoman, anthropologist Nancy O. Lurie (Lurie 1961a), and many more (Alford 1936; Michelson 1925). The literature also included the life stories of three Indian elders in the southern Yukon Territory (Cruikshank 1992b), and several edited autobiographies of Alaskan Yupik Eskimo (Hughes 1974; Lantis 1960), to name but a few.

These accounts produced invaluable sources because they revealed the life experiences of Indigenous

people in their Native reality, defined by a tribal worldview. At the same time, a great deal of responsibility rested in the two writers working together, in an Indian and non-Indian collaboration. The Native person had to decide what information to share (or not) with his or her writing partner or editor. The non-Native editor, in turn, needed to put the Indigenous knowledge into the proper context and treat it respectfully. As one of the early practitioners of the "Indian narratives" genre, anthropologist George Bird Grinnell (b. 1849, d. 1938) pointedly noted, "The stories which the Indians narrate, covering a wide field of subjects, furnish to us concrete examples of their ways of thought" (Grinnell 1926:xxiv; see also Grinnell 1915, 1923). In his work on the Cheyenne, Grinnell was assisted, separately, by George Bent (b. 1843, d. 1918), a Cheyenne of mixed descent, and George E. Hyde (b. 1882, d. 1968), who later wrote a biography of Bent (Hyde 1967), in addition to writing his own historical works on the Lakota (Hyde 1937, 1956, 1961).

The same ethical approach applies to collecting or recording Indian oral histories. While debate over the written word versus the spoken was long waged by historian and anthropologist Jan Vansina (b. 1929, d. 2017) (Vansina 1985), as well as by nonacademics such as Louis "Studs" Terkel (b. 1912, d. 2008) (Terkel 1985), oral history remains a viable method for understanding the Indian views on the past. Gathering oral history on a specific topic requires planning the interviews, obtaining a good representation of oral data (such as gender balance, age, relationship to the topic), and obtaining a formal release to use the material.

Although oral histories provide data that written documents cannot, they also depend upon the depth of an individual's memories. Recollection of facts diminishes over time, but in the oral tradition of tribes, historical events are always historical experiences. The oral tradition of storytelling is the foundation of Indian history: "Without oral traditions we would know very little about the past of large parts of the world[,] . . . and we would not know them from the inside" (Vansina 1985:198).

Oral history collections exist online and are housed at many universities, libraries, and foundations across Canada and the United States. The Indian Pioneer Papers, one of the largest collections of interviews of American Indians assembled in the 1930s as a part of the U.S. Works Progress Administration (WPA), is housed at the Oklahoma Heritage Center in Oklahoma City. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Doris Duke family funded Indian oral history projects to collect 6,500 oral histories at seven American universities, including the University of South Dakota, University of Oklahoma, University of Utah, University of Arizona, University of New Mexico, and the University of Florida. Oral accounts of Indian relocation and urbanization are the focus of the collection at the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland, California, and the records of the Chicago American Indian Oral History Project are at the Newberry Library in Chicago. A growing volume of American Indian oral histories is increasingly accessible online and can contribute historical background to contemporary historical work.

As non-Indians became more interested in Native viewpoints, Indian perspectives on tribal history, Indian–White relations, and Indigenous knowledge became more accessible through biographical narratives of prominent American Indians, particularly in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The examples include the life stories of Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) visionary and activist Reuben Snake (b. 1937, d. 1993) (Fikes and Snake 1996), Ojibwe drum maker and spiritual leader William "Bill" Bineshi Baker Sr. (b. 1905, d. 1985) (Vennum 2008), and Wilma Mankiller (b. 1945, d. 2010), first woman chief of the Cherokee Nation (Mankiller and Wallis 1993). Family history was central to the narrative of Pulitzer Prize–winning authors N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa, b. 1934) (Momaday 1976) and Louise Erdrich (Turtle Mountain Chippewa, b. 1954) (Erdrich 2021), and to the memoir of Meskwaki (Goddard 2006), the works of Muscogee, educator and two-time Poet Laureate Joy Harjo (b. 1951) (Harjo 2012), and the biography and teachings of Oglala Lakota medicine man Pete S. Catches, Sr. (b. 1912, d. 1993) by his son Peter V. Catches (Catches and Catches 1999).

Russell Means (Lakota, b. 1939, d. 2012) published a reflection on his life in collaboration with Marvin J. Wolf (Means and Wolf 1995). Dennis Banks (b. 1937, d. 2017), a cofounder of the American Indian Movement, wrote his memoir with the assistance of Richard Erdoes (b. 1912, d. 2008), a Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany who became interested in American Indians (Banks and Erdoes 2004). Erdoes published many other collaborative biographies, especially with Lakota leaders, such as John Fire Lame Deer (b. 1903, d. 1976) (Erdoes and Fire Lame Deer 1972), Mary Crow Dog (b. 1954, d. 2013) (Erdoes and Crow Dog 1990), and Leonard Crow Dog (b. 1942, d. 2021) (Erdoes and Crow Dog 1995).

The Role of Research Centers

Scholars writing American Indian histories have relied heavily on information provided or assembled in a number of special research centers. These centers have played a major role in the collection of data and

in the development of American Indian history as a field of study. In 1879, the U.S. Congress established the Bureau of Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington (renamed the Bureau of American Ethnology [BAE] in 1897; see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.). With federal funding, the bureau launched several series of publications, including 48 Reports between 1881 and 1933 and 200 Bulletins from 1887 to 1967 (Evans 1971). The BAE Reports and Bulletins, especially the earlier ones, contain invaluable data on tribal cultures, languages, and histories; they reflected the primary role of government-sponsored institutions in preserving accounts of American Indian life and worldviews at a time when government policies were aggressively enforcing assimilation.

Despite this apparent paradox, early "salvage" ethnography, a symbiotic and at times exploitative bridge between science and tribal communities, was instrumental in developing Americanist anthropology *and* in preserving tribal histories and knowledge that would otherwise have been lost or forcibly suppressed (Bieder 1986).

The establishment of institutional and academic historiography and ethnography of the Indian tribes of North America in the nineteenth century had deep roots in the historical accounts of explorers, travelers, and missionaries among the American Indians. The importance of these early primary sources is reflected in collective documents, like *Jesuit Relations* (*JR*), compiled and edited by Reuben G. Thwaites (1896–1901) in 73 volumes and encompassing observations of Indian life in the Great Lakes region from 1610 to 1791, recorded by Jesuit missionaries (see Campeau 1967–2003; Trépanier 2003; True 2015). Thwaites also edited the *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804–1806*, a major source of early American Indian history (Thwaites 1904–1905, in eight volumes; Moulton 1983–2001). He must be credited with another seminal contribution, a 32-volume compilation of early travel accounts of the American West (Thwaites 1904–1907), an important source on how early explorers viewed and interacted with American Indians. This early travel literature was often interwoven with so-called captivity narratives, firsthand accounts of life as a prisoner of the Indians. In the 1970s and early 1980s, these were reprinted in the Garland Library of North American Indian Captivity Narratives series comprising 111 volumes originally published between 1682 and 1962 (Martinez and Dickinson 2005; Washburn and Vaughan 1975–1983).

In 1907, the School of American Archaeology (SAA) was established in Santa Fe (Elliott 1987; D.D. Fowler 2000; Munson 2007). By 1917, SAA had changed its name to the School of American Research and broadened its mission beyond archaeology to include history, ethnography, and tribal arts, focusing on both collection and preservation. In 2007, the school was again renamed, becoming the School for Advanced Research (SAR), with a mission to advance anthropology and the humanities and, specifically, to develop the discipline of history (Lewis and Hagan 2007). The SAR Press has produced a number of important books on the Southwest and American Indians.

Following the establishment of the first American Indian studies programs at UCLA and San Francisco State College in 1968, similar programs were started at the University of Minnesota, the University of California, Berkeley, and Trent University in Canada. In 1969, UCLA founded the research-focused American Indian Studies Center, which offered postdoctoral fellowships, seminars, and conferences and, in 1971, launched the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, one of the oldest journals on American Indians in the United States. These early programs, the first of their kind, focused on twentieth-century history, but they also helped open the way for other disciplines to study American Indians and to put more focus on contemporary issues, such as American Indian/First Nations rights, health, and social and cultural life.

Founded in 1972 at the Newberry Library in Chicago, the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian named after Salish Kootenai historian and activist, D'Arcy McNickle (b. 1904, d. 1977), one of the early participants in the Smithsonian *Handbook* series, has produced a number of tribal bibliographies, conferences, and fellowships for scholars. The Newberry Library possesses valuable holdings of primary materials on Native American people; it quickly established itself as the prime training ground for young scholars interested in American Indians. By teaming with the anthropology-trained ethnohistorians at the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, it added new vibrancy to scholarly activities at Newberry. Whereas most of the established Indian studies programs stress modern Indian history and issues (Kidwell 2008b), the McNickle Center focuses primarily on the early history of Native peoples in North America, largely to the east of the Mississippi.

The Huntington Library in San Marino, California, a part of the Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens established by Henry E. Huntington (b. 1850, d. 1927), houses archival and published data about American Indians that historians have been using for decades. Over the years, the Huntington Library has offered fellowships for scholars, presented lectures, and held conferences on American Indians

for academics, teachers, and the general public. The Huntington's holdings and activities have influenced scholarship on the history of California Indians as well as Indians in the American West and Spanish West.

In the fall of 1996, the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies opened at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas. Focusing on the U.S. Southwest, the center offers pre- and postdoctoral fellowships to scholars, many of whom specialize in American Indian history, including early Indian history of the region. The center also supports studies related to borderland issues, like U.S.–Canadian Indian border history.

The U.S. National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) at the Smithsonian Institution (see "'A New Dream Museum,'" this vol.), opened in Washington, DC, in 2004, offers workshops, lectures, and conferences to advance studies of Indigenous people in the Western Hemisphere (Blue Spruce 2004b; Hill and McCallum 2009; Ronan 2014). It has broad responsibilities that include developing the NMAI historical archives and loaning out cultural items to expand the voice of American Indians across North and South America. Other museums and universities have their own research centers that regularly hold seminars or conferences demonstrating continued interest in American Indian history. For example, the First Americans Museum that opened in 2021 in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, focuses on the 39 tribes in Oklahoma, including their migration stories from other parts of Indian Country.

American Indian History Textbooks

Writing insightful and balanced textbooks about American Indians remains a staggering task. Teachers and students urgently need such textbooks at the college and graduate levels, in Native studies classes at tribal colleges, and as references for libraries and the public. Historians and nonhistorians have written many such volumes; the number continues to grow as new textbooks appear almost every year. Anthologies compiled as textbooks (such as Biolsi 2004; Kan and Strong 2006; Thompson 1996) and readers are not reviewed here. Additionally, myriad books have been published that cover specific parts of American Indian history.

Early textbooks of the twentieth century commonly served as general introductions. They presented the diverse cultural backgrounds of American Indians (Jenness 1932; Spencer et al. 1965; Underhill 1953; Wissler 1917, 1940; see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.). These early works provided a direct informational approach to tribes and tribal histories and general understanding of U.S. and Canadian government relations with American Indians and First Nations (Hagan 1961). Before the founding of the American Indian Movement in 1968, anthropologist Wendell Oswalt (1966) seized the opportunity to produce a textbook (now in its ninth edition) that emphasized "traditional and changing Indian lifeways[,] . . . culture areas and varying degrees of cultural complexity [that] includes scientific and humanistic approaches to anthropological data" (Oswalt 1966:xv).

Several mid- to late twentieth-century textbooks championed the American Indian as an underdog and victim; as one author forthrightly observed, "Much of the wrong the Indians have suffered was motivated by naked greed and ruthlessness" (Debo 1970:vii). Another influential textbook sought to show "the Indian's proper and deserved place in American history" (Gibson 1980:ii). Some authors used a journalistic approach to enlighten a general public that knew little about American Indians, like Alvin M. Josephy Jr. (b. 1915, d. 2005), a World War II veteran and writer of more than a dozen books on American Indian history (Josephy 1964, 1965, 1968, 1971, 1982). He also served as a senior advisor on Indian policy to the U.S. secretary of the interior in the President John F. Kennedy administration (1961–1963) and later as an advisor to President Richard Nixon on matters relating to Indian tribes.

In the early 1970s, as the U.S. government responded to American Indian demands for justice and Indian studies programs took root on university campuses (Kidwell 2008), Native people no longer accepted being mistreated. This new attitude was reflected in a series of books that aimed "to educate and help inform people who examined Indian issues and concerns during the Indian activism years (Wax 1971:xiii).

Not all twentieth-century writers who explored American Indian history did so through the discipline of history. Starting in the 1980s, textbooks began to be organized around specific issues, such as land claims, war, politics, and federal policies, and they commonly included examples of Indian voices. Several influential summaries tried to present "the perspective[s] of anthropologists, historians, and political scientists" (Kehoe 1981:xi; also, Kehoe 2002). Others aimed at overtly popular accounts (Waldman 1985). One overview (Brandon 1985) covered 20,000 years of Indigenous people's history in the Western Hemisphere, including Indian to Indian relations, cultural developments, and interactions between American Indians and settlers. It romanticized Native American life before Columbus and glossed over the dark realities of Indian–White history to attract a broad audience. It

ended with the development of tourism in the Southwest Pueblo communities and concluded with an optimistic message: "It is good to feel that the history of the American Indian, any more than the history of America, is not finished" (Brandon 1985:398). A similar summary for the Canadian First Nations covered their history from the deep past but primarily through the lens of Indian–White relations up to the 1980s (Dickason 1992). It painted the Canadian First Nations as victims of colonialism, while stressing that the Native people of Canada have done more than simply survive but have succeeded in becoming "a vital part of Canada's persona, both present and future" (Dickason 1992:420).

Scores of seminal overviews that appeared in the last decade of the twentieth century offered a more nuanced approach. James Wilson covered Native people of both the United States and Canada in an effort "to unpack the threads of the Euro-American culture which has trapped them [Indians] for so long" (Wilson 1998:xxviii). Though a nonhistorian, Wilson offered a vision of American Indian history using a "regional frontier" approach up to the end of the nineteenth century and then employing an "internal frontier" view of the twentieth-century treatment of the boarding schools, the New Deal, Indian termination policies, and the "New Indians," including urban Indians and activists. Another comparative treatment of the fate of Native Americans in the United States and Canada challenged readers to consider the parallels of Indian boarding schools, land losses, government treaties, westward expansion, and paternalistic legislation enforced by federal agencies in the two respective North American societies (Barsh 1999; Nichols 1998).

Other historians tried to tell the Native American story by relying on written documents, the ways Native Americans responded to the documents, and the events that produced them (Calloway 1999). Such an approach challenged public views to present "real Indians" by arguing that "in many classrooms and in most history books, Indian people were either conspicuous by their absence or treated in such stereotypical and distorted terms as to rob them of their humanity" (Calloway 1999:2–3).

The challenges of grasping the complexity of American Indian history in the twentieth century were mounting and required expertise in federal Indian law, a field in which most Indian historians lacked professional training. Perhaps the most successful was an attempt by three historians, R. David Edmunds, Frederick E. Hoxie, and Neal Salisbury, to combine their knowledge in a two-volume set covering Native American history from the initial peopling of North America until 1990 (Edmunds et al. 2007). The book focuses primarily on five themes: American Indians' struggle to defend their homelands and preserve community autonomy, shifting Native identities, cultural persistence, views of family and gender, and cultural diversity. The authors rightly claimed that "few books offer readers an opportunity to trace the sweep of Native American history from the pre-contact era to the present; fewer still attempts tell this story from the perspective of Indian people themselves" (Edmunds et al. 2007:ix).

New Indian History

The New Western History, which included people of color and women in the story of the American West, was born in the 1980s (Limerick et al. 1991), and the New Indian History, which placed American Indians at the center of Indian–White relations, followed shortly thereafter. This development added a new perspective to the growing body of thousands of books written "about Indians" by non-Indians. Notably, New Indian History as a new genre helped move Native peoples from the margins of the story about the development of their nation-state—be it the United States, Canada, or Mexico—to being viewed as shapers and contributors in explaining the American past. The new narrative that put American Indians on center stage stressed the relevance of Indian history as an integral part not to be omitted from the larger American story.

Although Indian-centered narrative was critical to the new genre of "Indigenous history," certain factors were instrumental in that transition. Its prime driver, certainly in the United States, was the social unrest of the 1960s and 1970s, which involved the civil rights movement, public criticism of the Vietnam War, and people of color advocating for their political aspirations, such as the Black Power, Brown Power, and Red Power movements (the term reportedly coined by Vine Deloria, Jr.; Josephy 1971; see also "Contestation from Invisibility," this vol.). Although not a history book, Deloria's (1969b) powerful and provocatively titled collection *Custer Died for Your Sins* attacked the U.S. government and White mainstream society for suppressing American Indians and their voices. The activism gave rise to—besides the American Indian Movement (Borrows 2008; Deloria 2008; Fixico 2013b; Hertzberg 1988; G. Roth 2008b)—a modern Native American intellectualism focused mostly on the Indian past. American Indians demanded that past mistreatment be corrected; they also wanted to write their own histories.

The decade of the 1990s witnessed the emergence of the New Indian History, centered mainly on the

debate about who should be writing Indian histories, while emphasizing diverse interpretations. This development added to the general discourse that took place at numerous history conferences, journals, and presses. Eventually, a new turf battle broke out, as historians who were American Indians themselves sought more input, stressing their voices and those of tribal communities and raising strong criticism of the "ethnohistory" approach (see below). The non-Indian historians maintained that scholarly objectivity was more important than personal concerns. A special issue of the journal *American Indian Quarterly* (Mihesuah 1996b) was dedicated to this dialogue under the notable title "Writing about (Writing about) American Indians." These voices included prominent non-Indian historians Daniel K. Richter (Richter 1992a, 1993) and Richard White (White 1991), plus two-time Bancroft Prize winner James H. Merrell (Merrell 1989, 1999) and thirteen other Bancroft winners, including Lisa Brooks (Abenaki) (Brooks 2018).

At the turn of the twenty-first century, the field of New Indian History produced a promising cohort of scholars with a wider perspective on the importance of Indian history who published many cutting-edge books (Brooks 2002; Delay 2008; Simpson 2014; Wilkinson 2010; Saunt 2020). Their works have helped scholars and students look inside Indian communities to understand their social structures and inner relationships.

Ethnohistory

Writing Indian history in the twenty-first century is a joint effort of Native and non-Native historians. Their different approaches reflect the complexity of the subject and help broaden the academic tradition of critical analysis of empirical evidence. Before the rise of Native (American Indian) studies, ethnohistory was the predominant approach toward Indian history. It emerged as a separate field out of many writings by professional historians and anthropologists produced for the Indian Claims Commission (ICC), which was created in 1946 and formally established by the founding of the American Indian Ethnohistoric Conferences in 1954 (later named the American Society for Ethnohistory; see Fenton 1952; Harkin 2010; Sturtevant 1966a; Tanner 1991; Voegelin 1954). The society launched in 1954 the influential scholarly journal *Ethnohistory*, which continues to this day.

The academic disciplines of anthropology, history, and geography came together as scholars applied analytical tools from their respective areas to produce detailed cultural histories of individual Indian communities as well as of the entire North American continent (Axtell 1992; Fenton 1998; Jennings 1975; Trigger 1976). As ethnohistory progressed, it developed other methodological approaches, such as policy history, oral history, gender history, and tribal studies. Since the expansion of ethnohistory in the 1970s, its advocates have continued to produce valuable culture-based histories of American Indians (Edmunds and Peyser 1993; Foster and Cowan 1998).

Many in the first cohort of ethnohistorians served as expert witnesses and contributed tribal histories as evidence in tribal claims even before the existence of the ICC in the 1940s (Lieder and Page 1997; Rosenthal 1990; U.S. Indian Claims Commission 1979). In 1974, tribal reports submitted to the ICC were published in a massive compilation of 118 volumes containing more than 40,000 pages (Horr 1974). An important aspect of the historiography of the Indians' former estate, land loss, and land claims (Kickingbird and Ducheneaux 1973; Scholtz 2006; Sutton 1985) was the renewed interest in Native American maps, mapmaking, historical cartography (Cole and Sutton 2014; G.M. Lewis 1984, 1998; Warhus 1998), and historical atlases (Crompton 1999; Tanner 1987). That happened a full century after the BAE published a classic compendium (Royce 1899).

Writing American Indian History Outside of North America

Interest in American Indians by scholars and amateurs outside the United States and Canada has always been strong (Feest 1988; Taylor 1988), and it continues to grow. Much of this foreign interest arose in the late nineteenth century in Germany, thanks especially to German novelist Karl May (see above), who was enormously popular in the late 1800s (May 1893; original German editions of 1878, 1879, 1880). Generations of European readers, young and adult, were raised on May's fictional accounts of Indians, the American West, and travels to distant parts of the world (Feest 1988). People as diverse as Albert Einstein and Adolph Hitler grew up reading May's imagined version of Indian history in their early years (Usbeck 2015). Although May's novels had no serious impact on the science of Indian history, he influenced many Germans and other Europeans who later became historians of the American Indian past (Calloway et al. 2002).

Contemporary scholars in Denmark, England, Finland, France, Ireland, the Netherlands, Russia, and other countries continue their studies of American Indians. In 1980, the first American Indian Workshop (AIW) was held in the Netherlands, co-organized by American historians Wilcomb E. Washburn, editor

of volume 4 of the *Handbook*, *History of Indian–White Relations* (Washburn 1988a), and Harry Allen, along with British historian Jacqueline Fear-Segal. It soon became the most important annual gathering of European researchers focusing on Indigenous people in North America (http://www.american-indian-workshop.org/). As of 2022, AIW meetings have been held in 22 European countries, with the 2018 and 2019 AIW annual meetings held in Ghent, Belgium, and in Poznán, Poland. The AIW meetings bring together scholars from a wide range of disciplines, including history, literature, anthropology, ethnology, art history, gender studies, museology, ethnomusicology, religious studies, law, linguistics, political science, philosophy, Canadian and American studies, Inuit studies, and Native studies. The AIW *Newsletters* have been regularly reviewed in the scholarly journal *European Review of Native American Studies* (*ERNAS*, published 1987 to 2007), edited by Austrian specialist in American Indian ethnology and history Christian Feest.

Since 1986, the University of Helsinki has held a biannual conference, "The Maple Leaf and Eagle Conference in North American Studies." It attracts international scholars from various fields who present papers on Indian history and other topics related to American Indians (https://blogs.helsinki.fi/mapleleafeagle/). The work of Finnish historians of North American Indians has resulted in several groundbreaking publications (Hämäläinen 2008).

Historical studies of Native American people and cultures are conducted in many other countries, including Australia, China, Japan, New Zealand, and Russia. Although scholars from these countries often focus more heavily on their own Indigenous peoples (such as Ainu, Maori, Australian Aborigines), they take an active role in the AIW meetings in Europe and other Native American conferences, especially in the United States. While researching the history of American Indians, foreign scholars often relate them to "other apparent victims of imperialism," such as in Ireland (Coleman 2010:56) or compare their plight to that of Aboriginal peoples in other settler colonial societies, like Australia or New Zealand. Writing from a distance, they have the advantage of seeing American Indian history from a comparative perspective (Haake 2010:65).

Problem Areas

The hotly debated issue in the 1990s of who should be writing Indian history continues into the twenty-first century, as a growing number of Native American historians address the situation of insider versus outsider researchers (Innes 2009:440). Some discussants argue that one must be Indian in order to produce an insightful Indian history (Wilson 1996:3–5; Simpson 2014). A number of Native historians and political activists, including Angela C. Wilson under her Dakota name Waziyatawin, champion a process of "decolonization" as a new paradigm for cultural survival and sovereignty—and hence history, in its terms of content, theory, methodology, and political and economic context (Wilson and Yellow Bird 2012). The new millennium has seen a growing Native challenge to non-Indian historians earning faculty positions and prestigious awards for writing about Indians while giving little in return to the tribal communities they write about.

These and other issues of concern confront present-day Indian historians whether they are Native Americans or not. The old legacy of writing looms large over the field, as many questions remain unanswered. What should be the basis of the relationship—academic, personal, and/or social justice–based—between a historian and a tribal community that is being written about? This question has been debated since Lewis Henry Morgan's study of the Iroquois Confederacy (Morgan 1851) and his collaboration with the chief Jimmy Johnson (Sosheo-wa, b. 1774, d. 1856), his grandson Ely S. Parker (Ha-sa-ne-an-da, b. 1828, d. 1895) (see Armstrong 1978), and other senior Seneca men. Alternatively, why should there be a personal relationship of any kind, when most of the written Indian history books were published without much feedback from or even direct contact with tribal communities?

These days, however, many tribes have cultural preservation offices and appointed or contracted tribal historians, who commonly oversee the transfer of information related to tribal history, documentary records, knowledge held by local experts, and their meetings with outside historians. Writing Indian history in the twenty-first century, particularly when it includes the present status of a tribal community, often involves local tribal officers and various forms of partnerships to be worked out.

Many non-Indian academic historians still assume that American Indians have, by and large, culturally assimilated into the mainstream society. True, Native Americans have borrowed many cultural items from their respective colonial societies—from the English (or Spanish) language to myriad everyday objects and traits. They have become cultural navigators and brokers, and they often live bicultural as well as bilingual lives in the many spaces they inhabit (Deloria 2004). This ability is not new; American Indians had borrowed cultural features from each other for centuries before the arrival of Columbus in 1492.

What for the Twenty-First Century?

As discussion among insiders and outsiders (Indians and non-Indians) continued at the start of the twenty-first century, the journal *American Indian Quarterly* produced a special issue of papers by Indian scholars about "working from home" (Hill and McCallum 2009), that is, writing about tribal communities from individual experiences. The essays stressed the value of insightful interpretations derived from connections to families, communities, and tribal homelands in advancing the understanding of Indian history. At the same time, one does not have to be an Indian to write "from the inside," as many scholars who have spent decades with Native American communities have proven numerous times.

Similarly, a special issue of the *Journal of the West* (Fixico 2010) titled "Writing American Indian History" emphasized that "the point is to stop writing 'about' Indians and to think how we can write from an inner perspective and using different approaches in order to take readers into Indian camps, their lodges or into battle." Writing effective Indian history today is to go "beyond the documents and [to] interpret how Indians lived, consider how they thought, and why they acted the way they did in many instances called historical events" (Fixico 2010:9). A later study introduced three perspectives or dimensions in approaching Indian history. In the first dimension, books are written "about" Indians; in the second dimension, works are written about the "shared experience" of Indian–White relations; and in the third dimension, people write from the inside drawing on Indigenous worldviews—for example, a Navajo worldview, Cheyenne ethos, or Muscogee reality (Fixico 2013a). It is also essential to understand that Indians are deeply connected to the natural world (Reid 2015).

Writing Indian history in a broader context has become a genre of thinking that makes the Indigenous past ever more inclusive. Between 2000 and 2021, Indian history books won the Bancroft Prize, one of the most prestigious awards in the field of American history, *thirteen* times (Columbia University Libraries 2021). The success of this wider approach was proven by the seminal history of the Mandan people (Fenn 2014), the Pulitzer Prize winner in history for 2015 and the first book on American Indians to win this award. Comparing Indigenous experiences, often across distant colonial lands and systems, has become an interesting and challenging way to write Indian history, like comparing settler colonialism and the fate of Indigenous children in the American West and in Australia (M.D. Jacobs 2009).

Another promising new path is to construe the past through the lens of family histories (Hyde 2011), by putting Native people in the context of much-needed family connections and personal relations, beyond individual chiefs, war heroes, and prominent tribal leaders. When professional historians write history, they typically approach it from the perspective of powerful states, emerging empires, popular mass movements, and important individual drivers—generals, explorers, chiefs, and politicians. New Indian History means viewing it from both the top- and also bottom-up, reflecting one of the chief aspects of Indian thinking—*inclusivity*, which means immersing oneself in the community's past reality as much as possible.

Conclusion

Writing American Indian history in the twenty-first century is no longer merely about chronicling the past of Indigenous communities across North America. The full picture of American Indian history now includes conceptualizing the Indigenous reality of past generations, often beyond our living memories. How can we reconstruct the Indian "deep past," and how can we understand it as Indigenous people once did? This retooling of a historian's prime task has triggered a profound rethinking of the craft of Indian history—beyond the Western mainstream approach, under which cohorts of historians have been trained in history departments across the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

This new vision of American Indian history in the twenty-first century requires an understanding of the genesis of Indian history in its written form—how it developed and how it can be reinvented. For a twenty-first-century audience, we need to construct a new paradigm that is far more complicated and nuanced than the new "American tribalism paradigm" introduced by McNickle in the early 1970s. Forty years later, Indian history must be reinterpreted and retooled, precisely because Indian realities are now *modern* tribal worlds. This transition suggests a reorganization of the field into "early Indian history" and "modern Indian history," which may begin with the U.S. General Allotment Act of 1887 (that coerced Indians to live as individual American citizens) or even the beginning of the twentieth century.

To reach this next phase in writing Indian history in the second decade of the twenty-first century and to appeal to a broader audience beyond academics and tribal cultural experts and activists, historians need to reimagine and analyze this history with a differ-

ent mindset. They have to grasp the depth of Indian cultures and "tribal worlds," to use a term coined by McNickle (1973:113). As a part of this search for new approaches, Homi Bhabha's (1994) concept of hybridization of change in the "third space" introduces a reality of compromised tribal worlds of traditionalism and colonization that represent new Indigenous experiences. To write about how American Indians have changed in the twenty-first century is to reexamine interactive basic themes in their communities—power, kinship, sovereignty, sacredness, leadership, and oral tradition in the face of modernity.

Lastly, American Indian history has always been about studying relationships between human and nonhuman beings. As the scholarship of Indian history advances, we need to realize that American Indians possessed organic histories that developed before the arrival of the Europeans to the New World and that included Indians' relationships with their land, landscape, and the spiritual worlds within and beyond human societies. These "organic" Indigenous histories changed profoundly after the initial contact with non-Indians and are still changing. This, again, is nothing new: American Indians have for generations continued to culturally appropriate material items, ideas, values, and technologies, while reinventing their Indian identities.

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Codes of Ethics: Anthropology's Relations with American Indians

JOE WATKINS

Several authors in earlier volumes in the *Handbook of North American Indians* series—some three decades ago—wrote about the relationships between anthropologists and American Indians through an integrative discussion of the development of anthropological ethics, primarily in relation to the people anthropologists study. This chapter provides an update to many issues raised in those earlier chapters and offers insights into the historical development of the cultural milieus within which those codes of ethics developed.

In volume 2 of the *Handbook* (*Indians in Contemporary Society*; Bailey 2008a), Vine Deloria, Jr., wrote on American Indian activism between 1950 and 1980 (Deloria 2008:38–44) and Robert Warrior wrote on activism between 1980 and 2006 (Warrior 2008:45–54). Two other chapters in volume 2 focused on issues directly relevant to this topic: "Native Museums and Cultural Centers" (Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008: 338–350) and "Repatriation" (McKeown 2008:427–437). In general, however, the volume's broader presentation of data on American Indian/First Nations communities overwhelmed the points brought up by Deloria and Warrior.

In volume 4, *History of Indian–White Relations* (Washburn 1988a), Nancy Lurie presented her perspectives on anthropology's relationships with American Indians (Lurie 1988:548–556). Her approach was descriptive and worked well within the milieu in which the volume was produced in the 1980s. The four periods she identified—"The Initiation of Symbiosis, 1830–1870," "Mutual Exploitation, 1870–1930," "Mutual Benefit, 1930–1950," and "Symbiosis Deteriorates, 1950"—were meant to be a chronicle of the changing relationships between anthropologists (primarily individual anthropologists) and American Indians. Lurie's chapter was influenced by her nearness to the historical trajectory of the social unrest of the 1960s and 1970s. Though accurate, her analysis of the impact of that unrest was colored by an "anthrocentric" perspective. While noting that "Indian hostility toward anthropology became a generalized, ideological rallying point in the cause of Indian unity" during the 1970s (Lurie 1988:555–556), she also called attention to the fact that anthropology was then struggling to define ethical standards upon which to build future research relationships with all groups of people, not just American Indians:

> It is probably significant and indicative of American anthropology's continuing debt to the American Indian that at the very time Indian unrest stirred deeper social awareness on the part of North Americanists, the discipline as a whole was faced with similar challenges and new questions of ethical and social responsibility around the world (Lurie 1988:556).

Apart from Lurie's chapter, the rest of the volume was less successful in drawing attention to issues of ethics. Frederick Hoxie (2007:19–20) recognized the uneven treatment of the volume, writing that "picking up volume 4 nearly two decades after its publication is a shock. . . . The *History of Indian–White Relations* . . . perpetuates the invisibility Vine Deloria had identified as the Indians' 'foremost plight.'"

Anthropologists' relationships with American Indians, though generally uneasy, were slightly ameliorated after more American Indians began working as anthropologists or in professional anthropological institutions in the late 1800s (see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.). Substantial American Indian involvement in anthropology may be traced back to early Indian anthropologists like Ella Deloria (Yankton Dakota, b. 1889, d. 1971), Arthur C. Parker (Seneca, b. 1881, d. 1955), Edward P. Dozier (Santa Clara Pueblo, b. 1916, d. 1971), Beatrice Medicine (Lakota, b. 1923, d. 2005), and Alfonso Ortiz (San Juan Pueblo, b. 1939, d. 1997). These early Indian anthropologists worked to bridge the chasm between the academic aspects of anthropology and their own worlds, contributing perspectives that offered not only scholarly interpretations of those relationships but also acted as conduits for the American Indian voice to be heard in anthropological circles.

The efforts of these early American Indian anthropologists, as Jojola (1997:11) noted, "made it easier for newer generations to speak for themselves." Still, as Orin Starn, in his discussion on anthropology and its relationships with American Indians (and other Indigenous peoples) postmillennium, wrote, "We an-

thropologists seem once again to be running to the rescue of Indians, this time practicing a new 'salvage anthropology' designed to save them from misunderstanding and ourselves from blindness to other ways of being in the world" (Starn 2011:189).

Contemporary anthropologists and American Indians recognize that the relationships between their two groups have often been rocky (Watkins 2000, 2003, 2012), even when Native Americans might have benefited from anthropologists and their research. Generally, though, anthropologists have been the ones who benefited more fully from their interactions with Native peoples, and much of the "symbiosis" that Lurie recognized in her 1988 chapter might have developed extraneously to the goals of the researchers. Cattelino (2010a:282) noted, "Of all location work undertaken by Americanist anthropologists, perhaps none has been so vexed as the relationship to Indian country."

Ethics and Relationships

Much of the strain on anthropology's relationships with American Indians began with the post–World War II movement of Indians to urban areas away from the reservations. American policy makers in the 1950s, distressed by the living conditions of American Indians on reservations, tried to find ways to force Indians to assimilate into mainstream American society in a two-pronged attack (Burt 2008). Under U.S. House Resolution 108 (1953), the federal government proposed "termination" of the special relationship between tribes and the U.S. government. The Indian Relocation Act of 1956 (Public Law 959) began a government employment and relocation program that encouraged absorption of American Indians into the general population by relocating them off the reservations to large metropolitan areas like Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, and San Francisco (Fixico 2000; Weibel-Orlando 2008).

This concentration of American Indian populations within large urban areas led to impoverished living conditions and rampant unemployment, but it also created the nucleus for the pan-Indian movements that followed. American Indians from many different tribes, bound together by a common heritage (even if coming from different social, tribal, and reservation backgrounds), created urban centers that provided the social and training opportunities the government no longer offered (Weibel-Orlando 2008). These centers also served as the political locations of many young, disenfranchised, and politically active individuals. The American Indian Movement (AIM), for example, started in Minneapolis, Minnesota, as a means to address the issue of extensive police brutality toward American Indians (Deloria 2008; Fixico 2000; Johansen 2013; Waterman and Salinas n.d.; Wittstock and Bancroft 2013) (fig. 1).

In Canada, First Nations and Métis (people of mixed First Nation/American Indian and Euro-American ancestry) were also politically active as they sought to change their status as second-class citizens. The Indian Act of 1868 governed matters pertaining to Indian status, bands, and reserves in Canada, authorizing the Canadian federal government to regulate nearly every aspect of First Nations' rights and day-to-day affairs (Venne 1981). In 1969, Canadian prime minister Pierre Trudeau proposed a white paper ending the special legal relationships between aboriginal peoples and the Canadian state: while First Nations viewed it as the culmination of Canada's long-standing goal of assimilating Indians into mainstream Canadian society, legal scholar John Milloy (2008) asserted the white paper policy of 1969 marked the turning point when the Canadian federal government abandoned its assimilation policy and turned toward a policy of establishing constitutionally protected rights for First Nations. And so, as in the United States, Canadian First Nations groups challenged the status quo and drew attention to centuries-old issues.

Several organized protests related to anthropology during the 1970s were aimed primarily at archaeology and museums (see Watkins 1994:appendix B). American Indians perceived archaeologists as "grave robbers" (Anonymous 1972b:17) and members of a "vulture culture" that fed directly off the dead (Anonymous 1975:1; see "Indigenous North Americans and Archaeology," this vol.). They considered museums "death zoos for tourists," on the same footing as open excavations displaying skeletons of Indian dead. Protests organized by national pan-Indian organizations—such as the AIM's disruption of excavations at Welch, Minnesota, in 1971 and the takeover of a Colorado State University anthropology laboratory by AIM members that same year—forcefully drew national attention to the "scientific looting" of archaeological sites and called upon museums to give back cultural property that had been taken from American Indian cultures. Anthropology as a discipline, buffeted by the social unrest generated by the Vietnam War and questions about anthropology's apparent complicity in it, looked for answers to philosophical questions about relationships between researchers and research subjects and the institutions that presented American Indians as objects. Dell Hymes's *Reinventing Anthropology* called for a more reflective approach to ethnography and proposed a progressive political awareness (Hymes 1974)

Indian Objects and Indians as Objects

Much of the history of museums' relationships with American Indians can be directly tied to the history of museums as institutions (see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology," this vol.). Cultural shifts of the 1960s directly affected museums. The Onondagas' 1969 attempt to regain their wampum belts from the New York State Museum signaled the public onset of American Indian efforts to reclaim their material culture held in museums. Anthropologists were on both sides of the conflict, with Jack A. Frisch, Robert A. Thomas, and Anthony F.C. Wallace supporting the idea of return of cultural artifacts and the Committee on Anthropological Research in Museums (later the Council for Museum Anthropology; Freed et al. 1977) decrying their return. The Onondaga eventually received the belts after complying with other requirements and after the New York State Assembly voted in favor of their return.

American Indians actively fought to be included in the decisions made by anthropological or museum communities about what to display, how to interpret the material, and the extent of Indian involvement in the process. Museum professionals were quick to recognize some of the issues the tribes were voicing. Nason (1971:14) outlined three basic criticisms American Indian groups made against museums: that some (or all) of the materials were collected by "immoral or illicit means"; that the collections were amassed "to satisfy societal drives based on materialistic greed or . . . cultural imperialism"; and that collections generally are maintained "in such a way that Indians are excluded from any contact with or relationship with their material heritage." McBride (1971:11) wrote that museums could improve their relations with Native American groups by working with living Indians "rather than by confining all our efforts to artifacts of the nineteenth century." Both of these museum professionals were interested in the relationships between American Indian groups and the "business" of museums, and both discussed dealing with the desires of Native groups for the return of materials in museum collections at the time when AIM members occupied the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles in 1971 in an effort to get American Indian human remains and sensitive material out of public displays.

The passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (P.L. 95-241; see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.) led tribal members to question the legal (and moral) rights of museums to hold artifacts of a sacred or religious nature or derived from funerary contexts (Blair 1979b). The act called for "the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions . . . including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites." Section 2 of the act called for the "various Federal departments . . . responsible for administering relevant laws to evaluate their policies and procedures in consultation with native traditional religious leaders in order to determine appropriate changes necessary to protect and preserve Native American religious cultural rights and practices." Ten consultations with American Indian groups were held throughout the United States in 1979 to obtain input on the various federal agencies' regulations. The report on those consultations, issued in August 1979 (Andrus 1979), listed American Indian groups' concerns about access to and protection of cemeteries, burials, and sacred objects (primarily those in museum collections). In many ways, the act laid the groundwork for much of what became codified in later repatriation legislation.

Photograph by Warren K. Leffler, July 11, 1978. Library of Congress (LC-DIG-ds-00753).

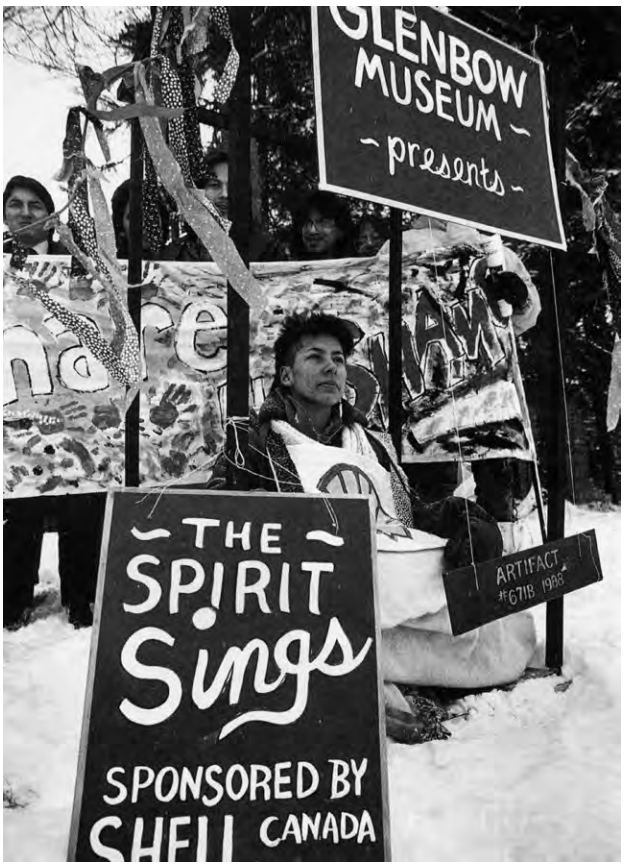
Fig. 1. American Indian sit-in protest. Tipi with sign "American Indian Movement" on the grounds of the Washington Monument in Washington, DC, during the Longest Walk.

The conversations (and occasional confrontations) that began in the 1970s and 1980s culminated in the passage of the National Museum of the American Indian Act in 1989 and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in 1990 (discussed in detail in "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). They also had direct impacts on emerging philosophical discussions on anthropological museums and their relationships with the people whose cultures were being depicted. More recently, anthropologists such as Isaac (2007) at Zuni Pueblo and Cogdill (2013) at Pojoaque Pueblo have examined the relationships between American Indian groups and museums (see also "Cultural Heritage Laws" and "'A New Dream Museum,'" this vol.). In this regard, tribal groups are actively establishing venues to provide their own interpretation of their culture and extend their own sense of representation in their cultural institutions.

In Canada, the relationships between Canadian museums and First Nations began shifting as a result of the Lubicon Lake Cree protest of the exhibit *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples* at the Glenbow Museum during the Calgary 1988 Winter Olympics (Atkinson 2014:37) (fig. 2). The protest, which grew into a boycott that drew support from other First Nations, took issue with the way in which museums represented their cultures as archaic, static, and no longer evolving (figs. 3, 4**)**. It also called into question why museums assumed the right to exhibit precious ill-gotten cultural artifacts and to interpret and represent aboriginal culture (see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology," this vol.).

Since then, First Peoples and Canadian museums have continued to work toward more equitable partnerships, primarily on a regional and provincial basis. Additionally, archaeological training programs, such as the program at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, British Columbia, are ongoing at both the master's degree level (cf. Hammond 2009) and the doctoral level (cf. Klassen 2013). These examine the shared stewardship ideals of First Nations and academic programs, especially related to heritage issues (see "Indigenous North Americans and Archaeology," this vol.).

Control over access to materials held in museums is now undergoing radical changes, as digitization initiatives reconfigure what it means to be in a museum collection. The growing number of digital networks, such as the Reciprocal Research Network (Rowley 2013; see "Emergent Digital Networks," this vol.), and 3D printing (Hollinger et al. 2013; see "3D Digital Replication," this vol.) raise issues that might not have existed as recently as 20 years ago. What does it mean to "repatriate" and "return" objects when technologies are available to allow others to "re-create" special objects? Is "digital repatriation"—whereby museums



Photograph by Bill Lindsay, J. David Galway, *Chronicle Journal* (Thunder Bay, Ontario, Canada).

Fig. 2. Rebecca Belmore performance titled Artifact #671B. Outside Thunder Bay Art Gallery, Thunder Bay, Ontario, 1988. https://www.rebeccabelmore.com/artifact-671b/

Smithsonian Institution Archives (MNH-43446B).

Fig. 3. Museum "ethnographic mannequin" group (Cocopa Indians, Desert Dwellers). Visitors at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History at the opening of the new Hall of American Indians and Eskimos (1957).

Smithsonian Institution Archives (2013-03917).

Fig. 4. Anthropology curator John Ewers in front of a diorama ("life group") featuring Polar Eskimo, today's name Inughuit (Thule Inuit) in the Hall of American Indians and Eskimos, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

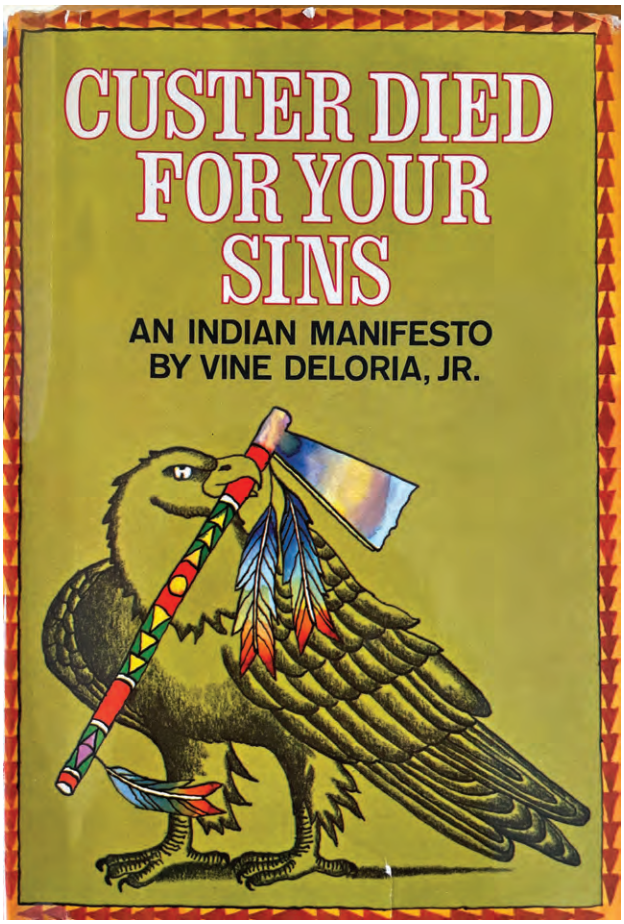


Fig. 5. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (1969), by Vine Deloria, Jr., book cover.

retain the physical object while tribal members get exact replicas—good enough for future events?

In some regards, archaeologists should have focused on developing stronger relationships with American Indians since archaeological excavation and research are often undertaken on American Indian archaeological sites. Archaeologists generally work to acquire and preserve information, most of which is derived from artifacts and their context. They do not conduct research to acquire the artifacts themselves but rather are interested in those artifacts for the information they can provide about the society that produced them.

The scathing critique of anthropologists in Vine Deloria's 1969 *Custer Died for Your Sins* shook up many anthropologists at a time when they were uncertain of their relationships with contemporary Native groups (fig. 5). While the critique did not necessarily galvanize American Indians to protest, it created a contemporary context that raised historical issues. Perhaps as an outgrowth of this criticism, in 1974 the National Park Service awarded a grant to the Society for American Archaeology to fund "Six Seminars on the Future Direction of Archaeology" (McGimsey and Davis 1977). One of these seminars, "Archaeology and Native Americans," reviewed the relationship between archaeologists and American Indians in order to "alleviate misunderstanding, to increase communication, to sensitize archaeologists to Native American concerns, and to sensitize Native Americans to the capability of archaeology to contribute to an understanding of the heritage we have all gained from Native American cultures" (McGimsey and Davis l977:90). This was one of the first attempts to "institutionalize" archaeologists' approach to the conflict between them and American Indians, and it is interesting to note that the framers of the seminars considered American Indians' concerns to be one of the six major issues facing the discipline at that time.

Individual archaeologists continued to work with tribal groups to expand American Indian involvement

with archaeology. Zimmerman (1999) presented a handful of projects designed to more directly integrate American Indian concerns and archaeology in Iowa and South Dakota. George Nicholas's work on the Kamloops Indian Reserve, as part of the partnership between Simon Fraser University and the Secwépemc Cultural Education Society, led to archaeological field schools between 1991 and 2010 that provided training and tools to tribal members to help them do their archaeological work (Nicholas 2014). Janet Spector's work with Dakota people on the "What This Awl Means" project from 1980 to 1985 brought feminist perspectives as well as tribal perspectives into archaeology (Spector 1993). Much of what was happening during the 1980s and 1990s related directly to archaeologists and Native peoples learning to work with one another (see "Indigenous North Americans and Archaeology," this vol.).

On a global scale, the development of the World Archaeological Congress (WAC) in 1986 (Gero 1999) created a model for engagement between archaeologists and Indigenous people. From its inception, WAC insisted on recognizing that science, far from being politically neutral, constitutes a value system linked to dominant social interests. Since 1986, WAC has explicitly valued diversity against institutionalized mechanisms that marginalize the cultural heritage of Indigenous peoples, minorities, and the poor. WAC's strength lies in its wide-reaching reliance on Indigenous practitioners, community elders, and other "wisdom keepers" to stay involved. Although it falls short of having true political power to initiate and create change within the profession rather than influencing the perspectives of a small subset of professional archaeologists, it does to an extent influence the writings and actions of people who are active members of the profession.

Anthropology's Reactions: Perceived Responsibilities and Codes of Ethics

Perhaps in response to the questions raised by American Indians about anthropology's complicity, utility, and ties to colonialism, various anthropological organizations conducted a series of self-examinations, resulting in various codes of ethics to guide professional actions. These codes have been seen as evidence of growing professionalization of the discipline.

Cultural anthropologists and archaeologists have been at the forefront of developing codes of ethics to guide their actions in their dealings with the people they study, but linguistic and biological anthropologists have also adopted codes in reaction to ethical questions and concerns. Most linguistic anthropologists operate within the general ethics codes of cultural anthropology such as those provided by the American Anthropological Association (AAA), whereas biological anthropology borrows methods from biomedical and ethnographic research. Even though members of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists (AAPA, now the American Association of Biological Anthropologists) approved a separate code of ethics in 2003, this code closely resembles (and is clearly derived from) the AAA code of ethics that was in place at that time (AAPA 2003). This is not surprising since the AAA code was developed through discussions with representatives of anthropology's four subfields as well as with members at large from even more diverse subspecialties of the four primary disciplinary fields of anthropology.

"Vulnerable Populations"

The development of anthropological codes of ethics did not happen in a vacuum but rather derived a great deal from ongoing issues relating to research on human subjects. Modern protections for human subjects began with the 10-point Nuremberg Code developed for the Nuremberg military tribunal in 1947 as standards by which to judge the human experimentation conducted by Nazi scientists and doctors in 1933–1945 (Trials 1949). The Nuremberg Code captured many of what are now taken to be the basic principles governing the ethical conduct of research involving human subjects, most notably the first provision of the code, which states that "the voluntary consent of the human subject is absolutely essential" (fig. 6). The World Medical Association made similar recommendations in its "Declaration of Helsinki: Recommendations Guiding Medical Doctors in Biomedical Research Involving Human Subjects," first adopted by the Eighteenth World Medical Association's General Assembly in Helsinki, Finland, in 1964, and subsequently revised several times between 1975 and 2013 (World Medical Association 2017).

In the United States, regulations protecting human subjects first became effective on May 30, 1974. The 1974 passage of the National Research Act established the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research. The commission met from 1974 to 1978, and its final report, known as the *Belmont Report* (U.S. Health and Human Services 1979), set forth the basic ethical principles that underlie the conduct of biomedical and behavioral research involving human subjects. Those principles—respect for persons, beneficence, and

National Archives Catalog, Tuskegee Syphilis Study Administrative Records, 1929–1972 (824601 and 824606).

Fig. 6. Taking blood tests from participants in the Tuskegee Syphilis Study.

justice—are now accepted as the three basic requirements for the ethical conduct of research involving human subjects. The *Belmont Report* also described specifically how these principles apply to the conduct of research. The principle of respect for persons underlies the need to obtain informed consent; the principle of beneficence underlies the need to engage in a risk-benefit analysis and to minimize risks; and the principle of justice requires that subjects be fairly selected. As mandated by the congressional charge to the commission, the *Belmont Report* also provides a distinction between "practice" and "research." On June 18, 1991, the Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects (or "Common Rule," as it is more generally called) was promulgated by the 16 federal agencies that conduct, support, or regulate human subject research. As implied by its title, it is designed to make the human subject's protection system uniform in all relevant federal agencies and departments.

In Canada, the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (2010) was submitted by the Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics to the Canadian Institutes for Health Research (CIHR), the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERCC), and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SHRCC)—the three main agencies involved in Canada's federal research system. The policy is intended to promote the highest ethical standards for research involving human populations in Canada. While its chapter 9, "Research Involving the First Nations, Inuit and Métis Peoples of Canada," is most relevant here, the entire document sets out Canada's perspectives on federal research related to human populations.

Cultural Anthropology

Like other aspects of anthropology, cultural anthropology has had to deal with negative perceptions of museums and the discipline of archaeology. It has struggled to deal with ethical issues concerning its relationships with American Indian groups (Fluehr-Lobban 2003, 2013) and other Indigenous groups more broadly.

In spite of anthropology's long relationships with and reliance on American Indians as subjects of study, the field did not have a written set of guidelines either delineating or suggesting its own set of moral principles or values prior to 1948, when the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA) formulated its first statement on ethics. The foundational development of anthropology's formal codes of ethics can be seen to have come about as a result of wartime and the interjection of anthropology in the "national cause." In 1919, Franz Boas, founder of the American Folklore Society, the American Ethnological Association, and the AAA, protested the intelligencegathering activities of four anthropologists during World War I (FluehrLobban 2003). In World War II, however, anthropology was placed firmly at the disposal of the national government in order to support the successful prosecution of the war in the Pacific, South Asia, and South America and later in Europe. Many anthropologists also found employment in other federal programs such as the Indian Claims Commission (Lurie 1957).

The social unrest caused by the Vietnam War and the complicity of anthropologists in Latin America related to Project Camelot, a counterinsurgency study begun by the United States Army to enhance the Army's ability to predict and influence social developments in foreign countries (Horowitz 1967; Silvert 1965), led to the AAA's 1970 "Statement of Professional Responsibility," a draft code of ethics subsequently adopted by the membership as the Principles of Professional Responsibility in 1971 (American An-

thropological Association 1971). The code identified six responsibilities, but the first—"relations with those studied"—called attention to what was perceived to be the anthropologist's paramount responsibility: to the people studied and not to sponsoring institutions, host governments, or even the discipline.

This code was in effect until the membership voted on and approved another revision of the AAA Code of Ethics in 1998 (American Anthropological Association 1998). That code indicated a shift in intent in the discipline. The 1998 code advised practitioners that they have "ethical obligations to the people, species, and material they study and to the people with whom they work" [III(A)(1)]. The 1998 code exhorted the anthropologist to "work for the longterm conservation of the archaeological, fossil, and historical records," to "consult actively with the affected individuals or group(s), with the goal of establishing a working relationship that can be beneficial to all parties involved," and to seek "informed consent" from the persons being studied in advance of fieldwork.

The AAA again revised its Code of Ethics in 2009, choosing to create "guiding principles" as an alternative to "suggestions" for practice. These guiding principles move the burden of ethical decision-making from the association to the individual anthropologist. The style of the 2009 code is more open, written in plain language, and generally philosophical in nature, including fundamental concepts such as "do no harm," "be open and honest regarding your work," "obtain informed consent and necessary permissions," "weigh competing ethical obligations due collaborators and affected parties," "make your results accessible," "protect and preserve your records," and "maintain respectful and ethical professional relationships" (American Anthropological Association 2009). A final revision was posted in 2012 but with minimal changes (American Anthropological Association 2012).

In Canada, the development of codes of ethics has been notably absent. The Canadian Anthropological Society (CASCA) polled its membership in 2015 about whether it needed a formal code of ethics of its own. Sources that CASCA lists for its members include the codes of ethics and guidelines for ethical research practices of the AAA, the Australian Anthropological Association, and the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth, among others.

The AAA has modified many of its own perspectives on research involving human subjects and has fallen in step with the biomedical research approach reflected in the research policies of many federal agencies. Most researchers operating in an academic setting are required to go before institutional review boards (IRBs) to regulate their interactions with research subjects. IRBs, however, given their origin within biomedical practice, generally do not reflect the methods and values of anthropology. In addition, many American Indian tribes have adapted the IRB format in establishing their own tribal boards to review anthropological proposals for research on or involving tribal members. In Canada, research ethics boards (REBs) serve the same purpose as the IRBs: they determine the impact of research on human populations and decide whether to allow the researcher to conduct that research.

Anthropologists not based in an academic setting—that is, applied or practicing anthropologists—are guided more by the AAA Code of Ethics and codes developed by their specific professional organization (such as the SfAA or the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology).

Archaeology

Archaeology has struggled with defining the ethical structure to be imposed on its practitioners since the establishment of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) in 1934. The SAA's constitution and bylaws speak against "securing, hoarding, exchanging, buying, or selling of archaeological objects" for personal satisfaction or profit (article I, section 2) and allow the society the right to drop from its rolls anyone who habitually commercializes archaeological objects or sites (Society for American Archaeology 1977:308–312). In 1961, Champe et al. (1961:137–138) provided additional guidance. The establishment of the Code of Ethics and Standards of Research Performance of the Society of Professional Archaeologists in 1977 (restructured as the Register of Professional Archaeologists in 1998) created the first formal codes to which members had to agree in order to gain or maintain membership.

In 1993, the SAA convened a twoday workshop in Reno, Nevada, to reexamine its stance on ethics and the practice of archaeology. The workshop resulted in six principles that structure the SAA's code of ethics (Lynott and Wylie 2000): (1) stewardship, (2) accountability, (3) commercialization, (4) public education and outreach, (5) intellectual property, and (6) records and preservation. A consultation following the publication and presentation of the principles resulted in the development of two additional principles dealing with (1) public reporting and publication and (2) training and resources. Lynott (1997:592–593) gives a short history of the development of the SAA's ethics policy.

Beyond the ethical codes established by the major U.S. professional organizations, actions by other organizations have also had a direct impact. In Au-

gust 1989, the WAC InterCongress on Archaeological Ethics and the Treatment of the Dead in Vermillion, South Dakota, resulted in the passage of the so called Vermillion Accord, founded on an overarching concept of "respect and on negotiation and recognition that the concerns of various ethnic groups and science are legitimate and to be respected" (Zimmerman and Bruguier 1994:6). In 1990, members of the WAC II in Barquisimeto, Venezuela, adopted the First Code of Ethics: Members' Obligations to Indigenous Peoples. With eight "Principles to Abide By" and seven "Rules to Adhere To," the code gives direction to archaeology "in the profession's dealings with indigenous peoples" (Zimmerman and Bruguier 1994:6–8).

Other anthropological associations have developed their own codes of ethics. The Plains Anthropological Society (PAS) is composed of anthropologists whose work lies primarily within the Great Plains of North America, and its code of ethics (2014) covers stewardship; accountability, reporting, and public outreach; commercialization; intellectual property; and professionalism, qualifications, training, and resources. Members of the PAS agree to abide by the code of ethics when they first join and subsequently renew their memberships.

These codes of ethics should not be viewed as the *maximum* amount of consideration that an archaeologist exercises in relation to American Indians (or other cultures) but rather as the *minimum* amount of effort to be expended. Additionally, several of these—especially the WAC's principles regarding control of cultural heritage—have found their way into several articles of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People.

Museums

The code of ethics of the American Association (now Alliance) of Museums was developed in 1991, shortly after the passage of the two major U.S. repatriation laws. It addressed the conflict between the basic functions of museums to protect and preserve material culture for future generations and the contemporary needs of the people whose material culture was within those museums. It brought attention to the fact that the display of human remains was ethical only in situations where that display was absolutely necessary to carry out the educational mission of the museum. The code was amended in 2000 (American Alliance of Museums 2000).

The International Council of Museums (ICOM) adopted its ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums in 1986 and revised it in 2004 (ICOM 2013). The code established values and principles and set minimum standards for professional practice and performance of museums and their staff. Of particular relevance is its principle 6, which counsels museums to "work in close collaboration with the communities from which their collections originate as well as those they serve" (ICOM 2013:10).

Numerous authors have addressed the issue of museum ethics and Indigenous representation in museums in North America and more generally (Edson 1997; Lonetree 2012; Simpson 1996). Michael Ames (2000, 2004), the director of the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology from 1974 to 1997, followed on the work of Carter (1994) to explore the progress made by museums in their relationships with First Nations in Canada. A more recent overview of the ethical issues related to museum work examined the continuing development and evolution of the ethical practices of museums in the twenty-first century (Marstine 2011). It draws attention not only to the contingent nature of museum ethics in relation to community but also to the objects within museums' care.

American Indian perspectives on museums and representation are presented in other chapters (see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology" and "'A New Dream Museum,'" this vol.), but the relationships between museums and American Indians/First Nations have been varied and inconsistent. Federal legislation guides or influences many of these relationships, but Canada has no such federal policy since Canadian authority related to internal affairs is mostly a provincial matter. Atkinson (2014:38) noted that the Canadian province of British Columbia continues to work with local First Nations to increase the amount of collaboration and cooperation. The University of British Columbia's (UBC) Museum of Anthropology maintains relationships with local and national groups, and its Reciprocal Research Network (Rowley 2013) is one of a handful of forward-looking methods that increase and allow better collaboration between the museum and its tribal constituencies (see "Emergent Digital Networks," this vol.). The museum's "Guidelines for Repatriation" (2000) notes that the museum continues to work "respectfully with the originating communities from whom the Museum's collections have originated."

"Returning the Ancestors": Repatriation's Impacts

Throughout the protests of the early 1970s, American Indians worked to draw attention to the number of American Indian skeletal remains held within museums, but it was not only pan-Indian protests that

created the impetus for change. In 1971, Maria Pearson (Hai-Mecha Eunka, b. 1932, d. 2003), a Yankton Dakota activist who successfully challenged the legal status of Native American human remains, began her work to overturn procedures in Iowa that had resulted in the unequal treatment of American Indian and non-Indian human remains.

Road construction near Glenwood, Iowa, uncovered the remains of 26 white burials and the remains of a Native American mother and child. The non-Indian remains were quickly reburied, but the Native American remains were sent to a lab for study until their historic significance could be determined, as required by existing Iowa law. Iowa governor Robert D. Ray agreed that the differential treatment of the human remains was discriminatory, and the ensuing controversy led to the passage of the Iowa Burials Protection Act of 1976. The Iowa law was the first legislative act in the United States that specifically protected Native American remains and provided equal treatment of human remains under the law (Anderson 1985). Pearson's actions are also considered to be a catalyst for the creation of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990 (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.).

American Indians have benefited from the repatriation laws in various ways. Some tribes have been able to regain the remains of their ancestors for reburial (or, in some instances, initial burial). This practice has lessened the social hardships experienced by some tribes. Other tribes, such as the Zuni and the Onondaga, have been able to regain ownership and control over items of cultural importance to their people. Additionally, museums and American Indians have developed a truce concerning collections and ethnographic information provided in museum displays.

American Indians believe that NAGPRA and its regulations are deficient in some areas, such as the continued scientific study of human remains, the inconsistent application of repatriation statutes to extremely old material, the involvement of non–federally recognized tribes in repatriating human remains, the nonrepatriation of materials found on private land, and the problematic status of materials that are important to particular members within a tribe but that do not meet the definitions of "sacred items" or "items of cultural patrimony." Surely, other issues will arise in the future. Those involved in repatriation hope that, through careful consideration of the history of repatriation and the ongoing struggle to find a middle ground where all interested parties can meet, repatriation will prove to be a benefit.

The call for repatriation of Native American human remains and cultural objects has initiated conversations as well as conflict and collaboration among anthropologists in museum studies, government agencies, and academic areas. Some of the discussions have been tinged with rancor ("archaeologists may well be legislated out of business," Meighan 1992:706), whereas others have been somewhat amicable. The American Committee for the Preservation of Archaeological Collections (ACPAC) held it is the "professional and ethical duty of scholars to observe their responsibility to preserve and maintain for study by qualified scholars all archaeological collections obtained in the course of field investigations" (Quigley 2001:209). Other archaeologists favored changes in the decision-making structure to allow Native concerns to be equitably considered together with those of archaeology and biological anthropology (Goldstein and Kintigh 1990). In the more than 30 years since the passage of these repatriation laws in the United States, relationships have waxed and waned, and the future of those relationships remains unknowable and unforeseeable.

Straining the Seams: *Darkness in El Dorado*

In November 2000, the AAA meeting in San Francisco was embroiled in examining allegations that respected geneticist James Neel and then neophyte anthropologist Napoleon Chagnon were involved in 1968 in unethical (and deadly) research practices involving the Yanomami, a South American tribe of the Amazon rainforest. Journalist Patrick Tierney, in his popular book *Darkness in El Dorado: How Scientists and Journalists Devastated the Amazon* (2000), alleged that Neel and Chagnon purposely infected the Yanomami with measles in order to examine the impact of the disease on isolated populations (see Anonymous n.d.; Borofsky 2005; Dreger 2011; Gregor and Gross 2004; Pels 2005; Turner 2001).

The fallout of the controversy was immense and immediate. Some anthropologists immediately called for censure of the accused, whereas others came to the immediate defense of those same accused. The discipline reeled as group after group lined up to cast aspersions or create saintly images. The AAA created a task force to determine whether there was any substance to Tierney's allegations and then another task force to determine whether there was any indication of ethical malfeasance by the anthropologists involved. The task forces' findings were ultimately presented as a two-volume report (American Anthropological Association 2002) and continued to stir controversy (Borofsky 2005; Dreger 2011; Gregor and Gross 2004). While the *Darkness in El Dorado* controversy was not about anthropologists' relationships with

North American Indians, the fallout and aftermath of the controversy affected anthropology's relationships with Indigenous peoples everywhere. The controversy brought the question of research ethics in the anthropological enterprise into the public eye and reverberated throughout the world. Indigenous populations viewed the accusations as truth, and fieldwork opportunities suffered, but some (Borofsky 2005) thought the situation should be used as a teaching moment for professionals and students in anthropology. "Business as usual" was interrupted, and the controversy led anthropologists to engage in a great deal of introspection on the field's relationships with "vulnerable" research populations.

Trails to Contemporary Relationships

Deloria's *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969) forced anthropologists to become more aware of the feelings that American Indians held toward them. Nearly 30 years later, *Indians and Anthropologists: Vine Deloria, Jr., and the Critique of Anthropology* (Biolsi and Zimmerman 1997a) presented the views of a group of anthropologists on the impact of Deloria's writings on them personally and on American anthropology in general.

Although Biolsi and Zimmerman discussed both the challenges that anthropology has met and those on which it has fallen short, they also recognized that the discipline has worked to ensure that American Indian concerns are aired more openly. National archaeology organizations in particular continue to make strides in helping ensure that American Indian concerns are at least acknowledged. In 1993, the *SAA Bulletin* initiated a "Working Together" column to document archaeologists' attempts to further involve American Indians in their work. In addition, the SAA created a Committee on Native American Relations in 1995 and a Committee on Repatriation in 1996.

Some may view these actions as positive steps in the opening of archeology to its many publics, but as of 2018, no real shift in authority or power has happened. "Interested parties" still have a minority position when it comes to interpreting and implementing various aspects of the archaeological enterprise. It is highly unlikely that the members of the SAA who are currently privileged in the process will freely turn over control to nonacademic communities, regardless of the intentions of those communities. Those whose financial and professional livelihood depends on the professional practice of archaeology are unlikely to cede control to other groups without recognizing that archaeology will have to change as it becomes more closely tied to social and political aspects of the cultures around it.

As Nicholas (2008) noted, "Indigenous archaeology" developed as a means of better including North American Indigenous groups in the discipline as both practitioners and beneficiaries, but it is not without its detractors (see also "Indigenous North Americans and Archaeology," this vol.). Given the complexity of the issues involved, change is unlikely to happen easily. Several archaeologists, among them Million (2005) and Zimmerman (2008), have pointed out that making real collaboration work will require both methodological and epistemological shifts, including perhaps a reexamination of the foundational ideas underlying the SAA's main principle on stewardship (Zimmerman 2012).

Such issues between the academy and non-European populations are also arising beyond North America. *Decolonizing Methodologies* (Tuhiwai Smith 1999) was the first of many volumes to call for examining how academics' methodologies influence the impacts of their studies on Indigenous and other nonmainstream populations or groups of people (cf. Brown and Strega 2015; Chilisa 2012; Denzin et al. 2008; Kovach 2009; Mihesuah 1998; Wilson and Yellow Bird 2005). These sorts of critical approaches to the underlying tenets of research have had, and will continue to have, impacts on the relationships between research and human societies.

Expanding Borders

Various professional organizations and anthropological societies have worked to expand the involvement of tribal groups and members in the field and subfields of anthropology. Dawn Makes Strong Move of the Ho-Chunk Nation in Wisconsin (formerly known as the Wisconsin Winnebago Tribe), a trained archaeologist, was awarded the first PAS Native American Scholarship in 1994; since then, the society has continued to offer scholarships for Native American students. In 1998, Angela Neller, a Native Hawaiian (Neller 2015), was awarded the SAA's first scholarship in support of archaeological training for Native Americans who are students or employees of tribal, Alaska Native, or Native Hawaiian cultural preservation programs. In addition, National Science Foundation grants administered by the SAA are also awarded annually. To Zimmerman (1997), this is part of the "remythologizing process" that has allowed anthropology to convince itself that it has supported Indigenous people all along.

Individual American Indians continue to be involved with anthropology in specific discipline-oriented situations. The "Closet Chickens" (Watkins

and Nichols 2013) is an informal group of about 50 practicing archaeologists who communicate infrequently about issues related primarily to American Indian concerns with archaeology. The nucleus of the group developed out of a conference held at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire, in May 2001 titled "On the Threshold: Native American-Archaeologist Relations in the Twenty-first Century" and funded by the Wenner-Gren Foundation. The conference brought together a large number of archaeologists of Native American heritage to evaluate the relationships between archaeologists and Native American communities and to look at the impact of the discipline on Native Americans who practice archaeology. While not all members of the group are American Indian, they have tended to focus on American Indian issues and serve as a support system for young archaeologists who often feel themselves to be working outside of the concerns of the mainstream of archaeology (see Echo-Hawk [2010:60–62] for a more critical vision). Additionally, the AAA's Association of Indigenous Anthropologists (AIA), although broader in scope than American Indians, also serves as a forum where individuals of American Indian, First Nation, and others of Indigenous heritage can meet and discuss issues deemed relevant.

Within archaeology, perhaps the greatest direct impact may be attributed to the development of the Tribal Historic Preservation Program through the National Park Service. Amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act in 1992 allowed tribes to take over the responsibilities of state preservation officials on tribal land (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). Twelve tribes had certified tribal historic preservation officers in 1996, and as of January 2018, 177 tribes had formally taken over the functions of the state historic preservation officer on tribal lands. Some tribes, such as the Navajo Nation of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah, have their own IRBs and manage various types of research other than archaeology. Although this development does not speak directly to anthropology's relations with American Indians, it speaks to the idea that tribes are actively involved in protecting and conducting research.

Conclusion

Since the publication of Nancy Lurie's chapter "Relations between Indians and Anthropologists" in the *Handbook* volume *History of Indian–White Relations* (Lurie 1988; Washburn 1988a), the interactions between American Indians and anthropologists have shifted. Lurie finished her chapter thinking about the loss of the symbiotic relationship between those who study American Indians and the American Indians themselves, but that relationship was never as "symbiotic" as Lurie believed. There were occasional positive outcomes that were beneficial to tribal interests, especially in land claims where anthropologists served on one side or another, but mostly anthropologists maintained strictly a research interest in the tribal enterprise.

With the social unrest of the 1960s and 1970s, anthropology was brought to task for its perceived ties to colonial governments and programs, and the increasing political and societal power of American Indians led them to question the carte blanche researchers had held on issues related to Native American history, origins, and heritage. Anthropology met the civil unrest of the 1960s with introspection that led to recognition of the need for ethical guidance for the discipline. No longer free to operate secretly within government agencies, anthropologists felt the need to monitor and mentor practitioners concerning what was "acceptable." Through the following decades, as the various codes of ethics were better ensconced in the disciplinary frameworks, practitioners became more assured that their research subjects were better protected. Archaeologists began trying to bring American Indians into the fold of a discipline that was once viewed by American Indians as a "vulture culture" or "grave robber" culture. Continuing with an "if they only knew what we did" attitude was no longer possible. As more and more Indigenous practitioners became members of the anthropological societies, it became necessary for the discipline to adapt with an eye toward change and inclusion.

It is interesting to look back on the *Handbook* series, given the perspectives of its original proposers. Both Sol Tax and William C. Sturtevant, the series general editor, sought to address American Indian issues nationally through the encyclopedic presentation of those issues. It seems, however, that the *Handbook*'s multiple authors were generally afraid to "apply" their work toward solving contemporary problems; instead, they created "objective" descriptions of the issues from a top-down academic perspective. The first volumes of the *Handbook* were published 40 years ago; since that time, tribal situations in the United States, Canada, and Mexico have changed drastically thanks to the expansive exercise of tribal sovereignty and the economic benefits and issues raised by new opportunities, such as tribal casinos, mining, and tourism. As American Indians continue to expand their social power, they are poised to take a more active role in the anthropological research enterprise.

The theme of the 2017 annual meeting of the AAA was "Anthropology Matters." At the meeting, the

AIA sponsored a roundtable discussion, made up of mostly American Indian anthropologists, titled "Does Anthropology Matter to American Indians?" One of the participants, anthropologist Terry Scott Ketchum (Oklahoma Choctaw Nation), noted that the consensus of the session was that anthropology *can* matter and that many current applied uses of anthropology contribute to American Indian communities. According to Ketchum, several issues stood out: the small number of American Indian and Alaska Natives with doctorates in anthropology, the scarcity of mentors, and concerns about peer review for Indigenous anthropologists, given that reviewers can be hostile to what they see as opposing views.

It is uncertain what direction anthropological ethics in North America will take in the early decades of the twenty-first century. The discipline can revert to the approach it took before it became aware of its responsibilities to contemporary cultures, or it can move toward a more humanistic vision that embraces the opportunity to learn from and with those cultures. If the discipline chooses to focus more on the academic and business practices of anthropology than on its responsibilities to the people it studies, it is probable that it will lose any relevance or utility to contemporary cultures.

It is revealing to watch the ongoing evolution in perspective as anthropology's ethical principles have moved from being restrictive, in which practitioners were counseled to "do no harm," to being more reflective and proactive, in which practitioners are encouraged to consider the impacts of their actions. One group, the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA), actually counsels its members to "do some good" (Briody and Pester 2015).

Additional Readings

Readers interested in the growth and development of anthropology's codes of ethics should start with Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban's *Ethics and the Profession of Anthropology: Dialogue for a New Era* (2003) and *Ethics and Anthropology: Ideas and Practice* (2013) for basics on the topic. Additionally, many professional anthropological organizations offer specific codes (or similarly titled documents) that guide the actions of the organization's members; an internet search of the particular organization name and "ethics" yields appropriate results, such as those of the American Alliance of Museums (2000), the American Anthropological Association (2012), the American Association of Physical Anthropologists (2003), the Plains Anthropological Society (2014), and the Society for American Archaeology (2016).

Several volumes have been written on repatriation, with Devon Mihesuah's *Repatriation Reader: Who Owns American Indian Remains?* (2000), Cressida Fforde's *Collecting the Dead: Archaeology and the Reburial Issue* (2004), and Chip Colwell's *Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits: Inside the Fight to Reclaim Native America's Culture* (2017) offering authoritative summaries of various perspectives. Thomas Killion's *Opening Archaeology: Repatriation's Impact on Contemporary Research and Practice* (2008) also provides insights from several Native and non-Native archaeologists on repatriation issues. Stephen Silliman's (2008) *Collaborating at the Trowel's Edge: Teaching and Learning in Indigenous Archaeology* provides examples of the ways that archaeological field schools can be used to strengthen overall relationships, as well as to provide broad-based educational opportunities, for archaeology students and American Indian communities.

For readers interested specifically in repatriation and reburial, Colwell's *Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits* (2017) and Samuel J. Redman's *Bone Rooms: From Scientific Racism to Human Prehistory in Museums* (2016) are two recent volumes that offer good perspectives and background.

Perhaps the most recent area of ethical issues relating to American Indian/Native American populations concerns modern and ancient DNA (paleogenomic) studies. Kim TallBear offers a broad look at the impact of DNA use on Native American identity politics in *Native American DNA: Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science* (2013b), and Garrison (2018) writes about the uses of popular ancestry tests and their potential implications for Native American tribes and communities. There are no institutionalized ethical guidelines concerning ethical DNA research on humans, but Bardill et al. (2018) and Alpaslan-Roodenberg et al. (2021) offer insights into creating more ethical guidelines for such studies.

Indigenous North Americans and Archaeology

GEORGE NICHOLAS, DOROTHY LIPPERT, AND STEPHEN LORING

Native Americans' relationship with the discipline of archaeology has been shaped by centuries of historical circumstances, political engagement, and changing research agendas, in connection with Indigenous efforts to maintain or regain control over their affairs. At different times, archaeologists were seen (and often acted) as agents of colonialism or grave robbers but also as allies or even employees of tribes. In the twenty-first century, with the increasing number of Native American archaeologists, the terms *archaeologist* and *Indigenous* are no longer mutually exclusive.

There is no one attitude toward archaeology among Indigenous people. While some do not find it a meaningful way of relating to the past, others have embraced it as a tool that can be reconstructed and used in culturally appropriate ways. Nonetheless, professional archaeology still presents an artificial boundary that has often served to separate peoples and communities from their heritage and history.

This chapter focuses on Indigenous North Americans' engagement with archaeology—its historical development, contemporary practice, and future prospects and challenges. A rich, sometimes contentious, discourse has developed since the 1970s on indigenousness, ethnicity, and ethnogenesis; alternative modes of stewardship and heritage management; the protection of sacred places and cultural landscapes; bioarchaeology and genetics; intellectual property and intangible heritage; the role of oral history and traditional knowledge; and social justice and human rights. These and other topics reflect new opportunities for archaeology in response to technological advancements, changing theoretical regimes and interpretive methods, or political issues and ethical concerns relating to sovereignty, repatriation, tribal recognition, and decolonization.

The term *Native American* is used in this chapter in its most inclusive form, to refer to the many distinct Indigenous nations, including Native American tribes and tribal communities in the United States; First Nations, Métis, and Inuit in Canada; and *los indios* in Mexico. The terms *Indigenous*, *Aboriginal*, and *Native* are considered synonymous.

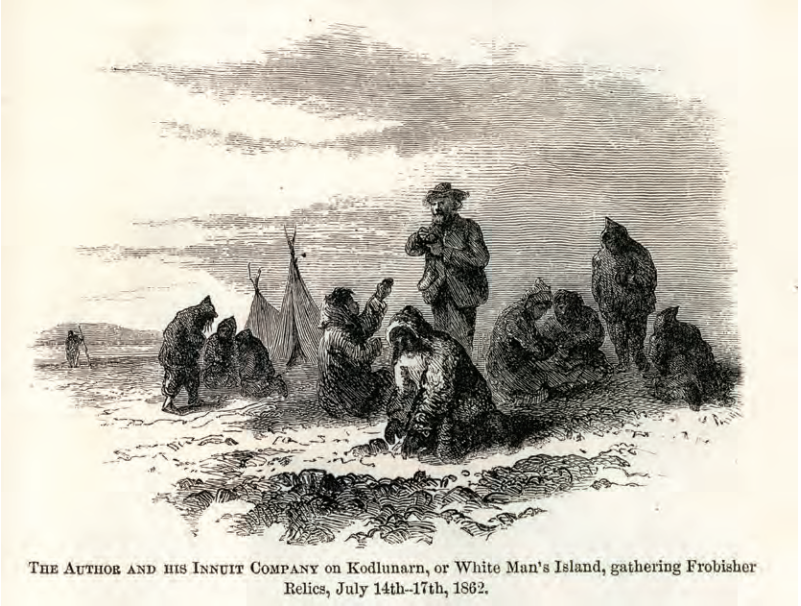
Historical Relations

The historical relationship between Native Americans and the discipline of archaeology from its earliest manifestation to the present has developed along distinct trajectories in Canada, the United States, and Mexico. It has been shaped by colonialism and the long, often complex, history of White exploration and settlement, by the interpretation of Indigenous peoples as scientific specimens, by loss of land and language, and by the imposition of unilateral heritage policies. Yet Indigenous peoples within each of the North American nation-states share similar concerns over issues of sovereignty, self-determination, and repatriation. The broader history of relations between Native peoples and anthropologists is reviewed in Lurie (1988) and reflected in the Native-authored papers in Swidler et al. (1997) and elsewhere (e.g., Ferguson 1996; Trigger 1980).

Native Americans as Research Subjects

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, interest in the Native American past was oriented primarily toward describing the antiquities and "rude monuments" (that is, earthworks) found across the eastern part of the North American continent. Most antiquarians held that Native Americans were incapable of such accomplishments and attributed them to ancient Atlanteans, Welsh, Phoenicians, and others. The *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, the first volume in the Smithsonian's Contributions to Knowledge series (Squier and Davis 1848), helped perpetuate the idea of a separate race of "Mound Builders." This widely held position was taught in schools (Guernsey 1848).

By the late nineteenth century, archaeology came to play an important role first in setting the record straight by refuting the Mound Builder myth, through the Bureau of American Ethnography's Mound Survey (Thomas 1894), and then in challenging the still-dominant unilinear evolutionary scheme promoted by Edward Tylor (1871) and Lewis Henry Morgan (1877) that positioned Native Americans at the lowest



left, From *Life with the Esquimaux* (Hall 1865). right, Charles Francis Hall collection, Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History (SI-10153), photograph by S. Loring.

Fig. 1. left, On Baffin Island, in 1861, the American explorer Charles Francis Hall was led to the camp sites of Sir Martin Frobisher's arctic mining venture (1576–1578) by his Inuit companions, whose extraordinary knowledge of the Elizabethan voyages is dramatic testimony to the veracity and complexity of oral traditions. right, Thule ground-slate whaling harpoon endblade found by Hall's Inuit companion Ebierbing, also known as "Esquimaux Joe." Historically, the role of Inuit guides and companions in the production of archaeological knowledge was rarely acknowledged.

rung. Daniel Wilson (1865) disputed popular perceptions of Native Americans by using archaeology and ethnography (including direct observations and likely some interaction) to reveal the long and complex history of Native communities in the Great Lakes region. In Mexico, antiquarian interests focused initially on the Maya lowlands, as popularized in numerous drawings by Frederick Catherwood (b. 1799, d. 1854) and writings of John Stephens, and focused later on Teotihuacan and other upland sites. Rejecting the dominant view of the time, Stephens (1868) attributed those sites to the ancestors of the modern Maya.

As the fields of archaeology and anthropology developed, tribal members sometimes participated in field projects conducted on their traditional lands, primarily as guides or crew members (for example, Navajo workers at Pueblo Bonito, Hyde Expedition, 1897 [Schroeder 1979]). Anthropologists working with Native communities included Franz Boas (with Kwakwaka'wakw), Harlan Smith (with Secwépemc, Nlaka'pamux, and St'atimc), Jesse Fewkes (with Hopi and Zuni), Frank Cushing (with Zuni), Alanson Skinner (with Menominee), Arthur C. Parker (himself Seneca), and others. Rarely were the names of their "informants" known, yet they were essential in locating or interpreting artifacts and sites, providing translations and community access, and otherwise enabling archaeological research (fig. 1). Exceptions include George Hunt (b. 1854, d. 1933, who was half-Tlingit and raised among the Kwakwaka'wakw), Louis Shotridge (Stoowukháa, b. 1882, d. 1937), and Paul Silook (St. Lawrence Island Yupik, b. 1892, d. 1949), who arguably did much of the fieldwork and data gathering that their non-Indigenous partners are credited with (fig. 2).

In a few notable (but problematic) instances, Indigenous individuals were also employed in museum settings. George Tsaroff (Aleut, b. circa 1858) was brought to the Smithsonian in 1878 and worked as an exhibit assistant and guide before dying of tuberculosis in 1880. In 1912, after the last members of his band of Yahi were killed, Ishi (b. circa 1861, d. 1916) was taken to the University of California, Berkeley, where he was studied by anthropologists and worked as a research assistant, demonstrating tool manufacture and use.

A fuller and more accurate rendering of Native American societies emerged in part through Franz Boas' historical particularism, which incorporated archaeological, ethnographic, linguistic, and biological data to examine the unique nature and history of each culture investigated. Indeed, the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897–1902) sought to study culture history and change on a massive scale, involving Indigenous peoples from both northern North America and

Photograph by Henry B. Collins (1936).

Fig. 2. Bob Tokianna (with mask) and Dwight Teruk at Puleruk, between Cape York and Tin City, Alaska, Cape Prince of Wales (NAA, Papers of Henry B. Collins, Box 116, #111459A).

Asia (Kendall and Krupnik 2003). Another significant development that encouraged collaboration by archaeologists was the use of the direct historical approach, as evidenced in the work of Dorothy Keur (b. 1904, d. 1989) and other female archaeologists, who integrated ethnographic research and archaeology (Kehoe 1998:187–189).

With some exceptions, these projects and those that followed saw Native Americans as research subjects. The purpose and benefits of archaeology were directed toward either archaeologists themselves or the broader public. In addition, archaeologists' relations with Indigenous communities reflected the prevailing unequal distribution of power. Official policies contributed to major challenges in preserving cultural identity. The redistribution of tribal territory through allotment, forced relocation, widespread poverty on reservations, and the termination of federal recognition all facilitated the breakdown of cultural practices and had the effect of supporting archaeologists' role as legitimate collectors and saviors of Native culture. The myth of the "vanishing Indian" allowed archaeologists to view Native cultures as in decline and in need of preservation. Many collections made during this time were the direct result of military conquest, imprisonment of tribal members, and confiscation of ceremonial objects and cultural patrimony (see Jacknis 2000). Archaeologists, as agents of the government or, at the very least, beneficiaries of government policies were recognized as authorities on what constituted Indian "cultures."

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, procurement of all things Aboriginal for both private collectors and museums was occurring at an unprecedented pace on the Northwest Coast (Cole 1995; Fienup-Riordan 1996b; Freed 2012) and elsewhere (see Hamilton 2006; Kelley et al. 2011). Many objects were purchased from community members, but looting of shrines and burial grounds in pursuit of scientific specimens and human remains for study was also widespread (Bieder 1986). In British Columbia, such actions by Franz Boas and Harlan Smith left a legacy that often equated archaeology with thievery and grave robbing (Carlson 2005), an attitude that has continued to the present in some cases. In Mexico and the United States, skeletal remains were taken with impunity from battlegrounds and burial places (McGuire 2017; Mihesuah 2000), nominally in support of building "scientific" collections.

Dissatisfaction and Reaction

By the 1960s, social movements brought attention to the long-standing grievances of Native Americans. In step with the civil rights movement, activists in the United States pushed for greater rights, social justice, and restitution for Native groups. Demands for recognition of treaty rights, alleviation of poverty in Native communities, access to education, and children's welfare were accompanied by concerns about traditional lands and cultural heritage issues (Deloria 2008). The Red Power movement and the American Indian Movement highlighted social issues of concern to Native peoples, including archaeological research, which was often conflated with actions showing disrespect for the dead. Although Indigenous perspectives on archaeology and anthropology had been voiced for decades, they were often ignored or dismissed. With biting wit, some of these complaints were summarized in the influential work *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (Deloria 1969b).

These initiatives not only brought such concerns to national attention but also launched actions to stop the desecration of ancestral remains. Increasing Native political clout facilitated passage of such U.S. federal legislation as the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (1975) and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978) (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). However, these laws had limited effect against the legislative severing of Native Americans from their ancestral dead that began with the Antiquities Act of 1906 and was later perpetuated by cultural resource management legislation (Watkins 2005c). Significant federal legislation or rulings on indigenous rights passed in Canada include the Constitution Act of 1982 and *Delgamuukw* v. *Regina* in 1997. Throughout the 1970s, Native activists also engaged with museums to object to the curation

and exhibit of human remains and funerary objects (Fine-Dare 2002:76–80). The *Longest Walk* of 1978 was designed to focus public attention on treaty rights, but it also resulted in the formation of American Indians against Desecration, a group focused on repatriation (Hammil and Cruz 1989).

Repatriation as a Motivating Factor

Although relatively few archaeologists work directly with human remains, many have had their work affected by repatriation and the call for greater involvement of Native Americans in archaeological work. By the 1980s, the "reburial dispute," as it was then called, emerged as a major conflict between Native Americans and archaeologists (Heizer 1978a:13) and, more broadly, between science and religion. Although contentious, the debates led many archaeologists to start to listen to Native perspectives and to begin to understand the source of Native people's acrimony (see Colwell 2017; Zimmerman 1994). The formation of the World Archaeological Congress (WAC) in 1986 provided an opportunity for Native activists from North America to connect with like-minded activists from Australia and New Zealand, as well as with archaeologists who empathized with Indigenous views (Ucko 1987). In 1989, at the WAC's First Indigenous Inter-Congress, the Vermillion Accord on Human Remains was signed. WAC continues its focus on Indigenous rights: an Indigenous Council is incorporated as part of its governing body.

In 1989, the National Museum of the American Indian Act was signed into law, directing repatriation practices for the Smithsonian Institution (see "'A New Dream Museum,'" this vol.). In 1990, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was signed, directing repatriation practices for institutions in the United States that receive federal funding. Both laws require consultation with tribes as part of the process of identifying cultural affiliation of human remains and associated funerary objects. In this way, repatriation began to contribute to an increase in consultation, as evidenced in the case of the small Alutiiq community of Larsen Bay, Kodiak Island, Alaska, where the remains of 1,000 individuals were returned from the Smithsonian Institution in 1991 (Bray and Killion 1994).

In the wake of NAGPRA, national consultations in Canada led to a case-specific approach to repatriation as published in the report *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships between Museums and First Peoples* (Hill and Nicks 1992). Additional guidance has come from the Canadian Archaeological Association's Statement of Principles Pertaining to Aboriginal Peoples (1996), the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996), and the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015b). Along with provincial legislation (such as Alberta's First Nations Sacred Ceremonial Objects Repatriation Act of 2000), these reports guide the development of individual institutional policies to structure internal repatriation processes (for example, the Canadian Museum of History's 2001 repatriation policy). Major repatriations in Canada have included the return of 400 ancestors to the Haida in the late 1990s (Krmpotich 2014) and the reburial of more than 1,700 Huron-Wendat ancestors in Ontario (Pfeiffer and Lesage 2014).

In the 1990s, archaeologists and Native American activists negotiated a new status quo in which repatriation was the law of the land. Some publications about repatriation continued to disparage Native perspectives on archaeology as "unscientific" (for example, Meighan 1999), but others have described the new relationships built as part of repatriation activity (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). The first decade of the twenty-first century largely saw a renegotiation of the positions. While some archaeologists continued to see tribal peoples as anti-archaeology (for example, McGhee 2008), others considered repatriation an opportunity to grow the discipline. The activism that resulted in repatriation laws also challenged mainstream archaeology to acknowledge that multiple perspectives on the past existed. The transition between treating human remains as objects of scientific inquiry and treating them as objects of cultural concern has resulted in the emergence of a new set of practices and ethics policies, as reflected in the 2007 repatriation in Sonora, Mexico, of remains from the Yaqui Massacre collected by Aleš Hrdlička in 1902 (McGuire 2017).

Attitudes toward study of the dead are not uniform among Indigenous peoples. Some contend that any disturbance of ancestral remains is desecration, whereas others believe that the ancestors have let themselves be found to teach the youth about their past (for example, Syms 2014). Native Americans' involvement with the study of human remains is dependent on their equal participation in the research process rather than service only as source material. An early example of such a relationship is the 1983 collaboration between the Tohono O'odham and archaeologists in Arizona regarding human remains and mortuary items (McGuire 2008:155). Despite the long-standing controversy over Kennewick Man ("the Ancient One"), many Indigenous groups have collaborated on research to reveal the life histories of their very ancient ancestors, such as the Anzick child (Callaway 2014) and Kwäḍāy Dän Ts'íncḥi (Hebda et al. 2017). A hallmark of the latter study was the authority exercised by the Champagne

and Aishihik First Nations in developing the research design and overseeing the distribution of the resulting data. Many Indigenous communities are now involved in community-informed scientific studies of both ancestral human remains and DNA (see, for example, Schaepe et al. 2015; Walker et al. 2016).

Emergence and Development of Indigenous Archaeology

The first tribally run archaeology programs date to the 1970s. Both the Zuni Archaeology Program and the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department are directed toward meeting heritage management needs and training community members (see Ferguson 1980; Klesert and Downer 1990; "Southwest-1," this vol.). Also during the 1970s, many non-Native archaeologists worked with, and in some cases *for*, Native communities or otherwise tried to reconcile traditional archaeology with tribal opinion. Zimmerman (1994) wrote about his experiences working on the Crow Creek massacre site and described a struggle to balance tribal needs with professional responsibilities.

In the American Southwest, archaeologists Roger Anyon, T.J. Ferguson, Kurt Dongoske, Barbara Mills, and others who worked closely with Puebloan communities wrote that this approach did not lessen the quality of the work they produced but rather elevated their understanding of the past (also see Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2010). In the Northeast, Russell Handsman and Ann McMullen at the American Indian Archaeological Institute privileged tribal perspectives in museum and archaeological contexts. By the 1980s, in northern Mexico, a small number of archaeologists were working with communities, including Jane Kelley (with the Yaqui), Elisa Villalpando, Randall McGuire (with the Tohono O'odham), and more recently Peter Jimenez in El Teúl, Zacatecas. In Canada, community-oriented projects were developed by Stephen Loring (with the Innu), David Denton (with the Cree), George Nicholas (with the Secwépemc), and Tom Andrews and John Zoe (with the Tłı̨chǫ)—not in aid of archaeological research per se but to introduce archaeology as a tool to complement other ways of knowing and to provide employment and educational opportunities (fig. 3). Farther north, in Nunavik, Canada, Inuit interest in archaeology was championed by a young Inuk hunter, Daniel Weetaluktuk (fig. 4), who encouraged local participation in the management of heritage resources. Many of these initiatives sought to have archaeological knowledge and collections reside in the community rather than outside of it (Dongoske et al. 2000; Knecht 2014; S. Loring 2009; Nicholas and Andrews 1997a; Swidler et al. 1997).

Photograph by Tom Andrews/Government of the Northwest Territories, NNWT.

Fig. 3. Tłı̨chǫ elders Harry Simpson and Nick Black telling the ancient story about the bones in the lake trout's skull, which represent his tools from the time he was human. Part of the 1992 cultural resource inventory of the Įdaà trail, a summer and winter trail linking Great Bear and Great Slave Lakes in the Northwest Territories, Canada. left to right, Francis Zoe, Tony Dryneck, John B. Zoe, Harry Simpson, Nick Black.

In the 1990s, a new program of heritage-related research and preservation emerged that has become known as "Indigenous archaeology." In the 30 years that followed, it has come to comprise a broad set of ideas, methods, and strategies applied to the discovery and interpretation of the human past that are informed by the values, concerns, and goals of Indigenous peoples. First defined as "archaeology done by, with, and for, Indigenous people" (Nicholas and Andrews 1997b:3n5), Indigenous archaeology has since been characterized as "an expression of archaeological theory and practice in which the discipline intersects with Indigenous values, knowledge, practices, ethics, and sensibilities, and through collaborative and community-originated or -directed projects, and related critical perspectives" (Nicholas 2008:1660). Indigenous archaeology acknowledges and challenges differences between Indigenous and Western epistemologies; inequalities in representation, decision-making, and benefit flows; and issues relating to Indigeneity and racialism. It assumes different forms and strategies in a variety of circumstances, as discussed below.

The development of Indigenous archaeology was influenced by factors that include the repatriation movement, grassroots initiatives, and academic enlightenment (Watkins and Nicholas 2020). Its methods and goals are multiple and flexible, defying compartmentalization (Nicholas 2008; Smith and Wobst 2005). Yet the question remains: Is Indigenous archaeology conducted by Indigenous practitioners to the best of the Western scientific tradition, or is it some-

Photograph by Allen P. McCartney, courtesy Avataq Cultural Institute, Daniel Weetaluktuk funds.

Fig. 4. Daniel Weetaluktuk inspecting an excavated Thule winter house that he and Allen Clarke excavated at the Learmonth site (PeJr-1), Creswell Bay, Somerset Island, N.W.T. (1976).

thing uniquely Indigenous with roots in different language, teachings, and social compacts (Loring 1999)?

Relations between Indigenous Mexicans and archaeologists have followed a different trajectory from that in Canada and the United States. Mexican archaeology has long been dominated by either a U.S. imperialist agenda or a local nationalist one that employed the concept of *indigenismo* to "glorify mestizos (people of mixed Indian and European ancestry) as the people of the nation" (McGuire 2008:152; also Bueno 2016). As a result, there have been far fewer opportunities for Indigenous engagement with archaeology in northern Mexico and sometimes greater political liability. Although this situation is changing in northern Mexico (Altshul et al. 2014), collaboration still lags well behind the advances made in Maya archaeology elsewhere in Mexico (see Gnecco and Ayala 2011; McAnany and Rowe 2016; Zborover and Kroefges 2015).

Indigenous archaeology reflects a postcolonial orientation and is constructed according to specific Indigenous and tribal sensibilities. It attempts to increase the relevance of archaeology to tribes and Indigenous communities and remind the discipline of its responsibilities to Indigenous peoples. The methods employed are directed by community beliefs, oral records, traditional knowledge, and religious practices and worldviews, coupled with archaeology, ethnography, ethnohistory, and participatory action research, often in a collaborative framework. Indigenous archaeology has become a familiar entity in the professional archaeological network, resulting in a plurality of goals, methods, and outcomes distinct to each community project and in a diverse range and increasing number of tribal members practicing archaeology (Bruchac et al. 2010; Nicholas 2010). As of 2017, at least 21 Indigenous North Americans had completed PhD degrees in archaeology. An unknown, but likely larger, number without doctorates also work as archaeologists.

Indigenous Ontology, Epistemology, and Heritage Values

Indigenous engagement with "the past" is defined or influenced by Indigenous epistemology, language, and ontology; by religious beliefs and practices; and by

traditional knowledge systems and empirical observations of the world. Conceptions of law, sovereignty, property, identity, time, and well-being all converge to define heritage values. Without reference to these, it is not possible to understand Native concerns about, and responsibilities to, artifacts ("belongings"), ancestral sites ("homes"), or human remains ("ancestors"). Significant differences exist not only between Western and Indigenous worldviews but also between Native American societies. Yet there are broad commonalities relating to worldview, ecological relations, modes of explanation, conceptions of time, and relations with objects and places.

Understanding "the Past"

Many traditional Native American lifeways and worldviews tend to be fundamentally different from those associated with the Western or Judeo-Christian traditions. They often are oriented to the premise that "the universe [and everything in it] is alive, has power, will and intelligence" (Harris 2005:35). The landscape may contain other-than-human beings, as well as places and water bodies filled with power or special features. Familiar Western dichotomies (such as natural/supernatural) may be absent, and distinctions between "past," "present," and "future" may be different or nonexistent. Ancestral beings may thus be part of *this* existence; a Transformer rock marks not only where an event happened but also where that being *still* resides.

Indigenous belief systems promote active rather than passive engagement with the world; proper behavior and adherence to obligations are needed to maintain the world (see, Bastien 2004; Fogelson 2012; Harris 2005; Schaepe et al. 2017). These beliefs are expressed in a variety of ways. Conceptions of death and responsibilities for caring for the deceased translate into how physical remains should be treated. There may be no difference between the part and the whole, between a bone (or hair) and the person it represents. "Ownership" of objects, songs or stories, and even places may be communal. There may be no practical distinction between tangible and intangible cultural heritage, and restrictions may exist on who has access to or can share some forms of knowledge. Relations with each other (including past and future generations), with the land, with animals, and with nonhuman beings are based on responsibility, respect, and community well-being.

Ways of Knowing

Knowledge of the world is continuously obtained through empirical observations, supplemented by information shared by others, and then interpreted through whatever body of traditional knowledge, belief, and history grounds every society. Native American epistemology is a process by which individuals and groups collect information from experiences and explanations of the world, which elders, religious specialists, and others verify and interpret. Oral traditions and other forms of record keeping then convey and preserve them (Cajete 1999; Nicholas and Markey 2014).

Traditional (or Indigenous) knowledge generally refers to the entirety of a society's collective relationship with and explanation of the world and all it contains. From a Native perspective (Bruchac 2014:3814):

> indigenous knowledges are conveyed formally and informally among kin groups and communities through social encounters, oral traditions, ritual practices, and other activities. They include oral narratives that recount human histories, cosmological observations and modes of reckoning time, symbolic and decorative modes of communication, techniques for planting and harvesting, hunting and gathering skills, specialized understandings of local ecosystems, and the manufacture of specialized tools and technologies." (fig. 5)

Western knowledge tends toward a reductionist, hierarchical model of description and classification, coupled with a Cartesian sense of order and a search for universalist explanation. Indigenous epistemology is more particularistic and situational, composed of different bodies of knowledge (such as *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* [Inuit traditional knowledge]). Native experts often argue that "the fact that Native science is not fragmented into specialized compartments does not mean that it is not based on rational thinking, but that it is based on the belief that all things are connected and must be considered within the context of the interrelationship" (Augustine 1997:1).

Such relationships and responsibilities are evident in the concept of Indigenous knowledge or, more commonly, traditional ecological knowledge. This refers to the integrated principles, practices, and beliefs that reveal and perpetuate the connections and interdependence of people, animals, plants, natural objects, supernatural entities, and environments (Berkes 1999). This body of knowledge, reflecting a deep understanding of the environment, may be manifested by sustainable resource harvesting practices (such as clam gardens), use of fire to attract game or maintain berry-picking areas, caribou hunting practices, medicinal and technological uses of plants, and place names (see Basso 1996; Fienup-Riordan 2007; Stapp and Burney 2002; Turner 2014). Such practices have contributed to the historical ecology of particular areas—which reveals how Native American practices have shaped local and regional environments over the course of thousands of

left, Photograph by Mark Raymond Harrington, courtesy of the Braun Research Library Collection, Autry Museum, Los Angeles (P.23222). right, Photograph by Jason S. Ordaz, courtesy of the School for Advanced Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Fig. 5. left, Bertha (Yewas) Parker Pallan Cody (1907–1978)—arguably the first Native American female archaeologist—worked with the Southwest Museum during the 1920s and 1930s. Photographed in 1929 alongside her discovery of a black and white early Pueblo pot in situ at a mesa site near Overton, Nevada. right, Margaret M. Bruchac—in her multimodal career as a performer, ethnographer, historian, and Indigenous archaeologist—has long been committed to revitalizing and repatriating cultural heritage through the use of restorative methodologies that challenge erasures and stereotypes. Bruchac echoes Bertha Parker's 1929 pose in this 2012 photograph at the spiral fountain in the garden of the Pueblo Revival estate, which is now the campus of the School for Advanced Research.

years—and they are integral to contemporary stewardship goals and practices (Ross et al. 2011). They are also represented in the archaeological record.

Both Native and Western knowledge systems incorporate experiential observations, require verification of results, employ recognition of patterns, and use both prediction and inference. Nonetheless, there has long been an uneasy relationship between Western science (including archaeology) and Native American oral histories and traditional knowledge (Echo-Hawk 2000). Many archaeologists have found some degree of congruence between the archaeological record and Native historical accounts—relating to, for example, landscape management practices, fire ecology, lithic sourcing, tsunamis and other catastrophic events, and migrations. Others question the reliability of such accounts (Mason 2006; McGhee 2008). More generally, archaeologists, climate scientists, and others are often highly selective when accepting oral histories: they are viewed as valuable when they support scientific analysis but problematic when they do not (Nicholas and Markey 2014). Indigenous archaeology seeks to reveal and challenge such issues.

Indigenous Research Methods

Much of the work done by North American anthropologists before the twentieth century was concerned with documenting what were held to be "vanishing Indian cultures." In extreme cases, ancestral groups were thought to have become extinct, with archaeologists favoring replacement models rather than in situ evolution (for example, the Newfoundland Beothuk, North Slope Birnirk/Thule, St. Lawrence Valley Iroquoians). Not surprisingly, Native Americans did not vanish, and throughout the twentieth century, they demanded a rightful say in decisions about their lives, their lands, and their heritage (Rossen 2015). Archaeologists, seeing that tribal cultures had shifted alongside that of the rest of North America, began to view themselves as the proper stewards of ancient Indian cultures and saw contemporary tribes as less "authentic." Archaeologists and anthropologists benefited from the expertise of Indigenous informants in tribal identity, culture, and materiality but generally failed to publicly recognize these contributions. In fact, some of the rhetoric surrounding disputes over repatriation highlighted the archaeologists' perceived roles as the saviors of and sole authorities on Indian culture.

Native Americans have worked to reassert themselves in the wake of loss of land, language, and control over their own affairs (Lydon and Rizvi 2010; Tuhiwai Smith 2012). Indigenous archaeology confronts the legacy of scientific colonialism by incorporating Native worldviews, values, and epistemology (Guindon 2015). This requires developing respect and trust through meaningful community interaction, consultation, negotiation, and collaboration; culturally

appropriate behavior; and long-term commitments to communities.

Research methods in Indigenous archaeology are directed by local needs, emphasize ethical and culturally appropriate behavior, recognize the subjectivity of scientific objectivity, ensure that the tribes are the primary beneficiaries of the research, and stress community participation. In addition to traditional site surveys, testing, and excavation techniques, ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological methods include walking the land to identify traditional cultural properties and the use of focus groups, place name research, interviewing, and participant observation, which may be used to discuss customary law or to identify local concerns about, or perceptions of, what constitutes heritage sites. This orientation recognizes the problematic nature of some terms (such as *abandoned*, *ruins*, *prehistory* [Zimmerman 2010]) and may employ more respectful terms such as *belongings* (versus *artifacts*) and *person* (versus *skeletal remains*). Dissolving the standard "historic" and "prehistoric" division removes an offensive separation of contemporary Aboriginal peoples from their past (Lightfoot 1995).

Indigenous research ethics are based on a recognition of responsibility—not to archaeology or whatever other discipline is involved but to both the living community and their ancestors. When this is adopted as a guiding principle, practices such as repatriation, which some archaeologists have seen as destructive, are instead understood as culturally appropriate. Reorienting cultural heritage management in this way helps ensure that scientific goals do not ignore other values. Furthermore, the integration of community values can have significant implications for appropriate cultural resource management strategies, such as by helping identify and interpret heritage sites and objects while ensuring respect for those that have no associated material record and thus might be missed in site evaluations or mitigation plans. In some projects, researchers address community concerns by using noninvasive or minimally invasive methods that allow for scientific research while avoiding damaging or disturbing ancestral sites (Glencross et al. 2017).

Research projects are designed to take account of community needs and values, which are often prioritized over the recovery of scientific data (an approach that can sometimes lead to conflict with government permitting agencies). These community interests include heritage preservation, education, community history and traditional knowledge, sociocultural well-being (health), cultural revitalization, and repatriation of knowledge and objects of cultural patrimony (see Bernard et al. 2011; Loring et al. 2003) (fig. 6). Taking a larger view than the usual site-specific or artifact-focused studies of traditional archaeology, an Indigenous research orientation prioritizes both tangible and intangible expressions of heritage. For some, field projects may thus include ceremonial activities, storytelling, drumming, singing, and offerings to honor the ancestors, as well as smudging or ocher face paint to protect crew members. These types of practices may be challenging for non-Native students but overall contribute to the well-being of all participants (Gonzalez et al. 2006).

Although it intersects with Native epistemologies and values, Indigenous archaeology is often still grounded in traditional anthropological and archaeological methods. Theoretically it resonates strongly with interpretive, feminist, Marxist, and critical archaeological theory and methods (Nicholas 2008). The combination of Native sensibilities, robust theory, and scientific methods should enhance, not limit, the production of knowledge. As Trigger (2003:183) noted, "By contradicting accepted interpretations of the past, these ideas stimulated research that tested both old and new ideas. . . . The greatest obstacle to making process in archaeology is intellectual complacency. Without the ability to imagine alternative explanations, archaeology languishes."

Indigenous Heritage Stewardship and Research Methodologies

Recognizing the nature of Indigenous worldviews, heritage values, and knowledge systems is essential to understanding Native American attitudes toward archaeology, cultural resource management, and museum practices. Achieving such an understanding, however, can be challenging because of fundamentally different conceptions of heritage that may exist. Here *heritage* is defined as the objects, places, knowledge, customs, practices, plants, stories, songs, designs, and relationships conveyed between generations, that define or contribute to a person's or group's identity, history, worldview, and well-being (Nicholas 2017:214). When coupled with Native ontology and belief systems, such a conception of heritage results in a view of the world in which objects may be alive and the "real" and "supernatural" may be part of the same dimension. Rock art images may embody ancestral beings as well as provide important teachings (Atalay et al. 2016). Ancient objects are often touchstones of history, including family heirlooms that connect generations. These concepts affect tribal decisions regarding landscape preservation, repatriation, and reburial and have substantial implications for cultural and heritage management.

Repatriation Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, used with permission of Caddo Nation of Oklahoma.

Fig. 6. Dorothy Lippert (Choctaw) of the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History Repatriation Office and Tamara Francis (Caddo Nation Chair), with daughters Audre and Jessica, examining engraved conch shell dippers from the Spiro Site (A.D. 850–1450) in Oklahoma that are in the Smithsonian's collections.

Preserving and Protecting Heritage Values

Native Americans are greatly concerned by threats to sacred sites, burial grounds and cemeteries, and other places of religious or historical significance (Gulliford 2000). Actions undertaken as part of economic development and heritage management practices that do not involve sufficient tribal consultation threaten tribal efforts to maintain the historical continuity, identity, and well-being of Native interests and communities.

In 2016, the Standing Rock Sioux tribe led resistance to the installation of the Dakota Access Pipeline (fig. 7), an underground oil pipeline, not only because of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' lack of adequate consultation but also because of its failure to recognize the impact of the pipeline on the cultural, spiritual, and environmental dimensions of the land and water (*Standing Rock Sioux Tribe et al.* v. *U.S. Army Corps of Engineers et al.* 2017). Equally concerning was the relocation of the pipeline closer to the Native community and farther from a non-Native community. In cases like this, Indigenous heritage values combine with desires for economic equity to produce resistance to outside actions.

The Aya:huda (Zuni effigies of twin War Gods) are an example of what non-Natives consider inanimate objects that are appropriately preserved in climate-controlled settings. In sharp contrast, the Zuni identify them as living beings who must be returned to the environment from which they were created, maintaining their innate identity as sacred, even though their physical structure decays as a consequence (Colwell 2017; Merrill et al. 1993). Another example is more durable in form: the Stó:lō of British Columbia consider a seated stone bowl figurine, T'Xwelátse, to be "a man who was turned to stone but is still alive" (Stó:lō Nation 2012).

For many Native Americans, maintaining and preserving religious practices and traditional values cannot be separated from the landscape and everything it contains, including heritage sites, all of which are vital to their identity, worldview, and well-being. The protection of archaeological sites and places of historic or spiritual importance to Native Americans intersects incompletely with federal, state, or provincial heritage policies. Direct participation in heritage management or stewardship practices, the protection of ancestral sites and burial grounds, and policy development and revision are all considered important goals for Native Americans.

Developing Indigenous Heritage Management

Changes to the political landscape across North America are beginning to support, at least in principle, the shifting of greater responsibility for Native heritage toward Native Americans themselves. Some Native American tribes in the United States and Canada (such as Zuni, Hopi, Pequot, Makah, and Stó:lō) have long inventoried and managed their own cultural resources. Many have established heritage policies, bylaws, guidelines, and permit systems, as well as new protocols for archaeological and heritage resources (Bell and Napoleon 2008; Welch et al. 2009). These initiatives mark a significant development, establishing Aboriginal peoples as heritage managers, not just collaborators in provincial management schemes (Kuwanwisiwma et al. 2018) (fig. 8).

Photograph by Leslie Peterson.

Fig. 7. Protests against the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAP) at Standing Rock and elsewhere in 2016 revealed the chasm between Indigenous and Anglo conceptions of proper heritage preservation and management. The planned path of the pipeline desecrated burial grounds and, more generally, demonstrated a lack of adequate consultation regarding sites and a failure to recognize the pipeline's impact on the cultural, spiritual, and environmental dimensions of the land and water.

Photograph by T.J. Ferguson, 1998.

Fig. 8. Archaeologists from Desert Archaeology, Inc. confer with Hopi women about a storage pit at a Hopi ancestral site excavated to mitigate the adverse impact of road construction.

In many places, however, Indigenous heritage continues to be managed by and through national and provincial or state governments. Legislation has often been enacted in reaction to public outcry over highly visible heritage loss (the looting at Slack Farm, Kentucky, arguably paved the way for NAGPRA) yet such laws remain difficult to enforce (see Kelley et al. 2011 on looting in Chihuahua). Without adequate consultation or collaboration, even well-intended laws and policies may be ineffective and fail to protect Native American heritage.

In the United States, Native American heritage sites and practices are protected (and affected) by legislation such as the National Historic Preservation Act, Section 106 (1966), the National Museum of the American Indian Act (1989), and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990) (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). In Canada, federal legislation (such as the 2013 Cultural Resource Management Policy and the 2006 Canadian Environmental Assessment Act) offers only limited protection of heritage sites (Warrick 2017). Instead, the management and protection of archaeological sites are enacted largely at the provincial level (for example, the Heritage Conservation Act in British Columbia). In Mexico, heritage protection has largely been part of a nationalist agenda that promotes an indivisible mixed (mestizo) identity (Altschul and Ferguson 2014). This agenda favors centralized heritage management and public education but affords no special rights to *los indios* (Native Mexicans).

Tribal peoples have often asked how outsiders can make decisions about someone else's heritage when they are unaware of, or do not understand, local values, needs, and consequences. Starting in the 1990s, there has been a growing number of initiatives in which Native Americans have taken an equal or lead role in heritage management (fig. 9). One widely cited example of effective collaborative heritage management has been the protection of Kashaya Pomo heritage sites in California (Dowdall and Parrish 2003). A hybrid approach was developed that respected the Kashaya Pomo worldview and incorporated local knowledge to mitigate impacts. Archaeologists were then asked to follow tribal observances and precautions on how the landscape should be treated and what constituted appropriate behavior at a site.

Another example is a community-based heritage management plan in British Columbia that established a partnership between the Wet'suwet'en First Nation and major forestry operation licensees. In this case, the Wet'suwet'en provided the necessary archaeological services through a joint venture partnership between their Land and Resources Department and a local archaeological consulting company. Their goal was "not to preserve *all* Wet'suwet'en cultural heritage resources, but rather to preserve what was primarily important to the Wet'suwet'en" (Budwha 2005:29). The First Nation assumed a central role in the entire archaeological management process—maintaining high archaeological and industry standards, while being informed by Wet'suwet'en cultural values.

Significant national and international political developments in recent years have supported the move toward increased Indigenous management of their heritage. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) has garnered much attention, in part because Canada and the United States initially voted against it. However, there remains uncertainty about how it will affect policy development

Photograph by Stephen Loring.

Fig. 9. Daniel Ashini (president of Innu Nation and chief land claims negotiator) and Dominique Pokue survey the ruined shorelines of Lake Michikamats during archaeological research in the Smallwood Reservoir Basin initiated by Innu Nation, 1995.

at the national level. Similarly, the ramifications of the landmark *Tsilhqot'in Nation* v. *British Columbia* decision (2014) in Canada have yet to be seen. When the Supreme Court of Canada established Aboriginal land title in the decision, it precipitated a shift from "consultation" to "consent" on negotiations with government and industry over resources, land use, and heritage. Little direction has been given, however, on how to shift practice toward the latter.

Addressing Community Needs and Challenges

Contemporary archaeological initiatives with, for, and by Native Americans and First Nations peoples that incorporate Indigenous values and epistemologies, traditional knowledge, community goals, or scientific objectives take many forms (Leliévre 2017; Lepofsky et al. 2017; Supernant 2017). They often include educational programs that involve field training, networking, information management, and community engagement and outreach, while also promoting local values (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Leliévre 2017; Martinez 2012).

Archaeology with and for Communities

Community-oriented archaeology was introduced to many by pioneering work with a Dakota community at Little Rapids, Wisconsin (Spector 1993) and by contributors to the first overview of archaeology's relations with the First Peoples in Canada (Nicholas and Andrews 1997a) and in the United States (Swidler et al. 1997). Atalay (2012) and Lyons (2013) are later exemplars of research that foregrounds "community" in some fashion, whether directing the research or benefiting from it.

In New York State, archaeologists collaborated with the Cayuga tribe to support it in the face of racial hostility directed at the tribe's land claims. The public anthropology initiative led to the development of the SHARE initiative (Strengthening Haudenosaunee American Relations through Education) in 2001 (Hansen and Rossen 2007) (fig. 10). Informed by local knowledge and archaeology, SHARE helped

Photograph by Jack Rossen.

Fig. 10. Tribal members at the peach tree planting during the Cayuga Nation Picnic at the Cayuga-SHARE Farm (June 2011). The tree planting was a symbol of healing and reconciliation from the 1779 Sullivan Campaign during which the Haudenosaunee landscape was razed, including the destruction of more than 40 villages and a Cayuga orchard of 1,500 peach trees.

the Cayuga reestablish a presence in their ancestral homeland.

In 1971, the Makah tribe of Neah Bay, Washington, hired University of Washington archaeologists to excavate the remains of the ancient village of Ozette, which was buried in a mudslide around A.D. 1750. The excavation of the site, famous for the preservation of wooden artifacts, included tribal youth on the archaeological crew, "bringing a sense of historical continuity to the excavation" (Bowechop and Erickson 2005:266). The excavation confirmed Makah oral tradition about a "great slide" that had covered the village. The tribe later created the Makah Cultural and Research Center to house the recovered objects and tell the Makah story of the village. Curation reflects Makah concepts of ownership and property by dividing the objects into households based on the excavation records and labeling them in the Makah language, a practice that supports language preservation and linguistic analysis. The Makah adapted the museum concept to fit tribal needs. Their language program develops curricula and teaches Makah at the local elementary and high schools. The center also curates photographs and assists tribal members with preserving cultural items.

The Mashantucket Pequot Tribe of Connecticut used profits derived from the tribe's casino to develop the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center. The museum uses oral history and mythology coupled with archaeological, ethnohistorical, and paleoenvironmental data to create a storyline of Pequot occupation and ancestry in New England, which serves as the intellectual bedrock of Indian identity in eastern North America. Other examples of Native tribes using archaeology to assert a moral and intellectual connection to the past include the Mi'kmaq development and stewardship of the Debert Paleoindian site in Nova Scotia (Bernard et al. 2011), the Reciprocal Research Network based at the University of British Columbia (Rowley 2013; see "Emergent Digital Networks," this vol.), the Ziibiwing Cultural Center of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan, and the *Ittarnisalirijiit* Conference on Inuit Archaeology in Igloolik, Nunavut, Canada (Kigjuagalik Webster and Bennett 1997).

Archaeological Field Schools and Training Programs

Indigenous field schools explicitly connect heritage sites to a living tribal community (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Silliman 2008). Some of the earliest training programs were sponsored by the Zuni and Hopi Nations in the U.S. Southwest in the late 1970s and were directed to building capacity while also addressing heritage preservation needs. In Canada, First Nations community members received training in archaeology, albeit informally, while participating in field projects directed by archaeologists Leigh Syms, David Denton, Stephen Loring, and others beginning in the late 1980s. The first postsecondary archaeology program for First Nations was developed and run by archaeologist George Nicholas on the Kamloops Indian Reserve in British Columbia (1991–2005).

Today there are archaeology field schools that are ongoing or occasional collaborations between tribes and universities (see, for examples, Silliman 2008). The University of Washington and the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde have a field program in tribal historic preservation and archaeological field methods on the tribes' reservation in Oregon. In the Northeast, the Mohegan Tribe partnered with the Connecticut College for a field school that focuses on the needs of the Mohegan Tribe while conducting rigorous archaeological research on colonial history and Mohegan history and heritage. A similar partnership exists between the Eastern Pequot and the University of Massachusetts Boston.

Past and ongoing archaeological field schools at northern village sites (like those headed by archaeologists Richard Knecht in the Aleutians and the Kuskokwim River in Alaska and Susan Rowley off Igloolik, Nunavut), camping places (Avataq Cultural Institute in Nunavut, Canada), and places of seasonal abundance (led by archaeologists Richard Jordan at the Uyak site and Aron Crowell at Kenai Peninsula in Alaska) create experiential opportunities for Native youth to learn about their heritage and culture. Such programs also create opportunities for knowledgeable elders to participate in the construction and conveyance of cultural knowledge, bridge generational gaps, and provide an alternative to educational systems often at odds with the socioeconomic realities of northern village life.

In California, the Pimu Catalina Island Field School was "a collaborative project with members of the Tongva community [that] conducts research to dispel the imagined cultural history of Santa Catalina Island in particular, and Tongva territory generally" (Martinez and Teeter 2015:25). Tongva leaders, cultural experts, and elders provided instruction and challenge the common belief that California Indians, and the Tongva in particular, "vanished." Students were instructed that the Tongva view the sites, artifacts, and natural environment as ancestors who must be respected and protected, not just as heritage sites in need of management. A separate Native Cultural Resources Practitioners' Training program was offered for tribal heritage managers.

In Mexico, training opportunities were provided in the early 2000s through the Tincheras Tradition

Project with the Tohono O'odham in Sonora, Mexico, directed by archaeologists Elisa Villalpando and Randall McGuire (McGuire 2008:167–177), and by the El Teúl archaeological project in Zacatecas, led by Peter Jimenez. Natalia Martínez-Tagüeña's (2015) collaboration with members of the Comcaac (Seri Indians) community of the central coast of Sonora, Mexico, integrated oral historical evidence with archaeological, ethnographic, and documentary data to generate a better understanding of the Comcaac past and its continuity.

Building Capacities

Increasingly, Native American tribes and First Nations have full- or part-time archaeologists on staff, including those who are themselves community members. Native community monitors are a routine part of cultural resource management projects, but Native Americans also serve as crew members and supervisors. Some tribes require that companies engaged in cultural resource management provide training and employment opportunities when a project takes place on their traditional territory. In Canada, various First Nations have established dedicated archaeology or heritage departments to address their own needs and to offer services to others (Connaughton and Herbert 2017). In the United States, tribal historic preservation officers (THPOs) assume some or all of the functions of state historic preservation officers on tribal lands (Backhouse et al. 2017) (fig. 11). However, funding for the THPO program lags behind that for state historic preservation offices because there are more tribes than states, and the number of tribes initiating a THPO program increases yearly (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.).

Image courtesy of the Seminole Tribune.

Fig. 11. Seminole Tribe of Florida Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum's American Indian Arts Celebration is an annual, two-day event that honors Seminole and Native arts, dance, and music.

Few archaeology programs are designed specifically for tribal members. It is often difficult for Native Americans to attend postsecondary educational institutions that require them to leave their community. The Society for American Archaeology (SAA) offers undergraduate and graduate scholarships for Native Americans, as do some regional organizations. Native Studies (and like-titled) departments or programs are now widespread in both the United States and Canada, providing courses and training in many relevant areas, though archaeology tends to be limited to anthropology departments. Examples of training programs include the White Mountain Apache partnership with the University of Arizona for training in ethnographic field research and GIS tools (Hoering et al. 2015), the Summer Internship for Native Americans in Genomics at the University of Illinois, and the Tribal Historic Preservation Associates Degree offered by Salish Kootenai College, Montana.

Informal networks of support and communication have proven important in connecting Native Americans seeking careers or opportunities in archaeology both with their peers and with non-Aboriginal allies. The 1999 Chacmool "Indigenous Peoples and Archaeology" conference (Peck et al. 2003) was the first full event devoted to this theme. No less important were the 1988 "Preservation on the Reservation" conference organized by the Navajo Nation (Klesert and Downer 1990) and the 1990 "Kunaitupii: Coming Together on Native Sacred Sites" conference (Reeves and Kennedy 1993) organized by the Archaeological Society of Alberta and the Montana Archaeological Society. A 2001 conference called "Native American and Archaeologists Relations in the 21st Century" at Dartmouth College was important not just for the topics discussed, but also for connecting Native Americans who had similar experiences and perspectives. Members of this group have since supported each other through a listserv (Watkins and Nichols 2013) and have sought to bring about change within the SAA and other organizations, with some success. Native American participation is now a regular element of meetings sponsored by the SAA, WAC, and regional archaeological societies, among others.

Decolonizing Archaeology?

The issues, agendas, and goals that shape Native Americans' evolving relationship with archaeology in North America are connected as much to developments within the discipline as they are to the social, economic, and political circumstances Native Americans face. For their part, Native Americans now use archaeology as one of many tools that they employ to address their historical, political, and heritage needs. There are new opportunities for Aboriginal peoples to become involved in archaeology today, especially in the realm of heritage management, as well as educational and training programs. At the same time, new challenges have emerged relating to policy development and implementation, intellectual property, human rights, DNA, repatriation, and the politics of identity. Addressing the concerns raised about such topics helps to move archaeology out from under the shadow of scientific colonialism.

Ongoing Issues and Needs

Native Americans have historically had little control over research on their heritage, often viewed as in the public domain, and they have suffered cultural harm and economic loss as a result. Collaborative projects developed jointly by archaeologists and community members (see Atalay et al. 2016; Kerber 2006; Martindale and Lyons 2014) avoid many of the problems of projects in which decisions were made by outside researchers. Nonetheless, concerns about control over, and access to, research persist. This situation has prompted efforts to develop policies and protocols that ensure the rights of the communities involved while acknowledging the contributions of the researchers. Considerable attention to ethics in archaeology in the past two decades has had a positive effect. Nonetheless, community-oriented archaeology has the potential to cause harm or exacerbate existing tensions when some Aboriginal interests are privileged over others (Supernant and Warrick 2014) with regard to identity, land rights, and self-determination.

Human rights issues remain largely unresolved for many Native Americans. Access to and control over one's own heritage is a basic human right essential to identity, well-being, and worldview. The United Nations has set a broad mandate for acknowledging and protecting Indigenous peoples through the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, stating that "Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures" (United Nations 2007:Article 31). A key principle here is "free, prior, and informed consent." Putting this into practice will require significant changes to heritage preservation laws and policies (see King 2003; Warrick 2017). While the North American archaeological record is dominated by the legacy of ancestral Indigenous peoples, most heritage legislation continues to prioritize scientific evidence over

culture-based values. In some cases, there is unequal protection under the law for Indigenous compared with settler heritage, as demonstrated when ancestral burials are viewed as archaeological sites while White graves are viewed as cemeteries. Additionally, heritage policies in North America and elsewhere are strongly influenced by economic pressures (Welch and Ferris 2014).

Another topic of considerable importance is that of Indigeneity and identity. Archaeologists have long sought to understand past population movements and to discern ethnicity, whether through material culture (for example, Gaudreau and Lesage 2016) or, more recently, through genetics (Rasmussen et al. 2014). DNA is increasingly perceived as able to substantiate claims to land and other identity-based rights, or to adjudicate the repatriation of ancestral remains to descendant communities, as seen in the case of Kennewick Man. Many tribes and First Nations thus support DNA research. However, scientific claims about identity based on genetic research may also have profound social, cultural, political, and economic consequences for Indigenous peoples. Important reviews and case studies pertaining to the bioarchaeological and genetic issues and opportunities are found in Pullman (2018), TallBear (2013b), and Walker et al. (2016).

Critiques of Indigenous Archaeology

Indigenous archaeology is today a recognized approach within the discipline, but it continues to be met with resistance for a variety of reasons. Mason (2006) charged that oral histories, often an important element of the Native interpretation of history, are unreliable. One of the most common criticisms of Indigenous archaeology is that it is unscientific, highly subjective, and often overtly political in its goals (McGhee 2008). In response, Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. (2010), Wilcox (2010), and others argued that Indigenous archaeology is as scientific as any archaeological practice can be but that it does not privilege the authority of scientists to identify and describe the Indigenous past. Some interpretations or explanations may fall outside the realm of Western notions of science and history, with modes of interpretation informed by Indigenous epistemology, ontology, and worldview. Often, however, it uses traditional archaeological methods conducted with, for, or by communities to fulfill heritage management needs, to pursue land claims, or to supplement or validate traditional histories.

Some archaeologists have decried the loss of scientific knowledge that occurs when human skeletal remains and heritage objects are repatriated or otherwise removed from museums and other repositories (Weiss 2008). Charges of political correctness have been raised that repatriation comes at the expense of knowledge of human history, which is lost when human skeletal remains and artifacts are reburied or become inaccessible to scientific study (Weiss and Springer 2020). In some situations, both policy makers and private citizens have blamed Native Americans for the use of public funds to resolve land claims or to purchase land containing sacred sites and cemeteries to protect them from development, even though development interests usually win out.

Finally, Indigenous archaeology has often been included with other approaches—Marxist, feminist, critical—that challenge ideologically influenced norms, practices, and interpretations. Of these, Indigenous archaeology has faced the most resistance. This may be due not only, at least in part, to its sometimes-political orientation (that is, its challenge to existing power structures), but also to the challenge it may raise regarding the primacy of Western epistemology and modes of interpretation.

Conclusion

The evolving relationship between Native Americans and the discipline of archaeology has followed a winding path. Once highly resistant to relinquishing sole authority to speak about the Native American past, the discipline has, in many ways, been transformed. Indigenous archaeology acknowledges the political nature of defining the past, foregrounds local knowledge, recognizes the responsibilities that a community has to its ancestors, and distinguishes scientific information about the past from the cultural meanings inherent in that heritage.

Archaeology has become a tool used by Native Americans to supplement oral histories, support land claims, demonstrate continuity of occupation, and much more, while also providing the kind of material evidence needed by outside parties. This situation has, in turn, benefited archaeology, both theoretically and methodologically, by contributing to the suite of ideas and approaches associated with postprocessual archaeology, community-based participatory research, and ethnomuseological practices. Indigenous archaeology has become a familiar part of archaeological practice and theory.

Indigenous North Americans knew their past prior to the creation of archaeology. Now some use archaeology to learn different aspects of their history and to supplement knowledge lost through conquest, colonialism, and acculturation. A small but growing number of Native Americans are pursuing training

and graduate degrees in archaeology, including in programs in which their instructors and professors are themselves Native. Some have full-time positions in heritage management or, in the United States, serve as THPOs. Such careers, in addition to being interesting, are a way for tribal people to protect and maintain access to sacred sites and cultural objects. Community members also now regularly participate in archaeological projects, whether developed with, by, or for tribes and communities or within the larger context of heritage management. Still, the comparatively small number of Native people participating in archaeology may reflect cultural protocols that prevent tribal members from choosing archaeology as a full-time profession or some lingering resistance by the discipline.

Some have suggested that Indigenous research methods and perspectives should be integrated into mainstream archaeology, lest such efforts remain at the margin, but there is also an argument for keeping them separate (Nicholas 2010). The ability of practitioners to influence the discipline is limited because much of the literature that reports on research using an explicit Indigenous approach is in the form of conference or workshop presentations. The scarcity of full-length books written by Native scholars (such as Atalay 2012; Watkins 2000; Wilcox 2009) likely reflects their career paths, which can be difficult, given the challenge that Indigenous archaeology can represent to university anthropology departments. In addition, Indigenous scholars seeking to publish may be limited by reviewers who do not appreciate the integration of Native worldviews.

The realm of archaeological research and heritage management has changed in response to the refrain "Nothing about us, without us." Much work remains to move from talk to action in decolonization (Tuck and Yang 2012), but there is already ample evidence that Indigenous North Americans and non-Indigenous archaeologists can work together in a mutually beneficial way. What is clear, as Native American archaeologist Robert Hall's work so aptly demonstrated (1997), is that the integration of traditional knowledge and archaeology enhances, rather than limits, knowledge and understanding of Native American lifeways and beliefs.

Additional Readings

The emergence of more inclusive and nuanced interpretations of the deep past of North America's indigenous peoples is apparent through the scholarship of indigenous archaeologists, such as Cree archaeologist Kevin Brownlee (2018) and new major collaborative initiatives (Knecht and Jones 2019). The nature, goals, and outcomes of repatriation (Atalay 2019; Gonzalez et al. 2018; Meloche et al. 2020) include concerns about Indigenous data sovereignty (Gupta et al. 2020), Indigenous epistemology and materiality (Crellin et al. 2020), ethical challenges relating to Indigenous aDNA/DNA research (Tsosie et al. 2020), and decolonizing heritage policies relative to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Schaepe et al. 2020).

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Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact

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Laws to protect cultural heritage play a crucial role in the history of North American archaeology, anthropology, and aboriginal rights, with impacts that are both beneficial and harmful. This chapter reviews heritage laws in the United States and Canada (but does not cover northern Mexico). It employs a broad definition of cultural heritage that includes both tangible material, such as artifacts and sites, and intangible heritage, such as cultural practices, language, and religion. Initially, laws addressed protection of archaeological sites, religious freedom, and burial sites and treated Indigenous cultural heritage as a shared national heritage. By the late twentieth century, repatriation laws extended these limited protections by recognizing the importance of tribal sovereignty in determining disposition of ancestral human remains and certain objects curated in museums. The initial drive to protect archaeological sites and objects eventually expanded into an effort to address human rights and religious concerns, and the legislation transformed relationships between Native American tribes, First Nations, government agencies, museums, and the scientific community.

Previous Coverage in the *Handbook of North American Indians*

With the exception of repatriation, cultural heritage laws receive scant attention in other volumes of the *Handbook* series. One chapter (Bailey 2008) in volume 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society* (McKeown 2008), presents the legislative history of repatriation law and some pre-1990 repatriations in the United States, Greenland, and Canada. Another chapter (Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008) briefly discusses the impact of repatriation laws on tribal museum collections. In volume 3, *Environment, Origins, and Population*, Buikstra (2006) gives some consideration to how repatriation has affected research on skeletal biology. Volume 4, *History of Indian–White Relations*, includes a discussion of the relationship between anthropologists and U.S. tribes (Lurie 1988) and a review of national laws and policies regarding Native Americans in the United States (Kelly 1988), Greenland (Gad 1988), and Canada (Surtees 1988a, b).

Cultural Heritage Laws in the United States

During most of the nineteenth century, the U.S. government had a limited role in cultural heritage management. Responsibility for preserving significant cultural properties, like Mount Vernon in Virginia (Howe 1990) and Serpent Mound in Ohio (Putnam 1888), fell to private initiatives. Government efforts were limited to surveys and expeditions for scientific, administrative, and military interests. Although geographic and geological in their focus, the surveys resulted in ethnographic and archaeological collections.

The first quasi-federal management of cultural heritage occurred in 1879, when Congress created the Bureau of Ethnology (later named the Bureau of American Ethnology, or BAE) at the Smithsonian Institution to engage in ethnographic and archaeological research. In its early years, the BAE emphasized "salvaging" information and specimens representative of past cultures and contemporary Native American groups then perceived as "vanishing" (Dippie 1991:231–242; Judd 1967; "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.). As part of its mandate to research and preserve the past, the BAE became a major force for the protection of antiquities on federal lands (Lee 2006:15).

Casa Grande

The first federal effort to preserve Native American sites came in 1889. By that time, curiosity seekers and looters had caused immense damage to Casa Grande (fig. 1), a large village site in Arizona that dates to A.D. 1200–1450 (Doyel 1976). Following privately funded studies to "salvage" what was left of the site and a public outcry for its preservation, Congress appropriated $2,000 to repair damage and authorized the president to remove Casa Grande and surrounding land from sale (Bandelier 1892; Baxter 1888; Clemenson 1992:31–33, 37; Fewkes 1912:72). The BAE staff

Photograph by Aleŝ Hrdlička, circa 1898–1902. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (P04868).
Fig. 1. Casa Grande, Arizona.

surveyed the site, published the results (Mindeleff 1896), supervised repairs, and advocated for protection of the site because of its national significance. In 1892, following the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior, President Benjamin Harrison issued an executive order creating the Casa Grande monument and setting aside the site and 480 surrounding acres for preservation and protection (Van Valkenburgh 1962:12).

With the establishment of the Casa Grande monument, the framework for federal cultural heritage protection took shape, with the underlying premise that some Native American sites were of national significance and merited federal protection. Protection was achieved by setting aside land for management by the federal government; using federal resources to restore, preserve, monitor, and interpret the site; and regulating who could conduct research. Casa Grande was saved from near-total destruction, but there were no enforcement provisions to stop looting and defacement (Clemenson 1992:45, 49). Federal protection did not include consultation with Native communities or recognition that looting not only destroyed physical artifacts but also violated Indigenous religious and cultural beliefs. As the site was "nationalized," its cultural heritage was co-opted from Indigenous communities, and a narrative that privileged the interests and concerns of non-Native people was created (J.E. Watkins 2006).

In the early twentieth century, looting of archaeological sites became rampant, especially in the Southwest. The BAE, professional archaeologists and societies, universities, state governors, federal agencies, and influential private individuals pressed for legislation to protect Native American sites. Six years of legislative effort resulted in the passage of An Act

for the Preservation of American Antiquities, also known as the Antiquities Act (Lee 2006).

Antiquities Act

The Antiquities Act of 1906 (16 U.S.C. §431–433) was the first significant legislation to address the preservation of Native American cultural heritage. The act made it illegal to "appropriate, excavate, injure, or destroy any historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or any object of antiquity" on land that the federal government owned or controlled. It authorized the president to establish national monuments by setting aside public land or land deeded to the government. Finally, it authorized agencies to grant permits to qualified institutions to excavate sites on their lands for the purposes of "increasing knowledge" and "permanent preservation" of the collections.

The act did not require consultation with tribes before permits were issued or monuments were established. For work on Indian lands, however, permits required consideration of tribal interests and concerns, and they could be revoked if the tribes raised objections after work began (Browning 2003). The extent to which tribal concerns were included in permit decisions is unknown and may have been minimal, but there were examples, including a 1916 application for work on the Zuni reservation (Browning 2003; Daniels 2012) and revocation of a 1927 permit following objections by the Pyramid Lake Paiute (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Department of Anthropology Records, 1877–1980, Box 2). In 1935, the Department of the Interior modified its regulations to require tribal approval for excavations on Indian lands in cemeteries that had been out of use for less than 100 years (Browning 2003). Even then, some archaeologists recognized that the act's requirements for tribal consultation were minimal and sought tribal permission for work on tribal lands beyond what the permit process mandated (Woodbury 1983:262). Subsequent legislation (see below) expanded tribal consultation requirements, which became increasingly important for the creation of national monuments beginning with the establishment of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument (J.E. Watkins 2006:195).

The Antiquities Act was a logical extension of the effort to preserve Casa Grande, with the addition of a much-needed provision to protect sites. It established the framework for archaeological practice in the United States: research was to be conducted by museums, educational institutions, and scientific societies; the goal of excavations should be the advancement of knowledge about the sites; and the collections were to be maintained in perpetuity in public museums. Significantly, the act did not create a "national" heritage system by limiting excavations on federal or Indian land to governmental entities or requiring a federal repository to house the collections. It did, however, establish some federal control over cultural heritage by regulating permits, prohibiting the sale of federal collections by the museums that maintained them, and banning the private collection of artifacts on federal lands.

The Antiquities Act has been criticized as an assimilationist government policy that appropriated control of Native American cultural heritage, including ancestral remains, from tribes to the government, archaeologists, and museums (J.E. Watkins 2006). The writing of the legislation reflected the social and historical milieu of the time and involved no consultation with tribes (Daniels 2012; Moore 2003:203).

Another long-standing criticism of the act is that its enforcement mechanisms were weak. Its minimal looting prohibitions were rarely enforced, especially on Indian lands. Looting was and continues to be a problem (e.g., Hedquist et al. 2014a; Judd 1924; Mallouf 1996; Smith and Ehrenhard 1991). Finally, poor oversight of the collections maintained in museums resulted in inaccurate or incomplete inventories and allowed items to be sold or otherwise deaccessioned.

National Park Service

The Organic Act of 1916 (16 U.S.C. §1) created the National Park Service (NPS) under the Department of the Interior (DOI) to "promote and regulate the use" of national parks and monuments with the goal of conserving their natural and cultural features (Sellars 2007). During the twentieth century, the NPS became the federal entity that oversaw cultural heritage laws. It followed the "semi-nationalized" model established under the Antiquities Act, managing cultural heritage as a matter of national interest but not having a monopoly on access to sites for visitation or excavation.

Roosevelt's New Deal

In 1933, President Franklin Roosevelt created the Civil Works Administration (CWA) to provide employment during the Great Depression. Under the CWA, the BAE conducted excavations at several archaeological sites, primarily mound centers in the Southeast and California, but the work suffered from a lack of qualified supervisors (Setzler and Strong 1936:301, 306–307). The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and Works Progress Administration (WPA) projects also included excavations (fig. 2), repairs to sites, and construction of visitor and maintenance facilities (Fagette 1996; Lyon 1996; Means 2013). As

Photograph by Joseph R. Caldwell, National Anthropological Archives (photo lot 87-3, CH4-1-A).
Fig. 2. WPA archaeological excavations in Savannah, Georgia.

with the Antiquities Act and the CWA, the Smithsonian Institution reviewed projects for approval and provided supervisors for FERA excavations (Haag 1985:274–275).

The Historic Sites Act of 1935 (16 U.S.C. § 461–467) declared a "national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the United States." The act gave the DOI responsibility for acquiring, researching, documenting, restoring, preserving, and maintaining archaeological sites, buildings, and objects. It also allowed the DOI to form agreements with state, local, or private entities to protect, maintain, and operate sites. The law required the DOI to conduct a survey of sites and determine which had "exceptional" historical value, a list that eventually became the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP; see below). Significantly, the register extended beyond federal lands to recognize important privately held sites (McManamon 2006a:168). The WPA and the Civilian Conservation Corps performed research, documentation, and restoration of archaeological sites in accordance with the act (Banks and Czaplicki 2014; Jennings 1985).

The Historic Sites Act was supplemented by the Reservoir Salvage Act of 1960 (16 U.S.C. § 469), which provided for archaeological surveys and mitigation in advance of dam construction and allowed for the preservation of sites of exceptional significance. It was amended several times and ultimately supplanted by the Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act (16 U.S.C. § 469–469c) of 1974, which expanded its scope to the preservation of significant cultural resources potentially impacted by any federally funded effort, not just those tied to reservoirs.

National Historic Preservation Act

The most far-reaching cultural preservation legislation consists of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA; 54 U.S.C. § 300101 et seq.) and its amendments. The NHPA was enacted to minimize damage to historic properties, particularly those with "traditional religious and cultural importance," including

Native American cultural sites. It created the list of National Historic Landmarks, the NRHP, and state historic preservation officers (SHPOs). Under NHPA, properties are evaluated for eligibility to be listed on the NRHP, an effort coordinated in each state and U.S. territory by the SHPO. The act requires federal agencies to assess the impact of activities on historic properties through a review process (as amended by Pub. L. No. 96-515), which includes consultation with interested parties, including Indian tribes and other Native American organizations. The NHPA was the first legislation to require consultation with Native American groups on a range of activities, not a narrow subset of conditions.

Two changes to the NHPA provided more protection for cultural heritage. In 1990, the NRHP introduced the concept of the "traditional cultural property" (TCP), which has become widely used to demarcate areas of sacred importance and other cultural significance (Parker and King 1990). The TCP designation has been used to include Native American sacred sites and cultural areas on the NRHP, thus providing some protection of, or at least consultation on, any activity that affects them. However, the TCP is an imperfect solution for several reasons, including the difficulty of consulting on areas identified on the basis of esoteric, confidential knowledge and the impossibility of defining boundaries when cultural perspectives do not include a fixed spatial or temporal limit to an area and its significance (T.F. King 2003).

Another important amendment occurred in 1992 with the creation of tribal historic preservation officers (THPOs). THPOs are authorized to fill the role of SHPOs for tribal lands. Additionally, they are commonly consulted for projects that may impact sites on historic and ancestral tribal lands that U.S. treaties have recognized (Backhouse et al. 2017).

American Indian Religious Freedom Act

The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA) recognizes the rights of Native Americans to express and practice their traditional religions including "access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites" (42 U.S.C. § 1996 Sec.1). Section 2 of AIRFA directs federal agencies to review their policies and practices in consultation with traditional religious leaders to identify administrative changes necessary to protect religious rights. AIRFA was invoked as the basis for the repatriation of sacred objects and human remains, on the grounds that ancestral remains are inherently sacred but did not lead to any repatriation (Blair 1979b:146; Bowman 1989:175; Harjo 2004a:130). Following a 1988 Supreme Court ruling, it became clear that the AIRFA could not protect sacred sites and was essentially procedural (Harjo 2004b:148–149; Michaelson 2003; Price 1991:29; Saugee 1982). For example, a 1994 amendment to the AIRFA protects peyote use as religious sacrament but does nothing to protect sites. Through a 1996 Executive Order (E.O. 13007: Indian Sacred Sites), federal agencies are required to avoid adverse effects on sacred sites and accommodate access and ceremonial use of sacred sites on federal lands.

Archaeological Resources Protection Act

The Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA, 16 U.S.C. § 470aa–470mm) was passed in 1979 in response to a court ruling that the term *antiquities* in the Antiquities Act was unconstitutionally vague. A primary goal of the act was "to secure, for the present and future benefit of the American people, the protection of archaeological resources and sites which are on public land and Indian lands." ARPA replaced the term *antiquities* with *archaeological resources* and defined them as materials more than 100 years old.

ARPA superseded the Antiquities Act as the permitting authority and provides detailed requirements for excavations on federal or tribal lands. It lists prohibited activity: removal of material or defacement of sites; sale or trafficking of any materials obtained in violation of federal, state, or local laws; and collusion in any of these activities. It requires landholding agencies to develop a plan for documenting violations and introduces stiffer penalties than the Antiquities Act. ARPA also forbids the disclosure of the location and nature of sites unless divulging the information would not jeopardize them. Objects excavated under ARPA permits are considered federal property.

ARPA gives the Secretary of the Interior authority to determine disposition of material collected under ARPA, the Reservoir Salvage Act, and the Antiquities Act. Acknowledging the role of other stakeholders, it requires consultation with state and federal agencies, as well as Indian tribes. Finally, in an attempt to reconnect private collections with the sites from which they were removed, ARPA encourages the exchange of information between private collectors and federal officials and archaeologists.

Unlike the Antiquities Act, ARPA acknowledges tribal authority. Tribal permission for excavations on tribal land must be obtained before any permit can be issued, and the permit holder must adhere to any conditions the tribe requests. The disposition of any material removed from Indian land must be approved by the tribe that owns or has jurisdiction over that land. If excavations occur on sites with "religious or cultural

importance" located on nontribal federal lands, tribal concerns must be considered before issuing the permit.

ARPA explicitly grants tribes a role, but it has aspects some consider problematic, such as the fact that human remains are treated as "archaeological resources," which is offensive to many Native Americans (e.g., Trope and Echo-Hawk 1992:42). Second, while ARPA requires consideration of tribal concerns in determining whether a permit for excavation will be granted on land with religious or cultural significance, the tribal recommendations are only advisory.

Federal Curation Standards, 36CFR79

In 1990, regulations for the "Curation of Federally Owned and Administered Archeological Collections" (36CFR79) were issued as part of the Reservoir Salvage Act, NHPA, and ARPA. The regulations establish the minimum standards of care for cultural materials and records owned by federal agencies, including security, climate control, storage requirements, inventories, loans, and access and use. Notably, in addition to access to the collections for scientific and educational purposes, the regulations authorize access by Native Americans to collections for religious purposes. They also encourage consultation with Native American groups on the care of collections and advocate creation of memoranda of agreement and memoranda of understanding with tribes for collections care.

Executive Order 13175

The consultation responsibilities of federal agencies were reinforced in 2000 by Executive Order 13175, which requires all agencies to conduct "regular and meaningful consultation and collaboration" with Indian tribes when developing any policies or regulations that may affect them. As a result of the order, any federal regulations or policies that affect Native American cultural heritage laws must be developed in consultation with the affected tribes. In 2009, President Barack Obama required all federal agencies to develop a plan for implementing the order and to report annually on their efforts. Because it is based on an executive order and not codified into law, concerns remain about how adequately the consultation process is followed or whether it will be changed by future administrations (Haskew 1999; Ruiz and Grijalva 2016).

Cultural Heritage Laws in Canada

Few federal laws govern cultural heritage in Canada. Section 91 of the 1951 Indian Act prohibits the removal, defacement, or destruction of grave houses, grave poles, totem poles, house posts, and rock art on reserves without permission of the provincial minister (Yellowhorn 1999) but makes no mention of grave contents. Canada's 13 provinces and territories have their own legislation protecting archaeological resources. Some national agencies, national departments, and/or regions have guidelines, ministerial directives, policies, or orders that regulate or provide protections for archaeological resources on the lands they govern (Cybulski 2011:526). Together, they form the *Government of Canada Archaeological Heritage Policy Framework* (Supply and Services Canada 1990), which provides structure and standards for the management of archaeological resources.

Wherever present, the legislation provides for protecting and managing archaeological resources and sites, conducting archaeological assessments prior to development, issuing permits for archaeological investigations and interventions, consulting with interested parties, and issuing stop-work orders if human remains are discovered (Standards 2010, sect. 4.2). The standards have been criticized for emphasizing the protection of sites and cultural resources for the study of past cultures rather than their ongoing cultural significance to First Nations (Canada, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1992).

The lead entity for archaeological heritage is the Parks Canada Agency, which was created in 1998 by the Parks Canada Agency Act. The agency is "responsible for the implementation of policies of the Government of Canada that relate to national parks, national historic sites, national marine conservation areas, other protected heritage areas and heritage protection programs" (Parks Canada 1998, c. 31 6(1)). All forms of archaeological work, maintenance of heritage sites, and areas of natural or historical significance fall under the domain of the act.

The 1985 Historic Sites and Monuments Act allows for the government to enter into agreements for the protection of archaeological sites that have been designated as significant by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. Designated sites are listed in the Canadian Register of Historic Places and include those of local, provincial, territorial, and national significance recognized among the National Historic Sites of Canada. *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada*, first published in 2003 and updated in 2010 (Standards 2010), provides principles and guidelines for conserving heritage sites across Canada.

Passed in 2006 (updated in 2012), the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act requires consideration of historical, archaeological, paleontological, and

architectural resources in addition to the environmental impacts of certain development activities. If archaeological resources may be present, there is an obligation to conduct an archaeological inventory. Assessments must consider potential impacts on archaeological resources and propose mitigation of those impacts. The 2012 revision clarifies that environmental effects include impacts to the physical and cultural heritage of Aboriginal peoples, and consultation with potentially affected communities is encouraged.

Repatriation Laws

U.S. Repatriation

Before the passage of the first U.S. federal repatriation legislation in 1989, voluntary repatriations of Native American human remains and cultural objects had occurred (figs. 3, 4), and some states had passed legislation mandating repatriation in a limited number of circumstances. In the absence of federal legislation, appeals for repatriations were based on moral or ethical arguments and focused on specific situations. When agreeing to repatriation requests, museums used legal reasons established through property law. These early repatriations and policies coined the language and approaches later codified into legislation.

The reburial movement that emerged from American Indian activism (Deloria 1973, 2008; Warrior 2008; see "Codes of Ethics," this vol.) found increasing public support as shocking examples of cemetery destruction and looting occurred. In one notorious incident in 1987, more than 500 graves were looted at Slack Farm, a prehistoric Native American cemetery in Kentucky. The damage attracted national attention, prompting outrage that galvanized public support for legislation to protect unmarked graves (Arden 1989).

At the time, existing laws protected only marked burial sites, which excluded most Native American burials. Iowa was the first U.S. state to pass a reburial law in 1976; it applies to both public and private

Early Tribal and Governmental Cooperation on Repatriation in the United States

In the 1930s, two tribes sought government assistance with repatriation efforts, although the government lacked the legal authority to compel returns. In 1934, the Gila River Indian Community protested the exhumation of an individual recently buried on tribal lands during excavations covered by an Antiquities Act permit. The DOI assisted the tribe with the return of the human remains but allowed the university to keep the funerary objects (Browning 2003:10). In 1934, a group of Hidatsa Water Buster clan members and the DOI requested that the Museum of the American Indian (MAI), Heye Foundation, return a shrine that belonged to the Water Buster clan. The petitioners argued that the shrine had been sold illegally in 1907 and was needed to combat drought conditions on the reservation. Initially, the MAI refused to repatriate, believing that it had obtained the shrine legally and was preserving it for the benefit of all Americans, including the Hidatsa. After additional entreaties by Hidatsa and DOI representatives, the museum agreed to return the shrine in exchange for other Hidatsa items and repatriated it in 1938 (fig. 3).

Photograph by Kenneth C. Miller, New York, January 1938. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (P12910).

Fig. 3. Water Buster Clan Bundle Repatriation, 1938. Hidatsa representatives: Drags Wolf (left) and Foolish Bear (center), with MAI director George Heye (right) during transfer ceremony. Bundle contents blurred to obscure culturally sensitive components.

Following these collaborations, repatriations remained rare occurrences until the 1970s (K.C. Cooper 2008:75; McKeown 2008) and 1980s, when the Diné, Haudenosaunee, Hopi, Omaha, and Zuni launched independent repatriation efforts for sacred items and some human remains (Fenton 1989; Ferguson 2010; Ferguson et al. 1996).

Pre-Legislative Repatriations by the National Museum of Natural History

The Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) carried out several repatriations prior to federal mandates (fig. 4). For example, based on existing Smithsonian policy for illegally acquired collections, the museum repatriated a Snake Society pot to Zia Pueblo in 1982 because it had been acquired without good title. The Smithsonian adopted a policy of returning human remains upon request by family members, whether Native American or not (Adams 1987). This was an early example of recognition of the ancestor–descendent relationship as the basis for repatriation. Following this policy, the NMNH repatriated the remains of five Modoc individuals to descendant family members in 1984. In 1985, the NMNH mailed lists of the number of human remains in its collections by state to tribes across the country to disclose the scope of human remains collections to tribes. The museum contacted tribes believed connected to remains of named individuals in the collections in 1987. Also in 1987, the NMNH repatriated two Ahayu:da to the Zuni (Ferguson 2010; Ferguson et al. 1996). Based on the Zuni's argument that a museum could not have proper title to the Ahayu:da because they were communally owned property and no single individual had authority to alienate them, the NMNH labeled this kind of inalienable group property as "cultural patrimony" (Merrill et al. 1993). Federal law would later codify and define this concept as a repatriation category.

Photograph by Leslie Logan, Smithsonian Institution (89-12761-14).

Fig. 4. Blackfeet veterans carrying the human remains of 16 individuals for reburial in May 1989. They were repatriated from the NMNH in 1988, prior to passage of the NMAI Act.

land and requires reburial of remains older than 150 years, whether Indigenous or not, after a physical anthropologist has studied them. By the time the first federal repatriation law was passed in 1989, 27 states had legislation to specifically protect Native American unmarked graves on state lands. Existing but variable cemetery and antidesecration laws of other states also offer some protections (Price 1991:118, 122–125).

In the 1980s, federal agencies began to adopt policies that addressed Native American concerns for ancestral remains and objects. In 1982, the DOI instituted a policy to notify identified descendants, groups with an established affinity to the remains, or groups with an interest in the remains based on general cultural affinity when human remains were encountered. In 1987, the NPS established the first federal repatriation policy, the Native American Relationships Management Policy, which authorized repatriation of Native American items if a tribe could show that such items were their inalienable cultural property and that the NPS lacked legal title to them (U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service 1987:35678). The southern and eastern regions of the U.S. Forest Service created a reburial policy in 1988 for human remains and funerary objects, but the policy was withdrawn because of potential conflicts with ARPA's mandate to preserve collections and because the DOI objected that it destroyed archaeological materials (Price 1991:35–36). Professional anthropological and archaeological societies also began to adopt policies regarding human remains (see "Codes of Ethics," this vol.), such as the Society for American Archaeology's 1986 "Statement Concerning the Treatment of Human Remains."

National Museum of the American Indian Act

The National Museum of the American Indian Act (NMAIA) was passed in 1989. The NMAIA created the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) and included the first federal repatriation legislation (McKeown 2008). It applies only to the Smithsonian Institution, which currently consists of 19 museums. The act requires the secretary of the Smithsonian to consult with tribes to inventory the Indian human remains and funerary objects in the collections and

"using the best available scientific and historic documentation, identify the origins of such remains and objects" (20 USC 80q-9 Sec 11(a)2). It directed the Smithsonian to repatriate human remains and funerary objects upon request by culturally affiliated tribe(s).

The NMAIA was amended in 1996 to include provisions for unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony so that the law mirrored the summary and repatriation sections of the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (see below). The NMAIA contains no provisions about excavations. The law applies primarily to the collections of the NMNH and the NMAI; each museum has its own repatriation program and policy.

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

The Native American Graves Protections and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) built upon the language of the NMAIA. The law protects Native American graves on federal lands, prohibits the sale or trafficking of Native American "cultural items" (human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony), and establishes a process whereby tribes can regain custody of culturally affiliated cultural items held by a museum or federal agency. When it was passed, the law was heralded as a matter of human rights and a "true compromise" by two of its sponsors, Senators Daniel Inouye and John McCain (U.S. Congress, Senate 1990).

The law's provisions to protect graves are twofold. It requires an ARPA permit, issued in consultation with appropriate tribes, for excavation of human remains or other cultural items on federal land. The inadvertent discovery of burials requires notification to tribes and a halt to all activity in the area for 30 days. Ownership or control of human remains or cultural items excavated on federal lands after 1990 is determined through a hierarchy of lineal descendants (for human remains and associated funerary objects); the tribe on whose land (i.e., tribal reservations) the remains or objects were discovered; the tribe with the closest cultural affiliation; then a tribe with a "stronger cultural relationship with the remains or objects" than the tribe recognized by the land claims. Protection of graves is provided indirectly by making the trafficking of Native American human remains and cultural items a criminal violation.

The repatriation provisions of NAGPRA apply to museums, which are defined broadly as any "entity" (except the Smithsonian) that receives federal funds after 1990 and holds Native American collections. A cornerstone of NAGPRA is cultural affiliation, defined as "a relationship of shared group identity which can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present-day Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group" (25 U.S.C. 3001 Sec. 2[2]). The regulations provide criteria for cultural affiliation and make it clear that a relationship of shared group identity requires that the tribe descended from the earlier group (43CFR10.14[c][3])).

NAGPRA requires museums to inventory Native American human remains and associated funerary objects and—in consultation with federally recognized tribes, Alaska Native villages, or Native Hawaiian organizations—determine cultural affiliation. If cultural affiliation is established, the museum must repatriate the remains and objects upon request of the culturally affiliated party. Unlike the NMAIA, NAGPRA does not require the use of the "best available scientific and historic evidence" (20 USC 80q-9 Sec 11[a][2]) in determining cultural affiliation; it only requires the use of "information possessed by the museum or Federal agency."

NAGPRA requires museums and federal agencies to provide summaries of their collections to tribes, Alaska Native villages, or Native Hawaiian organizations if the collections contain sacred objects, objects of cultural patrimony, or unassociated funerary objects. If any items belong to one of these categories, cultural affiliation is established, and the affiliated group requests repatriation, the museum must repatriate unless it has right of possession.

Like the NMAIA, NAGPRA bases repatriation of human remains on an ancestor-descendant relationship (cultural affiliation), a right supported by the majority of tribes, museums, and scientific organizations. The NAGPRA regulations on culturally unidentifiable human remains (43CFR10.11), promulgated in 2010, shifted from cultural affiliation to a model based on property law. It requires the disposition, upon request, of culturally unidentifiable human remains to tribes based on historically recognized, legal connections to the location from which the remains were removed, as documented in treaties, land claims, and acts of Congress.

The regulations were opposed by most museums and scientific organizations as well as some tribes, who saw them as going beyond the legislation by requiring the return of human remains regardless of whether or not the recipient is related and preempting the opportunity for the descendants to be identified in the future (J. Jacobs 2009, 2016; Seidemann 2008). Others (Dumont 2011) believe that the regulations do not go far enough because they do not mandate the return of funerary objects associated with culturally unidentifiable human remains.

NAGPRA mandates government-to-government relationships and recognizes tribal sovereignty in determining the how, when, and where of repatriating ancestral remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony. As a result, museums no longer have the exclusive right to determine the treatment of culturally affiliated human remains and cultural items. Tribes have chosen a wide range of dispositions, including reburial, the return of objects to traditional uses, or museum stewardship for preservation and research (Coombe 2009:401; Ferguson et al. 1996; McKeown 2008). Some repatriations and reburials are public events and provide an opportunity for community healing and recovery, whereas others occur privately with only the tribal official(s) and/or religious practitioners present.

Repatriation in Canada

The history of repatriation in Canada has parallels to that of the United States. Requests by First Nations for the repatriation of collections and the resulting returns predated enactment of policies or legislations requiring repatriation. In 1975, potlatch items confiscated from the Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl) nation in British Columbia in 1921 under the Canadian "potlatch ban" of 1884 (Cole and Chaikin 1990; Surtees 1988a) were repatriated by the National Museum of Man, now the Canadian Museum of History, on the condition that they be housed in an appropriate curation facility, for which the U'mista Cultural Centre was built. Repatriations of other potlatch items by the Royal Ontario Museum and NMAI occurred in 1988 and 1992, respectively (Knight 2013). These potlatch items were illegally confiscated under an 1884 amendment to the Federal Indian Act, which banned participation in potlatch ceremonies. This potlatch ban was not removed until 1951.

In 1988, an exhibit titled *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples* opened with some controversy at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta, for the Olympic Winter Games (Mauzé 2010; see "Codes of Ethics" and "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology," this vol.). Three Mohawk bands sued the museum for the repatriation of a False Face mask, moccasins, headdresses, and shoulder bags featured in the exhibition, but the court found against the Mohawk on the grounds that they were unable to show that irreparable harm would result if the items were not returned (Bell 1992b:464; Gibbons 1997:312). The Lubicon Lake First Nation also advocated a boycott of the exhibition because it received financial support from Shell Oil Company, which was drilling on the Nation's traditional territory without its permission. Public boycotts (Halpin and Ames 1999; Harrison 1998; Harrison and Trigger 1988; Mauzé 2010) and withdrawal of objects loaned by other museums highlighted cultural conflicts between Canadian museums and First Nations.

In response to the Glenbow exhibit controversy, the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association held a conference that led to the creation of the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples in 1990 (see "Codes of Ethics," this vol.). The task force studied NAGPRA and its implementation in the United States but decided "it was preferable to encourage museums and Aboriginal peoples to work collaboratively to resolve issues concerning the management, care and custody of cultural objects" (Task Force 1994:5). The task force issued a report in 1992 calling for increased involvement of aboriginal peoples in museums, improved access to collections, and repatriation of human remains and affiliated sacred objects. The report recommended a voluntary, case-by-case approach to repatriation that used moral and ethical criteria to resolve issues rather than legislation to mandate returns. It recognized multiple options for the disposition of human remains and burials and of sacred and ceremonial objects, including transfer of title, loan of collections for use in ceremonies, and replication of objects (Bell 2009:47; Hanna 2003; Mauzé 2010; Task Force 1994). Over time, repatriations in Canada have become part of the larger reconciliation process (Flagel 2010).

In response to the recommendations of the task force, numerous institutions developed policies to address First Nations concerns, including the Royal Ontario Museum, Parks Canada, the Royal British Columbia Museum, the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the Manitoba Museum, the Royal Saskatchewan Museum, and the University of Alberta (Bell 2009:66). This voluntary approach has been criticized as less effective than legislative approaches, such as NAGPRA (Flagel 2010). However, the challenges faced by First Nations—variation in the repatriation policies and practices of different institutions; difficulty in locating cultural property due to incomplete, missing, or incorrect inventories; lack of funding for repatriation programs; and museum control over the process and decisions (Flagel 2010:76–81)—are also challenges faced by U.S. tribes, despite NAGPRA.

Although case-by-case approaches have been the preference, provincial legislation has been necessary in some cases. In 2000, Alberta passed the First Nations Sacred Ceremonial Objects Repatriation Act (FNSCORA) to enable the repatriation of collections from the Royal Alberta Museum and the Glenbow Museum, which are owned by the government

of Alberta and considered the property of the Crown. The FNSCORA also allowed First Nations to repatriate items without any conditions on their storage or use. It standardized repatriation procedures for provincial museums in Alberta. The FNSCORA and an amendment to the Glenbow-Alberta Institute Act enabled the repatriation of 251 items from the Glenbow Museum that had been on loan to the Blackfoot First Nations (Bell 2009:41). Additional repatriations under FNSCORA required new regulations, the first of which was a 2004 amendment to enable repatriation of ceremonial objects to the Kainai, Peigan, and Siksika Nations (Bell 2009:42–43).

Treaties and provincial assistance also facilitate repatriations. In 1998, the Nisga'a Treaty was the first to include repatriation among its provisions. Once the treaty was ratified, the repatriation provisions carried the weight of law. The Nisga'a Treaty has provided a model for other First Nations as they negotiate their land claims (Flagel 2010:24). The subsequent Maa-nulth First Nations Final Agreement, ratified in 2009, contained provisions for the return of objects from the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the Royal British Columbia Museum, and Parks Canada, as well as the return of all ancestral remains held by Canada (the Crown) or the province of British Columbia. In 2016, British Columbia announced a program to assist B.C. First Nations with the repatriation of ancestral remains and significant cultural objects.

Impact of Cultural Heritage Legislation

Antiquities Act, ARPA, and NHPA

One of the most visible results of cultural heritage laws has been the creation of national monuments in the United States under the Antiquities Act. Since 1906, 12 of 15 U.S. presidents created new or expanded the existing national monuments. As of December 31, 2017, 154 national monuments had been created under the authority provided by the act that resulted in the protection of tens of thousands of significant archaeological, historic, and cultural areas.

The Secretary of Interior's annual reports to Congress provide information on ARPA's impacts. Between October 1985 and September 2012, more than 32,000 ARPA permits were issued, and approximately 64,200 tribal notifications were sent. More than 985,000 sites were legally protected by virtue of their location on federal lands, but looting still occurs and is underreported. Of the 21,000 reported instances of looting, there have been only 1,300 ARPA convictions, mostly as misdemeanors (U.S. Department of the Interior 2016).

A few statistics illustrate the NHPA's important role in protecting cultural heritage. The passage of the NHPA led to a boom in cultural resource management (CRM)—since 1998, more than $60 million has been spent annually on CRM activities on federal lands (U.S. Department of the Interior 2016). NHPA has resulted in the listing of more than 90,000 archaeological sites and historic properties on the NRHP, which requires consultation for activities that may adversely affect the property (not all of these properties involve Native American cultural heritage). The number of THPOs grew from 12 in 1996 to 177 by December 2017. In addition, the NHPA's requirements for consultation have fostered cooperative relationships between archaeologists and Native Americans (Kuwanwisiwma 2008; Swidler et al. 1997).

NMAIA and NAGPRA

In the United States, the human remains of approximately 202,000 Native American individuals were under the stewardship of museums when the repatriation laws were passed (182,112 reported under NAGPRA, approximately 19,600 Native American individuals inventoried under the NMAIA). The number of individuals must still be considered an estimate, due to the inability of some institutions to accurately assess the minimum number of individuals, misidentification of remains as human or animal, and incomplete agency inventories. The total number of sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony is unknown because they can be identified only through substantial consultation with tribes, which is ongoing. The number of civil penalties assessed under NAGPRA by 2016 suggests that most museums have complied with the law; only 12 percent of the 277 allegations of failure to comply have been substantiated (NAGPRA Review Committee 2016). Federal agencies, however, have not fully complied with the law (GAO 2010).

Table 1 provides information on human remains and other cultural items offered for repatriation in the United States, as of 2019. There is no requirement to report when a repatriation occurs, so the total number is unknown. By 2009, only 55 percent of the human remains and 68 percent of the associated funerary objects available for repatriation from federal agencies had been repatriated (GAO 2010). In some cases, tribes had not requested the repatriations. In other cases, the tribes wanted to pursue repatriation but did not have a suitable reburial site or sufficient funding, or disputes between tribes sometimes prevented repatriations. In addition to the reasons outlined by the U.S. General Accountability Office (GAO) report, some tribes may not intend to pursue repatriation because cultural preclusions prevent

Table 1. Human Remains and Other Cultural Items Offered for Repatriation under the NAGPRA and NMAIA as of December 2020

Type	*Number*
Human remains	91,806
Funerary objects (associated and unassociated)	2,432,450
Sacred objects	6,462
Objects of cultural patrimony	14,110
Sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony	2,223
Unspecified cultural items	298

SOURCE: Federal Register (2018, 2019b, 2020), Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Review Committee (2018), Smithsonian Institution (2020).

their return. In other cases, tribes lack cultural protocols or proper ceremonial leaders for human remains or other cultural items to return home. Some tribes believe that the ceremonies done at the time of the original burial were sufficient and that no reburial or additional spiritual observances are necessary.

Impact on Museums

Cultural heritage laws have forced museums to change how items are exhibited and explained. Some objects have been removed from displays for repatriation or in response to tribal concerns, but the creation of new, collaborative exhibits brings additional dimensions to the museum experience (Cooper 2008; Hanna 1999).

Cultural heritage laws, particularly ARPA and the Antiquities Act, have resulted in large, federally owned collections that repositories must curate according to the standards established by 36CFR79. As of 2012, nonmilitary federal collections totaled more than 58.6 million objects, although not all are Native American. Approximately 1,300 repositories house the collections; slightly less than half are federal facilities. Some repositories cannot meet the minimum curation standards of 36CFR79, owing to shortages in funding, space, and staff, which has led to a national curation crisis (Childs 2004; Lyons et al. 2006; Nepstad-Thornberry et al. 2002).

On the other hand, NAGPRA has reduced museum collections. Fears of "trucks pulling up to the doors" to empty museums have not been realized (e.g., Bell et al. 2013:4), yet there has been a cumulative decrease in the size of collections, particularly human remains and funerary objects. A small number of museums have chosen to return or rebury all human remains in their collection. The regulations for disposition of culturally unidentifiable human remains (43CFR10.11) will result in the further reduction of collections; approximately two-thirds of the remains reported under NAGPRA are classified as "culturally unidentifiable" and therefore may be returned to tribes based on historical locations. At the same time, some museums consider the knowledge gained through consultations about their collections to far outweigh any losses (Ambler and Goff 2013:217).

NAGPRA and NMAIA have resulted in better collection records, greater accountability, and reinvigorated stewardship practices. Before the passage of the repatriation legislation, the total number of Native American human remains in collections was unknown, with estimates ranging from 100,000 to 2,000,000 (Deloria 1989; Preston 1989:67; Trope and Echo-Hawk 1992:39). As a result of inventories, there is a more accurate count and widespread sharing of this information in the United States. Repatriation laws have also provided the impetus for agencies, museums, and tribes to reevaluate the concepts of ownership and authority to create new partnerships for the stewardship of human remains and other cultural items (Graham and Murphy 2010; Gurian 2006).

Impact on U.S. Tribes

The protections offered by ARPA, NAGPRA, and state laws have resulted in fewer disturbances to Native/First Nations burials and sacred sites. Of those disturbed, tribal notification and reburial or mitigation may be required. Nonetheless, protection is not absolute; burials and sacred sites continue to be impacted (Ritchie 2005).

Cultural heritage laws have also resulted in increased tribal control over cultural heritage through tribally run archaeology/THPO programs (fig. 5), the creation of tribal museums and repositories, and tribal control of curation through agreements and cocuration with museums (Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008). The Navajo Nation established its CRM department in 1977, the Zuni in 1978, and the Hopi in 1985. These programs allow tribes to manage the sites on their tribal land in ways that align with tribal values (Anyon and Ferguson 1995; Backhouse et al. 2017; Begay 1997; Doyel 1982; Klesert 1990; Klesert and Downer 1990; Kuwanwisiwma 2008; Martin 1997; Mills and Ferguson 1998; Watkins 2003; see "Southwest-1," this vol.). Tribal involvement in cultural heritage management has also led to research beyond that required by law, such as the Hualapai Atlas (Saugee and Bungart 2012). However, there are a number of non–federally recognized tribes that have found it difficult to be in-

left, Photograph by Sarah O'Donnell, 2017. right, Photograph by Chalene Toehay-Tartsah, 2016.

Fig. 5. Osage Nation Tribal Historic Preservation Office at work. left, Archaeologist John Fox surveys historic Osage site with ground penetrating radar (GPR) in Osage County, Oklahoma. right, Dr. Andrea Hunter inspects sacred rock art with Osage community members during the Osage Heritage Sites Visit to Petit Jean State Park.

cluded in consultations and repatriations under federal cultural heritage legislation (Neller et al. 2013; Watkins 2004:68–69).

The empowerment of tribes to protect their cultural heritage resulted in the creation of the Bears Ears National Monument in Utah in 2016 to protect land that has cultural and archaeological significance to many Southwestern tribes. It was the first time that tribes formally petitioned for a national monument (Minard 2015), the first monument to be created in response to the lobbying efforts by a coalition of tribes, and the first to be comanaged by tribal representatives. The designation of the monument was controversial, and its size was reduced by 85 percent in 2017, demonstrating that monuments designated under the Antiquities Act are subject to change based on executive decision.

Tribal museums, some of which act as repositories for collections from tribal lands and ancestral territories, have served as a bridge between tribal values and the issues of collections management, curation, and exhibition that all museums face. In Canada and the United States, tribal museums provide the opportunity to display, interpret, and preserve cultural heritage in tribally specific and culturally relevant ways (Cooper 2008; Fuller and Fabricius 1992; Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008; see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology," this vol.).

Repatriation laws have empowered tribes to exercise their sovereignty in determining the disposition and treatment of their ancestors' remains, returning sacred objects into use, and reclaiming objects of cultural patrimony. Since the beginning of the repatriation process in the 1980s, it has become increasingly apparent that there is no common Native American view on repatriation. Some Native Americans believe that all Native American human remains should be reburied, whereas others support responsible museum stewardship and scientific and educational access (Marsh 1992:104). For some tribes, the repatriation of sacred objects takes priority over human remains because the spirits of their ancestors are tied to the objects more than to the remains. In some cases, it is urgent to return ceremonial items back home before the knowledge bearers pass on; the tribes focus on the sacred objects with the assurance that they can pursue repatriation of ancestral remains at a later date if they wish. Despite a focus on the numbers of human remains or cultural items repatriated or remaining in museums (GAO 2010, 2011), the success of repatriation cannot be measured by a number. It is reflected in the developing relationships between tribes and museums and in tribes' ability to exercise their sovereign rights to determine the appropriate disposition.

For Native Americans/First Nations seeking return of their ancestors and their funerary possessions and control of their sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony, repatriation laws provide a means toward restitution and healing. The laws also provide a measure of redress for the indignations of having their ancestors' gravesites exhumed and the bodies violated

and dispersed far from home. For some communities, repatriations are experienced as healing events that can ameliorate conditions such as poverty, alcoholism, poor health, and other social ills. Empowered by the laws, tribes are able to exercise their sovereign authority over their ancestral remains and objects and to repatriate them in a culturally appropriate manner, when and if they choose. These rights, the heart of repatriation, cannot be overstated as a major positive accomplishment of the legislation.

Impact on Archaeological Research

Although archaeologists broadly support laws protecting archaeological sites, they are not of one mind regarding repatriation (Alonzi 2016; see "Indigenous North Americans and Archaeology" and "Codes of Ethics," this vol.). To some, repatriation and reburial are seen as a moral and ethical mandate that takes priority over science or property rights. For others, repatriation represents a loss to knowledge because skeletal remains and objects considered irreplaceable for current or future research become inaccessible (Weiss 2008). In addition to human remains and cultural items already removed from museums, many more have been placed off-limits to researchers by policies that ban excavations in sensitive areas or the study of Native American or First Nation remains and cultural items under a NAGPRA category (McManamon 2006b). When studies of sensitive materials are permitted with authorization from tribes, there are opportunities for collaboration that benefit both the researchers and tribes.

Ironically, training in research of human remains is no longer an option in many institutions, and biological archaeologists coming from those schools may be unable to identify Native American skeletal remains. Students now lean toward working in other countries or with non-Indigenous populations (Katzenberg 2001). Inability to access or research human remains creates large gaps for Native American population studies and emerging fields, such as DNA analysis and paleotoxicology (Sholts et al. 2017).

At the same time, many archaeologists believe that collaboration with Native American communities has led to expansion of knowledge. Research designs now include questions that address tribal interests and protocols that reflect tribal concerns (Martin et al. 2013; see "Indigenous North Americans and Archaeology," this vol.). Bioarchaeological research, including invasive testing, continues to occur but more often includes tribal consent wherever possible. Although some tribal representatives maintain that any skeletal testing or analysis are unacceptable, others have expressed interest in what can be learned from the study of their ancestral remains, although subject to control and direction by the tribe. For instance, Hopi tribal representatives have approved and recommended specific osteological analyses and advocated for casts of the teeth of Hopi ancestral remains to learn about Hopi migration; they have also voiced the wish that the tribe had collected casts before reburying remains (Dongoske 1996; Kuwanwisiwma 2014). More recently, communities in Alaska and Canada have begun to request DNA analysis in order to research tribal origins and disease (Cybulski 2011; Leichliter 2015; Moreno-Mayar et al. 2018; Raff et al. 2015; Walker et al. 2016).

Cultural heritage laws have increased interactions between tribes, researchers, and museums and led to mutual benefits, including collaborations, cooperation, and increased trust. The Zuni Tribe has entered into partnerships with several museums to create a master database of Zuni objects held in museums across the United States. The database applies Zuni terminology and includes information that is culturally and historically relevant to the Zuni in addition to the information provided by museums. The Zuni and the American Museum of Natural History also collaborated on a remastered video of the Zuni Shalako ceremony that includes subtitles and commentary by the Zuni and omits some extremely sensitive scenes (Watson et al. 2016; see "Southwest-1," this vol.).

Other collaborations are possible as the result of new technology. During a repatriation consultation at the NMNH, representatives of the Samish Indian Tribe learned that the museum had the only remains of woolly dogs, a special breed from which Coast Salish people obtained yarn for weaving. Rediscovery of the dogs, so important to the history and cultural identity of the Samish, led to collaboration between Samish weavers and Smithsonian scientists to study blankets in the collections, and the tribe requested a sample of DNA from the dog for comparison (Barsh et al. 2002; Solazzo et al. 2011:1420–1421). The NMNH has applied digital technology to make 3D-printed and -milled replicas of repatriated objects at the request of several tribes and Alaska Native communities, including funerary objects, objects of cultural patrimony, and sacred objects (Hollinger et al. 2013). The reproductions allow for educational exhibition and research by both tribes and the museum while allowing the tribes to rebury, sequester, or put back into use the original objects (see "3D Digital Replication," this vol.).

The Future of Cultural Heritage Laws

Cultural heritage laws will continue to affect Native Americans, archaeologists, and museums. The problem

of looting remains intractable, and curtailing it will require new approaches, laws, and policies. Given the current trajectory of increased tribal participation in cultural heritage management, tribes likely will become even more involved in applying those laws. The evolving relationship between tribes and museums may lead to more co-curated collections and, perhaps, a more explicit role in federal or national collections management. In the United States, the unmet federal curation needs will likely result in agencies seeking more deaccession authority over their collections. Tribal repositories will likely take on more curation responsibility for collections from their tribal and ancestral lands, regaining the stewardship (within legislated limits) of their own cultural heritage.

The twenty-first century will likely see an increasingly diverse range of repatriations. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of 2007, formally supported by Canada and informally supported by the United States, provides a framework for international repatriations (United Nations 2007) and has been incorporated into some repatriation policies, such as the policy at the NMAI. Policies on repatriations will vary where there is no recognized international law, but it is likely that more international repatriations will happen within a framework of property law. There will be increasing recognition of the rights of tribes and First Nations to have authority over their images, archival records, and recordings, and such items will be co-curated or repatriated even without a legal mandate. To address the problem of items that cannot be used in ceremonies because of the residues from the toxic pesticides that were historically applied in museums to preserve collections, new remediation methods will be developed that will allow the items to be safely handled and returned to use.

The ultimate impacts of repatriation legislation remain to be seen. Since there is no single perspective—Native American, archaeological, or otherwise—on the disposition of human remains and cultural items, it is unlikely that there will be a consensus on the results of repatriation laws or the appropriate direction for them in the future. The losses to scientific data will continue, although some museums may increasingly feel that the benefits of improved relationships with tribes and the knowledge gained from them outweigh such losses. Native American tribes are certain to make a range of choices, although pressure from Native and non-Native activists who feel strongly that all human remains should be reburied may lead to a more pan-tribal approach to disposition. It is likely that repatriations under NAGPRA and NMAIA will continue for many lifetimes.

It is also unclear what the future holds for the protection of Native American historical, archaeological, and sacred sites. It is likely that more sacred sites and sacred landscapes will be added to lists of heritage properties deserving of protection. The protections will be increasingly threatened, however, by commercial ventures and government entities that view them as a threat to economic development and "progress." As federal budgets become tighter, there will likely be more pressure to weaken legal protections for financial and bureaucratic reasons. In the United States, proposals have been made to weaken archaeological protection laws for reasons of national security or efficiency in improving infrastructure; already some agencies are exempt from NHPA and ARPA in certain situations. The drastic reduction of the Bears Ears and Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monuments in 2017 offers additional examples of the insecurity of federal protections for cultural heritage in the United States.

The twenty-first century is an era of growing partnerships between archaeologists and Indigenous communities. The collaborative framework involved in such partnerships will change the nature of the discipline by resituating the voices of authority. It will also strengthen the ability of both groups to achieve common goals of perpetuating, preserving, and protecting cultural heritage.

Additional Readings

Useful reviews of cultural heritage laws in the United States include Banks and Scott (2016), Harmon et al. (2006), T.F. King (2003, 2008, 2011), Price (1991), and Smith and Ehrenhard (1991). Legal analyses of U.S. laws can be found in Richman and Forsyth (2004) and in the annotated bibliography of legal publications through 2010 by J. Smith (2012). Sources of Canadian law include Bell and Paterson (2009) and the *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada* (Standards 2010).

Keepers of Culture: Repatriating Items under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (Echo-Hawk 2002) is an excellent guide to NAGPRA. Robbins (2014) summarizes the challenges and opportunities of NAGPRA implementation. There are numerous articles, books, and edited volumes on repatriation (e.g., Chari and Lavallee 2013; Colwell 2017; Fine-Dare 2002; McKeown 2008, 2012; Trope and Echo-Hawk 1992), many of which reflect a particular viewpoint or are written from an academic rather than a practitioner perspective.

Emergence of Cultural Diversity: Long-Distance Interactions and Cultural Complexity in Native North America

J. DANIEL ROGERS AND WILLIAM W. FITZHUGH

For thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans, North America was culturally diverse with deep and constantly changing traditions. With connections to Northeast Asia and perhaps other regions reaching thousands of years into the past, Native North America was not a pre-Columbian "isolation" laboratory. The arrival of Europeans and others after 1492 introduced new challenges and opportunities that reverberate to this day.

This chapter explores new perspectives on cultural interactions that span the continent and purposely remove the traditional boundary between prehistory and history. Since the 1980s, the study of cultural and economic macroprocesses such as globalization and world systems has contextualized changes at multiple scales, especially evident in the economic forces that shaped the European expansion of the fifteenth century (Abu-Lughod 1989; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997; Stein 1999; Taylor 1996; Wallerstein 2004). At the core of these global processes, human agency and forms of identity maintenance can be charted in local and regional interactions that defined the scope and trajectory of change over long periods of time (Albrow and King 1990; Stein 1998, 2004; N. Thomas 1994; Webster 1997).

Until at least the later portion of the twentieth century, research on culture contact emphasized European dominance (Goodenough 1963:62; Martin 1978:8, 10; Rogers 2005a:338). Underlying this assumption was an awareness of the historical realities of encounters including power and technology differentials and disease introduction emblemized as "guns, germs, and steel" (Diamond 1997) that ultimately led to Euro-American control. A perspective that emphasized Euro-American control denied the significance of diverse Native histories by placing Native peoples in the role of passive recipients of their own fate. Biased assumptions were exacerbated by the existence of an information gap resulting from the preponderance of European-based documentary information in contrast to the near absence of a written record from Native societies (Wolf 1982; Wright 1992; see "Writing American Indian Histories in the Twenty-First Century," this vol.).

In recent decades, scholars have used several new terms to describe the critical interactions between different cultures, and terms like *culture contact*, *syncretism*, *transformation*, *creolization*, and *hybridity* have been in common use since the start of the Smithsonian *Handbook of North American Indians* series (Armstrong 1998; Cusick 1998; Herskovits 1938; Morris 2010; Rogers and Wilson 1993; Sidbury 2007; Stockhammer 2012; Yazdiha 2010; Young 1995). Though the term *culture contact* has been critiqued (Silliman 2005), it is used here to describe a variety of interactions that occurred before and during the period of European expansion in North America. In fact, many of the trade contacts and cultural encounters before 1492 occurred in contexts of power parity, although they were not necessarily amicable.

Previous Coverage in the *Handbook of North American Indians*

A contemporary vision of culture contact in North America, framed as both a colonial encounter and a general form of culture change, places North American history within a global context relevant for Indigenous peoples everywhere. It also adds a time-depth to emphasize the cultural spaces in which new traditions and histories emerged. Almost every previous volume in the Smithsonian *Handbook* series presents information on the long-term dynamics of Native traditions and on periods of great change and cultural interaction.

The trajectory of Native and newcomer lives and traditions was always being altered, especially after 1492, as explored in volume 4 (Washburn 1988a) documenting Indian–White relations in the colonial era. Volume 3, *Environment, Origins, and Population* (Ubelaker 2006), explores topics with greater time-depth. The 13 chapters that address the first people to arrive in North America set the stage for discussion of numerous regional changes to follow. Research on the timing and origins of the first populations still generates considerable controversy and stunning new discoveries (Bennett et al. 2021; Owsley and Jantz 2014a; Raghavan et al. 2014; Stanford 2006a; Stanford and

Bradley 2012; "Coastal Peoples and Maritime Adaptations," this vol.).

Volumes 5 through 15 discuss each region of North America in detail, and each volume includes archaeological chapters describing the many different cultural traditions. Almost all of the chapters with a tribal focus describe the early history of named groups and their subsequent interactions with Euro-Americans, Russians, and others, as well as many of the consequences of cultural exchanges, trade interactions, population losses, and relocations within emerging Euro-American and Russian colonies and expanding frontiers. Large transcontinental culture contacts were rarely treated as a specific topic within the *Handbook* series, but the implications were discussed extensively in almost every volume.

American Diversity before European Arrival

North America is not merely a landscape occupied by populations who arrived, spread, and became separated from their original homelands; rather, it is a cultural crossroads. Although the original cultures and populations diversified upon entering the Americas, their interactions with each other and with Asia, Europe, and other regions did not cease. Contrary to early visions of the Americas as a human or biogeographical cul-de-sac, America's cultures changed at a surprising rate over the course of 15,000–20,000 years, to the point that many recent invaders, such as Norse Vikings, Russian *promyshleniki* (fur traders), and early English colonists were forcibly confronted and, in some instances, repulsed.

This chapter focuses on three regions of North America—the Arctic, the Great Plains, and the Southeast—as examples of the dynamism and cultural developments that occurred locally but that were also spurred by contacts. These regions model the kinds of processes that resulted in technological, social, and political change elsewhere in North America. (Coastal portions of the continent are discussed at greater length in a special chapter; see "Coastal Peoples and Maritime Adaptations," this vol.).

The Arctic: A Bridge between Worlds

The cultures and peoples of the Arctic, together with its animal and plant communities, have rarely been isolated from eastern Eurasia, as northeastern North America was from Western Europe across the Atlantic until Viking times (Fitzhugh 1996). During the Late Pleistocene, humans as well as biota migrated from Asia into the Americas across the Bering Land Bridge and along its coastal edges, despite continental ice sheets and icy ocean barriers, as evidenced by 12,800 B.C. radiocarbon dates from Monte Verde in Chile (Collins and Dillehay 1988).

Geography that facilitated connections has been crucial in establishing different culture contact gradients in northern North America. People, cultures, languages, ideas, materials, and folklore passed frequently and repeatedly across the Bering Strait for at least the past 15,000 years, carried by migrations, trade, war, and other connections (Berezkin 2003; Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988; Goebel et al. 2003; Raghavan et al. 2014, 2015; Schurr 2015). Almost all of these migrations originated in Asia and brought new cultures, technologies, genes, or ideas to Alaska and beyond, while some—far fewer and not well documented—probably passed in the other direction.

Knowledge of these connections has increased dramatically since 1990, owing to developments in archaeological practice, increased interdisciplinary science, and more open national borders. When Cold War political barriers fell with the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, opportunities opened up for collaborative fieldwork and collection study for scholars on both sides of the Bering Strait. New theoretical approaches and technologies such as isotope analysis, dating, remote sensing, and genomics continue to make great strides. Recently Bayesian modeling, agent-based modeling, and other forms of advanced computing have added new dimensions to the practice of archaeology (Rogers and Cegielski 2017).

Systemic change in the conduct of research has also contributed to advances in knowledge. Across the Norse area of the North Atlantic, the North Atlantic Biocultural Organization (NABO) nurtured an explosion of studies integrating archaeology, historical ecology, zoology, and climate history (McGovern et al. 2014). The Global Human Ecodynamics Alliance broadened NABO's cross-cultural and environmental research into a global network (Hartman et al. 2017), and studies of ecosystem dynamics and human–environmental interactions have expanded the scope and depth of research. In the process, much has been learned about cultural connections around the circumpolar region (Fitzhugh 2002b), and, in the 1990s, scientists recognized that the world has entered a new warmer era largely precipitated by anthropogenic carbon dioxide, as demonstrated by the dramatic shrinkage of Arctic pack ice (Serreze et al. 2007, 2017). These developments have had major impacts in several thematic areas.

• GENOMIC STUDIES Genomic methods have contributed insights into human biological relationships that could not be produced by earlier metrical analysis

of human bones or comparisons of archaeological assemblages. DNA from human hair preserved by permafrost in a 4,000-year-old Saqqaq Paleo-Eskimo site in West Greenland revealed a direct biological link to Neolithic populations in northeast Siberia, confirming a previously unknown migration of Asians into Arctic North America (Rasmussen et al. 2010). Midden earth from frozen sites was found to contain large amounts of bowhead whale DNA, suggesting that the Saqqaq people hunted large whales off Greenland 3,000 years before the arrival of whale-hunting Thule people (Seersholm et al. 2016). Canid DNA (more likely dog than wolf) identified from host-specific parasites in Dorset middens confounded a long-standing belief that Dorset people of Arctic Canada did not keep dogs. Genomic studies also revealed that 11,500-year-old human infant burials from Upward Sun River, Alaska, are part of the original founding population of Native Americans (Moreno-Mayar et al. 2018).

• CLOVIS PRECURSORS IN THE NORTH The absence of a definitive parent culture in Asia for Clovis has been a long-standing stimulus in the search for American Indian origins (Stanford 2006a). The RHS (Rhinoceros Horn Site) site discovered in the Yana River valley near the coast of the Arctic Ocean in Russia, dating to 26,000 B.C. and only 1,200 kilometers from the Bering Strait, displays an adaptation to the vast steppe environment of Arctic Eurasia similar to that of Clovis in North America, and both, though separated by 16,000 years and geographically far apart, used similar horn and ivory spear technology (Pitulko et al. 2004). The Yana River complex clearly demonstrates the capacity for human adaptation to the Arctic steppe in the Late Pleistocene and a possible route into the Americas.

The presence of diverse archaeological complexes in Alaska between 12,000 and 6,000 B.C., sometimes considered constituents of a generalized Paleo-Arctic Tradition, suggests multiple cultural impulses from the Pacific Maritime, Inner Asian steppe, taiga, and Arctic tundra sectors of Northeast Asia (Dixon 2006; Fitzhugh 2008; Hoffecker and Elias 2007). Comparative genetic studies of the Upward Sun River infant burials in Alaska (Potter et al. 2014) reveal them to belong to the basal Amerindian population from which most later Native Americans descended (Moreno-Mayar et al. 2018; Skoglund et al. 2015).

These results provide supporting evidence for a bold new idea about the peopling of the New World called the Beringian Standstill Hypothesis, which helps explain the "missing" 10,000 years of prehistory before Clovis origins and the presence of multiple traditions found in Alaska circa 10,000 B.C. (Hoffecker et al. 2014; Tamm et al. 2007). According to this theory, people who reached Beringia 30,000–35,000 years ago found their eastward path blocked by glaciers and developed distinct cultures in different regions of the Bering Land Bridge refugium during the height of the last glaciation 15,000–25,000 years ago. Some of the early Alaskan traditions have clear Asian roots in Dyuktai and Sumnagin cultures of northeast Siberia (Ackerman 1984; Dixon 2006). More distant similarities like the stemmed points found at sites on Santa Barbara's Northern Channel Islands and Ushki in Kamchatka, circa 11,000–12,000 B.C. (Dikov 1996; Erlandson et al. 2011, 2015), are more questionable because of the great distance between them.

There is increasing support for a coastal migration into the Americas that bypassed the ice-blocked Cordilleran interior (Dixon 2006; Stanford 2006a; see "Coastal Peoples and Maritime Adaptations," this vol.). This history of early North Pacific connections contrasts strongly with the North Atlantic, where water barriers and icy climates most certainly blocked transatlantic contacts until the Viking age. So far, claims for a European Solutrean connection with eastern North America (Stanford and Bradley 2012) remain highly controversial and find little support from DNA and scant archaeological evidence.

• CIRCUMPOLAR CONNECTIONS Similar northern climates encircling the globe have produced tundra, boreal, and Arctic marine zones inhabited by the same or closely related species of plants and animals and created similar living conditions and subsistence opportunities for early people entering the polar regions (Fitzhugh 2002b, 2008). Innovations such as skin boats, sleds and toboggans, toggling harpoons, oil lamps, tailored fur clothing, domestication of reindeer, and dog and reindeer traction have spread east and west through these zones, and in areas that were more isolated, like Labrador and northern Norway, similar environmental conditions stimulated cultural convergence (Fitzhugh 1974). Migrations and technological diffusion have been closely linked to these developments as demonstrated by the expansion of Thule whalers from the Bering Strait across the North American Arctic after A.D. 1300. No other region of the globe has such a deep, shared history as a bridge between worlds or has contributed as much to the peopling and prehistoric cultural development of the Americas (Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988).

• NORTHERN MARITIME SOCIAL COMPLEXITY Recent research highlights the emergence of considerable social complexity in some Arctic and Subarctic regions. The Northwest Coast has long been recognized for its elaborate cultural developments, but until recently, there has been little recognition that other northern food-gathering societies exhibited cultural elaboration in art, technology, long-distance trade and interaction,

National Museum of Natural History's Anthropology Collections (A42927).

Fig. 1. Old Bering Sea "winged object." William Healy Dall donated this walrus ivory harpoon counterweight carved in Old Bering Sea III style (400–800 C.E.) and collected in 1880 in Point Hope, Alaska. Carvers of the Old Bering Sea culture engraved delicate, curving lines on harpoons and other objects made of walrus ivory.

population growth, sedentism, and burial ceremonialism. Recent studies of Japanese Jomon, Old Bering Sea Eskimo (fig. 1), Kodiak and Aleutian Islanders, and Maritime Archaic Indians in Newfoundland and Labrador reveal high degrees of complexity not envisioned in long-accepted anthropological theories of hunting-and-gathering economics (Davis et al. 2016; B. Fitzhugh 2003, 2016; Habu 2004; Maschner 2016; Steffian et al. 2016). All of these cases are associated with highly productive northern maritime and coastal ecosystems.

• THE "CLIMATE CHANGE" FACTOR Cultural developments in the Arctic are closely linked not only with geography but with changes in climate that repeatedly opened or closed waterways for humans or Arctic sea mammals. The Bering Strait was not a barrier, given that watercraft were available in East Asia well before submergence of the land bridge around 9,000 B.C. (Fedje et al. 2004:122; Hoffecker and Elias 2007). Warming Hypsithermal climates of around 7,000–2,000 B.C. had a major role in stimulating maritime culture intensification.

The formation of Arctic maritime (Eskimo/Inuit) traditions and eastern Arctic Dorset cultures began with sea ice expansion in the cold Subboreal climate period around 500 B.C. The Thule migration into the eastern Arctic and northeast Siberia around A.D. 1300 was facilitated by the same Medieval Warm Period climate that made possible Norse settlement of the North Atlantic islands and Greenland. Conversely, the Little Ice Age around A.D. 1300–1800 led to the contraction of the Thule footprint and the loss of their whaling adaptation in the central Canadian Arctic and extinguished the Norse Greenland colonies. Of all the locations within the North American cultural realm, Greenland is the "poster child" for climate impacts; throughout its 4,500-year history, its culture groups have repeatedly migrated and recolonized regions based on the climate-controlled distribution of sea ice and animals (Fitzhugh 1984; Gulløv 2004).

• NEW ETHNOGRAPHIC MODELS Ethnological research in the North Pacific and Bering Strait region continues to provide models that help explain connections between Asia and North America (Burch 2005a, 2006; Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988; Krauss 1988; Krupnik and Chlenov 2013). Trade between these regions was accompanied not only by social relations and political alliances but also by raiding, slaving, and war. The actors were more often Siberian owing to the Alaskan demand for metal, tobacco, glass beads, and probably textiles emanating from Asia's centers of technological development. Siberian trade and its extension into northwestern North America had its roots in the expansion into northeastern Siberia of reindeer-herding Chukchi people after A.D. 1000, exemplifying a demographic and cultural process that had probably occurred many times before in the Beringian crossroads region (Krupnik and Chlenov 2013).

These documented nineteenth- and twentieth-century contacts help explain earlier culture changes around A.D. 500–1000, when Siberian metal appeared in the Old Bering Sea, Ipiutak, and Punuk cultures along the shores of the northern Bering Sea and southern Chukchi Sea (Mason 1998, 2016). Iron not only changed the bone and stone technology but caused momentous changes in society and relations overall. With it came Chinese and Siberian art styles, new forms of shamanism, masking, dog traction, and mor-

National Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Collections (NMNH ET1886-0).

Fig. 2. Slat armor arrived in Alaska from Siberia and the Far East during Punuk times (800–1200 C.E.) and was used extensively throughout western Alaska by Thule and, later, western Alaska Native groups. Slats were made of walrus ivory or bone north of the Aleutian Islands and wooden rods by Northwest Coast Indian groups.

tuary practices (Larsen and Rainey 1948). By Punuk times, long before the arrival of Russians or Europeans, the Asian warfare complex, including barbed arrows, slat armor (fig. 2), sinew-backed bows, and fortified refuge sites, was carried across the Bering Strait into North America and had become entrenched in western Alaska (Bandi 1984:35; Burch 1988; Collins 1971; Krupnik and Chlenov 2013; Maschner and Reedy 1998).

• ESKIMO MIGRATIONS The strongest evidence for Siberian-American connections comes from the late Holocene, following several thousand years of warm hypsithermal climate that opened the North American Arctic for colonization by caribou, musk ox, sea mammals, and people (Dyke et al. 1996). The first of these "post-Beringia" arrivals, around 5,000–6,000 years ago, were Siberian Neolithic groups bearing both ceramics and a highly advanced stone tool industry (Fitzhugh 2008; Tremayne and Rasic 2016). People, who developed this cultural complex known as the Arctic Small Tool tradition (ASTt), crossed the Bering Strait into North America and spread south to the Alaska peninsula and east, bringing it into then unoccupied Arctic Canada and Greenland (McGhee 1996; Maxwell 1985). This expansion is best explained as a climate-assisted niche expansion of Northeast Asian peoples (Gilbert et al. 2008). Paleo-Eskimo cultures continued to develop in the eastern Arctic with an intensifying maritime adaptation until the sudden replacement of their 3,000-year tradition around A.D. 1350 by a new wave of genetically different Siberian-derived migrants from Alaska known as the Neo-Eskimo Thule culture (Raghavan et al. 2014).

Other examples of Asian-Alaskan connections are seen in the decorated harpoon and hunting equipment of the Old Bering Sea cultures of A.D. 0–800 (Fitzhugh et al. 2009). Some of the art motifs may originate in the Chinese Neolithic Liangzhu culture of 3000 B.C.E. (Qu 2014). The Ipiutak culture of northwest Alaska (circa A.D. 500–800) is known for its shamanic-influenced burial cult with Chinese Chou-styled burial masks and Scytho-Siberian-related art (Hilton et al. 2014). All of the pottery found in western Alaskan Eskimo cultures of the past 4,000 years has prototypes in the Amur, Okhotsk, and Chukotka regions of Siberia (Dumond 2001; Griffin 1953).

While the majority of population movements and influences were west-to-east (from North Asia to North America) across the Bering Strait, the Chertov Ovrag (Devil's Gorge) site on Wrangel Island, dating from around 1500 B.C., might represent a westward incursion from the Old Whaling complex of northwest Alaska, although it could just as likely be the other way around (Ackerman 1984). Several later Alaskan Neo-Eskimo cultures, including Punuk and western Thule, spread westward along the Siberian Arctic coast as far as Bear Island and the Kolyma River in the East Siberian Sea (Ackerman 1984; Rudenko 1961).

• NORTH–SOUTH CONNECTIONS While these developments were taking place in Arctic regions, the Athapaskan Indian descendants of the Denali and Northwest Coast microblade traditions became es-

tablished in interior and southeast Alaska. Between A.D. 1200 and 1400, a branch of Alaskan Athapaskan Na-Dene speakers migrated into the American Southwest, becoming ancestors of the Navajo and Apache peoples (Ives 2003; Seymour 2012). This migration is known exclusively from linguistic and cultural evidence; it has so far proved elusive archaeologically. This case illustrates how early Beringian peoples could migrate thousands of miles across numerous environmental zones to find a new home and way of life far to the south in just a few generations—an object lesson for modeling the peopling of the Americas. In a related development, linguistic studies (Sicoli and Holton 2014) provide evidence linking Na-Dene and Siberian Yeniseian (Ket) populations to a common ancestor in ancient Beringia, another thin reed of support for the Beringian Standstill Hypothesis.

More typical than long-distance migrations were population movements that occurred at the margins of cultural distributions. The Indian and Eskimo (Inuit/Iñupiat) peoples of north Alaska have maintained stable boundaries along the Arctic tree line for hundreds of years with relatively little territorial, linguistic, or genetic transfer (Szathmáry 1984). Less distinct was the boundary between Yup'ik and Athapaskan peoples of western Alaska where Indian cultures adopted Yup'ik artistic, ritual, and ceremonial features. A similar porous boundary existed between the Alutiit and Sugpiat (Koniak/Kodiak) peoples and between the southern Eskimo and neighboring Northwest Coast Indians. In the eastern Arctic and subarctic Labrador, few indications of cultural or genetic exchanges between Eskimo and Indian peoples across the tree-line divide have been preserved throughout the 4,500 years of their occupations (Fitzhugh 1997b), with the possible exception of evidence of trade in lithic resources like Ramah chert (Loring 2017; Stopp 2017).

Interactions in the Midcontinent

The Great Plains of the midcontinent provide additional evidence for a variety of short- and long-distance cross-cultural interactions and the emergence of a diversity of cultural traditions. Research since the 1970s has emphasized two strategies for improving archaeological interpretation. First, the research focus has shifted from large sites along major rivers to a broader diversity of sites in varied environmental contexts. Second, unlike the first major wave of studies in the 1930s and 1940s sponsored by the River Basin Surveys (RBS)—a joint effort of the Smithsonian and the U.S. National Park Service in response to dam construction along the Missouri and other rivers (fig. 3) (Banks and Czaplicki 2014; Lees 2014; Rogers

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (rbs_39st1-110).

Fig. 3 View of excavations at the Cheyenne River site, 39ST1, South Dakota. In advance of dam construction along the Missouri River in the 1950s and 1960s, teams from the River Basin Survey conducted major excavations at more than 100 sites.

1990; Thiessen and Roberts 2009)—the new research has been fueled primarily through the growth of cultural resource management (CRM) projects. The large quantity of information generated by CRM projects is now at the core of initiatives in archaeology designed to explore the potential for synthesis using large data sets (Altschul et al. 2017).

The application of a variety of new analytical methods, such as isotope studies (Leyden and Oetelaar 2001; Rogers 2011; Tieszen 1994), sophisticated analysis of lithic technologies, and microanalysis of botanical remains (Adair and Drass 2011), has profoundly changed the nature of information available. Especially important are advances in chronometric methods, such as the continued improvements in accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS) and refinements in tree-ring dating that have resulted in the potential for chronologies at the decadal level in regions beyond the U.S. Southwest (Jones et al. 2016; Krus 2016; Tiffany 2007).

• FOUNDING TRADITIONS The best-known early cultural tradition on the Great Plains is Clovis (circa 13,000–13,500 years ago). As in other regions, however, new evidence continues to emerge for the existence of pre-Clovis cultures (Huckell and Judge 2006; Stanford 2006a; Waters et al. 2011). Until recently, the geophysical evidence for an ice-free passage into the northern Great Plains at the time of the Clovis culture was seen as definitive evidence that earlier peoples could not have come south any time earlier (Hill 2006). If the ice-free corridor hypothesis is correct, then the earliest sites south of the Arctic should exist on the prairies of Alberta. Despite many years of searching, however, the evidence for sites remains scant. Since 1990, new data have emerged in support of coastal routes, and consequently, the presence of large regions covered with ice is no longer seen as a hindrance to occupation (Erlandson et al. 2015; see "Coastal Peoples and Maritime Adaptations," this vol.).

Within 200 years of the beginning of the Clovis tradition (circa 13,300 years ago), evidence for these early hunters-and-gatherers occurs throughout North and South America (Waters and Stafford 2007). The extremely rapid spread of this tradition was remarkable, although later well-documented examples of cultural spread noted above in Arctic regions provided analogs for how long-distance migrations might have occurred in relatively short periods of time. On the Great Plains, discoveries in Colorado and New Mexico in the 1920s and 1930s include the well-known Dent, Blackwater Draw, Lindenmeier, and Clovis archaeological sites (Boldurian and Cotter 1999; Bonnichsen et al. 2006; Fiedel 2002).

According to the evidence from hunters' kill sites and campsites, these early Clovis societies were organized as small groups. Localized material culture traditions emerged within several different regions during the Paleo-Indian period. Still, there is also evidence of trade in stone raw materials used to make stone knives, projectile points, and other tools, suggesting that people were not entirely localized and that long-distance interactions were possible, and even common, especially for the early Clovis and Folsom peoples.

• EMERGING DIVERSITY The emerging continent-wide cultural differences of the Paleo-Indian period continued in the subsequent Archaic Period (circa 8,000 to 1,000 B.C.). Populations increased, and evidence for localized traditions in everything from tool styles to settlement patterns began to develop. On the Great Plains, some of these emerging cultural traditions appeared through in-migration from the nearby areas. The developing diversity in cultural traditions also suggested that regional boundaries were emerging and sometimes contested. Generally, the Archaic Period remains poorly known on the Great Plains. In western Oklahoma, for instance, as recently as the 1980s, only three sites from the Archaic Period had been studied (D.T. Hughes 1984).

Among the nomadic groups that practiced a broad spectrum of hunting-and-gathering techniques, there was a substantial reliance on the modern species of bison (*Bison bison*). At the Spring Creek site in the Republican River valley in Nebraska, there is substantial evidence for bison hunting and the use of bison bone for various tools (Wedel 1986:74). At hundreds of the so-called "jump sites" across the Great Plains, the animals were driven over the edge of a cliff. These sites were especially prevalent after 4000 B.C., and the practice continued well into the nineteenth century, as documented among the Blackfoot (Schaeffer 1978). One of the best-known jump sites was Head-Smashed-In in Alberta, used for more than 5,000 years (Brink 2008). By the late Archaic, there were new designs in spear and spear-thrower projectile points. Numerous so-called tipi-ring sites have been also dated to the Archaic, although these stone circles are likely to have served other purposes than holding down the edges of a tent (L.B. Davis 1983).

By A.D. 1, distinctively different cultural traditions from those of earlier foragers have been identified. Archaeologists refer to the period from the first century A.D. to around A.D. 1000 as the Plains Woodland. In the Central Plains, small sites of scattered pithouses dating to between A.D. 700 and 1200 provide evidence for transitions to the intensively agricultural communities that came later (Ahler 2007:15; Krause 2007). Early in this period, new technologies, like pottery and the bow and arrow, were widely adopted. By the

end of the period, agriculture was a common feature of many Plains communities. Use of the bow and arrow appeared first on the northern plains around A.D. 200, probably introduced from the north by caribou hunters who had been using the bow since about 3000 B.C. (Kehoe 1966). It took the use of the bow and arrow at least another hundred years to reach the coastal plains of Texas (Aten 1984:81), and even longer to spread to the Southeast (Blitz 1988:132).

• VILLAGES AND AGRICULTURE By A.D. 1000, numerous groups on the Great Plains had added maize and squash agriculture to their way of life. By A.D. 1200, beans were also cultivated. In the southern plains, several sedentary groups existed in north Texas, western Oklahoma, and throughout Kansas (Drass 2012:375). The cultivation of new crops, similarities in architecture, and other aspects of material culture attest to influence from both the Pueblos of the Southwest and the Mississippian Period (A.D. 1050–1550) cultures of the Southeast (Lintz 1986; Rogers 1995).

To the north, the Central Plains Tradition of Nebraska and South Dakota added agriculture to the older traditions of wild plant gathering. Agriculture transformed the populations of the Plains (Roper 2007:55). Maize was the most important plant, but beans, squash, amaranth, and other starchy seeds also became staples (Adair 2003). In South Dakota, the people of the Middle Missouri Tradition later became recognized archaeologically as the Coalescent Tradition through a process of hybridity evidently involving groups of various cultural traditions and language families (Chafe 1979; Lehmer 1971:30, 2001; Stewart 2001:329). The present-day descendants of those traditions include the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara (Sahnish) tribes, who were living along the Missouri River during the sixteenth century and later. Today, they have reservation lands and individually owned property in North Dakota (fig. 4).

During the Plains Village period (after A.D. 1000), there were substantial similarities in lifestyle throughout

Photograph by E.S. Curtis, 1908. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (76-4338).

Fig. 4. On the upper Missouri River, native groups built earthlodges and practiced agriculture in the river valleys. Their religious ceremonies incorporated rich traditions of symbolism regarding the animals of the region. In this image, an Arikara priest recreates the symbolic emergence of a bear from hibernation in the ceremonial earthlodge.

the plains, suggesting widespread regional contacts. Village groups did exhibit differences due to climate, such as thatched houses in the south and earthlodges in the north. Still, the similarities in pottery styles, stone tools, village organization and location, food preferences, and food-processing techniques were remarkable. Beyond the plains, similarities in tool styles, especially projectile points, suggest further connections with the Southwest and Southeast. Horses were not available until after European contact (see below).

Emerging Social Complexity in the Southeast

The twenty-first century has brought a heightened research focus on the origins and structure of social complexity, especially the types of societies referred to as chiefdoms (Beck 2003; King 2006; Milner 1998; Steponaitis and Scarry 2016; see "Southeast," this vol.). While this focus is not new, contemporary research has identified new linkages between archaeological sites and the places visited and described by early explorers (Knight 2009). Additionally, the study of Southeast chiefdoms has played a significant role in global studies of the early forms of social complexity (Earle 2011; Grinin and Kortayev 2011; Redmond and Spencer 2012). Fundamental insights about the structure of social systems and the nature of chiefly authority have also emerged through the use of computational modeling (Cegielski 2010). Researchers have also applied more sophisticated theoretical constructs to the study of households (Watts and Betzenhauser 2018), in comparison with earlier approaches (Rogers and Smith 1995).

• DIVERSITY AND ORIGIN Like other parts of North America, the Southeast has a deep history of cultural developments, change, and interactions extending over long distances. The first Paleo-Indian traditions in the Southeast had their counterparts in the Great Plains and Southwest. The Clovis cultural tradition is well represented in the Southeast (Lepper and Funk 2006). The similarity in Clovis tools across North America suggests substantial long-distance contact at this time. Several early archaeological sites in the Southeast provide evidence for pre-Clovis peoples, and recent genetic studies indicate active population spread throughout the Americas between 14,000 and 15,000 years ago, well before the Clovis period (Anderson and Sassaman 1996; Goodyear 2005; Halligan et al. 2016; Raghavan et al. 2015; Skoglund et al. 2015).

In the Archaic Period (8000–1000 B.C.) that followed, hunting-and-gathering societies diversified across the Southeast. Throughout this period there is evidence for long-distance trade in rare and exotic items, as well as for the construction of mounds, both earthen and shell. At least 50 earthen mound sites have been identified in the lower Mississippi Valley alone. One of the most prominent recently studied sites, Watson Brake in Louisiana, was dated to circa 3500 B.C. (Saunders et al. 2005). In coastal areas and along rivers, mounds made of shell were commonly constructed (Randall 2015; Sassaman 1994; see "Coastal Peoples and Maritime Adaptations," this vol.). Earthen mound construction remained integral to the cultural life of Indigenous societies throughout the Southeast and Midwest until after the time of European arrival in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Later in time (1700–1100 B.C.) came the more extensive and complex Poverty Point site, also in Louisiana, which consisted of several mounds and long ridges constructed in concentric arcs around a plaza. It produced evidence of extensive trade in exotic materials and was the largest and most culturally complex settlement of its time (Gibson 2000). The complexity of the site is especially significant because of the lack of evidence of a social hierarchy among its builders, who practiced hunting-and-gathering with no evidence of crop cultivation. The absence of agriculture is significant because it is generally assumed that building complex sites required the kind of political system and stable food production often associated with agriculture. Yet no other site in the Southeast surpassed the scale of Poverty Point for another 2,000 years.

After 1000 B.C., innovations that developed locally and through exchanges with other regions resulted in the widespread use of burial and platform mounds and pottery. By A.D. 500, the bow and arrow was a standard weapon for hunting and warfare and domesticated plants were increasingly cultivated (Smith 1989). Many new styles in pottery construction and decoration attest to regional cultural differences, such as the Adena-Hopewell traditions in the Midwest (Abrams 2009). Also during this period, evidence of inequality and differences in status emerged in association with the construction of large symbolic geometric earthworks, which are especially well -known in the Ohio River valley, the subject of the first scientific report published by the Smithsonian Institution (Squier and Davis 1848).

• CHIEFDOM COMPLEXITY The cultural traditions called Mississippian took shape in the Southeast and Midwest by A.D. 1000. Over the next 200 years, many of these chiefdoms developed a reliance on intensive maize agriculture. They also shared a belief system, conducted long-distance trade, and built elaborate ceremonial centers with plazas surrounded by large flat-topped mounds. The mounds—including the largest Mississippian mound center at Cahokia, near St. Louis (Milner 1998; Pauketat 2009)—often served as platforms for important buildings as well as burial mounds. From Florida to Oklahoma in the south and

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (MNH-1220-G, cat. 241245).

Fig. 5. At Key Marco, Florida, a rare find of painted and carved wooden objects helps to document the complex artistic traditions that existed among the Indigenous peoples of South Florida. This mask, shown in front and side views, was documented in a watercolor painting shortly after excavation.

Wisconsin in the north, a shared set of symbols linked local cultures within a shared tradition (fig. 5).

Although the Eastern chiefdoms shared cultural traditions, and probably even a single religion, there were considerable local differences, competition, and warfare (Dye 2002). By A.D. 1200, many villages were fortified by stockades (Rogers and Smith 1995). Iconography represented on stone carvings, sheets of hammered copper, and engraved on shell clearly show numerous instances of violence and sacrifice.

It was during the Mississippian period that trade and interaction with Mesoamerica occurred most directly. Several notable connections have been documented, but there has also been much speculation (Hall 1998; White and Weinstein 2008). A recent synthesis of evidence from northern Mexico emphasizes connections with California, the U.S. Southwest, and southern Texas (Hers et al. 2000). There is little direct evidence of connections between the Southeast and Mesoamerica. The evidence is largely limited to asphalt-covered pottery in southern Texas from the Mexican Gulf Coast and six pieces of obsidian from the Pachuca mines in central Mexico recovered in Spiro in eastern Oklahoma (Barker et al. 2002; Ricklis and Weinstein 2005) and from sites in Kansas (Hoard et al. 2008; Macaluso 2012).

A New Era of Globalization: Exploration and Trade

Far Northeast

The appearance of Europeans in northern North America marked a singular change in New World history. No longer were Eurasian culture and demographic influences trickling into the Americas only through a relatively limited Beringian gateway. After 1492, European influences arrived as a massive tidal wave along the entire North and South Atlantic seaboard, and in the Northwest, similar impacts began with Russian exploration and colonization following Vitus Bering's exploration of Alaska in 1741. Following the shock of first contacts, Native American peoples were besieged by epidemics of introduced diseases and repeated military encounters, followed by an array of contact-generated changes ranging from withdrawal from the European societies that became established in the Americas to various stages of integration with those societies.

The small beginnings of the European wave in the far Northeast occurred when Norse (Viking) settlers arrived in A.D. 984 in Greenland, where they maintained colonies until around 1450. The only documented Norse settlement in North America beyond Greenland, at L'Anse aux Meadows in northern Newfoundland, Canada, founded in about A.D. 1000, may have been occupied only for a decade or less (Ingstad 1977; McGhee 1984a; Wallace 1991, 2005) (fig. 6). The impact of the Norse on Native Americans has been investigated largely in Greenland and the Canadian Arctic, where Norse materials have been found in Dorset and Thule Inuit sites dating from around A.D. 1000–1400 (Cox 2000; Fitzhugh and Ward 2000; Harp 1974–1975; McGhee 1984a; Sabo and Sabo 1978; Sutherland 2000; Schledermann 1980).

The thirteenth-century Icelandic Norse sagas described both peaceful and hostile early encounters with Native American Indians and Dorset Eskimo called *skraelings* (variously translated as "wretches"

Photograph by William Fitzhugh.

Fig. 6. Parks Canada reconstruction of the L'Anse aux Meadows Norse site, dating circa A.D. 1000, on the northern tip of Newfoundland.

or "fur-clad people"), whom the Norse met across the large areas between the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and Ellesmere Island (Kleivan 1984; McGhee 1984a). The arrival of Thule people, ancestors of the present-day Inuit around A.D. 1200–1300 presented the Norse with a formidable new adversary at a time when the Norse population and economy were in decline owing to impacts of the Little Ice Age. From their encounters with Dorset and Thule people, the Norse obtained furs, walrus ivory, narwhal tusks, and knowledge of Native cultures, while the Indigenous people garnered small objects, metal, hardwoods, cloth, and, more importantly, awareness of European technology, materials, tactics, and vulnerabilities (Appelt and Gulløv 2009; Schledermann 1990).

Several decades after the Norse disappeared from Greenland, presumably around 1450, European vessels showed up around Newfoundland (for example, John Cabot in 1497) and in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence (Jacques Cartier in 1534). The arrival of Basque whalers after 1525 brought the Indian and Inuit people of southern Labrador, Newfoundland, and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence into more sustained interaction with the European sailors and traders (Barkham 1980). In southern Newfoundland and the Canadian Maritimes, extensive trade contacts stimulated the development of a Miq'maw-Basque pigeon language (Bakker 1989; Nordhoff et al. 2013), and Miq'maw social, economic, and political life underwent major changes as the Miq'maw became regional entrepreneurs in the trade of European goods (Loewen and Delmas 2012).

Ongoing excavations since 2010 have provided evidence of Basque-Inuit co-occupation of a Basque whaling and fishing stations, documenting a unique case of collaboration in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence (Fitzhugh 2014, 2015, 2016a). Sixteenth-century Basque whaling in the Gulf and Strait of Belle Isle extirpated the local bowhead whale stock that provided the traditional economic focus for southern Inuit (McLeod et al. 2008) (fig. 7). After the 1600s, Baffin

Photograph by William Fitzhugh.

Fig. 7. The Hare Harbor site on Petit Mecatina Island, near Harrington Harbor, on the northeastern shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Basque whalers occupied this site in the late sixteenth century, and Basque or French cod fishermen and Inuit occupied it circa 1700.

and Greenlandic Inuit were attracted to the whaling trade, through which they obtained metal, hardwood, wooden boats and gear, and a host of other European goods (Kaplan 2012; Kaplan and Woollet 2016).

Increasing social engagement changed Inuit societies in major ways. Settlements grew into large villages; large communal houses replaced single-family dwellings; the power of shamans declined; and leaders skilled at dealing with the Europeans replaced traditional whaling captains. More profound transformation took place in western Greenland following the establishment of Hans Egede's Hope Colony in 1721, which led to a permanent colony, a Moravian mission, Christianization, and eventual annexation to Denmark (Kleivan 1984). In Labrador, a similar scenario unfolded in the Strait of Belle Isle and also, with the arrival of Moravian missionaries after 1771, north of Hamilton Inlet (Jenness 1965; Rollman 2002).

North of Labrador, sustained European contacts with Canadian Inuit did not occur until the 1820s (Eber 1989; Ross 1975). In the twentieth century, trading posts, schools, and missions began to attract Inuit into large villages, where they became increasingly dependent on wage employment and government services. Even so, the Inuit hunting and fishing economy remained mostly intact until the arrival of military bases in World War II, radar sites during the Cold War era, and the Canadian government's imposed resettlement policies (Bennett and Rowley 2014; Vallee et al. 1984).

Similar changes occurred during the Russian colonization of Alaska in the 1700s, driven by the market for sea otter and fur seal pelts, and after U.S. annexation in 1867, when commercial whaling and salmon fisheries were established (Black 1988; VanStone 1984). The Aleut population was decimated by warfare and disease within the first decades of Russian contact and, after 1799, by social disintegration when the Russian-American Company pressed Aleut males into service as hunters. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, the Alaskan interior north of the Aleutians remained outside the European sphere of influence except for Russian and Hudson's Bay Company fur traders. Following 1850, however, the advent of American whaling brought the Yupik and Inupiaq Eskimos into close association with whalers, giving rise to many of the same benefits and ills experienced by the eastern Inuit (Ray 1975; Burch 1998; Krupnik and Chlenov 2013).

In spite of their involvement with globalization and their loss of subsistence resources and traditional religion, the Inuit across the North American Arctic remained demographically dominant in their homelands, continued to use traditional foods, maintained their language, and today are proprietors of their own future as a result of land claim settlements and increasing national and international recognition (see "Arctic," this vol.).

Great Plains

Although European traders and explorers were present in eastern North America and coastal regions of the Gulf of Mexico by the beginning of the sixteenth century (Hudson and Tesser 1994; Sauer 1971; Williamson 1962), it was not until 1714 that they entered the heart of the Great Plains along the Missouri River

(Margry 1876). Vérendrye's expedition from Canada traveled deep into the plains in the 1730s (Burpee 1927). Traders from Louisiana (*coureurs des bois*) made contact with the tribes of the southern plains and began commerce in deer hides and meat starting in the late 1600s. This period and its emerging trade signaled a new form of global contact between the Great Plains, Europe, and even more distant regions. The records of La Harpe's travels in 1719 indicated the first direct contact with a large number of tribes of eastern Oklahoma and offered details about their ways of life. Excavations in the 1990s recovered significant evidence of the La Harpe expedition (Odell 2002) while more recent research has focused on Wichita sites (Perkins et al. 2016).

The use of the horse was a significant outcome of early contacts (Swagerty 2001). Indigenous people in west-central Mexico first acquired horses from the Spanish in the 1540s. By 1574, horses were documented near the Texas border, and Texas tribes were probably using them before the end of the sixteenth century. Pueblo Indians of the Southwest began to acquire horses by at least 1607. Plains Apache raids on the Spanish colonies in the Southwest between 1610 and 1630 gave tribal groups access to horses. Throughout the seventeenth century, horses were acquired from the Spanish, especially as a result of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 (Forbes 1959).

Horse riding ushered in a new form of mobile bison hunting that became the dominant lifestyle on the plains. Several groups who had lived on the margins of the plains quickly developed the skills needed to take full advantage of the new opportunity (Kroeber 1939:79–83). Tribes such as the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, Kiowa, and Blackfoot were among those who became horse-mounted bison hunters. Several Sioux oral traditions record their migration from the region west of Lake Michigan onto the plains (DeMallie 1976:253–254). Altogether, there were at least 27 separate tribes on the Great Plains during the early nineteenth century. All used the horse, but for many groups along the Missouri River, the older horticulture traditions remained the primary economy.

The village groups of the middle Missouri River regions—the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara in North and South Dakota—were in many ways emblematic of the encounters between sedentary agricultural groups and Europeans that took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on the plains. Their position on the Missouri River ensured frequent interactions with traders, with the military, and later with missionaries and settlers. The Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804–1806 was the best known of such early encounters, although there were traders in the region at least two decades prior (Nasatir 1952; Wood and Thiessen 1999). These first Europeans to arrive on the middle Missouri were primarily interested in trading furs, especially beaver pelts. It is commonly assumed that Native groups were always more interested in acquiring goods of European origin than in their own material culture, but in many instances, there was parity in interaction (Rogers 1990).

The Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara people participated in trade for European goods in accordance with their own changing interests. Weapons, especially guns, were always highly valued. However, the adoption of a particular weapon or other item was not direct evidence of acculturation or hybridity. European objects were not necessarily viewed as superior. Assessing the meaning of contact with Europeans, or any other group of alien people, requires an in-depth analysis of history and changes in cultural practices along with the ontology of material culture (see, Alberti 2016; Cusick 1998; Fitzhugh 1985; Rogers 1990; Rogers and Wilson 1993).

During the late nineteenth century, the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara suffered extensively from introduced Old World diseases and conflict with the Sioux. The remnants of the three tribes were consolidated into a single village in North Dakota (Like-A-Fishhook village) first established at Fort Berthold in 1845 and abandoned in 1886. The late nineteenth- and twentieth-century history of the three tribes (federally recognized as the Three Affiliated Tribes of Fort Berthold Reservation) shared many similarities with other tribes on the Great Plains. It involved first the establishment of the Fort Berthold Reservation in 1870, the later allotment of lands to individual families as a result of the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, and then further reductions in reservation size. Missionary activity began in 1876 with the establishment of a church and school (Case and Case 1977; Parks 2001a; Schneider 2001).

Southeast

The first Europeans to enter the Southeast in the sixteenth century were members of Spanish expeditions originating in the Caribbean. The Spanish encountered highly organized chiefdoms throughout the Southeast, as well as tribes practicing older hunting-and-gathering traditions (Widmer 1988). An extensive expedition led by Hernando de Soto in 1539 made an epic trek from Tampa Bay, Florida, through the interior of the Southeast, lasting several years (Davis 1935; Galloway 1997; Swanton 1939). All of these expeditions were searching for gold and other valuables, of which they found little. Yet they were important because of their consequences for Native American peoples and

because they provide the first written descriptions of a way of life that was changing.

Coastal areas of Florida experienced the first impacts of Old World diseases such as smallpox, the plague, typhus, flu, and several others (Hutchinson 2013; Ramenofsky 1987; Ubelaker 2006b). Early accounts seldom give the details needed to identify a particular pathogen, but new studies have clarified the timing and consequences of disease outbreaks (Jones 2014; Thornton 1997). Old World diseases also entered the Southeast through Spanish outposts in the Southwest and Texas, and there is some evidence of diseases on the southern plains by 1535 (Vehik 1989). Rather than spreading across the continent in advance of European contact, diseases, at least in the Southeast, might have been confined to Florida and areas east of the Appalachian Mountains for decades after first contact, until the first pandemic in the interior Southeast in 1696 (Kelton 2002). Once the diseases spread beyond the mountains, it took only another 30 years for epidemics to reach west beyond the Mississippi River, with significant outbreaks in the eastern plains by the mid- to late seventeenth century (Jones 2014; Kelton 2009).

The decline of chiefdoms across the Southeast in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is generally assumed to be associated with the spread of Old World diseases and the arrival of Europeans (Blitz 1993:50; Ewen 1996). Recent improvements in chronology and interpretations of the spread of disease now point to processes that occurred before the arrival of Europeans, especially regional conflict and climate fluctuations.

Certain structural aspects of the southeastern chiefdoms contributed to dramatic changes during the precontact and early contact era. Before European direct contact, some of the Mississippian chiefdoms were already in decline. In the region of the Spiro site in eastern Oklahoma, on the western margin of the Southeast, mound construction ceased around A.D. 1450 (fig. 8), and the complex political and religious hierarchy of the Spiro chiefdom disintegrated (Rogers 2006). The Spiro region was not depopulated, but its ceremonial centers were abandoned, and cultural ties drifted away from the Southeast and toward the Great Plains. By the late 1400s, Indigenous peoples in the Spiro region had adopted a lifestyle more characteristic of their neighbors to the west. The decline of the Spiro chiefdom seems to be associated with a decline in long-distance trade in prestige goods, which might have created problems for the chiefly authority structure.

Abandonments of large regions did occur elsewhere in the Midwest and Southeast at about the same time. In the lower Ohio River valley, a very large region was abandoned beginning around A.D. 1450

Oklahoma Historical Society, Thoburn Collection (196.2.1).

Fig. 8. In eastern Oklahoma, the Spiro site consisted of a group of mounds near the western edge of the Mississippian cultural traditions. This image shows the Craig Mound at Spiro in 1913 before excavation. In the 1930s, the mounds were pillaged, and many rare artifacts entered the collector market.

(Cobb and Butler 2002). In the Savannah River Basin of South Carolina and Georgia, a large section of the region was abandoned around A.D. 1450 as well, and mound construction at the political and ceremonial centers of several chiefdoms ceased (Anderson 1996:157). To the west and east of the Savannah River Basin, however, powerful chiefdoms continued to exist into the sixteenth century, and the de Soto expedition encountered them in the 1530s (Hudson 1997; Knight 2009). The reasons for the abandonment of some region may include rivalries between neighboring chiefdoms, the declining environmental potential for intensive agriculture, or the widespread volatility of chiefdom political systems. In Alabama, the famous Moundville chiefdom reverted to a more egalitarian society around 1500 or even earlier (Knight and Steponaitis 1998; Steponaitis 1983; Steponaitis and Scarry 2016).

The period between the de Soto expedition of 1539–1543 and the arrival of the French and English nearly a century later was a time of great social change in the Southeast (M.T. Smith 1987). Ethridge (2009a, 2010; see "Southeast," this vol.) considers the period from 1540 to 1730 a time of extreme disruptions. The foundations of modern tribal histories were laid down during this period, as some tribes consolidated from remnants and other groups disappeared entirely.

In specific ways, the arrival of Europeans restructured trade interactions and brought a wide variety of new items into play. These new trade interactions also brought a new emphasis to old patterns, such as the trade in slaves. It is estimated that the English and their allies enslaved between 24,000 and 51,000 Indians between 1685 and 1715 (Gallay 2002). The

Spanish in Florida and the French in Louisiana also sponsored slave raids. While slavery was a practice extending well back in time, the European demand for labor to serve in an extractive economy far exceeded Indigenous practices. Its effect on Native chiefdoms in the Southeast was devastating (Ethridge and Shuck-Hall 2009). With the enslavement of women of child-bearing age and the death of many men, social and demographic disruptions were a likely contributor to the collapse of several chiefdoms. New historical and archaeological research has documented the intensive slave raiding by the Westo, Yamasees, Creeks, Alabamas, and others, and its impact on the fall of the Guale, Apalachee, Altamaha, Ocute, Ichisi, and Timucuan chiefdoms (Bowne 2009; Ethridge 2009a). The resulting disruptions led in part to the formation of the Catawba and Creek Confederations and the other large historical groups of the Southeast (see "Southeast," this vol.).

Conclusion

From the arrival of the Paleo-Indians to contemporary globalization, culture change through contact between diverse peoples across North America was the norm not the exception. Interactions beyond the continent did not cease with the last of the Paleo-Indian migrations but continued, especially between Asia and North America's Arctic regions. As North America became more regionally diverse, many other long-distance interactions continued through trade, migration, and day-to-day encounters.

Trade was often the most important driver of culture change and innovation. Through activities associated with trade, people acquired information beyond local territories or knowledge spheres, spouses were obtained, partnerships were established, and links were made that opened new avenues in times of difficulty or disaster. The history of North America is replete with evidence of the importance of economic exchanges in materials, services, and transactions in cultural information.

As a glimpse into the interconnected world of Native North America, the writings of various European explorers, missionaries, and colonists mentioned interacting with Native people who possessed a surprisingly complete knowledge of a vast region (see, for example, Peregrine and Lekson 2012). For Native people, North America was *not* an uncharted wilderness but was connected by trails and waterways that facilitated movement. Early European travelers followed the same routes and relied on Native people as guides.

Following 1492, Europeans introduced new technologies, diseases, and cultural practices, but they also took away vast wealth in gold and silver. These interactions began a new era of global exchange that had already developed in Eurasia along the Silk Road (Christian 2000). The establishment of the modern world came with European, African, and Asian contacts in North America over the past 500 years, accelerating the transactions that were part of the Indigenous American cultural scene for thousands of years (Denemark 2000; Sidbury 2007).

Trade inevitably required crossing social, geographic, or cultural borders. Exotic lithic raw materials found in Paleo-Indian sites were among the earliest evidence of trade and communication. Large shells of the genus *Busycon* (and others) from the Gulf of Mexico were featured in Hopewell and Mississippian sites in the Southeast and Midwest; artifacts made from Ramah chert were traded from northern Labrador as far south as sites in Maryland and Virginia; obsidian from the Rocky Mountains turns up in Hopewell graves; and jade from Kotzebue, Alaska, was traded into Siberia in exchange for reindeer pelts.

One indication of the vitality of North American Native cultures was the adoption of many of their cultural contributions by Indigenous peoples elsewhere and in the contemporary global economy. These contributions include forms of transport (canoe, kayak, toboggan, dogsled, and snowshoes); housing (tipi and snow house); games (lacrosse); the atlatl (known throughout the Americas); clothing (hooded parka, waterproof gutskins, moccasins, snow goggles); tools (toggling harpoon, *ulu* [woman] knife, and shaft wrench); and domesticated animals (husky/malamute dog and turkey). Although they were not primarily domesticated in North America, crops for food and other uses important to the world economy include a huge array of products like sunflower, maize, potato, squash, beans, tobacco, and chocolate, to name only a few. Europeans first experienced many of these foods and substances through their contact with the Indigenous people of North America.

An equally long list of Native contributions could be cited from the fields of oral literature, folklore, music, dance, religion, and art. Native designs, motifs, and sculptural forms have influenced tastes and styles in other cultures around the world. Despite the technological power advantage held by the newcomers, culture contact in the Americas has not been a one-way street. Native contributions have been massive, competitive, and long-lasting.

By the late nineteenth century, after Europeans had spread across the Americas and occupied most of its lands, the young field of anthropology began filling

museums with objects collected from Native American societies that had inhabited these lands for more than 15,000 years. The great diversity of cultures that existed when Europeans arrived was due in large part to the absence in North America of large-scale Native agricultural economies and the lack of centrally controlled empire-like political structures like those that existed to the south in central and western Mexico (Pollard 1993; M.E. Smith 2012). Although many of the societies that existed at the beginning of the Columbian era were decimated, others remained and are known today by their living traditions or were represented through ethnographic reports, archaeological finds, and museum collections. These cultures were not static; dynamism and diversity are evident at every stage of development.

Fifty years ago, when the Smithsonian *Handbook of North American Indians* series was initiated, anthropologists and historians tended to view Native American societies as discrete, self-contained cultural and social entities. New research has shown that these cultural units—whether material, linguistic, social, or genomic—were more fluid and internally variable than previously supposed. Archaeological studies, especially since the 1990s, have demonstrated levels of diversity not previously recognized. Tribes have continuously shared stories and ideas, exchanged persons and genes, and developed dialects or new languages. Much of the inspiration for change has been internal and was stimulated by the innate inventiveness of human behavior, but external influences have always been factors as well. Ideas and technologies are subversive; they spread across boundaries with little notice until they take root and change the status quo—but change is always reciprocal. Senders and receivers are both changed by the interaction.

Coastal Peoples and Maritime Adaptations: From First Settlement to Contact

TORBEN C. RICK AND TODD J. BRAJE

North America's massive coastline extends from polar to tropical waters and covers parts of the Gulf of Mexico, Gulf of California, Caribbean Sea, and the Pacific, Atlantic, and Arctic Oceans. With an archaeological record spanning the Late Pleistocene to modern times, this massive seacoast was also important for people living throughout North America. For Native Americans, the ocean played a crucial role in everything from subsistence and raw material sources to social, political, and ritual systems.

One of the many important contributions of the *Handbook of North American Indians* is the extensive synthesis of Native North America's coastal peoples. Of the *Handbook*'s planned 20 volumes, at least seven cover coastal areas, including chapters on coastal groups in the regional volumes on the Arctic (Damas 1984), Subarctic (Helm 1981), Northeast (Trigger 1978a), Southeast (Fogelson 2004), California (Heizer 1978b), and Northwest Coast (Suttles 1990) (fig. 1). Sections of each of these volumes describe Native American lifeways through ethnography and ethnohistory, as well as archaeology, documenting the diverse relationships that people had with the ocean and the coastal zone. This documentation covered a wide variety of coastal activities, from the use of shell and other beads for trade and exchange (e.g., Anderson and Sassaman 2004; Brasser 1978; Cole and Darling 1990; Elsasser 1978; King 1978) to the construction of sophisticated watercraft for whaling among the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth (Nutka) of the Pacific Northwest and many groups in the Arctic (Ackerman 1984; Arima and Dewhirst 1990; Wessen 1990).

Since the inception of the *Handbook of North American Indians* series more than 50 years ago, archaeologists have made significant advances in understanding the importance of marine ecosystems in the human past. Coastal and ocean habitats were once considered to be at the margins of early human settlement, but archaeologists and anthropologists have reshaped our thinking about the ocean and seacoast as central to people's lives in North America and around the world (Bailey and Milner 2002; Erlandson 2001; Yesner 1980). This dramatic change resulted in researchers' viewing the ocean as a gateway rather than a last resort (Braje et al. 2017; Erlandson 1994). Some of this research has been enhanced by the incorporation of Indigenous perspectives and traditional ecological knowledge into archaeological research in coastal regions (Lepofsky et al. 2015; Lightfoot and Lopez 2013; Moss 1993), as well as various recent coastal and seagoing cultural revitalization programs described in more detail in this chapter (fig. 2).

The Pacific Coast was a likely entry point for early Indigenous people to the Americas from Asia, with several coastal sites in North and South America radiocarbon dated to 13,000-14,000 years ago or more (deFrance et al. 2001; Dillehay et al. 2017; Erlandson et al. 2011; Meltzer 2010; Owsley and Jantz 2014a; Stanford 2006b). During millennia of cultural evolution after initial settlement, coastal hunter-gatherers developed sophisticated social and political systems,

Map by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 1. Map showing location of various *Handbook* volumes that discuss coastal peoples and maritime adaptations.

Map by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 2. Map of geographic place names and archaeological sites mentioned in this chapter.

often rivaling those of agriculturalists who lived in coastal or interior areas (Arnold 1996, 2001; Marquardt and Walker 2013), especially along the coastlines of California, Florida, and the Pacific Northwest. Maritime hunting of whales in the Arctic and parts of the Pacific Northwest (Betts and Friesen 2013; Fitzhugh 1975; Monks et al. 2001; Stocker and Krupnik 1993; Whitridge 1999), fishing for swordfish in California and Maine (Betts et al. 2019; Bourque 2012; Davenport et al. 1993), and a diverse range of other coastal hunting and foraging for birds, shellfish, marine mammals, and finfish are found throughout North American coastlines. There is also evidence of human impacts on some marine fauna and ecosystems (see Rick and Erlandson 2008) and of human modification of terrestrial coastal landscapes as shown by the extensive shell mounds of the Southeast and San Francisco Bay (Luby et al. 2006; Sassaman 2004).

This chapter provides a brief overview of the archaeology of Native North American coastal and maritime adaptations and the importance of coastal resources for the development of Native North American cultures and traditions. In keeping with the *Handbook of North American Indians* geographic coverage, the focus is on the cultural region north of Mexico and the Caribbean. Although there has been debate about what is meant by *maritime adaptations* (see Erlandson 2001), here the term is used broadly, with a focus on anything related to the seacoast and estuaries, as well as those truly "maritime" or seafaring adaptations from the outer coast.

Specifically, the chapter discusses four areas in which we have seen great strides in knowledge since the 1990s: (1) the antiquity and initial settlement of North America and subsistence strategies of early coastal peoples, (2) social organization and emergent social and economic inequality, (3) human-environmental interactions and the built (human-modified) environment, and (4) early exchange systems and interaction spheres. The goal is to provide a timely discussion of

past Native American interactions with the ocean that presents deep historical context for the diverse maritime cultures and peoples that are a core component of other volumes in the *Handbook* series (particularly vols. 5, 7, 8, 14, and 15). Ultimately, the chapter demonstrates the global significance of the deep roots of Native North American coastal history and intends to help set the stage for future research on North American maritime adaptations in the twenty-first century and coastal archaeology more generally (Bailey and Milner 2002; Erlandson and Fitzpatrick 2006; Fitzpatrick et al. 2015).

Maritime Adaptations and the Seacoast in Ancient North America

Antiquity of Maritime Adaptations

Despite early knowledge that Native Americans had extensive and sophisticated maritime adaptations going back at least to the 1800s (Dall 1877; Holmes 1907a; Schumacher 1875), only since the 1990s have archaeologists fully realized the great antiquity of North America's maritime and coastal peoples, whose history now extends back more than 13,000 years (Erlandson 1994; Erlandson et al. 2011; Fedje and Mathewes 2005). Until the 1980s, most archaeologists argued that Native American maritime adaptations occurred relatively late in the occupation of North America, perhaps as recently as 5,000 years ago, a pattern similar to what people thought about coastal occupations elsewhere in the world (see Erlandson 1994; Yesner 1980, 1987).

In this scenario, terrestrially adapted peoples colonized the Americas between 13,000 and 13,500 years ago as part of the "Clovis-First" settlement of North America (Fiedel 2000, 2002; Haynes 1987) and gradually made their way down riverine corridors and ultimately to the seacoast (see Meltzer 2006; Stanford 2006b). Despite early calls for alternative coastal routes (Fladmark 1979), the Clovis-First paradigm dominated archaeological discourse until the 1990s, when the publication of the ~14,000-year-old, and possibly older, human coastal occupations at Monte Verde site in south central Chile, South America, helped fuel a fundamental change in how anthropologists and archaeologists viewed the importance of marine resources and ecosystems. Detailed archaeological research at Monte Verde suggested a new path for coastal migration into the Americas because ice locked in overland routes until about 13,500 years ago, whereas a coastal route would have opened by 16,000 years ago (see Braje et al. 2017; Dillehay 1989, 1997; Dillehay et al. 2008, 2015; Dixon 1999; Erlandson 2001; Meltzer 2010). This discovery paved the way for new ways of thinking about the peopling of the Americas and shifted views from a single point of entry via the Bering Land Bridge toward the possibility of multiple routes at multiple times, including coastal migrations (Erlandson et al. 2007; Meltzer 2010; see "Emergence of Cultural Diversity," this vol.).

The previously hypothesized late occurrence of Native American coastal adaptations, which now seems at odds with the extensive presence of maritime and coastal peoples documented in several *Handbook* volumes, has been turned on its head. Most archaeologists now agree that coastally adapted peoples have lived in the Americas since initial settlement during the Late Pleistocene, and ongoing research seeks to determine precisely when people arrived in coastal and other parts of the Americas and what their lifeways were like (Braje et al. 2017). This vision has been further enhanced by the recognition of new coastal sites occupied by early anatomically modern humans in Africa more than 100,000 years ago (for example, Marean et al. 2007). Ample evidence now exists of early maritime adaptations around the world, including the maritime settlement of greater Australia well over 50,000 years ago and deep-sea fishing in island Southeast Asia 42,000 years ago (Bailey and Milner 2002; Balme 2013; Clarkson et al. 2017; Erlandson 2001; O'Connor et al. 2011).

From Haida Gwaii (Queen Charlotte Islands) in British Columbia to southern California's Channel Islands and the southern shores of South America, there is now convincing evidence for Native American maritime adaptations since the end of the Pleistocene (Des Lauriers 2010; Erlandson et al. 2008b). Despite advances, however, the cultural traditions of these earliest coastal Native Americans remain somewhat poorly known, largely because many sites likely lie inundated on the continental shelf that was submerged following sea-level rise during the Holocene (Erlandson et al. 2007). Despite the challenges of finding early coastal sites, archaeological research since the 1990s has documented the presence of diverse coastally adapted peoples throughout Native North America during the past 10,000 years (Neusius and Gross 2013).

Several early coastal sites have been identified on the Pacific Coast of the Americas, and these sites are key to documenting the antiquity and diversity of Native North American maritime adaptations (Erlandson et al. 2008b). Research in Haida Gwaii, in particular, has advanced the search for early coastal peoples in the Americas. Tantalizing underwater discoveries of stone tools, human remains, and other signs of human occupation provide an important glimpse into the possibility that ancient people lived on now-submerged

shorelines (Chatters et al. 2014; Faught 2004; Fedje and Christensen 1999; Fedje and Mathewes 2005). Work beginning in 1990 at the Kilgii Gwai site on Haida Gwaii also yielded a diverse set of faunal remains, including albatrosses, fish, seals, and sea lions, dated to about 11,000 years ago. More recent human remains recovered from On Your Knees Cave in southeast Alaska date to 10,300 years ago and provide additional evidence for early use of the Pacific Coast by American Indigenous people (Dixon 1999, 2006). Research at On Your Knees Cave includes genetic data that suggest the presence of a haplotype common among contemporary Native Americans living along the Pacific Coast (Kemp et al. 2007).

To the south, a series of sites on California's northern Channel Islands contain extensive evidence for sophisticated maritime peoples beginning at least 13,000 years ago (Erlandson et al. 2007, 2011). These include two sites on San Miguel Island and one on Santa Rosa Island that all date to more than 11,000 years ago and demonstrate shellfish collecting, fishing, and the exploitation of aquatic birds and marine mammals (Erlandson et al. 2011). These sites also contain Channel Island barbed points and crescents—sophisticated chipped stone tools likely used in maritime hunting activities (fig. 3). On Cedros Island, Baja California, a Clovis point and two shell middens dated to about 11,000 years ago also demonstrate early coastal presence throughout the Pacific Coast of North America (Des Lauriers 2006, 2010). Coastal sites of similar and earlier Late Pleistocene antiquity have also been found in Japan and elsewhere in East Asia that demonstrate technological similarities in stone tools from northeast Asia, coastal California, and South America (Erlandson and Braje 2011).

The "kelp highway" hypothesis provides a theoretical framework for linking early coastal archaeological sites, helping move beyond issues of site preservation and destruction by rising seas and marine erosion, and contextualizing the coastal peopling of the Americas (Erlandson et al. 2007). This model contends that early coastal peoples in northeast Asia would have been drawn to explore the North American seacoast because of the presence of a continuous ring of kelp forest habitats reaching from Asia into northern North America and further south into California and Mexico. These kelp forest habitats would have provided a similar suite of fish, shellfish, birds, marine mammals, and other resources that could have helped make otherwise unfamiliar land- and seascapes more familiar and hospitable. This model has proven to be an important framework as new coastal sites are discovered and similar projectile point technologies are found in early sites in the coastal areas (Erlandson and Braje 2011) and as archaeologists continue to make progress in underwater archaeological research (Braje et al. 2017).

Photograph by T. Rick.

Fig. 3. CA-SRI-512 is a terminal Pleistocene archaeological site on Santa Rosa Island. The site is among the oldest sites on the Pacific Coast of North America and has produced rich assemblages of bird, fish, and mammal bones and Channel Island barbed points and crescents to ~11,700 cal B.P. Jon Erlandson sits at the buried deposits.

Another key archaeological discovery that altered views on the peopling of the Americas was the roughly 9000-year-old Kennewick Man human remains found in 1996 on the banks of the Columbia River in Washington state (Owsley and Jantz 2014a). Although plagued with controversy, the Kennewick Man human remains provided interesting perspectives on early Native American peoples and their potential origins. Skeletal analyses, particularly cranial morphometrics, support a connection to some Moriori groups in the Chatham Islands in the Southern Pacific but suggest he was unlike any present-day populations (Owsley and Jantz 2014b). Recent genetic analysis of Kennewick Man, however, suggests a close tie to Native American populations, particularly those in the Columbia River region (Meltzer 2015; Rasmussen et al. 2015). While debate about Kennewick Man's origins continues, a key area of relevance to coastal and maritime adaptations is the stable isotope data from

Kennewick Man, which can help interpret his diet. It suggests that he was a maritime forager with isotopic signatures similar to those of people who consume high amounts of marine proteins from seals and fish (Schwarcz et al. 2014).

North America's Atlantic and Gulf Coasts have yet to produce unequivocal evidence for terminal Pleistocene or earliest Holocene maritime adaptations like those found on the Pacific Coast. However, research on the antiquity of coastal adaptations on the North American Atlantic Coast has increased since 2000. One of the more controversial ideas is the so-called Solutrean hypothesis, which holds that Late Pleistocene peoples from southern France and Iberia colonized the Americas prior to 15,000 years ago (Stanford and Bradley 2012). This hypothesis of a North Atlantic peopling event, based primarily on the technological resemblance of Clovis and Solutrean stone and bone tools (see Straus 2000), stimulated researchers to engage in further testing. A major point of contention is whether the similarities between the North American Clovis and western European Solutrean technologies were the result of cultural convergence (Bordes 1968; Sellet 1998) or a transatlantic movement of people, tools, and tool-making technologies. The Solutrean hypothesis has been criticized, and new genetic evidence connects Native North Americans to East Asia rather than to Ice Age Europe (Raff and Bolnick 2015; Rasmussen et al. 2015; see Oppenheimer et al. 2014 for an alternative perspective).

Despite the dearth of early North American Atlantic coastal sites, there are numerous terrestrial Clovis sites and points throughout the eastern United States, many of which lie in coastal or aquatic settings today (Lowery et al. 2012). Because the shallow bathymetry of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts resulted in major Holocene sea-level rise, the Late Pleistocene coastline is sometimes hundreds of kilometers offshore from its current location, with the result that most of the Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene sites found near the coast today were located in interior areas when they were occupied.

Despite issues of sea-level rise, there are shell middens dated to 7,000–8,000 years ago in Florida (Saunders and Russo 2011), 6,000 years ago in New York (Claassen 1995; Merwin 2019), and about 5,200 years ago in the Chesapeake Bay (Reeder-Myers and Rick 2019; Rick and Waselkov 2015). A shell midden discovered on the continental shelf in a probable ancient estuarine setting off the coast of the Texas–Louisiana border might be as old as 8,000 years (Pearson et al. 2014). A recent discovery at a fossil sinkhole (Page-Ladson Site) submerged beneath a river in northwestern Florida suggests a human presence in the southeastern United States since about 14,500 years ago (Halligan et al. 2016). Though not a truly coastal site, it provides support for the hypothesis that there were people in coastal areas well before 8,000 years ago. Similarly, the L'Anse Amour burial site in Labrador and other Maritime Archaic burial and habitation sites dated to 6,000–8,000 years ago demonstrate that subarctic coastlines were not beyond the reach of early marine mammal hunters (Fitzhugh 2006; Wolff and Holly 2019; Pintal 1998; Sanger and Renouf 2006; Tuck and McGhee 1975).

Even though the Clovis-First hypothesis has long been shattered and archaeological evidence points to a human presence in the Americas for at least 14,000–15,000 years, Late Pleistocene coastal sites are still relatively rare (Braje et al. 2017). As the data available by 2017 indicate, sites with definitive coastal adaptations are all younger than about 13,000 years old—though the presence of preserved and directly radiocarbon-dated kelp at Monte Verde suggests coastal resource use at least 14,000 years ago (Dillehay et al. 2008, 2017; Erlandson et al. 2008a). Given the submergence of Pleistocene shorelines and the likeliest places for coastal human settlement, earlier coastal sites likely exist, and the new frontier for exploration is underwater archaeology (Dixon and Monteleone 2014; Gusick and Faught 2011).

Social Inequality and Emergent Complexity

In the 1980s, archaeologists became increasingly interested in the emergence of social hierarchies among early nonagricultural (foraging) communities (Arnold 1996; Price and Brown 1985). With increasing recognition that several coastal hunter-gatherer-fisher groups had large population densities, transcribed or inherited leadership, complex and far-reaching exchange networks, and other traits, a new focus on "emergent (social) complexity" appeared, often in coastal or other aquatic regions (see Ames and Maschner 1999; Arnold 1996, 2001; Fitzhugh 2003; Matson and Coupland 1995; Prentiss and Kuijt 2004; Price and Brown 1985; Sassaman 2004).

At the forefront of this new focus was research on the so-called complex hunter-gatherers—the three most salient examples of which were the historical Calusa of Florida, the Chumash of southern California, and many of the cultural groups throughout the Northwest Coast, such as the Haida, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Coast Salish, and Nuu-chah-nulth/Nootka (Ames and Maschner 1999; Arnold 1996; Marquardt 1988, 2004, 2015; see more in Fogelson 2004; Heizer 1978b;

Suttles 1990). Similar to the sea change in views on the antiquity of coastal adaptations in the Americas, dramatic shifts have taken place in our knowledge of the importance of a maritime economy for helping foster emergent complexity in Native North America and elsewhere (Ames and Maschner 1999; Arnold 2001; Fitzhugh 2003). Aspects of this increased interest in social hierarchies among coastal hunter-gathers were also covered in some *Handbook* chapters published after 1990, especially in volume 7, *Northwest Coast* (e.g., Mitchell 1990; Wessen 1990) and volume 14, *Southeast* (Marquardt 2004; Milanich 2004).

Much of this early discussion centered on definitions of emergent complexity, which ranged from aligning hunter-gatherer groups with simple chiefdoms, inherited leadership, and control over labor (see Arnold 1996; Fitzhugh 2003; see "Emergence of Cultural Diversity," this vol.) to a vision of sociopolitical complexity as a combination of traits, such as elaborate material culture, subsistence shifts or intensification, and institutionalized exchange (Erlandson and Rick 2002). Increasingly, the debate is moving away from defining terms or categories and toward understanding the diverse social systems, activities, lifeways, and cultural processes that triggered and drove the development of social complexity among coastal peoples in the Pacific Northwest and elsewhere in North America. Some authors (e.g., Moss 2011) call for discarding the very term *complex hunter-gatherers*, noting that it does not adequately cover the peoples of the Northwest Coast and suggesting that instead the search should be for the origins of fishers and food producers.

Key elements of emergent complexity are particularly pronounced in parts of coastal North America. The Chumash, for instance, discussed in volume 8 of the *Handbook* (Grant 1978), were well known for their hereditary leaders, complex exchange networks between parts of the mainland and offshore islands, and sophisticated maritime and terrestrial subsistence systems (Arnold 1992, 2001; Gamble 2008; Kennett 2005; Rick 2007). The Calusa of southwest Florida had large villages and sophisticated and inherited systems of governance, all tied to the productive estuaries of southwest Florida (Marquardt 1988, 1992a, 1992b, 2001, 2015; Widmer 2014). Interestingly, the complex organization observed historically among the Calusa might have been related to a degree to their early contact with Europeans and a response to the Spanish colonial advance (Marquardt 2001, 2015). In Alaska, there is strong evidence for sophisticated social systems and emergent complexity among coastal hunter-gatherers among the Alutiiq people on Kodiak Island, the Koniagmiut or Qikertarmiut (Fitzhugh 2003). The Kodiak system followed 7,000 years of human settlement, culminating in large population growth, rank and social stratification, warfare, and slavery, all in a productive maritime island setting (Clark 1998; Crowell et al. 2001; Fitzhugh 2003).

Beyond Kodiak Island, the broader Northwest Coast also had sophisticated and complex systems of exchange, potlatches, inherited leadership, and slavery that played an important role in the emergent complexity research paradigm. Given the rich ethnographic and ethnohistoric information from the Northwest Coast, the region has long been an important area for emergent complexity research (Ames and Maschner 1999; Crowell 2000; Grier et al. 2006; Matson and Coupland 1995). Northwest Coast peoples had diverse subsistence strategies and lifeways that focused on scores of different terrestrial and marine resources often with unique management systems (see below). Salmon was one of the most important resources for Native Americans in the Pacific Northwest, with exploitation going back at least 10,000 years, and sophisticated wood-stake weirs were often constructed as part of this system (Butler and Campbell 2004). The maintenance and production of these weirs were a crucial part of social and community alliances and played a role in Northwest Coast sociopolitical developments (Elder et al. 2014; Moss et al. 1990).

While certain groups like the Calusa, Chumash, and Koniagmiut/Qikertarmiut have received a great deal of attention, it is important to note that cultural complexity played out elsewhere in coastal environments across the Southeast, including at Archaic shell rings (Russo and Heide 2001) and later sites, as Mississippian cultural traditions took hold (Thompson and Worth 2011). Evidence of the emergent complexity among Maritime Archaic peoples of Newfoundland, Labrador, and northeastern North America, which persisted from 8,000 years ago and up to 3,000 years ago (Bourque 1995, 2012; Fitzhugh 1978, 2006; Wolff and Holly 2019; Renouf 1999), is also often neglected in discussions of complex hunter-gatherers. In discussing the Port au Choix site, Tuck (1976) highlighted the complex artifact technologies, burials, and social stratification of Maritime Archaic peoples in the Northeast.

Farther to the north, Fitzhugh (1978, 2006) documented the complex social dynamics of Maritime Archaic peoples and the coastal and terrestrial ecosystems of Labrador, describing the development of longhouse dwellings reaching 80–100 meters in length with as many as 20–30 family dwelling spaces. More recent discussions place these in larger ecological and environmental context (Fitzhugh 1997b) and within the framework of human social dynamics and

Photograph by Bruce Bourque.

Fig. 4. The Turner Farm Site in Maine. This site produced a rich assemblage of marine faunal remains and unique artifacts including evidence for complex swordfish hunting.

the challenges of living on islands (Renouf 1999). Similarly, the Red Paint Peoples of the Gulf of Maine, with their elaborate burials and sophisticated swordfish hunting technology, also hold important evidence for sophisticated cultural complexity, stratification, and participation in long-distance exchange networks (Bourque 1995, 2012; Sanger and Renouf 2006) (fig. 4).

An important aspect of the debate about precontact social stratification, inherited leadership, and control of labor in Native North America was how these characteristics appeared to be linked, in part, to productive coastal, estuarine, and riverine areas. Certainly, environment alone did not drive sociopolitical change, as cultural complexity and states and empires often emerged far from coastlines. However, abundant fish and other food sources available in aquatic areas often were linked to human social, political, and cultural dynamics (Arnold 2001; Hayden 1990). In this sense, the seacoast was important for people's cultural traditions and a factor in emergent complexity that worked alongside a complex array of social and cultural variables. Indeed, this cultural and social diversity is documented in the chapters on Native peoples along the North American coast throughout many of the *Handbook* volumes.

Human-Environmental Interactions and the Built Environment

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, there has been increasing interest in understanding human-environmental interactions around the world, particularly in coastal and marine ecosystems (Jackson et al. 2001). In coastal areas, people appear to have strongly influenced the structure and functioning of a variety of ecosystems and organisms for millennia, with these activities forming a continuum that ranges from active management of coastal landscapes and seascapes to their degradation (Boivin et al. 2016; Rick and Erlandson 2009). Researchers working in coastal parts of North America played an important role in shaping this conversation and helped position it within broader interdisciplinary historical and ecological research, as well as within the context of contemporary biological conservation (Braje et al. 2009, 2015; Erlandson and Rick 2010; Lepofsky and Caldwell 2013; Lepofsky et al. 2015; Marquardt 1994; McKechnie et al. 2014; Rick and Erlandson 2009). One of the central themes of the *Handbook of North American Indians* series has been understanding cultural ecology and human-

environmental interactions (Ubelaker 2006a), a theme that has become increasingly prominent in research agendas on maritime adaptations.

One of the major debates since the late 1990s has centered on whether Native Americans had a measurable impact on marine ecosystems and organisms and, depending on the answer, how these patterns of impact may help us better understand, manage, and restore marine ecosystems today (Erlandson and Rick 2010). Similar to the emergent complexity paradigm, research in North America's coastal areas—along the Northwest Coast and in California, the Southeast, and the Northeast—has played a particularly important role in this conversation. For instance, the Island Chumash on California's Channel Islands appeared to have had a strong influence on ancient shellfish populations, with noticeable shellfish size declines in California mussels and red abalones across the Holocene (Braje et al. 2012; Erlandson et al. 2008c).

Similarly, people either overhunted sea otters or excluded them from local catchments in California to increase shellfish productivity, which might have resulted in periodic, localized spikes in abalone and sea urchin populations (Erlandson et al. 2005). People may also have influenced the distribution of pinnipeds, through either hunting or disturbance from other activities (Braje et al. 2011). Indigenous people appear to have been a factor in the extinction of the flightless duck (*Chendytes lawii*) in western North America, but this was a protracted event that took millennia (Jones et al. 2008). In central California and around the mouth of the Columbia River, it appears that protohistoric human disease epidemics may have allowed fish, bird, mammal, and other populations to recover from prehistoric human-induced declines or resource depression in the abundance of key animal species (Broughton 1999; Butler 2000).

Despite evidence in California and beyond of measurable human impacts on many marine ecosystems and organisms before the dramatic changes at European contact, prehistoric human pressure on marine ecosystems often appeared to operate at a fundamentally different scale from human impacts during historical and modern times (Lightfoot et al. 2013a). Clearly, there is much to learn about the apparent long-term sustainable strategies of Native American maritime hunters and fishermen, such as the Chumash and others (Braje 2010; Erlandson et al. 2009).

The identification of archaeological "clam gardens" in the Pacific Northwest has provided important insight into ancient human management of marine ecosystems and organisms (Groesbeck et al. 2014; Lepofsky et al. 2015) (fig. 5). In the twenty-first century, scientific investigation of ancient, modern, and experimental clam gardens—which have long been known to Northwest Coast First Nations—has demonstrated Indigenous people's role in enhancing clam productivity and biodiversity. These clam gardens appear to be part of a suite of management strategies that also includes culturally modified trees, forest gardens, a herring fishery, and much more (Lepofsky et al. 2015; McKechnie et al. 2014). These studies also document the traditional ecological knowledge systems of Northwest Coast nations and the importance of these perspectives for shaping modern fisheries management (Groesbeck et al. 2014).

There is evidence of some overexploitation of resources in parts of the Pacific Northwest. A large review

Photograph courtesy of Dana Lepofsky and Nicole Smith.

Fig. 5. A clam garden in British Columbia at an extremely low tide. The two individuals are standing in the clam garden, which was in use during a time when local sea levels were higher than the present day.

of Northwest Coast subsistence data spanning 10,000 years found an overall pattern of continuity and stability over time in resource use and abundance, but it identified some minor evidence of resource depression or declines in resource abundance (Butler and Campbell 2004). In the Aleutian Islands, overharvesting of sea otters might have created periodic spikes in sea urchin populations and in kelp forest barrens (Corbet et al. 2008; Simenstad et al. 1978). Nonetheless, these impacts are thought to have been on a smaller scale than those inflicted by the fur trade and commercial fishing of the postcontact era and may have resulted in a mix of kelp barrens and kelp forests. Research at the Minard Site in coastal Washington state focused on sooty shearwaters, seabirds that make long migrations across the Pacific; it suggests that these birds may have been overhunted in New Zealand, which led to a lower abundance in the Pacific Northwest during the Late Holocene (Bovy 2007).

Along the Atlantic Coast, research in Florida and Georgia has looked for evidence of "fishing down the food web" by precontact and early contact Native American societies (Reitz 2004). Fishing down the food web—a pattern that has been identified in historical overfishing—occurs when commercial fisheries exploit high trophic-level species first and, when those have been overharvested, shift to the next trophic-level species down the food web, or their prey (Pauly et al. 1998). Although there are some signs of localized depletion in the Georgia archaeological record by the eighteenth century or historical times (Reitz 2004), there is no evidence of fishing down the food web prior to this. Farther to the north, however, stable isotope analyses of archaeological fish and other remains from the Gulf of Maine suggest that prehistoric fishing down the food web may have occurred there, a finding that requires further testing (Bourque et al. 2008).

There has been a renewed interest in Native American oyster fisheries along the Atlantic Coast, particularly in Florida, Georgia, and the Chesapeake Bay region. Study of the Chesapeake Bay oyster fishery in prehistoric, historical, and modern times suggests that, despite harvesting millions of oysters over several millennia, the Chesapeake Bay Indigenous fisheries were largely sustainable over long temporal and broad spatial scales (Rick et al. 2016). There was likely active management by Indigenous harvesters perhaps akin to the Pacific Northwest, but this topic needs more research. Two studies of changes in the size of oysters from the Late Archaic to the Woodland period in Florida and Georgia found a different pattern, with clear evidence of human impact on oyster size (Lulewicz et al. 2017; Savarese et al. 2016). Both studies found larger oysters early in the sequence and then a significant size decline during the Woodland period, which they attributed to a combination of human influence and changing environmental conditions.

Native Americans not only interacted with and influenced what was happening on the coast or in the ocean they also created new habitats, monuments, and other features on land, resulting in a unique built environment. Perhaps the most comprehensive evidence for this is the massive shell rings found across the U.S. Southeast—from South Carolina to the Gulf Coast states (Dillian 2019; Russo 2014; Sassaman 2004; Thompson and Worth 2011; Turck and Thompson 2019). In some cases, these cover several hectares and have unique construction techniques and configurations that are deeply tied to human social and political systems and concepts of monumentality. Most of these rings extended back several millennia into the Archaic period (Sassaman 2004) and were created through episodic construction events. There is significant debate, however, about whether they were the result of subsistence activities or intentional monument building (Dame 2009; Doucet 2012). At the Crystal River site in Florida, where a series of mounds made primarily out of shell date from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1000, a recently discovered shell mound appears to have a stepped pyramidal construction made entirely of shell (see Pluckhahn et al. 2016) (fig. 6). This first example of a stepped shell monument in the Americas is emblematic of the important cultural patterns and behaviors behind this unique site type (see "Emergence of Cultural Diversity," this vol.), as well as their connections to marine and terrestrial ecosystems.

Massive shell mounds in the San Francisco Bay area in California have been the subject of archaeological interest for more than 100 years, and many of these sites have been destroyed or nearly destroyed by historical development (Lightfoot et al. 2015; Luby et al. 2006). Archaeological studies have demonstrated the importance of these mounds, their construction sequences, and their relationship to burial practices, subsistence feasting, and other topics (Luby et al. 2006). Massive shell middens built by Native Americans are known from Maine (for example, Turner Farm; Bourque 2012) to the Northwest Coast (Crowell 2000; Matson and Coupland 1995) to southern California (Braje et al. 2014), and other regions. Although these shell middens are not always of the same scope and magnitude as the San Francisco or the southeastern shell mounds and/or rings, they are a testament to the role of Native Americans as ecosystem engineers—on land and at sea—throughout the continent.

Shell middens and other coastal archaeological sites in the Chesapeake Bay, California, the Northwest Coast, and Baja California—some 3,000 years

Photograph by V. Thompson.

Fig. 6. A massive shell midden at the Crystal River site in Florida. Victor Thompson, Tom Pluckhahn, and others have uncovered interesting information about human social organization, the construction of monumental shell mounds, and other aspects of coastal lifeways.

old or more—had unique soil chemistry compared with immediately adjacent areas. These shell midden soils are often enriched in nutrients and more alkaline than soils adjacent to them and in turn influenced local plant communities on and off site (Cook-Patton et al. 2014; Erlandson 2013; Karalius and Alpert 2010; Trant et al. 2016; Vanderplank et al. 2014). In the case of the Chesapeake Bay, the shell midden soils have greater biodiversity and higher concentrations of native and endemic plants than adjacent nonmiddens (Cook-Patton et al. 2014). In contrast, in northern California some middens harbor more invasive species (Karalius and Alpert 2010). More research is needed on the topic, but these studies demonstrate the important influence that people had on ancient ecosystems and how these legacies of land use can be tracked for millennia.

Exchange and Interaction

Coastal peoples in prehistoric North America may have lived on the geographic margins of the continent, but a variety of research demonstrates that they were intimately connected with distant inland groups. Individuals, ideas, knowledge, belief systems, and artifacts flowed from one end of the continent to the other, often cutting across social, political, and ethnic boundaries (Peregrine and Lekson 2006, 2012).

Tracing the exchange or movement of shell beads, ornaments, and artifacts has been one fruitful way researchers have mapped the connections and interactions between Native American peoples across time and space, showing the deep historical connections between coastal and interior societies across North America. Advances in analytical methodologies, including geochemical sourcing of stone and shell artifacts, have also helped advance understanding of ancient exchange networks (e.g., Eerkens et al. 2005; Hughes and Smith 1993). Patterns of trade and exchange were highlighted in multiple *Handbook* volumes, with some of these works serving as early syntheses on the topic (e.g., Brasser 1978; Cole and Darling 1990; Elsasser 1978; King 1978).

Ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and archaeological research has documented complex and extensive shell

bead, ornament, and artifact trade networks from coastal sources to the far reaches of the North American interior (see "Emergence of Cultural Diversity," this vol.). Shell from the Atlantic Coast and Gulf of Mexico has been found in the northeastern, southeastern, and midwestern United States (see Brown et al. 1990; Trubitt 2003). Archaeological sites in the northern plains have produced artifacts constructed from Atlantic, Gulf of Mexico, and Pacific Coast shells, helping trace the evolution of long-distance trade networks extending over 2,000 kilometers (G.F. Carlson 1997). The identification of purple olive snail (*Olivella biplicata*) shell beads from sites in the Great Basin provides evidence of the shell bead trade networks linking coastal California and the larger American West (Bennyhoff and Hughes 1987; Hughes 1994), a process that may have begun more than 10,000 years ago (Fitzgerald et al. 2005). A classic example of this exchange system was the trade of distinctive grooved rectangular beads made of purple olive snail dating back about 5,000 years to the Middle Holocene and extending from the southern Channel Islands of California into Nevada and interior Oregon (Vellanoweth 2001).

In northeastern North America, wampum (*wampumpeag*) shell beads made from channeled whelks (*Busycotypus canaliculatus*) and hard-shell clams (*Mercenaria mercenaria*) were used as an important form of gift exchange and trade among Eastern Woodland tribes, particularly the Algonquian and the Iroquois, and as a legal currency during colonial times (Ceci 1982). Similarly, dentalium beads, constructed from tooth or tusk shells, were used by Native American groups from the western coast of Canada down to southern California for personal adornment, for trade, and as status signifiers for thousands of years. They were traded widely across the American West, Canada, the Great Plains, and beyond.

The scale of prehistoric trade between coastal and interior regions, often over very long, linear networks, was astonishing. The ethnographic and ethnohistorical literature is replete with descriptions of the use, display, and exchange of marine shell ornaments and tools, even in landlocked interior regions. The number of shell beads and artifacts traded between coastal southern California and the American Southwest, for example, was in the tens of thousands (E.M. Smith 2002; Smith and Fauvelle 2015). Specimens likely came from the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of California, with some recent geochemical sourcing confirming the latter (Grimstead et al. 2013). Southwestern groups valued these exotic artifacts as important forms of personal adornment, embellishments for prestige goods, perhaps symbols of wealth and power, and more.

On the North American plains of Kansas, purple olive snail shell beads likely came from the North American Pacific Coast, with 1 of 19 specimens also probably originating from the Atlantic Coast (Hoard and Chaney 2010). One well-documented and important ancient trading route for shell beads and artifacts in prehistoric North America passed through the Spiro Mounds archaeological site of Oklahoma. Located at the western edge of the Mississippian cultural complex, the Spiro Mounds acted as a prehistoric trading hub that influenced politics, cultures, and religious systems throughout much of the American Southeast (Brown 1996; see "Emergence of Cultural Diversity," this vol.).

Archaeological excavations have recovered shell beads and artifacts, many constructed from lightning whelks (*Busycon sinistrum*) and sea snail shells, that originated from the Gulf of California, the Gulf of Mexico, the Atlantic Coast, and the Great Lakes (Kozuch 2002; Marquardt and Kozuch 2016) and were an important part of regional Mississippian exchange systems. The specialized trade in shell artifacts at Spiro likely fostered its development as a powerful religious and political center and a part of what archaeologists have defined as the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (Waring and Holder 1945).

Another example of long-distance trade and procurement of a raw material comes from the eastern Arctic. Ramah chert is a semitranslucent light-gray stone that originated from Ramah Bay in northern coastal Labrador at 59°N. Valued for its high quality, Ramah chert was fashioned into a variety of bifaces, expedient tools, and other chipped stone artifacts. It was a key component of largely coastal exchange systems and interaction spheres in the eastern Arctic and Northeast, revealing a deep temporal and broad spatial interaction sphere for Native North Americans on the Atlantic Coast. Ramah chert artifacts have been recovered at sites from the Early Maritime Archaic, some 7,500 years ago through late prehistoric times (Fitzhugh 1972, 2006; Loring 2002), at locations ranging from Labrador and Newfoundland to Maine, Vermont, and the Canadian Maritimes, with a few isolates found as far south as Connecticut and Maryland—more than 3,000 kilometers from the source (Loring 2002; Rasic 2016). A fluted point from Vermont made of Ramah chert showed even earlier use of this important raw material during Paleo-Indian times (Stanford and Bradley 2012). In recognition of Ramah chert importance in cultural interactions across eastern Canada and the northeastern seaboard in general, the Ramah chert quarries in northern Labrador received designation as a Canadian National Heritage Site in 2015.

Such stone tool exchange and trade were part of Native American social and technological systems

throughout North America. Beyond the eastern Arctic, long-distance interaction occurred through the exchange, trade, and procurement of obsidian in western North America (Hughes 1989, 1994; Jackson and Ericson 1994). With obsidian trade reaching from coastal regions of Alaska to Baja California, volcanic glass was an important component of broader social interaction (Erlandson et al. 1992; Panich et al. 2012). Geochemical sourcing of obsidian from the California Channel Islands found that source materials came from interior California, Nevada, and possibly Oregon, ranging from 300 to more than 800 kilometers away (Rick et al. 2001). In British Columbia, obsidian from Mount Edziza, located in the interior, was also traded across more than 1,000 kilometers, including to offshore islands (Reimer 2015). In northern Baja California, ongoing research has documented complex patterns of obsidian use and still unknown sources, with many sites on the Gulf of California containing obsidian (Panich et al. 2012). Obsidian trade also has a deep temporal history: an obsidian flake from the Coso source in interior California was found in a roughly 11,000-year-old context on California's northern Channel Islands (Erlandson et al. 2011).

These examples of long-distance trade demonstrate the interconnections of Native American societies throughout North America. They also show that coastal peoples were anything but isolated—whether through direct interaction or down-the-line exchange systems, coastal and interior peoples shared knowledge and deep connections spanning thousands of kilometers and extending deep into the past. These systems also played a role in the emergent complexity and broader human-environmental interactions described earlier, with exchange influencing and being influenced by the developing sociopolitical structure among Native American coastal societies.

Conclusion

North America's coastline is vast and diverse, as are the Native Americans who have lived along its shorelines for more than 13,000 years. Although some scholars have underestimated the importance of the coast in Native American lifeways throughout the Holocene, research on the prominence of coastal regions in the cultural evolution of Native American societies has seen a florescence since the 1990s. Archaeological research has shown that the seacoast was central, not marginal, to the lifeways and cultural practices of people throughout coastal regions of North America. With evidence of people living on the coast from the Late Pleistocene through the Holocene, including the North American Pacific Coast serving as a likely entry point for some of the first Indigenous peoples, the future of North American coastal archaeological research and the study of maritime adaptations both on land and underwater is extremely bright.

Many of North America's coastal Native American groups practiced a largely hunting and gathering lifestyle supported by rich and productive fisheries and other marine food economies. They influenced local ecosystems and organisms and were actively involved in manipulating their environment in both positive and negative ways. The legacy of this interaction often persists to the present day, and it is especially evident in the massive shell mounds and other features that still dot much of coastal North America's landscape. The roots of globalization and long-distance trade and interaction are also visible in the coastal archaeological record of extensive early exchange systems.

After more than 14,000 years of relatively autonomous Indigenous settlement, cultural evolution, and history in continental North America, the arrival of European explorers in the late fifteenth century marked the beginnings of a globalized economic and sociopolitical system that bridged the Old and New Worlds (see numerous chapters in Fogelson 2004; Heizer 1978b; Suttles 1990; Trigger 1978a; Washburn 1988a; also "Emergence of Cultural Diversity," this vol.). North America's coastal communities were among the first peoples contacted by European explorers and colonialists. Native-European interactions at the coastal margins resulted in major transformations, catastrophic epidemics, and disruptive cultural change that radiated throughout the continental interior, in many cases long before Europeans settled these regions. Although this was a time of improbable change and devastation for Indigenous communities, Native American peoples persisted through Euro-American colonialism and erasure, are thriving in the present, and are experiencing tremendous cultural revitalization. Although European colonization resulted in population reductions, cultural transformations, assimilation, and loss, Native American identities persisted through complex patterns of change and continuity (Lightfoot et al. 1998; Pauketat 2001b; Silliman 2009; see "Emergence of Cultural Diversity," this vol.).

A variety of Native American groups, including many in coastal regions, have revived their customary practices as part of cultural revitalization movements that celebrate tradition and the persistence of Indigenous cultures. Examples can be found among coastal groups such as the Chumash of Southern California, who each year since 2001 have paddled from the Santa Barbara mainland to a historical village on *Limuw* (Santa Cruz Island) in a traditional redwood

plank canoe (*tomol*). In Oregon, the Coquille tribe and others have revived traditional salmon bakes, canoe races, and other activities. Farther to the north, native Aleut (Unangax̂) peoples of the Aleutian Islands have revived the construction of skin boats, or *baidarka*, using modern materials and technologies but following traditional practices. The recognition of Native American clam gardens in the Pacific Northwest is also fueling an interest in traditional ecological knowledge and its potential for cultural revitalization and environmental restoration (Lepofsky and Caldwell 2013).

These and other examples follow many other active movements of cultural revitalization around the North American continent, including efforts to restore language, arts, crafts, technologies, and ceremonies as part of modern Indigenous traditions. All these examples play an important role in helping to increase understanding of the human and ecological history of the world, the character and composition of modern cultures and environments, and the world we want to create for future generations.

Additional Readings

This brief overview of Native North American coastal adaptations underscores many issues that are central to the *Handbook of North American Indians* series. As an encyclopedia of Native North America, the *Handbook* is a timeless collection of research that documents the incredibly diverse and important lifeways of Native North American peoples. From the rainy Pacific Northwest (Suttles 1990) to the shores of California (Heizer 1978b), Florida (Fogelson 2004), the Arctic (Damas 1984), the Subarctic (Helm 1981), and Maine (Trigger 1978a), the *Handbook* series provides key ethnographic, historical, and archaeological descriptions and discussion of North America's Native coastal peoples. These volumes helped shape knowledge of the archaeology of North America's coastal peoples and served as a foundation and framework for method and theory in the archaeology of coastal adaptations. Revisiting the framework provided by the *Handbook* should help guide future research in Native North American coastal archaeological research and beyond.

For additional information on the antiquity of ancient maritime adaptations in the Americas, see Erlandson et al. (2011) and Dixon and Monteleone (2014), and in the Old World see Marean et al. (2007) and Erlandson (2001). Additional insight into the historical ecology of marine ecosystems and ancient human environmental interactions with coastal areas can be found in Braje (2010), Braje and Rick (2011), Des Lauriers (2010), Fitzpatrick et al. (2015), Lepofsky et al. (2015), Moss (2011), McKechnie et al. (2014), Rick and Erlandson (2008), Thompson and Waggoner (2013), and in several chapters in Reeder-Myers et al. (2019) that focus on individual geographic areas along the North American Atlantic Coast, from Labrador to the Florida Keys. Further reading on emergent complexity can be found in Ames (2014), Arnold (2001), Erlandson and Jones (2002), Grier et al. (2006), Moss (2011), Prentiss et al. (2007), and Price and Feinman (2010). Readers interested in exchange and trade should consult Baugh and Ericson (1994), Rasic (2016), and Trubitt (2003). A topic not covered here but that may be of interest to some readers are the threats to coastal archaeological sites from sea-level rise and other issues. For reading on this topic, see Erlandson (2008, 2012), Fitzpatrick et al. (2015), Reeder-Myers (2015), Rick and Fitzpatrick (2012), and Westley et al. (2011).

This chapter was completed in 2018. In the rapidly changing field of archaeology, a number of important studies have been published since that time. Here we highlight a few of the many important works that are important for enhancing and expanding the discussion here. Bennett et al. (2021), Braje et al. (2020), and Steves (2021) provide key new insights on the peopling of the Americas. For historical ecology, the built environment, and emergent complexity, interested readers should consult Krupnik and Crowell (2020), Marquardt et al. (2022), Thompson et al. (2020), and Tonielo et al. (2019). For studies of exchange, culture contact, and colonialism, we highlight Dadiego et al. (2021), Gamble (2020), and Schneider (2022).

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Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology

ARON L. CROWELL

Indigenous peoples of the United States, Canada, Greenland, and northern Mexico have sought since the 1970s to regain access to heritage collections held by North American and European museums; to reclaim rightful ownership of cultural property and ancestral remains; to establish their own museums and cultural centers; and to create public self-representations of their histories and cultures, replacing majority museum portrayals they perceived as demeaning, objectifying, and paternalistic (Abrams 2004; Archambault 1994; Clifford 2004, 2013; K.C. Cooper 2008; Haas 1996; McLoughlin 1999; Lonetree 2012; Lurie 1976; Onciul 2015; Peers and Brown 2003; Phillips 2011; Simpson 1996; Sleeper-Smith 2009a; Van Broekhoven et al. 2010). As a result of this advocacy anthropological museums in the twenty-first century have become sites of contention as well as crucibles for the development of new collaborative modes of exhibition making, collections-based scholarship, cultural education, and heritage preservation.

Legislation and governmental policies compelling the repatriation of human remains and cultural objects, including sacred and funerary items (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.; McKeown 2008, 2012), have reshaped relationships between museums and Indigenous peoples across North America (Fine-Dare 2002; Graham and Murphy 2010; Jakobsen 2010; Thorleifsen 2009, 2010). Cumulatively, these reforms have fostered an increasing "indigenization" of North American museums (K.C. Cooper 2008; Phillips 2011).

At the same time anthropology, whose origins in North America coincided with westward Euro-American colonial expansion and the displacement of Native American populations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—and which as a discipline was intertwined with the growth of museums that accumulated a vast material record of these "vanishing races"—began a radical transformation, still in process, "from 'colonial' to 'cooperative' museology" (Clifford 1991:224). The discipline largely ceded its assumed authority to portray Indigenous cultures from an external scientific position, both in museum displays and ethnographic writing, and adopted a reflexive, heterodox mode of representation that emphasizes Indigenous voice and perspectives (Clifford 1988, 1997a, 2013; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Anthropological curatorship of collections and exhibitions has come to involve close cooperation with Native American/Indigenous/First Nations communities and varying degrees of shared control (Ames 2003; Clifford 2004; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2004; Conaty 2003; Crowell 2004; Fienup-Riordan 1996b, 1998; Phillips 2003). Parallel trends in cultural representation have emerged in the field of Native American art history and in the exhibition practices of art museums (Berlo 1992; Berlo and Phillips 1995; Dubin 2001; Phillips 2007). These changes reflect a broader, multidisciplinary shift in museum practice—often called the "new museology"—toward multicultural education, civic engagement, and partnerships with source communities (Knell et al. 2007; Peers and Brown 2003; Vergo 1989; Watson 2007).

Stemming from this monumental paradigm shift were several new *cultural domains* in which North American Indigenous communities became firmly established during the first decades of the new millennium (see "Access to Native Collections in Museums and Archives," "Emergent Digital Networks," "3D Digital Replication," "Social Media," and "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.). The present chapter addresses the history of Indigenous-museum relationships in North America and the evolution of diverse collaborations between Indigenous communities and the larger national museums of anthropology, natural history, and art, complementing a chapter on community museums and cultural centers in volume 2 of the *Handbook* (Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008).

The "Great Era" of North American Museum Collecting

North American museums hold a vast tangible record of Indigenous cultures and histories. When surveyed in 1989, 4,636 museums of history, natural history, and

anthropology in the United States reported holdings of over 167 million archaeological artifacts, 10.1 million ethnological or "folk culture" objects, and more than 600,000 human remains (American Association of Museums 1992: Table D-28-A, 1994). Art museums (989 in number) curated an additional 900,000 archaeological and ethnological items. Extensive collections of text records, films, audio recordings, and photographs are not included in these totals. While the survey did not tabulate continental proveniences, a large if not predominant portion of these collections derives from North America, even among "universal" North American museums with global scope.

Of the largest and oldest metropolitan institutions, the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History (founded as the U.S. National Museum in 1846) reported in 2015 that 77 percent of its 2.7 million anthropological objects are from North America. The proportion of North American objects at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard (founded in 1866) is currently 47 percent of its 1.15 million total; at the American Museum of Natural History in New York (founded in 1869) it is 51 percent of 1.5 million; at the Field Museum in Chicago (established 1894) it is 51 percent of 1.5 million; and at the National Museum of the American Indian (founded as the Museum of the American Indian in 1916) it is 73 percent out of 8 million. Five Canadian museums with large anthropological collections (Canadian Museum of History, Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, Royal Ontario Museum, Royal British Columbia Museum, and McCord Museum) hold a combined total of about 57,000 North American ethnological items (Hunter 1967).

These North American collections were gathered primarily during the "great era" of collecting and museum formation from the 1840s through the 1930s, when scores of public, private, and university museums were founded in the United States and Canada (Collier and Tschopik 1954; Osgood 1979; Stocking 1985) (fig. 1). The Smithsonian Institution's U.S. National Museum (fig. 2) and its Bureau of American Ethnology, the American Museum of Natural History, the Peabody Museum, and the Field Museum were among the foremost U.S. institutions in efforts to systematically amass Indigenous cultural items from frontier traders, government agents, and private collectors and to organize archaeological and ethnological expeditions to many parts of the continent (Cole 1985; Fitzhugh 2002a; Hinsley 1994; Jenkins 1994; Krech and Hail 1999; Lindsay 1993). These large institutions followed, and in some cases absorbed the collections of earlier private museums of North American ethnology such as the Philadelphia Museum and the Archives of the American Indian in Washington, D.C. (Feest 2002). Other early American "cabinets of curiosity" with Native American collections included the museum of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, William Clark's Indian Museum in St. Louis, and the Western Museum

Map by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 1. (*Opposite page*) Contemporary North American museums and cultural centers mentioned in the text. Alaska: (1) Iñupiat Heritage Center (Utqiaġvik); (2) Yupiit Piciyarait Cultural Center (Bethel); (3) Anchorage Museum (Anchorage); (4) Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository (Kodiak); (5) Sealaska Heritage Institute (Juneau); (6) Sheldon Jackson Museum (Sitka). Greenland: (7) Greenland National Museum and Archives (Nuuk). British Columbia: (8) U'mista Cultural Centre (Alert Bay); (9) Nuyumbalees Cultural Center (Quathiaski Cove); (10) Secwepemc Museum and Heritage Park (Kamloops); (11) Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia and Vancouver Art Gallery (Vancouver); (12) Royal British Columbia Museum (Victoria). Alberta: (13) Royal Alberta Museum (Edmonton); (14) Glenbow Museum (Calgary). Manitoba: (15) Manitoba Museum (Winnipeg). Quebec: (16) Aanischaaukamikw Cree Cultural Institute (Oujé-Bougoumou); (17) Canadian Museum of History (Gatineau); (18) McCord Museum (Montreal). Ontario: (19) National Gallery of Canada (Ottawa); (20) Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto); (21) Woodland Cultural Centre (Brantford). Washington: (22) Makah Cultural and Research Center (Neah Bay); (23) Seattle Art Museum and Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture (Seattle). Oregon: (24) Portland Art Museum (Portland); (25) Museum at Warm Springs (Warm Springs). Wisconsin: (26) Milwaukee Public Museum (Milwaukee). Michigan: (27) Michigan State University Museum (East Lansing). Illinois: (28) Field Museum (Chicago). New York: (29) New York State Museum (Albany); (30) George Gustav Heye Center, National Museum of the American Indian, American Museum of Natural History, Brooklyn Museum, Museum of Modern Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York City). Massachusetts: (31) Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (Cambridge); (32) Mashpee Wampanoag Museum (Mashpee). Rhode Island: (33) Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology (Providence). Connecticut: (34) Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center (Ledyard). New Jersey: (35) Newark Museum (Newark). Washington, DC: (36) National Museum of Natural History and National Museum of the American Indian. California: (37) Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology (Berkeley). Arizona: (38) Hopi Museum/Hopi Cultural Center (Second Mesa); (39) Navajo Nation Museum (Window Rock); (40) Heard Museum (Phoenix); (41) Arizona State Museum (Tucson). New Mexico: (42) A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center (Zuni). Oklahoma: (43) Osage Tribal Museum (Pawhuska); (44) Southern Plains Indian Museum (Anadarko); (45) Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History (Norman); (46) Fort Sill National Historic Landmark and Museum (Fort Sill). Mexico: (47) Museo Nacional de Antropologia (Mexico City).

of Cincinnati (Bell 1967). Ethnological collections from across Canada were assembled for the McCord National Museum in Montreal (opened in 1921) and for the Geological Survey of Canada in Ottawa, which became the National Museum of Canada in 1920 and is today the Canadian Museum of History (Laforet 2013a, 2013b; McCaffrey 1999).

Substantial ethnological collections from many regions of North America also reside in European and Russian museums, among them the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St. Petersburg, the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen, the National Museum of Finland in Helsinki, the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin, the British Museum in London, the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris, the Museo Naval in Madrid, and the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (Bolz and Sanner 1999; Feest 2002, 2011; King 1981, 1999; King and Feest 2007). These holdings came from voyages of exploration, colonial occupations, and ethnological fieldwork such as the Upper Missouri River expedition in 1832–1834 sponsored by Prince Maximilian of Weid-Neuweid in

Smithsonian Archives (NHB-3680).

Fig. 2. Curatorial staff working with Native American ethnology collections in the United States National Museum (Smithsonian Institution) during the 1890s. Several identifiable items in the photograph are from the Northwest Coast including a Tlingit ceremonial copper shield that leans against the table (NMNH E20778, collected by James Swan) and a Tsimshian or Haida Thunderbird carving perched atop the cupboard at far right (NMNH E011374, collected by Vincent Colyer). The latter is a model of a crest figure from a totem pole at Port Simpson, British Columbia.

Germany, Knud Rasmussen's Fifth Thule Expedition across Arctic Canada (1921–1924) for Denmark, and Johan Jacobsen's expedition to British Columbia and Alaska (1881–1883) for Germany.

During this era, the major museums of anthropology and natural history operated in a so-called salvage mode to document Native American cultures that were being overwhelmed on the expanding Western frontier and whose complete extinction or assimilation was widely anticipated (Fane 1992; Jonaitis 1992). Smithsonian Secretary Joseph Henry directed Vincent Colyer, secretary to the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1870, to "collect and preserve all the relics possible of the races-of-men who have inhabited the American Continent" because they were "rapidly disappearing" and changing their modes of life (Cole 1985:13).

The existential threats to Native American societies and cultures were all too real. Displacement and depopulation of Indigenous groups along the Eastern Seaboard of the continent began with Spanish, Dutch, French, and British colonization and expansion from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries (Washburn 1988a). After the American Revolution and during the subsequent removal period starting in the 1830s, Native American populations of the eastern United States were pushed west of the Mississippi by broken treaties and military force to make way for Euro-American settlement. Most were eventually forced onto reservation lands that were subsequently reduced or eliminated by the Dawes Severality Act of 1887 (Hagan 1988; Prucha 1988). California tribes were decimated in the aftermath of the 1848 Gold Rush and peoples of the Great Plains and Southwest by the U.S. Army's Indian Wars. Devastating population losses due to smallpox and other epidemics, suppression of traditional religions and languages, government schooling, and forced assimilation made cultural change and adaptation to reduced colonial circumstances a necessity for survival. In some instances, anthropology's role went beyond scientific documentation to providing support for government policies. Noting the turbulent situation in the American West, John W. Powell argued to the U.S. Congress in 1878 that investigations by the newly formed Bureau of American Ethnology "would be of practical value to the administration of Indian affairs" (Hinsley 1994:150).

From the perspective of museum collectors, the disruption of Indigenous ways of life and diminished production of traditional arts meant that older, more "authentic" objects became increasingly rare and thus all the more valuable and urgent to acquire. Some regions were soon depleted of desirable museum pieces, including Zuni and Acoma pueblos after collectors removed more than 6,500 ceramic vessels between 1880 and 1885, most ending up at the Smithsonian (Parezo 1987). By the early decades of the twentieth century more Navajo blankets with "old designs" were said to be in New York than on the reservation (Reichard 1928:8) and "the city of Washington contained more Northwest Coast material than the state of Washington and New York City probably housed more British Columbia material than British Columbia herself" (Cole 1985:286).

Geographic patterns of collecting followed the broad sweep of colonial history. In the eastern United States, where living Native American populations had been severely reduced by the time the era of anthropological museums began, the predominant focus was on archaeological excavations rather than ethnology, including investigations of the Mound Builder cultures of the Mississippi and Ohio River drainages and of shell mound sites of the Eastern Seaboard (Hinsley 1985, 1994; Meltzer 1985). However, ethnology and collecting east of the Mississippi by Alanson B. Skinner among the Menominee, Sauk, and other groups, by Frank G. Speck among the Cherokee, Iroquois, Algonquin, Beothuk, and Micmac, and by Truman Michelson among the Meskwaki (Fox) and Kickapoo were important exceptions (Jackson et al. 2004; Tooker 1978). West of the Mississippi, collectors followed "the well-worn tracks of Army desolation and settler exploitation" (Hinsley 1994:69–71), acquiring

ethnological objects from surviving groups primarily through purchase or barter, either directly from Indigenous individuals or through non-Native traders. Some were war spoils provided by the U.S. Army, including human remains from fields of battle.

In the plains region, museum-based collectors from the 1870s through early 1900s included James Dorsey, James Mooney, and Stewart Culin for the Bureau of American Ethnology (Smithsonian); Alfred Kroeber, James Wissler, and Robert Lowie for the American Museum of Natural History; and George Dorsey for the Field Columbian Museum (DeMallie and Ewers 2001). Ethnological material from the Northern Paiute and Southern Paiute nations of the Great Basin region are held by the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, the Milwaukee Public Museum, and the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology as the result of expeditions by John W. Powell, Edward Palmer, Stephen Powers, and Samuel Barrett between 1872 and 1916 (Fowler and Fowler 1981). Collections from California tribes were compiled by the University of California Museum of Anthropology (now the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology) starting in 1901 under the direction of Alfred L. Kroeber (Heizer 1978a). Great Basin and California Native artists produced fine baskets that were acquired by collectors and museums during the period of the American Arts and Crafts Movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Cohodas 1992; Dubin 2001; Linn 1990).

In the Southwest, one of the most intensive regions of museum acquisition, collectors resorted to a variety of means from "even handed exchanges to semi-legitimate digging tours to outright theft" (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2004:38). The region was the focus of Bureau of American Ethnology expeditions including those of James and Matilda Coxe Stevenson, John Hilliers, Frank Cushing, Victor and Cosmos Mindeleff, and J. Walter Fewkes who gathered over 34,000 items from the Zuni, Hopi, and other southwestern groups, building one of the Smithsonian's largest collections (Parezo 1987). Dealer/trader Thomas Keam excavated ancient Hopi region ceramic vessels from archaeological sites and sold them to Fewkes' Hemenway Expedition in 1892, a collection that today resides at Harvard's Peabody Museum (Wade 1985). Burial sites were disturbed to remove human remains and funerary objects, and sacred or spiritually powerful items such as the Zuni *Ahay:uda* (war gods) were taken (Ferguson 1990; Merrill and Ahlborn 1997). The Arizona State Museum at the University of Arizona (originally the Territorial Museum) began anthropological collecting in 1893 with a strong focus on archaeology especially after 1915 under Byron Cummings (Thompson 2005). Stewart Culin collected at Zuni pueblo in 1903–1907 for the Brooklyn Museum, accepting everyday objects as well as Zuni-made replicas of ceremonial masks and figurines (Fane 1992).

By the 1880s, southwestern Indigenous artists were producing pottery, textiles, and other works for the "Indian arts" or "curio" trade that developed following the arrival of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad and were patronized by tourists, private collectors, and museum collectors alike (Dubin 2001; Howard and Pardue 1996; Wade 1985). Many private southwestern collections were later acquired by regional repositories such as the Heard Museum in Phoenix (Marshall and Brennan 1989).

Indigenous societies of the northern Northwest Coast, the Canadian Arctic, and Alaska, which suffered epidemics and social pressures during the fur trade, gold rush, industrial fishing, and whaling eras of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, nonetheless, did not inhabit regions that were suitable for agriculture and for the most part were not displaced from their original territories by white settlers. Viewed as relatively intact and traditional despite many decades of interaction with the West, these groups were primary targets for museum collectors from the 1850s through the 1920s (Cole 1985; Fitzhugh 1988, 2002a; Fitzhugh and Kaplan 1982; Jacknis 2002c; Lohse and Sundt 1990) (figs. 3, 4). Sometimes subterfuge was required to obtain the release of closely held clan items such as

Photograph probably by George Hunt at Fort Rupert, British Columbia, circa 1900. American Museum of Natural History (337824).

Fig. 3. A large Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl) cedar ceremonial vessel representing Dzunuḵwa, a female cannibal spirit. The photo includes Stanley Hunt, the son of Kwakwaka'wakw linguist and scholar George Hunt who assisted Franz Boas in ethnological research and collecting on the Northwest Coast. The vessel came into the possession of private collector Axel Rasmussen after 1926 and was donated to the Portland Art Museum in 1948 (PAM, 48.3.523; see Gunther 1966:32, 209).

Photograph by Harlan I. Smith, 1898. American Museum of Natural History (42936).

Fig. 4. Musqueam (Coast Salish) house posts from a village on the Fraser River, British Columbia, showing ancestral and mythological figures. The posts were acquired for the American Museum of Natural History by Harlan I. Smith in 1898 during the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Smith wrote that the posts "were presented by Chief Nuxwhailak or Johnie Preswell in return for $10," but the exchange may have locally been considered a formal gift from the community to the museum (Roy 2010:66–73).

the contents of the Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) Whalers' Shrine on Nootka Island in British Columbia (Jonaitis 1999). Other items were taken without permission from burial sites or caves, along with skulls and other human remains. In 1922, the Canadian government seized more than 450 items of clan regalia from participants in a Kwakwaka'wakw potlatch at Alert Bay, British Columbia, that had been declared "illegal" and dispersed the collection to the national museum in Ottawa, also selling a large number to George Gustav Heye for the Museum of the American Indian in New York (Clifford 1991; K.C. Cooper 2008:73–75).

Museums, Anthropology, and Exhibitions through the 1980s

American anthropology began in museums and was strongly influential there, only gradually shifting its disciplinary home to universities after the 1890s (Ames 1992; Collier and Fenton 1965; Collier and Tschopik 1954; Fitzhugh 2002a; Jacknis 1985; Stocking 1985; Sturtevant 1969b). Joseph Henry, the first secretary of the Smithsonian, declared in 1877 that anthropology was "the most popular branch of science" in the U.S. National Museum, with intense public appeal and exhibits that were designed to entertain (Cole 1985:48). Public education was a primary goal and a strong adjunct to museum-based research. From the late nineteenth century to the present, anthropology's public voice through the medium of the exhibition has projected changing ideologies regarding Native Americans and their roles in society and history (Haas 1996).

The dominant theoretical construct of early American anthropology was social evolution, derived in part from Lewis Henry Morgan's *Ancient Society* (1877), which proposed a universal progression for humanity through stages of savagery, barbarism, and civilization. In terms of this model, the majority of Native Americans were regarded as belonging to the earliest and lowest stage. John Wesley Powell, director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, was a proponent of evolutionary theory and conceived of museum collecting among Native American peoples as a means for scientifically documenting their "primitive" status (Powell 1883a, 1885).

Given the explicitly scientific aims of nineteenth-century ethnology, it is not surprising that its techniques for collection, taxonomic classification, and study were similar to those employed by natural scientists (Jenkins 1994). Indigenous manufactures were gathered in the field as scientific "specimens" or "artifacts" that typified stages of technological development (Clifford 1988:222–226; Fabian 2004; Parezo 2015). Intangible cultural expressions such as Native language vocabulary lists were similarly viewed and acquired as data. Although collecting locations and dates were recorded in field catalogs, the names and social identities of Native American makers and informants were rarely noted. In museum exhibitions, weapons, pottery, rattles, and other categories of cultural material drawn from multiple ethnic groups were arranged in synoptic sequences intended to illustrate technological progress through the stages of cultural evolution (Jenkins 1994). The diverse materials from any one culture were generally not kept together as a unit of display. This "progressive tableau" method was exemplified by George Brown Goode and Otis Mason's early exhibitions at the Smithsonian (Hinsley 1994:87–94; Mason 1883) and by displays at the Pitt Rivers Museum of Anthropology in Oxford, England (Chapman 1985).

Ethnologist Franz Boas (b. 1858, d. 1942), who emigrated to the United States from Germany in 1887, popularized the cultural-historical approach that eclipsed social evolutionary theory in American anthropology. It included the concepts of historical particularism (societies have unique histories and do not pass through universal stages), cultural diffusion (cultural traits are spread through social interaction), and culture areas (regions of cultural similarity that are created by diffusion) (Cole 1999). These precepts

underlay Boas' Jesup North Pacific Expedition to eastern Siberia, Alaska, and the Northwest Coast, which revealed broad cultural commonalities indicating a shared history of migration and interaction (Boas 2001; Cole 2001; Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988; Fitzhugh and Krupnik 2001). Boas further advocated for cultural relativism, the view that Native American cultures are valuable in their own terms, separate and apart from Eurocentric models (Phillips 1994; Rushing 1995).

Under these influences, American museums adopted geographical or culture-area displays, exemplified by Boas' Northwest Coast Hall at the American Museum of Natural History (fig. 5). The aim was to represent cultures holistically with objects of all kinds from the same society shown together, accompanied by "life group" displays of dressed and painted mannequins that portrayed ceremonies and daily activities (e.g., making pottery, grinding corn, paddling a canoe) (Cole 1985:135–140; Ewers 1959; Fitzhugh 1997a; Hinsley 1994:75–77; Jacknis 1985; Parezo 2015; see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.) (fig. 6). At the Smithsonian, life groups were considered to be the primary museological device for the education of general visitors while the often-crowded artifact cases served more specialized interests (Ewers 1955b). Under the direction of Frederic Putnam, Boas, Otis Mason, and others at the Smithsonian and the Peabody Museum organized culture-area exhibits for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago using artifact displays and life groups to portray Native American life at the time of Columbus's voyage 400 years earlier (Jacknis 2016; see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.). Along the fair's midway were "living displays"

Photograph by Julius Kirschner, 1919. American Museum of Natural History (37672).

Fig. 5. The Hall of Northwest Coast Indians at the American Museum of Natural History in New York opened in 1900 to showcase the collections and research of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition and in modernized form remains open to the public. Kwakwaka'wakw, Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Coast Salish, Nuu-chah-nulth, and other Canadian and Alaskan First Nations are represented. In this view of the original gallery, a large Haida canoe with mannequins of paddlers is flanked by exhibit cases and house posts.

Smithsonian Archives (SIA2007-0071), circa 1958.

Fig. 6. A family "life group" at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History titled "Hupa Indians of Northern California." Acorn grinding, using a fire drill, and other activities are shown along with baskets, clothing, and tools from the museum's collections. This display and many similar Native American life groups (originally enclosed in large glass cases) were created for Smithsonian ethnology galleries in the early 1900s and refurbished in the 1950s to include new graphics and labeling (Ewers 1955b, 1959).

of Labrador Inuit, Kwakwaka'wakw, Sioux, Navaho, and Apache people residing in re-created villages and demonstrating crafts and ceremonies (Hinsley and Wilcox 2016). The Chicago exposition was one of a number of world's fairs mounted in the United States between 1876 and 1916 to tout national progress, most including similar ethnological exhibitions (Bean 1987; Rydell 1987).

The cultural-historical paradigm, while recognized as an important reform in American anthropology, nonetheless fostered the illusion of an "ethnographic present" in which the idealized pasts of Native American communities were portrayed as continuing into the present without acknowledgment of Indigenous change and modernity (Harkin 2001a). The trope of depicting Native American cultures in precontact form, which endured through much of the twentieth century, was intended to "produce authenticity" by "removing objects and customs from their current historical situation" (Clifford 1988:228). Objects were contextualized to varying degrees by explanatory labels, photographs, maps, life groups, and painted backdrops to show the environment, as in natural history dioramas (Ames 1992; Fitzhugh 1997a; Lurie 1981; Osgood 1979). Midcentury upgrades to ethnological exhibitions at the National Museum of Natural History and other U.S. museums employed new styles of graphics, labeling, lighting, and casework to improve visitor appeal but the conceptual basis of cultural representation remained virtually unchanged (Ewers 1955b).

Art, Not Ethnology

A contrasting emphasis on the aesthetic value of Native American cultural objects was signaled by the 1931 Exposition of Tribal Arts at the Grand Central Art Galleries in New York City, which celebrated "Indian art as art, not ethnology" (Mullin 1992). The show featured archaeological, historical, and contemporary pieces from across North America but especially the Southwest, presenting them as creative works that represented a uniquely American patrimony (Berlo 1992; Dubin 2001; Mullin 1992; Rushing 1995:97–120). The exhibition was inspired by the Native American Arts and Crafts movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which led to formation of the U.S. Indian Arts and Crafts Board in 1935 (Schrader 1983). Other groundbreaking exhibitions of this period included *Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern* at the National Gallery of Canada in 1927, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board exhibition at the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco, and *Indian Art of the United States* in 1941 at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Art museums and galleries employed lighting, space, and formalist exhibition design to emphasize the aesthetic qualities of individual Native American works while minimizing explanatory labels and other means of cultural contextualization (Douglas and d'Harnoncourt 1941; Nemiroff et al.1992; Phillips 2011:116–118; Rushing 1992, 1995).

During the same period, New York avant-garde painters were inspired to adopt Native American visual themes (Rushing 1995). Surrealist artists including André Breton and Max Ernst mounted shows in Paris and New York that included their own works in company with Inuit and Northwest Coast masks (Clifford 1988; Fienup-Riordan 1996b), and Native American art was incorporated into the academic discourse of "modernist primitivism" (Phillips 1994, 2007). Indigenous arts of the Americas, Africa, and Oceania were featured in the Michael C. Rockefeller Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, which opened in 1982. Several anthropological museums also adopted art-style presentations, notably the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, where crest poles and other monumental Northwest Coast carvings were installed in its Great Hall as fine art with minimal ethnographic contextualization (Clifford 1991). These exhibitions anticipated later hybrid styles of art and anthropology presentations such as *All Roads are Good* at the National Museum of the American Indian in New York in 1994 and *Raven Travelling: Two Centuries of Haida Art* at the Vancouver Art Gallery in 2006 (Phillips 2007).

Indigenous Protest and Museum Reform

During the late twentieth century, Native American criticism of museums and anthropology coalesced around key issues of ethics, representation, and ownership of human remains, cultural heritage, and intellectual property (M.F. Brown 2003; see "Codes of Ethics" and "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). Many perceived museums as oppressive social institutions, implicated by association with the raw history of colonial conquest and continuing racial prejudice (Archambault 1994; Blair 1979a; K.C. Cooper 2008; Deloria 1969b; Wilson et. al 1992). Cultural heritage had been appropriated on a massive scale during the tidal wave of Western contact; ancestral remains and sacred objects had been unethically acquired and publicly displayed; information and access to collections were severely limited; and exhibitions seemed to offer little more than stale and offensive stereotypes, created without permission or participation by Native communities (Doxtator 1993). No matter

how heritage items were presented—as specimens of social evolution, as elements of culture history, or as fine art—the voice and authority of interpretation was external (Ames 1992:53–54). The historical actualities of Indigenous resistance, resilience, and cultural survival, which defied colonial expectations of disappearance, were ignored.

Museums of the late twentieth century continued telling the "controlling culture's limiting version of the Native story" in which Indigenous peoples were portrayed as backward, inferior, and existing only in the past (K.C. Cooper 2008). A survey of five majority museums in Canada—the Canadian Museum of Civilization (now the Canadian Museum of History), the Royal Alberta Museum, the Royal British Columbia Museum, the Glenbow Museum, and the Manitoba Museum—found that Euro-Canadian settler history was presented in terms of dynamic process while First Nations peoples were portrayed in a static, seemingly timeless world, connected to nature but lacking historical agency (McLoughlin 1999).

Native Americans' advocacy for museum reform and for their own stories to be told in both community and national institutions grew out of the civil rights and Red Power movements in the United States and Canada (Hertzberg 1988; Nagel 1996). Anthropologists, museum administrations, and governments initially resisted the changes that were demanded. Native participation in exhibitions and the repatriation of cultural property and human remains seemed to threaten long-standing professional prerogatives and research (Lurie 1976).

Among the milestones in this movement was creation of the *Indians of Canada* pavilion at Expo 67 in Montreal, when a nationwide Indian Advisory Council successfully negotiated for the inclusion of confrontational works by contemporary artists as well as historical displays that emphasized the detrimental impacts of European contact and the currency and value of Indigenous cultural practices (Phillips 2011:27–47). In 1969–1971, Native American activists occupied Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay to demand its return from federal treaty ownership so that a tribal cultural center could be built, an action that resonated with future Indigenous museum leaders (Deloria 2008; Hertzberg 1988; Horse Capture 1994).

Another sign of "heightened domestic radicalism" (Stocking 1985) came in 1970 with demands by the Onondaga of Grand River, Ontario, for the return of wampum (shell bead) belts held by the New York State Museum, prompting resistance from the Committee on Anthropological Research in Museums, which represented the Field Museum, Smithsonian, and other U.S. institutions (Fenton 1989). Indigenous leaders protested museum displays of other culturally sensitive items including Onkwehone (Iroquois) *ga:goh:sa* (false face) masks (Phillips 2011:111–131) and the Sacred Pole of the Omaha (Ridington 1997) and asked for such items to be returned to tribal ownership (Gulliford 1992). Tribes in the United States were encouraged by the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1979 to believe that ceremonial items would be repatriated but some museums resisted with assertions that the associated spiritual practices could no longer be claimed as current (Blair 1979a; K.C. Cooper 2008:29–37; see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). In Canada, the National Museum of Man (now the Canadian Museum of History) and Royal Ontario Museum agreed in 1975 to return Kwakwaka'wakw clan crest art confiscated by the government in 1921 to newly built community museums at Cape Mudge (Nuyumbalees Cultural Center) and Alert Bay (U'mista Cultural Centre) (Clifford 1991).

In 1988 the Lubicon Lake Cree Nation launched a high-profile protest, often marked as a turning point in North American museological reform, against *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples*, a major exhibition at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary (Clifford 1997a; Harrison 1988; McLoughlin 1999:8–11; Phillips 2011:48–70; Vogel 1990) (fig. 7). Lubicon Cree objections, which led them to call for both museum lenders and the public to boycott the exhibition, focused on the absence of First Nations curatorship, lack of coverage for contemporary Indigenous issues, and corporate sponsorship by Shell Oil Company Ltd., which was drilling on land that the Cree sought to reclaim from the province of Alberta. Cree requests to U.S. and European museums that they refuse to loan art works to the Glenbow Museum for the exhibition were partially successful, and several organizations, including the Canadian Ethnology Society and International Council of Museums, made statements supporting Native rights (see "Codes of Ethics," this vol.).

The cultural fault lines revealed by the *Spirit Sings* controversy led to formation of a joint task force by the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association, which issued an influential report in 1991 calling for principles of collaboration and equal partnerships in the production of exhibitions (Assembly of First Nations and Canadian Museums Association 1992a; Canadian Museum of Civilization 1996; Phillips 2015; Wilson et al. 1992; see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). The collaborative model outlined by the task force informed the creation of new exhibitions at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (now Canadian Museum of History) and other majority museums.

Repatriation

In the 1970s and 1980s, Indigenous antipathy toward the long history of museum collection and retention of ancestral human remains generated political momentum for repatriation and the passage of federal legislation in the United States (Deloria 1992; Echo-Hawk 1992; Fine-Dare 2002; Pullar 2004). The National Museum of the American Indian Act (1989) and Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990) mandated that federally funded museums and agencies return human remains, grave goods, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony to recognized tribes (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol; McKeown 2008, 2012). Despite initial resistance to repatriation on the part of some anthropologists, provisions in these laws that require that museums notify and consult with tribes have dramatically increased museum-community interactions and generated collaborative projects in research, exhibitions, and archaeology (Bernstein 2010; Graham and Murphy 2010).

Photograph in the *Calgary Herald*, 1988. Material republished with the express permission of *Calgary Herald*, a division of Postmedia Network, Inc.

Fig. 7. First Nations artist Alvin Constant (Wandering Spirit) and others protest against *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples*, an exhibition at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary in 1988.

While Canada lacks a compulsory repatriation law, the museum task force report (Assembly of First Nations and Canadian Museums Association 1992a) recommended that sacred objects, human remains, and associated burial objects be returned to First Nations communities if mutually agreed. The Canadian Museum of History and other museums have carried out repatriations through bilateral negotiations with communities as well as formal treaty negotiations involving First Nations and provincial and federal governments (Bell and Patterson 2009; Conaty 2015b; Laforet 2005). In Greenland, the Danish National Museum repatriated some 35,000 items including ethnological collections and human remains to the Greenland National Museum and Archives starting in 1984. The process was structured through cooperation between Denmark and the Home Rule government of its former colony (Jakobsen 2010; Thorleifsen 2009).

Community Cultural Centers and Museums

An important outcome of Indigenous heritage activism has been the foundation of close to 200 Native American/First Nations museums and cultural centers in the United States and Canada (Abrams 2004; Ackley 2009; Child 2009; Clifford 1991; Erikson 1999a; Hoerig 2010; Isaac 2009, 2011; Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008). Although community museums appeared as early as the 1930s (for example, the Osage Tribal Museum in Pawhuska, Oklahoma), their numbers burgeoned in the 1960s through 1990s, spurred during the latter decade by the repatriation of heritage collections. They include the Navajo Nation Museum in Window Rock, Arizona (1961); the Woodland Cultural Centre in Brantford, Ontario (1972); the Mashpee Wampanoag Museum in Mashpee, Massachusetts (1973); the Hopi Museum/Hopi Cultural Center in Second Mesa, Arizona (1977); the Makah Cultural and Research Center in Neah Bay, Washington (1979); the U'mista Cultural Centre in Alert Bay, British Columbia (1980); the Secwépemc Museum and Heritage Park in Kamloops, British Columbia (1982); the Museum at Warm Springs in Warm Springs, Oregon (1993); the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center in Ledyard, Connecticut (1998); the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center in Zuni, New Mexico (1992); the Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository in Kodiak, Alaska (1995); and the Aanischaaukamikw Cree Cultural Institute in Oujé-Bougoumou, Québec (2011). These institutions represent a recentering of the museum concept within and for Native American/Indigenous/First Nations communities, emphasizing cultural heritage, history, kinship, community, and identity.

Collaborative Exhibitions

Since the 1990s, a new collaborative paradigm has been forged between Native Americans and North American museums as the result of Indigenous activism and the new working relationships created by repatriation (Ames 1992; Archambault 1994; Clifford 2004; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2004; Cruikshank 1992c; Fienup-Riordan 1996b, 1999a; Golding and Modest 2013; Karp et al. 1992; Karp and Lavine 1991; Krmpotich and Peers 2014; Peers and Brown 2003; Silverman 2015; Sleeper-Smith 2009a). The hallmarks of collaborative exhibition projects are Indigenous *self-representation* founded in community values, heritage, and knowledge; the sharing of resources and control; and benefits that flow to both museums and communities. Under these new "terms of engagement" (Crowell 2004) and "negotiated reciprocities" (Clifford 2004), museum anthropologists have partnered with Native American contributors, heritage experts, and tribal leaders as cocurators, researchers, organizers, and facilitators for access to collections and information. Exhibition texts, media, and interpretive approaches emphasize firsthand Native American perspectives rather than the external "curatorial voice" that characterized earlier museum representations.

Anthropology's turn toward critical self-reflection in the 1980s supported the transition to collaborative exhibition practices. Recognition of the subjectivity inherent in ethnological description and of the postcolonial differentials in position and privilege that structure relations between "observers and observed" put the ethical and epistemological foundations of the discipline into question (Clifford 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Stocking 1984). Critical anthropology problematized the standard museum practice of employing objects of non-Western societies as metonyms and symbols of others' cultures and histories through which the hegemonic narratives of dominant society were projected (G. Anderson 2004; Clifford 1988, 1997a, 2013; Cruikshank 1992c; Hooper-Greenhill 1992; Jones 1993; Karp et al. 1992; Karp and Levine 1991; Lumley 1988; Pearce 1992; Simpson 1996; Silverman 2015; Vergo 1989).

Michael Ames, director of the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology from 1974 to 2004, argued that "When we 'museumify' other cultures and our own past, we exercise a conceptual control over them" (Ames 1992:23). The power of museum representation needed to be shared with Native American communities because "people own their own histories" (Ames 2003:177). With increasing Native American participation in repatriation and exhibition consultations, museums became "contact zones" for cross-cultural dialogue (Boast 2011; Clifford 1997a). Discussions in collections storerooms and archives with Native American and First Nation delegations led to the reconnection of long-displaced objects, images, and records with living community knowledge, uncovering diverse meanings and significations. Interactions of this kind are an "opportunity to engage in a dialogic translation of knowledge, in which ascribing meaning (knowledge) to an object is a collective process" (Silverman 2015:5).

Such discourse challenges museums to respond to community concerns and perspectives. Tlingit elders from southeastern Alaska identified headdresses and other crest objects at the Portland Art Museum in Portland, Oregon, as records of clan histories and ancestral land ownership, leading to a request that the museum support their claims against the federal government for hunting rights in their former territories (Clifford 1997a; Gunther 1966). When Zuni, Hopi, and Tohono O'odham advisers were invited to study archaeological collections at the Arizona State Museum in Tucson, Arizona, they shared knowledge about the artifacts and associated ceremonies and asked that such items not be displayed to the public because of their religious significance (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2004). For Yup'ik elders on an arranged visit to Berlin's Museum für Völkerkunde in 1997, nineteenth century objects from their region represented the strength of ancestral traditions that were now weakening, leading to their request that objects be seen again at home to help restore cultural integrity (Fienup-Riordan 1998, 2005).

Implementing Collaboration

Implementing collaborative exhibitions—that is, consulting with Indigenous knowledge bearers, eliciting and translating community dialogue, achieving consensus on message and design, producing and reviewing content, marshaling material and financial resources, publishing catalogs and websites, orchestrating museum loans, and coordinating production and travel—is invariably complex and time-consuming. Although scores of community-based projects of varying scale have been undertaken at or in cooperation with major museums in the United States, Canada, and Greenland, the process continues to innovate and evolve (Silverman 2015).

From the beginning, Native American partners requested that museums move beyond limited consultations toward a full collaborative model based on wide community engagement, Indigenous comanagement and cocuratorship, and respect for Indigenous

protocols and intellectual property rights. Participation in all stages from research and object selection to writing, design, and public programming was requested and is now commonly expected (Ames 2003; McGeough 2012; Phillips 2003; Swan and Jordan 2015). Native American experts have increasingly collaborated with ethnographic conservators, sharing cultural knowledge of how to care for objects in collections and prepare them for display (Clavir 2002; Flynn and Hull-Walski 2001).

Four selected case histories of collaborative exhibition development—each characterized by different objectives and scope—suggest some of the complexities and potentials of this approach. These examples, drawn from a large number of projects that have been implemented since the 1990s, demonstrate how new modes of cooperation can emerge from historical precedents.

Nitsitapiisinni: Our Way of Life is a permanent gallery codesigned with Blackfoot First Nations communities that opened in 2002 at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta (Conaty 2003; Onciul 2015). In the aftermath of the Spirit Sings controversy in 1988, the Glenbow began working with a First Nations Advisory Council for museum relations, coproduced educational programs with the Plains Indian Cultural Survival School of Alberta, assisted with the repatriation of a sacred medicine bundle, and consulted with Blackfoot community members about a collaborative exhibition intended to depict their history and way of life. The Blackfoot advisory panel defined its goal as creating "an educational place where future generations of Blackfoot youth could learn the fundamentals of their own culture" (Conaty 2003:231). The two-year process of developing the exhibition involved discussions at the museum and in the Blackfoot reserves as staff and advisers struggled to translate between languages and cultural concepts and to reach common understandings of content and design.

The finished exhibition begins with a presentation of Blackfoot worldview and oral traditions followed by a space for storytelling, a re-created clan camp, an evocation of the Plains environment and buffalo hunting, a narrative of postcontact cultural oppression and the Reservation Era, and perspectives on contemporary life. The gallery, along with a companion book and website, serves as an educational destination for Blackfoot students and for non-Native classes. There is an explicit ideological message as well; the exhibition, as Blackfoot advisers see it, is a rejection of assimilationist policies and "a statement of their right to exist as a unique cultural and political entity within the larger Canadian society" (Conaty 2003:240).

The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks: Agayuliyararput (Our Way of Making Prayer) (fig. 8) was a traveling exhibit produced in 1996 by the Anchorage Museum and anthropologist-curator Ann Fienup-Riordan in cooperation with Yup'ik knowledge experts and the Coastal-Yukon Mayors' Association (Fienup-Riordan 1996b). *Agayuliyararput* had its origins in the grassroots regional revival of Yup'ik dance, which had been opposed and suppressed by missionaries since the late nineteenth century. To support this cultural revival, Yup'ik leaders collaborated with the Sheldon Jackson Museum in Sitka to send masks for a community showing at the Mountain Village Dance Festival in 1989. This preliminary effort raised awareness of the masks as a "living tradition" deeply embedded in local knowledge that included the songs, stories, and dances that accompanied the masks during traditional winter ceremonies.

Photograph by James H. Barker, 1989.

Fig. 8. Noel Polty speaking to Yup'ik elders and Rhonda McBride of KYUK Radio (Bethel, Alaska) at the 1989 Mountain Village Dance Festival. The Sheldon Jackson Museum in Sitka loaned Yup'ik dance masks, tools, and other "old things" from its collections to the festival organizers for a community showing at Mountain Village. Reconnection of elders' knowledge with ancestral objects was the foundation for the collaborative exhibition *The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks: Agayuliyararput (Our Way of Making Prayer)* (1996).

To Yup'ik leaders the masks symbolized that "we have not vanished" and it was hoped that they would "make our ancestors' ways known to our younger generation" (Andrew Paukan, b. 1939, d. 2008, quoted in Fienup-Riordan 1996b:28–30). The temporary reunification of the masks with their communities of origin exemplified what Fienup-Riordan calls visual repatriation: "Objects originally collected to preserve a culture believed to be dying were temporarily reclaimed by the descendants of their makers to be used to tell a story of original spirituality and survival" (Fienup-Riordan 1996b:23–30).

With a larger exhibition in mind, Fienup-Riordan and Yup'ik colleague Marie Meade (fig. 9) showed photographs of masks from museum collections to elders of the Yukon-Kuskokwim region and recorded an extensive body of interviews. They consulted with advisers on exhibit design and edited the exhibition catalog and a companion bilingual volume of oral traditions (Fienup-Riordan 1996a, 1996b). The Anchorage Museum obtained loans of masks and ceremonial regalia from 13 American, Canadian, and European museums and constructed the exhibition. *Agayuliyararput* opened at the village of Toksook Bay, then traveled to the Yupiit Piciyarait Cultural Center in Bethel, the Anchorage Museum, the George Gustav Heye Center of the National Museum of the American Indian in New York, the National Museum of Natural History in Washington D.C., and the Seattle Art Museum (Fienup-Riordan 1999a). Although *Agayuliyararput* began its tour as a community exhibition dense with local meanings and connections, it was modified by the non-Alaskan host museums to make it a more generic presentation of Native American fine art, collectively representing an entire people. The New York, Washington, and Seattle museums reduced Yup'ik language text and modified the original organization of the masks by village and region (Fienup-Riordan 1999a).

Photograph by James H. Barker, 1995.

Fig. 9. Yup'ik researcher and translator Marie Meade interviews Edna Kolerak at Mekoryak, Alaska, about dance traditions in preparation for the exhibition *The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks: Agayuliyararput (Our Way of Making Prayer)* (1996).

Living Our Cultures, Sharing Our Heritage: The First Peoples of Alaska opened in 2010 at the Smithsonian's Arctic Studies Center in the Anchorage Museum (Chan 2013; Crowell et al. 2010; Jonaitis 2011) (fig. 10). The continuing exhibition features more than 600 works of Indigenous art and design drawn from collections at the National Museum of Natural History and National Museum of the American Indian and presents the cultures and histories of Alaska's 20 Indigenous regions through diverse testimonies and first-person perspectives. The project was envisioned as the "coming home" of Smithsonian collections to their place of origin and to the peoples who created them and was organized as a statewide effort in partnership with Alaska Native cultural organizations including Kawerak, the Iñupiat Heritage Center, the Yupiit Piciryarait Culture Center, the Aleutian/Pribilof Islands Association, the Tanana Chiefs Conference, and Sealaska Heritage Institute.

Exhibit preparations began in 2001 and unfolded over nearly a decade, including six "reverse expeditions" to Washington by groups of Alaska Native advisers who discussed and selected objects for display; design meetings held in Anchorage with curators, museum staff, and a 17-member Alaska Native advisory panel; cowriting and editing of the exhibition catalog, website, and script, which privilege Indigenous voices; and consultations by Alaska Native artists with museum conservators and mount-makers in Washington (Crowell et al. 2010; Smith et al. 2010). Exhibition advisers expressed concerns about past modes of museum representation and saw service on the panel as an opportunity to shape a new approach. In all, over 100 Indigenous contributors and a large network of museum professionals took part in creating the exhibition, which was funded by Alaskan and national foundations, Alaska Native regional corporations, and private/corporate philanthropy.

In the gallery, heritage items of all kinds—clothing, hunting equipment, tools, ceremonial regalia, carvings, basketry—are arrayed by themes of community, ceremony, and connections to the land in floor-to-ceiling glass cases that represent the different cultural regions of Alaska. Visitors choose their own paths through the open-plan gallery, discovering connections and contrasts between the arts and technologies of different peoples. Touch-screen monitors offer close-up imagery of the objects along with transcripts of elders' comments, Indigenous language object names, and historical documentation. Large format introductory

Photograph by Chuck Choi, 2010. Anchorage Museum.

Fig. 10. The Smithsonian Arctic Studies Center's *Living Our Cultures, Sharing Our Heritage: The First Peoples of Alaska* at the Anchorage Museum. Videos and digital interactives provide in-depth Indigenous knowledge about more than 600 objects selected by Alaska Native advisers from collections of the National Museum of Natural History and the National Museum of the American Indian.

Photographs by Wayde Carroll, 2012 and 2014.

Fig. 11. left, Unangax̂ (Aleut) student artists Delores Gregory and Tim Shangin examine designs painted on an elegant bentwood hat from the Aleutian Islands (National Museum of the American Indian, NMAI 144871.000, accessioned 1925) during an arts residency at the Smithsonian's Arctic Studies Center. Peaked conical hats of this type were rare prestige items in traditional Unangax̂ culture, worn by headmen, shamans, whalers, and exceptional hunters. During the residency, Gregory and Shangin learned bentwood hat-making techniques from Unangax̂ master artists Patricia Lekanoff-Gregory and Michael Livingston. Smithsonian objects in the exhibition *Living Our Cultures, Sharing Our Heritage: The First Peoples of Alaska* are made available for study in a community consultation room to support Indigenous cultural initiatives. right, Yup'ik artist Mary Tunuchuk demonstrates how to stitch together strips of prepared seal intestine to make waterproof parkas and bags during the Sewing Gut arts residency at the Arctic Studies Center in Anchorage in 2014. With Tunuchuk are Iñupiaq-Athabascan artist Sonya Kelliher-Combs (far left) and student Danielle Larsen, undergraduate in the Alaska Native Arts Program at the University of Alaska Anchorage.

films narrated by residents of each region introduce contemporary life, history, and cultural values, and a photographic history of change and resistance extends along one large wall of the gallery. The primary message of the *Living Our Cultures*, in the words of adviser Paul Ongtooguk, is that Alaska Native cultures are "rich, dynamic, and continuing to move forward."

Living Our Cultures supports a variety of community-based cultural programming (Crowell 2020). With the assistance of museum staff, objects can be removed from display for viewing and discussion by Alaska Native visitors in a consultation room that adjoins the gallery. The Arctic Studies Center hosts artists' residencies, language documentation seminars, and community study visits, all offering access to cultural items for close-up study and handling. For resident artists, the opportunity to examine ancestral pieces yields technical insights as well as design ideas that they may incorporate into their own work. Artists teach traditional skills such as basketry, carving, quill embroidery, beading, skin-sewing, and snowshoe building (fig. 11) to young adult students both in the museum setting and at follow-on workshops in rural communities. The Arctic Studies Center produces

instructional videos that document artists' and elders' knowledge, distributing the films to statewide constituencies by DVD and posting them online at Smithsonian Learning Lab (https://learninglab.si.edu/org/sasc-ak) to support cultural and artistic revitalization.

One Hundred Summers: A Kiowa Calendar Record, an exhibition that opened in 2009 at the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History (Greene 2009), and related heritage documentation projects undertaken by the museum in partnership with the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society are recent instances of more than a century of Kiowa cooperation with anthropologists and museums (Swan and Jordan 2015). The featured calendar, painted on paper by artist and calendar-keeper Silver Horn (b. circa 1860, d. 1940) (fig. 12), depicts events in the tribe's history from 1828 to 1929 with each year represented by summer and winter images. The *One Hundred Summers* exhibition included framed pages of the fragile and carefully conserved calendar, cases with historical Kiowa clothing, and a video produced by the museum to document the painting of a new battle tipi in 2008 by members of the warrior society. Images representing Kiowa history were customarily applied to buffalo-hide tent covers, warriors' shields, and calendars, so creation of the new tipi reflects the contemporary vitality of this tradition.

The precedents of the *One Hundred Summers* project extend back to the ethnological work of James Mooney, who conducted field research with the Kiowa from 1891 to 1918 for the Bureau of American Ethnology (DeMallie and Ewers 2001). Mooney was a committed student of Kiowa culture and religion, and his *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians* (Mooney1898) detailed their visual system of historical record keeping. Mooney also documented war shield heraldry and tipi designs, which were passed down within families. Working in cooperation with elders and artists including Silver Horn, Mooney organized exhibitions of Kiowa-made model tipis and shields at the Nashville, Omaha, St. Louis, and Portland World's Fairs between 1897 and 1905 (Greene 2001; Parezo 2015). The tipi models were arranged in a community-authorized re-creation of the 1867 Kiowa Sun Dance camp circle. Mooney's respect for Kiowa ownership of the tent and shield designs, his concern that the particularity of their history and art be accurately represented, his acknowledgment by name of all Kiowa contributors, and the high level of community collaboration reflected in the world's fair exhibitions were truly exceptional for their day.

Subsequent interactions with museums built on these early positive experiences. The Kiowa donated and sold objects to the Fort Sill National Historic Landmark and Museum (established in 1934 at Fort Sill, Oklahoma) and that museum cultivated relationships with community members, employed Kiowa staff, and in the early 1990s secured home transfers of warrior's shields held by the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Newark

Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History (NAM 9.13.147.i), the University of Oklahoma.

Fig. 12. Page from the Silverhorn Calendar Record for the years 1844–1846. The center frame on this page denotes the summer of 1845. The Medicine Lodge (Sundance) that year was named for the death of Stone Neck, marked by the grave, headstone and flowers. The entry also includes the first representation of the famous Tipi with Battle Pictures. The tipi was a gift to Kiowa Chief Dohassan (Little Bluff) on the occasion of his marriage to a Cheyenne woman. One side of the original tipi was decorated with black stripes as shown here. Chief Dohassan added pictorial renditions of notable war deeds among the Kiowa on the other side of the tipi.

Photograph by Daniel C. Swan, 2008.

Fig. 13. Kiowa artists Jeffrey Yellow Hair (left) and Sherman Chaddlesone (right) painting a new iteration of the Tipi with Battle Pictures, October 3, 2008, Anadarko, Oklahoma. The artists worked for three months to complete a new version of the tipi pictures for the fiftieth anniversary (1949–2009) of the Kiowa Black Leggings Warrior Society. The elder advisors to the society authorized the addition of vignettes to represent Kiowa participation in the military campaigns in Korea, Vietnam, and Iraq.

Museum (Swan and Jordan 2015). Kiowa artists have contributed to exhibitions at the Southern Plains Indian Museum (established at Anadarko, Oklahoma, by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board in 1948) and joined in creating *Gifts of Pride and Comfort: The Cultural Significance of Kiowa and Comanche Lattice Cradles* in 1998 (Hail 2000). Since the *One Hundred Summers* exhibition, the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History has collaboratively produced video documentation of heritage and intellectual property possessed by organizations, families, and individuals in the Kiowa community (Swan and Jordan 2015). Extending over an exceptionally long time period, the story of Kiowa interaction with museums and anthropologists demonstrates the productivity and potential of the collaborative paradigm (fig. 13).

Conclusion

Former National Museum of the American Indian director W. Richard West (1990–2007) wrote that "our view of Native cultures is as prospective as it is retrospective; it is as focused on a cultural present and future as it is on a cultural past" (West 2000b:8; see "'A New Dream Museum,'" this vol.). The collaborative relationship among Native Americans, anthropologists, and museums in the early decades of the twenty-first century is a turn on a historical path that winds back some 150 years into the era of colonial oppression, racist evolutionary ideologies, and unethical museum practices that fostered separation and mistrust.

Museums are greatly in debt to Indigenous descendants of that era for their forbearance and their willingness to work together and to contribute gifts of knowledge. It is also the case that museums, no matter how wrongly conceived their collecting programs may have been, accumulated and preserved a vast store of heritage treasures and cultural records whose existence today is a matter of great consequence and value to contemporary Indigenous communities. Contemporary anthropologists, whose academic predecessors turned away from museums and their collections, have rediscovered both the investigative value of object-centered dialogue and the moral value of offering their professional expertise in service to Indigenous heritage projects. All parties increasingly recognize that a historic opportunity for productive cooperation has emerged from a difficult legacy. The new way forward includes repatriation, the growth of tribal museums, collaborative research and exhibitions, community-based education and arts, language recovery, and online networks.

Additional Readings

Many notable collaborative projects in addition to those discussed above have been produced since the 1990s, ranging from temporary or traveling shows in partnership with community cultural institutions to permanent installations at major metropolitan museums (Hoerig 2010). Readers may wish to consult *A Time of Gathering: Native Heritage in Washington State* (1989) at the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture in Seattle, which was coordinated with 35 Washington tribes (Wright 1991); *Chiefly Feasts: The Enduring Kwakiutl Potlatch* at the American Museum of Natural History (1991) with Kwakwaka'wakw advisers and cocurator Gloria Cranmer Webster (Jonaitis 1991; Masco 1996); *Paths of Life: American Indians*

of the Southwest and Northern Mexico at the Arizona State Museum, developed in consultation with representatives of the Seri, Rarámuri (Tarahumara), and Yaqui of northern Mexico and the O'odham, Yuman, Southern Paiute, Pai, Western Apache, Navaho, and Hopi peoples of the southwestern United States (Sheridan and Parezo 1996); *To Honor and Comfort: Native American Quilting Traditions* (1996) co-organized by Michigan State University Museum and the National Museum of the American Indian to represent the work of Ojibwa, Odawa, and Potawatomi artists and others across the United States (Dewhurst and MacDowell 1999); and *Gifts of Pride and Comfort: The Cultural Significance of Kiowa and Comanche Lattice Cradles* (1998) based on collaboration between source communities and the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology at Brown University (Hail 2000).

Projects since the turn of the millennium include *Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq People* (2001), a partnership between the Alutiiq Museum in Kodiak, Alaska, and the Smithsonian Institution's Arctic Studies Center (Clifford 2004, 2013; Crowell 2004; Crowell et al. 2001); annual installations of altars representing Indigenous-Catholic Día de los Muertos traditions, organized by community guest curators at the Arizona State University Museum of Anthropology (2002–2010) (Isaac et al. 2012); The First Peoples' Hall at the Canadian Museum of History, which opened in 2002 after two decades of planning and nationwide Aboriginal consultations (Phillips 2011:203–226); *This Place Called Home* (2008) at the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, with advisers from the Yakama, Umatilla, Nez Perce nations (Miller 2012); and 15 community-curated installations at the National Museum of the American Indian that opened in 2004 (Lamar 2008; Lonetree and Cobb 2008; McMullen 2009b; Rickard 2007; see "'A New Dream Museum,'" this vol.). The Wixarika (Huichol) of western Mexico have a history of collaborative engagement with the Museo Nacional de Antropologia in Mexico City, and in 2004, Wixarika representatives worked with the National Museum of the American Indian to produce a community exhibition emphasizing Indigenous territoriality and cultural geography (Liffman 2007, 2009).

Additional projects of note include *Dena'inaq' Huch'ulyeshi: The Dena'ina Way of Living*, produced by the Anchorage Museum in partnership with Dena'ina communities around Cook Inlet, Alaska (Jones et al. 2013); *Here, Now, and Always*, a permanent gallery emphasizing Indigenous knowledge and worldview at the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe (O'Donnell et al. 2001), with a collaborative redesign and reopening planned for 2022; *Apsáalooke Women and Warriors*, a traveling exhibit by the Field Museum in Chicago in partnership with the Neubauer Collegium of Culture and Apsáalooke (Crow) communities (Sanders and Roelstraete 2020); and *Roots of Wisdom*, a traveling show produced by the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry and the Indigenous Education Institute in partnership with the Tulalip Tribes, the Confederated Tribes of Umatilla Indian Reservation, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, and the Pacific American Foundation and Waikalua Loko Fishpond Preservation Society (Roots of Wisdom Project Team 2016).

“A New Dream Museum”: 100 Years of the (National) Museum of the American Indian, 1916–2016

ANN McMULLEN

For many, the 2004 opening of the Smithsonian’s National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) on the National Mall in Washington, DC (fig. 1) fulfilled a dream born of mid-twentieth-century Native activism. NMAI histories told from this perspective occasionally mention its predecessor in New York—the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation—but quickly transition to later events, much as history textbooks often include Native people only in their early chapters. Such accounts tend to dismiss the history and accomplishments of the Museum of the American Indian (MAI) and ignore its relevance to NMAI, including the legacy of collections assembled by MAI and its founder George Gustav Heye.

Counter to such histories, NMAI is simultaneously a new museum and an old one. Early MAI staff, such as Samuel K. Lothrop, also saw their institution as dreamlike: “We were all . . . drawn . . . by the prospect of a new dream museum” (Lothrop 1957:66). With its 1989 absorption into the Smithsonian, NMAI adopted MAI’s hemispheric scope and collections but set a different trajectory based on Native self-determination and self-representation. Nevertheless, a full NMAI story must account for its MAI roots and how the museum sometimes struggles with that legacy.

As a twenty-first-century phenomenon, NMAI deserves a more extensive *Handbook of North American Indians* treatment than it has so far seen. Essays in *Handbook* volume 2 (Bailey 2008a) refer to NMAI briefly in discussions of U.S. repatriation legislation (McKeown 2008), Native museums and cultural centers (Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008), and news media (Agent 2008); others detail the social and political contexts surrounding its genesis (Bailey 2008b; Deloria 2008; Niezen 2008; Warrior 2008; Weibel-Orlando 2008). On its own, NMAI has published self-explanatory summaries (Blue Spruce 2004b; NMAI 2005, 2011), but these largely skim over much of the museum’s history. NMAI’s 2004 opening and inaugural exhibitions generated considerable press and scholarly discussion, but these rarely provide sufficient context, deal with complex histories before and after the 1989 legislation, or evaluate NMAI against its own oft-stated goals.

In the 1960s, when William Sturtevant and others proposed the new *Handbook of North American Indians* series (see “The Beginnings, 1965–1971,” this vol.), they could not foresee NMAI’s advent, but they would undoubtedly recognize it as a story worth telling. From 1977 to 1986, a trying period for MAI, Sturtevant served on its Board of Trustees and was privy to some events recounted below. The goal of this chapter, written by an NMAI “insider,” is not to provide NMAI perspectives or dismiss its critics. Instead, it balances both internal and external perspectives and provides a description and history of NMAI and its predecessor, MAI, offering context for understanding each institution’s intent and work; milestones; successes, failures, and programmatic retuning; and unfulfilled agendas.

George Gustav Heye and the MAI, 1904–1957

George Gustav Heye was born in New York City in 1874; his German immigrant father made money in oil, and his mother came from an old New York family. After graduating from Columbia with an electrical engineering degree, Heye spent 10 months in Arizona in 1897 superintending railroad projects and acquired his first Native object: a hide shirt from a Navajo worker. Back in New York, he read intensively about Native lifeways and purchased objects and photographs. Mentored by professional museum archaeologists Marshall Saville (b. 1867, d. 1935) of Columbia University and George Pepper (b. 1873, d. 1924) of the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), Heye began to dream of founding his own museum in 1904 and soon sponsored archaeological expeditions to Latin America and funded the resulting publications. By 1908, part of Heye’s burgeoning collection was stored at the University of Pennsylvania’s University Museum, where it went on exhibit in 1910; he hired his own staff to care for and expand it (Anonymous 1909; Pezzati 2002).

During these years, Heye worked in investment banking and on venture capital projects. In 1915, he inherited an estimated $10 million and accelerated his collecting and museum planning. With the collection

Photograph by Carl C. Hansen. Smithsonian Archives (2004-53062).

Fig. 1. Aerial view of the National Museum of the American Indian on opening day, September 21, 2004.

estimated at 400,000 items, Heye was offered a building site in New York at West 155th Street and Broadway and founded the Museum of the American Indian (MAI). Through the 1916 trust agreement, Heye created "a museum for the collection, preservation, study, and exhibition of all things connected with the anthropology of the aboriginal people of the North, Central, and South Americas" (quoted in Force 1999:10). Early documents emphasized systematic collecting and scholarly purpose: the "sole aim is to gather and to preserve . . . everything useful in illustrating and elucidating the anthropology of the aborigines of the Western Hemisphere, and to disseminate by means of its publications the knowledge thereby gained" (MAI 1922a:3). Purchases and donations were equally valuable, bringing together "specimens that have never been duplicated" (Pepper 1916:415).

Supported by wealthy friends, the museum opened in 1922 (fig. 2), and Heye built a professional staff that included Marshall Saville, George Pepper, Frederick Webb Hodge, Mark Raymond Harrington, Alanson Skinner, Samuel K. Lothrop, Jesse Nusbaum, Donald Cadzow, Theodor de Booy, T.T. Waterman, and Melvin Gilmore. MAI's development coincided with salvage

National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (N20865).

Fig. 2. The Museum of the American Indian/Heye Foundation at West 155th and Broadway, circa 1922. The museum opened to the public on November 15, 1922, joining the Hispanic Society of America, the American Numismatic Society, and the American Geographical Society in a complex of cultural institutions at Audubon Terrace.

anthropology's efforts to record information before Native peoples' assumed acculturation or disappearance, but Heye was overwhelmingly interested in objects rather than ethnographic or linguistic data. He capitalized on the salvage agenda by funding fieldwork by anthropologists Frank Speck, Irving Hallowell, Leo Frachtenberg, and Samuel Barrett, amateur anthropologists William Wildschut and Edward H. Davis, and archaeologists Warren K. Morehead, Junius Bird, and Jesse Walter Fewkes (MAI 1964), acquiring collections they made while conducting their own research (fig. 3).

Many dismiss Heye simply as a passionate collector, but MAI's mission, research, and scholarly production were comparable to contemporaneous scientific museums (McMullen 2009b). MAI exhibits of closely packed objects were organized geographically, with separate cases for archaeology and ethnology (fig. 4). Museum publications by staff and others ranged from brief write-ups in the *Indian Notes* series to monographs. By 1926, MAI built a storage facility in the Bronx, New York, catering to visiting researchers (MAI 1964); its grounds included Native gardens and replicated dwellings (fig. 5).

MAI's days as a "dream museum" were short-lived. External funding collapsed with the 1928 deaths of benefactors James B. Ford and Harmon Hendricks and the onset of the Great Depression; by 1930, Heye had dismissed most of his staff and curtailed fieldwork and publications. He continued purchasing collections and sponsored small expeditions, often using his own funds (fig. 6). With the trustees' permission, Heye exchanged objects with museums and individuals and sometimes sold objects to fund new acquisitions. In the late 1950s, as his health deteriorated, Heye appointed MAI business manager Edwin K. Burnett as director and Frederick J. Dockstader as assistant director.

At Heye's death in 1957, the MAI collections reportedly numbered 700,000 items. Heye succeeded in building an encompassing hemispheric collection ranging from traditional objects of surpassing beauty to everyday detritus, yet many identify that collection as an inexplicable obsession rather than a disciplined lifetime achievement (Carpenter 2005; Cole 1985; Jacknis 2008; Kidwell 1999; Snead 1999). This mythology arises partly from Heye's failure to publicly

National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (N09452), 1924.

Fig. 3. MAI staff member Mark Raymond Harrington with duck decoys recovered during museum excavations at Lovelock Cave, Nevada. Museum staff had a strong interest in documenting Native lifeways before European contact and sought organic materials to provide information not ordinarily preserved archaeologically.

Photograph by Nathaniel Livermore Stebbins, December 1921. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (P02977).

Fig. 4. Northwest Coast exhibits in the Museum of the American Indian/Heye Foundation; a very large Kwakwaka'wakw feast dish is in the foreground.

Photographer unknown, September 15, 1926. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (N11184).

Fig. 5. Museum of the American Indian/Heye Foundation Annex, Bronx, New York. George Heye's wife, Thea, worked with MAI staff member and ethnobotanist Melvin Gilmore to create gardens of indigenous plants on the grounds.

Photograph by William A. Newcombe, 1938. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (P13424).

Fig. 6. George Gustav Heye on a collecting trip to the East Saanich Reserve in British Columbia, shown with Elsie Copper and her brother Joe Copper (Saanich) in traditional dance regalia. Heye enjoyed travel and combined trips to Native communities with purchases from area collectors.

articulate his motives but may also stem from how far anthropology moved away from museums and material culture during his lifetime. Anthropological collections once valued as representations of Indigenous lives began to be seen, instead, as a universal heritage through stylish New York art exhibitions (Douglas and D'Harnoncourt 1941; Sloan and LaFarge 1931) and Surrealist interest. Heye's continued efforts to collect prompted him to sell or exchange objects to galleries frequented by André Breton and other Surrealists (Carpenter 1975, 2005; Rushing 1995). Ironically, even as Heye tried to strengthen the anthropological value of the collections, he opened the door to their decontextualization and perception as art.

Frederick Dockstader Makes a Mess of Almost Everything: 1955–1975

Although his accomplishments were significant, the directorship of Frederick J. Dockstader (b. 1912, d. 1998) proved embarrassing to MAI and has seldom been treated in detail. He came to museum work after teaching public school in Arizona and Michigan and served as staff ethnologist at Michigan's Cranbrook Institute of Science from 1950 to 1952, while working on his doctorate in American culture at Western Reserve University in Cleveland. After 1952, he was curator at the Dartmouth College Museum (Cummings 1970) and served as a commissioner of the U.S. Indian Arts and Crafts Board (1955–1967).

In 1955, the MAI trustees recruited Dockstader as assistant director; he succeeded Edwin K. Burnett as director in 1960. Dockstader began extensive exhibit renovations in 1956, reinitiated publications, and modernized operations, including acquiring contemporary arts, introducing computerization, securing photo preservation grants, and earning accreditation by the American Association for Museums (AAM) in 1972 (Force 1999; Gilroy 1967; *New York Times* 1961). Dockstader appreciated the MAI collections' depth, but his approach and publications presented them as art

(Dockstader 1961, 1964, 1967, 1973a), including *Masterworks from the Museum of the American Indian*, a 1973 Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition (Canaday 1973; Dockstader 1973b). Additionally, Dockstader courted collectors and dealers in the burgeoning Native art and Latin American antiquities markets and the looters who supplied them (McMullen 2013).

Dockstader's challenge was to implement ambitious programs in MAI's neighborhood on the border of Washington Heights and Harlem. By his reckoning, MAI attracted 18,000 visitors in 1955. With exhibit renovations and events, museum visitorship swelled to 65,000 in the 1960s but dropped as the area became increasingly unsafe (Cummings 1970; Russell 1974). In 1969, MAI commissioned an external review that documented these problems and warned of others, including museum shop sales of recent donations and inadequate oversight of Dockstader's actions; AAM accreditation reviews noted MAI's poor financial recordkeeping (Force 1999; Hatt 1969). Chronically short of funds, Dockstader actively exchanged objects with museums and individuals, selling and trading items to wealthy patrons and board members (Carpenter 2005; Force 1999). At the time, many museums lacked definitive collections policies, and art museums often "refined" collections through sales and "filling gaps." In 1972, the Metropolitan Museum of Art was accused of violating the public trust by selling significant works, prompting an inquiry by the New York State attorney general (Canaday 1972; Meyer 1979:208–213). Despite warning signs, MAI amended its constitution in 1972 and appointed Dockstader to the board; as curator, director, and a trustee, he held almost complete power over MAI operations (Force 1999).

Trouble came when MAI trustee Edmund Carpenter discovered that dealers were seeking buyers for Kwakwaka'wakw house posts in MAI's collection (Carpenter 2005; Force 1999; Gordon 1974). An 18-month state investigation ended in 1975 with Dockstader's dismissal, the dissolution of the Board of Trustees, and a court-ordered inventory (Force 1999). Like Heye before him, Dockstader was seemingly caught unawares by the changing climate. His success with exhibits, programs, and publications had boosted MAI's stature, but this also meant it had further to fall when widespread publicity continued during the long investigation.

The extent of losses to the MAI collections—estimated at 4.5 million specimens—remained unknown. Writing about the Metropolitan Museum of Art, *New York Times* critic John Canaday (1972) warned that museums could not justify filling gaps if sales rendered collections "as full of holes as a sieve." Dockstader's quest to acquire "visually exciting material" (Gordon 1974) had sacrificed the integrity of MAI's strongest holdings: Northwest Coast, Arctic, and Plains ethnography. It fell to others to salvage the museum's reputation and carry on.

Roland Force Cleans Up: 1977–1985

Until September 1977, MAI operated under the eye of the New York State attorney general through Alexander F. Draper, appointed to administer operations and the court-ordered inventory. The inventory had lofty goals: staff would match objects with catalog data rather than simply counting them. Funded by a grant from the Rock Foundation—created and administered by trustee Edmund Carpenter and his wife—the inventory was complete by 1979 but flawed; the collections numbered somewhere between 700,000 and 800,000 objects (Carpenter 2005; Force 1999). Earlier estimates of 4.5 million were simply guesswork.

The attorney general's authority extended to appointing new trustees whose powers were strictly advisory. By July 1976, the new board concluded that MAI must find a new site where it could flourish; in April 1977, they hired Roland W. Force to head a task force and appointed him MAI director in October 1977. A Stanford-trained anthropologist with limited experience with American Indians, Force seemed an odd choice but brought deep experience as curator of Oceania at the Field Museum of Natural History (1956–1961) and director of Honolulu's Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (1962–1976). He understood the challenges facing museums with Indigenous collections, having transformed the Bishop Museum into an international center that was simultaneously a local "people's museum" (Altonn 1996).

Force is remembered for building MAI's visibility and its transition to the Smithsonian, but programs he initiated presaged later NMAI developments. He urged the board to identify American Indians as a critical constituency, engaging them as staff, program presenters, and advisors, and developing programs to serve Native interests (Force 1999; Wilcox 1978). By 1980, MAI had several Native trustees—George Abrams (Seneca), Vine Deloria, Jr. (Standing Rock Sioux), Clara Sue Kidwell (White Earth Chippewa/Choctaw), Scott Momaday (Kiowa), and others—and sponsored Native arts programs, a Native Film and Video Festival, and an Indian Information Center (Force 1999; Glueck 1980; Reynolds 2004).

Finding a new home was foremost on the trustees' agenda, but they soon realized that preserving the collections—neglected for decades—was critical to Native heritage interests. Exactly *where* seemed sec-

ondary: MAI entertained invitations from Oklahoma City, Las Vegas, and other cities while trying to attract the attention of New York City officials. Focusing on the derelict Alexander Hamilton U.S. Custom House in lower Manhattan, MAI mounted successful exhibits there: *Echoes of the Drums* (1978) and *The Ancestors* (1979); *Ancestors* later traveled to China (Force 1999; Glueck 1980, 1981; Roosevelt and Smith 1979). For several years, Force and the board lobbied to take over the Custom House while sporadically discussing a merger with the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH). MAI mounted the *Star Gods of the Ancient Americas* exhibit at AMNH in 1982, but the collaboration was less than ideal. MAI's next exhibition—*Out of the Mists: Northwest Coast Indian Art*—was installed at the IBM Gallery on Madison Avenue (McGill 1984).

Throughout these years, MAI trustees worried that Native concerns about the care and use of the collection would be ignored in an AMNH merger, where American Indians might be "consigned to a position between the whales and the bugs" (McGill 1985a). During a 1984 trustees meeting, Vine Deloria, Jr., pointedly called negotiations with AMNH "a struggle to control our collection" (quoted in Force 1999:203). Frustrated by negotiations in New York, the board sought national attention for their predicament in 1985.

The State of the Nations: A Confluence of Circumstances, 1960s–1990

Based in New York City, staff and trustees struggled to save the MAI collections and its independent museum identity, perhaps little realizing how developments elsewhere would shape the future. Fundamentally, the roots of a national Museum of the American Indian began to grow as widespread changes came about through Indigenous activism and politics from the 1960s onward. National and global calls for self-determination and self-representation, tribes' increasing political influence, and growth of nationalized Native identity and global indigeneity spurred massive social, intellectual, and legislative changes that set the stage for MAI's emergence as a national asset and transformation into a national museum.

After the 1944 founding of the National Congress of American Indians, Native people expanded on localized patterns of activism and intertribal communication and addressed their shared agendas at federal levels. Black civil rights activism spurred Native activism and public protests as well as the growth of a "supratribal national identity" and moral claims for restorations (Deloria 2008:44). The 1970s brought calls for legal and cultural sovereignty, cultural renaissance, and self-representation via tribal museums and other means (Bailey 2008b; Barker 2005; Cooper and Sandoval 2006; Deloria 2008; Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008).

On multiple fronts, Native people became increasingly concerned with mainstream museum practices. From the 1960s onward, Native people criticized museums and their presentations of Indigenous peoples as products of colonial and imperial processes that perpetuated stereotypical, ahistorical, and antiquated perspectives (Ames 1992; Dubin 2001; Lavine and Karp 1991; Phillips 1995; Root 1996; Simpson 1996; Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008; see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology" and "Codes of Ethics," this vol.). Museums' possession of sacred objects deprived Native people of the means to continue or rebuild traditional ceremonial life, and despite protests, many museums continued to exhibit such objects and even Native human remains (Cooper 2008; R.W. Hill 2001; McKeown 2008; Preucel 2011). In Canada, the 1972 National Museums Act tasked museums to support pluralism and serve heritage interests; 1988 protests over the Glenbow Museum's *The Spirit Sings* exhibition expanded calls for First Nations' input, resulting in joint recommendations by the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association (Task Force 1992; see "Codes of Ethics," this vol.). Growth of the "New Museology" (Vergo 1989) and concern over museums' role in multicultural societies prompted greater sensitivity but failed to promote self-representation or significant Native involvement (Karp and Lavine 1991; Karp et al. 1992; Simpson 1996).

Global calls for Indigenous involvement in museums, public interpretation, and archaeology (Erikson 2008; Gorbey 1991; Harrison 1988; Kreps 2003; Mahuika 1991; Niezen 2008; Simpson 1996; Task Force 1992; Watkins 2000; see "Indigenous North Americans and Archaeology," this vol.) prompted shifts in research ethics, interpretive relevance, and overall narrative and scholarly frameworks (Biolsi and Zimmerman 1997b; M.F. Brown 2003; Bruner 1986; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Deloria 1969b; Fox 1991; Mihesuah and Wilson 2004; Sioui 1992; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Indigenous involvement in museums was driven partly by perception of objects as "living beings" requiring care from cultural authorities (Harth 1999; Murphy 2005; Rosoff 1998; Sandahl 2005). Simultaneously, the rise of contemporary Indigenous art and its incorporation in museums provided an antidote to anthropological treatments of Native objects as "specimens" (McDonald 2005; Task Force 1992).

In the United States and Canada, overall trends—growing urban Indian populations and a Native intel-

ligentsia, concerns about tribal sovereignty and Native rights, and national activism—bred legislative changes from the 1970s onward (Bailey 2008b; Biolsi 2005; Warrior 1995, 2008; Weibel-Orlando 2008). As tribes and intertribal coalitions gained economic power and political clout, President Richard Nixon called for new federal Indian policies in 1970; the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 empowered tribes to self-administer federal grants. The 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act strengthened protection of sacred sites and individual religious use of peyote and objects that incorporated protected species (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). The Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 further protected sites on Native lands while the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988 strengthened many tribal economies. By the late 1980s, other movements were also underway, resulting in the Native American Languages Act (1990 and 1992) and the Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990. Each act expanded the scope and effect of Native self-determination and sovereignty over cultural issues and strengthened Native resolve to tackle problems inherent in museums. At the same time, debates about protection of Native American graves were heating up in Congress, setting the stage for MAI's next chapter.

Going National: Congress and the NMAI Act, 1985–1989

The MAI continued to entertain invitations to leave New York, but none progressed very far. In 1985, as AMNH merger talks stagnated and New York officials argued against relocating MAI to the Custom House, board members contacted billionaire H. Ross Perot, who offered $70 million to move it to Dallas, Texas. Those who had fought about where to relocate MAI in New York suddenly realized the real battle might be keeping this "national treasure" in the city (United Airlines 1985). Later that year, MAI petitioned the New York Supreme Court to break the 1916 Heye Foundation trust that required it to remain in New York (Force 1999; McGill 1985b).

Until this time, tribal repatriation efforts had operated at local or state levels or focused on specific objects (Fenton 1989; R.W. Hill 2001; Merrill et al. 1993). In 1986, Cheyenne leaders raised the issue of thousands of Smithsonian-held Native human remains, thus beginning federal repatriation legislation debates (McKeown 2008, 2012). Senator Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) proposed a Native American memorial and mass interment of Smithsonian-held human remains on the National Mall. Along with Smithsonian secretary Robert McCormick Adams, Inouye visited MAI and advocated a move to Washington through the first National Museum of the American Indian bill (U.S. Congress, Senate 1987).

Separate debates in Washington proceeded on repatriation legislation and MAI's possible addition to the Smithsonian, but New York discussions continued to focus on the Custom House. In July 1986, the New York Supreme Court ruled that if MAI survival depended on leaving New York, it must be allowed, and that Heye's desire for MAI independence—especially from AMNH—must be honored. By 1987, most MAI supporters favored a takeover of the Custom House, but this, too, required congressional action since it was federal property (D'Amato 1986). In the *Washington Post*, Senators Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-New York) and Daniel Inouye squared off in the New York versus Washington debate: Moynihan's headline asked, "Why Should New York Let the Smithsonian Abscond with It?" while Inouye's was "It Belongs on the Mall, America's Main Street" (Inouye 1987; Moynihan 1987).

Congressional and other debates continued for two years; tribal advocates argued that legislation to move MAI to Washington, DC, must include repatriation, especially of human remains held by the Smithsonian (McKeown 2012; Preucel 2011). Federal repatriation legislation—the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA, Public Law 101-601)—was enacted on November 16, 1990, followed by passage of the NMAI Act (Public Law 101-185) on November 28. The NMAI Act simultaneously created NMAI and required the Smithsonian to inventory Native human remains and associated funerary objects and return them to tribes, Native Hawaiian organizations, or lineal descendants on request (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.).

Under the NMAI Act, NMAI would "advance the study of Native Americans, including the study of language, literature, history, art, anthropology, and life" and "collect, preserve, and exhibit Native American objects of artistic, historical, literary, anthropological, and scientific interest." The act required 12 of NMAI's 23 trustees to be Native and provided for a museum on the National Mall, leased spaces for the George Gustav Heye Center at the Custom House, and a support facility in Suitland, Maryland (NMAI Act 1989). In the end, the NMAI Act was a compromise; it satisfied New York desires for a continued Indian museum presence and Smithsonian conditions for funding to support the care and exhibition of MAI collections.

What the NMAI Act's dry text could not convey was the enormity of the transformation: what had begun as a local effort to "save" the MAI collection had created a national Native American museum with a

unique purpose. In his 1989 "State of the Smithsonian Report," Secretary Adams laid out his vision: "This will be . . . *their* museum: under Native American leadership, devoted not to the timeless past . . . but to the full range of intellectual, artistic, and cultural achievements of a living people . . . and speaking to the world in their own voices" (quoted in Smithsonian Institution 1991:40).

Big Dreams and Setting Agendas: Rick West and NMAI's First Board, 1990–1991

On June 18, 1990, the New York Supreme Court approved MAI's transfer to the Smithsonian; the official transfer occurred on June 23. NMAI's new board—including Roger Buffalohead (Ponca), Suzan Shown Harjo (Southern Cheyenne/Muskogee), Vine Deloria, Jr. (Standing Rock Sioux), Norbert Hill, Jr. (Oneida Nation of Wisconsin), Clara Sue Kidwell (White Earth Chippewa), Scott Momaday (Kiowa), Jennie Joe (Navajo), Alfonso Ortiz (Ohkay Owingeh), Helen Scheirbeck (Lumbee), and Rosita Worl (Tlingit)—had started work in early 1990 (Force 1999). Under the general oversight of the Smithsonian Board of Regents, the NMAI Act gave the trustees "sole authority" over the collections, including acquisition, disposition, and use. Appointed NMAI director in May 1990, W. Richard (Rick) West, Jr. (Southern Cheyenne) stressed the need to deconstruct museums: "In a very real sense, the walls of the museum must come down" (quoted in Molotsky 1990). Adopted in 1990, the NMAI mission was

> to affirm to Native communities and the non-Native public the historical and contemporary culture and cultural achievements of the Natives of the Western Hemisphere by advancing, in consultation, collaboration and cooperation with them, a knowledge and understanding of their cultures, including art, history and language, and by recognizing the Museum's social responsibility, through innovative public programming, research and collections, to protect, support and enhance the development, maintenance and perpetuation of Native culture and community (quoted in Dickstein Thompson 2001:125–126).

Following bylaws established in 1990, the board drafted research, collections, and repatriation policies plus a "cultural interpretation agenda." Guiding principles included respecting and protecting Native beliefs and "religious rights"; advancing public knowledge and scholarship on Indian art, cultures, history, and languages; Native collaboration; support for tribal museums and training programs; and "culturally sensitive" collections care and interpretation (Dickstein Thompson 2001).

Stressing collaboration in research and scholarship, NMAI's research policy did not dictate primacy of Native self-interpretation but rather "dispassionate evaluation of all available evidence," multiple, contextualized viewpoints, and the balancing of tribal concerns with external requests for sensitive collections access (NMAI Board 1991; West 1993). However, NMAI's 1991 repatriation policy—which suggested that NMAI collections were the "sole property" of affiliated tribes, set lower evidentiary standards than federal legislation, and allowed dispersion of "duplicate material" to tribes or individuals—drew critique (Sturtevant 1991). NMAI clarified that "sole property" applied only to items successfully claimed for repatriation (West 1991, 1994), but concerns arose about what Native control of NMAI collections meant.

In April 1991, the Smithsonian chose Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates (VSBA) to develop an NMAI master plan for architectural and interpretive programs (Gamarekian 1991; Ostrowitz 2002; Rand 2007). Based on extensive tribal consultations, the resulting documents—titled *Way of the People* (WOTP)—provided concepts for NMAI's "cultural interpretation agenda": Native partnerships in program planning and implementation; consultation, collaboration, and accountability in research, interpretation, and use of collections; and incorporation of Native methodologies and traditional knowledge in exhibits and programs (Dickstein Thompson 2001; VSBA 1991, 1992, 1993).

As a foundation for later developments, WOTP identified NMAI as a mechanism of social change that would redefine museums by working in new ways (VSBA 1991). Buildings and exhibits would reflect Native values and "voices" to educate the public, debunk stereotypes, and emphasize Native continuity and vitality. Differentiating NMAI's non-Indian public "audience" and the Native "constituency" served by NMAI and its collections stewardship, WOTP also outlined "the Fourth Museum" of physical and electronic outreach and information networks. WOTP also included ideas fundamental to future exhibitions: Native people were not "object-oriented," and objects were thus less important than ideas, and—despite Native diversity—commonalities encouraged presentation of a singular Indian culture or mindset (VSBA 1991:40).

Making the "Museum Different" a Reality, 1992–2004

As NMAI moved forward, proving itself "the museum different" took various forms (Thomas 2011b). Early policies and the "New Inclusiveness" (West 1993)

promised multivocality, but NMAI rhetoric increasingly characterized Native perspectives as antidotes to past museum practices: Native staff stated that "giving a voice to Native Americans" was more important than meeting visitor needs (Dickstein Thompson 2001:174). Fundraising appeals promised "a new museum from the people who 'discovered' Columbus" (*New York Times* 1991). The need to raise $70 million—the NMAI share of the Mall museum costs (NMAI Act 1989)—helps explain NMAI's "difference" hyperbole, including the "discourse of reform" (Brady 2007:259).

The NMAI Act called for creation of the George Gustav Heye Center (GGHC) at the Custom House; its immediate development promised to both satisfy New York interests and provide visibility for the museum's work. NMAI's first exhibition there in 1992—*Pathways of Tradition*—took advantage of Columbian Quincentenary fervor and offered a preview of the future. Rick West identified NMAI goals as presenting "a non-European view of the world and applying the first-person voice of the Indian peoples to communicate it" (Weinraub 1992). Reviewers found the "displays of Indian self-assertion" different but less than successful: the exhibit design and boutique lighting declared objects "art," and labels alluded to a universal "Indian way of thinking about the world" (Rick Hill [Tuscarora], quoted in Jonaitis 1993:80).

GGHC's 1994 grand opening included three exhibitions: *Creation's Journey*, *All Roads Are Good*, and *This Path We Travel*. Stressing "cultural empowerment" and "unfiltered Native voice" as authentic interpretive strategies (West 1994, 2000a), experimental techniques yielded "dueling museological paradigms" and multimedia cacophony (Arieff 1995). Reviewers questioned whether Native voice alone could engender the desired intercultural dialogues, especially when NMAI largely ignored visitors' desire for authoritative information (Cotter 1994; Dubin 2001; Penney 2000; Weinraub 1994). Lack of object dates perpetuated images of timelessness (Arieff 1995), and some Native reviewers maintained that art-style presentations commodified objects and highlighted NMAI's failure to explain how objects left Native hands (Hilden 2000; Hilden and Huhndorf 1999; Huhndorf 2001). Like *Pathways of Tradition*, the exhibits presented a synthesized, monolithic Indian culture that simply replaced old stereotypes with new ones (Arieff 1995). One critic warned, "It is imperative that the museum rethink its strategies before establishing its Washington home" (Cotter 1994).

While opening GGHC, NMAI moved forward with the Mall museum designs, drawing on WOTP, including specifics about purpose, feeling, programs, setting, and landscaping (Blue Spruce 2004a; Blue Spruce and Thrasher 2008; Horse Capture 2004; J. Jones 2004; Ostrowitz 2002, 2008). In 1993, Smithsonian Institution selected Geddes Brecher Qualls Cunningham (GBQC) in association with Douglas Cardinal (Blackfoot/Métis) as architects. As "principal designer," Cardinal ignored WOTP, calling it "an Anglo interpretation of Indian needs," and organized "vision sessions" with Native elders that produced homogenized Native design values (Cannell 2000; Ostrowitz 2002). The design was well received by the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts—which advises on aesthetics and design in the nation's capital—in 1996, but disagreements between Cardinal and GBQC surfaced over fees, deadlines, and division of work. Simultaneously, Smithsonian staff had concerns about the building engineering and lack of interior design specifications. Squabbles between Cardinal and GBQC continued, and in January 1998, the Smithsonian fired both for failure to perform on schedule.

In February 1999, the Smithsonian hired Polshek & Partners and Tobey + Davis—in association with Native architects from other firms—to complete building plans (Cannell 2000; Ostrowitz 2002). The Commission of Fine Arts rejected their submission in April 1999 owing to an "ugly column" that supported the cantilevered east side; they approved revisions in June (Molotsky 1999). These difficulties put tremendous stress on Rick West, fundraising efforts, and the staff. They delayed the museum opening by two years and increased costs, which ultimately totaled $219 million, with $35 million donated by tribes and $65 million from other sources. Cardinal refused to attend the museum groundbreaking on the Mall in September 1999 and the 2004 opening or even to acknowledge the building as his work (Cannell 2000; Forgey 2004). Bad press lingered through the opening and beyond (Brady 2007; R.K. Lewis 2005), overshadowing West's and others' efforts to do justice to Cardinal's design while making it work as a public museum.

NMAI's lower-profile projects proved far more successful: construction of the Cultural Resources Center (CRC) in Suitland, Maryland—designed by Polshek & Partners—which opened in 1999, and the collections' move from the Bronx Research Branch to CRC (1999–2004). As the new home for the collections, CRC was characterized as NMAI's "brain and soul." Its materials, design, and feeling avoided reference to conventional museum storage, provided a welcoming experience and high levels of collections access (including ceremonial-use spaces), housed collections staff and activities, and provided a base for

Fourth Museum outreach, training, and collaborative programs (VSBA 1991, 1992).

The NMAI collections' move, including the museum's first-ever complete physical inventory, set high standards for care, documentation, and attention to tribal concerns. In New York, tribal representatives reviewed regional collections, providing guidance on handling and treatment, transport, and segregation of sensitive materials. Over five years, 832,000 objects were examined, cleaned or stabilized, digitally imaged, barcoded for tracking and inventory, and packed and shipped via weekly trucks. At CRC, objects received special mounts to reduce handling, and digital images were added to databases to facilitate access (NMAI n.d.b). Reorganization of collections by tribal and geographical origin rather than physical type (i.e., textiles or baskets) facilitates Native community and researcher access; sensitive materials were segregated so visitors could work without risk of encountering them.

Designing the Public Face: NMAI Inaugural Exhibits, 1997–2004

Part of the New Museology critical to NMAI development was shifting the museum's role from a temple to a forum (Cameron 1971). Smithsonian secretary Robert Adams later used the same language, stating that NMAI would "transform the museum as an institution from a temple with a superior self-contained priesthood to a multicultural forum" (quoted in VSBA 1992:II.8). Leadership in this area remained a theme in Rick West's public addresses (2000a, 2002).

To plan the Mall museum of 52,000 square feet of exhibits—expected to serve 6 million visitors annually (VSBA 1993:IV.8)—NMAI hired Gerard Hilferty & Associates (GHA), aided by Native mentors Ramona Sakiestewa (Hopi), Dave Warren (Santa Clara Pueblo), and Gerald McMaster (Plains Cree/Siksika Nation). Plans included broad thematic treatments and extensive multimedia and emphasized a singular "Native perspective" and hemispheric commonalities. Native voice's transparency was unquestioned: "The clarity and authenticity of Native voices and perspectives will, quite literally, speak for themselves and be readily understood by non-Natives" (GHA 1997:16). Planners grappled with using collections, which were selected only to elicit themes or appear as Native art (GHA 1997:81). Despite Jacki Thompson Rand's hopeful outlook in her preamble to the Mall plan—that "healing and reconciliation can only begin by lifting a veil off a difficult history. . . . NMAI offers a place for embracing this history" (VSBA 1993:I.3–I.4)—plans focused on homogenized Native viewpoints and identity rather than historical narratives.

After vetting the Hilferty plan with groups of Native leaders, contemporary artists, and Native and non-Native scholars in 1997, NMAI staff reforged the inaugural exhibits, developing a series of guiding principles—community, locality, vitality, viewpoint, and voice—and planned extended collaborative work with tribal communities rather than individual consultants. Grounding the exhibits within specific Native communities was intended to establish Native voice, authority, and authenticity (Howe 2001, 2005; Shannon 2014; West 2002); one result was NMAI's unprecedented collaborative community work between 1999 and 2004 (West 2005). On the surface, NMAI was committed to multivocality (West 2000b, 2004a), but the "community curation" model (Phillips 2003; Shannon 2009, 2014) and the mandate to privilege—and not "filter"—Native voices made NMAI curators into "facilitators" of those voices (West in A.J. Cobb 2005a:525). Within NMAI, what Native voice meant was debated: exhibit staff saw it as literal quoted text; for curatorial staff, it encompassed exhibit design and an overall feeling as part of ethical obligations to represent tribal wishes (Chavez Lamar 2008; Shannon 2014). Work with community curators seldom yielded information to support exhibit themes, and "NMAI-curated" central spines were emphasized to reinforce themes (Rickard 2007; P.C. Smith 2007, 2008).

As deadlines approached, conflict arose between exhibits and curatorial staff over authority, text lengths, design aesthetics, numbers of objects, and content versus "edutainment," resulting in compromises to exhibit frameworks (Howe 2005; Shannon 2014; P.C. Smith 2008). Critics have questioned whether NMAI, as a federal institution, could fulfill its stated intents or whether government bureaucracy would filter or smother messages (Kerr 2004; Klein 2001; Phillips 2006). Ultimately, internal power struggles and resultant compromises proved more damaging (Chavez Lamar 2008; Howe 2001, 2005; Rand 2007; Shannon 2014).

In 2004, NMAI opened with four inaugural exhibitions: *Our Universes: Traditional Knowledge Shapes Our World*; *Our Peoples: Giving Voice to Our Histories*; *Our Lives: Contemporary Lives and Identities*; and *Native Modernism: The Art of George Morrison and Allan Houser*. *Window on Collections* included object-focused interactive installations on two floors. With the exception of *Window on Collections* and *Our Universes*, these exhibits have since been dismantled but are described elsewhere (Barker and Dumont 2006; Berlo and Jonaitis 2005; Brady 2007; A.J. Cobb

2005b, 2005c; Evelyn 2006; Isaac 2008a, 2008b; Phillips 2008).

Pomp and Circumstance, 2004

NMAI celebrated the Mall museum opening on September 21, 2004, with a Native Nations Procession of 25,000 people, many in traditional dress, representing more than 500 tribes (fig. 7). An additional 55,000 spectators lined the procession route and heard remarks by Peruvian president Alejandro Toledo (Quechua), Senators Daniel Inouye and Ben Nighthorse Campbell (Northern Cheyenne, R-Colorado), and NMAI director Rick West. Toledo called for respect for cultural diversity; Inouye and Campbell called NMAI an overdue monument to Native Americans, and West labeled it a symbol of hope and reconciliation (Dao 2004; West 2004b). The six-day First Americans Festival followed, featuring 300 indigenous artists performing for more than 300,000 attendees. Native pride in NMAI as a symbol of survival and cultural vitality, sited facing the U.S. Capitol, was palpable. NMAI succeeded in creating a museum of living Native people through persistent "we're still here" messages (A.J. Cobb 2005c), but many press reviews (summarized in Berlo and Jonaitis 2005; Brady 2007; Jonaitis and Berlo 2008) and some scholarly critiques questioned whether that was sufficient.

Although the building itself was widely admired, the exhibits suffered serious critiques. Press reviewers recognized the challenge of covering the entire Western hemisphere but expected greater information and clarity. They suggested that community-curated

Photograph by Chip Clark or Donald Hurlburt, September 21, 2004. Smithsonian Archives (2004-55090).

Fig. 7. Chiefs and tribal elders attending the opening celebration of the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian on the National Mall in Washington, DC, on the afternoon of September 21, 2004. This event was the largest gathering of Native Americans in history.

vignettes deprived visitors of opportunities to focus on great objects and that information was often absent or failed to address visitor questions. Exactly what kind of museum NMAI was also proved problematic; since the exhibits failed to match expectations for art, history, or anthropology presentations, reviewers and visitors grappled with what to take away (Richard 2004). Significant criticism focused on dependence on Native voices and shared modes of thought, spirituality, and experience despite NMAI's intention to focus on these very things (Rick West, quoted in A.J. Cobb 2005a:530–531). Reviewers questioned whether what was said in the exhibitions was sufficiently authoritative to merit inclusion in a Smithsonian museum. On its own, "Native voice" was considered unpersuasive, perhaps because NMAI failed to explain its epistemology in relying on Native voices as authoritative or the collaborations that had produced community self-representations.

Scholarly analyses were mixed, but more than press critics, scholars familiar with issues inherent in museum representations of Indigenous people grasped NMAI's intent. Some hailed NMAI as a site for cultural sovereignty performances (Biolsi 2005; A.J. Cobb 2005b, 2005c; Message 2009; Smith 2005). Others recognized that press critiques stemmed in part from NMAI's departure from familiar art, anthropology, or history models (Berlo and Jonaitis 2005; A.J. Cobb 2005c; Isaac 2008b; Jacknis 2008; McMaster 2011; Rickard 2007) and that press critics took advantage of the occasion to critique broader postmodern museum trends (Coffee 2006; Jonaitis and Berlo 2008; Ronan 2014).

Many critics chastised NMAI for not meeting their expectations, which for some included emphasizing the "Native holocaust" or acting as a "de-colonizing museum" (Smith 2005). Some Native scholars castigated NMAI for avoiding "hard truths" and for failing to explicitly address colonialism, oppression, and the costs of Native survival (Atalay 2008; Lonetree 2006, 2008, 2009, 2012). NMAI was expected to portray this history, although an "official narrative of Native history" did not yet exist (Rickard 2007; P.C. Smith 2007) and the diversity of Native experiences made a universal narrative impossible. These critiques exposed a shortcoming in the NMAI model: in the 1990s, WOTP had defined NMAI's constituency as community-based Native tribespeople and focused on presenting community perspectives, homogenized *culture*, and contemporary identity. Unwittingly, NMAI had ignored the growing body of Native intellectuals working on a new Native *history* narrative to support cultural sovereignty and help tribes "recover" their strengths (Atalay 2008; Hoxie 2011; Lyons 1997; Rand 2007; Warrior 1995; Worl 2011).

While defining NMAI's audience as the non-Native public, the inaugural exhibits did not account for audience expectations. Speaking about early exhibits at GGHC, *New York Times* critic Holland Cotter (1994) had warned that NMAI exhibits needed to serve audiences rather than Native self-presentation, but this went largely unheeded. Torn between serving Native constituencies and non-Native audiences, many museum staff were more concerned with meeting communities' expectations (Shannon 2009), so the exhibits often failed to fulfill visitors' needs.

NMAI experiments in how to use objects further complicated matters. From the 1960s onward, Dockstader, Force, and others had pinned MAI's salvation on its recognition as a great *art* collection. In succeeding decades, art museums added contextual interpretation while anthropology museums moved toward object aesthetics; in contrast, early NMAI exhibits and interpretation furthered perception of objects as timeless art (Belarde-Lewis 2005; Phillips 1994, 1995, 2007). While some thought the 2004 exhibits commoditized collections, others believed that objects were ignored, lacked information, or were made enigmatic by display in community-curated exhibits (Berry 2006; Brown 2009; Conn 2006, 2010; Rand 2007). Members of the public—conditioned to expect great art at NMAI—were largely disappointed.

If NMAI failed as a culture or history museum and neglected to show Native objects as art, what purpose did it serve in 2004? One answer may lie in therapeutic terms used by Native critics who wanted NMAI to confront colonialism and allow Native people to move on and start "healing" (Atalay 2008), a notion built into the rhetoric of cultural sovereignty, repatriation, and other "recovery" projects (M.F. Brown 2007, 2009; Conn 2010). As Conn (2010:45) pointed out, NMAI is essentially a "therapeutic museum" that addresses "emotional resolution rather than critical engagement" and, much like tribal museums and heritage centers, focuses on the triumph of survival rather than painful histories (Lowenthal 1998; Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008). For some, NMAI remains "more than just a museum"; it is "an instrument of self-definition and cultural continuance" (A.J. Cobb 2005c:485–486).

Making NMAI Work, 2004–2008

Addressing staff after the opening, director Rick West identified NMAI's next challenge as "making NMAI work" under normal conditions. The inaugural exhibits were a once-in-a-lifetime occurrence, but NMAI's success depended on continuing to improve upon its work based on external and internal analyses.

With *Listening to Our Ancestors: The Art of Native Life along the North Pacific Coast* in Washington in 2006, NMAI responded to inaugural exhibit critiques by explaining Native voice and community collaboration and focusing more on visitor experiences (Cotter 2006; Evelyn 2006; Evelyn and Hirsch 2006; Shannon 2009). Moving its successful contemporary art program onto a global stage, NMAI also sponsored exhibits at the Venice Biennale: James Luna (2005) and Edgar Heap of Birds (2007). NMAI leadership in contemporary arts also grew through acquisition of major paintings and sculptures as well as contemporary traditional arts. From 2006 through 2008, NMAI updated its collection policies and defined directions for future collecting; these and other documents contributed to NMAI's AAM accreditation in 2009.

In terms of overall agenda, NMAI revised its 2000 mission statement. By 2006, NMAI recognized that including "perpetuation of Native culture" might imply a "cultural embalming process wherein obsolete cultural ways are kept going beyond their time" (New 1994:42); others questioned what NMAI could actually do (Hill 2005). The revised mission emphasized both continuity and change by supporting "continuance of culture, traditional values, and transitions in contemporary Native life." After the Mall museum opening, NMAI also focused on areas beyond conventional museum work, including resident artist programs, proactive repatriation research, tribal museum staff training, language initiatives, and Fourth Museum programs (Bell 2015; Crouch 2010; Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008; see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.).

As defined in WOTP, "the Fourth Museum" would use "the latest technologies to connect and create partnerships to empower the Smithsonian, NMAI, and Native communities," making NMAI a "center of information and collaborative activity" (Swentzell 1992). Over time, Fourth Museum activities have been continually refined to accommodate changing needs and technologies. Current activities include collections loans for exhibits and cultural projects, online and traveling exhibits, social media and podcasts, educational resources and teacher e-newsletters, conservation consultations, online collections access, collections-focused videoconferences with tribal members, and webcasts and archived seminars and symposia.

A Change in Direction: NMAI under Kevin Gover, 2008–2021

Kevin Gover (Pawnee) became NMAI director following Rick West's retirement in December 2007. Under West, NMAI had resembled a "cultural center" focused on its Native constituency and civic engagement (West 2011); Gover concentrated on NMAI's responsibility as a far-reaching educational enterprise, specifically educating Americans about Native history, sovereignty, and current challenges to provide a basis for better public understanding of contemporary Native issues and federal Indian policies and programs. Under a national initiative to improve classroom education, called Native Knowledge 360°, NMAI has partnered with regional educators and tribal communities to produce K–12 curriculum and classroom materials aimed at transforming what and how students learn about Native people. NMAI has also built interactive learning centers for families and children at both locations.

Gover and others also confronted NMAI's failure to reach audiences, focusing on understanding visitors and their intellectual baggage and developing exhibits to serve public education. From the outset, Gover also concentrated on changing the NMAI's reputation for "anti-intellectualism" by strengthening scholarship, including multidisciplinary standards and rigor, and balancing Native and other viewpoints (Pogrebin 2008). Moving away from its inaugural pattern of conceptual hemispheric treatments, NMAI has instead developed strong thematic exhibitions that focus on contemporary art (e.g., *Fritz Scholder*, DC and New York, 2008), historical and political subjects (e.g., *Nation to Nation*, DC, 2014), and cultural history and art (e.g., *Infinity of Nations*, New York, 2010).

Celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary in 2014 (after the NMAI Act of 1989), the museum kicked off a $100 million endowment campaign to support programs and replace shrinking federal funds. Strategic agendas called for engendering dialogue on historical and contemporary issues, better understanding physical and virtual visitors and reaching larger audiences, developing Native Knowledge 360° and increasing school group visits, increasing loans to tribal museums, and offering training programs for Native museum professionals. Based on intensive consultations with tribal communities and veterans' groups and a juried design competition, NMAI opened the National Native American Veterans Memorial on its grounds in November 2020.

Legacies and Effects

It is too early to judge NMAI's legacy, but its development has certainly influenced museum practices. In terms of scope, scale, and visibility, NMAI has become a reference point and source of guidance,

especially on collections-related matters. Transfer of MAI collections to the Smithsonian facilitated unprecedented access by Native and non-Native researchers, making them available to support Native cultural sovereignty and empowerment (McMullen 2009b). The NMAI move of collections from New York to Suitland, Maryland, and sensitive collections and cultural care practices remain models; other museums often seek NMAI advice on these subjects. NMAI sensitive collections practices stem from ethical extensions of tribal sovereignty and self-determination to collections care (Howe 2000) and help define its Cultural Resources Center in Suitland as an "indigenous space" (Biolsi 2005). "Cultural care" recognizes objects as living things; limits access where appropriate; provides alternative forms of pest management, handling, and care shaped by tribal input; and studies how earlier pesticide use may affect access and ceremonial usage (Harth 1999; Henry 2004; Howe 2000; Johnson 2001; Nonprofit Finance Fund 2004; Rosoff 1998). NMAI has also taken a leading role in proactive repatriation research and expanding repatriation activities beyond U.S. borders (McKeown 2008; see "Cultural Heritage Law and Their Impact," this vol.).

The integrated processes and community consultations that shaped the *Way of the People* vision of the 1990s (VSBA 1991,1992, 1993) surpassed earlier efforts. Today, such consultations are commonplace in tribal architectural projects, yielding a new paradigm of Native architecture and facility planning that draws on community input and "paraphrases" traditional forms (Ostrowitz 2002).

In its symbolic position facing the U.S. Capitol, the NMAI opening in Washington, DC, created a highly visible and tangible symbol and reminder of Native perseverance. NMAI also serves as a forum for public engagement on Native issues. Critical events include the 2008 symposium "Harvest of Hope," on reconciliation and national apologies, the highly publicized 2013 symposium "Racist Stereotypes and Cultural Appropriation in American Sports," plus the annual "Living Earth Festival" and its ecologically focused events, initiated in 2010.

Despite what critics have suggested, NMAI was never intended to be a "Native holocaust" museum (Rick West, quoted in Achenbach 2004; P.C. Smith 2008) nor has it claimed to be a "post-colonial museum" (Smith 2005). Critiques of NMAI, which has grown up in the spotlight of press attention in New York City and Washington, DC, are to be expected. However, staff members remain proud of NMAI community engagement processes despite the fact that the inaugural exhibits did not bring about wholesale changes in the public mindset. While scholarly paradigm shifts may occur rapidly, postmodern museums face the far lengthier and more difficult task of engendering a more socially conscious, multicultural public.

With regard to "Native voice" as a means to establish authenticity, the jury is still out. Clearly, Native voice is not the panacea NMAI hoped it might be; its value may depend on balancing it with other sources and authorities to ensure scholarly rigor (Brown 2009) and assuring that its messages can be understood, potentially through "translation" or layered contextualization. The most important lesson may be that museums that rely on Native voice must position it as part of localized alternative knowledge frameworks rather than universalized "Indian thinking."

Conclusion: The Unfinished Edifice

Evaluating NMAI success and articulating what remains to be done is difficult. From MAI's beginnings more than 100 years ago, each director has put his own stamp on the institution, directing staff and resources to fulfill the mission in discrete ways. "Success" has also been a moving target mediated by the Smithsonian tendency to gauge museum success by numbers of visitors to public facilities. Web visitors and researchers served are increasingly important metrics, but museums continue to invest heavily in exhibits and on-site programs, sometimes to the detriment of other projects. NMAI can succeed by continuing to serve both "constituency" and "audience," but it keeps redefining *how* it will do so through long-term initiatives, such as Native Knowledge 360°, which indirectly supports tribal agendas by educating the public about contemporary issues and their origins. Through "Fourth Museum" projects such as online collections and training programs, NMAI can also expand upon its service to Native constituencies and others.

Two related issues deserve attention in NMAI's ongoing work. First, NMAI has experimented with vastly different exhibition paradigms—art, anthropology, and history—or mixed them (Arieff 1995; Isaac 2008b; Rickard 2007). Results have sometimes confused visitors, forcing them to shift their modes of thinking as they move between exhibits. Remedies may include developing a synthetic exhibit paradigm or strategies to better prepare visitors for such shifts. Second, critiques of NMAI exhibits over 20 years have repeatedly identified the same problems: Native voice versus authoritative information, homogenized Native viewpoints, excessive multimedia, lack of object information, and neglect of visitor experiences. With a refocus on understanding visitor needs, NMAI now strives to develop exhibits and other content to

serve visitor interests while maintaining the integrity of its mission and accompanying messages.

Claims that NMAI would be an "instrument of change" (Hill 2005) and "the museum different" have been tempered by time. NMAI often functions as a traditional museum (Brady 2009) but is a leader in mediating tribal concerns with museum practices, especially with regard to collections. Expectations that NMAI staff would be predominately Native have not been realized (P.C. Smith 2008), but key leadership positions and others are held by Native people. NMAI also serves as a training ground for younger tribal members, who often move on to tribal employment or other institutions after several years at NMAI.

Per the NMAI Act (1989), NMAI was intended to serve the American people and present "Native American" culture, history, and arts, defining "Native Americans" as people indigenous to the Americas. Under this remit, the NMAI scope mirrored MAI in encompassing the Western Hemisphere, prefiguring trends in Indigenous identity. NMAI's Latin American work has served community interests by providing space for nationalist discourses (Liffman 2009), yet how much American visitors care about these issues remains unknown. Incorporating Canadian First Nations into Americans' ideas of "Native America" has never been difficult, but bringing Latin America into public perceptions of "Indians" remains an ongoing challenge.

Returning to a recurring thread, NMAI must deal with the legacy of the MAI collections and resolve how they serve its mission of "advancing knowledge and understanding of the Native cultures of the Western Hemisphere" and supporting "continuance of culture, traditional values, and transitions in contemporary Native life" (NMAI n.d.a). George Heye's mission for a museum of Native American material culture shaped the MAI collection, but NMAI must address how Heye's focus differs from its own and build collections to serve its own work and that of Native constituents for the future (McMullen 2009b). Like those of other museums, NMAI collections—numbering more than 835,000 objects, plus photographs, media, and paper archives—remain focused on physical, tangible assets. As such, they incompletely represent Native traditions and experiences. The collections' reputation has rested on sheer numbers and recognition of "masterworks," but a new standard of "greatness" might include documenting the intangible and increasing the collections' collective value as resources for research and scholarship, community-based projects, and other uses, both in the present and for posterity.

Additional Readings

Original sources on George Heye include Burnett (1964), Harrington (n.d.), Lothrop (1957), and Mason (1958); later works commonly recycle the same information (Carpenter 2005, Kidwell 1999, Lenz 2004, McMullen 2009b, *New York Times* 1957, Small 2000, Snead 1999, Wallace 1960, Wilcox 1978). On MAI and its collections, see MAI (1922a, 1922b), *New York Times* (1922), Pepper (1916). For Dockstader's background, see Cummings (1970). Sources on MAI troubles in the 1970s include Carpenter (2005), Ferretti (1974, 1975, 1976a, 1976b), Force (1999), Fraser (1975), Glueck (1975), Gordon (1974), *New York Times* (1975a, 1975b), and Russell (1974). Press coverage for the 1970s and 1980s is cited in Force (1999). For another version of NMAI origins, see Harjo (2011), Preucel (2011), and Weston (2010).

Sources on "the New Museology" include Bennett (1995), Cameron (1971), Vergo (1989), and Weil (1990); for Smithsonian perspectives, see Commission on the Future of the Smithsonian (1995). Literature on postmodern museum practice is immense: seminal works include Ames (1992), M.F. Brown (2003), Clifford (1988), Fox (1991), Jones (1993), Karp and Lavine (1991), Karp et al. (1992), Krech (1994), McDonald (1999), Pearce (1992), Peers and Brown (2003), Price (1989), Root (1996), Sherman and Rogoff (1994), and Simpson (1996). Caveats include Ames (1994), Boast (2011), Brown (2009), Kurin (1997), Phillips (2003, 2011), and Rosaldo (1989). NMAI's 2004 opening generated hundreds of press stories: the most commonly cited are Achenbach (2004), A. Ferguson (2004), Fisher (2004), Kennicott (2004), Klein (2004), Lewin (2004), Rave (2004), Richard (2004), Ringle (2005), Rothstein (2004a, 2004b), Stuever (2004), Thompson (2004), and Trescott (2004).

Access to Native Collections in Museums and Archives: History, Context, and Future Directions

HANNAH TURNER AND CANDACE GREENE

Objects collected from Native North American communities from the 17th to 21st centuries now reside in museums across the world (Belk 1994; Parezo 1985; Pratt 1992; Stocking 1988; see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology," this vol.). Variously documented, exchanged, and displayed, these objects represent histories of precontact life, of contact negotiations with European settlers, and of the contemporary issues faced by Native North American communities across the continent (Clifford 1988; S.M. Pearce 2013). As museums documented and preserved these objects, archives collected and preserved field notes, photographs, and sound recordings. These resources, in conjunction with academic publications (such as the Smithsonian *Handbook of North American Indians* series), were used to construct an academic understanding of Native North American cultures (Stocking 1999:166).

Today, objects and archival materials from Native North American communities are increasingly available online. This chapter traces how access to resources about ethnographic collections (and to a lesser extent, archival collections) has changed owing in part to developments in documentation technologies. Data about archaeological holdings, including human remains, have often followed a separate trajectory with less provision for online access.

Internet technologies have advanced substantially since the 1990s, affording new modes of information retrieval and access, such as the ability to search entire collections remotely using web-accessible museum databases (Parry 2007:200). Since the last *Handbook of North American Indians* volume was published (Bailey 2008a), hundreds of thousands of records, many accompanied with a digital image, are now available to anyone with an internet connection. Larger museums and archives have been among the first to capitalize on these technologies to make their collections more accessible. Native North American materials constitute only one component of these collections, and systems generally have been developed to serve wider institutional needs. Native American ethnographic information is more accessible to Native people and other researchers than ever before, although it is often presented in ways that were not designed to serve the need of this particular constituency.

Online databases often have the appearance of unmediated online access to Native archival and museum collections, but computerized data draw from documentation about objects, photographs, and films that is limited, historical, and highly selective. One limitation is the historic occlusion of Native knowledge and perspectives in records, which affects how Native researchers and community members can search for and retrieve materials relating to their cultural heritage. Other limitations are the result of materials' being dispersed across many museums and archives, each with their own record-keeping systems, and the extent to which analog record systems have been converted to searchable electronic form.

For many years, holding institutions with Native American collections served primarily non-Native scholars and the general public, but this has shifted in recent years (see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology," "'A New Dream Museum,'" and "Codes of Ethics," this vol.). Repatriation legislation in the United States required holding institutions to make information on their holdings available to associated tribes (NAGPRA 1990; NMAI Act 1989; see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). This encouraged greater attention to database development and a greater commitment to information sharing. Museums in Canada took many of the same steps, based on new ethical standards (Conaty 2015a; First Nations Sacred Ceremonial Objects Repatriation Act [FNSCORA] 2008; Hill and Nicks 1992).

Native communities are now an important constituency for museums and archives and are shaping these institutions. Researchers engage with institutional records systems, both to obtain information and to contribute information to improve records. Many collaborations and new alliances with museums and Native communities have formed through other digital networks as well (see "Emergent Digital Networks," this vol.). The capacity that databases and internet technologies hold for information sharing was not imagined when the *Handbook* was first envisioned in the 1960s. At that time the scholarship and illustra-

tions, both of which relied heavily on museum and archival sources, necessarily depended on correspondence and personal visits through which these resources could be discovered and accessed. Since then, online access has transformed modes of discovery of Native American materials, but it has also raised new questions about how information can be evaluated and used productively.

This chapter focuses on the content of online databases rather than on the rapidly changing technologies of access. The data held by museums and archives change more slowly than do access technologies and reflect broader intellectual and ethical issues, including the categories and classifications chosen to describe objects, the presence or absence of Indigenous knowledge in records, and the difficulties of crossing institutional boundaries in providing access to collections. The chapter also documents the shifts that have occurred in museums and archives as collections have been put online. It is not an exhaustive list of every database available on the web—that would quickly go out of date. Rather, it draws attention to the reasons why certain changes occurred in the computerization of collections, and it maps the technical challenges and ethical imperatives that have come to define the future of museum and archival work broadly.

Online access can enable new digital networks across museums, archives, and Native North American communities. The technology providing such access will continue to change rapidly in the coming years, yet fundamental questions about the nature of the data and of access to this material heritage are likely to remain. Holding institutions will need to continue to work with diverse audiences to adapt online access to address emergent needs and concerns. Understanding this institutional perspective allows us to look forward to how institutions might heed the call to shift authority about records and cultural belongings in collections toward Indigenous peoples themselves.

Who Uses Collections?

Collections information can support many types of use. Anthropologists, historians, linguists, and artists all use objects and archival resources. Objects have always been central to archaeological inquiry, and studies in historical linguistics use records of languages made at different points in time. Ethnohistorians mine archival materials ranging from censuses to texts of oral histories and music to better understand history (Brettel 1998). In the mid-twentieth century, cultural anthropologists favored fieldwork in contemporary communities over collections study, and museums received little attention as a resource at the time (Stocking 1999; Thompson and Parezo 1989). Since the late 1990s and particularly after 2000, however, academics and researchers have shown a strong revival of interest in the material world (Bennett and Joyce 2010; Edwards et al. 2006; Harrison et al. 2013).

Indigenous researchers are increasingly active users of collections. Material heritage collections, both artifacts and archives, have become foci for the revitalization of language and cultural knowledge in Indigenous communities around the world, serving as touchstones to community history. Accessing collections and studying them may allow community members to reconnect with the past, to impart knowledge to younger generations, and even to begin healing from historical trauma (Fienup-Riordan 2003; Guindon 2015; Haakanson 2015; Peers 2013). Although physical access to collections remains important for Native communities (Gadoua 2014; Howarth and Knight 2015; Krmpotich and Peers 2014), digital access has provided new potentials. Language revitalization is a major goal for many groups, and archives hold important resources (Pérez Báez 2011; Cushman 2013; Eisenlohr 2004; Galla 2009; Lewis 2105; Thorpe and Galassi 2014). In addition to manuscript materials, sound recordings of spoken language are invaluable resources for communities with few or no active speakers. Photographs of people in previous generations and of historic locations can trigger deeply felt connections with the past (Greenhorn 2013; Jones 2015; Lemelin et al. 2013; Matthews 2015; McQuire 2013).

Barriers to Access for Native Researchers

Native people have long been interested in materials in museums and archives, but there have been many barriers to use, including mutual mistrust. American Indian activism of the 1960s and 1970s first encouraged people to seek access to heritage materials in public institutions, while the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and related actions of the 1990s opened an era of much greater information sharing (Fine-Dare 2002; see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). Some institutions made special efforts to overcome mistrust; the Smithsonian National Anthropological Archives, for example, initiated a program of Native American internships in 1972 (AICRTP 1972–1982). Many museums and archives are still learning how to welcome and work effectively with Native researchers, whose goals are often different from those of other types of scholars. Holding institutions located near Native American population centers, such as those

on university campuses in the western United States and Canada, have hosted many Native visitors to their collections (Ames 1990; Swan and Jordan 2015). Museums situated farther from Native American communities have had fewer personal visits and rely more heavily on database reports for information sharing.

Digital technologies make it easier to locate materials dispersed across many institutions, but for non-museum staff, challenges to using complex databases often make access difficult. Data standards in collections databases were developed using historical terminology and associated museum protocols, and inadequate resources have gone to updating records. While experienced researchers were accustomed to dealing with such problems, new users, including many Native people, were distressed by inaccuracies and the absence of critical information. Incorrect, sometimes racist, terminology still exists in cataloging documentation. Archival collections in particular, with their massive holdings of images and information about cultural practices, often include materials that violate Native protocol or privacy (Lee 2011; O'Neal 2013). The lack of trustworthy documentation for many collection items is a legitimate frustration felt particularly keenly by Indigenous peoples.

Collections Documentation and Development of Computerized Access

Contemporary online museum catalogs all have roots as internal management systems based on earlier record-keeping methods and sensibilities. As museums established large collections in the mid-nineteenth century, they used paper-based documentation such as ledger books and catalog cards to manage and keep track of each object or record (fig. 1). Depending on institutional practice, which often varied at the time, each object was given a unique number. Objects could then be identified and retrieved by looking up the object number in the ledger books, catalog cards, or paper accession files (fig. 2).

Ideally object records included contextual information such as where the object was collected (locality), who collected it (collector or donor), its cultural origin (or tribal affiliation), and how it came to the institution (the provenance of the object) (Turner 2020). Occasionally, the record included who made the item and how and why it was used, but the input and voices of Indigenous makers and users were seldom included in these early descriptions, and this information is now irrevocably lost (Glass 2015; Opp 2008; Phillips 2011). This approach reflected the nineteenth-century anthropological view of cultures as "essentialized wholes" rather than as dynamic forms generated through individual interactions. Early object documentation thus varies considerably among museums based on the nature and age of the individual institution (Greene 2016).

Computerizing Museum Collections: The Age of the Electronic Database

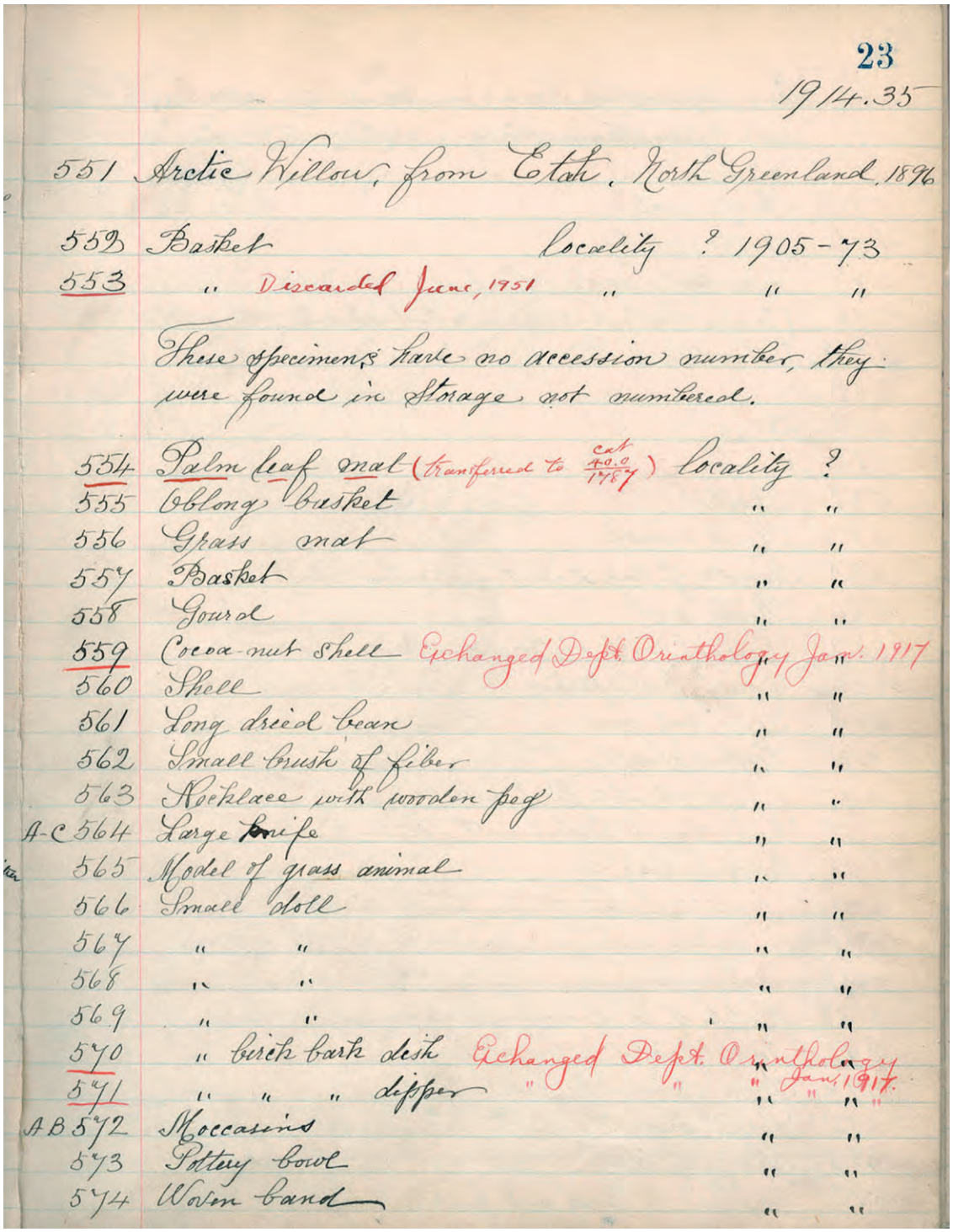
In the late 1960s and early 1970s, across the United States and Canada, many institutions worked to inventory and document their physical holdings (Chenhall 1975). Up to this point, paper-based methods were the only way to organize collections information. These were particularly cumbersome for larger institutions, which were among the first to explore automated data management systems (Parry 2007).

The earliest electronic records management systems to emerge were localized ones developed by specific institutions using software developed in-house (fig. 3). In theory, these systems allowed staff to search vast collections with a single term and then to retrieve the results as a printed paper report. The computer database offered an unprecedented management tool but transitioning from paper record keeping to a database management system required substantial investment. Manual data entry was often slow and involved only partial information transfer owing to limitations in staff size, equipment, and computer storage and processing capacity. Although a few museums aspired to use the transfer of data from analog to digital form as an opportunity to enhance their records, most found direct transfer a sufficiently daunting task (Wilcox 1980).

Accuracy in the transfer of information was a more common goal, and this was best achieved by individuals trained in data-entry methods, often external contractors, rather than by subject matter experts. Generally, those responsible for deciding upon subject terms and standardized vocabularies were staff members considered to be subject matter experts (Wilcox 1980:43). Native people were seldom consulted. Thus, early computerization was not in itself an effort to improve data but rather an attempt to manage the physical collections more efficiently. Using a computerized system, researchers could search by predefined terms to find what was in the collection; the terminology chosen was that in use by scholar-professionals.

Inventorying Collections: First Steps

Even before holding institutions had functioning internal catalog databases, museum anthropologists and archivists were in conversation with IT professionals to imagine the possibilities computerization might offer



23

1914.35

551 Arctic Willow, from Etah, North Greenland, 1896

552 Basket locality ? 1905-73

553 " Discarded June, 1951 " " "

These specimens have no accession number, they were found in storage not numbered.

554 Palm leaf mat (transferred to cat. 40.0 1787) locality ?

555 Oblong basket " "

556 Grass mat " "

557 Basket " "

558 Gourd " "

559 Cocoa-nut shell Exchanged Dept. Ornithology Jan. 1917 " "

560 Shell " "

561 Long dried bean " "

562 Small brush of fiber " "

563 Necklace with wooden peg " "

A-C 564 Large knife " "

565 Model of grass animal " "

566 Small doll " "

567 " " " "

568 " " " "

569 " " " "

570 " birch bark dish Exchanged Dept. Ornithology " "

571 " " " dipper " " " Jan. 1917. " "

AB 572 Moccasins " "

573 Pottery bowl " "

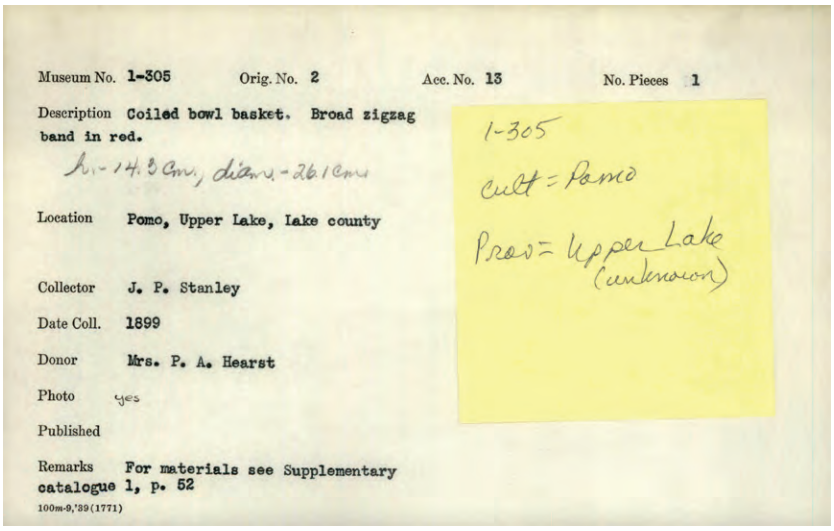
574 Woven band " "

Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History (# E/520).

Fig. 1. An example of an early twentieth-century typical museum catalog ledger book, American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), New York.

for collections discovery across institutions. In 1965, the University of Oklahoma received support from the U.S. National Science Foundation for a planning conference followed by a pilot study to survey ethnological collections in half a dozen Oklahoma museums and enter their records into the university's computer system.

Recognizing differences in museum practice, the study hoped to use data from the inventory itself to generate data standards. Project leaders envisioned the



Museum No. 1-305 Orig. No. 2 Acc. No. 13 No. Pieces 1

Description Coiled bowl basket. Broad zigzag band in red.

h.- 14.8 cm, diam.- 26.1 cm

Location Pomo, Upper Lake, Lake county

Collector J. P. Stanley

Date Coll. 1899

Donor Mrs. P. A. Hearst

Photo yes

Published

Remarks For materials see Supplementary catalogue 1, p. 52

100m-9,'39 (1771)

1-305

cult = Pomo

Prov = Upper Lake (unknown)

Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology.

Fig. 2. Typical example of a paper catalog card, depicting common fields shown, and the process of changing or revising this information as seen on the yellow sticky note. Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, Calif. Object 1-305, coiled bowl basket from Pomo.

Smithsonian Institution Archives (SIA2013-03885).

Fig. 3. Fred Collier and Jann Thompson with data entry machine, 1975.

eventual creation of a computer-generated national inventory of collections in American museums for the use of scholars, a more efficient and regularly updated version of the Inventory of Ethnological Collections published by the Milwaukee Public Museum based on surveys conducted by mail (Hunter 1967). The broad goal was for collections to be more accessible to researchers and, to some degree, the public (Ricciardelli 1967:2–6). Despite this robust early attempt to develop a strategy for a nationwide inventory, the project did not move beyond the pilot study. However, the final report helped clarify the challenges of a computerized inventory.

In Canada, a program with similar goals was initiated in 1972, when the National Museums Policy proposed the creation of a National Inventory Programme (NIP). A computerized inventory was envisioned to "facilitate the sharing of information found in collections" (CHIN 2014). Three subject-specific databases were established under the NIP: humanities, natural history, and archaeological sites. Paper catalogs were sent to a central project headquarters for entry of selected fields of information that would serve as resources for exhibition development, research, and cataloging. In time, individual institutions assumed responsibility for managing their own data, but the centralized database has continued with the Canadian Heritage Information Network (CHIN).

This database has become an important resource and guide for professionals working within many different types of heritage institutions. The three subject-specific national inventories were redesigned and named "Artefacts Canada," and it has slowly grown over time. As of 2017, these databases, which allow a basic text search of the collections, included nearly 4 million object records with more than 800,000 images (https://app.pch.gc.ca/application/artefacts/index-eng.html, active December 23, 2020). Despite this ambitious early start, the idea of a national inventory never gained traction in the United States, while the CHIN inventory project, despite its continued legacy, lost much of its federal funding in the 1980s (CHIN 2014).

From Paper Record to Computerized Database

In most museums, the data that appear online were drawn from only a single part of the analog record system, the catalog. Catalogs vary considerably across museums, based on the nature and age of the institution, and Native American collections are found in museums of history, art, anthropology, and natural history. Regardless of institutional setting, the catalog usually contains only a portion of the information about museum or archival collections. For example, acquisition files, usually called "accession files," may include

more information about the provenance and acquisition history, whereas curatorial, conservation, donor, or exhibition files may house the results of object research. Although museums have undertaken repeated campaigns of data entry over time, much information remains paper based. In the early period of computerization, institutions often entered only a limited number of data fields from the paper catalog, again owing to limitations in either staffing or computer capacity.

Computers generated minimal checklists to enumerate an institution's holdings. Funding for the creation of databases was often justified on the basis of increased accountability. This need to maintain inventory control and accountability influenced the choice of fields (Sturtevant 1966b; Turner 2020). The two fields consistently considered essential to describe historic and recent Native North American holdings were a tribal or cultural designation and an object term—for example, "Choctaw basket." For earlier archaeological materials, the object term was joined by geographic locale, with a cultural designation less frequently appended—for example, "bowl, northern New Mexico," and perhaps "Puebloan." Archives supplied similarly brief titles for materials, describing a photograph as "portrait of Hupa man." The field for storage location was also important, as it facilitated verification within the physical inventory. Museum staff members were well aware of the ancillary benefits a database offered to research visitors.

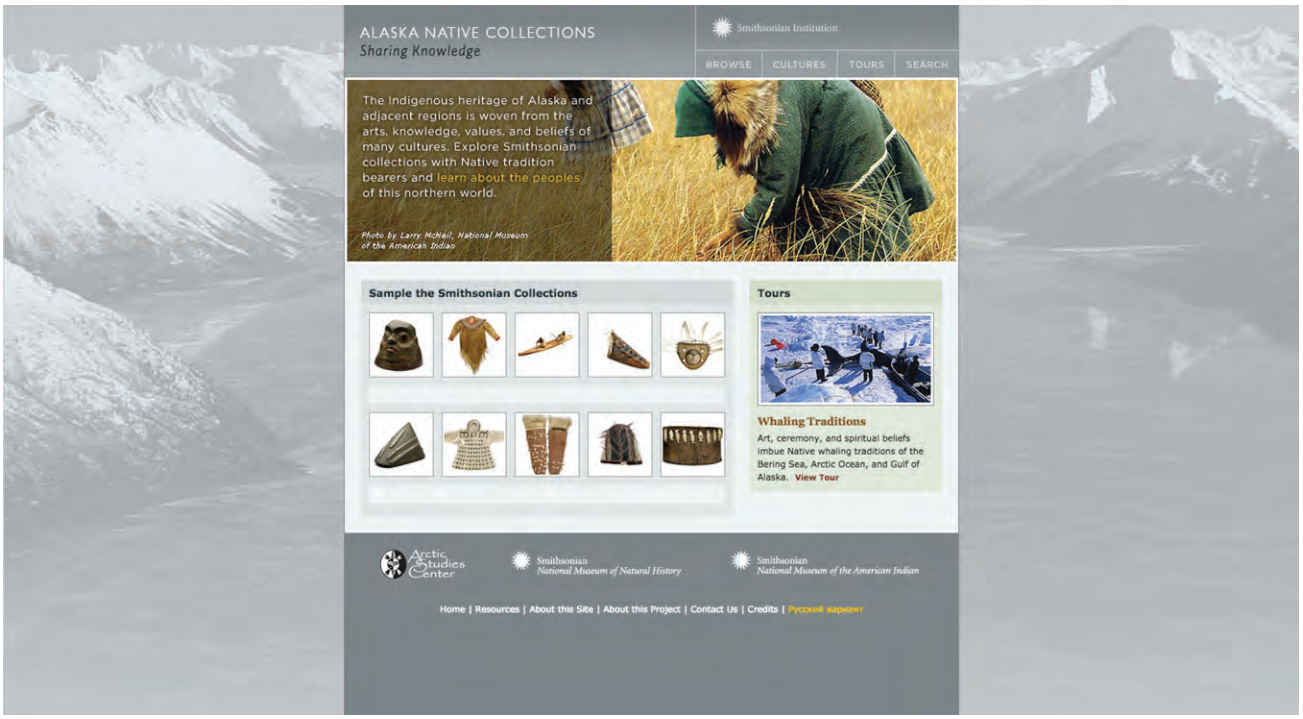
Data standardization was soon recognized as essential for effective information retrieval. Working within a new system that dealt poorly with ambiguity such as variant spellings, museum staff struggled to standardize terminology to facilitate record retrieval. The tension of this struggle remains. While standardization enhances indexical functionality, it inherently flattens the cultural complexity embodied in each object and truncates its history. The appropriate choice and application of data standards remain an ongoing challenge, as these are all based on Western systems of classification while museums maintain materials of many different cultural origins (Doyle 2013; Lee 2011; Littletree and Metoyer 2015; O'Neal 2015; Swanson 2015; Turner 2015).

The collection database has grown to become the heart of many museum and archival activities today, which have built upon this early framework to include additional fields and eventually images. By the late 1990s and early 2000s, institutions had migrated data and changed operating systems many times, with new and increasing functionality at each migration. The migration of data between systems also took time and resources. For example, the Brooklyn Museum's catalog was migrated from Quiksis, to The Museum System (TMS) in 1999; and the Phoebe A. Hearst's first system, Carlyle, was migrated to TMS in the early 2000s. At the University of Pennsylvania, the first database system, Argus, was migrated to the proprietary system KE EMu in 2007, also in use at the Canadian Museum of History (CMH), the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History (NMNH), and the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI). Migration of data was a time-consuming process of many years and involved some loss of data. Migration to a new system often involved the reworking of older categories. Collections management systems are also proprietary, so changes that may better serve Indigenous peoples' needs can be costly for collections that are worldwide in scope. Budgeting for data migration often includes few additional resources for staffing, with the largest investment going to system purchase and ongoing maintenance. Eventually, with the expansion of the internet in the late 1990s, it became possible to deliver digitized images and documentation online, launching a new era in access to material for researchers, Indigenous communities, and the broader public.

Initial Online Access: Virtual Exhibits

Most museums produced online exhibits about selected parts of their collection long before they provided access to the catalog databases, and the majority of museum databases are still not online. Virtual exhibits make collection information accessible to the public, but they differ from online catalogs in the level of curatorial intervention in the information presented. The first online digital resources to appear in the 1990s were web-based museum exhibits, some accompanied by CD-ROM "virtual museums." These pages were produced to visually mimic, and pedagogically replicate, the "exhibit" model for presentation of information. Many of these first virtual exhibits were modeled as visits to museums or art galleries (Huhtamo 2010:122). They highlight carefully selected objects in the collection and provide background information, similar to an exhibit label.

The collection items are chosen to support a goal, such as showcasing collection highlights or supporting an educational narrative. The information that accompanies each object is usually more extensive than that found in the museum's database, often placing objects in cultural or historical context. Increasingly, online exhibits have included commentary by descendent members of the community where the item originated, providing a Native voice, such as in the Smithsonian Alaska Native Collections "Sharing Knowledge" Project website launched in 2010 (fig. 4). Online exhibits often serve as precursors to more robust collaborative



Courtesy of the Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 4. Screenshot, Sharing Knowledge Project: Alaska Native Collections, website for the exhibition *Living Our Cultures, Sharing Our Heritage: The First Peoples of Alaska*.

database projects that seek to connect specific Native communities with their heritage materials in museums and archives.

Contemporary collaborative exhibits would not be possible without the catalog database, a key source of information. Making that database publicly accessible is increasingly seen as a parallel institutional obligation. As collections data have become more and more accessible on the internet through online exhibits and collections databases, the legacies of outdated terminologies, field specificities, and missing information in collections have become increasingly visible.

Access to Materials for Native North American Communities: Challenges

Access to data about Native cultural materials is never an unmediated process. Several important developments affect the way Native North American material culture is viewed online. For logistical reasons, museums have adopted single systems for access to their cultural collections rather than multiple systems custom designed for different world regions and audiences. This universal approach raises some specific issues for Native American cultural materials (Smith and Laing 2011). In particular, there is a tension between the concept of open availability of information to support broad-based education, research, and cultural revitalization efforts, and the concept of respect for cultural privacy, in which the circulation of information is more closely managed (Brown and Nicholas 2012).

Museums and archives are now involved in the long process of digitizing and reviewing historical information in their collections databases. In addition to basic database information and images, the digitization of audio and video recordings in archives has made it possible for Native communities to hear their ancestors speak their languages online (see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.). This increased access to information through digital surrogates has raised a host of challenges for both Native peoples and institutions as they begin to navigate issues inherent in collections records. Greater access often also means greater access to outdated or disparaging terminologies, a frustrating lack of information on provenance, and a host of issues related to the quality of museum and archival collections data.

Repatriation and Access Online

Repatriation legislation in the United States and related guidelines in Canada influenced many of the decisions regarding what information to include in

databases as well as the motivations for conducting inventories of the collections. The passage of the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) Act in 1989 and NAGPRA in 1990 had major impacts on museum documentation in the United States, as these acts required federally funded American museums to send full lists of their Native American holdings, both cultural objects and human remains, to the tribes with which they might be affiliated (McKeown 2008; Trope and Echo-Hawk 2000). In Canada, repatriation guidelines are provincially mediated (FNSCORA 2008), but a joint report on the relationship between museums and Indigenous peoples described issues faced by Indigenous peoples in accessing their cultural heritage and ethical issues faced by museums and galleries (Hill and Nicks 1992; see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.).

Reliance on computerized catalogs to meet this U.S. reporting mandate made many institutions aware of how limited their databases were and stimulated increased transfer of data from analog to digital form. It also prompted data "cleanup," which involved considering issues of standardization, naming conventions, geographical location accuracy, and the presence of obsolete terminology carried over from old catalogs (Turner 2016).

As institutions put their collections records online, these challenges became public. For these reasons, some institutions decided to provide access only to object records and images that could be at least partially vetted by curators and data managers *before* they were put online. Consultations about items that might be subject to repatriation quickly became only one facet of a growing Indigenous interest in reconnecting with material heritage. As catalogs went online, information reached a much wider Native audience than the initial reports, which were sent only to tribal offices. Requests for corrections to the information that became available online were made more frequently as collections documentation circulated online as well (Christen 2008).

As Native people increasingly consulted with institutions around repatriation, they became newly empowered to engage with additional materials through museum visits, to request corrections to catalog information, and to ask that certain types of materials not be displayed online.

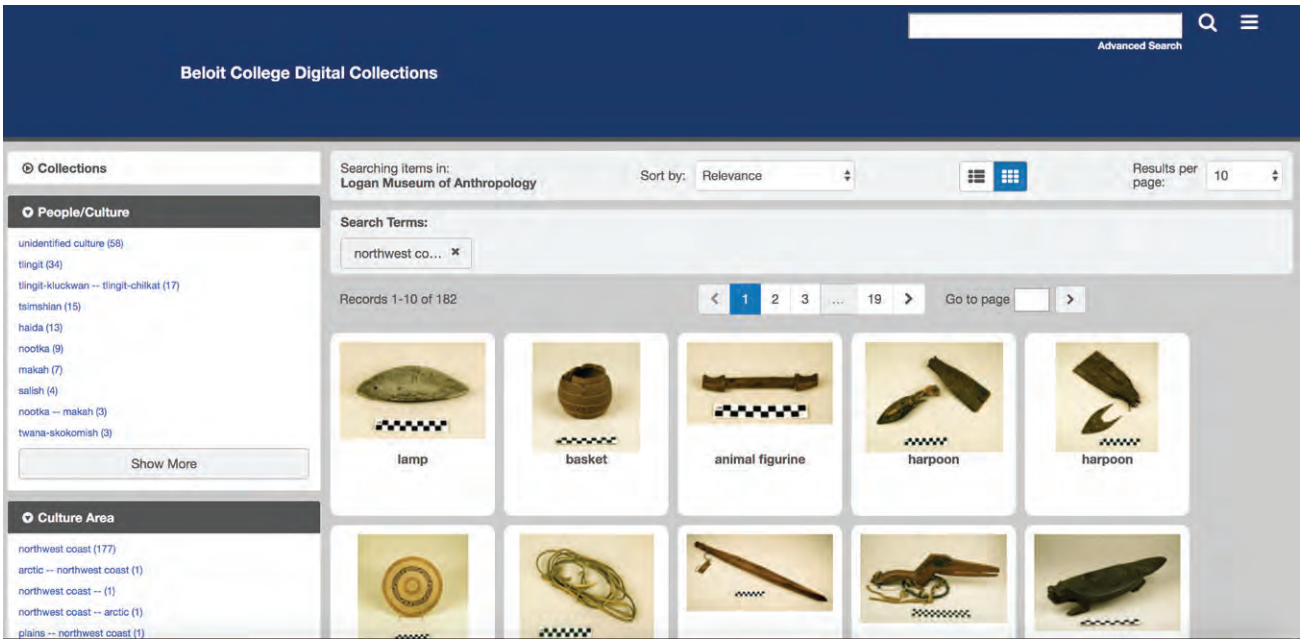
Access to Digital Surrogates

The addition of digital surrogates of Native materials—that is, digitized images and sound recordings—to online records offers researchers an enormous increase in useful information about objects, as well as increasing visual engagement. Viewing photographs of their ancestors or objects has always been important for communities of origin, and museums have circulated photographic prints to communities for some time (Edwards 2001). Tribal members who could not physically visit the collections are now able to access digital surrogates of their material heritage online.

Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, the addition of digital images was an important goal for many museum and archival institutions (fig. 5). Images were first taken with film cameras. At the Museum of Anthropology (MOA) at University of British Columbia, color slides were taken of each object since 1991 and later replaced with digital images in 2006. Digital imaging at the University of Pennsylvania Museum started in the early 2000s; at the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology at University of California, Berkeley, systematic images were not taken until 2010. The digitization of museum and archival collections often began with small subsets, often based on grant funding. At the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), digital imaging began in the early 1990s when the museum received a succession of grants to digitally image its ethnology collections. The earliest materials digitized in the Smithsonian's NAA were the glass plate negatives from the Bureau of American Ethnology and drawings made in ledger books by Plains Indians.

Digital images have opened new strategies for database use through browsing. Researchers with substantial knowledge about objects might begin with a broad search based on a few key data fields and then browse through the resulting images to locate items of interest. This strategy, which combines text search plus personal skills in object recognition, allows users to overcome data limitations such as lack of information or errors. It has proved a valuable means of discovery for specialized researchers, including Native community members.

Enthusiasm about image capabilities has focused museum resources on visual rather than descriptive aspects of records. Digital surrogates help users move past terminologies that may not align with Native usage, give them avenues to correct missing information, and give proper historical attributions to Native knowledge experts. Experts can more readily spot information that does not seem to match with the object shown. Still, although many museums ask users to report errors in their databases, making corrections through this method is slow. And while the addition of images to museum records has significantly increased their usefulness in many ways, it has also raised issues of cultural privacy (see "Challenges of Openness: Access and Protocol," this chapter).



Courtesy of the Logan Museum of Anthropology, Beloit College.

Fig. 5. Screenshot, an example of a typical electronic database for finding Native materials online.

Digital Access to Archives

While images of 3D objects in museums provide a useful reference tool, digitized archival materials are equally important (Holton 2012; Holton and Berez 2006; O'Neal 2013; Thorpe 2014). Archives began to add images of photographs and manuscripts to their online catalogs once flatbed-scanning technology became widely available in the early 2000s, with surrogates of sound and video recordings following as those technologies developed. As of 2017, online delivery of moving image materials, originally recorded on film or video, remains a technical challenge for most archival access systems, but this may soon become routine as well.

The National Breath of Life Archival Institute for Indigenous Languages offers one example of how digital resources can be useful for Native communities. Founded at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1996 and also in operation at the Smithsonian Institution and the University of Oklahoma since 2011, the institute organizes workshops that bring together linguists and members of endangered language communities to discover and learn to use archival language resources, including online materials (Fitzgerald and Linn 2013; Gehr 2013; Linn 2014).

The American Philosophical Society (APS) in Philadelphia, an important holding institution for many early Native North American sound recordings and manuscripts, is a leader in working with Native American materials. Increased access to these collections has resulted in more and more projects that make use of original sound, video, and manuscript collections for language revitalization. By 2015, the APS had digitized 3,000 hours of original Native language recordings (Matthews 2015), including more than 300 hours of Anishinaabe audio recordings. This resource has allowed an Anishinaabe linguist to transcribe and produce English transcriptions of the original recordings, coupled with explanations and stories. This kind of ongoing access to digitized manuscripts and sound recordings is essential to the continued success of community-based language revitalization programs (Warner et al. 2009; see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.).

Other archival projects use digitization to enhance the quality of their records by inviting Native communities and researchers to review material and contribute their knowledge. Project Naming, launched in 2004 by the Library and Archives Canada (LAC), began by circulating digital photographs from Nunavut in the Canadian North, encouraging relatives to identify previously unnamed people in the pictures (Greenhorn 2013; Library and Archives Canada 2015) (fig. 6). By 2015, it had expanded to include many First Nations, Métis, and Inuit groups in Canada. LAC has now digitized more than 10,000 photographs of Native people. Visitors to the site can use the "Naming Continues" form to add the names of people they recognize. Rather than an uninformative caption such as

Courtesy of Rosemary Gilliat Eaton, © Library and Archives Canada, reproduced with permission.

Fig. 6. Project Naming Poster. Close-up shot of two unidentified Cree children, Buffalo Narrows, Saskatchewan, March 1955.

"Native type," the data now acknowledge the presence of specific individuals in the archival record. Accessing audio and video recordings online is a relatively new development. As technologies become more robust, museum and archival collections are enabled to link photographs with objects and sound recordings, and in some cases, with low-resolution video.

Sharing Data Online

Access by more people with differing needs and knowledge raises a number of questions—some practical and some ethical—about the "data" in collections (Bradley et al. 2014; Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015). Practical concerns include data quality and data usefulness—namely, what kind of information different users need and how existing systems can help them find and understand that information. Ethical concerns relate to historic and present-day relationships between museums and Native people, including how materials were acquired or recorded, whether access to information can be considered a realignment of institutional power, and how to deal with sensitive or sacred information held in collections (see "Codes of Ethics," this vol.).

The public interface of an online collection database typically displays fewer data fields than the version used by museum staff. Storage locations and monetary evaluations are not normally shared with the public for security reasons, while fields containing management information, such as conservation assessments or metadata about image production, are not included as they are assumed to be of limited value to external users. The exact locations of archaeological discoveries may be excluded in order to protect sites from unauthorized excavation, and some donor data may be restricted to ensure personal privacy. The capacity to embargo fields and entire records from public display also gives museums the ability work with Indigenous communities that wish to share or restrict online information according to tribal protocols (Underhill 2006). Most museums across North America do not display images of human skeletal material owing to the sensitive nature of human remains.

A large amount of information about collections, even when known, remains in paper documentation. Several institutions, such as the NMNH and the NMAI, the AMNH, the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, and soon the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology have included images of their original paper catalog books or cards within the online database. This is an economical alternative to keyed data entry that allows users to read, although not effectively search, information. In addition, it provides some context for the computerized data, revealing the immediate source and how the analog record may have grown or changed over time.

Challenges with "Cleanup" and Controlled Vocabulary

Users gain access to electronic museum catalogs primarily by searching with general keywords or terms entered in chosen fields. As noted, museums realized the need to standardize data terminology to facilitate electronic searches, but they did not always anticipate the complexities that might arise from this seemingly simple process. Standardizing terms, while useful for searching, can also shift meaning.

One example is the field "location," generally expressed through use of a modern geopolitical designation. During standardization, the term *Oklahoma* might have been substituted for the historic designation *Indian Territory*. However, the geographic boundaries of Indian Territory changed frequently between the 1830s and 1907, and they were never exactly the same as those of modern Oklahoma (Goins and Goble 2006). A change that helps people search for materials from a modern place can lose the specificity of the older record on place and time.

While locality is important for archaeological collections, ethnic or tribal affiliation is a primary search

term for more recent ethnographic cultural materials. In addition to resolving variant spellings, museums have been concerned with modernizing terms. Some have tried to standardize terms currently preferred by tribes themselves, often in Native languages. However, it is often not possible to move beyond broad ethnic terms in historic museum records, such as *Sioux*, to more specific designations, such as *Lakota* or *Hunkpapa*, unless documentation of origin is available. Archives commonly use terms provided by the Library of Congress (LOC), which may not correspond with either tribal preference or anthropological systems of classification.

Updating records to facilitate searches and reflect changes can present challenges in maintaining data integrity. In older paper systems, information to be changed could be visibly crossed through rather than erased. In digital data cleanup, "outdated" information can be lost without a trace. While incorrect or outdated terms may be moved to the historical background, it is a generally accepted practice that legacy data should not be deleted, as it forms part of the historical record of the history of change. Databases now have greater capacity to hold multiple versions of information related to locality and tribal affiliations, allowing museums to preserve historic data while supplementing these data with additional terms to facilitate searches.

Challenges with Archival Data Quality

Archives have adopted data standards more regularly than have museums, drawing upon MARC (MAchine-Readable Cataloging) standards established in the library profession (Russell and Hutchinson 2000; Society of American Archivists 2013). Materials in archives, such as photographs, notes, and sound and moving image recordings, come from a variety of sources, including anthropologists, traders, collectors, and community members. The quality of the data, like that of museum documentation, varies considerably. Photographic collections databases, when organized by item, share similar difficulties relating to the quality of legacy data. As with museum collections, enhancements are needed to make the information useful for a Native constituency.

The AMNH archives have worked toward one solution to the issue by updating information but maintaining the historical data. They include an "original caption" field that carries the information originally assigned to the archival image. In this way, they are able to include additional terms from thesauri and existing vocabularies that are standardized across institutions, making searching and discovery much easier and interoperable. Ideally, once these images are accessible, it will be possible to distribute copies of these photographs back to the communities, which may then catalog them according to their own worldview and may—or may not—choose to share this cataloging back with the institution (Mathé 2014).

Challenges for Record Reliability, Completeness, and Context

Few museums have had the resources to carefully review all records in their catalogs for accuracy. In the past, it was common for objects without clear documentation of origin to be identified through stylistic attribution, either by the donor or by museum staff. Such data are sometimes marked with a question mark, but often catalog records do not note the basis for identification; documentation and attribution appear with equal authority in the online database (Greene 1992).

Another concern relates to record completeness. Most online records are minimal, consisting of only a few words in a few fields. Much of the information that both scholars and Native people now seek—such as the specific community or band where the material originated, rather than only a tribal name—is often lacking in museum records, whether digital or analog, and may be only partially recovered through considerable research.

Museum databases online are currently object-centric, while interest in an object's full history or biography has increased (Kopytoff 1986). This type of information has long been considered important in fine arts collections, but similar histories of Native American objects have been obscured in museum and archival catalogs, which less often position objects within historical pathways.

While some of this information may be contained in museum files, it was seldom entered in the catalog record. When collection histories do exist in electronic catalogs, current online interfaces are not well structured to display information from across relational databases. Access to this information requires contacting museum staff, who must run a report and send it to the researcher. As technologies continue to change, and as running queries on large amounts of data has become faster and easier, some museums are experimenting with providing greater numbers of fields. For example, the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology includes 25 fields of information for each object represented online, as well as downloadable spreadsheets of their collections information in three different file formats (University of Pennsylvania Museum 2016). Thus, with increasing regularity, contemporary museum online searches now provide many fields of information about each individual object.

As noted, in early museum cataloging, terms for objects did not draw from Native terminologies or ways of knowing but were framed by the particular viewpoints of nineteenth-century scientific staff, almost all trained in natural history (Bennett 2004; Greene 2016; Hinsley 1981; Hooper-Greenhill 1992; Nichols 2014; Parezo 1987; Pratt 1992; Teather 1990). Through time, these early cataloging practices became institutionalized and influenced later practice; they still supply the common terms encountered when searching online databases for Native material. In some museum databases, context is suggested by placing objects within functional classifications, such as "food production" or "clothing." While these may be useful for some kinds of searches, they fall short of representing Indigenous meaning, in which an item of dress may represent a gift, a display of wealth, marital status, and a religious affiliation, simultaneously (Bohaker et al. 2015).

Certain emergent projects use digital networks to invite and record Indigenous experts' and researchers' comments (see "Living Our Cultures," http://alaska.si.edu/, active December 23, 2020; Great Lakes Research Alliance 2008; Reciprocal Research Network 2015; see "Emergent Digital Networks," this vol.). These types of documentation projects often proliferate outside of museum and archival systems, reflecting new understandings, but the information does not always flow back to the institution for incorporation into the database (Krmpotich and Peers 2014; Rowley et al. 2010).

Challenges of Openness: Access and Protocol

Another challenge raised by increased web-based access to Native North American collections is open access. The conceptual roots of online access to museum and archival collections come from the history and experience of providing physical access to collections in person. Access to online databases and virtual exhibits is an outcome of the ideal of "open storage" that emerged in the late 1950s (Collier and Tschopik 1954) and was implemented by some museums, like the MOA at the University of British Columbia in the 1970s. The first advocates for online access to museum and archival collections similarly saw inherent value in the open circulation of knowledge (Ames 1999; Deloria 1978; Fourmile 1989). They sought to generate support by describing wide public benefit, particularly for educational purposes. Native American visitors and communities considered open access an important tool that enabled them to discover materials relating to their families, material heritage, and languages.

In practice, the policy of the democratization of knowledge can come into conflict with Indigenous cultural values, including privacy and control (Christen 2005, 2012; Christie and Verran 2013). The concept that all information must be free (Lessig 2004) is a culturally situated set of values that does not always align with Native North American ideals. The ideals of open access are situated in discourses of open and free culture and the "cultural commons" (Christen 2008) and are often at odds with Indigenous peoples' protocols. While many materials in museums are not problematic, certain objects or texts were not originally intended to be seen by everyone, while others have gained that status over time in response to historic developments. Neither "home" communities nor original collectors could have imagined the power of the internet to distribute information indiscriminately. Many museums today restrict access to specific culturally sensitive images in their online repositories and have special protocols for dealing with these materials (American Philosophical Society 2015).

Institutions are working with tribal representatives to arrive at practices that respect the moral rights of creators within the framework of a public trust, but the process is slow. Addressing each concern can take many years. Additionally, given the diversity of knowledge across the many communities where the collections originated, it is not easy to arrive at uniform solutions that are broadly respected, especially when origins of objects are poorly documented. The task of arriving at access protocols can be easier for museums with highly localized collections from only a few tribes, while those with continental and global collections face more complex challenges. Satisfactory solutions to all of these issues depend in part on the extent to which a catalog record or a digital image is perceived to serve as a surrogate for the original, or to be merely referential, denoting its presence in the collection.

Mediating the circulation of digital images and film is a complex task for Indigenous communities as well. Jim Enote, director of the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center at Zuni, New Mexico, repeatedly pointed to the difficulties of controlling the circulation of materials in the digital age (Boast and Enote 2013). A silent film shot at Zuni in 1923 titled *The Shalako Ceremony at Zuni New Mexico* included scenes of ceremony that Zuni religious leaders felt were inappropriate for open viewing. They became aware of the film (a copy of which is at the AMNH Archives) only after it had been digitized and a surrogate was available online. Zuni leadership concluded that it would be more productive to seek to control the message of the film than to seek to control its circulation (A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center 2013). The Zuni museum worked with the AMNH to create a new release of the film, with new intertitles

and one section deleted with an explanation of why it was blocked from view. The hope is that the new film will replace circulation of the older film, bringing together the powerful combination of historical footage and contemporary interpretation provided by members of the Zuni community.

Challenges of Interoperability

Another major challenge to the use of online catalogs to discover Native North American materials is that each museum system presently stands alone. Although federated searches were envisioned in the earliest days of museum computerization, such as in the University of Oklahoma project in the United States, it remains difficult to standardize museum and archival information. Today, many institutions provide interoperable data schemes based on international data standards, and there is a focus on allowing museums, archives, and libraries to share information more readily (Marty 2009). Databases used by museums often incorporate these schemes, and institutions have the option of adding specific data categories to their database systems if they wish.

As the data in collections records improve over time, and as institutions work to provide interoperable data formats with application programming interfaces (APIs) with open-source software, new possibilities emerge. Institutions are working to share their data through these interoperable and standardized formats, although the challenges are still significant. The establishment of localized and specific repositories of information relevant to particular Native communities is a fruitful way to use institutional data to connect with communities of origin (see "Emergent Digital Networks," this vol.).

Institutions need substantially greater resources to address the quality of the data available online. They need to reflect on different ontological imaginings of their collections and how they should be cataloged. The mutability of naming conventions and terminologies in institutions is dampened not by the technologies used (i.e., collections management databases) but by varying levels of institutional support and specific ideals.

Professional organizations, such as the American Alliance of Museums (AAM) and the LOC, also promote standards for professional practice and ethical operation. Key responsibilities include long-term preservation, responsible record keeping, and public benefit, although methods and standards for achieving these goals continue to change over time. At present, a core element of responsible record keeping is maintaining the collections catalog in the form of an electronic database. Making this information available online is viewed as a valuable method to provide a wide public benefit. The complexity of doing so in a respectful manner is a major topic of concern for the Association of Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums (ATALM).

Conclusion: New Domains of Access

Accessing the collections records of museums and archives is not only a technological shift but a new domain that has opened novel issues that are important for Native communities. New technologies have changed our ability to access museum and archival collections of Native North American origin, presenting a set of opportunities and challenges. Computerization has made it fundamentally easier for researchers and communities of origin to find objects in public collections, making collections more widely accessible. On the one hand, these tools can help to reveal the physical locations of cultural heritage objects and foster greater engagement with collections, as well as aid in repatriation-related work. On the other hand, the contentious histories of these collections and records, which were previously inconspicuous, are made more visible, raising issues and challenges for the future.

Every archive, museum, and community have different histories to tell, and the ways in which Native North American researchers access their cultural materials differ depending on the specific needs of the community for that resource. As technologies change so, too, do the expectations of their affordances. Access to images of objects, photographs, maps, sound recordings, and videos is easier than ever, and there exists a plethora of projects that connect historical materials to current practices both in Native communities and in institutions. Yet it is easy to forget the complex history of digitization and computerization that changed the way each institution constructed and shared the "data" of ethnographic cultural materials. Smaller institutions may not have had the capacity to take on large-scale digitization or computerization efforts, and often, their primary missions focus on education and exhibit production in local contexts. Further, archaeological boxed collections and cultural resource management (CRM) collections are often omitted from the literature on this subject, and research on the specific historical issues for online access to archaeological materials is needed.

Enhancing and correcting the documentation associated with records and material objects are essential steps and will continue to be a major focus for museums and archives for some time. These records were

constructed at specific points in time, by individuals with specific worldviews. The creation of the computerized record sets—even the creation of museums and archives themselves—resulted from historical processes that privileged certain pieces and forms of knowledge and elided others.

High-resolution digital images, sound files, photographs, and videos are now available in many online institutional databases. New technologies can create the potential for more equitable relationships between institutions and the communities whose material objects and records they hold. Current technology makes it possible for Native people to use online resources not only to discover where heritage materials are located but also to replicate and relocate collection records to create new sites of knowledge construction. Further, Indigenous objects and records do not exist in institutional networks only to serve one specific purpose—they also circulate more widely in broader digital networks throughout the web on image searches and social media, a phenomenon that presents its own challenges and opportunities for engagement (see "Social Media," this vol.).

The key challenges for the future will be to understand institutional documentation systems, to continue bringing institutions and Native people into considerate relationships that center on collections, and to return control of records and the power to describe cultural belongings back to community. Putting museum records online is not, and never was, enough. It raises numerous questions about the origin of the records: Where did they come from? Have the objects been rightly categorized (or not)? Who are the individuals featured in the photographs? Answering these and similar queries is the first step toward making information about Native cultural materials available and democratizing it, perhaps realigning the power to name and describe the "data" of historical research about Indigenous peoples more broadly.

Additional Readings

More information on the history of Indigenous knowledge representation in museum records is available in Byrne et al. (2011), Geismar (2008), Jenkins (1994), Jessup and Bagg (2002), Newell (2012), Rosoff (2003), and Sleeper-Smith (2009a). On the relationship between art classifications and anthropology, see Jonaitis (1986, 2006), and Phillips (2007, 2021).

For more information on approaches for tribal archives and museums, see Lonetree (2012), Roy et al. (2011), Thorpe (2014), and Watt and Laurie-Beaumont (2008). On international approaches to designing systems for Indigenous knowledge, see Bardenheier et al. (2015), Bell et al. (2013), Cameron (2003), Hennessy and Nathan (2014), Hennessy et al. (2013), Van der Velden (2009, 2010), Verran et al. (2007), and Whaanga et al. (2015). Digital pathways to returning knowledge are covered in Anderson and Christen (2013), Christen (2011), Crouch (2010), Doyle (2006), Hogsden and Poulter (2012), Littletree and Duarte (2020), Ngata et al. (2012), D.A. Smith (2008), Srinivasan et al. (2010), Thorpe et al. (2021), and Wemigwans (2018).

There are many practical sources and guides that relate to documentation standards in archives and museums. Useful generalized resources on vocabularies and thesauri include Bourcier et al. (2015), CHIN (2014), Getty Research Institute (1988, 2012), National Park Service (2006), and Roe (2007). For information on international Indigenous/Native American naming and controlled vocabularies, see Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Studies (2010), Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (2002), Lilley (2015), Martens (2006), National Library of New Zealand (2011), Srinivasan (2013), Tuhiwai Smith (2015), Underhill (2006), and Xwi7xwa Library (2009). For general resources on web documentation and metadata, see Dublin Core Metadata Initiative (2012), International Council of Museums (2014), Library of Congress (2015), and Open Archives Initiative (2014).

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Emergent Digital Networks: Museum Collections and Indigenous Knowledge in the Digital Era

AARON GLASS AND KATE HENNESSY

In the opening decades of the new millennium, rapid advances in digital technology brought significant changes to global channels of communication, commerce, and culture. Over this brief period, Native North Americans increasingly used digital media to forge innovative alliances with museums and other repositories of their material and immaterial heritage. These collaborative partnerships extend the decades-old call for revised relationships between majority institutions and Indigenous peoples by building on recent developments in museum databases, digital media production, social media, online interfaces, strategies of reciprocal curation and information management, and repatriation legislation.

This chapter discusses the historical foundations of such "digital collectives" (Holland and Smith 1999), surveys a variety of platforms for knowledge exchange, features case studies of influential projects authored by their coproducers, and assesses the larger Native cultural principles and intercultural dynamics that are being made visible through institutional and community collaborations. In particular, it explores the emergent and hybrid "spaces" (domains) being created through new digital networks, both online and offline. These networks provide a crucial, contemporary means of social reconfiguration and renegotiation of dominant museum values surrounding access to, preservation of, and representation through collections.

These social, technical, and ethical shifts should be understood in the greater context of a transformation in the ability of public heritage institutions at all scales to create digital access to their collections and to share information between institutions, community partners, and diverse stakeholders (Cameron and Kenderdine 2007; Clough 2013; see "Access to Native Collections in Museums and Archives," this vol.). Electronic tools are increasingly being integrated into all of the major functions of museum practice—internal and external communication, information management and knowledge sharing behind the scenes, and public representation and interpretation in galleries and online—thereby supplementing analog media in these realms while uniting the activities and skill sets of previously disparate departments and personnel. The networks and projects highlighted in this chapter represent significant efforts to translate changing museum practices and Native perspectives into technological applications for (inter) cultural work (Bidwell and Winschiers-Theophilus 2015; Clavir 2002; Kreps 2003; Rosoff 2003). Technology in this sense is understood as more than a tool but a way of knowing; further, the potential disruptions that new technologies bring to knowledge creation and circulation are seen as welcome interventions (Council of Canadian Academies 2015).

The collaborative digital media projects surveyed here draw on technical and social developments discussed elsewhere in this volume, including the changing relationships between anthropology museums and communities of origin (see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology," this vol.), the expansion of museums' internal databases (see "Access to Native Collections in Museums and Archives," this vol.), Indigenous uses of social media (see "Social Media," this vol.), and the role of digital technologies in language revitalization (see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.). As electronic media become ubiquitous, such practices—and their practitioners—are increasingly intertwined, drawn together in relational "contact zones" (Clifford 1997a; Nicks 2003; Boast 2011), "networks" (Latour 2005; Gosden and Larson 2007; Harrison et al. 2013), or "meshworks" (Ingold 2007) that connect objects, institutions, and communities through the circulation of knowledge about, as well as digital avatars of, specific heritage materials (Salmond 2012; Bell et al. 2013). The rate of technological innovation means that any discussion of current software platforms will rapidly become outdated. The chapter, thus, explores the emergent sociocultural configurations mediated by, but not reducible to, the specific new tools that make such digital projects possible. None of these issues were discussed elsewhere in the massive *Handbook of North American Indians* series, as most of the prior volumes were published before the electronic tools discussed here became available. All of the projects featured here are unique and complex in terms of funding, administration, and technology design, with requisite politics of control at every level, and this chapter can only briefly signal their

broad parameters, key attributes, and potential significance. It further delimits its scope by focusing on multi-institutional, cross-community partnerships rather than particular projects built by individuals, specific tribes, or single museums acting alone.

Such partnerships range from those initiated by large heritage institutions for general public access, to smaller community-based efforts designed for local use. In many, though not all, cases, partnerships are built around the exchange of knowledge rather than of physical property with repositories providing digitized copies of physical items and documentary records in the hope of receiving in return community-based corrections and additions to catalog data (see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology," this vol.). The resulting networks are "emergent" in two senses. Most are just now being built, and many remain both incomplete and as yet unassessed. In addition, many projects built around digital platforms are *designed* to be open-ended and ongoing—to be not only the product of collaborative planning and development but also the basis for long-term partnerships that are modeled in significant ways on Indigenous values surrounding reciprocal object and knowledge exchange. As such, they contribute to the reconfiguring of control over heritage management and, thus, the role of collecting institutions in the cultural and political lives of Indigenous peoples.

This survey of current collection-based digital networks across North America raises larger questions about the uses of new media by both Native communities and mainstream collecting institutions. How are Indigenous peoples and their collaborators building on and expanding—as well as challenging and contesting—social and institutional structures and relations that predate the electronic age? While Indigenous peoples are engaging with the twenty-first-century information economy in familiar ways, how are they also "indigenizing" the technologies in order to make them commensurate with Native ways of knowing (epistemologies) and being (ontologies)? This chapter discusses how the emergent "hybrid" spaces are created in the digitization and sharing of heritage collections between multiple institutions and Indigenous North American communities, how persistent digital divides and barriers to sustainability challenge collaborative efforts and ethical imperatives, and how Native engagements with technology interrogate the ideologies of preservation and access that inform standard Western museum practices.

Foundations

In many ways, the groundwork for current digital partnerships was established around 1990 with the passing of the National Museum of the American Indian Act (1989) and Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA 1990) in the United States, and the recommendations of two non–legally binding reports in Canada—*Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships between Museums and First Peoples* (1992), and *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (1996). Museums in both countries followed legal or ethical mandates to establish inventories and databases of their holdings in order to make them more accessible to source communities, in part to support potential repatriation claims (McKeown 2008; see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.), and to develop strategies for consultation and collaboration around exhibition development (Ames 1992; Karp and Lavine 1991; Karp et al. 1992; Peers and Brown 2003; Phillips 2011; Silverman 2015). In its more radical guise, such work was part of larger responses to Native American demands for the decolonization of museums and academic research practice (Simpson 1996; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Kreps 2003; Lonetree 2012; see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology," this vol.), and many current digital projects are inspired by this legacy to build lasting social relationships based on mutual respect and reciprocity (Leclair and Warren 2007:4; Phillips 2005; Iseke-Barnes and Danard 2007; Salmond 2012).

Native American stakeholders and critics challenged mainstream museums to reimagine themselves as custodians rather than "owners" of collections, and newly established Indigenous cultural centers experimented with developing collection management systems that would be more responsive to local cultural categories, vocabularies, and protocols for object storage, description, access, and use in contexts of ceremony, study, or instruction (Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008:345). Such initiatives were later supported by the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which framed them in terms of larger global struggles for sovereignty.

Key to the development of new partnerships was the accessibility of museum collections and accession records to originating communities, regardless of whether objects themselves were requested for repatriation. One early digital mechanism for such knowledge transfer was the CD-ROM technology (e.g., *The Living Tradition of the Yup'ik Mask* 1999; Oberholtzer 2001), as disks could be produced cheaply and disseminated easily, though the flow of information was still predominantly one-way.

Today, digitized heritage materials—including photographs of material culture as well as people and cultural landscapes, accession records, moving images, audio recordings, and textual and linguistic

documentation—are routinely made available to Indigenous communities in various formats. Such materials, whether packaged into integrated databases or retained as separate files, may be used to support contemporary land claims or treaty negotiations, curriculum development, court cases, cultural production, museum displays, and general efforts at cultural and linguistic revitalization (see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology" and "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.).

While some such returned materials result from and encourage lasting relationships with repositories, they do not necessarily result in either novel technical products or public-facing interfaces like the projects surveyed in this chapter. The Smithsonian Institution's "Recovering Voices" (recoveringvoices.si.edu, active December 23, 2020) initiative supports Native American research into, and selective digitization of, the Smithsonian's object and document collections, though its mandate is not to build new collaborative platforms per se. In many cases, returned materials may be altered to help ensure their utility to current community members, a practice that mirrors certain outcomes of physical repatriation (such as reburial of objects or alterations for use). Both the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) and the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) have provided digitized copies (though not original masters) of early ethnographic films to the Zuni, who are editing the films by occluding culturally sensitive scenes and adding culturally and linguistically appropriate text cards or voiceovers for proper interpretation by community viewers (O'Neal 2013; see "Access to Native Collections in Museums and Archives," this vol.).

A considerable number of the projects profiled here were produced in the North Pacific region, and their inclusion speaks to multiple factors. The area has its share of both mainstream institutions (such as the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver, British Columbia, and the Arctic Studies Center in Anchorage, Alaska) and Native organizations (such as the U'mista Cultural Centre in Alert Bay, British Columbia, and the Sealaska Heritage Institute in Juneau, Alaska) that have a long history of collaborative cultural partnerships, successful grant records, and consistent support for key personnel and technological infrastructure. The Northwest Coast is well known internationally for the dramatic artwork and visual culture of its First Nations, although many key collections are widely distributed across museums. Moreover, many Native inhabitants of the region are themselves dispersed in often rural communities separated by vast distances, lending a certain appeal to technological solutions regarding the problem of access to heritage housed in mostly urban institutions (Csoba DeHass and Taitt 2016).

Notably absent from the chapter are comparative projects from Mexico, where funding sources are scant and national heritage laws homogenize both pre-Hispanic and contemporary forms of Indigenous cultural production as national patrimony (Rozental 2017), although there is a long tradition of community museum initiatives in Oaxaca and Durango (Camarena and Morales 2006; Hoobler 2006; Rufer 2014; museoscomunitarios.org, active December 23, 2020) as well as some current efforts to generate digital archives from national and international collections.

Technological Developments and Indigenous Cultural Production

Despite the rapid expansion of digital infrastructure in North America, there remains a persistent digital divide when it comes to delivering high-speed broadband connectivity to rural Indigenous communities, which can hamper the successful realization of even the best-intentioned projects (Bissell 2004; Jorgensen et al. 2014; see "Social Media," this vol.). Nonetheless, portable, low-cost documentary technologies, digital storage, and the development of digital collections networks in the early years of the twenty-first century have significantly added to the ways in which museums, archives, and cultural organizations can create and share information. In addition to using these tools to bring dispersed information together, new technologies and the internet have also created the infrastructure necessary to network Native American and Indigenous communities together in virtual spaces. Examples range from digital smart community networks like K-Net in Canada (http://knet.ca, active December 23, 2020), which provides information and communication technologies (ICT) and telecommunications infrastructure to First Nations communities in Ontario; to the Tribal Digital Village, which uses solar-operated relay towers to provide broadband coverage to many widely separated southern California tribes (Rantanen 2010; Fetterman 2012); to the Wendat Culture platform, which created a virtual space for Wendat and Wyandot (Wyandotte) nations to reunite "and reassemble the pieces of their shattered confederation where they were left in 1649" (Sioui 2007:313).

In their intention and articulation, such networks have involved more than the relocation of information into online environments; rather, they aim to create virtual assembly spaces, maintain the viability of Indigenous languages, and embody Native cultural principles. Indian Circle (no longer available) was a "web ring" that linked federally recognized Native

American tribal websites. According to Odom (2006), Indian Circle was distinct in its movement away from the standard hyperlink index seen in conventional websites and databases of the time. Instead, its metaphorical web ring evoked the Sacred Hoop, or "sacred circle" (Allen 1986), as a Native American expression of cultural aesthetics "rooted in Pan-Indian off-line cultural identity within the virtual content of the Internet" (Odom 2006:31). Likewise, the mandate of the nonprofit organization NativeWeb (http://nativeweb.mail.everyone.net/email/scripts/loginuser.pl, active December 23, 2020) is to create a cyber-place for global Indigenous peoples to become visible to one another, to interact, and to mobilize through social action.

The Aboriginal Canada Portal was an online gateway active between 2001 and 2013, produced by the government of Canada in partnership with Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Canada's national Inuit organization, and other national Aboriginal organizations. According to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (2015), the portal hosted thousands of links to digital resources and was the only government of Canada website that was translated into Inuktitut syllabics, representing significant engagement by Inuit partners. The Aboriginal Portal was decommissioned by the federal government in 2013, which claimed that social media and internet searching had rendered the portal obsolete (Gogolek 2013). Isuma TV is a multimedia platform and network for Indigenous filmmakers and media organizations (www.isuma.tv, active December 23, 2020). Initiated in 2008 by filmmaker Zacharias Kunuk and Igloolik Isuma Productions, it hosts thousands of videos and hundreds of channels representing Indigenous organizations and individuals around the world. The platform also offers the innovative Mediaplayer, an independent distribution network that provides access to Isuma TV content and uploading functions when connectivity is a barrier.

Similar efforts are afoot elsewhere in North America, driven by Indigenous communities, academic activists, and nonprofits in the absence of centralized museum collections or institutional initiatives. A coalition of partners, including Isuma TV, is currently designing the Indigenous Latin American Digital Media Archive (ILADMA) to assemble, preserve, and provide community-level control over visual media created by Indigenous peoples of Mexico as well as Central and South America (Wortham 2013).

Global Models

The North American digital media initiatives, including those highlighted below, have developed alongside, and been influenced by, other global Indigenous cultural heritage efforts with similar goals and technical strategies. Some online tools, like the Digital Himalaya Project (digitalhimalaya.com, active December 23, 2020; Turin 2011) and the Tibet Album (https://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk/, active December 23, 2020), consolidate widely dispersed and often colonial archives from mainstream museums, while others, such as Sierra Leone Heritage (SierraLeoneHeritage.org, active December 23, 2020) aim to "reanimate" museum collections in the context of contemporary cultural practice (Basu 2011). Many projects build on the work of Indigenous media producers who have mobilized small-scale community-based videos, radio, broadcast-quality television, major independent art films, and early manifestations of the internet as foundations for group solidarity and expressions of sovereignty (Ginsburg et al. 2002; Landzelius 2006; Wilson and Stewart 2008; Pigliasco 2009; Hogsden and Poulter 2012; Ngata et al. 2012; Salmond 2013; see "Social Media," this vol.).

While some examples represent efforts to create access to significant institutional collections for researchers, and to better represent collections in relation to their social and cultural contexts, a number of influential Australian partnerships have developed sociotechnical infrastructures that are especially responsive to local audiences and their cultural protocols for knowledge sharing. The *Ara Irititja* traveling exhibit and archive began in 1994 as a part of the Pitjantjatjara Council's Return of Significant Cultural Property project. Starting with the goal of creating access to materials (such as photographs, film, and audio recordings) in technically and culturally appropriate ways, the project eventually became a collaboratively produced, community-directed archive system, website, and traveling exhibition (Christen 2005). The later Anyinginyi Manku Apparr DVD project used Warumungu cultural protocols to allow users to selectively view digital files based on cultural standards and represented a significant challenge to default notions of open access in the cultural commons (Christen 2006, 2009). This laid the groundwork for a dynamic archiving project that has come to be known as the Mukurtu Content Management System (Christen 2012; mukurtu.org, active December 23, 2020), a free, open-source platform for the culturally responsive management of Indigenous knowledge and heritage that is being customized for implementation by Indigenous organizations around the world.

Property Dynamics and Digital Return

These and similar initiatives are united in their intention to make distributed heritage collections and data

available in digital space, in their attention to local knowledge protocols for limiting or enhancing the circulation of Indigenous cultural property, and in originating communities' collaboration and reciprocation with institutions in tandem with, or in the absence of, the return of physical property.

To the degree that many of these efforts are consciously framed by their Native and non-Native designers as expressions of political or historical restitution (Glass 2004b), museum and technology scholars have wrestled with whether or not they should be considered a form of repatriation. A number of qualified terms have been offered to describe like-minded projects of return, including *visual repatriation* (Bell 2003; Edwards 2003; Fienup-Riordan 1998; Peers and Brown 2003), *figurative repatriation* (Kramer 2004), and *virtual repatriation* (Hennessy 2009, 2012; Hennessy et al. 2012). In a narrower technological register, *digital repatriation* (Christen 2011; Powell 2016) is often used to describe online portal projects such as the Reciprocal Research Network (fig. 1, box 1) and GRASAC (Great Lakes Research Alliance for the Study of Aboriginal Arts and Cultures), distinguishing the kinds of access that electronic tools can provide.

1. The Reciprocal Research Network

The Reciprocal Research Network (RRN) is part of a larger vision to foster the generation of new knowledge through encounters across culturally diverse knowledge systems. It is based on a community-based participatory model outlined in the successful 2001 grant application *A Partnership of Peoples: A New Infrastructure for Collaborative Research.* The RRN was co-developed by the Musqueam Indian Band, the Stó:lō Nation and Stó:lō Tribal Council of Canada, the U'mista Cultural Society in Alert Bay, British Columbia, and the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia with 12 partner museums. Funding was in place by the summer of 2005. The stated goal of the RRN was to facilitate reciprocal and collaborative research partnerships among geographically dispersed researchers on cultural heritage of the Northwest Coast of North America. In addition, according to the project charter, the system had to be accessible to diverse user groups, be flexible to allow for additional partners, be self-sustaining, enable users to add content, and provide differential levels of access.

Photograph by Susan Rowley, circa 2008.

Fig. 1. The Reciprocal Research Network (rrncommunity.org). Stó:lō cultural advisor Sonny McHalsie (left) and community liaison Herb Joe, Jr., recording place name narratives during the development of the RRN, with the goal of sharing knowledge and digitally disseminating this knowledge across generations.

In 2005, software engineers created the first pilot version of the RRN. Full development took five years, and multiple technological and social factors allowed for rapid iterations. A constant commitment to all codevelopers led to the hiring of community liaisons, who worked with communities to recommend features, test them, and provide ongoing feedback. Partner museums sent representatives to yearly meetings with the co-developers and software engineers, where ongoing challenges (e.g., how to balance customization with ease of use) were addressed and solutions proposed. Despite numerous attempts at digital communication during this project, the face-to-face meetings were essential for resolving complex issues.

By 2015, 26 institutions were sharing information on the RRN about 500,000 "belongings" including ethnographic collections, archaeological collections, and some archival materials. The ability of the RRN to meet its objectives—of removing some barriers to access, providing spaces for collaborative research, creating different levels of access, and bringing together physically separated collections—has been amply demonstrated (Rowley 2013).

Contributed by Susan Rowley, Dave Schaepe, and Leona Sparrow (RRN Steering Group and Development Team)

As many proponents readily admit, digital repositories cannot replicate "the unique nature of the relationships and spiritual connections that come into being when people and heritage items are brought into each other's physical presence" (Phillips 2011:287; Christen 2011; Bell et al. 2013). Rather, they may provide significant alternative forms and new digital lives for analog objects (Geismar 2013). The term *digital reciprocation* (Hogsden and Poulter 2012) describes a dynamic at the heart of the virtual repatriation process: the possibility for an originating community, within a digital contact network, to both claim and share knowledge about objects that are not in their physical possession as a means of cultural reclamation and intervention into colonial institutions and their practices.

At the same time, a casual invocation of the "contact zone" (Clifford 1997a) to describe collaborative digital work in museums can be seen as neocolonial and potentially destructive (Boast 2011). As digital return projects grow in number, so does a strong critique of the association of virtual access with the physical repatriation of cultural property (Boast 2011). Boast and Enote (2013:111) caution that any distancing of the term repatriation "from the corporeal, material person, thing, or practice" is misleading, running counter to the intentions of these projects, and can serve to maintain "the centralized, universal enlightenment collection" and its conditions of institutional ownership. While for some Indigenous communities, digital access to collections of their tangible and intangible cultural heritage may be a primary goal, it should be understood as an additional possibility alongside the potential physical repatriation of objects and ancestral remains (Krmpotich 2014). Emphasizing the dangerous potential for institutions to consider "virtual return" a standard, viable alternative to physical repatriation claims, the term *e-patriation*—defined as "the transfer of tangible or intangible cultural patrimony (or heritage material) to its source community in the form of electronic or digital media"—avoids the implication that original physical materials or their legal ownership are being "returned" (Glass 2015:23).

Even when they clearly benefit multiple collaborating parties, projects of digital return call into sharp relief unsettled questions of property ownership in colonial contexts (Bowrey and Anderson 2009; Anderson 2015). Local Contexts (localcontexts.org, active December 23, 2020) is creating traditional knowledge (TK) labels and licenses to support Indigenous communities in their management of intellectual property and cultural heritage online. The project addresses legacies of colonial and unequal research practices by developing a strategy for engaging and marking both materials that are in the public domain and those owned by Indigenous peoples (Christen 2015). TK licenses work as "a set of additional agreements that Indigenous copyright owners can use to convey culturally-specific concerns about the material that they legally own and control," while labels are more "educational and social" in their goal of consciousness raising (Christen 2015:10).

Collection Management

Though some mainstream museums in North America have long worked closely with local communities, by the 1990s pressure was increasing to develop participatory relationships based on increased Native access, consultation, and collaboration (Karp and Lavine 1991; Canadian Museum of Civilization 1996; Peers and Brown 2003; Sleeper-Smith 2009a). Many partnerships were built during the process of exhibition development, as Indigenous people demanded more voice in their public representation as a means of supplementing or displacing scholarly authority (see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology," this vol.). Museums also responded by revisiting and in some cases revising their collection catalogs, which stood to benefit from information provided by Native researchers, consultants, and curators (see "Access to Native Collections in Museums and Archives," this vol.). At the same time, an expanding number of Indigenous museums and cultural centers offered alternative models of collection management and display (Simpson 1996; Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008).

Increasingly, new digital databases and advances in social media provided technological mechanisms for expanding the fields of knowledge and modes of dissemination surrounding collections, beyond exhibition practice alone. While many museums now solicit visitor feedback on collections through online commentary prompts, user tagging, or photo-sharing apps, the development of shared voice and authority in museums with Indigenous collections responds to a particular postcolonial critique and is meant to offer redress for centuries of one-sided (mis)representation.

Expanded Native Voice

The NMAI, which opened its flagship building on the National Mall in Washington, DC, in 2004, was designed to incorporate Indigenous knowledge, values, and face-to-face relations with originating communities at every level of its functioning (Rosoff 2003; West 2007; Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008:348; Lonetree and Cobb 2008; Brady 2009:143; Shannon 2014; see "'A New Dream Museum,'" this vol.). After

exploring the development of an Indigenous knowledge management system (Vulpe and Sledge 2005), in 2009 the museum launched a more modest Collections Search website (nmai.si.edu/searchcollections/home.aspx, active December 23, 2020), which features digital images of some (though not all) objects and original catalog records along with relevant information selectively drawn from the existing collections database (McMullen 2009a:62). At the time of launch, NMAI promoted the site by inviting users to submit personal stories relating to the objects, some of which were then incorporated into the database and added to the public interface, a process that continues today.

Many tribal museums and cultural centers also take advantage of new digital tools to expand the curatorial voice around their own collections. For example, the website of *Aanischaaukamikw*/The Cree Cultural Institute includes transcribed testimonials and video clips of community members commenting in Cree on objects in the collection, a function to "share your knowledge and stories," and a homepage featuring links to a virtual exhibition, a blog, a smartphone app, and a Twitter feed. Such enhanced websites extend the communities served by museums, invite social interaction, and facilitate a bidirectional flow of knowledge about the collections.

Collaborative Databases and Archives

The creation of new digital databases and knowledge management systems has proven to be a major vehicle for establishing collaborative partnerships through the return of heritage materials to Native communities, whether these emergent tools are intended for general users or specialized audiences. Because most digital information is created and stored in compatible (interoperable) formats, digital databases have the advantage of integrating heritage materials in various media (objects, texts, photographs, audio and video recordings) that tend to otherwise be distributed across media-specific museums, archives, or libraries. As such, they have the potential to reunite widely dispersed ethnographic records relating to single communities and to organize the structure and presentation of such materials, as well as the knowledge (metadata) about them, in a manner commensurate with Indigenous ways of being and knowing (Shorter 2006; Brown and Nicholas 2012; Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015).

An early example of community-focused database partnerships, the Ridington/Dane-z̲aa Digital Archive (fishability.biz/Doig, active December 23, 2020) launched in 2003, brings together image, audio, text, and video files relating to fieldwork by anthropologists Robin and Jillian Ridington conducted over four decades among the Dane-z̲aa (formerly the Beaver Nation; Ridington 1981**)**. Funded in part and administered by the Doig River First Nation in northeastern British Columbia, the archive's web interface is password protected (Ridington and Ridington 2003; Hennessy 2012). The J.P. Harrington Database Project provides access to more than 250,000 pages of important ethnographic and linguistic materials held by the Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives (NAA) though an online platform cohosted by the Pechanga (Luiseño Indian) Cultural Resources Department and the University of California–Davis, and since 2008, the American Philosophical Society has developed multiple partnerships with U.S. tribes to co-develop reciprocal digital knowledge-sharing platforms based on its extensive archival holdings (Powell 2016).

Uniting the online database and the virtual exhibition as a means to connect museum collections to communities and communities to one another, the 2010 iShare project (en.projectishare.com, active December 23, 2020) partnered the University of Colorado Museum of Natural History (UCMNH) with the National Taiwan Museum, the Navajo Nation Museum, and the Laiyi Indigenous Museum in Taiwan. The resulting website facilitates Indigenous access to heritage materials, collaborative curation of online resources, and intercultural communication and social exchange (Shannon 2015). A current collaboration between the Mandan Hidatsa Arikara Nation and the UCMNH aims to develop a data portal and database management system to facilitate reciprocal research and citizen science regarding the environmental impact of oil and gas development near the Fort Berthold Reservation, using the museum's archaeology teaching kit as a model. There are also current efforts to develop similar kinds of community-based databases for distributed museum and media collections relating to northern Mexico, including a collaborative project to reassemble fieldwork materials produced in Wixarika (Huichol) communities in the mid–twentieth century, but these have yet to be fully funded (Sandra Rozental, personal communication).

Indigenizing the Database

A subset of collaborative database projects launched in the early years of the twenty-first century was explicitly designed to indigenize content management systems by building them from scratch on the basis of Native epistemologies, ontologies, social structures, and protocols for access. An early experiment in the form, the 2003 Tribal Peace project (now known as ACORN; acornmedia.org, active December 23, 2020)

was an "intertribal living digital archive" that aimed to use multimedia heritage materials to build social and cultural bonds between individuals living on dispersed Kumeyaay, Luiseño, Cupeño, and Cahuilla tribal lands in southern California (Srinivasan et al. 2004:11; Srinivasan 2006). The archive's metadata and online interface were structured around a local Indigenous motif of the Manzanita tree (*Arctostaphylos* spp.), which linked reservation spaces to key cultural concepts and categories through terms and relationships established by an extensive process of community consultation. The designer of Tribal Peace went on to help develop an influential collaborative database modeled on Zuni knowledge principles and protocols (fig. 2, box 2).

Other similar initiatives include the Gibagadinamaagoom/Ojibwe Digital Archive Project (ojibwearchive.sas.upenn.edu, active December 23, 2020), an ambitious but not yet completed (as of 2017) public website partnership between multiple museums, archives, and Anishinaabe community colleges. The website, structured around the local cosmology and cultural geography of the "seven directions" (Powell 2007), is being co-developed by the Museum of the Cherokee Indian and the NAA. It will have online resources for textual ethnographic materials relating to Cherokee language, history, and culture—some of which contain culturally sensitive knowledge (e.g., sacred formulas) and need to be managed according to tribal protocols for access and use (Leopold 2013).

Another example is a multimedia digital database developed by the U'mista Cultural Centre in Alert Bay, British Columbia, to document the largest nineteenth-century Kwakwaka'wakw collection, assembled by Johan Adrian Jacobsen and Franz Boas in the 1880s and housed at Berlin's Ethnologisches Museum (Glass 2015). In an effort to code the objects with metadata relevant to Native ontologies as well as academic scholarship, knowledge fields were divided into "Indigenous Provenance" (histories of ownership, genealogical transmission, and material replication prior to the date of collection) and "Non-Indigenous Provenance" (catalog data relevant to the exhibition, publication, and circulation of objects after they arrived in Berlin). Though initially conceived as a stand-alone database built with the readily available File Maker Pro software, the contents are being migrated to U'mista's server and made public through the Reciprocal Research Network (see box 1).

Public Interfaces

In addition to amplifying the potential for Indigenous communities and museums to manage their heritage collections in culturally appropriate ways (including by limiting access), new technologies have also facilitated the *public* dissemination of digital surrogates. Digitization and sharing over the internet has produced significant opportunities for self-definition and representation of cultural heritage. At the same time, it has created serious tension between the desire for online open access as the default (Lessig 2004) and the desire for control over the representation and circulation of culture, history, and language (Christen 2009; Hennessy 2009; Kramer 2004). Emergent digital networks are engaging in the co-development of information architecture and software that may better meet the needs of Indigenous communities, while acknowledging the challenges of maintaining and funding large-scale digital projects in an era of rapid technological advancement. The curation and design of online public interfaces address contemporary lived experiences and represent heritage collections as central to those experiences.

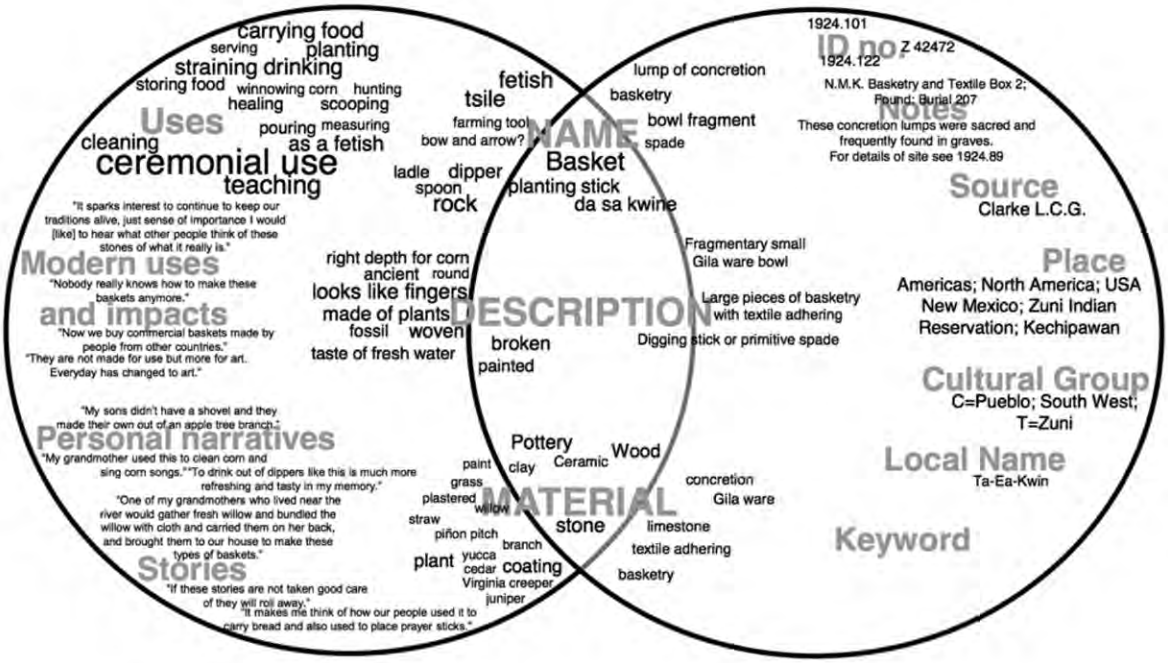
Regional Portals

Distinct from, but integrally connected to, community-initiated and community-specific projects that integrate collections information from digital repositories are museum database-driven portals that focus on a particular cultural region. Like other global projects that have emerged over the past two decades, these regional information portals are concerned with creating access to dispersed museum and archival collections, connecting them with communities of origin and specialist scholars.

The Southwest Oregon Research Project (SWORP) is a collaboration among the Coquille Indian Tribe, the University of Oregon, and the Smithsonian Institution that has made more than 11,000 pages of cultural, linguistic, and historical documents available in a single web portal (Lewis 2015). The project is invested in "the belief that possessing historical documents and archival collections is essential for cultural self-determination" (SWORP 2015). The Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center has partnered with the U.S. National Archives to tell the stories of students who attended the school and is seeking additional partners that hold resources related to it (carlisleindian.dickinson.edu, active December 23, 2020). Its goal is to develop a comprehensive, searchable database and to develop the capacity for user interactivity and contributions of photographs, documents, oral histories, and other related materials.

Further north, ELOKA (Exchange for Local Observations and Knowledge of the Arctic; eloka-arctic.org, active December 23, 2020) assists knowledge

2. Amidolanne



Courtesy of the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center.

Fig. 2. Amidolanne: Supporting authentic Zuni voices (http://www.ashiwi-museum.org/collaborations/).

In 2007, the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center (AAMHC) surveyed Zuni tribal members, exposing them to images of Zuni objects held in an outside museum collection. The idea was to compare conventional museum catalog descriptions of Zuni objects with Zuni knowledge about the objects. The results showed Zuni knowledge about Zuni objects is far more expressive and detailed in context than the conventional museum records.

Because inadequate and often incorrect information about Zuni objects exists in many museum catalogs, the AAMHC went on to create partnerships among several museums, including the American Museum of Natural History, the Museum of Northern Arizona, and the School for Advanced Research, to place their Zuni catalog information within a system at Zuni. The Amidolanne ("rainbow" in the Zuni language) database at the AAMHC enables Zuni to view various museum collection catalogs and provide a "Zuni voice" to objects. It is not itself a shared catalog but rather a service to the Zuni community, built with attention to Zuni concepts of knowledge sharing, and it puts all control and power of sharing in the hands of Zuni. Questions of sustainability persist (in terms of funding and technological upgrades and access), as do debates within the community about intellectual property.

Added knowledge about Zuni objects stays in Amidolanne or, if appropriate, can be shared back to the holding institution. This latter point underlines a shift in the asymmetrical power relations between museums and Native communities. Essentially, Amidolanne supports and asserts Zuni sovereignty over Zuni's own knowledge and the way Zuni chooses to share it with the non-Zuni world. Amidolanne is certainly useful for research and is a catalyst for important collaborations between the Zuni community and museums. Unquestionably, Zuni is not acquiescing to the digital media movement; Zuni is deliberately shaping it (see Boast et al. 2007; Becvar and Srinivasan 2009; Srinivasan et al. 2009, 2010; Boast and Enote 2013).

Contributed by Jim Enote (former director, A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center)

and community-based monitoring projects across the Arctic region with their development and data management strategies and then networks these community-based projects on a single website. ECHO (Education through Cultural and Historical Organizations; (http://www.echoeducation.org/, active December 23, 2020) is a U.S. federally funded network of Indigenous and non-Indigenous organizations: the Alaska Native Heritage Center (Alaska), Bishop Museum (Hawaii), Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (Mississippi), New Bedford Whaling Museum (Massachusetts), Ocean Explorium (Massachusetts), Inupiat Heritage Center (Alaska), and Peabody Essex Museum (Massachusetts). This partnership includes the sharing of institutional data but focuses on increasing understanding of and respect for Native American traditions and expressions through culturally based programming, cultural exchanges, internships, and other activities, including the creation of virtual exhibits and websites.

The regional portals featured in more detail here—the Reciprocal Research Network (fig. 1, box 1), the GRASAC Knowledge Sharing Database (fig. 3, box 3), and the Plateau Peoples' Web Portal (fig. 4, box 4)—are further characterized by multi-institutional and community partnerships; the sharing of data originating from multiple institutions and communities; feedback and commenting by registered users; and, in some, originating community collaboration in curation, design, and interaction. A focus on specific cultural and geographic regions amplifies possibilities for the development of systems that reflect regional protocols and concerns for the sharing of Indigenous cultural heritage and knowledge—protocols that may be at odds with the values and practices of mainstream memory institutions. The featured portals can be seen as dynamic responses to the call for museums to decentralize curatorial authority and integrate Indigenous ways of knowing into museum database content and architectures. As expressions of face-to-face collaborations and technical experimentations, they are particularly illustrative of the "hybrid spaces" that connect everyday interactions and cultural practices with their representations in virtual spaces. The sites are also emergent spaces of knowledge exchange and contestation, where relations of power are tested and the limits of technologies—particularly their real utility in preserving and safeguarding cultural heritage, now and in the future—are actively being questioned.

Virtual Exhibitions

Digital collections databases are facilitating the production of creative virtual exhibits by museums and source communities. Unlike databases and password-protected collaborative research sites, these digital exhibitions are designed to be public and often represent collaborations between collecting institutions and the Indigenous communities from which the collections originated. These exhibits are representative of the hybrid spaces from which they emerge: depicting contemporary Indigenous peoples engaged in cultural and political work; using new technologies and techniques to showcase ancestral lifeways and objects; and sometimes showcasing the digitally mediated, community-based production processes that shaped their content and design. They are emergent in that they derive inspiration and content from the relatively recent availability of digital collections information, and in their mobilization of new technologies for documentation, interaction, and visualization.

Online exhibitions have often accompanied museum exhibits and catalogs, translating the content of a physical exhibition into virtual space and augmenting the material with additional Native perspectives. The online exhibit *Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq People of Southern Alaska* (its former site, mnh.si.edu/lookingbothways/, is now archived) was designed by the Smithsonian Arctic Studies Center as the interactive component of the traveling exhibition. The site *Yuungnaqpiallerput*/The Way We Genuinely Live: Masterworks of Yupik Science and Survival (yupikscience.org, active December 23, 2020) was produced in 2008 by the Anchorage Museum and Calista Elders Council to augment the physical exhibition curated by anthropologist Ann Fienup-Riordan (see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology," this vol.). *The Power of Giving* is a virtual tour, with high-resolution 3D scans, of a museum gallery in Dresden, Germany, and the U'mista Cultural Society's "potlatch collection" that was exhibited there in 2011 (powerofgiving.synthescape.com, active December 23, 2020). The most sophisticated of these sites require broadband connectivity that might not be available in remote communities.

Virtual exhibits have also been produced independently of physical exhibitions to make collections more visible and to tell the stories of collections in culturally specific ways. The Alaska Native Collections site (Living Our Cultures, Sharing Our Heritage: The First Peoples of Alaska) was produced by the Smithsonian's Arctic Studies Center to showcase its collections and integrate the interpretations of originating community members into descriptions of objects (alaska.si.edu/, December 23, 2020; see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology," this vol.). *Xaytem: A Journey into Time Immemorial* was a

3. GRASAC Knowledge Sharing Database

The GRASAC Knowledge Sharing database (GKS) is the research platform of the Great Lakes Research Alliance for the Study of Aboriginal Arts and Cultures (GRASAC), a collaboration of researchers based in universities, Aboriginal communities, archives, and museums. The GKS provides digital access to tangible and intangible Great Lakes heritage and brings a variety of disciplinary and cultural knowledge into dialogue in order to develop new, more multivocal and accurate understandings. It has been created with grants from Canadian federal and Ontario provincial sources and with additional support from its two Aboriginal partner organizations, the Ojibwa Cultural Foundation and the Woodland Cultural Centre, and numerous museum and individual members in Europe and North America.

Photograph by Lisa Truong, 2012.

Fig. 3. The GRASAC Knowledge Sharing Database. Funded by the Smithsonian Institution's Recovering Voices project, expert quillwork artist Myna Toulouse (Sagamok First Nation, Canada), linguist Mary Ann Corbiere, historian Alan Corbiere, and Theodore Toulouse (left to right in foreground) are recorded in the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History's storage discussing a quilled birchbark basket in Anishinaabemowin. The recordings now form part of the GKS together with records and photographs being made by Ruth Phillips and Crystal Migwans (left and right in background).

The GKS is distinguished from conventional museum databases by a multidisciplinary structure that aims to approximate the integrated and holistic systems of expressive culture characteristic of Great Lakes Indigenous civilizations. It also differs from related databases in its emphasis on the critical reassessment of existing collections documentation, much of which was created many decades ago according to outdated typological approaches, and the development of a strategy for respecting privacy and intellectual and cultural property. GKS records have been produced by research teams who go in person to take a fresh look at collections and, together with in-house curators, refine and correct existing documentation. The Indigenous language module added in 2015 is a key strategy for indigenizing interpretation by incorporating data from historical dictionaries and contemporary lexicons, enabling the association of Indigenous discourse with existing records.

GRASAC and the GKS were conceived in 2004 by art historian Ruth Phillips, historian Heidi Bohaker, Anishinaabe legal historian Darlene Johnston, anthropologist Cory Willmott, Ojibwe Cultural Centre director Alan Corbiere, and Woodlands Cultural Centre director Janis Monture. They were developed in consultation with larger groups of international museum curators and researchers between 2005 and 2015. The GKS is accessed by password, and culturally sensitive objects are omitted or restricted to specific users. All researchers are welcomed as members and expected to contribute by creating or commenting on records; guest members are also welcomed and given read-only access. During its first decade of development, more than 4,000 heritage item records (as well as 26,000 language items) were created, and the researcher-user group grew to more than 400 institutional and individual members in Europe, North America, and New Zealand. The GKS is a resource that continues to grow despite challenges related to funding, institutional hosting, and the need to balance public accessibility with scholarly rigor (see Bohaker et al. 2015; Phillips 2011:277–296; Willmott et al. 2016).

Contributed by Ruth Phillips, Heidi Bohaker, Alan Corbiere, Darlene Johnston, Paula Whitlow, and Cory Willmott (GRASAC developers and research members)

4. The Plateau Peoples' Web Portal

The goal was to create an online portal that allowed Native American partners to curate content housed at regional and national institutions. The curation process had to include ways to add community stories, recordings, and documents as original records and as related items within the portal. It also needed to expand the curatorial workflow offline to include tribal values, ethics, and existing circuits of exchange.

On the portal's main page, tribal representatives decided to strike a balance between their individual sovereignty and what unites them as Plateau peoples. Therefore, each tribe has its own "tribal path" through which content can be uploaded, edited, shared, and browsed. The main banner image on the site represents the uniting waterway, the Columbia River, as it flows through and unites all Plateau tribes. Users can enter the site via one tribe or browse by one of the 12 thematic categories chosen by the tribes.

Similarly, the workflow recognizes and respects the fact that tribal community and individual members are the experts on their histories, stories, cultural materials, and traditional knowledge. The portal workflow process always begins by asking the tribal representatives "what" they want digitized, "who" they want to see it, "how" it should be described, and "why" it is significant to them. Because archives have historically been places where Indigenous people have been spoken about in frequently offensive or derogatory ways, the portal project begins by switching that equation and starting with conversations and face-to-face meetings with the cultural materials. The goal is to make the portal a place where Plateau tribal members themselves narrate their histories, tell their stories, and define notions of access as they go.

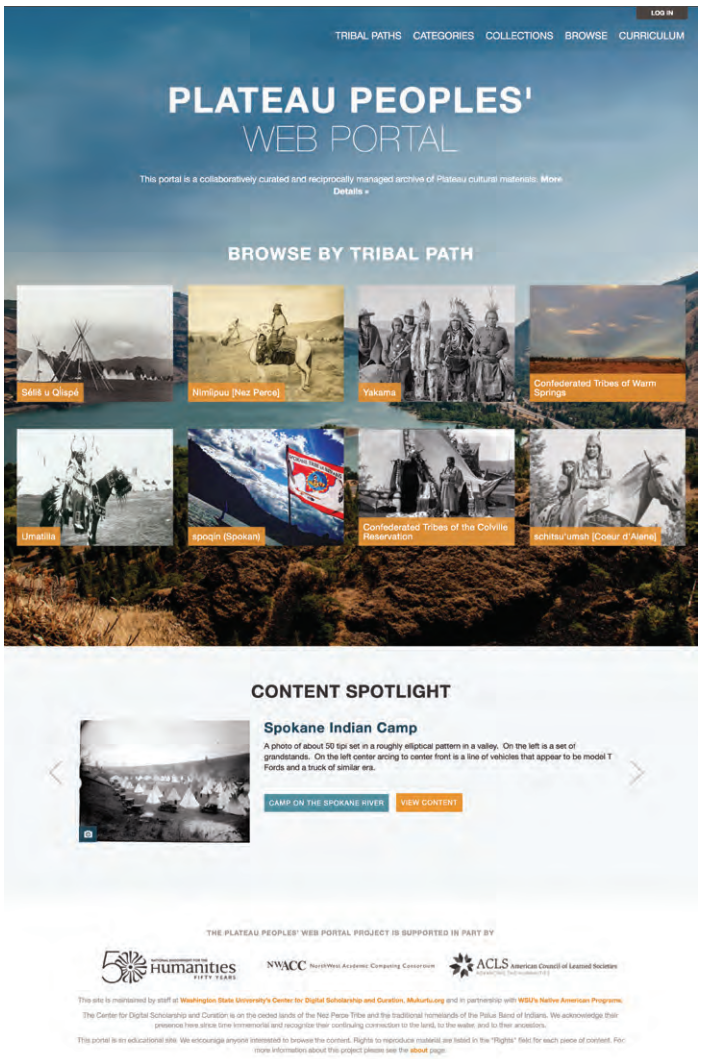


Fig. 4. The Plateau Peoples' Web Portal. The Plateau Peoples' Web Portal (PPWP) is a collaboratively curated and reciprocally managed online portal for Plateau cultural heritage materials, a collaborative project between the Yakama Indian Nation, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation, the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, the Spokane Tribe of Indians, the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation, and the Coeur d'Alene Tribe (all in Washington state); the Washington State University Libraries Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections (MASC); the Northwest Museum of Art and Culture; and the Smithsonian Institution's NAA and National Museum of the American Indian.

By the end of 2014, the portal featured a total of 1,756 items, including more than 600 items from regional and national partners. Significantly, more than 8,500 fields in the PPWP have been added by tribal community members using expanded customized metadata fields for cultural narratives, tribal knowledge, and tribal catalog records (see Christen 2011).

Contributed by Kimberly Christen (Plateau Peoples' Web Portal director)

partnership of the Simon Fraser University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology and the Xa:ytem Longhouse Interpretive Centre that used animation and cutting-edge documentation of performance to present an artistic interpretation of life in the village before colonialism (sfu.museum/time/en/enter/). Another example was *Dane Wajich—Dane-ẕaa Stories and Songs: Dreamers and the Land* (virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/expositions-exhibitions/danewajich/english/index.html), produced by the Doig River First Nation in response to the return of a digital archive of related ethnographic materials (Hennessy 2010). While not tied to a single, external collection per se, the collaborative and trilingual virtual exhibit *Vachiam Eecha: Planting the Seeds* brought together research by anthropologist David Shorter with community-based content and prior media clips relating to the Yoeme (Yaqui) in northern Mexico (http://plantingtheseeds.cdh.ucla.edu/#/home/english). Other notable online exhibits (fig. 5, box 5) demonstrate that providing originating communities with access to digital collections has the potential to facilitate significant online expressions of Indigenous cultures, languages, and heritage (Lyons et. al. 2016).

New Products

In addition to facilitating the replication and circulation of archival images and documents, digital technologies allow new modes of visualizing absent objects and of physically creating new ones (see "3D Digital Replication," this vol.). Moreover, as people become more fluent in using interactive, multimedia databases, collaborative digital resources will increasingly facilitate the generation of new forms of community-based knowledge and offline scholarly publication. As with collaborative exhibit or database preparation, the extensive consultation process required to realize such projects creates a basis for ongoing relationships and knowledge exchange between museums and communities.

Object Visualization

In recent years, archaeologists at the University of Calgary have partnered with the Glenbow Museum and Inuit communities to produce detailed and immersive renderings of a centuries-old Thule whalebone-framed house and a historic Inuvialuit sod house. These were presented with 3D virtual reality tools to groups of Inuit elders across the Canadian Northwest Territory as a means of eliciting traditional knowledge, and they are now widely available online as educational resources (Dawson and Levy 2005; Dawson et al. 2011 https://herschel.preserve.ucalgary.ca/sites/inuvialuit-sod-house/, active December 23, 2020).

Anthropologists and computer scientists at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in New York State have developed what they call Culturally Situated Design Tools in an effort to enhance math education among Native Americans and other minorities. Drawing on Cartesian coordinates, transformational geometry, and Indigenous design motifs, they have worked with community schools to create culture-specific software (like the Virtual Bead Loom) to help children and artisans understand the mathematical principles underlying Plains beadwork, Pacific Northwest and Shoshone-Bannock baskets, Navajo rugs, Anishinaabe arcs, and Yup'ik stars and parkas (Eglash 2007).

Digital Publications

The rapid rise of digital humanities across academia has resulted in the development of software applications for producing e-books, annotating text, comparing manuscript versions, and mining "big data" sets, although until now there have been few if any applications of such tools to Native North American materials. However, it is inevitable that multimedia technologies will soon be harnessed to produce new publications and to reconnect archival manuscripts and previously published texts with source communities and nations of origin. One example is the digitization of the Codex Mendoza and its development into an academic website and app by Mexico's National Anthropology and History Institute (INAH). The project represents the first instance of an in-depth digital resource for the scholarly study of a pre-Hispanic Mexican codex, which is otherwise inaccessible because of its fragility and its location in Europe (http://www.codicemendoza.inah.gob.mx, active December 23, 2020).

A coalition of partners including the University of British Columbia and the University of Washington, in the fields of scholarly publishing, library sciences, First Nations technology and knowledge protocols, and digital resource management, has launched a new online publishing platform called "RavenSpace" with funding from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (https://ravenspacepublishing.org/). The project envisions digitally enhanced and interactive books to lie at the future conjunction of technological tools, scholarly inquiry, and community involvement in order to support the reciprocal dissemination of knowledge about First Nations cultures and histories.

One of the first such collaborative projects is the digital critical edition of Franz Boas' 1897 monograph *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of*

5. The Inuvialuit Living History Project

The Inuvialuit Living History Project was initiated in November 2009 with a visit by Inuvialuit community members and non-Inuvialuit collaborators to the MacFarlane Collection at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History in Washington, DC, which features 300 remarkably preserved ethnographic objects and nearly 5,000 natural history specimens. These items were acquired by Hudson's Bay Company trader Roderick MacFarlane when he ran a fur trading post among the Anderson River Inuvialuit in the 1860s, and they became a founding collection of the Smithsonian. The project seeks to generate and document Inuvialuit and curatorial knowledge about the objects, with a wider view to sharing and disseminating this knowledge in the Inuvialuit, anthropological, and interested public communities. The project team conducted extensive interviews and workshops with Inuvialuit elders, knowledgeable community members, students, and educators in several western Arctic communities and carried out material culture research on the ethnographic objects in the collection. The result was a virtual exhibit launched in 2011 and a documentary called *A Case of Access* that premiered in Canada on the Aboriginal Peoples' Television Network. The digital exhibit represents the ethnographic elements of the MacFarlane Collection as Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait, a "living collection" that has generated active discussion, re-creation, and renewed use of these historic objects in Inuvialuit lives. The website used the Reciprocal Research Network's API software toolkit to collate and recontextualize digital collections information.

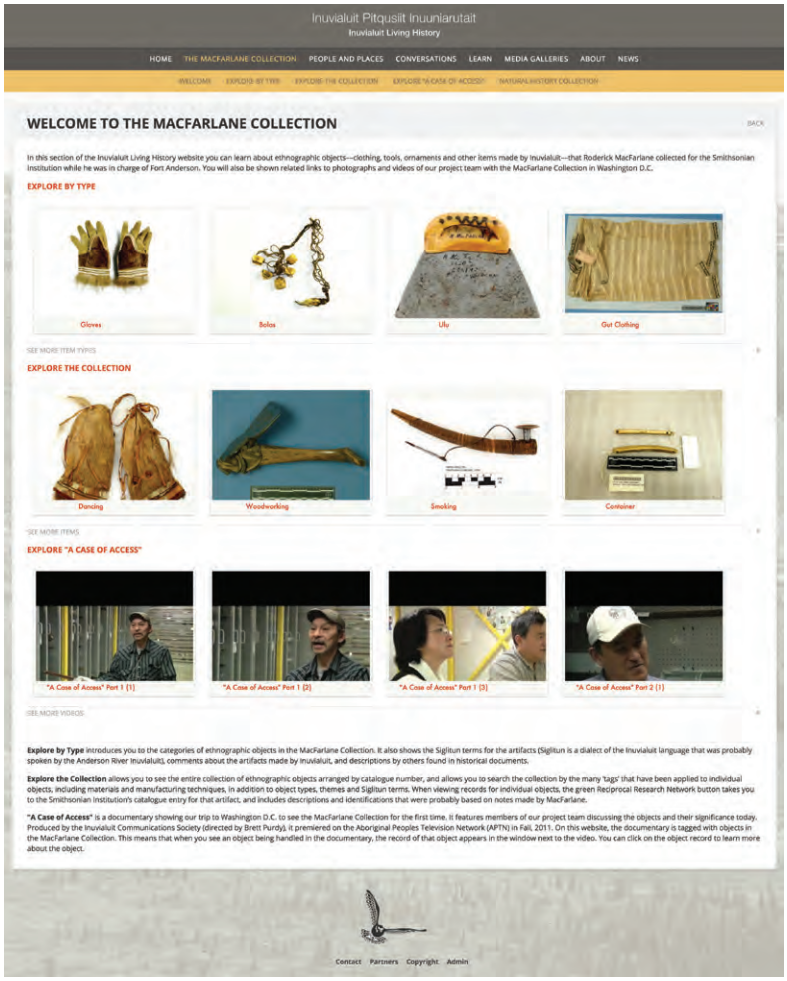


Fig. 5. The Inuvialuit Living History Project web portal (http://www.inuvialuitlivinghistory.ca/).

The Inuvialuit Living History Project has been supported by its relationship to organizations and funders, including the Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre, the Smithsonian's Arctic Studies Center, the Museums Assistance Program, Parks Canada, the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, the School of Interactive Arts and Technology, and the Intellectual Property in Cultural Heritage (IPinCH) Project at Simon Fraser University. A particular strength of these partnerships rests with the deep interest and commitment of Inuvialuit to their own histories and the manner in which they are presented and managed; community scholars gave generously of their time, interpretive skills, and knowledge. The community has maintained ongoing and useful critiques concerning how intellectual property rights should be exercised through the representation of the collection (Hennessy et al. 2012, 2013; Lyons et al. 2012; Lyons 2013).

Contributed by Natasha Lyons, Kate Hennessy, Charles Arnold, Mervin Joe, Catherine Cockney, Stephen Loring, and Albert Elias (project team members)

the Kwakiutl Indians (www.bgc.bard.edu/research/projects-and-collaborations/projects/the-distributed.html, active December 23, 2020). A team of anthropologists and Kwakwaka'wakw partners, working closely with several museums and archives and the U'mista Cultural Centre, has designed an interactive prototype for an open-access, multimedia website that unites the original publication with Boas' primary field notes, preparatory manuscripts, subsequent emendations and corrections by Boas' Native collaborator George Hunt, representative museum collections, field photographs, audio and film recordings, and related publications, all of which is supplemented by scholarly annotations and metadata derived from and relevant to Kwakwaka'wakw knowledge categories (Glass et al. 2017).

Related Initiatives

There is a large set of associated and overlapping initiatives that engage digital media in new and unpredictable ways and that will increasingly become integrated into many of the types of projects discussed in this chapter. Tribal websites and archival digitization projects have offered a foundational means for many communities to take control of online self-representation and will likely expand as social media tools do (Monroe 2002; Landzelius 2006) (fig. 6, box 6). Libraries and archives are developing alternative classification systems (such as the Brian Deer System) inspired by and intuitive to Indigenous users (Metoyer and Doyle 2015).

Some institutions are making specific holdings available to the public through online interfaces that are free (such as the Blackfoot Digital Library, blackfootdigitallibrary.com; the Kim-Wait/Eisenberg Native American Literature Collection at Amherst College, amherst.edu/library/archives/holdings/nativeamericanlit; and others), while many are sold by subscription ("Indigenous Peoples: North America" from Gale/Cengage Learning, cengage.com). Many projects are developing applications to promote online storytelling and the maintenance and expansion of oral traditions: Ntsayka Ikanum/Our Story: A Virtual Experience, a multimedia feature on the now-closed website of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde (ikanum.grandronde.org); Raid on Deerfield: The Many Stories of 1704, a collaborative and multivocal retelling of an armed conflict in colonial New England (1704.deerfield.history.museum); Native Words, Native Warriors, an NMAI site about Navajo code talkers (nmai.si.edu/education/codetalkers); the Knowledge River Program at the University of Arizona, through which library and information scientists offer instruction on the use of digital technology in their outreach to Native communities; and nDigiDreams, an independent organization based in the Southwest that conducts media-training workshops in Native communities to promote digital storytelling (ndigidreams.com).

Indigenous mapping projects are adapting tools such as GPS and Google Earth to facilitate land claims, knowledge reclamation, and storytelling about Native places; for instance, see the Chilkat Valley Storyboard website (cvstoryboard.org) and the First Story smartphone app (firststoryblog.wordpress.com), as well as the various projects coming out of the Aboriginal Mapping Network (nativemaps.org) and the University of Victoria's Ethnographic Mapping Lab (uvic.ca/socialsciences/ethnographicmapping). An increasing number of Indigenous artists and designers employ digital media to create web-specific installations on sites such as CyberPowWow (cyberpowwow.net) and Aboriginal Territories in Cyberspace (abtec.org) and work closely with specific communities to develop video games as a means of engaging youth in cultural heritage preservation and education: see especially Never Alone, developed with the Iñupiat (neveralonegame.com); Cheyenne Odyssey (mission-us.org/pages/landing-mission-3); and the Indigicade game development workshops for Aboriginal girls (indigenousroutes.ca).

Conclusion

While these projects, most implemented in the early decades of the twenty-first century, vary in scope, ambition, and target audience, they are designed to build lasting social and institutional relationships on a foundation of knowledge and power sharing through the circulation of heritage materials in digital formats. What begins with database construction may result in long-term collaborative partnerships and a cycle of reciprocal activities. This process may include repatriation of physical items or of their 3D replicas; cocuration of on- or offline exhibits; expansion of museum catalog records with community knowledge; revised collections care and preservation practices; the return of digitized manuscripts and records; the cooperative creation of tribal websites featuring museum or archival collections; the coauthoring of scholarly publications; and mutual invitations to lecture in university courses or to attend community ceremonies. Such a list is idealized, and the reality is that most of these projects have not been in operation long enough to

6. Sq’éwlets Website Project

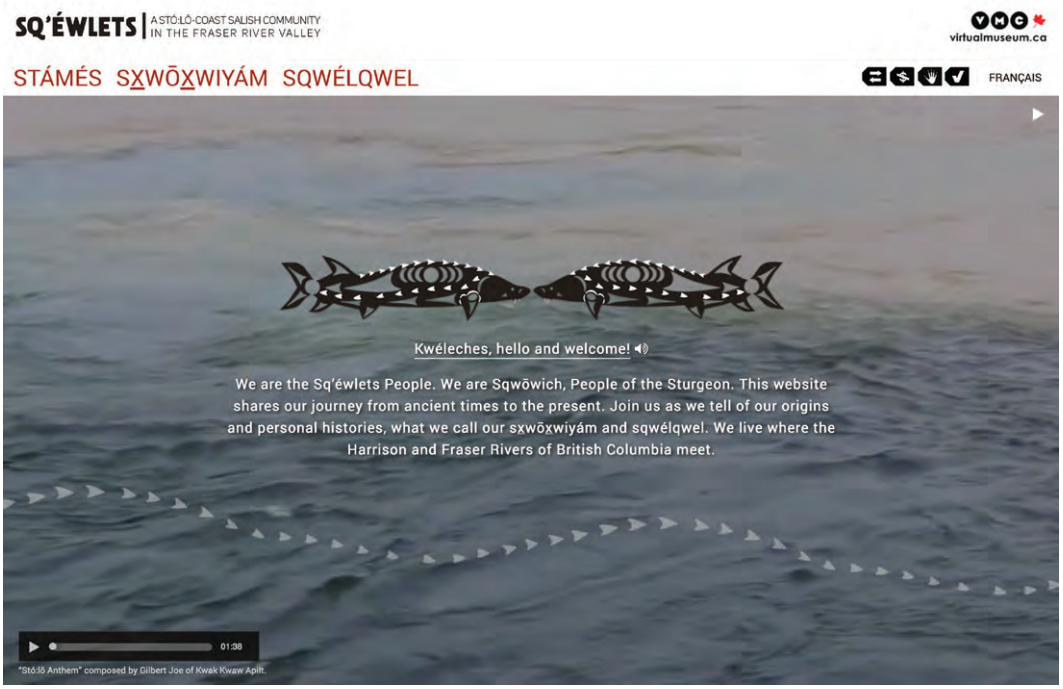


Fig. 6. Sq’éwlets: A Stó:lō-Coast Salish Community in the Fraser River Valley (http://digitalsqewlets.ca/).

The Sq’éwlets website project began when Chief Clarence Pennier asked archaeologists to excavate the ancestral site of Qithyil in the early 1990s so that his people would more clearly understand their antiquity, lineage, and ultimate sovereignty as contemporary members of the larger Stó:lō Nation, within their traditional territory in the Fraser River Valley of western Canada. A decade of community-based archaeological work revealed complex, sophisticated, and ancient cultural antecedents. In 2005, our project team came together to reunite the ancestral collections from Qithyil, which are held in three repositories—the University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University, and Stó:lō Nation.

The Sq’éwlets community saw the Virtual Museum of Canada website project as an opportunity to use this digital platform as a means to tell and share the story of their history and heritage, particularly to their own youth. The project team was guided by Sq’éwlets elders, youth, and community advisors; led by the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre; and facilitated by design and content specialists from University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University, Popgun Media and Ursus Heritage Consulting. Over the course of several years, the project has digitized and curated the Qithyil collections within the Reciprocal Research Network (see fig. 1), codeveloped by Stó:lō Nation. Much of the storytelling recorded in the course of several workshops in the community has been realized through visual media, with a focus on producing thematic minidocumentaries, documenting family relationships, and working collaboratively to select appropriate media for the website. The project’s process-oriented model prioritizes the Halq’eméylem language and structures the website around Stó:lō principles, expressed through a number of concepts: *sxwōxwiyám*, referring to origin stories; *sqwelqwel*, meaning “true news” and drawing on oral histories; and *stámés*, meaning “about” and focused on providing project and cultural context.

Our process also led Sq’éwlets members to choose and adapt a set of traditional knowledge labels (localcontexts.org) that describe and categorize elements of site content and specify how the community member intends their public use: for example, the noncommercial nature of site material is described by the label *eweta xwóxweyem*, literally “no selling.” One of the particular challenges of the work is to create access for segments of the community who lack knowledge of digital technologies. Another is to present Sq’éwlets histories to Xwelítem (settler) populations in a way that fosters dialogue and respect (see Lyons et al. 2016).

Contributed by Natasha Lyons, Dave Schaepe, Kate Hennessy, Michael Blake, Andy Phillips, Colin Pennier, and Kyle McIntosh (Sq’éwlets Advisory Group)

allow for clear evaluation of their potential success in energizing communities and helping to convey their cultural knowledge into the future.

In the technological realm, several projects highlighted here point to the ongoing question of the long-term preservation and sustainability of data in digital formats. Both software platforms and hardware systems change so rapidly that repeated migration of data will almost surely be necessary. To anticipate this need, dynamic platforms are required, and open-source tools can help mitigate against potential data loss if proprietary systems become discontinued. In any case, a certain amount of technical infrastructure is necessary that may be out of reach for some Indigenous communities, especially those situated far from urban centers with requisite resources and technicians. Even projects built on basic, accessible platforms will require the ongoing development of technologies, skills, and expertise to be maintained or to grow.

As with tribal museums, schools, and cultural centers, the persistence of collaborative digital projects depends on the regular inflow of adequate funding from varied sources. The explicit goal of returning knowledge, access, and control over collections (if only in digital form) to home communities can become compromised if the communities remain reliant on outside funding, technologies, or expertise to manage the resulting materials. If such projects are truly to contribute to promoting Indigenous sovereignty, they must go beyond the circulation of knowledge and data to the establishment of the infrastructures needed to locally manage and perpetuate the digital resources. Lasting institutional and personal partnerships are needed to ensure the success of these projects, but they require a great deal more commitment of time and resources than the initial construction of the digital tools themselves.

Despite these challenges—many of which are not unique to the digital realm—the current momentum behind the collaborative production of digital networks suggests a shared willingness to seek culturally appropriate means to manage and preserve museum collections and the Indigenous knowledge and practices that enliven them. Successful projects result not only in databases, websites, and smartphone apps but also in negotiated partnerships that are expressed both online and offline and that may contribute to refiguring the long-fraught relationship between heritage institutions and the Indigenous peoples they ought to serve.

Acknowledgments

In addition to all of the project-specific case study contributors, the authors thank the following people for helpful feedback: Jane Anderson, Medeia Csoba DeHass, Haidy Geismar, Faye Ginsburg, Igor Krupnik, Amy Lonetree, Ann McMullen, Sandra Rozental, Ramesh Srinivasan, Mark Turin, Erica Wortham, and three anonymous reviewers, as well as research assistants Hadley Jensen and Rachel Ward.

3D Digital Replication: Emerging Cultural Domain for Native American Communities

ERIC HOLLINGER

Technological advances are changing the world at an unprecedented rate, and the world of cultural heritage, inherently protective of tradition, is wrestling with the changes and challenges brought by technology. Two-dimensional digitization of extant photographs, film, tape recordings, and textual documents, considered innovative not long ago, is now the norm for duplicating records, archiving, and transferring information. Such digitization has led to a surge in what has been called knowledge repatriation (Krupnik 2000b) and, perhaps somewhat misleadingly, virtual repatriation (Bell et al. 2013; see "Emergent Digital Networks," this vol.) as it has made reproducing and sharing such archived materials with source communities exponentially simpler and faster. Cultural heritage collections, activities, and events are now regularly documented as born-digital media and disseminated rapidly, sometimes even in real time, through social media and other communication tools. The ability to rapidly document and digitally archive cultural heritage is proving essential to the preservation of threatened cultural sites and features as demonstrated since 2000 by conflicts in many war-torn and culturally rich areas, such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, and, lately, Ukraine.

Similarly, this digital revolution is beginning to transform approaches to Native American three-dimensional (3D) cultural heritage as well. Methods and technology for 3D data capture and reproduction have developed rapidly and continue to evolve at a head-spinning pace (Provan 2016). Museums, anthropologists, and Native American communities are just starting to recognize the potentials as well as the risks of this emerging cultural domain.

3D Reproduction History

Reproduction or duplication of 3D objects has been employed for thousands of years. Early technologies centered on permanent molds and casting of ceramics and metals, primarily for tools and ornaments (Harding and Fokkens 2013) and die stamping of items like coinage (Goldsborough 2014). The ability to mass produce items with uniformity was a major innovation. Plaster casts of cultural heritage objects became popular among royalty during the Renaissance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a way of circulating art and architectural items, particularly from ancient Greek and Roman sources.

By the nineteenth century, the use of plaster casting became commonplace. In 1867, at the Paris International Exhibition, the first director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Henry Cole, put forward a document known as the "Convention for Promoting Universally Reproductions of Works of Art for the Benefit of Museums of All Countries," which promoted the reproduction and exchange of plaster casts among countries (Williamson 1996). This convention, signed in symbolic support by 15 European princes, spurred a wave of reproduction of cultural objects that stocked galleries across Europe and the United States. Casts permitted diverse publics to view and appreciate classical masterpieces of art and architecture, some of which no longer had an existing original. Smaller artifacts, such as Paleolithic stone and bone tools, were also cast for exchanges with other museums (e.g., Petraglia and Potts 2004).

At the same time that major museums reproduced and exchanged casts of large sculptures, collection of original North American Indian material culture surged. Given that comparable monumental sculpture was typically lacking, the casting of Native American items focused on smaller portable Native American archaeological artifacts, such as pipes, figurines, and axes. Such reproductions were produced almost exclusively by and for museums and collectors; Native American tribes had no part in the trade. Casting, primarily of lithic artifacts, evolved to include epoxy resins (Frazier 1973) and other polymers, but it remained the predominant means of 3D object replication for Native American cultural items throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Casting of live Native Americans themselves also occurred during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Life masks were common at the time, and Native Americans were not exempt. When tribal delegations arrived in Washington, they were often asked to sit for photographs and face casts. The casts were then attached

to sculpted busts, and hair and other details were added. The hundreds of face casts and busts in the Smithsonian collections appeared in several exhibits depicting human variation before being relegated to storage for decades (Disalvo 2012; Fear-Segal 2013). In 2004–2012, the Osage Nation and descendent families worked with the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) to reproduce plaster busts of 10 Osage ancestors for the tribal museum and descendent families. What began more than 150 years ago as a means for museums to document and display racial differences has come full circle and enabled family members to connect with ancestors in a unique face-to-face way (Stromberg 2011).

The production of physical replicas of cultural heritage objects is nothing new. Museums and other cultural repositories have made and repaired physical objects for dioramas and other exhibition formats for hundreds of years. Casting of lithic tools such as projectile points is now common practice and enables multiple independent researchers to study such fine detail as use wear. Artifact casts are sold online and in museum gift shops as souvenirs. Even high-quality casts of human and animal bones are now commercially available for research, teaching, and exhibition. Casting is typically reserved for more durable and less complex objects because the process of making a mold can damage fragile or composite items. 3D-scanning technologies minimize risk to the objects as the process is essentially noncontact.

The entertainment, architectural, engineering, and medical industries have long applied 3D digitization and have helped to spread awareness of it as a useful tool. Technologies for 3D digitization are proliferating, but to date three main types have been in use: computed tomography (CT) scanning, laser scanning, and photogrammetry/computer vision. These techniques often produce thousands, millions, or even billions of *xyz* coordinates that may be stored and converted in a variety of file formats. Raw data may be displayed as text, as a variety of 2D visualizations, or as a 3D "point cloud." Raw data are often processed into a polygon model simulating a solid surface suitable for 3D physical replication, photorealistic still and video renderings, and other useful visualizations.

First introduced in the 1970s, CT scanning, also known as computerized axial tomography (CAT) or x-ray computed tomography (x-ray CT) scanning, was initially developed for medical procedures. 3D laser scanning, developed in the 1960s, was slow and inaccurate until it was combined with computing capabilities in the late 1980s and 1990s, when it began to be applied to animation (Ebrahim 2014). Photogrammetry is almost as old as photography itself, but the recent integration of digital imaging and computing power has led to an explosion in its application.

3D Digitizing Technology in the Early Twenty-First Century

CT scanning is one of the most common forms of 3D digitization, applied tens of millions of times each year, primarily for medical diagnoses. It combines x-ray images taken from many different angles to produce cross-sectional images or virtual "slices." Each slice can be rendered as a grayscale image in which the resulting gradations from black to white represent a range of densities throughout the object. Computer processing of the slices allows them to be merged into a 3D digital model with interior geometry as well as the outer surface.

Laser scanners are much more portable than CT scanners and can be used to create 3D records of a wider range of objects. Laser scanners bounce laser light off a target to obtain extremely high-resolution measurements of an object's visible surfaces. Although they can be used to scan small objects, they are well suited for scanning very large items, architecture, archaeological sites, and even entire landscapes. Unlike CT scanners, laser scanners can measure only the external surfaces of objects and reveal no density data.

Photogrammetry/computer vision is among the most accessible forms of 3D documentation because it uses standard 2D camera equipment coupled with software that compiles 2D images into a 3D model. Although the camera's sensor resolution, lens, and a variety of other variables can have a drastic effect on quality, most any camera (ranging from mobile phones to point-and-shoot, single-lens reflex, or medium-format cameras) may be used to create a 3D model using photogrammetry. Dozens, hundreds, or thousands of individual images are taken of the same subject from different points of view. When the same features on the surface of an object are captured by multiple camera positions, they can be processed into coordinates. Higher-frequency details like wood grain, weathered surfaces, or rock usually produce higher-resolution and higher-accuracy results whereas low-frequency surfaces like smooth walls, plastic, or similarly "featureless" subjects tend to yield lower-quality or unusable results. Unlike CT scanning and most laser scanning methods, photogrammetry usually results in high-quality color that can be accurately mapped onto the geometry it produces. As a whole, the technology for digitizing objects is rapidly becoming smaller, faster, more precise, and less costly as computing power increases, and it is likely to continue to proliferate in the twenty-first century.

Once an object has been digitized, a wide range of possibilities become available, some of which may have been impossible with the original. For example, an object may be too fragile, culturally sensitive, or otherwise inaccessible for direct physical measurements using traditional methods. The digital surrogate can be used to calculate volumes and ratios, make cross-sectional views, pull precise point-to-point measurements, and more. With files produced by CT scanning, the possibilities are even more numerous because such measurements and observations can be performed on interior structures invisible from the outside. The potential information available for analysis from a thorough digital rendering is second only to that embodied in the original itself. Repairs that might be impossible to make to an original can be made digitally during post-processing of the data. Missing sections can be digitally replaced and damaged portions can be restored.

Digital models can have photographs overlain to apply color, and a variety of other material properties may be added to create a photorealistic surrogate. Alternatively one might choose to visually exaggerate otherwise hard-to-see details or use diagrammatic color to clarify features of interest. Such models can be viewed in 3D or animated in video renderings, facilitating a wide range of interactive experiences. Once in digital form, the models can be enlarged, shrunk, or even dissected, providing views that are impossible to see with the original. The files can be rapidly duplicated, disseminated widely, or made available for remote viewing and manipulation through the Internet and file-sharing programs. This ability to share is driving mass digitization of collections held in repositories that favor the democratization of access.

For source communities that want greater access to their collections housed in distant museum repositories, 3D digitized collections can enhance their ability to connect with the objects. For the past two decades museums have been making 2D digital images available by physically mailing them on discs and, increasingly, by posting them to searchable online databases and file-sharing sites (see "Access to Native Collections in Museums and Archives," this vol.). Although in-person access to collections is irreplaceable, it is not always possible or practical for elders, artists, and other tribal representatives to travel to storage facilities, so remote access to digital images has proven increasingly valuable to communities (Csoba DeHass and Hollinger 2018; Csoba DeHass and Taitt 2018). 3D digital files can be shared in the same ways, but they contain infinitely more views and a wider range of derivatives than are possible with 2D (Flynn 2019).

3D Reproduction Technology in the Early Twenty-First Century

Modern 3D technologies have created a new cultural arena with the potential to dematerialize an item and then return it from a digital model to physical form again. This is done using a growing array of rapid manufacturing techniques including 3D printing and milling. 3D printing, or additive manufacturing, is a process by which an object is built up using fine layers of material, similar to the way a printer applies ink to paper. In some printers, droplets of binder are applied to an unconsolidated medium in tightly controlled layers that then harden. Combined, the thin layers of digital data, converted to material form, produce a complete object.

3D printers are increasingly able to use a variety of media, such as silica-based material, acrylonitrile butadiene styrene (ABS), nylon, polylactic acid (PLA), metal, ceramic, glass, sugar, and chocolate. Printers can produce objects with hollow interiors, intricate structures, and even moving parts. Some printers are capable of producing multiple copies simultaneously. The size of the reproduction can be limited by the size of the working space within the printer, but larger objects can be printed in sections and then joined together to form complete replicas. Most 3D prints must be hand painted to resemble the original, but some 3D printers have full color capabilities.

Subtractive or reductive processes are also used to make 3D objects from digital models. These systems take an approach that is opposite to 3D printing: they mill or carve away material to produce the desired shapes. A computer numerical control (CNC) milling machine, CNC router, or a robotic arm, guided by computerized digital files, little by little cuts away material from a block or sheet of raw material. A wide range of materials, including plastic, foam, wood, and metal, can serve as carving media. Shapes and details are limited only by the ability of the working bit to access surfaces; crevices can pose a challenge.

These 3D printing and milling technologies enable the reproduction of objects, or parts of objects, with a high degree of accuracy and at larger or smaller scales. A cutaway or a cross-section can be produced to reveal internal structures. Parts can be made, perhaps to repair a damaged original.

It is easy to see why this technology has been characterized as the "third industrial revolution" (Markillie 2012). It is anticipated to change the mode of production for manufacturing completely. In his 2013 State of the Union address, President Barack Obama described 3D printing as having "the potential to revolutionize the way we make almost everything." From

guns, to cars, to houses, to coral reefs, to clothing, and even human organs, almost everything has now been printed to demonstrate the potential of the emerging technology.

As 3D digitization and replication continue to develop and spread into new fields, we can expect its increasingly innovative application in the twenty-first century. While 3D printing is now common in architecture, engineering, and many manufacturing sectors, its use in the context of cultural heritage is only beginning (Scopigno et al. 2015). Many museums have 3D digitized collections for online exhibits, interactive displays, and other multimedia as a way of creating virtual museums (Limp et al. 2011; Miller et al. 1992; see "Emergent Digital Networks," this vol.). For example, Grand Teton National Park in Wyoming, together with Idaho State University and in consultation with numerous local tribes, has 3D scanned a wide range of ethnographic objects from its collections and posted them to the web for the tribes and the public to view and manipulate remotely (see Idaho State University and Grand Teton National Park n.d.). The 3D experiences being created for the public have also included virtual expeditions to simulated archaeological sites that have been re-created to represent how they are believed to have looked in the past (e.g., Dawson and Levy 2005; Levy and Dawson 2006).

3D Digitization for Research

Three-dimensional digital renderings have long been used for research in medicine and engineering, and technologies such as CT scanning were developed for just such purposes. Bioanthropologists have used CT scanning to study mummified human remains and skeletal pathologies. CT scans provide the ability to image and take highly accurate measurements of skeletal remains not visible to the observer and not measurable by traditional techniques such as calipers and digital probes. Digital imaging scans have permitted studies of bone density and even identification of atherosclerosis in ancient mummies (Thompson et al. 2013).

The potential for research on cultural objects is just beginning to be recognized. Studies of archaeological lithic artifact forms have used 3D technologies for morphometric and typological research (Bretzke and Conard 2012; Grosman et al. 2008; Lin et al. 2010). These have included analyses of diverse lithic artifacts, such as Clovis projectile points (Selden and Crawford 2016; Sholts et al. 2012), South African core reduction (Clarkson 2013), and Levallois cores (Lycett and von Cramon-Taubadel 2013; Lycett et al. 2010).

Archaeological ceramics is another area where 3D methods are beginning to be applied to research questions (Karasik and Smilansky 2008, 2011). Previously limited to 2D measurements, studies of ceramics now use 3D-scanned files that can capture geometry reference points from pot surfaces. These reference points are then downloaded into software that can be used to compare the size, shape, and form of pots. The Center for Regional Heritage Research at Stephen F. Austin State University in Nacogdoches, Texas, has been working with the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma under an object-scanning project for the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) to 3D scan Caddo ceramic vessels from sites across four states in the southern United States (Selden 2015; Selden et al. 2014). As of 2016, the project had scanned more than 800 vessels, including funerary objects, half of which are available online for others to use in research and teaching (fig. 1) (Robert Selden, personal communication, July 19, 2016). According to Caddo Nation chairman Tamara Francis-Fourkiller (personal communication, July 20, 2016), the tribe hopes to use the research to help identify cultural affiliations for vessels and sites that may not be adequately documented.

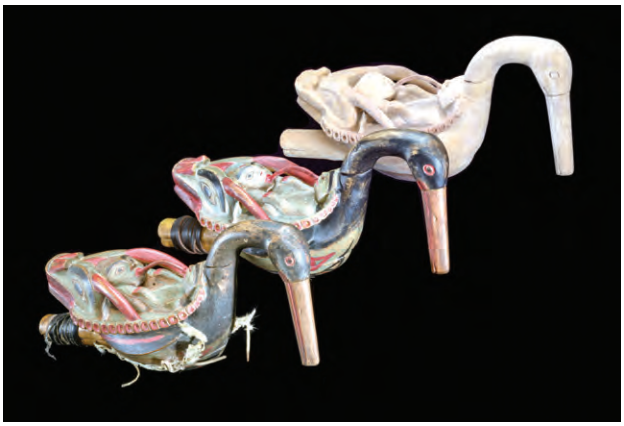
Courtesy of Robert Z. Selden, Jr.

Fig. 1. 3D model of a Belcher Engraved (Caddo) vessel from 41BW3, catalog number 6-6-609, curated at the Texas Archaeological Research Laboratory at the University of Texas at Austin.

Returning to the Physical World: Production of Cultural Heritage Replicas

The capabilities of 3D scanning and replication technologies make them highly suitable for use with repatriation-related and complex ethnological items. When the Stockbridge-Munsee Tribe of Wisconsin, the Delaware Nation, and the Delaware Tribe of Oklahoma prepared to repatriate a large seventeenth-century pewter pipe as a funerary object from the NMNH, they asked the museum to make a 3D print of the pipe (Hollinger et al. 2013). Sherry White, tribal historic preservation officer for the Stockbridge-Munsee, recognized that once the repatriation and reburial were completed, the tribe would have little to share with tribal members to help them visualize what their material culture of the period looked like. The three tribes were so impressed with the unpainted 3D print of the pipe that they asked the museum to make one for each of the tribes and loaned the original back to the museum so it could be used as a reference for painting the prints to look like the original. All three tribes and the museum now have 3D prints for display and teaching, and the tribes will rebury the original when they are ready. With this approach, the tribes can meet the spiritual requirement to return the original to be with its owner in the afterlife while also educating their communities about the material culture of their past, the repatriation, and the opportunities for partnerships with museums.

The Tlingit Hoonah Indian Association (HIA) from the village of Hoonah, Alaska, also recognized the value of having 3D replicas available for study and handling in addition to having control over objects restored through repatriation. After the Smithsonian NMNH repatriated 53 shamans' funerary objects to the HIA, the museum and the tribe entered into an agreement to loan the objects back to the Smithsonian so the museum and the HIA could work together to scan and replicate up to 33 objects (Hollinger et al. 2013:209–210). The original objects represent a range of shamans' regalia and tools, including painted wooden masks, elaborate rattles, headdresses, dance wands, figurines, and amulets. Many Tlingit people believe that spirits, once controlled by the shamans, may still inhabit the objects and pose a potential risk to anyone who handles them without careful preparation. The objects are also fragile, and many are contaminated with original mercury-based red paints as well as pesticides that were applied to preserve the objects after they were collected. The HIA recognized that, by having 3D reproductions for exhibition and educational handling, it could safely avoid the risks posed to both the handlers and the objects. The NMNH and the HIA are now producing two sets of replicas, one for the HIA and one for the museum. Rattles and other complex objects are being 3D-printed (fig. 2), some even with beads printed inside them. Other objects will be milled in the village of Hoonah from local wood. A team of artists from Hoonah, using the originals as a guide, will finish the replicas by hand painting them, attaching hair, leather, and baleen, and inlaying shell using traditional techniques. Once completed, the replicas will serve an educational purpose on both sides of the country, and the HIA will relocate the originals into their own museum in Hoonah.



Photograph by Walter Larrimore. Repatriation Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 2. Tlingit shaman's rattle, E73856, and its 3D printed replicas.

The Killer Whale Hat Replication

Replication of objects with spiritual attributes has implications for cultural protocols, religious dimensions, and previously uncharted ethical issues, thereby requiring museums and communities to forge new relationships (Isaac 2015). 3D technology is subject to these implications, although it comes with some unique issues. For example, to what lengths or stage of newness does the 3D approach seek to restore a replica? What may be necessary to incorporate the technology when ceremonial or other cultural protocols are essential to the reproduction process?

One of the more complex cases of 3D replication of cultural heritage involved the scanning and replication of a Tlingit clan crest hat beginning in 2010. The original hat, in the form of a killer whale emerging from the sea, was repatriated in January 2005 by the NMNH to Dakl'aweidí clan leader Mark Jacobs, Jr. (b. 1923, d. 2005) as a sacred object and object of cultural patrimony under the National Museum of the American Indian Act repatriation provisions (Hollinger and

Jacobs 2015). Jacobs "walked into the forest" shortly after the repatriation, and Edwell John, Jr., was installed as clan leader and caretaker of the hat in 2007. John later brought the hat back to the Smithsonian and asked that it be scanned so the files could be archived as security against possible loss. The Smithsonian was authorized to use the files to make, in close consultation with the clan, a nearly identical 3D replica to be used for educational purposes. The replica was milled from alder wood, painted, inlaid with abalone shell, and finished by attaching human hair, ermine skins, cloth, and leather (Hollinger et al. 2013).

The replica, made using only photographs and digital scans for reference, was finished in 2012. A Tlingit dance group honored the replica by dancing with it in Alaska together with the original hat. Owned by the NMNH, the replica is now on exhibit in the museum, but the Dakl'aweidí clan reserves the right (which it has exercised) to remove it from the exhibit to be used as regalia in dancing (fig. 3). While the replica is not considered a sacred object (Tlingit: *at.óow*) because it is only the form of the hat, without an associated spirit, and it has not been dedicated in ceremony, the Tlingit still recognize it as regalia displaying the killer whale crest of the clan.

The digital model of the hat can be viewed and manipulated online on the Digitization Program Office's website (http://3d.si.edu/), where the Smithsonian offers printable models for a growing number of iconic items from its collections. The Killer Whale Hat is currently the only Native American item on the site, and, at the request of the clan leader, its files are not downloadable for printing. Although the clan supports display of the hat for educational purposes, it has concerns about possible commercialization and other inappropriate uses of physical replicas, in keeping with Tlingit cultural principles that stress protection of cultural property rights and the rights relating to the display of clan crests (Hollinger et al. 2013).

Photograph by Eric Hollinger. Repatriation Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 3. Dakl'aweidí clan member Joshua DeAsis dancing with the replica hat in Sheet'ka Kwaan Naa Kahidi Community House, 2012.

Replication for Cultural Restoration

Although it is commonly asserted that digitally produced surrogates could never replace an original object because they lack the aura inherent in the original (Benjamin 1936), the new reality is that there are circumstances in which digital surrogates can be converted back into physical renderings that, in specific cultural contexts, could truly replace the originals, even adding value and challenging notions of authenticity (Galeazzi 2018). Historically, traditional artisans in many societies created replacements of old, worn-out, or inadvertently lost cultural objects (for example, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1990:88, 102, 387). As new tools became available, they were adopted and integrated into the production process.

In 2012, the Tlingit Kiks.ádi clan of Sitka, Alaska, asked the NMNH to 3D scan and then digitally repair and mill a reproduction of a worn and broken clan crest hat representing a sculpin, or bullhead fish. Collected in the late 1800s for the Smithsonian, the hat is badly broken in several places and is missing a large section of its rim as well as attachments of what forensic analyses suggest were probably swan feathers, ermine skins, and sea lion whiskers. In its current condition, the clan cannot dance the hat in ceremony. Aware of the Smithsonian's use of 3D technology to produce a nearly identical Killer Whale Hat replica (Hollinger et al. 2013), Harold Jacobs, cultural specialist for Central Council Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska, suggested that Kiks.ádi clan leader Ray Wilson, Sr., ask the Smithsonian to remake the hat. Wilson decided to work with the museum to make a replica so that the Tlingit could put spirit into the new hat so it could be used in ceremonies again. Rather than a repatriation, this would be a new form of cultural restoration using digital 3D reproduction technology.

In 2014, Wilson and leaders of other Tlingit clans traveled to Washington, DC, to consult and launch the collaborative effort. They participated in the laser scanning of the hat and studied the hat and CT scans to understand the construction, use life, and failures of the original piece (fig. 4). It was important to the group that traditional Tlingit values be integrated into the process where possible, so, as in Tlingit tradition, members of the Eagle moiety (opposites of the Kiks.ádi 's Raven moiety) began the work and initiated the scanning. A tra-

Photograph by Eric Hollinger. Repatriation Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 4. Kiks.ádi clan leader Ray Wilson, Sr., scanning the broken Sculpin Hat with Adam Metallo of the Smithsonian's Digitization Program Office, 2014.

ditional carver could have then used the digital files as a model for hand carving a new hat, but the clan decided to allow the museum to produce a second reproduction which, like the Killer Whale Hat replica, could remain at the museum to help tell the story of the collaboration. To make two identical replicas would require the use of CNC-milling technology. Recognizing that the milling process would still involve a significant amount of work by a Smithsonian model maker and given that clan hats were traditionally made by a member of the opposite moiety (Kan 1989a), the clan leaders decided it would be appropriate to adopt the model maker into the Wolf/Eagle moiety. Accordingly, Kaagwaantaan clan leader Andrew Gamble (Anaaxoots) adopted model maker Chris Hollshwander during a feast and ceremony held at the museum. In this way, the hat could be carved—using high-tech methods—by a member of the Wolf/Eagle moiety.

With a grant from the Smithsonian Women's Committee and wood from Alaska provided by the clan, Hollshwander at Smithsonian Institution Exhibits (SIE) milled the replica hat and the second replica for the museum. In 2018, the milled replicas were finished. Working under the guidance of Deisheetaan clan leader Cyril Zuboff (Yeilnawoo), Smithsonian staff adopted into the Wolf/Eagle moiety (Hollshwander and Hollinger) painted the hats and added attachments (figs. 5–8). Although the digital repairs and milling replicated the original shapes of the carved pieces, the clan decided to alter some of the paints, attachments, and inlays on the replicas so that the original served as a foundation and inspiration, while the replicas are elaborations and updated versions. With this approach, the Tlingit have adapted and integrated traditional protocols for making clan crest objects with twenty-first-century digitization and replication techniques.

As Zuboff noted during the consultation, the replica is "just a shadow," a form absent spirit, "until it is brought out" or dedicated in a ceremony witnessed by the opposite moiety. Once completed and "brought out," this 3D-milled object becomes a sacred object and clan property, or *at.óow* (Dauenhauer 1995). It is no longer a replica of the Sculpin Hat. It becomes *the* Sculpin Hat—the successor in all respects, the Sculpin Hat restored. The idea that the aura of the original is somehow lost during reproduction (sensu Benjamin 1936) is not necessarily the case. Through ceremony, much of the aura—the spirits of past, present, and future generations imbued in the original—are put into the reproduction. It is different but also the same.

In September 2019, the new hat made for the clan and the broken original were transported to Juneau, Alaska, and the Tlingit held a ceremony to bring out the new hat (fig. 9**)**. With the support of Wolf/Eagle moiety clans, Smithsonian representatives and Wolf/Eagle clan stood as witnesses and participants in a nine-hour ceremony in which the hat was placed upon and danced by Kiks.ádi clan leaders, which brought the newly made hat to life (figs. 10, 11). Today, the new hat, now Kiks.ádi *at.óow,* is back in Sitka, Alaska, where it will be employed in ceremonies, and the broken original was returned to be cared for by the NMNH along with the museum's replica of the new hat.

Another application of 3D technology by the Smithsonian NMNH put a new twist on replication for cultural restoration. In 2017, the Anthropology Department

Photographs by Brittany Hance. Repatriation Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

Figs. 5–8 (clockwise from top left). Tlingit Deisheetaan clan leader Cyril Zuboff (Yeilnawoo, fig. 5 on right), at the request of the Kiks.ádi clan, guides Smithsonian staff Eric Hollinger (fig. 5 on left) and Chris Hollshwander (fig. 6 on right) in finishing the replica Sculpin Hats (figs. 6–8).

of the NMNH, in consultation with the Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska, CT scanned two rare spear throwers or, in Tlingit, *shee aan*. *Shee aan* were so scarce, short, and elaborately carved that they were thought to have been ritual rather than utilitarian tools. The Smithsonian's Digitization Program Office had them printed in high-strength nylon so they could be used to throw actual darts. A Smithsonian team took the prints to the Tlingit Sharing Our Knowledge Conference in Sitka, Alaska, where Tlingit students and clan leaders put them to the test and proved they could have functioned for hunting. The Smithsonian provided the Central Council Tlingit and Haida Tribes of Alaska with a set of 3D printed *Shee aan* to make available to Tlingit classes and Culture Camps to revitalize interest in carving and using *Shee aan*.

Other Considerations

For many Native American tribes and First Nations, 3D digital reproductions cross a threshold into a new domain that may require rethinking the nature of the objects. Many considerations arise. When replicating Indigenous objects, museums increasingly turn to appropriate tribal representatives and knowledge experts to determine who should make the reproductions and how the task should be done. Potentially more challenging is the possibility that physical reproductions of cultural heritage might be made available publicly and without restriction. This possibility raises difficult questions about, among other things, who owns the digital models and what restrictions there might be on access to them. Although replication and access to 3D replicas is sometimes a sensitive subject, tribes increasingly face the new responsibility of making decisions in this area.

Some tribes appear comfortable sharing their 3D data widely. As part of the Caddo NAGPRA object-scanning project, hundreds of digital models have been posted online and are publicly available for 3D printing (Selden 2015; Selden et al. 2014). The only limit imposed by the Caddo Nation was to keep the

Photograph by Carolyn Thome.

Fig. 9. Kiks.ádi clan leader Andy Ebona addressing the Wolf/Eagle side clans to start the ceremony dedicating the new Sculpin Hat in Juneau, Alaska, September 2019. The original hat is present in the case in the left of the photo, next to other clan regalia.

Photograph by Carolyn Thome.

Fig. 10. Wolf/Eagle clan leaders placing the new hat on Kiks.ádi clan leader Ray Wilson, who puts life into the new hat by wearing it. Juneau, Alaska, September 2019.

Photograph by William Billeck. Repatriation Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 11. Cash and blankets being “killed on the hat” and redistributed to Wolf/Eagle side witnesses as payment for supporting the dedication. Juneau, Alaska, September 2019.

texture files publicly unavailable, preventing the prints from showing the colors present on the original vessels. Files formatted for cardboard models of the vessels for interpretation and education have also been posted for public access (Selden 2016).

The Tlingit Killer Whale Hat and the Sculpin Hat digitized by the Smithsonian are viewable on the Digitization Program Office's website (http://3d.si.edu/) and can be manipulated for closer study, but they cannot be downloaded for printing. These restrictions were some of the only constraints requested by clan leaders (Hollinger et al. 2013). The unrestrained ability for anyone to make a replica of the hat, a clan crest object, and potentially commercialize it would infringe on the cultural property rights of the clan, which is unacceptable to them.

Rapid technological innovations and the speed of democratization enabled by the internet have facilitated broad dissemination of 3D models of cultural heritage objects. A query in June 2016 on the search engine Yeggi for printable 3D models under the key words "Native American" yielded 1,437 printable models. They range from kitsch jewelry and dolls to funerary objects from Native American archaeological sites. Among them are 442 printable objects posted by the Hampson Archaeological Museum State Park in Arkansas as part of the Virtual Hampson Museum. These include ceramic vessels and shell masks from late prehistoric and protohistoric archaeological sites. Such efforts enable access to Indigenous culture in tangible forms that people can physically interact with and connect to in ways not possible for digital models. Who is using them, and how, are completely out of control of tribes. This highlights the greatest difference between digitally based reproduction and the casting-based reproductions of the old era.

3D for Preservation

3D digitization technology offers a means of rapidly documenting millions of data points that can be easily archived. This ability to serve as a tool for cultural heritage preservation has tremendous appeal for Indigenous communities and repositories of cultural heritage.

In 2013, a team from the U.S. National Park Service's (NPS) Harpers Ferry Center, the Sitka National Historical Park, and the Historic American Landscapes Survey laser scanned memorial poles in Sitka National Historical Park, Alaska (fig. 12) (Hess 2013; Neumann 2013). The 18 carved Tlingit and Haida poles and house posts, the largest such objects scanned by the NPS, are distributed throughout the park along a trail and are highly susceptible to degradation from weathering. The purpose was to document them in detail for conservation, historical, and educational purposes. The NPS's Heritage Documentation Program used the digital information to create a virtual tour of the poles, making them accessible, in 3D, to a public far beyond the park (see Sitka National Historical Park 2013). Because digital data are not considered archival by the Library of Congress, architectural drawings of the poles on paper vellum were made from the digital images and added to the permanent records in the collection at the Library of Congress.

Photograph by Mark Schara, Senior Architect, Historic American Buildings Survey.

Fig. 12. NPS team laser scanning Haida pole in Sitka National Historical Park.

The Caddo NAGPRA object-scanning project was also driven in part by goals of preservation and archiving. The majority of the scanned pots are funerary objects subject to the NAGPRA and the Caddo may rebury them, removing them from access for research or educational purposes (Selden 2015; Selden et al. 2014). With the potential loss of availability of the originals, the digital proxies still offer an invaluable source of information for the tribe and the researchers with whom they share them.

Preservation has been a major motivation behind Tlingit interest in 3D digitization as well. A number of Tlingit clan leaders, having seen clan crest objects

Photograph by Nicholas Partridge. Repatriation Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 13. Smithsonian NMNH repatriation tribal liaison Eric Hollinger (left) and model maker Chris Hollshwander (right) prepare to image the Coho hat of the Tlingit L'ooknaxh. ádi clan Platform House for photogrammetry at the 2017 Sharing Our Knowledge Clan Conference, Sitka.

lost to fires or theft in the past, have recognized the potential for 3D digitization to provide a high-precision archive for preservation of their objects. In 2012, a team from the Smithsonian's Digitization Program Office, SIE, and the Repatriation Office of the NMNH traveled with digitization equipment to Sitka, Alaska, for a Sharing Our Knowledge Clan Conference (Hollinger et al. 2013). Tlingit clan leaders had seen how digital files were used to document and then reproduce the Killer Whale Hat, and they authorized the scanning of seven important clan objects—four hats, a helmet, a dagger, and a hammer—in order to archive the files as insurance against possible loss. They reasoned that they would probably not use the digital files to make 3D objects unless they were needed to replace the original for some reason (Hollinger et al. 2013). In October 2017, a Smithsonian team returned to Sitka for the same conference and digitized an additional 14 objects for clan leaders (fig. 13). One clan leader, Raymond Dennis, Jr., asked that his hat be digitized and described how his grandfather had been commissioned to carve replacement hats after the 1944 fire in Hoonah, Alaska, had destroyed most clan objects. In 2019, a Smithsonian team returned to the conference together with digitization experts from Cultural Heritage Imaging and from the University of South Florida's Libraries Digital Heritage and Humanities Center and the Digital Media Commons to digitize to assist clan leaders with digitization of even more clan objects for preservation.

Production for Education and Exhibition

Although the adoption of 3D digital and replication technology by Native Americans for their own cultural and educational needs is just beginning to emerge, it promises to develop rapidly. Daniel Fonseca, director of the Cultural Resources Department of the Shingle Springs Band of Miwok Indians of California, learned about 3D technology applications to cultural heritage during a visit to the Smithsonian NMNH. When elders on the tribal council expressed concerns that the tribe was reburying repatriated objects without finding some way of using them to teach younger generations, Fonseca proposed adopting 3D technology (Daniel Fonseca, personal communication, July 5, 2016). The tribe purchased a 3D camera and printer so they can make digital models to show tribal members and, when they determine it to be appropriate, to share with the public for educational purposes. 3D prints will be made and housed in the tribal museum. The tribe intends to use the prints in classrooms of regional schools where children are more likely to connect with a physical item they can touch and interact with. Having digital and physical models of an object permits handling and curation for preservation and education while also permitting the sequestration of fragile items or the permanent disposition of spiritually sensitive objects. Fonseca also sees the technology as an avenue for engaging younger generations with cultural issues.

3D scanning and replication also enable Native artists to connect with and explore their own cultural heritage in unique ways. Tania Larsson, a member of the Tetlit Gwich'in (Kutchin) from Canada's Northwest Territories, was trained in the use of 3D technology at the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe. In 2015, as a fellow in the Artist Leadership Program at the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, Larsson used 3D scanning and photogrammetry to study the harvesting and hide-processing tools

of her Gwich'in ancestors in the museum's collection. Larsson made digital models of the objects and then printed scale replicas, which she referenced in order to make working tools of metal and antler exactly like those of her ancestors (see National Museum of the American Indian 2016). She has used the replicated tools in the Canadian bush to make traditional clothing. According to Larsson, "The biggest thing about Native Americans and First Nations is that we always adapted to the technologies we came across, so it's a totally normal step to use 3D scanning and 3D printing, because this is a new tool that is in front of us" (Wohlberg 2015).

Indigenous artists also use digitally manufactured reproductions in exhibitions in which the products intentionally minimize the detail the technology is capable of. Duane Linklater, an Omaskeko Cree from the Moose Creek First Nation in northern Ontario, Canada, used 3D printing for such a project at the Utah Museum of Fine Arts in 2015. Linklater exhibited reproductions of 17 Native American textiles and sculptures made by the J. Willard Marriott Library using 3D printing and 2D printing on linen. Key to his exhibit was the fact that the original items, acquired by the museum between 1974 and 2003, were made by artists unknown to the museum at the start of the exhibit. Linklater's prints were intentionally rough and flawed, lacking detail and in some cases color, signifying the transformational loss of information and context often occurring with the accessioning of objects into museums (Tassie 2015).

Training and the Future of Digitization by Native Americans

The training of Native American students in the use of 3D digital technology is beginning to empower Indigenous communities and enable them to apply it to their own needs. It is easy to assume that 3D digitization and fabrication technology will be limited to major universities and agencies with significant resources, and indeed, a number of pilot projects and initiatives are taking place in such institutions. But this assumption is rapidly proving false. The cost of the technology is in decline even as computing power increases. As of 2017, simple 3D printers are available in stores for a few hundred dollars, and 3D digitization requires only a digital camera and software, some of which is available for free online. Tribes like the Shingle Springs Band of Miwok Indians of California have already purchased this equipment, and some communities may have the technology without realizing that it can be adapted for use with 3D cultural heritage. A CNC-milling machine, already used for sign making in the Tlingit village of Hoonah, Alaska, was used to mill a dance wand from digital files provided by the Smithsonian Institution. The Hoonah Indian Association plans to purchase an additional CNC-milling machine to facilitate the milling of more cultural objects. The technology for 3D reproduction is clearly not exclusive to museums and other institutions.

The expertise necessary to employ 3D technology is also spreading rapidly. Students everywhere are increasingly exposed to digitization and reproduction. Programs incorporating scanning and fabrication technologies, such as those at Navajo Technical University (NTU) in Crownpoint, New Mexico, and the Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) in Santa Fe, New Mexico, provide critical training for Native American youth. At NTU about 40 Indigenous students a year are trained in 3D scanning, file processing, and rapid prototyping, primarily oriented toward engineering and architecture (H. Scott Halliday, personal communication, June 17, 2016). With funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the IAIA created two interdisciplinary courses in which students learn to use laser scanners and photogrammetry to digitize 3D cultural objects in the IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts collections. According to IAIA associate professor of museum studies Jessie Ryker-Crawford, Tania Larsson, the Canadian Gwich'in artist whose work was described earlier, received her training in 3D technology through the IAIA program (Ryker-Crawford, personal communication, June 17, 2016). The program also exposes students to the ethical and philosophical challenges and responsibilities that come with dissemination of digital data from cultural heritage objects. Finally, in 2019, Sealaska Heritage Institute in Juneau, Alaska, sponsored a workshop for staff of SHI and Alaska State Libraries, Archives and Museums to receive training from Cultural Heritage Imaging in scientific photogrammetry for cultural heritage collections. Such training is likely to become even more common and more critical for both tribes and museums.

Ethical and Philosophical Concerns of 3D Technologies

As digitizing and fabrication capabilities become the new norm in schools and the workplace, there is a risk that 3D reproduction evolves into a push-button experience for the user (Iversen et al. 2016) with little active engagement with the cultural environments in which the originals and reproductions exist. It presents a new challenge for both Indigenous communities and

repositories of cultural heritage collections. However, as more Native American students and culture bearers become engaged in the process, the more likely 3D digitization and fabrication projects will move forward in ways that respect and integrate traditional cultural values.

Similarly, those who seek to preserve and perpetuate cultural heritage will recognize the potential of these emerging technologies to serve as new and useful tools. Ethical and philosophical concerns will certainly arise, particularly regarding who owns the digital files, how widely digital models are disseminated, and who is allowed to use them to make physical reproductions. However, given how few Native American objects have been digitized and then physically replicated to date, and how rapidly we are likely to see an ever-expanding suite of case studies, it is probably still premature to offer theories or develop policies that hope to encompass every possible scenario that is likely to occur.

For museums, the future of digitization brings other new challenges and conflicting values. Museums have already undergone major changes in how they do business owing to the passage of repatriation legislation (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.), and the new technologies add yet more layers of complexity to consultations about Indigenous rights as well as the disposition and recognition of those rights. Shifting technologies require museums to quickly adapt their policies. Curators and museum administrators should carefully consider whether they will continue the trend of scanning everything possible and disseminating it online in the name of accessibility, democratization, and the public trust (Clough 2013) or whether they will enact policies that restrict digitization of objects and dissemination of digital files. Shifting intellectual property issues (Isaac 2015:294) require that museums initiate discussions regarding ownership or degrees (layers) of ownership of digital files and 3D reproductions (Magnani et al. 2018).

The sophistication and ease of replication are becoming such that museums may have little ability to control it in the future. In the well-known case of the glass-encased bust of Nefertiti in the Neues Museum in Berlin, two artists allegedly covertly scanned it in 2015, shared files with hackers for processing, and then made 3D reproductions and posted the files to the internet for anyone to print (Wilder 2016b). Although experts have raised doubt that the files posted were actually generated as claimed—the artists may have hacked the museum's own 3D files or scanned an extant copy (Wilder 2016a)—the possibility that anyone might be able to approach and scan an object in a museum without consent poses unprecedented concerns. While most museums require that researchers accessing collections sign agreements on photo use, most current policies do not encompass 3D scanning or prescribe what uses might be acceptable to the museum. Do museums mount objects in exhibits so that portions are inaccessible to scanning by visitors? Should they allow objects to be reproduced and made available as merchandise?

These and other problems face not only larger museums but also tribal museums and tribes with cultural property that is sometimes exposed in public contexts. Even under tribal control, objects are at risk of unauthorized scanning. Many tribes already view Native American items in museums as contested cultural patrimony. The possibility that culturally sensitive objects in museums might be scanned and made broadly available for unrestricted viewing or duplication is cause for concern for some tribes. Therefore, the measures and policies that museums develop to safeguard collections and their digital surrogates are vital to maintaining positive collaborative relationships between tribes and museums. Museums' lack of experience to date with 3D digitization and reproduction cases has hampered their ability to foresee the issues that such policies would need to address. Currently, 3D digitization and replication of Native American cultural heritage could proceed without any input from source communities, but that does not mean that it should.

Conclusion

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, 3D digitization and replication have the potential to completely transform the relationship between Native American communities and repositories of cultural heritage collections. Recent applications of the emerging technology demonstrate almost endless possibilities for increased access to collections, repatriation, education, and new forms of cultural restoration. The speed with which the technology is developing and becoming more accessible foretells an explosion of cultural heritage applications in the coming decades.

Just as the 1867 "Convention for Promoting Universally Reproductions of Works of Art for the Benefit of Museums of All Countries" (Williamson 1996) signaled a boom in plaster casting of cultural heritage pieces in the late 1800s, the Victoria and Albert Museum, with the support of the Peri Foundation, revisited the convention in July 2017 beginning with a roundtable at the Smithsonian Institution. This new ReACH (Reproductions of Art and Cultural Heritage) program seeks a new convention to identify and share best practices from around the world concerning the production, storage, and dissemination of digital and

physical reproductions in an effort to preserve cultural heritage and increase its accessibility through reproductions. This comes at a time when a digital technology revolution is sweeping museums and tribes.

In the 1860s, only large institutions could afford to produce cultural heritage reproductions and exchange them, one by one, with known recipients. Now, almost anyone can access the technology, if not the collections, and the reproductions can be made available almost instantly to anyone with internet access. While museums applaud the ability to increase and democratize access to their collections, the ease and rapidity of digital 3D reproduction pose unprecedented potential legal and ethical challenges. Repatriation and consultation with Native American stakeholders are a "new normal" for museums in the twenty-first century, but the few case studies documented by 2017 only begin to touch upon how museums and tribes incorporate these new technologies into their practices. The potentials revealed so far show that the adoption of 3D digitization and replication technologies creates a new cultural "domain" and offers transformative experience to both Native American constituencies and museums.

Social Media: Extending the Boundaries of Indian Country

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Social media platforms are interoperable cloud-based internet applications developed to facilitate the sharing of information, ideas, and interests through virtual user communities and networks (van Dijck 2013). Social media of the early twenty-first century provide new options for Indigenous peoples of North America to culturally connect, explore political issues, engage in activism, and express themselves with each other and with non-Indigenous actors. Native peoples' use of social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and blogs, in the first decades of the twenty-first century reveals aspects of Indigenous peoples' participation in digital spheres (fig. 1). They use social media to resist, advance, and flourish, shaping modes of cultural resurgence and resiliency.

Historical Precursors to Social Media Platforms in Native North America

Although North American Native and Indigenous peoples currently make wide use of social media, historically Native Americans, First Nations, and Mexican Indigenous peoples were precluded by the colonial elite from engaging in technological advancement. Early on, wireless telegraphy—the precursor to global information networks—was used in support of the settlers' goal of eradicating Indigenous peoples (Johnson 1979). Early twentieth-century partnerships between telecommunications firms and transcontinental railroad enterprises produced the technological infrastructure for communication and transportation that, in turn, expedited Euro-American settlement of tribal territories and Indigenous homelands (Noble 1927). These partnerships resulted in the monopolization of telecommunications infrastructure, effectively excluding Native American tribes, physically circumventing reservation lands, and disregarding tribal sovereignty.

In the United States, by the time Native American peoples began to assert policies of self-determination in the late 1970s and 1980s, only a few tribes had the means to manage their own telecommunications, such as the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe Telephone Authority (U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment 1995). Consequently, when the internet first became widely available to the public in the 1990s, few Native American people had access to personal computers, much less the telecommunications infrastructure necessary to venture into early social media platforms, like multiuser domains (MUDs), MUDs object oriented spaces (MOOs), chat rooms, and message boards. Some tribes, such as the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe in South and North Dakota, established committees and pilot projects to create local area networks. When the first dot-com boom started in the 1990s, the U.S. Congress was still commissioning reports on why Indian Country continued to lack the infrastructural capacity for basic telephone service (U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment 1995; Riley et al. 1999).

Initial Indigenous Peoples' Use of Social Media

Despite a widespread lack of telecommunications and internet infrastructure, in the mid-1990s, a small number of Native American and Indigenous people throughout the United States, Mexico, and Canada were using the internet to connect with each other and collaborate on a range of Indigenous issues. By the late 1990s, Native American and Indigenous political leaders, intellectuals, and educators in both the United States and Canada had begun to explore the potential of networked technologies and to invest in them.

In 1998, the *Wicazo Sa Review*, an interdisciplinary Indigenous scholarly journal, released a special issue devoted to identifying the roles of technology and culture in shaping Native American use of digital technologies. In that issue, Lakota architect and educator Craig Howe argued that the internet, though useful for Indigenous people in some cases, is also a technology entirely contrary to the fundamental ontologies of most tribes. Howe (1998) stated that "cyberspace is no place for tribalism" and asserted that the internet is underpinned by Western European principles of universalism and individualism, both of which are antithetical to Native American worldviews. In short,

Photograph by Loriene Roy.

Fig. 1.PC monitor at the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, taken during the Ninth International Indigenous Librarians Forum, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, 2015.

he argued that the internet represents a "deceptive technology" (Howe 1998:27) that is no substitute for a land-based, spiritually informed tribal community.

Meanwhile, by 1997, the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) of Chiapas, Mexico—an autonomous government oriented toward promoting the rights of Mayan people and *campesinos*—was effectively disseminating information through cyberspace about the dangers of North American neoliberalism for Indigenous peoples (Froehling 1997). The Zapatista leader Subcomandante Marcos described the need for Indigenous peoples to build networks "from below" in their efforts to distribute critical information written by and for Indigenous peoples (Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos 2007: 302).

In the late 1990s, the Southern California Tribal Chairmen's Association and the Nishnawbe Aski Nation in Ontario, Canada, concurrently though independently invested in designing affordable, sustainable network backbones that would provide affordable high-speed internet access to regional consortiums of tribes. At this time, many Native American and Indigenous technical specialists took it upon themselves to learn about and build the local broadband networks necessary for participation in social media. In 2000, their efforts were met with some support from an unlikely ally. Bill Clinton, the first U.S. president to visit an Indian reservation since 1936, spoke to the Navajo Nation specifically on the need for internet access in Indian Country (Clinton 2000). The Gates Foundation, federal funding agencies, local tribal leaders, and other community groups took note, spurring a rapid influx of networked computing technologies into Native American communities over the next decade.

When Myspace was launched in 2003, the EZLN began using the platform to spread messages and communiqués about local political needs and demands to Indigenous people and allies in major North American cities (Wolfson 2012). Not long after, both the Nishnawbe Aski Nation in Canada and the Southern California Tribal Chairmen's Association in the United States established private networks where tribal members could share photos and comments about their communities (Beaton 2009; Budka et al. 2009; Srinivasan et al. 2004). In 2006, Facebook was made available for public use. In 2009, Valerie Fast Horse (Coeur d'Alene tribe of Idaho), a veteran of the Information Management Division in the U.S. Army during the Desert Storm operation of 1991 who learned how to set up wireless communication networks while she was stationed in Darfur, Sudan, joined with the information technology department on the Coeur d'Alene Reservation to launch RezKast, a Native-only video- and audio-sharing site akin to YouTube (Geranios 2009). By 2010, the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma had made use of the historical American National Standards Institute (ANSI) codification of the Cherokee syllabary to partner with Apple in creating iPad and iPhone (iOS) applications to teach the Cherokee language (Evans 2010; see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.).

By 2010, Native American and Indigenous peoples were creating many groups, pages, and accounts on social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and MySpace. Most of these venues focused on specific Indigenous interests such as food sovereignty; cultural appropriation; Native literature, arts, and music; or Indigenous rights. Some of the groups emerged out of the efforts of relatives from a single tribe or reservation, such as the Shiwi'ma A:beye:na:kwe' Wokkwinne (Zuni Language Speakers Group), formed on Facebook in 2008. The Chicago American Indian Community Collaborative began using a Facebook group in 2012 to post updates, news, and announcements among 17 Native-serving organizations in the Chicago metropolitan area. The National Congress of American Indians opened a Twitter account in 2009 and, in 2017, continued to post policy updates and announcements to approximately 35,000 Twitter accounts through its popular microblog. Sizable Facebook groups include HEALTHY ACTIVE NATIVES!!, which from 2013 to 2017 gained more than 70,000 members, who share posts and updates about their health and fitness goals. The Facebook group "You know you're too Rezzy when" acquired more than 123,000 members from 2013 to 2017 and circulates 3,000–4,000 jokes and humorous posts a day.

At the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century, social media can be understood as an interoperable multiplatform and multimodal means of digital communication in which the popularity and usefulness of platforms is driven by the content created by millions of users (van Dijck 2013). As internet and communications theorists study how people interact with networked communications systems, Native North American scholars consider how social media shapes and is being shaped by Indigenous identity, relationality, communications channels, languages, media representation, activism, aesthetics, humor, well-being, and sense of community (Risling Baldy 2016; Belarde-Lewis 2011; Brady and Kelly 2017; Callison and Hermida 2015; Deschine-Parkhurst 2017; Duarte 2017; Gilio-Whitaker 2015; McLean et al. 2017; Vigil-Hayes and Duarte 2017) (figs. 2, 3, 4).

Photograph by Della Nohl.

Fig. 2. Accessing communication networks. Tribal Transportation Task Force member, Wisconsin, Ho-Chunk Nation, 2013.

Photograph by Della Nohl.

Fig. 3. Natives' use of digital technologies. Nathalee Kristiansen, Stockbridge-Munsee Band of Mohicans, Convening Culture Keepers conference, Ho-Chunk Nation, 2013.

Photograph by Della Nohl.

Fig. 4. Shaping Indigenous identity through media. Oshkiiwabiigonii (Anita Barber, Oneida Nation), Convening Culture Keepers conference, Ho-Chunk Nation, 2013.

Theory and Praxis of Indigenous Social Media

Early twenty-first-century information and communication technologies (ICTs) make it possible for individuals, groups, organizations, and brick-and-mortar institutions to communicate synchronously and asynchronously across long distances. Through social media platforms and mobile devices, Native American and Indigenous peoples transmit their messages to networks in different parts of the world. Transmitting complex messages over long distances and to specific communities is not new to Indigenous peoples of North America. Ancestral methods of long-distance communication—such as *quipu* (an ancient Inca device for recording information through a sequence of colored threads knotted in different ways), runners, textiles bearing complex woven patterns and symbols, smoke signals, and drums—were often used to communicate intertribally or regionally and emerged from specific Indigenous philosophies and cultural practices.

In Indigenous contexts, oral traditions refer to Indigenous peoples' knowledge and information sharing and encompass the practices, norms, protocols, and arts of conveying knowledge and information through culturally informed narratives. These narratives are characteristically intergenerational and can be traced back to the experiences of ancestors from prior decades, centuries, and, in some cases, eras (Trimble et al. 2008). Historically, Native American and Indigenous peoples understood that the fidelity of information shared through oral traditions was integral to survival and sustainability and employed rigorous cultural pedagogies and protocols to assure accuracy and avoid misinterpretation (Peters 2016).

Native American and Indigenous uses of social media complicate ancestral Indigenous practices of orality in that messages transmitted through social media platforms reach various global audiences in ways that can transcend the limitations of regional, linguistic, and cultural distinctiveness (Belarde-Lewis 2011). And given that social media messages can be transmitted through various modalities such as text, image, video, and sound, they can convey meaning at many different levels to different audiences.

Indigenizing Theories of Social Media

Because social media represents a profound intersection of social and technological aspects of human experience, internet studies scholars in the early twenty-first century are developing conceptual frameworks that articulate the complexity that results when human and digital networks converge (Baym 2015; Dourish and Bell 2011; Bennett and Segerberg 2014; boyd 2014; Castells 2012; Nahon and Hemsley 2013). In that sense, social media shapes and is shaped by its designers and users, who choose how to use, interpret, and configure it.

Hypertext literary theory, or the nonlinear way in which users navigate the internet by jumping from link to link instead of sequentially following a text from start to finish can be conceptualized in light of the cyclical and encompassing style of Indigenous story work. Bratta et al. (2016) write about creating infrastructures of composing for networked authors—particularly, underrepresented authors—who wish to realize narrative forms through digital means. Indigenous studies scholars who approach social media as a dynamic narrative also often trace Indigenous rhetoric and discourse in online social groups and examine digital objects as Indigenous aesthetic tropes. Examples are the aesthetic and rhetorical values embedded in memes and image macros associated with the Free Leonard Peltier movement (Lenhardt 2016) and the digital imagery created by Apache Stronghold in the 2015–2016 Save Oak Flat social media campaign (Deschine-Parkhurst 2017).

In addition to analyzing social media as a dynamic narrative, Indigenous scholars explore social media by applying concepts based on the Granovetter (1973) strength-of-weak-ties theoretical approach. They have applied graph theory and the strength-of-weak-ties approach to reveal patterns in the dissemination of information among diverse Native American and Indigenous online communities (Raynauld et al. 2018; Vigil-Hayes et al. 2017). Applying this approach in studies of Native American and Indigenous uses of social media reveals the real-time granularity of information sharing among groups of tribal relatives, communities, and allies who connect with each other digitally (fig. 5). This understanding in turn offers Indigenous scholars a means by which to reconsider Native American concepts of kinship and ways of knowing as they manifest themselves through multiple affiliated cyberspheres.

Photograph by Della Nohl.

Fig. 5. Information sharing. Tribal Transportation Task Force Members, Ho-Chunk Nation, 2013.

Finally, social network theory, or the concept of interpersonal relationships as emerging out of interconnected networks of individuals, in many ways mirrors Native North American concepts of relationality, community responsiveness, and interconnectedness. For Indigenous scholars, however, the concept of interconnectedness operates at a philosophical level and is grounded in Indigenous concepts of relationality (S. Wilson 2008). Relationality—the knowledge gained by relating to the elements in the surrounding natural world—is a fundamental tenet of most, if not all, Native North American cultures (Deloria 1999b).

The social media associated with Native American and Indigenous endeavors is thus unmistakably shaped by the distinct character of Native American and Indigenous philosophies and peoples' traditional approaches to social life (Risling Baldy 2016). While cybernetics and social network analysis contribute much to these theoretical approaches, traditional philosophies, community values, and practices shape how Native Americans and Indigenous peoples interact in meaningful ways through social media platforms.

Indigenous Peoples as a Networked Public

The social status of contemporary Native Americans and Indigenous peoples is informed by a combination of the history of colonialism, cultural values, access to

technology and capital, and the ways that social and political issues impact distinct communities. With 567 federally recognized tribes in the United States, 634 First Nations in Canada, and more than 65 autonomous Indigenous pueblos in Mexico, there is considerable cultural diversity across Native North America.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Indigenous peoples use networked technologies to bridge these physical and social distances. Through the growth of network infrastructures, such as wide area networks, satellites, and fiber-to-the-home across urban and rural areas, increased options for e-commerce, distance learning, telemedicine, and social media have emerged. Thus, the twenty-first-century use of social media by Native American and Indigenous peoples is shaped by political, social, geographic, historical, and technological conditions. As such, it may be seen as a genre of "networked publics," as simultaneously a literal construct of networked technologies and an intersection of people, technology, and practices that emerge as an "imagined collective" (boyd 2010: 39) (fig. 6).

In that sense, networked technologies represent somewhat uncharted territory for Native American and Indigenous peoples. In one way, social media creates opportunities to ameliorate the isolation that accompanies life in remote areas away from urban centers and to connect with individuals and groups in different parts of the world. Many people whose ties to their Native relations have been severed now use social media technologies to reconnect with their communities and heritage. Urban Natives who do not live on reservations or do not maintain active ties with a particular tribe also engage through social media technologies, as they follow prominent social media user accounts, post updates and opinions, share news and jokes, and stay informed about Indigenous issues in spite of geographical and social distance (Minthorn 2014). As networked technologies shift social and technological boundaries, a range of convergent and special Indigenous issue groups emerge through the social media platforms, which in turn contribute to the emergence of an Indigenous networked public (Raynauld et al. 2018; Vigil-Hayes et al. 2017). This Indigenous networked public can be conceptualized as a technically savvy sector of Indigenous global society composed of individuals who self-select by discursively sharing values and experiences across digital spheres rather than through the kinship protocols or face-to-face interactions that characterized prior eras of Native American and Indigenous social engagement.

Photograph by Sloan Henry.

Fig. 6. Networked public. (front to back) Sloan Henry, Amanda Young, Megan Smith, and Cerynn Desjarlais at the 31st Annual Conference for the Society of Indian Psychologists, Logan, Utah, 2018.

Fostering Connections: Social Media and Kinship

Social media is currently entrenched in the everyday lives of many Native American and Indigenous peoples, especially urban groups and individuals, since it has become a common feature of modern living (Bang et al. 2013). Certain social media platforms, such as Facebook, foster and strengthen existing offline connections among families, clans, tribes, groups, and organizations separated by geography and distance. In this way, social media works to preserve and develop tribal identities among spatially dispersed tribal kin, some of whom might live in diaspora. It functions as a digital meeting space where delocalized tribal members can circulate information, gossips, news, and events pertinent to their identity and community (Belarde-Lewis 2011).

Other uses of social media for maintaining kinship include the creation of members-only Facebook groups that focus on integral community processes, like language revitalization, genealogical research, or family reunion planning. Examples include the private Shiwi'ma A:beye:na:kwe' Wokkwinne (Zuni Language Speakers group), the Texas Band of Yaqui Indians history and genealogy group, and the Anishinaabemowin community page (https://www.facebook.com/OnlineAnishinaabemowin/, active December 13, 2020).

Social media networking also helps develop new relationships, and as new Native communities emerge it pushes the boundaries of cultural protocols that defined kinship and belonging in prior eras. Pan-tribal

communities existed since before the advent of the internet: examples include the Native American Church and the American Indian Movement activist community (Ramirez 2007). Native American and Indigenous people extend pan-tribalism into the cybersphere, where new Native online communities emerge out of common experiences, struggles, and senses of purpose. For instance, the closed Facebook group Native American Graduate Students allows members to connect with each other on the basis of a shared Native identity and enrollment in graduate programs at U.S. and Canadian universities. Many seek to find other Indigenous graduate students in their place of residence and eventually form offline relationships and build sociopolitical and cultural communities and practices.

Social Media and Tribal Internet Governance

Native American and Indigenous peoples' use of social media platforms is tied to long-standing contestations over power, governance, and sovereignty. In 1994, the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin was the first tribe to inaugurate its own website, and in so doing, it asserted a sovereign domain in cybersphere (Polly 1998). Since then, the use of the internet by tribal governments has become vital for expressions of tribal presence and power.

In many tribal communities, local leaders have created social media forums where tribal citizens can discuss local issues, such as tribal elections, the enforcement of community norms, or self-governance (Belarde-Lewis 2011). Usually closed or private, these spaces allow tribal members to continue discussions beyond tribal council chambers, away from public plazas or tribal stomping grounds.

Meanwhile, at the regional and national level, intertribal consortiums use social media to raise awareness of the issues affecting Indian Country. Indeed, the groundswell behind the effective reauthorization of the 2013 Violence against Women Act (VAWA)—including measures that allow nontribal perpetrators to be charged in tribal courts—was motivated in part by social media discussions that took place both in local tribal communities and through social media awareness campaigns targeted at regional tribal communities. Indigenous feminists in many regions of the United States and Canada opened Facebook groups and community pages advocating for the rights of Native American women as outlined in VAWA. Major intertribal political organizations, such as the National Congress of American Indians, contributed to Twitter feeds about the reauthorization of VAWA.

Native policy makers and community leaders alike have come to rely on social media tools to augment community-organizing efforts and political mobilization. Different kinds of social media can effectively shape the spread of ideas. Researchers and activists across Indian Country experiment with using social media tools and platforms for public service announcements on smoking cessation, environmentalism, and healthy eating in Native communities. The Tribal Nations Research Group, established by the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians in Belcourt, North Dakota (http://www.tnrg.org/, active December 13, 2020), sponsored studies on the use of ICTs to disseminate messages on preventing HIV and sexually transmitted diseases for Native communities.

Self-determination, self-representation, and political recognition of Native Americans is advanced when Native American and First Nations groups design and control the content of their websites showcasing their histories, cultures, and communities. Network sovereignty and Indigenous technological sovereignty, or technosovereignty, emerge out of Indigenous command of media technologies (Duarte 2017; Martinez 2015). Working through the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC), Native American and tribal advocates ensured that the 2010 U.S. National Broadband Plan included support for increasing American Indians' and Alaska Natives' access to telecommunications and internet service, as well as rules recognizing tribal sovereignty (Federal Communications Commission 2010). In Canada, members of the Sinixt Nation of British Columbia counteract narratives of their supposed extinction by asserting the vibrancy of Sinixt history, culture, identity, and power through digital means (see http://sinixtnation.org/, active December 13, 2020; Wonders 2008).

Social Media and Indigenous Place Making

Native relations to physical place and to tribal or ancestral territories are central to imaginaries of Native North American peoples, their cultures, identities, and politics of autochthony (Forte 2013; Goeman 2008; Teves et al. 2015). In a networked society, the physical boundaries of Native North America expand into digital spheres, making new geographies that allow Indigenous visions of relations among people, communities, territories, politics, and social causes to take place, online.

The University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) has established an ongoing project that territorializes Native virtual space by creating digital maps of "Indigenous Los Angeles" (https://mila.ss.ucla.edu/, active December 13, 2020; Goeman 2016). The maps reveal little-known stories and reflect the diversity of Indigenous peoples within the greater Los Angeles

area that, in 2010, had the second-largest urban Native American population in the United States (Norris et al. 2012). The people profiled include the first peoples of Los Angeles, the Tongva and Tataviam, as well as Indigenous migrant and diaspora communities from across North and Central America (see "Immigrant Indigenous Communities," this vol.).

Cyberspace is imagined as a virtual *terra nullius*—a space that is free, unoccupied, unused, and available for the taking—much as Europeans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries imagined the "New World" (Lewis and Fragnito 2005). The same approach was used by the settlers, who confiscated and occupied lands they saw as unlabored through ongoing colonial ideologies and practices of Native dispossession (Wolfe 2006). Aboriginal Territories in Cyberspace is an initiative of First Nations artists in Canada to leverage the power of networked technologies to expand Aboriginal presence online and to empower First Nations peoples to create, access, lay claim to, and control cyber territoriality. One of its projects, Within Reservations, trains First Nations teens in software design and programming and gives them the resources and tools to create their own virtual geographies. It encourages them to start their own software design consulting firms physically based in their home reservations and to create and manipulate virtual landscapes as a means of empowering the home base.

Conceptual Foundation of the Power of Indigenous Social Media

There are a few ways to think about the social power that Native American and Indigenous peoples leverage through ownership and command of social media. Individuals or small groups can be empowered through increasing communication about Indigenous issues, whereas tribes and social movements can harness power at the level of structural change, by engaging in political activity, lobbying, or changing federal rules of technical regulation and sovereignty.

The antineoliberal and decolonization organizing for which many Indigenous peoples use these platforms—including, for example, #IdleNoMore and #NoDAPL (see "Social Media as a Platform for Social Justice," this chapter)—suggests the need for a renewed understanding of social power and Indigenous peoples' use of social media to attain specific political goals. When Canadian First Nations activist Sweetwater Nannauck (Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian) organized a 5,000-person Native American and First Nations prayer rally at the U.S.-Canada border in January 2013 to protest the capitalist infringement upon sovereign Indigenous lands, it gave rise to a new understanding of the innovative ways that Native peoples can leverage transnational social and political power through social media platforms (Nannauck 2015).

When Valerie Fast Horse returned to Coeur d'Alene, she led the design and 2009 launch of RezKast, a member-driven audio- and video-sharing site similar to YouTube (Kramer 2011; see http://rezkast.com/, active December 13, 2020). The success of RezKast led the Coeur d'Alene tribe to acquire federal funding to improve local internet access, which in turn led the FCC to acknowledge Fast Horse as a national expert on issues shaping the internet in Indian Country. Fast Horse's participation as an advisor on Native American matters to the FCC as well as within the National Congress of American Indians has significantly shaped internet and telecommunications policy in Indian Country in the early twenty-first century.

These and other examples (Constantini 2012; Hass 2015) reveal various ways in which Native Americans and Indigenous peoples are using contemporary social media to make powerful social impacts. These impacts include, but are not limited to, distributing empowering messages through social networks, building technical interfaces and social media apps, and creating and distributing content that speaks primarily to Native American audiences. All of these indicate the ability and willingness of Native Americans to command uses of digital media as content creators, programmers, engineers, and organizational leaders.

Communication styles include the kind of familiar connections that occur among friends and family, as well as the intentional communication that occurs in group spaces based on specific tribal values or practices, such as two-spirit wellness groups. Use of social media also embraces the nonviolent communication that activist organizers use to create coalitions, such as when Idle No More activists joined forces with non-Indigenous environmental health groups (see "Social Media as a Platform for Social Justice," this chapter). Native Americans and Indigenous peoples also communicate through humor and entertainment via literary blogs, comedic tweets or microblogs, podcasts, and video satires.

Native American and Indigenous peoples also use data-driven technical communication when they create apps or systems allowing devices to download or upload content from other devices. For example, Elizabeth Aileen LaPensee (Anishinaabe) designed Singuistics, a downloadable iPad app that allows Inuktitut language learners to upload and share their Inuktitut songs with their Singuistics friends (Murphy 2014). Digital programming code is thus another language being used in Indian Country for cultural and Native language revitalization, and it positions Indige-

nous peoples as active participants in the twenty-first-century advancement of computing technology (see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.).

Safety, Privacy, Information Integrity, and Security

Native American and Indigenous peoples' dialogues on unfolding concerns regarding tribal identity, community, belonging, policy, safety, and sovereignty, as well as their more personal thoughts and feelings, can now be perused in online forums by large numbers of people, who can respond with their own experiences and use this information in a variety of ways. This openness can offer benefits but also produces cautionary tales. Social media interactions have pitfalls for Native American and Indigenous peoples, as evidenced by the association between social media participation and violence against women, girls, and youth; the use of social media to challenge the Native identity of prominent individuals; government surveillance of activist social media accounts; and widespread hacking of personal information.

A 2016 analysis of the technological infrastructures that allow for stalking and intimate partner violence suggests that social media play a role in the widespread abuse, murders, and disappearances of Indigenous women along the U.S.-Canada border and may also be implicated in human trafficking of women and girls (Bailey and Shayan 2016). Text messaging, geolocation "check-in" features, photo sharing, and the ability to count and identify and assess a user's followers also enable stalking and cyber-harassment, that can even provoke suicide-related behavior (Gritton et al. 2017; Luxton et al. 2012).

Tragic cases involving cyberbullying, revenge porn, and the vulnerability of at-risk youth who express their angst through social media have led researchers and policy makers to call for increased awareness of social media safety in First Nations contexts (First Nations Technology Council 2015). For Native American and First Nations populations that deal with significantly higher-than-usual rates of teen suicide and violence against women and girls, the possibility that social media participation may increase vulnerability is a sensitive and painful topic (Gritton et al. 2017).

Although few would challenge an individual's right to personal safety in online expression, many Indigenous thinkers challenge the appropriation of Native identities by non-Native individuals seeking to profit from playing Indian (Deloria 1998; Deloria 1999b; Sturm 2011). "Playing Indian" threatens legitimate claims to tribal rights, the political autonomy of tribal peoples, and Native peoples' definitions and protocols of belonging (Deloria 1999b). The semipublic communication channels forged by social media have created opportunities for groups of concerned individuals to discuss whether prominent Indigenous intellectuals can legitimately claim to belong. In 2015, the claims of one prominent feminist scholar-activist, Andrea Smith, to a Cherokee identity were publicly contested on Tumblr, Twitter, Facebook, and several blogs (Against a Politics of Disposability 2015; Barker 2015; Indigenous Women Scholars 2015; Smith 2015). More broadly, across various social media platforms, Native American academics and activists have debated federal policies shaping the tribal politics of identity and belonging, such as blood quantum, as well as the history, practice, and consequences of Native identity appropriation by non-Native individuals.

There is no doubt that social media is an intrusive technology, blurring the boundaries between private and public domains. Native American and Indigenous peoples' uses of social media for activist mobilization are haunted by the history of FBI surveillance of American Indian social movements. The 2016 social protest at the Standing Rock Indian Reservation in North Dakota revealed federal government and corporate intrusion into the private social media accounts of Native American citizen-activists. From September through November 2016, thousands of activists, citizen-journalists, and allies camped at a few sites bordering the Standing Rock reservation to protest the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline, an underground oil pipeline, near the reservation and its sacred sites and water source. Activists, attorneys, medics, and journalists experienced limited internet connectivity at the location. Influential individuals—that is, those with many social media followers—began to receive notices that their accounts were being blocked or censored by Facebook for inappropriate content. Others found themselves unable to upload live streams of videos showing particularly harsh police brutality against protestors and journalists and depicting apparently illegal actions by Dakota Access Pipeline private security. In 2017, a Freedom of Information Act request revealed that the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) worked with the FBI to surveil the social media accounts of activists and other leaders associated with the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe protest against the Dakota Access Pipeline (Brown et al. 2017).

In addition to concerns over federal government surveillance at Standing Rock, widespread hacking by state-sponsored hacking and corporate intelligence enterprises during the 2016 U.S. presidential election

revealed the widespread vulnerability of information systems and ICTs nested within many U.S. organizations and institutions, including tribal institutions. In Washington state, a tribal police department suffered a ransomware attack, and the department had to pay the hackers to return its information systems to operational capacity (Graff 2017). The wide availability of interoperable social media and mobile devices introduces increased technical vulnerability across Native American and Indigenous communities and reservation internet and telecommunications infrastructures.

Thus, while Native American and Indigenous peoples benefit from the social power enabled by strategic uses of social media, network administrators, law enforcement officials, public figures, activists, and vulnerable populations within Native American and Indigenous communities also experience challenges to personal, institutional, and government security through misuses of social media systems and associated devices.

Social Media as a Platform for Social Justice

In 2012, two transnational social justice movements powered by social media campaigns showed the reach of social media and mobile devices in Native North America. #IdleNoMore was a protest against the former Canadian prime minister Stephen Harper's (2006–2015) plan to divest a number of First Nations' rights to land, water, and environmental health (see "#IdleNoMore," this chapter). Also in 2012, Indigenous activists in Spanish-speaking North America used social media to launch an EZLN and Indigenous protest against the neoliberal and environmentally unhealthy policies of Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto (2012–2018). Mass media cable news providers did not report on the EZLN protest or #Idle No More until weeks after the activism was in full force.

Native American and Indigenous journalists had long been aware of the lack of coverage of news in Indian Country, across First Nations communities, and in Indigenous autonomous zones. By the time of the 2016 #NoDAPL protests against the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline through the territory of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, Native American and Indigenous peoples were effectively using social media for citizen journalism, direct-action mobilization, awareness campaigns, protest art, community safety, and story work. They have applied a range of techniques across various social media platforms to raise awareness of injustice and to mobilize individuals toward consciousness raising and political engagement.

Hashtag Activism

Since emerging in 2006, Twitter has become one of the world's most popular social networking sites, with an estimated 330 million active users as of 2017. Users often apply hashtags, or indexical phrases or words accompanied by a hashtag symbol, to describe and circulate content. Tweeting, retweeting, and "hashtagging" are techniques for sharing information and increasing interaction between user accounts across multiple platforms, making user accounts more visible and strengthening issue groups within and across interconnected social networks (boyd and Ellison 2007:211; Cocq 2015:276).

The Twittersphere contains a visible Native American and Indigenous presence (as of 2017), in part owing to the popularity of accounts such as @WabKinew, @UrbanNativeGirl, @TheAngryIndian, @Robohotas, @Indigeneity, and @IdleNoMore4. These accounts spread awareness of issues pertinent to Indian Country and Native peoples, particularly in political and social activism, the arts, and language revitalization efforts. A 2016 social network analysis of Native American rights advocates' uses of Twitter revealed that when advocates applied the hashtag #indigenous to their tweets, it boosted circulation of those tweets across various clusters of users, or issue groups, within the Twittersphere (Vigil-Hayes et al. 2017).

Twitter and other social media platforms that employ hashtags have thus become places where Native American and Indigenous peoples can express their thoughts, raise awareness, and compel action on the issues that affect their communities but that may not get attention from traditional mass media outlets, like cable television and corporate radio. Native activists use hashtags on T-shirts, flyers, and posters to spread awareness of their communities' social and political plights, to educate the public, and to mobilize support. As an expression of social activism by Native peoples, the hashtag raises the visibility of Indigenous issues and helps activists, like Ashley Callingbull, Cree model and actress who was selected as Miss Canada 2010 and Mrs. Universe 2015, assert First Nations rights and encourage citizens to vote out then prime minister Stephen Harper (Maloney 2015).

Blogs

Blogs, or informational sites curated by individuals, are highly significant to Native American and Indigenous peoples' online expression. Along with other social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook, blogs provide a forum where Native American and Indigenous bloggers control how they are heard and

seen. Native blog sites reflect the lived experiences and concerns of Native audiences, frequently in contrast to stereotyped representations by non-Indigenous people, capitalist industries, mass media, and the entertainment industry.

Blogging by Native American and Indigenous peoples is a way of articulating Indigenous voice, power, and influence. Popular blogs (as of 2017) include *Beyondbuckskin.com* that showcases Native American style and fashion; *Urban Native Stuff* that represents Toronto-based Lisa Charleyboy's thoughts on pop culture, fashion, film, and beauty; *redmanlaughing .com* where Ojibway/Métis comedian Ryan McMahon posts podcasts, sketches, and music that challenge stereotypes of Indians; *lastrealindians.com* where Native American academics present important issues in Indian Country; and *Native Appropriations* where Cherokee scholar, writer, and blogger Adrienne Keene challenges stereotyping, practices of cultural appropriation, and anti-Indian racism. Keene's blogging, in particular, is an expression of Native American social power, intellectualism, and sovereignty (Metcalfe 2012). It has led to public apologies from companies such as Paul Frank Industries and the Limited, Inc., while encouraging positive representations and empowerment of Native Americans.

Vlogging: YouTube and Vimeo

Historically, Native Americans and Indigenous peoples have not had access to, let alone command and control of, the media and means of production shaping their visual self-representation and empowerment. Video-sharing and video-logging, or vlogging, sites such as Vimeo and YouTube represent another social media technique for distributing Native American and Indigenous content and expression. They have helped Native people upload and distribute their own work and make their concerns visible, enabling media creators—from amateurs to skilled producers—to connect with diverse Native American and Indigenous audiences through humor, aesthetics, lectures, story work, news, and updates. Since 2005, YouTube has featured videos uploaded by individuals, groups, organizations, and companies onto their own channels, with content ranging from music videos, video blogs, educational videos, and more. The Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian has a popular YouTube channel (https://www.youtube.com/user/SmithsonianNMAI) that shares educational videos from exhibitions, symposia, workshops, and events oriented around Native American culture, beliefs, art, and experiences. The goal is to empower Native voices through visual media.

Native American and Indigenous filmmakers and artists use vlogging sites to share their movies, clips, and short videos. The Native American comedy troupe 1491s uses a YouTube channel to disseminate its video sketches of Native culture and political satire (https://www.youtube.com/user/the1491s, active December 13, 2020). Members of the 1491s have collaborated with Native filmmakers, such as the Bird Crew Productions film group based in Tahlequa, Oklahoma, who use YouTube as their primary channel for sharing their independent videos and movies.

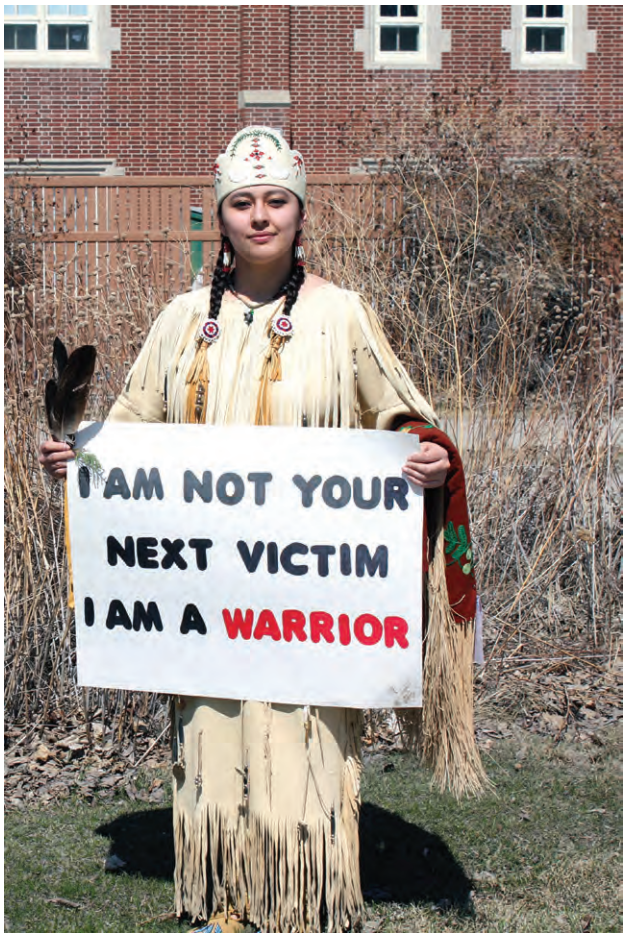
Prominent Social Media Campaigns

In the mid-1990s, social theorist Manuel Castells predicted that "identity groups" would use the internet to raise global awareness of local issues and channel resources from sympathetic allies in distant locations (Castells 1997). Two decades after his prediction, and in spite of the cultural distinctiveness of Indigenous peoples across North America, various Indigenous movements are applying social media techniques to mobilize around crosscutting issues, as revealed by four public and political campaigns launched between 2011 and 2016.

• #MMIW From 1980 to 2012, between 600 and 1,200 Indigenous girls and women across Canada and along the U.S.-Canadian border were murdered or reported missing (Amnesty International 2004; Native Women's Association of Canada 2015; Royal Canadian Mounted Police 2014, 2015). Indigenous girls and women are disproportionately affected by and vulnerable to violence: although Indigenous women in Canada make up roughly 4 percent of the country's female population, 16 percent of all women murdered in Canada have been Indigenous (Government of Canada 2016) (figs. 7, 8).

The movement to raise public awareness about Canada's murdered and disappeared Indigenous women, girls, and two-spirit people emerged over years through a series of events. It included marches (like the Women's Memorial March held every Valentine's Day); research, educational, and policy initiatives started by Native women–led organizations, like Sisters in Spirit and Families of Sisters in Spirit; art installations, such as Walking with Our Sisters and the Faceless Doll Project; and community projects, like the Highway of Tears database and digital map (Sterritt 2015).

The use of social media and techniques, such as hashtagging, have amplified First Nations women's voices and organizations tackling the issue of violence against Indigenous women. The hashtag #MMIW (Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women) and the related hashtag campaigns #ItStartsWithUs, #ItEndsHere,



Photograph by Sloan Henry.

Fig. 7. Violence against Women Act. Mariah Cooper, University of North Dakota Annual Wacipi, Grand Forks, North Dakota, 2018.

Photograph by Sloan Henry.

Fig. 8. Protect Our Women. Jeff Widner, University of North Dakota Annual Wacipi, Grand Forks, North Dakota, 2018.

and #AmINext? helped bolster awareness of the movement throughout Canada and internationally (Sterritt 2015). On December 8, 2015, under the newly elected government of Justin Trudeau, Canada announced a National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (see www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/, active December 13, 2020) and began seeking recommendations to prevent further violence to Canada's Indigenous women and girls (Government of Canada 2016).

• #IDLENOMORE Idle No More emerged in late 2012 as one of the largest Indigenous social movements in Canadian history. It was spearheaded by four women—Jessica Gordon, Sylvia McAdam, Nina Wilson, and Sheelah McLean—in Saskatchewan to protest the proposed Canadian federal legislation Bill C-45 and an associated series of bills introduced by the government of then prime minister Stephen Harper. The bills proposed to remove environmental protections for waterways, effectively jeopardizing First Nations territory and treaty lands. After exchanging email threads and ideas through social media, the women organized a community teach-in called "Idle No More" to outline their opposition to the proposed measures (Caven 2013; McLean et al. 2017; Nannauck 2015; Petronzio 2016; Idle No More n.d.).

Social media played a critical role: organizers coordinated community teach-ins through a Facebook page and subsequently publicized the campaign through Twitter with the hashtag #IdleNoMore. Gordon, from Pasqua 4 Treaty Territory, was inspired to use the phrase "Idle No More" to remind people of the urgency of getting to work on the issues affecting their lives (Idle No More n.d.; Caven 2013).

#IdleNoMore quickly developed into a worldwide campaign and grassroots social action movement, inspiring protests, rallies, and sit-ins across North America and beyond aimed at safeguarding the environment, guaranteeing women's rights, honoring First Nations and Native American treaties, and asserting tribal sovereignty against capitalist, patriarchal, and colonial agendas enacted by government and big business. The messages of the Idle No More movement traveled as far as Aotearoa/New Zealand and Ukraine, inspiring solidarity among Indigenous peoples and allies. Regarded by its leaders as a global spiritual movement for everyone who cares about the planet, Idle No More is guided by Indigenous principles of inclusivity and relationality, demonstrating that the path to a healthier future lies through Indigenous intersectional feminist leadership (Caven 2013).

• #NODAPL In 2016, the youth of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe in North Dakota harnessed the power of social media to raise consciousness in defense of Native American sovereignty, civil rights, and

social and environmental justice. In March 2016, then 13-year-olds Tokata Iron Eyes and Anna Lee Rain Yellowhammer, and about 30 of their friends in the Standing Rock Sioux community, used social media to mobilize support against the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline in their tribal territory (Petronzio 2016; Revesz 2016). The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers planned to reroute construction of this pipeline to run under Lake Oahe on the Missouri River, posing grave risk to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe's water supply and sacred sites (Stop the Dakota Access Pipeline 2016). The Standing Rock youth relied heavily on campaigning through social media and hashtag activism to raise awareness of the illegality and devastating consequences of the pipeline. The movement they launched became widely known by the hashtag they coined: #NoDAPL (Petronzio 2016).

In April 2016, Anna Lee Rain Yellowhammer launched a Change.org petition that moved across social media with the hashtags #NoDAPL, #ReZpectOurWater, and #StandingWithStandingRock. The Standing Rock youth held rallies and organized a 2,000-mile relay race to Washington, DC, to deliver their petition, which they documented and publicized through YouTube and Twitter (Revesz 2016; Stop the Dakota Access Pipeline 2016). Standing Rock Sioux historian LaDonna Brave Bull Allard posted a video on Facebook asking people to join the youth in physically blocking construction. Through the remainder of 2016, thousands of people calling themselves "water protectors" arrived at the Standing Rock Reservation from around the United States and the world and, in a massive exercise of civil disobedience, assembled to protest the pipeline. Their participation exponentially increased the #NoDAPL social media campaign and swelled the on-the-ground movement, producing millions of tweets as well as both independent media and mass media coverage (Petronzio 2016).

Despite the continuation of the pipeline's construction in 2017 following the support of President Donald Trump (Mufson and Eilperin 2017), #NoDAPL demonstrated the power and necessity of social media for gaining support for twenty-first-century Indigenous social movements. Documenting critical events through social media became a vital technique for protecting and empowering the water protectors and their allies. Activists uploaded videos and live-streamed content to Facebook Live, Facebook timelines, Twitter feeds, and YouTube channels in a coordinated attempt to broadcast the violent standoffs. Individuals who could not be physically present at the protest sites also used social media to support the movement from a distance by promoting the hashtag campaigns, sharing videos and updates, and sending messages of support. At one point, as a show of support and solidarity, thousands of allies around the world used the Facebook check-in feature to show that they were virtually present at the Standing Rock Reservation. Social media thus became an extension of the battlefield in defense of the environment, Native American rights, and tribal sovereignty.

• ROCK YOUR MOCKS In 2011, Jessica Jaylyn Atsye, a Pueblo of Laguna student, launched a way for Native Americans across the world to celebrate their cultural identities using social media. During National Native American Heritage Month (November of each year) in the United States, Atsye invites tribal members to proudly wear their traditional footwear—moccasins—on November 15 and post the images to Facebook or tweet to #RockURMocs (Bogado 2013; Walker 2014).

#RockUrMocs has become an annual event. Since 2011, thousands of people have participated, including students at elementary and high schools in New Mexico; college students at Fort Lewis College, Northern Arizona University, Portland State University, Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute, the University of Minnesota, and the University of California, Los Angeles; and individuals from tribal nations including the Arapaho, Blackfeet (Niitsitape), Cherokee, Cheyenne, Confederated Tribes of Siletz, Cree, Kiowa, Lakota, Menominee, Mescalero Apache, Navajo, Ojibwe, Pueblo of Acoma, Pueblo of Laguna, Seneca, and Suquamish (https://www.facebook.com/RockYourMocs/, active December 13, 2020).

Organizations have also hosted Rock Your Mocs events, such as an annual fun run/walk, a fall round dance, a fashion show, exhibits of children's drawings, and photo shoots with people sharing their names, tribes, and locations, using their Native languages when possible (figs. 9, 10). In 2014, the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center sponsored a daylong Rock Your Mocs celebration that was livestreamed online. The Rock Your Mocs Facebook page provided a forum for advertising events, sharing details on how to locate and make footwear, sharing images of footwear as Native Americans go about their daily activities, and affirming that Native American peoples' traditions are alive and well. In 2015, Rock Your Mocs became so popular that it extended into a full week of activities.

Social Media Platforms and Pan-Tribalism

In addition to allowing users to share information regarding social justice, social media enables the formation of online community groups focused on language

Photograph by Sloan Henry.

Fig. 9. Cultural preservation. Lavie Henry, moccasin making, Grand Forks, North Dakota, 2017.

Photograph by Sloan Henry.

Fig. 10. Fostering connection and tradition. Tennasyn Henry, crafting a traditional ribbon skirt, Grand Forks, North Dakota, 2017.

learning and language revitalization, powwow culture, dating, humor, and other topics.

Online Communities for Language Learning and Revitalization

Social media has facilitated support for, awareness of, and community practices around Indigenous language revitalization. For example, IndigenousTweets.com works to keep Indigenous languages alive in the digital age by raising awareness of global revitalization efforts (see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.).

Groups of Indigenous language speakers also rely on Facebook to support language preservation and revitalization. There are community pages such as National Coalition of Native American Language Schools and Programs and the Native Language Exchange as well as members-only Facebook groups such as Shiwi'ma A:beye:na:kwe' Wokkwinne, the Zuni language speakers group.

Indigenous language speakers also use platforms like YouTube to post videos of active speakers in their communities pronouncing and explaining words and phrases and to promote short videos in which Native stories are told in their original Indigenous languages. These social media groups and channels often go beyond language learning, as members post updates about news affecting Native American and Indigenous peoples and about cultural aspects of life.

Online Powwows

The term *powwow*—believed to have derived from the language of the Algonquian-speaking Narragansett people of Rhode Island—originally meant meeting or gathering. Today, as a cultural phenomenon of intertribal singing, dancing, and competition, it has the roots in the Indian removal period of the nineteenth century, which forcibly brought different, sometimes warring, tribes together, compelling compromise and syncretism to survive the onslaught of the reservation system (Oxendine 2011). Powwow is a contemporary expression of Native American cultural adaptation, presence, and dynamism, celebrating at once the commonalities of and differences between Native American cultures, heritages, histories, communities, and politics.

While powwows happen in physical places both on and off sovereign tribal lands and in urban and rural settings, the wide reach of social media allows Indigenous people to extend the cultural and social practices of powwows into cyberspace through blogs, video-sharing sites, photo-sharing sites, and more. Since 1996, the website www.powwows.com (active December 13, 2020) has been a prominent online space where people connect and share information about local, regional, and U.S. national powwow circuits. Through this digital portal, people can view videos and photos of powwows and participate from afar by commenting on and sharing content through associated social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.

Going a step further, the CyberPowWow project is a virtual powwow that exists only in digital form on the website www.cyberpowwow.net. An expression of the First Nations artists' initiative Aboriginal Territories in Cyberspace, www.cyberpowwow.net, since 1996, has provided a digital gallery of artwork, a library of texts, and chat rooms. Until 2004, the site hosted a biannual two-day powwow, where participants virtually communed with each other, shared art, engaged in critical readings, and discussed topics pertinent to Native life (Hopkins 2006:343; Lewis and Fragnito 2005). CyberPowWow helped build a First Nations online artists community in a space that artists view as their own digital territory. Both the two-day powwow and the online artists community projects extended the boundaries of Indian Country, moving the discourses of art and practices of powwow beyond sovereign Indian lands and into the mobile phones and laptops of Indigenous peoples across North America, or Turtle Island, as many Indigenous people call it these days (Landzelius 2006).

Online Dating

In Native American culture, *snagging* is slang for actively seeking a romantic partner. While no social scientific studies of Native American or Indigenous peoples' use of online dating sites have yet been conducted, tailored dating sites such as E-Snag and Native American Passions point to the existence of such use (E-Snag 2009; Native American Passions 2017). Through these sites, Native American and Indigenous individuals engage in online dating in a digital environment that appeals to protocols and practices of dating and romance in modern pan-tribal culture.

As Native American and Indigenous people increasingly relocate for work, school, or active military duty, online dating represents a logical path for those who find their dating options limited or who live far from communities where they might benefit from informal marriage market intermediaries, such as family members (Medicine 1988). Certain online dating sites—such as www.nativeamericanpassions.com and www.nativeamericanpersonals.com (both active December 13, 2020)—specialize in serving as intermediaries for those seeking contact with prospective Native partners, and some allow users to search by tribe or reservation affiliation. In contrast, some general dating sites lack the option for self-identifying as Indigenous. Moreover, because users on general dating sites often adopt pseudonyms, ascertaining a prospective partner's Native identity may require careful interpretation of posted images, the chosen alias, the profile text, and self-reported ethnic identification (Bailey and Shayan 2016).

Humor

When two or more Native Americans get together, the presence of humor is all but guaranteed. Humor, as expressed by laughing, teasing, and joking, is "widely used by Indians to deal with life" (Gunn Allen 1986:158). Native American humor has been described as survival humor, a dark humor that both celebrates Native American and Indigenous peoples' current existence while commemorating the pain they suffer as a result of colonialism (Gross 2007). Researchers have described the use of humor by Native Americans participating in focus groups to discuss alcohol consumption as including "parody [subtle imitation], hyperbole [playful exaggeration], and word play [rhyming and puns]" (Bletzer et al. 2011:297). Native American humor is also often tempered by irony (Andrews 2000). The true subversive task of Native American humor, which is sometimes self-deprecating, may be to be taken seriously (Carpenter 2014).

Among Native American and Indigenous communities, interpersonal connections established through social media have become a moccasin telegraph for sharing news, updates, and information in often humorous or comedic form. Indian humor in social media networks comes with its own discourse, rhetoric, and vocabulary. Native American people become NdNz, a shorthand for Indians, and "percap" jokes refer to the unexpected tragicomic events that occur when tribal citizens receive their per capita payments from casino profits.

Social media also enables individuals to share videos of well-known Native American and Indigenous comedians and up-and-coming humorists, including Native American college students. Comedians Tantanka Means and Don Burnstick and cartoonist Ricardo Cate have their own Facebook pages, making

it easier for their fans to follow their latest messages. Facebook users also create and share memes.

In 2017, more than 200,000 people followed the Facebook group Rez Memes—short for reservation memes. Common themes in comments and jokes are the Pilgrims, Thanksgiving, Christopher Columbus and Columbus Day, Indian names, powwows, reservation cars, reservation dogs, dating and relationships, and Native food.

Constructed concisely, Native humor replicates quickly across social media platforms and refers to how Natives have been treated over time ("Sure you can trust the government . . . Just ask a Native American.") In many cases, Native American humor is expressed as a twist on American popular culture. Photo-sharing sites like Pinterest, Instagram, Snapchat, and Flickr contain examples of popular images remixed to emphasize the joyful dark humor that characterizes Native life.

Conclusion

Native Americans and Indigenous people have many reasons to be skeptical of the social power of mainstream communication technologies. In the early twentieth century, private U.S. and Canadian companies deployed networked technologies, such as wireless telegraph, that abetted federal removal of Native Americans from their sovereign lands. Racist misinterpretations of Native Americans and Indigenous people have been widely distributed in films and on television as well as in mass media news coverage of Native American and Indigenous issues.

In the early twenty-first century, social media has given Native American and Indigenous people across North America a tool for self-representation and a way to connect with each other on a range of factors shaping Indigenous life, from humor to organizing for political change. The many effective uses of social media platforms by Indigenous groups reflect their desire to have their voices heard on issues such as violence against women, cultural appropriation, tribal sovereignty, and Indigenous identity.

Native people have adopted and adapted social media to assert their identities and communal practices of resurgence and resilience, while also bonding and raising awareness of aspects of contemporary Native life.

At the same time, social media will present many challenges to Native and Indigenous people in the years to come. These challenges will include the need to assert tribal sovereignty and autochthony through the operations and application layers of the internet—including through the multiple bounded spaces within social media platforms; to acquire and extend internet access to all Native American and Indigenous communities; to protect vulnerable groups and individuals as they interact online; and to maintain online security and privacy. In spite of the vulnerabilities that social media introduces into Indigenous life, moving into the twenty-first century requires deep understanding of the ways that Native peoples use social media in everyday contexts. Such an understanding reveals the contours of an ongoing Native North American effort to combat racism; assert sovereignty; advocate for Indigenous women's rights; strengthen family and community ties; and revitalize history, language, and culture through digital means.

Additional Readings

For the most recent trends in the rapidly advancing use of Social Media across Indian Country see: Carlson and Berglund 2021; Corntassel et al. 2020; Hinzo and Schofield Clark 2019; Intahchomphoo 2018; Ni Bhroin et al. 2021; Sorrell 2019; and K. Watson 2019.

Digital Domains for Native American Languages

GARY HOLTON

In the decades since the *Handbook of North American Indians* was conceived in the 1960s, digital forms of communication have become ubiquitous for non-Indigenous languages in North America, often serving as the primary domain of communication. The role of computers and the internet as tools for accessing Native American language materials is discussed briefly in volume 2 (Hinton 2008:351) using the data available by 2005–2006. This chapter reviews the emerging role of digital technologies that support Native North American languages as a communicative medium in the twenty-first century. As of the end of its second decade, the digital domain remains underdeveloped for Native American languages, though the examples discussed in this chapter provide evidence that this is beginning to change. While digital technologies including email, text messaging, websites, and social media have become integral to communication in English, Spanish, French, and other languages of wider communication—even for Native American audiences (see "Social Media," this vol.)—few of these technologies are fully supported in Native North American languages.

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, no Native North American language had yet fully entered the domain of digitally mediated communication, though a few languages were partially supported at the level of computer or mobile device operating systems. As new domains of language use facilitate new ways of communicating in Native languages, many more languages are beginning to take advantage of digital technologies. Where intergenerational transmission has ceased or been greatly reduced, these digital language communities provide venues for new speakers to practice and expand their language skills.

Two types of digital language communities can be distinguished. In a *primary* digital language community, Native language serves to mediate interaction with the digital tools, whereas in a *secondary* digital language community interaction is mediated in a dominant language, typically English, French, or Spanish in North America. An analogy can be drawn with monolingual and bilingual dictionaries. A primary community is like a monolingual dictionary, in which the native language is used to navigate and search through the dictionary. In contrast, a secondary community can be compared to a bilingual dictionary, in which a dominant language is used to access native language content. Just as there are few monolingual dictionaries of Native North American languages, there are few primary digital language communities.

This distinction between primary and secondary communities has both practical and theoretical implications. While few Native North American languages have yet to make progress toward creating primary digital language communities, secondary communities have emerged for almost all languages. And for some languages these secondary communities have become the major focus of language use. This is particularly true for languages that have been recently reawakened (i.e., revived from documentary sources in the absence of surviving speakers). For such communities, where all members are in a sense learners, the digital domain provides a new space for language use. Secondary digital communities also serve to bring together in virtual space diaspora communities that are widely distributed in physical space owing to migration.

This chapter surveys the digital domains for primary and secondary communities, drawing on examples from several Native North American languages as of 2016. Given the diversity of language situations in the region, this survey cannot claim to be comprehensive (see "Native American Languages at the Threshold of the New Millennium," this vol., for further discussion of language diversity in North America). Languages with official governmental status, such as Kalaallisut (Greenlandic Inuit) in Greenland, typically have more access to digital resources than do small languages without official status. Nevertheless, new technologies such as social networks have helped to level the playing field by enabling the creation of digital domains even in underresourced communities; hence, the examples discussed in this chapter can be considered largely representative of the emerging digital domains for North American languages in the early twenty-first century. The more theoretical question of whether primary digital language communities are necessary to support language revitalization efforts are discussed at the end of the chapter.

Primary Digital Language Communities

The digital realm can offer more or less support to languages as a tool of interaction, and some languages are currently better supported than others. Few languages can be considered fully supported in the digital realm. In an exhaustive survey, Kornai (2013:6) found only 16 of the world's languages to be "thriving" in the digital realm—English, Japanese, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian (Bokmål), Danish, Finnish, Russian, Polish, Chinese, and Korean–with full text input and operating-level support. Most interaction between human and device (computer, mobile phone, etc.) is thus mediated by one of these 16 languages. In North America, the language of mediation is generally English, French, or Spanish, so that even when accessing digital Native American language content one must use English or French or Spanish to access that content. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, no Native North American language was fully supported as a primary digital language community, in the sense of having operating systems, spell checkers, speech recognition, web-based content, and other technologies necessary to mediate digital interaction using the language. However, some Native American languages had at least partial support. For example, both Navajo and Kalaallisut (Greenlandic) have significant Wikipedia content in the Indigenous language.

Many of the tools and technologies addressed in this chapter are commonly overlooked in discussions of support for Native American and other minority languages. These tools are essential to supporting a primary digital language community, but they exist behind the scenes. The very invisibility of these tools is a corollary to their essential nature. These tools are necessary to maintain digital communication in a language, and the tools themselves must exist in the background and not interfere with the actual communication.

Operating System Support

In the early twenty-first century, an operating system mediates interaction between humans and digital devices (computers, tablets, phones, etc.). The operating system handles input through keyboard, voice, or other means and provides a way for the user to navigate through different applications and settings. This interaction is inherently language-based, and most operating systems provide support for interacting with the device in a choice of several different languages. For the most part, these operating system languages are languages of wider communication with many tens of millions of speakers, but endangered languages, including Native North American languages, are increasingly supported by modern operating systems.

Microsoft Windows offered its first support for Native American languages with the Cherokee language pack for Windows 8, introduced in 2012. Windows 10, released in 2015, now offers language packs for 111 languages with a broad geographic range, but Cherokee remains the only Native North American language, while Quechua and K'iche' are the only 2 Latin American Indigenous languages currently supported by Windows.

The Macintosh operating system (Mac OS) has consistently provided the best support for non-English languages, including Native North American languages. The latest version, Mac OS 10.11 El Capitan, released September 2015, provides full support for 30 languages plus an additional 3 language varieties, and an additional 262 languages have limited operating system support. Twelve of these are Native North American languages: Unangam Tunuu (Aleut, ale); Hinóno'etíít (Arapaho, arp); ᏣᎳᎩ ᏚᎾᏏᏍᏗ (Cherokee, chr); Tsėhésenėstsetȯ (Cheyenne, chy); Mvskoke (Creek, mus); ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑐᑦ (Inuktitut, ike); Kalaallisut (Greenlandic, kal); Lakȟól'iyapi (Lakota, lkt); Míkmawísimk (Micmac, mic); Kanien'kéha (Mohawk, moh); Diné Bizaad (Navajo, nav); and Shiwi'ma (Zuni, zun). However, this lists greatly exaggerates the level of support provided for these languages.

For the most part, only a limited number of features have been implemented in the target language, while the remainder of the interface makes use of a secondary language. For example, with the primary operating system language set to Inuktitut (Native language of Canadian Inuit communities), only the month names and days of the week have been translated; the remainder of the interface is in English, including the button marked "Today," the word "Search," and the time-frame selection box "Day | Week | Month | Year" (fig. 1). So, in this case, partial operating system support for Inuktitut consists of translation (in this case, transliteration) of 19 words. Even this situation for Inuktitut is better than that for the remaining 11 languages.

Changing the primary language to Diné Bizaad (Navajo) has no effect on the Calendar app and no apparent effect on the interface more generally. Even with the primary language set to Diné Bizaad, the language and region setting dialogue remains entirely in English (fig. 2). This contrasts sharply with the situation for the 33 world languages with full support. For those languages all interface text, not merely the names of months and days, is given in the target language.

The situation is somewhat better for iOS, Apple's mobile operating system for phones and tablets. iOS

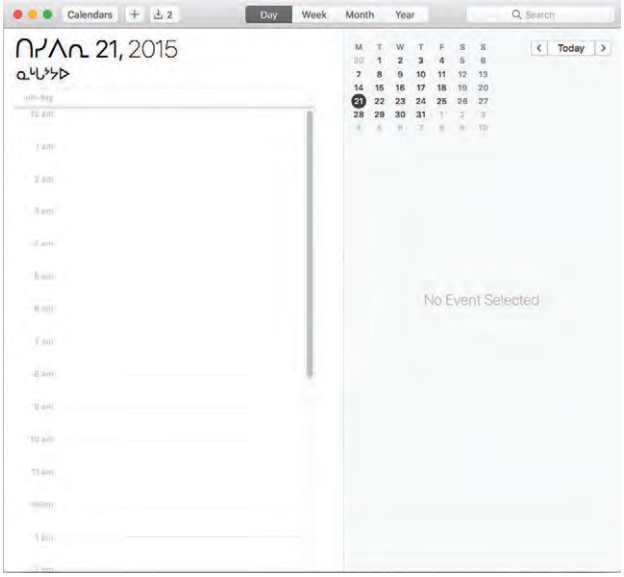


Fig. 1. Calendar app in Mac OS 10.11 with primary language set to Inuktitut.

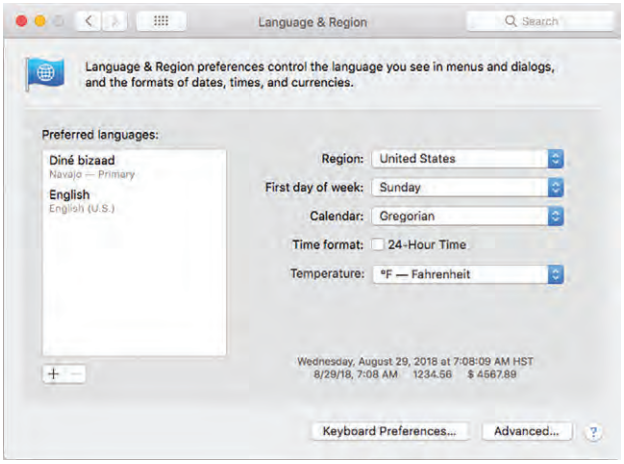


Fig. 2. Mac OS 10.11 settings page showing primary language set to Diné Bizaad.

version 9 provides built-in support for 46 languages plus an additional 7 language varieties, though none of these are Native American languages. However, iOS allows developers to provide support for any language through the use of an ISO 639 language code. Thus, even though the operating system may not support Native American languages, it is in theory possible for a developer to build an app that does provide this support. However, to date, no developers have taken advantage of this opportunity. For example, the Diné Bizaad app uses an English interface that presents the user with a number of options, including Dictionary, Clanship, Categories, and Word of the Day. In theory, it would be possible for the developer to localize the app in Diné Bizaad language; however, the implicit assumption is that the user will interact with the app using English, not Diné Bizaad.

Software Localization

Software localization refers to the process of translating menu items, buttons, dialogue boxes, and even help files into a particular language. Localization can provide support for Native North American languages by encouraging the use of the language in the digital domain. While it is certainly possible to compose an email in a Native language using an interface written in a language of wider communication, the use of a Native interface may help to promote such an activity. As of 2016, the Gmail email software had been localized into 55 languages, including one Native North American language, ᏣᎳᎩ ᏚᎾᏏᏍᏗᏗ (Cherokee). When Cherokee is chosen as the interface language for Gmail, all commands and options are presented in the Native language. To send an email message, the user taps the ᏫᏚᏅᏗ button. A Google virtual keyboard extension can be employed to facilitate entry of non-Latin characters. The Google internet search engine has also been localized into Cherokee, allowing users to search for Cherokee terms and find resulting web pages with Cherokee language content (https://www.google.com/webhp?hl=chr, active December 18, 2020). Here, the Google search catchphrase “I’m feeling lucky” has been translated into Cherokee as ᏅᏩᏙ ᏔᏍᏙᏙ ᎠᏔᏗᏩᏙᏅ ᏍᏏᏚᏍᏚ. As of 2016, Google search had been localized into 159 languages, though Cherokee was the only Native North American language among these.

Google is one of many software developers that offer instructions, and in some cases assistance, on the localization process. In general, the process requires translation of a list of words and phrases. Complete localization of advanced programs such as the OpenOffice suite may require translation of more than 20,000 text strings; however, it is not necessary to translate every bit of text. Localization projects can begin with commonly used text such as menu items and proceed into less commonly accessed areas of the program. In this way, a localization project itself may inspire a community of learners, as participants collaborate to provide the necessary translations.

Spellcheckers

Interaction with digital devices relies crucially on spellchecking—namely, the ability for the device to recognize incorrectly spelled words and suggest corrections. In twentieth-century computing, the primary purpose of a spellchecker was to assist with proper

spelling during composition of a document. Thus, it was assumed that "a good Navajo spell-checker would give a boost to the emergence of Navajo literature" (Slate 2001:401). In the new millennium, spellcheckers are not just useful for writers; spellcheckers are integral to interaction with digital devices. This is true not because users have imperfect knowledge of spelling conventions (though this may also be the case) but rather because of the nature of text input on digital devices. When using a keyboard for text entry, most users have a high rate of input errors. These errors are tolerable owing to the existence of spellchecking software, which recognizes errors and attempts to correct them. Spellcheckers are particularly important to text input on mobile devices, where small keyboards result in frequent input errors. These devices often make use of predictive spelling, in which software attempts to determine the intended word before the user has finished entering it.

As of 2015, no Native North American language had a spellchecker at the operating system level that works with all installed software. However, a Kalaallisut (Greenlandic) spellchecker is available for several word-processing programs, including Microsoft Office, LibreOffice, and OpenOffice (http://oqaasileriffik.gl/langtech/spell-checker/). The Kalaallisut spellchecker, known as *kukkuniiaat*, is the product of more than a decade of development with the official support of Oqaaserpassualeriffik, a division of the Greenland Language Secretariat devoted to language technology (Langgård 2005).

Automated Speech Recognition

Like spellcheckers, the ability for digital devices to recognize speech is critical to human interaction with those devices. As devices become smaller and more mobile, traditional text-based input becomes less useful, and the ability to speak to a device becomes more important. This ability requires speech recognition software tuned to the particular language of interaction. For major world languages, well-developed acoustic models are available to facilitate speech recognition (though support for regional varieties may be lacking). As of 2015, no such models had been widely implemented for Native North American languages. However, the development of speech recognition for small languages is an area of active research.

The Sphinx project at Carnegie Mellon University now provides an open-source speech recognition toolkit. Testing with North American languages Inupiaq and Ojibwe suggests that highly accurate speech recognition rates can be achieved with those languages by extracting an acoustic model from as little as 30 minutes of narrowly transcribed speech recordings (Sitaram et al. 2013). Support for automated speech recognition for North American languages is likely to increase in the coming years.

Web-Based Content: Wikipedia

A final aspect of primary language communities to be considered in this section is the existence of web-based content. The internet forms an integral part of twenty-first-century life and hence is also crucial to the digital future of Native languages. Almost all aspects of modern life in North America require or expect some kind of interaction with web-based content. To create a primary language community for a Native American language thus requires creation of web-based content in that language. It is important to distinguish between content *about* a language and content *in* a language.

The collaborative internet encyclopedia Wikipedia.org provides a good illustration of this distinction. Since its founding in 2001, Wikipedia has grown to become the default reference source for almost any question. Wikipedia is arguably an essential component of digital existence. However, most of this content is in just a few languages of wider communication. There is a significant amount of content *about* Native American languages, but this content is for the most part written in English and forms part of the English Wikipedia. In 2014, there were Wikipedia versions in 289 different languages, plus another 340 at the "incubator" stage, a development platform with less stringent article standards than the full Wikipedia. Incubator pages can be requested for languages that lack a community of at least five active editors (https://incubator.wikimedia.org/wiki/Incubator:Wikis#Wikipedia, active December 18, 2020). The incubator category represents an experimental development stage; content on incubator pages may not be entirely in the target languages, and pages may have little content.

It is crucial to understand the significance of the distinction between a Wikipedia page that is about a Native language and one that is in a Native language. Compare the English Wikipedia entry for Window Rock, Arizona, (fig. 3) with the equivalent Navajo Wikipedia entry for Tségháhoodzání (fig. 4). The English version does contain some Native language, particularly the Navajo name for Window Rock, but the text and the menus are entirely in English. In contrast, all aspects of the Navajo page are in Navajo. The page URL begins with the Navajo language Wikipedia code "nv." Menu items such as yíníshta' (read), łahgo áshłééh (edit), and hanishtá (search) are all in Navajo. Even the name of the site, Wikiibíídiiya, has been transliterated into Navajo. Note that the Navajo page

Fig. 3. English Wikipedia entry for Window Rock, Arizona (August 2016). Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported (CC BY-SA 3.0).

Tsé ghá hoo dzání is equivalent to the English Window Rock page, but it is not simply a translation. The content is different, in keeping with Wikipedia practice. Wikipedias for different languages are not translations of each other, and an article in a given language need not contain an equivalent article in other languages.

Wikipedia provides a space for language use in the digital realm, and it is often among the very first digital language communities to become active (Kornai 2013). Thus, where significant Wikipedia content in an Indigenous language does exist, it is often a harbinger of the language's entrance into the digital realm. As of December 2014, there were at least 30 Wikipedias for Native North American languages, most at the incubator stage. Only two Native North American languages had any significant Wikipedia presence, with more than 1,000 substantive articles. These are Navajo (ISO 639-3 nav) and Kalaallisut (ISO 639-3 kal). Navajo had by far the largest Wikipedia presence, with many substantial articles, but most Native American Wikipedia sites lack significant content. For example, the Alabama (ISO 639-3 akz) Wikipedia consists entirely of pages devoted to towns in New England and Germany, each containing approximately 30 words of text (fig. 5). The content of each page is essentially identical with the exception of the place names. These pages were ostensibly machine generated and do not reflect an active Wikipedia community.

For other Native North American languages Wikipedia coverage can be inconsistent. The Nahuatl language Wikipedia boasts more than 10,000 articles, but only 91 are substantial, containing more than 450

Fig. 4. Navajo Wikipedia entry for Tsésghahoodzání (August 2016). Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported (CC BY-SA 3.0).

characters. Yet, among these 91 articles, some have extremely rich and useful content; the entry for *Mexihco* is more than 50,000 characters in length.

The number of Wikipedia articles for Native North American languages is small enough to be easily counted. The Wikimedia Foundation maintains an up-to-date listing of the size of Wikipedia by language; however, these numbers are inflated by vacuous articles such as the entry for Adams, Massachusetts (fig. 5) (https://meta.wikimedia.org/wiki/List_of_Wikipedias). To remove these effects, we can use the counts generated by Kornai (2013), which use a threshold of 450 characters (essentially one paragraph) to count a page as a real, substantive Wikipedia article. This threshold effectively excludes articles generated algorithmically by robots. (The Adams, Massachusetts, article above has a mere 36 words.). In 2016, only 34 Native North American language Wikipedias have any substantive content (fig. 6). By far, the largest of these were Navajo, with nearly 2,500 articles, and Kalaallisut, with more than 1,500 articles. Seven more languages had more than 100 articles each: Cherokee, Inuktitut, Inupiaq, Cheyenne, Central Yup'ik, Mi'kmaq, and Cree. The Alabama language discussed above does not even show up in this list; that is, no Alabama Wikipedia article counted met the 450-character threshold. As of December 2020, the number of articles for Navajo had increased to 16,000, whereas Kalaallisut, Cherokee, Cheyenne, Inuktitut, Inupiaq, and Cree had between 280 and 800 articles of any kind.

Fig. 5. Alabama Wikipedia incubator entry for Adams, Massachusetts (August 2016).Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported (CC BY-SA 3.0).

Of course, there is plenty of information about Native languages on the regular (English) Wikipedia. Entering "yugtun" as a search term in the English Wikipedia brings up an article on the Central Alaskan Yup'ik language. But this is an article *about* Yup'ik written *in* English. Although it contains a number of Yup'ik words, it is clearly not the same as a Wikipedia article written in Yup'ik. That is, the English Wikipedia entry on Yup'ik is not an example of a primary digital community for Yup'ik. Rather, it is a reference source whose target community consists of people whose primary language is English. While the English Wikipedia entry for Yup'ik may be digital, it has more in common with nondigital reference sources on Yup'ik, such as with the Yup'ik Eskimo Dictionary (Jacobson 1984). Both the English Wikipedia entry for Yup'ik and the print dictionary contain many Yup'ik words, but the primary medium for both is English. All explanatory information is written in English. In the case of the Wikipedia entry, this includes all navigational information and metainformation such as help files.

Native language reference sources written in English, French, or Spanish—whether digital or not—are clearly useful in language maintenance context, but they do not constitute examples of primary language communities. The English Wikipedia currently contains entries for almost every Native American language, and while some of these entries may attract an active community of Wikipedia editors, they are not examples of primary digital language communities.

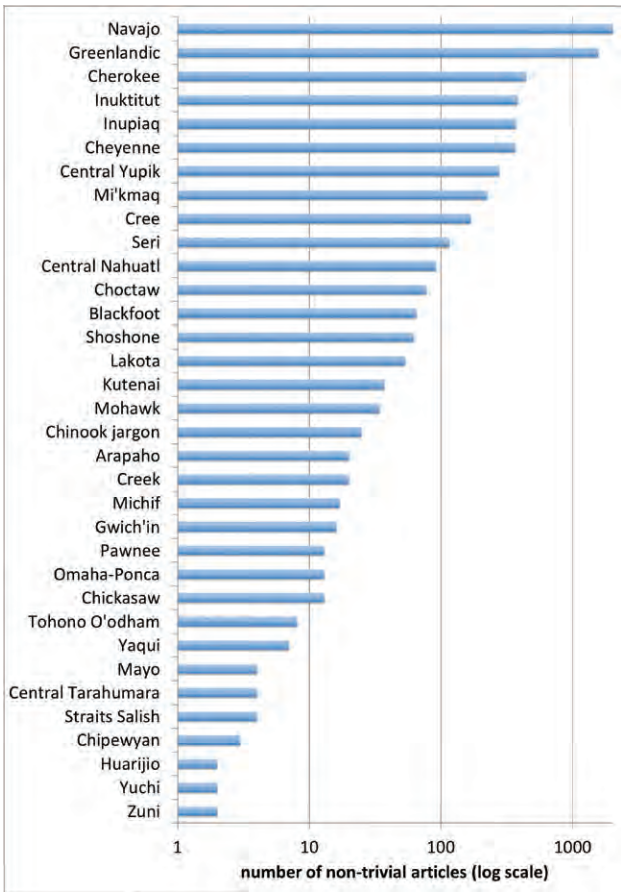


Fig. 6. Number of (nontrivial) Wikipedia articles (official and incubator) in Native North American languages.

Secondary Digital Language Communities

The first decade of the twenty-first century was a time of radical shift in approaches to Native American language revitalization and maintenance (see "Native American Languages at the Threshold of the New Millennium," this vol.). Where previous approaches focused on the continuation of existing forms of language in diglossic situations, a new generation of learners has embraced new media tools to create digital domains for language use. These domains are essentially secondary language communities (cf. Golla 2001) that exist in parallel with primary Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, often operating under entirely different social conventions. Rather than continuing language in its original form, secondary language communities provide a space for language learners to explore new modes of communication in a safe and encouraging space. In particular, these new domains are largely free of the usual evaluative filters and linguistic purism that have impeded the success of traditional language programs, thus allowing for the emergence of new forms of language.

Language use among participants in these domains differs greatly from the full fluency imagined in earlier approaches to language revitalization, but it offers a renewed sense of linguistic ownership, as participants actively shape new language varieties. The examples reviewed in this chapter are drawn from across North America and reflect the diversity of approaches made possible by new technologies. What they share is the promise of secondary language communities that foster language use and offer a novel and promising future for Native American languages. The following subsections cover several types of secondary digital language communities, including websites, mobile apps, games, and social media.

Websites

As of 2015, almost every Native North American language had some form of web presence, and most had more than one site devoted to the language. A fairly comprehensive listing of web resources is maintained by the organization Native Languages of the Americas (http://www.native-languages.org/languages.htm, active December 18, 2020). Three broad types of Native language websites can be distinguished, though the distinctions between these types are often fuzzy, as many sites serve more than one function. *Static* sites function to establish an online presence for the language; *portal* sites provide access to digital content such as archival recordings; and *interactive* sites invite users to engage dynamically with the site and thus function as a virtual center for language use.

Static websites typically provide contact information for a language program, though they may also include additional information about the language. The Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute site is trilingual and may be viewed in Gwich'in (Slobodin 1981) in addition to English and French. The site provides dictionary samples, maps of communities, basic phrases, and information on the status of the language (http://www.gwichin.ca, active December 18, 2020). A key feature of these websites is that they are directly controlled by entities that thereby assert a form of ownership over the language, drawing on language as a marker of identity. In addition, most languages also have sites that are not under direct control of the language community, including Wikipedia pages in English and academic research project sites. Static websites maintained by tribal entities provide an Indigenous space for the language on the web, distinct from non-Indigenous sites. Nearly every Native North American language now has at least a static website maintained by a tribal entity, and many languages also have portal and/or interactive sites.

Portal sites consolidate access to language resources in a single virtual location. The organization First Voices has worked with Indigenous communities across Canada to develop community language portals that consolidate words, phrases, song, stories, and recordings (http://www.firstvoices.com, active December 18, 2020). Information can be password protected to limit access to those within the community. The ability to implement fine-grained access restrictions is often a key feature of portal sites. The Mukurtu Content Management System supports the development of portals that allow authenticated users to upload content and apply carefully designed cultural protocols (http://www.mukurtu.org, active December 18, 2020; Christen 2008). The prototype implementation of the Mukurtu system is the Plateau Peoples' Web Portal, which provides access to several different archival collections (see "Emergent Digital Networks," this vol.). Though the Plateau Peoples' Web Portal contains language material, its content is not limited to language. This is a characteristic of many portal sites, whose scope is often much broader than language.

Many portal sites are directly related to archival repositories. The Dena'ina Qenaga web portal (http://qenaga.org, active December 18, 2020) was created to provide access to existing archival documentation housed at the Alaska Native Language Archive (Holton et al. 2007). A searchable digital archive serves as the core of the site, but the site also functions as a general point of access for information about Dena'ina language. This additional content was created mostly as part of distinct, separate language projects and brought together under one virtual roof through the mechanism of a portal. But portals can also be created from scratch with bespoke content.

A good example is the Haida language website Xaat Kíl (Haida Language) that serves as a portal to a variety of information about the Haida language, much of which was created specifically for the site (http://www.haidalanguage.org, active December 18, 2020). The site contains links to a pronunciation guide, an audio phrasebook, a Haida story, and several grammar lessons. The story is provided in Haida with interlinear English translation, and each Haida word hyperlinks to a glossary entry. The grammar lessons include interactive quizzes that test learners' knowledge of Haida grammar. The various pieces of this site were created at different times, and they do not have the same interface design, yet the website brings all of these features under a single umbrella so that users have comprehensive access to Haida language resources.

The third broad type of language website includes interactive features that have become an essential component of the internet landscape in the new millennium. The emergence of interactive websites represents an evolution from stand-alone multimedia products such as CD-ROMs, which were popular during the last decade of the twentieth century (see "Emergent Digital Networks," this vol.). Like multimedia CD-ROMs, interactive websites bring together text, images, audio, and video to provide a rich user experience. The use of recorded media is particularly helpful for language learners who may be unfamiliar with orthographic conventions and desire to know how the language is pronounced. Recorded media also allow users to hear particular speakers, thus providing an important cultural connection. Unlike CD-ROMs, interactive websites offer the promise of both greater interactivity and increased sustainability.

Where stand-alone multimedia products (like CD-ROMs) were designed for offline use, interactive websites allow for communication through the internet. Website users can communicate through embedded chat applications, and progress through the site can be monitored and rewarded through an associated database. Websites may also be more sustainable than stand-alone products since they allow continual updates. Most CD-ROM-based products are no longer accessible—and without regular maintenance and support, this fate will almost certainly apply to many of the current websites.

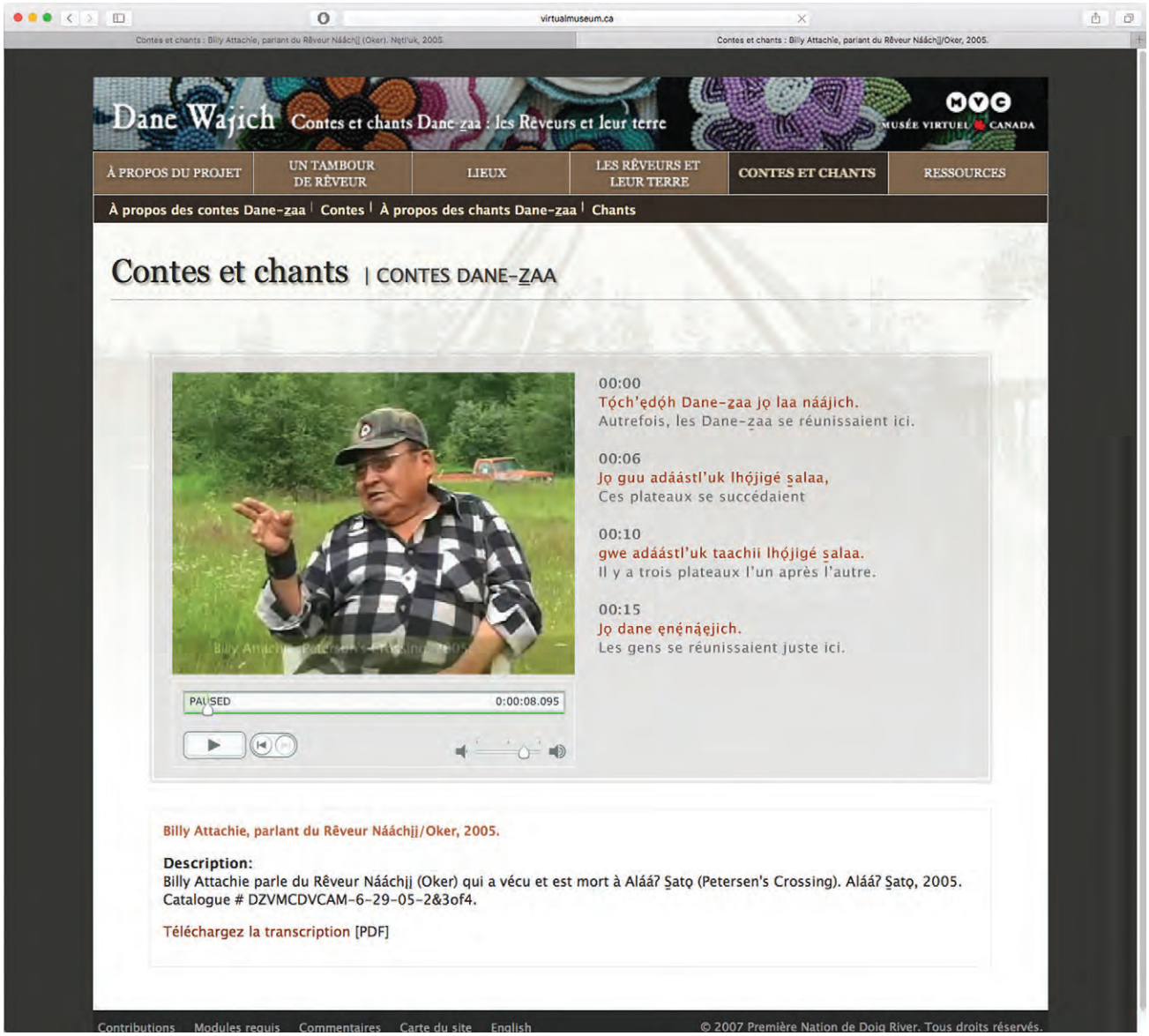
Another difference between stand-alone and web-based multimedia in practice is that web-based products tend to be less comprehensive in nature. Stand-alone products are usually viewed as one-off creations, often undertaken at great expense in order to "preserve" language. Thus, developers often choose to include as many aspects of language and culture as feasible, so that a CD-ROM may include time-aligned texts, an alphabet guide, a talking dictionary, place name maps, and the like. In contrast, the extensible nature of the internet favors the development of more focused products, which can then be virtually linked to other complementary online language resources.

Such a distributed approach is seen in web-based multimedia applications developed for the Dena'ina language in Alaska by several different authors. These include a phrasebook (Balluta and Evanoff 2005), an alphabet guide (Williams 2005), a collection of texts with aligned audio (Kari and Berez 2005), field recordings (Kari and Holton 2005), and a more comprehensive site focused on the Kenai dialect of Dena'ina (Boraas and Christian 2005). Each of these projects was developed independently by a different team, and each focused on a different aspect of the Dena'ina language, yet when combined virtually, they become a much more powerful distributed resource. Moreover, this combined resource is flexible and extensible: it

can grow in response to community needs. Each individual project site can be modified and adapted as necessary, and additional projects can be developed and linked in. Uniformity is sacrificed in favor of extensibility. The individual sites do not all have the same look and feel, and information may be repeated across more than one site. In this case, a Dena'ina alphabet guide can be found on two different sites.

A distributed approach is not necessarily obligatory for a web-based project. Web-based multimedia may be every bit as media rich and polished as stand-alone multimedia. A good example was the Dane Wajich project website hosted by the Virtual Museum of Canada (Doig River First Nation 2007). This site was conceived around the event of the rediscovery of a drum that had been lost for some years. It includes links to place names, stories, songs, and biographies of Dreamers who make songs. The polished form of the site makes it almost indistinguishable from a well-made stand-alone product. As with many multimedia products, the core of the content focuses on time-aligned recordings, in this case video recordings displayed with time-aligned Dane-Zaa transcriptions and English or French translations (depending on choice of interface language) (fig. 7).

Even a polished, comprehensive product, like the Dane Wajich site takes advantage of the extensibility of the web to include virtually embedded language information. This includes an alphabet pronunciation guide embedded within the site, with the same look and feel, but also links to an interactive conversational



Courtesy of Doig River First Nation.

Fig. 7. Story excerpt from Dane Wajich website (2007).

phrasebook based on an earlier printed phrasebook (Holdstock and Holdstock 1992). The phrasebook site has a completely different look and feel from the Dane Wajich site, having been developed originally as a stand-alone CD-ROM under the auspices of different institutions with a different project team. There is some overlap between the sites; for example, both sites include a pronunciation guide. But in the end, users benefit from multiple points of view, and developers benefit from being able to split large tasks into manageable chunks. This virtual integration of essentially separate sites demonstrates the power of the web for multimedia language development.

An increasingly prominent feature of Native language websites is the incorporation of principles of computer-assisted language learning (CALL), using computer technologies to emulate the interactivity of a traditional language classroom (Ward and van Genabith 2003). Learners progress through CALL courseware by listening to prompts and dialogues and responding appropriately. The software evaluates users' responses and assesses comprehension, guiding a learner's pace through the course (Hubbard 1996). While twentieth-century approaches to CALL made use of stand-alone, purpose-built technologies, new web technologies make it possible to create language courseware that can be accessed using an ordinary web browser. There are many examples of CALL websites for Native languages, like the daXunhyuuga' eLearning Place developed by the Eyak Language Project (fig. 8).

CALL websites offer the promise of increased usability and sustainability compared with stand-alone commercial products such as RosettaStone Iñupiaq (NANA 2007). Websites can be developed at a substantially lower cost and thus are within the reach of many Native American language programs, facilitating

Courtesy Eyak Cultural Foundation.

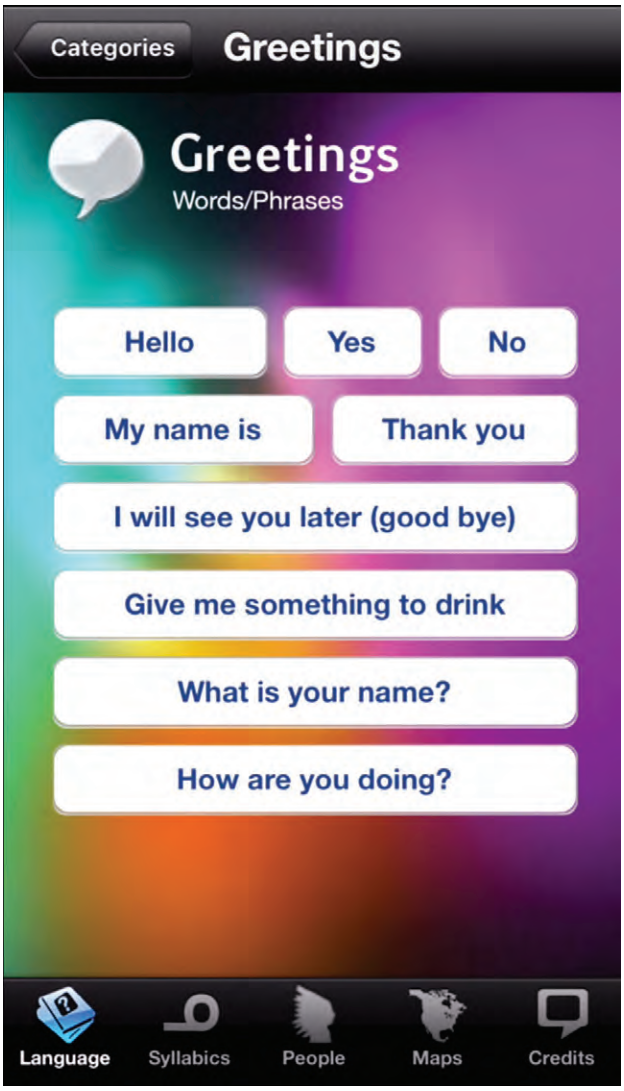
Fig. 8. daXunhyuuga' eLearning Place (http://www.eyakpeople.com).

incorporation of culturally appropriate content. The above mentioned daXunhyuuga' site (www.eyakpeople.com, active December 18, 2020) uses a rewards system through which users accumulate points ("berries") as they progress through the course. This incentive system serves to draw users together in virtual space, thereby creating a community of learners. Online learning experiences extend into the physical world as well, as learners frequently discuss the accumulation of berries when they meet in person, as happened at Eyak language workshops in 2014 and 2015. The Eyak site also incorporates images of language learners and community members, enhancing the sense of personal connection to the learning process. For Native languages, and endangered languages more generally, CALL can serve to raise the social profile of the language both within and outside the community (Ward and van Genabith 2003).

Mobile Devices and Mobile Apps

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, access to the digital domain is shifting from the personal computer, which facilitated the internet boom of the late twentieth century, to mobile computing platforms, including smart phones and tablet computers. The release of the Apple iPhone in 2007 put computing power in the palm of the hand and facilitated the development of dedicated mobile applications. This new platform has become increasingly important for Native languages, in part because it allows developers more control over technical issues such as orthography and media. One of the major barriers to language learning in the context of endangered languages is the limited opportunity to hear the language being used. In many Native North American communities, Native languages are no longer used as languages of daily communication, so learners have few opportunities to be exposed to the language.

Apps for Native languages offer the ability to hear the language spoken at any time using a device that can be carried in a pocket and is thus constantly accessible. The Ojibway app serves as an electronic phrasebook with categorized lists of English words and phrases. Tapping one of these phrases plays a recording of an equivalent Ojibway (Ojibwe) phrase. For example, tapping "Hello" causes the app to play a recording of the Ojibway word *aaniin* (the written Ojibway word is not displayed) (fig. 9). A slightly different approach is taken by the Dinak'i Upper Kuskokwim dictionary app, which provides a searchable list of Dinak'i language dictionary entries, including more than 2,700 sound files demonstrating pronunciations of words and sample sentences (fig. 10). Both

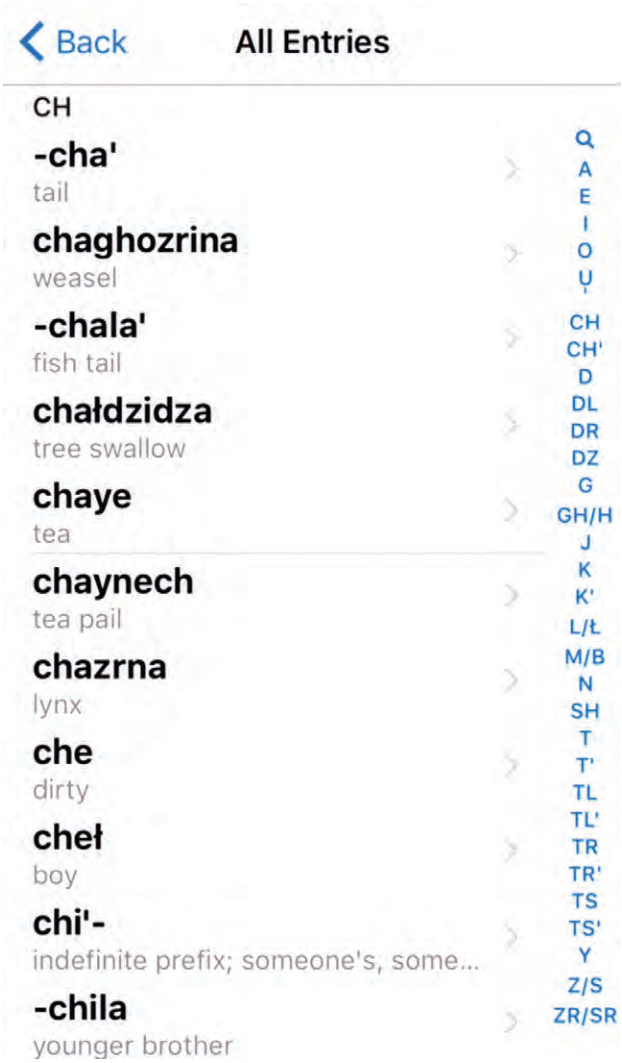


Courtesy of Ogoki Learning, Inc.

Fig. 9. Screen capture of Ojibway app showing Greetings.

phrasebook and dictionary apps are available for dozens of Native North American languages, with more appearing regularly. Many projects are currently seeking to create apps based on print dictionaries, either by making new recordings or by taking advantage of archival recordings.

In the early decades of the twenty-first century, mobile apps fill a role similar to that of CDROMs in the latter part of the previous century. Namely, mobile apps allow developers to package multimedia content in a way that gives them more complete control over rendering of text and audiovisual playback. Websites rely on the user's browser, which may or may not provide complete support for the content supplied by the developer. However, the emergence of new web standards that directly support multimedia, including HTML5, may eventually render this distinction



Courtesy of Telida Village Council.

Fig. 10. Screen capture of Dinak'i app showing dictionary list.

moot, making it possible for the development of complex applications as ordinary websites, obviating the need for dedicated mobile apps. At the same time, this shift to HTML5 will help to solve two of the greatest challenges for developers of mobile apps for Native languages. The first challenge is the need to develop applications for several different operating systems and devices; the second is the need to continually provide updates to apps as operating systems and devices evolve.

Games

Gaming—whether using a personal computer, a mobile device, or a dedicated gaming device—is now an established part of digital culture. A study by the Entertainment Software Association, an industry group, suggests that 42 percent of Americans spend at least three hours a week playing video games (Entertainment Software Association 2015). The interactive nature of video games offers great potential for their use in language learning, though the effectiveness of so-called educational games remains the subject of much debate (Vogel et al. 2006). In the context of language learning, educational games can mimic communicative strategies, providing virtual opportunities for iteration of words and phrases in different contexts and facilitating collaboration and social interaction between learners (Butler 2015). Although some aspects of gaming have been incorporated in interactive websites and apps, as discussed above, fully developed educational games for Native languages have yet to emerge.

One notable development is the release of the game *Never Alone (Kisima Inŋitchuŋa)*, a role-playing game with significant Inupiaq language content (http://neveralonegame.com, active December 18, 2020) Though not a language-learning game per se, *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* is notable for its rich cultural and linguistic content, including narrative in the Inupiaq language and video recordings of Inupiaq elders. The game play itself incorporates traditional Inupiaq values, for example emphasizing collaboration rather than competition between players. One significant effect of the *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* game is to bring the Inupiaq language and culture into the twenty-first century by providing a current venue for language use that is attractive to Native youth. In this way, the developers hope to bridge the divide between elders and youth and in so doing create "games that celebrate and share under-represented and indigenous people and cultures in positive, authentic and respectful terms" (Upper One Games 2014).

There remains much debate regarding the effectiveness of gaming as a language-learning tool, though most studies acknowledge the potential of gaming in supporting Indigenous languages (Vogel et al. 2006). Some research suggests that gaming may be an especially appropriate learning tool for children and young adults who have grown up with digital devices, since games are amenable to cognitive styles that are nonlinear, instantaneous, and autonomous (Butler 2015). However, there is tension between the desire to develop artistically rich and aesthetically attractive games such as *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* and the need to incorporate established principles of second language acquisition (Peterson 2013). The *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* game cost millions of dollars to produce yet still received critical reviews from computer gamers. The need to devote resources to creating realistic and satisfying game play makes it even more challenging for game developers to incorporate appropriate pedagogical standards. In time, these development costs will likely decrease and gaming will come to play a much

more important role in the conservation of Native North American languages.

Social Network Sites

Social network sites are web-based services that allow individuals to connect a digital user profile with other users within a more or less bounded system (boyd and Ellison 2007). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Native American language activists increasingly used social network sites to create secondary language communities online. The most popular of these sites is Facebook (see "Social Media," this vol.), which allows the creation of both unmoderated, open communities that any Facebook user can join and closed communities that require moderator approval to join. Communication within these sites tends to be metalinguistic in nature. Many postings are inquiries about pronunciation of an Indigenous word or a request for translation into an Indigenous language. These are largely discussions *about* Indigenous language rather than communication *in* Indigenous language. Nevertheless, social network sites offer several advantages for the promotion and maintenance of Indigenous languages.

Like other secondary language communities described by Golla (2001), social network sites offer freedom from the purism and evaluative filters that often plague language revitalization programs (cf. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998; Holton 2009). Most communication is mediated through written rather than spoken languages, so users need not fear criticism of their pronunciation. While written orthographic standards or conventions do exist for most Native North American languages, these standards are generally not enforced in the online social media environment. As with non-Indigenous languages, the rules for online communication, whether through a social network, text messaging, or some other electronic means, tend to be much more relaxed than in the domain of print publication. Communication within this online domain is viewed as ephemeral, and content is considered more important than form. Users of social network sites often feel freer to explore and experiment with Native language than they would in a face-to-face language situation.

Social network sites are also by design asynchronous, though in practice interaction takes place in a near-synchronous manner. That is, social network sites occupy a space between synchronous face-to-face conversation and asynchronous written communication. Conversations may play out over time, giving nonfluent users plenty of time to decode a posting and compose a reply. The amount of delay is up to the user and may vary with each interaction. Although users may wait days or even weeks before making a new post, more typically the delay is a matter of hours or less. This delay gives users time to consider a message and compose their reply. Such a delay would be a barrier to communication in a synchronous face-to-face interaction, but in the social network world, the delay is expected and so goes unremarked. Other forms of interaction that would not be readily tolerated in face-to-face communication are also facilitated by social network sites. Participants may choose various levels of dialogic interaction, even lurking as "listeners," who read but do not reply to posts, or performing as "speakers," who post but do not respond. Lurking listeners may benefit enormously from exposure to Native language use, eventually joining the conversations in a more active role.

At the time of this writing, Facebook was by far the dominant social network site for Native North American languages. To better gauge the role of Facebook in Native North American language maintenance, the author conducted an informal survey in October 2014. Participants were recruited through Facebook using the author's own professional networks, and respondents self-selected. More than 100 responses to the survey were collected over a period of three weeks, and the majority of the respondents were Native American. More than half of respondents reported posting Native language content to Facebook at least once a week, and more than 40 percent reported reading Native language content on Facebook on a daily basis (fig. 11). Nearly every Native language in North America currently has a Facebook group devoted to it, and in many cases, there is more than one group for a given language. These groups serve as a virtual gathering space, disseminating information about language and language-related events while also providing a forum for discussing language and issues related to language revitalization.

According to survey respondents, the most common postings in Facebook Native language groups involve asking how to say something in a language or the meanings of words, though plenty of other topics are discussed as well (fig. 12). Inquiries can be as simple as "how do you say X," which appeared on the Gwich'in language Facebook group (fig. 13). More complicated inquiries may involve multiple suggestions for translations and require members to check with elder fluent speakers to confirm word meanings. A post in the Gwich'in language group asking for a translation of "never give up" first proposed *ekhè' guudòonuh srò'* but then generated replies with three alternative suggestions: *ehkleh uudu'uhnuuhshro'oh*, *aakha'goiinaya*, and *aakha'goiinya' shro'*. The thread finally settled on the first term, which was "verified by

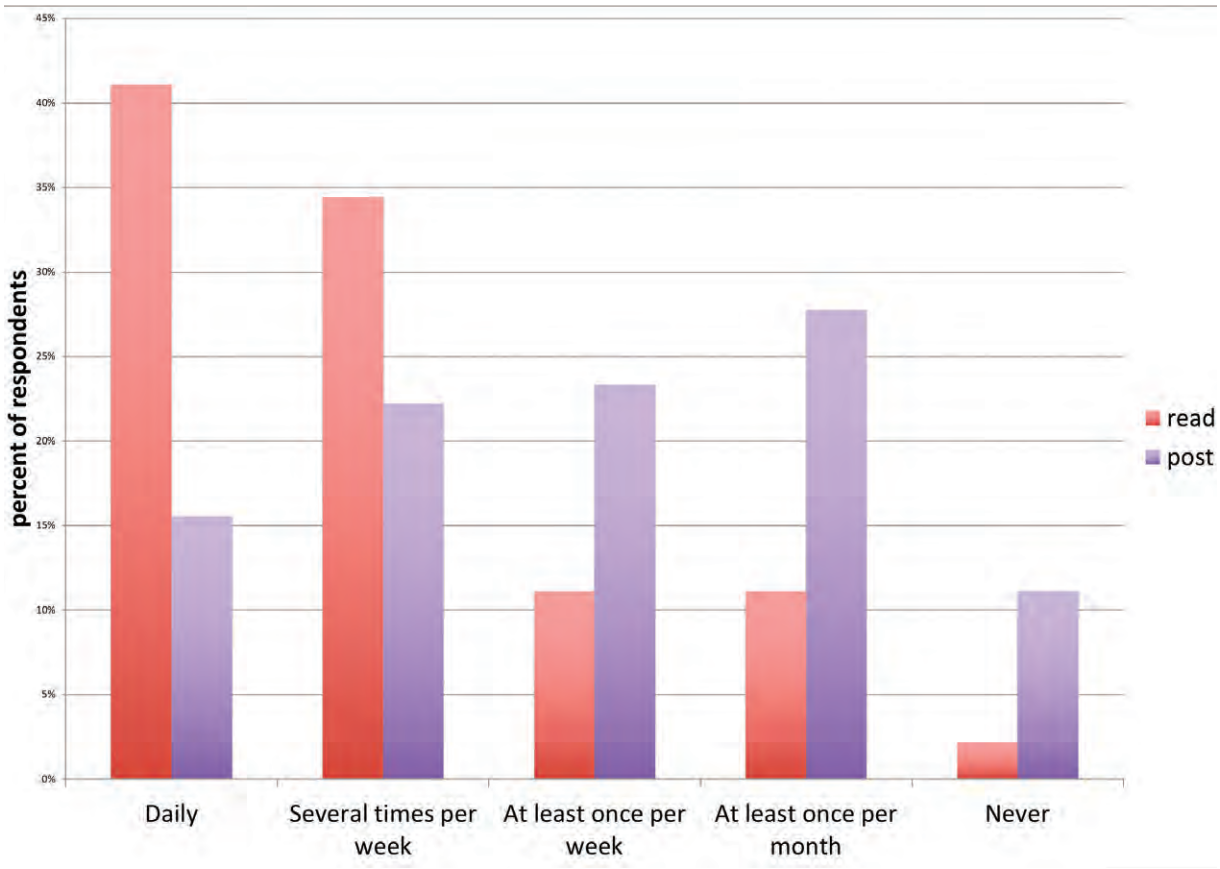


Fig. 11. User-reported frequency of reading and posting on Facebook Native language groups (2014).

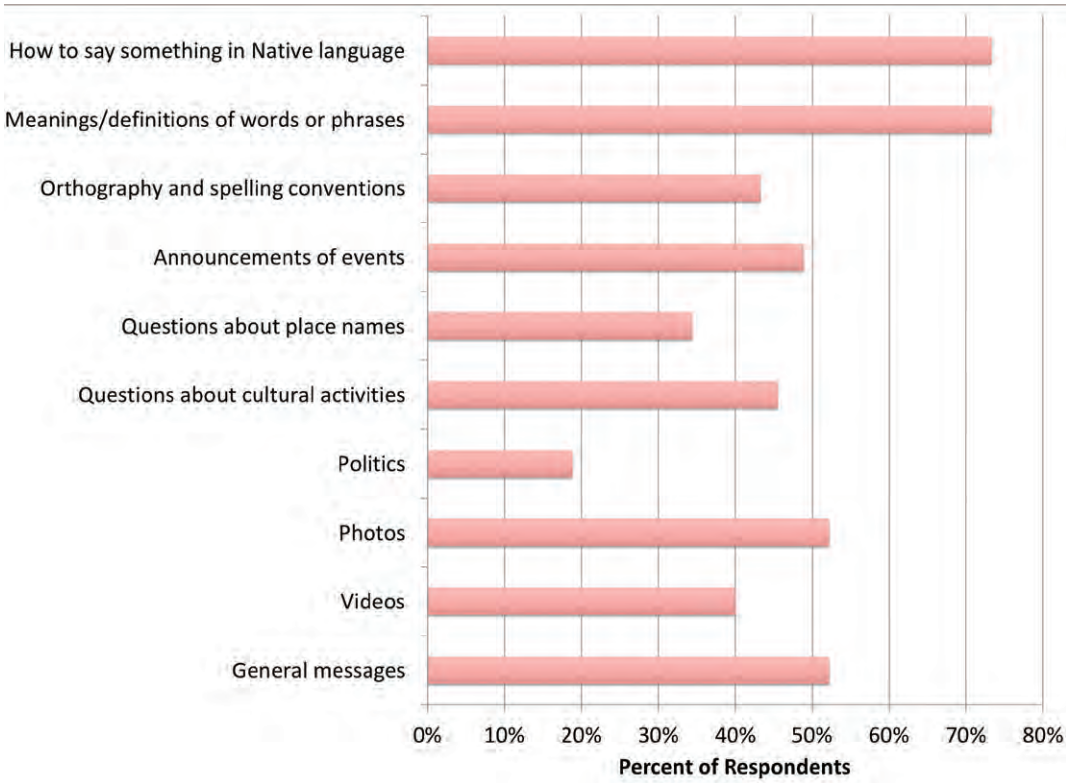


Fig. 12. Topics reported as being discussed regularly or "fairly often" (2014).

Fig. 13. Inquiry about word meaning on Facebook Gwich'in language group.

my elder mentor." In this way, the network effects of social media provide greater access to the knowledge of elder fluent speakers.

Facebook groups also serve as venues for meta-discussion about the evolution of language and the development of grassroots language policies. In an exchange in the Gwich'in language group, a member expressed concern about the word *jidii atł'oo* to distinguish the color "green" from "blue." Five members participated in this exchange, using a combination of Gwich'in and English—sometimes in the same post—but the impact of the discussion was far greater since all members were able to read and follow the discussion.

Perhaps most importantly, social media provides a venue for language use. When speakers and learners are spread across several communities and distant diaspora populations, social media can provide a critical mass of language enthusiasts who can converse online. Social media platforms like Facebook provide a domain in which the default language is the Native language. According to survey respondents, nearly 70 percent of postings on Facebook Native language groups have at least some Native language content (fig. 14).

Digital Media

The production and sharing of digital media—that is, digital video, audio, and photographic content—by community members serve as an important secondary domain for Native language use. Readily available tools, such as digital video recorders embedded in mobile phones, facilitate creation of digital media with Native language content. These media can then be distributed through internet file-sharing services to a wide audience. From a pedagogical perspective, the use of digital media has a significant advantage over social network sites in that it reduces the focus on literacy (Holton 2011); however, this distinction will continue to blur as social network sites such as Facebook incorporate more digital media content.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, file-sharing services such Google's YouTube (https://youtube.com) and Apple's iTunes (https://itunes.com) hosted significant content in Native North American languages, much of it focused on language instruction or language performance. The Naqenaga (our language) YouTube channel provides short video lessons demonstrating conjugations of Dena'ina (Athapaskan) verbs. The participants in the videos are often language learners themselves, so the production process itself is an important domain for language use.

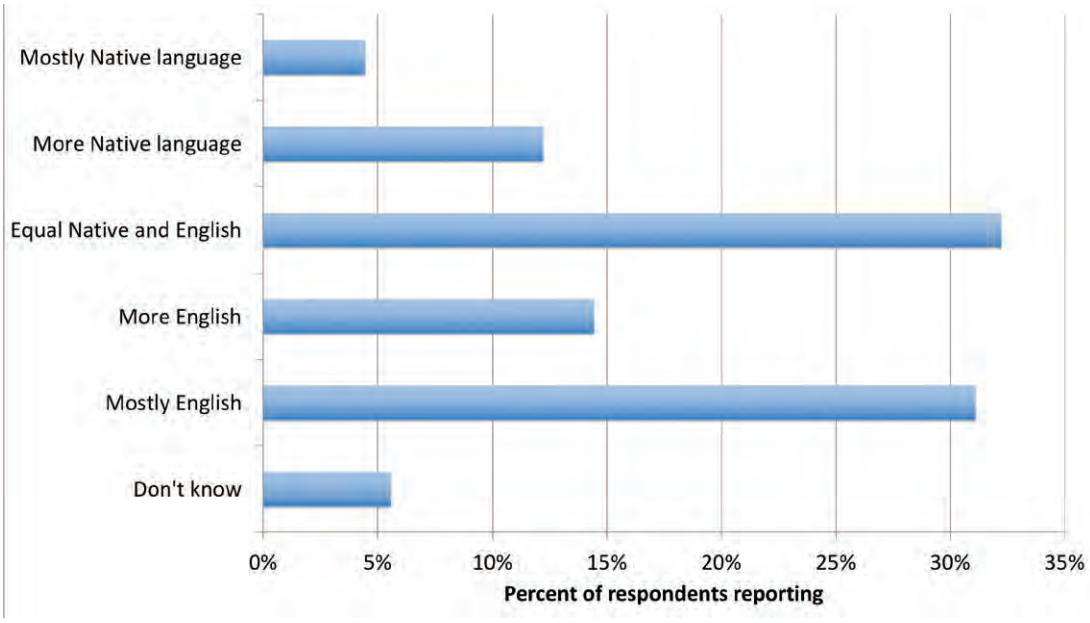


Fig. 14. User perceptions of the mix of Native languages and English in Facebook posts (2014).

Another use of digital media is the translation or dubbing of existing media into Native languages. By removing the need to create and produce video content, the creators of dubbed media can focus on the language content. The American Indian Language Development Institute at the University of Arizona has advocated this approach, resulting in the creation of dubbed scenes from several popular films.). A more elaborate project undertaken by the Navajo Nation resulted in the dubbing of the entire original *Star Wars* film into Navajo, using a team of translators and actors. Dubbing projects require the creation of new vocabulary and thus help to demonstrate that Native languages have a place in the contemporary world, countering assumptions that Native languages are limited to traditional domains.

Finally, digital media can also provide a space for linguistic performance, particularly music. YouTube hosts many examples of musical performance in Native languages, including traditional music, new music, and translations of popular music. The Alaskan Yup'ik music group Pamyua has produced new music in the Yup'ik language, incorporating traditional elements and modern themes (http://www.pamyua.com/). Translation of popular non-Native music provides another route for bringing Native language into the contemporary world, as exemplified by the translation into Canadian Inuktitut of the popular song "Diamonds" (Fraser 2013).

Creating a Virtual Space for Language Use

The various digital technologies work together to create secondary language communities and thus provide a space for Native language use. A common feature of all of these technologies is that they make use of English (or French or Spanish) as the interface language. That is, these tools are *about* Native language, not *in* Native language. Still, these digital tools have great promise to support continued maintenance of Native languages. One of the greatest challenges facing the continued maintenance of Native languages in North America is finding a domain for use of the language. Non-Indigenous languages have taken over most domains of daily communication, including work, education, politics, and mass media, leaving little room for potential speakers to use the language. Emerging secondary digital domains now provide an explicit virtual space for language use.

Conclusion

Since the *Handbook of North American Indians* series was conceived in the 1960s and implemented in the 1970s to the early 2000s, new digital domains have emerged for Native North American languages, leading to the establishment of both primary and secondary language communities. As we enter the new millennium, none of these languages has a fully thriving primary community, though almost all Native American languages have developed secondary communities, particularly through the use of social media. Secondary communities now exist even for languages that were silent for many years. It is important to bear in mind that the technologies associated with secondary digital language communities are ephemeral. Websites, mobile apps, and social network sites will disappear over time. Many early Indigenous language websites are themselves either endangered or inaccessible owing to shifting web technologies (Holton 2011). For example, a popular Shoshone video game developed in 2013 is no longer accessible. Digital technologies require constant maintenance and upkeep. Commercial products may cease to be available to language communities, as with the now-defunct Orkut social media site. While digital technologies can facilitate communication in Native American languages, thereby contributing to language maintenance, the inherent fragility of these technologies renders them less useful for preservation of those languages.

The shifting and evolutionary nature of digital technologies reinforces the critical importance of one digital domain not discussed in this chapter: the digital archive. The sine qua non of digital archiving is attention to long-term preservation of digital data in perpetuity. Digital archives of Native languages will thus ensure that the underlying digital data on which all of the technologies discussed here draw will continue to be accessible into the future (Barwick 2004).

Digital archives serving Native North American languages include the California Language Archive, the Alaska Native Language Archive, the American Philosophical Society, and the Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archive. These and other digital archives will play a crucial role in the future of Native languages in the digital domain. Digital archives can also play a more direct role as a catalyst in language revitalization efforts (Berez and Holton 2006; Dobrin and Holton 2013), especially as archives are increasingly developed and maintained by tribal entities rather than non-Indigenous academic institutions (Shepard 2014). Archival materials can supply resources for the development of future digital domains using technologies that have yet to appear. That said, digital archives and secondary digital communities created from them cannot replace the communicative function of language. Archival language resources may be compared to museum objects, and online audio files of an elder

tribesman reciting folk poetry "will not facilitate digital ascent" (Kornai 2013:2). Such statement should not be interpreted as an argument against digital archiving, but it provides an important caution regarding the role of archiving in language maintenance. Language archiving is necessary and desirable, but archiving alone is not sufficient to maintain language as a communicative form.

The question remains as to whether Native languages will be relegated to secondary communities or whether it will be possible to develop primary digital communities for these languages as well. The current prospects are not promising, since only one North American Indigenous language, Kalaallisut, has an active primary digital language community, with support for text input and spellchecking. As language use moves into the digital realm, Native American languages risk being left behind in a digital-only world. Even those languages that are still being acquired by children may be doomed if they fail to ensure a digital transition by providing support for digitally mediated communication (Kornai 2013).

The extent to which Native American languages can be maintained without digital support remains an open question, but languages that lack digital support will clearly face significant barriers in an increasingly digital world. Native American youth born in the twenty-first century are being raised in a world of digital communication, and if they are faced with a choice between nondigitally mediated communication in an Indigenous language and digitally mediated communication in a non-Indigenous language, it will be difficult, if not impossible, for them to continue use of their Native language. It is worth noting that the challenges presented by the digital realm are not unique Native North American languages; many major world languages currently lack adequate digital support. In a recent comprehensive survey of 30 European languages, only English was found to have "good" support for the four primary language technology areas of machine translation, speech processing, text analysis, and speech and text resources (Rehm and Uszkoreit 2012). As with Indigenous and minority languages across the globe, the future of Native North American languages is now intimately tied to the digital domain. Language use across the world has moved into the digital realm, and this shift is unlikely to be reversed in the foreseeable future.

Two decades ago, it was possible to argue that the digital realm was less crucial to language maintenance. In evaluating the prospects for language revitalization, Joshua Fishman (b. 1926, d. 2015), who pioneered work on bilingual education, language revival, and planning, argued:

> Although cyber-space can be put to use for [reversing language shift] purposes, neither computer programs, e-mail, search engines, the web as a whole, chat boxes or anything directly related to any or all of them can substitute for face-to-face interaction with *real family embedded in real community* (2001:458; emphasis in original).

Fishman could not have foreseen the twenty-first-century digital revolution and the concomitant rise of digital domains that are now no less *real* than face-to-face communities. Whether or not Native American languages can be sustained solely through digital communities remains an open question. There is certainly no "technical fix" that can by itself lead to continued language survival (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998). However, without digital technologies Native American languages cannot continue to play a role as communicative systems.

This is ironic, given the devastating effect that twentieth-century media had on Native languages. Michael Krauss (b. 1934, d. 2019), pioneer in research and support of Alaska Native languages, noted the correlation between the timing of the introduction of television in rural Alaskan villages and onset of language shift to English, referring to television (an emerging technology at the time) as a "cultural nerve gas" that quietly and insidiously destroys culture and language (Lewan 1999). To this day, the community of Arctic Village in northern Alaska, where television did not appear until 1980, remains one of the most viable Dene language communities. It is thus tempting to assume that new digital technologies will have equally devastating impacts, effectively finishing the job. But as discussed in this chapter, there are reasons to question that assumption. Where twentieth-century media were passive, new digital media are interactive. Native peoples in North America are taking control of these digital domains in ways that actually support and enhance Native languages.

As the twenty-first century began, a seminal article asked, "Can the web save my language?" (Buszard-Welcher 2001). The short answer to this question is of course negative: neither the web nor any other digital technology can save a language. Living languages require communities of speakers, and technology cannot substitute for that. However, digital technologies can foster these communities, as is now happening across Native North America. Many of these efforts are helping to bring Native languages into the modern world and dispel notions that Native languages are associated with the past (cf. Ward and van Genabith 2003). Moreover, though not discussed in this chapter, it has often been argued that documentation should be the highest priority for severely endangered languages with only a few remaining speakers (Hinton 2001b:413),

and digital language technologies can also support language documentation (Thieberger 2012; see "Native American Languages at the Threshold of the New Millennium," this vol.).

Digital documentation and archiving will at the very least allow Native American languages to be carried along with the rising digital tide but maintaining these languages as vehicles of communication in a new digital world will require increased support at the level of operating systems, input methods, and other digital resources. To rephrase Buszard-Welcher's original question: Can we save languages without the web? The answer is clearly "no." Digital technologies are not merely providing new domains for Native languages; they are facilitating the transformation of Native languages into a world in which digital communication is the norm.

Additional Readings

This chapter describes the digital landscape for Native American languages as of roughly 2016. The digital technologies discussed in this chapter are likely to become obsolete over time; however, several online discussion lists keep abreast of ongoing developments in language technology. All listed sites have been active as of the latest check in December 2020.

Phil Cash Cash maintains the Indigenous Languages and Technology listserv (http://www.u.arizona.edu/~cashcash/ILAT.html), and Living Languages maintains a listserv and a website (https://www.livinglanguages.org.au/). Richard Littauer maintains a repository for open-source code serving endangered languages (Littauer and Paterson 2016). The journal *Language Learning and Technology* (https://www.lltjournal.org/), published three times a year, provides a peer-refereed forum for discussion of current issues in educational technology for languages, including but not limited to Native North American languages.

Digital archives serving Native North American languages include the Alaska Native Language Archive (www.uaf.edu/anla), the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (www.ailla.utexas.org/), the California Language Archive (https://cla.berkeley.edu/), the Sam Noble Museum of Natural History (https://samnoblemuseum.ou.edu/), and the American Philosophical Society (https://amphilsoc.org/cnair). All of these archives are members of the Digital Endangered Languages and Musics Archives Network, an international umbrella body promoting standards for archiving endangered languages and cultures worldwide.

A list of Indigenous language apps is maintained by Living Languages (https://www.livinglanguages.org.au/). Ogoki Learning Systems, creator of the Ojibway app, provides a list of Native American apps that can be downloaded for free (http://www.ogokilearning.com/). FirstVoices produces apps for several Canadian languages (www.firstvoices.com/en/apps). Several Native American apps are reviewed by Petersen (2013).

FirstVoices (www.firstvoices.com/) has also produced language learning games for several Native American languages. Petersen (2013) reviews the literature on computer gaming and language learning more broadly. A list of different language editions of Wikipedia can be found at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Wikipedias. A description of the Wikimedia incubator, with instructions on starting a new Wikipedia in a language, can be found at https://incubator.wikimedia.org/.

Social network sites and social media have played increasingly important roles in supporting Native American languages. Galla (2016), Cassels (2019), Chew (2021) and the references therein for additional information about various social network sites and potential roles in language revitalization. See also "Social Media" (this vol.) and the references therein.

Food Sovereignty

ELIZABETH HOOVER

Native American and First Nations communities are making efforts to achieve food sovereignty as a means of reclaiming traditional food production and consumption, improving community health, and promoting cultural reclamation. Before contact, Native North American communities relied on food systems developed around traditional methods of farming, fishing, hunting, and gathering from their local environment to feed their people, as described in *Handbook* volume 3 (Ubelaker 2006a) that includes several chapters on historical Indigenous food production systems in North America. With the colonization of what is now the territory of the United States and Canada, these food systems underwent dramatic changes, leading to the replacement of many Indigenous foods with imported and processed foods. This shift in diet has contributed to a rapid increase in metabolic disorders, like type 2 diabetes, and has triggered a dramatic change in Native food cultures. In response, Indigenous communities around the world, including many American Indian tribes and First Nations communities, have been working to define and implement food sovereignty as a path to address these cultural and health-related issues.

This chapter traces the causes and impacts of the loss of food sovereignty and focuses on contemporary efforts to regain food sovereignty in Indigenous communities across North America. These efforts include working to ensure access to treaty-guaranteed rights to hunting and fishing areas, saving heritage seeds, resisting destructive energy projects, and promoting Native American cuisine and Native-grown ingredients. The chapter draws on the broader food sovereignty literature, Indigenous case studies, and ongoing ethnographic work with Native communities and chefs engaged with the food sovereignty movement.

Defining Food Sovereignty

The term *food sovereignty* was first defined in 1996 by La Via Campesina, an international group of peasants and small-scale farmers who sought to articulate a common response to neoliberalism and the dominant market economy and defend their rights to land and seeds (https://viacampesina.org/en/, active December 17, 2020). The term arrived on the world stage at the 2007 Forum for Food Sovereignty in Sélingué, Mali, where some 500 delegates from more than 80 countries adopted the "Declaration of Nyéléni." According to the declaration, "Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems" (Nyéléni 2007). The food sovereignty movement seeks to put local food producers and consumers, rather than international corporations, at the heart of food systems policies; to empower food producers and artisans and include the next generation in food production; to ensure environmental, social, and economic sustainability; and to support transparent trade, as well as equality between genders, racial groups, and social classes (Alonso-Fradejas et al. 2015; Patel 2009; Wittman et al. 2010). Everyone in the food chain is positioned as a potentially powerful actor (Agarwal 2014).

The focus on "peoples" is "not just a semantic move to make food sovereignty feel inclusive; it indicates a focus on collective action to assert and maintain political autonomy at multiple scales" (Trauger 2015:5). While the term *sovereignty* conventionally refers to a state's sovereignty over its territory and its right to make policies without external interference, the food sovereignty movement focuses on food sovereignty as a "right of the peoples," adopting a pluralistic concept that attributes sovereignty to both state and nonstate actors, such as cultural and ethnic communities (Ehlert and Voßemer 2015:9). Particularly in colonized societies, peoples' rights and countries' rights are not necessarily the same thing (Grey and Patel 2014), especially in cases where the state has played a central role in destabilizing a community's ability to feed itself.

In many ways, the food sovereignty movement has grown out of, and pushed back against, efforts to promote "food security." According to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), food security describes "a situation that exists when all people,

at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (FAO 2001). While definitions of food security and food sovereignty overlap significantly, activists and scholars have noted that the former generally connotes simply an adequacy of supplies and nutritional content, regardless of how the food is produced and delivered (Hopma and Woods 2014; Menser 2014; Wittman et al. 2010). In a North American context, Indigenous scholars argue that by focusing only on the supply end of food procurement, food security studies, while intending to document and address hunger in individual households, do not adequately address the food conditions, histories, and relationships of Indigenous people (Martens et al. 2016).

In contrast, the food sovereignty movement seeks to address issues of hunger, environmentally unsustainable production, economic inequality, and social justice on a political level. It aims to work toward democratizing food production, distribution, and consumption, shifting "the focus from the right to access food to the right to produce it" (Menser 2014:549). A report by Food Secure Canada (2011) noted that "the language of food sovereignty, as distinct from food security, is explicit about food citizenship: it emphasizes that people must have a say in how their food is produced and where it comes from. The core of food sovereignty is reclaiming public decision-making power in the food system." Others argue that definitions of food security and sovereignty have significant areas of overlap but assert that food sovereignty is a prerequisite for attaining genuine food security (Carolan 2014; Cidro et al. 2015; Edelman et al. 2014; Inuit Circumpolar Council–Alaska 2015; Morrison 2011). Thus, the food sovereignty movement pushes back against the notion of food security, positioning the democratic rebuilding of domestic food systems as necessary to achieve true food security (Edelman et al. 2014).

For Indian tribes and First Nations of North America, sovereignty is linked to concepts of self-determination, self-government, and the recognition of rights to political institutions that are historically and culturally located (Barker 2005). Because tribal sovereignty has specific meanings for many Native American and First Nations communities and because these communities have specific cultural connections to land and political relationships to settler colonial governments, scholars and activists have worked to define specifically Indigenous versions of food sovereignty. These definitions are constructed within a framework that recognizes the social, cultural, and economic relationships that underlie community food sharing and stress the importance of communal culture, decolonization, and self-determination, as well as the inclusion of fishing, hunting, and gathering (rather than just agriculture) as key elements of a food sovereignty approach (Desmarais and Wittman 2014:1154–1155). Put simply, Indigenous food sovereignty "refers to a re-connection to land-based food and political systems" (Martens et al. 2016:21) and seeks to uphold "sacred responsibilities to nurture relationships with our land, culture, spirituality, and future generations" (Morrison 2011:111).

According to Secwépemc scholar Dawn Morrison (2011), director of the Working Group on Indigenous Food Sovereignty (WGIFS) in British Columbia, Indigenous food sovereignty also centers on the idea of "food as sacred, part of the web of relationships with the natural world that define culture and community," or what has been called "kincentric ecology"—the idea that all elements of the natural world are relatives (Salmon 2012). Potawatomi philosopher Kyle Powys Whyte (2016) highlights that food sovereignty movements in Native communities invoke concepts of cultural revitalization and political sovereignty but are not based on ideals of *complete* self-sufficiency, which would be nearly impossible to attain considering current Indigenous landholdings. Rather, food sovereignty is a strategy of Indigenous resurgence that promotes Indigenous knowledge and values and seeks to promote food-related action and policy reform (Morrison 2011).

The concept of Indigenous food sovereignty is focused not just on rights to land and food and the ability to control production systems but also on responsibilities to elements of those systems and on culturally, ecologically, and spiritually appropriate relationships with those elements (Cote 2016). This understanding emphasizes reciprocal relationships with aspects of the landscape "rather than asserting rights over particular resources as a means of controlling production and access" (Raster and Hill 2017:268). Because of this focus on specific and culturally relevant relationships to food systems, cultural restoration is highlighted as imperative to achieve food sovereignty in Indigenous communities, more so than in non-Indigenous communities (Kamal et al. 2015). Furthermore, within individual Native American tribal and First Nations communities, food producers and cultural practitioners have their own nuanced versions of what food sovereignty means (Hoover 2017b).

To summarize, the four principles of Indigenous food sovereignty, as laid out by Morrison and the WGIFS, are as follows: (1) the right to food is *sacred*, and food sovereignty is achieved by upholding sacred responsibilities to nurture relationships with the land, plants, and animals that provide food; (2) day-to-day *participation* in Indigenous food-related action at the

individual, family, community, and regional level is fundamental to maintaining Indigenous food sovereignty; (3) communities and families require *self-determination*—the ability to respond to the needs for culturally relevant foods and the freedom to make decisions over the amount and quality of food hunted, fish, gathered, grown, and eaten; and (4) *legislation and policies* must help reconcile Indigenous food and cultural values with colonial laws, policies, and mainstream economic activities.

Loss of Food Sovereignty for Indigenous Communities

A series of factors has worked to disrupt Indigenous food systems and thus possibilities for asserting food sovereignty. Scorched-earth battle tactics commonly used against Native people in the eighteenth century (Mt. Pleasant 2011) and nineteenth century (Diné of the Eastern Region of the Navajo Reservation 1991) sought to systematically destroy food stores and make Native people reliant on settler colonial governments. Indigenous communities have been pushed to marginal areas (Reo and Parker 2013), and in many cases, the treaty-making system alienated tribes from their ancestral land. Land bases were further diminished through the allotment system that allocated communal land to tribal individuals and families and then opened up the "extra" land to white settlers. During the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, on many reservations, despite tribes' successful histories of fishing and gathering, federal policies encouraged Native people to farm on marginal lands, as the best farmland was commonly usurped by non-Indians. While some tribal communities (like the Pueblo and member nations of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy) had traditionally farmed, for others (like the Plains nations), farming projects introduced by the U.S. and Canadian governments reflect the "eco-colonial" efforts to disrupt aboriginal hunting cultures and expand the agricultural frontier while assimilating Indigenous livelihoods (Rudolph and McLachlan 2013:1082).

During this era, many Native youth were also sent to boarding schools, where they were encouraged to forget their tribal connections and where the standard diet embodied Anglo ideals of foodways and nutrition, centering on starches and dairy for students previously accustomed to diets centered on fresh and dried meats, fruits, and vegetables (Bess 2013). For First Nations children sent to residential schools across Canada from 1883 to 1996, "the abiding condition was hunger," as students were deprived of sufficient food or given food of poor quality (Mosby and Galloway 2017). From 1942 to 1952, a series of nutritional studies were conducted on First Nations communities and Indian residential schools, without the consent of participants and to the detriment of their health. These studies were carried out to examine the effects of malnutrition on Indigenous bodies (Mosby 2013). Students returning from these schools arrived back at their communities with a very different relationship to food than when they had departed.

Another factor affecting traditional Indigenous diets includes changes made to the environment—both through intentional reshaping of the landscape and through climate change. For example, the damming of the Missouri River in the 1940s and 1950s benefited non-Native farmers and ranchers but resulted in Native people's loss of most of their arable land on the Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Crow Creek, and Fort Berthold Reservations in the Dakotas (White and Cronon 1988). Similar dams built across the Northeast (Hauptman 2013; Hoover 2013) and the Northwest (Norgaard et al. 2011) provided hydroelectricity to communities and industries that usurped and polluted Indigenous landholdings, disrupted fisheries, and flooded Indigenous homelands. In addition, industrial contamination has affected fishing in places like the Akwesasne Mohawk community on the New York–Canadian border (Hoover 2017a) and the Coast Salish Swinomish community in Washington state (Donatuto et al. 2011). In the Arctic regions, persistent organic pollutants have made consuming the usual amounts of traditional foods hazardous to people's health (Carpenter et al. 2005; Miller et al. 2013). Climate change has led to declines in sea ice and forced community relocations in the Artic, shifts in plant and animal populations around North America, changes in river flow affecting water availability for crops, and a broader range of disease organisms (Lynn et al. 2013; Weinhold 2010; see "Native American Communities and Climate Change," this vol.).

During the nineteenth century, to stave off the starvation and malnutrition that would have resulted from disrupted food systems, government agencies on Indian reservations distributed food rations as agreed upon in many treaties to make up for the loss of hunting, fishing, and agricultural lands. These rations consisted of foods that would have been foreign to Indian people: beef, bacon, flour, coffee, salt, and sugar (Wiedman 2012). The U.S. federal government practice of providing food to American Indian communities continues to the present, through the Food Distribution Program on Indian Reservations (FDPIR). This federal program supplies U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA)–procured foods to low-income households living on Indian reservations or in desig-

Photograph by Elizabeth Hoover.

Fig. 1. Joe VanAlstine (Little Traverse Bay Band of Odawa Indians), Midwest Region Food Distribution Program on Indian Reservations (FDPIR) president and National Association of Food Distribution Programs on Indian Reservations (NAFDPIR) vice president, takes part in a corn-washing demonstration at a traditional foods summit hosted at the Meskwaki Settlement.

nated areas in the state of Oklahoma. While the USDA has worked to improve the quality of foods available to communities through this program, including supplying more fresh foods, these programs have historically done little to reinforce the relational aspects that traditional food systems relied on. In a recent change, efforts have been made to include buffalo meat, blue corn meal, wild rice, and frozen wild sockeye salmon to the FDPIR food package offerings (fig. 1). To be included in the federal food distribution program, however, a food must be available in sufficient quantities for all eligible participants in the United States, and this requirement has slowed the inclusion of regionally relevant foods (Hoover 2018).

Impacts of the Loss of Food Sovereignty

The disruption of traditional food systems has led to a number of health and social problems in Indigenous communities. American Indians have higher levels of food insecurity than the general population in Canada, Mexico, and the United States (Gurney et al. 2015). In 2008, nearly one in four American Indian and Alaska Native (AI/AN) households in the United States was food insecure (compared with 15 percent of all U.S. households). AI/AN children have approximately twice the levels of food insecurity, obesity, and type 2 diabetes relative to the average for all U.S. children of similar ages (USDA, Food and Nutrition Service 2012). Similarly, for First Nations in Canada, almost 3 in 10 Indigenous adults live in food-insecure households (Willows et al. 2011). The data apply only to off-reserve households because the Canadian Community Health Survey that provides the statistics excludes individuals living on-reserve, who constitute one-third of the Aboriginal people of Canada.

Historically, Indigenous societies sometimes contended with seasonal and weather-related fluctuations in food sources and availability. While hunger is still a problem in some households, the increased consumption of processed foods has contributed to an elevation in diet-related health issues among Native peoples. Rising consumption of sugary and starchy foods, paired with falling consumption of garden produce and game meats, began for some Indigenous communities in the mid-nineteenth century (Mihesuah 2016), but it was around the mid-twentieth century that diabetes among Native Americans became a noticeable health issue (Wiedman 2012). This trend escalated quickly: currently, AI/AN adults are more likely to have ever been told they had diabetes (16.1 percent) than black adults (12.6 percent), Hispanic adults (11.8 percent), Asian adults (8.4 percent), or white adults (7.1 percent). These rates vary by region, from 5.5 percent among Alaska Natives to 33.5 percent among American Indians in southern Arizona (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2011). In Canada, according to a 2011 national survey, the proportion of the population reporting a diagnosis of diabetes was highest for First Nations individuals living on-reserve (15.3 percent among those aged 18 years and older), followed by

First Nations individuals living off-reserve (8.7 percent among those aged 12 years and older), while the prevalence among Métis (5.8 percent) was similar to that in the non-Aboriginal population (6.0 percent). The prevalence of diabetes in the Inuit population was lower than in all other groups, at 4.3 percent (Public Health Agency of Canada 2011).

Besides triggering health outcomes, loss of food sovereignty raises issues of culture loss: as the availability of traditional foods declines, so do the stories, language, cultural practices, interpersonal relationships, and outdoor activities rooted in Indigenous food systems. A tribal community's capacity for "collective continuance" and "comprehensive aims at robust living" (Whyte 2013:518) are hindered when the relationships that are part of traditional food cultures and economies, and that are at the root of Indigenous food sovereignty, are disrupted.

Tribal Efforts to Restore Food Sovereignty

In an effort to combat health issues and culture loss, tribal communities in North America have been fighting to restore food sovereignty by working to regain and retain treaty-ensured access to foods and by carrying out community-based projects to encourage the production and consumption of Native foods. These efforts include seeking access to opportunities for whaling, fishing, and gathering wild foods; fighting the fossil-fuel extraction industry in order to protect traditional foods; preserving and protecting heritage seeds in farming communities; and promoting the emergence of a cadre of Native chefs working to promote Indigenous foods.

Treaty Rights

Tribal efforts to reestablish food sovereignty have focused in part on the assertion of treaty rights, which in many cases guaranteed access to traditional foods. This struggle to assert treaty-ensured rights has been more than a century in the making. In Oregon and Washington States, treaties guarantee Indian fishing rights but state and local government authorities often disregard them. As already described, dams built on rivers reshaped the environment and blocked the migration of anadromous fish. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, non-Natives with fish wheels, gill nets dragged by horses, and fish-processing plants decimated local fish populations (Hewes 1998; Marino 1990). The case of *United States* v. *Winans* in 1905 affirmed the "reserved rights doctrine," noting that treaties documented certain rights that Indians granted to non-Indians and certain other rights that Indians chose to reserve for themselves, including the right to cross the land and the right to fish in rivers. In spite of this doctrine, Native people were jailed for hunting and fishing on contested or nonreservation land, leading to "fish-ins" in the 1950s and 1960s. Indigenous fishermen and activists were arrested for violating Washington and Oregon state fishing regulations by using nets and other traditional methods that had been deemed illegal, contrary to treaty rights (Chrisman n.d.; Marino 1990; Parham 2013). For engaging in these acts of civil disobedience, men and women lost boats, fish, nets, and other equipment and were jailed and fined (Cohen 1986; Wilkinson 2000).

These fights made their way into federal court in 1970, in a suit filed by the U.S. Department of Justice as a trustee for 14 tribes in western Washington state that sought to resolve the fishing controversy by asserting the validity of treaty-based fishing rights. In 1974, federal district court Judge George Boldt wrote a landmark decision in *United States* v. *State of Washington*, also known as the Boldt Decision (Boldt 1974; Cohen 1986). Boldt ruled that treaties reserved fishing rights for Indian tribes that were distinct from those of other citizens. Thus off-reservation Indian fishing rights were extended to every place each tribe customarily fished, using whatever method they chose. The state could regulate Indian off-reservation fishing only to the extent necessary for conservation but not in ways that would limit treaty rights. This decision also gave tribes new legal grounds on which to challenge industrial projects they perceived as posing threats to their rivers and fish. Beginning in the 1980s, tribes began to develop hatcheries to help preserve and increase local fish populations (Marino 1990).

The Anishinaabe (Anishnaabe) of the Great Lakes region (also known as Chippewa or Ojibwe) faced similar struggles in maintaining their fishing, hunting, and gathering traditions. These rights were guaranteed in treaties signed in 1836, 1837, 1842, and 1854 in which the Ojibwe ceded millions of acres of their tribal lands. In Wisconsin, one of the states established on this ceded territory, officials applied their regulations to traditional Anishinaabe fishing practices like spear fishing both on and off the reservation, arresting Native people for harvesting resources against state law. In 1983, the Lac Courte Oreilles band of the Ojibwe tribal government, and eventually five other Ojibwe communities, joined a lawsuit with arrested fishermen. This suit ultimately led to the 1987 Voight Decision, which determined that nineteenth-century treaties were still valid and that Anishinaabe people had the right to fish and hunt in their ceded territories. Throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, tribal

Photograph by Elizabeth Hoover.

Fig. 2. Walleye harvested from the Red Lake Nation in Minnesota, fed to participants during the Great Lakes Intertribal Food Summit.

fishermen faced angry mobs while exercising their right to spear fish (Nesper 2002). Similarly, the 1999 *Minnesota* v. *Mille Lacs Band of Chippewa Indians* decision upheld Anishinaabe rights to harvest fish, animals, or whatever they deemed appropriate from lands in the northern third of Wisconsin and Minnesota (LaDuke 1999; see "Northeast," this vol.) (fig. 2).

Tribes in the Pacific Northwest are also working to exercise their treaty rights to hunt whales, once an integral part of the Indigenous diet. The 1855 Treaty of Neah Bay secured the right to hunt whales for the Makah Tribe in Washington. By the 1920s, the whale population had been decimated by commercial hunting and could no longer support this tradition. In 1994, when the gray whale population had rebounded sufficiently enough to be removed from the endangered species list, the Makah Tribe announced their intention to resume whaling. Although the Makah no longer needed to hunt whales for subsistence, they stressed that reviving the hunt would revitalize their whaling culture, help address social issues, and preserve continuity in the community as expressed through family names, place names, ceremonies, songs, dances, and other artistic expressions (Cote 2010). It was also hoped that the nutritional value of the whale meat and oil could alleviate some of the diet-related health issues plaguing the community.

In 1995, the Makah Tribe produced a detailed whaling proposal outlining the cultural significance of their whaling tradition, and in 1997, the International Whaling Commission issued the Makah a whaling quota. On May 17, 1999, the Makah harvested a 30-foot California gray whale, the first to be hunted in the community in 70 years. Court cases and legal complications have since prevented additional legally sanctioned whaling, although the community is fighting to maintain this treaty-ensured right to their traditional foods (Cote 2010; Reid 2015).

In Canada, a number of Aboriginal title and rights decisions have had important implications for Indigenous peoples and food systems. In 2004, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in favor of the Haida Nation's claim against the province of British Columbia and the American logging company Weyerhaeuser that logging exceeded sustainable rates for old-growth cedar and harmed the streams that support salmon and other fish necessary to maintain traditional food systems for the Haida people. In another case, after a decade of court struggles, the Supreme Court of British Columbia ruled in 2009 that the Nuu-chah-nulth Nation of Vancouver Island has the right to commercially harvest and sell all species of fish within its traditional territorial waters. It was an important affirmation of the Nation's right to implement fishing and harvesting strategies according to cultural, economic, and ecological considerations (Morrison 2011).

Fights against Fossil-Fuel Extraction as a Food Sovereignty Issue

Indigenous people seeking to protect their lands from the effects of extracting or transporting resources have also used the language of food sovereignty and their treaty-ensured guarantees to access to traditional foods in an effort to resist energy projects that they see would impact the safety of their food.

Honor the Earth, a nonprofit organization founded in 1993 by Anishinaabe activist Winona LaDuke in conjunction with the musical group the Indigo Girls, aims to create awareness of and support for Native environmental issues and to develop financial and political resources to help make Native communities more sustainable. In 2013, the Enbridge Corporation proposed building a pipeline to carry fracked Bakken oil from the oil fields of North Dakota to one of its facilities in Superior, Wisconsin. About 302 miles of the proposed 616-mile pipeline would have cut across northern Minnesota, through 1855 Treaty territories, traveling over lakes that served as rice beds and fish habitat. Honor the Earth joined community groups like the Mawinzo Asiginigaazo (berry pickers gathering up) berry pickers society from White Earth, wild rice harvesters, and other community members determined to protect their food sources from potential oil spills. To draw attention to the threat to Native food sovereignty, Honor the Earth and Anishinaabe people undertook hundreds of miles of horseback rides along the proposed pipeline route and hosted concerts and other

Photograph by Elizabeth Hoover.

Fig. 3. Winona LaDuke (Anishinaabe) grazing her horse Luna during a ride across northern Minnesota along the proposed route of the Sandpiper Pipeline.

events (Hoover 2014a) (fig. 3). The proposal for the pipeline was withdrawn in September 2016 but is now being reconsidered. Anishinaabe people and allies are now fighting Line 3 and Line 5, which are similarly scheduled to cut across the Great Lakes region, threatening water quality, wild rice beds, and fish habitat.

Honor the Earth also joined organizations like the International Indigenous Youth Council and the Indigenous Environmental Network to support the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe in North Dakota, who fought the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline that passes over land guaranteed to the tribe in the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, and then under the Missouri River upstream from their reservation, threatening their water supply, farmland, and health (fig. 4; see "Plains," this vol.). Similarly, the Ponca tribe, partnering with Bold Nebraska and the Cowboy and Indian Alliance, has used gatherings around planting and harvesting their traditional corn to resist the building of the Keystone XL Pipeline (Hoover 2014b; Bold Nebraska n.d.) (fig. 5).

Photograph by Elizabeth Hoover.

Fig. 4. Navajo chef Brian Yazzie cooked up a batch of buffalo burgers for water protectors at the Oceti Sakowin camp at Standing Rock, gathered to prevent the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline. #NoDAPL.

In Canada, First Nations communities have resisted several fossil-fuel extraction projects, especially in Alberta's tar sands area, because of concerns about the impacts on human health and community food sovereignty. According to the Indigenous Environmental Network, oil extraction in the tar sands has severely affected local caribou herds. The Beaver Lake Cree First Nation has experienced a 74 percent decline in the Cold Lake caribou herd since 1998 and a 71 percent decline in the Athabasca River herd since 1996. In response, the Beaver Lake Cree band sued for injunction of oil sands development in their traditional territories, the Canadian Athabasca Chipewayan First Nation filed lawsuits challenging Shell projects, and the Mikisew Cree First Nation and Frog Lake First Nation sued the government over changes to water protection laws. The Lubicon Cree sued the Canadian federal government to nullify thousands of oil and gas extraction permits, seeking an injunction against a fracking company. In British Columbia, the Tsleil-Waututh Nation sued the government over the Kinder Morgan pipeline, and in Ontario, the Chippewas of the Thames First Nation sued the government over inadequate consultation regarding Enbridge Line 9 (Indigenous Environmental Network n.d.).

Photograph by Elizabeth Hoover.

Fig. 5. Amos Hinta (Ponca Tribe of Oklahoma), former director of the Ponca Agricultural Program, holding traditional Ponca blue and red corn planted on the Tanderup farm in Neligh, Nebraska, in the path of the proposed Keystone XL Pipeline.

First Nations activists have also put their bodies on the line to block fossil-fuel projects. The antipipeline reclamation site in Unist'ot'en territory in the interior of British Columbia began in 2009. The camp is located next to the Widzin Kwah (Morris River), which plays an important role in salmon spawning and fishing but was also the site for the bottleneck of at least three proposed pipelines: the Pacific Trail Pipeline, the Enbridge Northern Gateway (canceled in 2016), and the Coastal Gaslink. The proposed pipelines threaten the watershed and the plants, animals, and communities that depend on them (http://unistoten.camp/, active December 17, 2020). The Unist'ot'en, who live on the land in the path of these proposed pipelines, protect the traditional hunting, trapping, and fishing territories to ensure that the natural beauty and bounty of the Earth will be enjoyed for generations to come (Spice 2018).

First Nations activists have also blockaded unwanted hydraulic fracking and shale gas production projects that would have had negative impacts on the Elsipogtog (Mi'kmaq) nation in New Brunswick, standing in the path of construction equipment and facing off against police. One of the main arguments against the extractive industry is that extractive processes threaten First Nations' treaty-ensured ability to gain access to clean water and to hunt, trap, fish, and gather. In treaties, First Nations relinquished land to the British Crown but maintained a guaranteed right to hunt and fish on surrendered tracts. If, however, industrial development and associated roads and pipelines disturb hunting and fishing habitats, the right to hunt or fish is meaningless.

Heritage Seed Preservation Efforts

According to sociologist Jack Kloppenburg (2010:165), "If there is to be food sovereignty, surely it will be facilitated and enabled by a struggle for seed sovereignty." Kloppenburg (2014) has postulated four critical dimensions of seed sovereignty: the right to save and plant seeds, the right to share seeds, the right to use seeds and breed new varieties, and the right to participate in shaping policies for seeds.

Seed sovereignty activists generally oppose two main issues: intellectual property rights, specifically the patenting of seeds, and genetically modifying seeds (Kloppenburg 2014). There is an inherent difference between perceiving seeds as discrete material objects—that is, "active storage containers of genetic material"—and Indigenous perspective that views seeds as "responsive beings that are inherently embedded within ecological and spiritual webs of kinship" (Breen 2015:46). This highlights an important epistemological difference between the two approaches in negotiating the political problems of seeds as property.

A number of Indigenous food sovereignty projects increasingly focus on Native seed sovereignty by promoting community seed saving and exchange of traditional heirloom seeds. The Traditional Native American Farmer Association (TNAFA), based at Tesuque Pueblo, is working with New Mexico state representatives to pass the Native American Seeds Protection Act (introduced to the U.S. Congress in 2013). TNAFA founder Clayton Brascoupe described the seeds as "our living relatives" that need to be protected and maintained (Hoover 2014c).

The Indigenous SeedKeepers Network (ISKN) began among tribal communities in the upper Midwest but has since become affiliated with the Native American Food Sovereignty Alliance with the goal of helping Native community members across the United States preserve and propagate heritage seed varieties. They aim to make these seeds, and the knowledge that should accompany them, available to a greater number of Native gardeners. This effort, spearheaded

Photograph by Elizabeth Hoover.

Fig. 6. Mohawk seedkeeper Rowen White braiding white corn at the Great Lakes Intertribal Food Summit at Red Lake.

by Mohawk seedkeeper Rowen White, has included conducting numerous culturally relevant workshops on seed planting, harvesting, and saving and storage techniques (fig. 6). ISKN is currently developing seed-saving guides and curricula, as well as a Seed Sovereignty Assessment toolkit, to help a broader range of communities reconnect with and propagate their heritage seeds.

Funding and Supporting Food Sovereignty

While there is some debate in Indigenous communities about the role that governments and corporations can play in supporting tribal food sovereignty, a number of agencies and nonprofit organizations have developed programs to help tribes acquire the funding to produce more of their own food. After an in-depth study of the American Indian agricultural sector in the United States, Congress mandated the creation in 1987 of a special nonprofit entity, the Intertribal Agricultural Council (IAC), to ensure that American Indian farmers and ranchers had access to federal resources. The IAC consists of a network of regional offices that provide technical assistance and outreach to Indian tribes and individual producers (fig. 7). IAC assists with everything from financial planning and crop insurance to conservation practices and helps link farmers to federal agencies, like the Farm Service Agency (FSA), the National Resource Conservation Service (NRCS), Rural Development (RD), and the Forest Service (http://www.indianaglink.com/, active December 17, 2020).

Lack of funding is a major barrier to the initiation and longevity of many tribal community-based food projects. Through money acquired from larger charitable foundations (like the W.K. Kellogg Foundation) and federal agencies (like the USDA), the First Nations Development Institute issues Native Agriculture and Food Systems Initiative (NAFSI) grants to help Native communities build sustainable food systems. Projects include community gardens, food banks, food pantries, and other projects related to Native food-systems control. The Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux tribe has also contributed to this effort through its Seeds of Native Health funding campaign, run in collaboration with the First Nations Development Institute (www.firstnations.org, active December 17, 2020). The institute has also developed tools, like the Food Sovereignty Assessment Tool, for communities to use to examine a range of community food assets (Bell-Sheeter 2004). In 2013, the First Nations Development Institute helped fund the formation of the Native American Food Sovereignty Alliance (NAFSA), initially coordinated by Pati Martinson and Terrie BadHand of the Taos County Economic Development Corporation (TCEDC). NAFSA works in support of dynamic Native food systems that promote holistic wellness, sustainable economic development, education, reestablished trade routes, stewardship of land and water resources, peer-to-peer mentoring, and multigenerational empowerment.

Another aspect of tribal food sovereignty is helping tribal governments establish their own food policies. The Indigenous Food and Agriculture Initiative at the University of Arkansas School of Law supports new academic and executive education programs in food and agriculture, including law, policy, and tribal governance. It offers strategic planning and technical assistance to Indian tribes through consultations, publications, and its Model Food and Agriculture Code Project, which serves as a resource for tribal governments by providing model laws to facilitate agricultural production, food systems development, and health improvement in Indian Country (Hipp et al. 2013; Indigenous Food and Agriculture Initiative

Photograph by Elizabeth Hoover.

Fig. 7. Oneida tribal members Dan Cornelius, Midwest Technical Assistance Specialist for the Intertribal Agricultural Council (IAC), and Don Charnon, former horticultural farmer at Tsyunhehkw^, inspecting some of the farm's equipment.

n.d.; www.indigenousfoodandag.com, active December 17, 2020)

Case Studies: Tribal Food Sovereignty Projects

There are perhaps hundreds of tribal food sovereignty projects running across the United States and Canada as of the late 2010s, and many more communities have worked hard to maintain access to their traditional foods. Profiled here are three of the best-established and most successful community nonprofit programs that have worked toward reestablishing food sovereignty for their communities.

Tohono O'odham Community Action (TOCA)

For generations, Tohono O'odham and Akimel O'odham people (formerly known as Papago and Pima Indians; Fontana 1983b; see "Southwest-2," this vol.) have relied on the Sonoran Desert, in what is now southern Arizona and northern Mexico, as a food source. They have harvested wild foods including cholla buds, saguaro cactus fruit, mesquite bean pods, prickly pear, and acorns (Reader 2000). During the summer months, O'odham people practiced Akchin (dry land) farming, using monsoon rains to grow hardy varieties of tepary beans, 60-day corn, and O'odham squash, which they adapted to the arid environment (Hackenberg 1983). Tohono O'odham people practiced this traditional form of farming and wild food collection to obtain most of their food until the mid-twentieth century. Federal work programs, boarding schools, and military service took people away from their homes and fields, and commodity food programs decreased their reliance on local resources and increased their dependence on federal support and food aid. Increased enforcement of the U.S.–Mexico border, which split the O'odham nation after the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, also made traditional gathering of cultural materials more difficult. Water disputes hampered farming, as the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the city of Tucson diverted water away from the

tribe for other users. In 1982, the Southern Arizona Water Rights Settlement Act restored access to water for O'odham people, but farming had essentially dried up on the Tohono O'odham reservation. Tohono O'odham Community Action (TOCA) has been working since 1996 to restore traditional food practices to the community.

TOCA started with basket-weaving classes for youth. Basketry classes expanded to gardens dedicated to producing and learning about the materials required to make baskets, as well as traditional foods. In addition to teaching basketry, TOCA's goal was to rebuild the Tohono O'odham food system through a revival of traditional farming and gathering.

In 2002, TOCA founded the Alexander Pancho Memorial Learning Farm on land that had been used by the family of Terrol Dew Johnson, one of the TOCA founders. TOCA members grow traditional corn, beans, and squash on this land during the summer and nontraditional crops like leafy greens in winter. TOCA also began to revive gathering camps that bring community members together to harvest and process fruit from the saguaro cactus (fig. 8). They also encourage community members to gather traditional foods, which they can sell at the TOCA gallery, at the Desert Rain Café in Sells, Arizona, and on their website (Hoover 2014c).

Photograph by Elizabeth Hoover.

Fig. 8. Tohono O'odham youth harvesting saguaro cactus fruits as part of the Tohono O'odham Community Action (TOCA) Bahidaj Camp.

The current health crisis in Indian country is evident in the Tohono O'odham community, which has become known to public health professionals for its rampant rates of diabetes, estimated to be among the highest in the world (Askar 2014). Traditional O'odham foods, such as tepary beans, mesquite beans, and cholla buds, are high in soluble fibers and inulin (fructan) and help regulate blood sugar, slowing sugar absorption and improving insulin sensitivity. TOCA has been working to increase community access to traditional foods to help improve health, as well as maintain the culture and ceremonies around food gathering and production. TOCA hosts Food Corp interns, who have worked to help the local schools establish gardens.

TOCA has given rise to other youth gardening initiatives as well. Project Oidag is a collective of O'odham youth who came together in the summer of 2011 under the New Generation of O'odham Farmers Youth Internship Program. When the internship ended, the youth continued the project on their own, growing produce to sell and educating other students.

TOCA also works with local schools to include healthier and more culturally appropriate foods in school breakfast and lunch programs. TOCA members have developed a food service social enterprise, farmer training, and farm-to-school programs. They are working to develop a full food system on one of the poorest reservations in the United States, where $50–70 million a year is spent on food, of which less than 1 percent is produced locally. TOCA's goal is to change this system to benefit the health, culture, and local economy of the Tohono O'odham Nation (Hoover 2014c).

The southwestern United States is also home to a number of smaller Indigenous community-based gardening projects. On the Fort Apache Reservation in Arizona, Ndee Bikiyaa (The People's Farm) plants market vegetable crops as well as traditional corn varieties in an effort to provide a greater variety of fresh foods to the community. The Hopi Tutskwa Permaculture project, based in Kykotsmovi Village on Third Mesa, Arizona, teaches classes integrating traditional Hopi farming methods with permaculture methods in order to help Hopi youth plant more of their own food and build their own homes. A number of the Pueblo communities in New Mexico have their own community farms and gardens, including the Tesuque Pueblo farm, the Cochiti Youth Experience program at Cochiti

Photograph by Elizabeth Hoover.

Fig. 9. Jayson Romero (Cochiti Pueblo) in one of his cornfields where he mentors aspiring young farmers through the Cochiti Youth Experience (CYE) Program.

Pueblo (fig. 9), the farm at Nambe Pueblo, and the Red Willow Farm in Taos Pueblo.

Tsyunhehkw^, Oneida Nation

Tsyunhehkw^ ("life sustenance" in Oneida) is a culturally based community agriculture program run by the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin. Its goal is to provide the community with traditional food staples like white corn, as well as to encourage organic gardening among community members. The Oneida are part of the Haudenosaunee (also known as Iroquois or Six Nations) Confederacy, whose territory once stretched across what is now the state of New York (Campisi 1978). During the American Revolution, the Oneida sided with the Americans, even traveling to Valley Forge during the winter of 1777–1778 to bring corn to Washington's starving troops. This allegiance did not spare Oneida land from American encroachment, and in the early nineteenth century, some Oneida moved north into Canada, while others moved west to what is now Wisconsin, where they entered into a treaty with the Menominee Nation to purchase some of their land to create a 65,400-acre reservation. The Dawes Act of 1887 led to the allotment of communally held land and had devastating effects on the Oneida of Wisconsin. By the early 1900s, most of the land on the Oneida reservation was owned by non-Indians (Campisi 1978).

In 1993, the tribe opened a successful casino and has since used the funds to buy back the land (in 2013, it owned approximately 25,042 acres, or 39 percent of the reservation; Rodewald 2015; see "Northeast," this vol.), as well as to open an elementary/middle school and a tribal high school and found the Oneida Community Integrated Food System (OCIFS). Established in 1994, it consists of a number of food-related operations, including the Oneida Nation Farm (a conventional farm that grows cash crops, beef, and buffalo); the 40-acre Oneida Orchard and retail store; the 83-acre organic farm Tsyunhehkw^; a cannery; and the Oneida Market, which focuses on making culturally important traditional foods available to the community.

Tsyunhehkw^ is best known for its white corn, a staple of the traditional Haudenosaunee diet that is made into soup, corn mush, and corn bread (fig. 10). The program started with the planting of only a few acres, using corn brought back from a Tuscarora husking bee (a gathering to husk the corn harvest) in New York State. Usually planted in late May, the corn is used in August in the milky stage for the Green Corn Ceremony in the longhouse. In October, after the corn matures, staff members, community volunteers, and school groups, who come to the farm for educational programs, handpick the corn. After the educational programs end, the remaining corn in the field is picked using mid-twentieth-century corn pickers, which are better adapted to working smaller fields (see also fig. 7).

The success of the white corn program at Tsyunhehkw^ is due in large part to the tribe-owned cannery, which makes it possible for this food to be processed, packaged, placed on shelves, and made available to the community. Corn from Tsyunhehkw^ is processed into hominy corn for soup, flour for corn mush, and flour for cornbread. In addition to its commercial function, the space also acts as a community cannery where community members can, dehydrate,

Photograph by Elizabeth Hoover.

Fig. 10. Braids of Iroquois white corn hang from the rafters in a barn at Tsyunhehkw^.

and freeze their own garden produce. Besides raising corn, grass-fed beef, chickens, eggs, and vegetables, Tsyunhehkw^ picks, dries, and sells wild herbs like bergamot, *monarda fistulosa*, known in the Oneida community as "number six" because it was the sixth medicine given by the Creator to the people. To encourage native prairie plants (and to have less grass to mow), the farm has dedicated patches of land to growing bergamot, sweetgrass, and other native plants.

Tsyunhehkw^ also serves as a resource for community members who want to learn more about organic gardening. In many Native communities, one of the biggest challenges to incorporating traditional foods back into peoples' diets has been poor access to these foods. By producing many of the traditional foods at the Tsyunhehkw^ farm, processing them at the cannery, and making them available through the Oneida Store—in addition to providing education on organic gardening—the Oneida Community Integrated Food System works to make culturally important food available to the Oneida community (Hoover 2014d).

The Great Lakes region around the Oneida Nation is also a hotbed of Indigenous community farming and gardening projects, including the White Earth Land Recovery Project in Minnesota, which supports seed savers and wild rice harvesters; and the Mdewakanton Sioux Wozupi farm that sells and gives away produce through a Tribally Supported Agriculture program. In addition, the urban Native population in Minneapolis and St. Paul is served by the Little Earth Urban Farm, the Mashkiikii Gitigan Medicine Garden, and the Dream of Wild Health program that takes Native youth to a farm to learn to grow, harvest, cook, and sell food.

Tribal Fisheries in the Columbia River Basin

In the Pacific Northwest and the Plateau area, the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission (CRITFC) works to promote food sovereignty for its four member tribes by reestablishing fisheries, as well as shaping and enforcing regulations around those fisheries for the tribes. The 1855, treaties between the United States and the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon, the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation, and the Nez Perce Tribe (Nimiipuu) reserved and guaranteed their right to harvest fish in their traditional homelands (see "Plateau," this vol.). Over time, federal, state, and local governments encroached upon Native fishing rights, especially through the construction of river dams, like the Bonneville Dam and the Dalles Dam in Oregon.

In the 1960s and 1970s, a variety of court cases, like *United States* v. *Oregon* (1969), *United States* v. *Washington,* and *Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation* v. *Callaway,* began to reaffirm tribes' treaty-ensured fishing rights (Deloria 2008). The CRITFC was established in 1977 by the four treaty tribes in response to the significant demands on tribal management resources that came with these legal victories. The commission provides technical assistance to tribes and ensures that treaty fishing rights issues are resolved in a way that promotes the restoration of tribal fisheries (see http://www.critfc.org/, active December 17, 2020).

In 1983, the commission created an enforcement department to implement tribal fishing regulations, enforce federal and state laws for non-Indian fisheries, secure cultural resources, and protect Native fishers. This enforcement extends the reach of tribal jurisdiction and has led to the more consistent monitoring and enforcement of fishing regulations. The commission is currently working to rebuild salmon runs to their full productivity and to reduce toxic contamination in the waters of the Columbia River basin. It insists that "if the regulatory goal is to improve water quality in order to protect the health of Native Americans whose traditional diets include fish, then the appropriate rate is an unrestricted traditional amount of fish consumption" (Harper and Walker 2015:237). Similarly, the Spokane Tribe in Washington state had their water quality standards approved by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency using heritage rates of fish consumption (Harper et al. 2002). The CRITFC also works to develop tribal members' ability to market their fish and sell it at a fair price and helps tribes develop food safety regulations.

In British Columbia, the Okanagan Nation Alliance (ONA) Fisheries Department works to protect fisheries in the upper portion of the Columbia River Basin. The construction of dams since the 1930s, the channelization of rivers, urban encroachment on riverbanks, and poor water management practices have contributed to the depletion and in some cases extinction of salmon stocks. The ONA was formed in 1981 as a First Nations government to represent the eight member communities—the Okanagan (Syilx) Indian Band, the Upper Nicola Band, the Westbank First Nation, the Penticton Indian Band, the Osoyoos Indian Band, the Lower and Upper Similkameen Indian Bands, and the Colville Confederated Tribes—on the protection of important food sources like salmon. Since 2003, the ONA has worked to replenish the sockeye salmon population on Osoyoos, Skaha, and Okanagan Lakes in southern British Columbia, integrating modern science with traditional practices. They have reengineered dams to allow the passage of fish, restore spawning habitat, and participate in the revitalization of Okanagan ceremonies and food sharing. The ONA Fisheries Department provides technical assistance for the eight member communities and acts as a liaison with federal and provincial fisheries agencies (see https://www.syilx.org/fisheries, active December 17, 2020).

Other First Nations across Canada have also employed the concept of food sovereignty as a framework for efforts to preserve and revive Indigenous food relationships (Martens 2015). Cree scholar Michelle Daigle has worked with Anishinaabe communities in and beyond what is now known as Treaty 3 territory in northwestern Ontario, which includes 28 First Nations reserves, connecting resurgent politics and resistance to settler colonial jurisdictions to the protection of food harvesting grounds and waters (Daigle 2017; see "Northeast," this vol.). Many health initiatives founded by these First Nations communities connect rising rates of diabetes to dispossession and contamination of Aboriginal lands and waterways.

A Focus on Native Diet and Cuisine

Indigenous food activists and scholars, such as Devon Mihesuah (Choctaw) and Waziyatawin Angela Wilson (Dakota), have worked to help Native communities reclaim traditional foodways for purposes of health and cultural restoration (Mihesuah 2005; Wilson 2005). Their writings encourage Indigenous people to educate themselves about the dangers of processed, high sodium, and sugary foods; to change their diets before they are diagnosed with diabetes, heart disease, high

blood pressure, and other metabolic disorders; and to seek access to healthier and, where possible, traditional foods.

In the study developed by Dr. Martin Reinhardt (Ojibwe), "Decolonizing Diet Project," conducted through the Northern Michigan University Center of Native American Studies, 25 people volunteered to return to a diet of Indigenous foods of the Great Lakes region in 2012 (M. Reinhardt 2015). Research subjects experienced significant weight loss and reductions in girth. As the study was completed, some participants continued to maintain a more traditional diet, and the project has inspired other communities to try similar actions. Decolonization in food consumption, is not a static end goal but rather a daily mode of resistance (Grey and Patel 2014). Through these types of food decolonization programs, Indigenous communities are gradually working toward cultural restoration and improved health.

In 2013, a group of Pueblo people connected to the Flower Tree Permaculture Institute at Santa Clara Pueblo in New Mexico underwent a similar project titled "The Pueblo Food Experience," in which 14 volunteers of Pueblo descent agreed to eat only foods available prior to European contact. The volunteers, ranging in age from 6 to 65, reported significant weight loss and decreases in triglyceride, cholesterol, and blood sugar levels. Traditional recipes used to support this project were later published in *The Pueblo Food Experience Cookbook* (Swentzell and Perea 2016).

Native American chefs have also become part of the Indigenous food sovereignty movement, participating in efforts to promote the preservation of traditional foods, the use of Indigenous ingredients, and cultural innovation around food. The Corn Dance Café in Santa Fe, founded in 1993 by Potawatomi chef Loretta Barrett Oden, was one of the first restaurants in the United States to feature exclusively Native American food, ranging "from Nunavut to Terra del Fuego." In 2003, Barrett Oden worked with Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) on the series "Seasoned with Spirit: A Native Chef's Journey." She has toured the country, making appearances at Native food summits and other events, working to educate people on the importance of healthy native food: "the buffalo, the venison, the quail, the salmon, trout, corn, beans, squash, all of the amazing foods that were here, and are still here, and that we need to fight to get back out to our own people, and to use this food as a way to heighten people's awareness about who we are" (Hoover 2015).

Since the late 1990s, a number of organizations and enterprises focused on Native foods, featuring the work of Native American chefs and highlighting ingredients sourced from Native food producers, have been established. Ben Jacobs, an Osage chef, runs two branches of Tocabe, a Native food restaurant in Denver, Colorado, that opened in 2008. The restaurant features food his relatives cooked when he was growing up, including frybread, stews, quinoa salad, and buffalo ribs (Hoover 2015). Tocabe restaurant sources as many of the ingredients for their dishes as possible from Native food producers around the country. Perhaps the most frequented food establishment serving Native-inspired cuisine is the Mitsitam Café at the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, DC. The café, whose name means "let's eat!" in the Native language of the Delaware and Piscataway people, opened in 2004 and hired its first Native American chef, Freddie Bitsoie (Navajo), in 2016.

The Native American Culinary Association (NACA), founded by Apache chef Nephi Craig, seeks to highlight Native cuisines, as well as support and educate a new generation of Native chefs. In Minnesota, the Sioux Chef, an enterprise begun by Lakota chef Sean Sherman, draws from ingredients that were present in the Americas before European contact, with a special focus on foods endemic to the Great Lakes and Northern Plains region (fig. 11). Sherman also partnered with the Little Earth community in Minneapolis (http://www.littleearth.org/, active December 17, 2020) to start the Tatanka Truck, a food truck that features healthy regional Indigenous foods like buffalo meat and wild rice. Sherman and his team established an Indigenous nonprofit culinary organization, North American Traditional Indigenous Food Systems (NATIFS), that is geared toward developing Indigenous food labs, food hubs, and food satellites (Sherman and Dooley 2017; http://www.natifs.org/, active December 17, 2020). In 2021, Sherman co-founded Owamni, a Native foods restaurant in Minneapolis.

Conclusion

In the twenty-first century, North American Indigenous peoples increasingly strive to improve access to healthy, culturally significant foods by fighting for their treaty-ensured rights to hunting, fishing, and gathering activities and by establishing community-based farming and gardening projects. In defining food sovereignty for their communities, Native American food producers have highlighted a number of important aspects of the food system they are focusing on: access to healthy, culturally relevant food, land, and information; freedom for individuals to make choices about their consumption and for communities to define their

Photograph by Elizabeth Hoover.

Fig. 11. Sean Sherman (Oglala Lakota), founder of The Sioux Chef, with up-and-coming Mohawk chef Maizie White, cooking a meal of locally sourced Indigenous foods at the James Beard House.

own food systems; and the retention of food dollars within their communities.

Some aspects of Indigenous food sovereignty grow specifically out of Native American and First Nations' history with the land and with the colonial powers that affected their communities. Value is placed, for example, on having the independence and control to provide foods that tribes see as appropriate and grown in an acceptable manner. Tribes also strive to defend their relationships to the environment, food sources, and relatives; their ability to sustain the land and maintain cultural lifestyles; and to protect seeds as the "living relatives" necessary for the continuation of the food sovereignty movement. Educating and working with Native youth have been promoted as antidotes to culture loss and the ensuing health problems that have made Indigenous communities the subjects of so many public health studies (Hoover 2017b).

Importantly, many Indigenous communities do not view food sovereignty as an absolute goal that can be achieved, as "concepts of food sovereignty can come across as so many impossible ideals of community food self-sufficiency and cultural autonomy" (Whyte 2016:354). Rather, they perceive it as a movement, a process that participants expect to undertake for a long time, and as a general framework through which they work to improve people's physical, cultural, and economic health (Hoover 2017b). Working toward food sovereignty is a way to address some of the underlying issues of social justice that lie at the root of health disparities for Native Americans and is important for the revitalization and continuation of their cultural and spiritual traditions (Jernigan 2012).

While many communities have long strived to feed their members and maintain their food traditions, the first decades of the twenty-first century have seen a surge of community-based projects that identify themselves with the political and cultural goals of food sovereignty. Many of these projects have been affiliated with rural and reservation communities, but a trend toward Native food sovereignty in urban areas in the United States and Canada (Cidro et al. 2015) is beginning as a means for Native people everywhere to get access to better nutrition and culturally important foods.

Going forward, climate change will increasingly shape the food sovereignty movement, as culturally important plant and animal species move in and out of the territories to which Native people have access. Changes in water levels and temperatures affect fish and other aquatic populations, and extreme storms and weather conditions shape the land and have impacts on crops (see "Native American Communities and Climate Change," this vol.). Native seedkeepers

are already discussing the potential need to trade their seeds north as climates warm and to develop varieties adapted to diverse weather conditions. Indigenous people will continue to fight for treaty-ensured access to traditional foods and for the land and resources necessary to grow crops. Food sovereignty scholarship and activism will need to be accountable to Indigenous political and cultural structures that are increasingly being foregrounded in analyses of Indigenous foodways (Daigle 2017) in order to properly support this movement.

Native American Communities and Climate Change

MARGARET HIZA REDSTEER, IGOR KRUPNIK, AND JULIE K. MALDONADO

As far back as 1856, scientists predicted that carbon dioxide (CO_2) emitted into the atmosphere could eventually raise the Earth's temperature (Arrhenius 1896; Foote 1856). It would take many more decades of research to understand the consequences of what we now call global climate change, because the Earth's climate is governed by a wide range of factors interlinked in a complex web of physical and biological processes. In the late 1980s, many scientists, with National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) climatologist James E. Hansen taking the lead, voiced concerns about planetary climate change as one of humanity's rising problems (Powell 2011). Hansen's public testimony before the U.S. Senate in June 1988 brought climate change to the forefront of the scientific, political, and public agenda (Besel 2013). As the term *global warming* entered the public domain, the modern climate change debate began.

Recognition of this new and unprecedented challenge led to the creation of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in 1988, the U.S. Global Change Research Act of 1990, and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (also known as the "Earth Summit," held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1992), which adopted the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Since then, the world's attention has concentrated on areas sensitive to climate change impacts. These areas include small tropical islands, high mountains, tropical forests, desert margins, and polar regions (Orlove et al. 2014; Nakashima et al. 2018), where today's Indigenous peoples commonly reside.

Despite broad international attention to Indigenous peoples' lands as harbingers of planetary change, somewhat undiplomatically referred to as "canaries in the coal mine" (Farbotko and Lazrus 2012), Indigenous people were initially excluded from the climate change discussion (Tsosie 2007b). The UNFCCC divided their historic homelands among "countries" or "parties" (UNFCCC 1992:8–9). Moreover, the Second IPCC Report in 1996 made only a cursory reference to Indigenous peoples in a section confined to polar regions. Indigenous peoples were not represented at the annual UNFCCC Conferences of the Parties (COPs) until 1998 and only since 2001 have their organizations, both nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and umbrella bodies, such as the International Indigenous Peoples' Forum on Climate Change, been officially recognized as constituencies in climate change negotiations (Galloway McLean et al. 2011).

Nonetheless, climate scientists and, eventually, the general public were soon compelled to look closer at the observations and perspectives of some Indigenous groups affected by climate change. In North America, by the late 1990s, Arctic Indigenous peoples and scientists worked collaboratively and voiced warnings about the growing impact of climate change (see "Arctic: Melting Sea Ice and New Threats to Native Communities," this chapter). Awareness also grew—though more slowly—in other climate change "hotspots": low-lying coastal areas, tropical islands, and mountainous and arid lands. During the past fifteen years, information on the impacts on Indigenous communities across North America has risen from a trickle to a steady stream, as the number of scholarly papers, conferences, research initiatives, special journal issues, and books on Indigenous peoples and climate change has grown (Maldonado et al. 2014; Nakashima et al. 2018:7; see "Additional Readings," this chapter).

Furthermore, acknowledging the lack of significant engagement with Indigenous groups in the first two U.S. National Climate Assessments (NCA) in 2000 and 2009, the third NCA in 2014 included comprehensive information to date on climate change impacts on Indigenous peoples (Bennett et al. 2014; Maldonado et al. 2015b), with that information growing and becoming more extensive in the fourth NCA in 2018 (USGCRP 2018). The growing acknowledgment of the impact of climate change on Indigenous peoples was visible in the fifth assessment report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change in its chapters dedicated to the Earth's polar regions (Larsen et al. 2014b) and its calls to include Indigenous peoples and traditional knowledge in planning for future climate adaptation (Mimura et al. 2014; Nakashima et al. 2018). New interest in possible insights from traditional Indigenous land-use practices to inform carbon

sequestration are also gaining attention (McCarthy et al. 2018).

The topic of global climate change was not discussed in early volumes of the *Handbook of North American Indians* series, since many were published before it was a widely recognized issue. Volume 5, *Arctic* (Damas 1984; e.g., McGhee 1984b:370–371), volume 6, *Subarctic* (Helm 1981; e.g., Clark 1981), and volume 12, *Plateau* (Walker 1998; e.g., Chatters 1998) covered precontact climate change primarily via archaeological records. Volume 3, *Environment, Origins, and Population* (Ubelaker 2006a), contained chapters addressing the impacts of environmental change on ancient populations, but a discussion of contemporary climate impacts was limited to the chapter on the Arctic (Andre et al. 2006:234–235). Volume 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society* (Bailey 2008a), made no reference to climate change.

This chapter offers the first comprehensive treatment of contemporary climate change and its impacts on Indigenous communities across North America in the *Handbook* series. While all regions face climate-related impacts, four areas are selected here—Southwest, Southeast, Arctic, and northern Great Plains—to illustrate impacts that affect so many Native American and First Nations' communities (fig. 1) (for other regions, see "Additional Readings," this chapter). Climate-related stresses in these regions include, but are not limited to, extensive droughts, increased forest fires, less reliable water supplies, rising sea levels, melting sea ice and permafrost, and increased weather instability. These stresses intersect with political, economic, social, and development factors to put Indigenous peoples at high risk of severe negative consequences. Many communities are actively addressing these issues today through both mitigation and adaptation.

New Risks for Indigenous Communities Facing Climate Change

U.S. Native Nations, Canadian First Nations, and Indigenous peoples of northern Mexico are situated within a variety of ecosystems and climatic zones, and the challenges facing them are just as varied. Tribes with large landholdings and populations, those near the coast, or those in areas of scarce water are likely to face challenges different from smaller tribes or those near urban areas. Yet climate change often has common, overarching consequences for all Indigenous communities, including impacts on subsistence resources, health, and sustainable livelihoods. In some cases, these impacts can make living conditions so unfeasible that affected communities are forced to relocate.

The current vulnerability of North American Indigenous communities is commonly linked to a history of socioeconomic marginalization that is manifested in the struggle for water rights, endangered cultural practices, environments degraded by resource extraction and energy development, and limited capital. These are characteristics that most Indigenous people share, in North America and elsewhere.

The colonial-driven transformation of human and natural systems across North America pushed many Native communities into marginal areas and onto restrictive reservations with limited options for food and safety (Lynn et al. 2013; Reo and Parker 2013; Whyte 2013), setting the stage for their systemic impoverishment. Following forced Indian removals in the 1800s (U.S. Congress 1830), many Native tribes in the continental United States and Canada moved to land of little interest for colonial development or agricultural use. These areas typically had extreme environments, where the sustainability of Native economies was already a challenge. In the arid parts of the West, Native lands are situated in regions with limited rainfall and poor-quality water sources that non-Native settlers found undesirable. As Helen H. Jackson (1881:459) testified: "From tract after tract of [ancestral] lands they have been driven out year by year by the white settlers of the country until they can retreat no further, some of their villages being literally on the last tillable spot on the deserts edge or in mountains far recesses." Recognizing this history is key to understanding the vulnerabilities faced by today's Native Nations (Redsteer et al. 2013).

The limited resource base and poor economic conditions resulting from this history of colonial oppression reduce the resilience of Indigenous peoples to environmental shifts and, even more so, to climate-induced disasters. In the United States, more than one-quarter of the American Indian and Alaska Native population lives in poverty—a rate more than double the general population (Sarche and Spicer 2008; U.S. Civil Rights Commission 2004). Approximately 13.3 percent of Native Americans lack access to safe drinking water (Indian Health Service 2007). The economic status of impoverished communities, already stretched to the limit, must be improved in order to address additional threats brought by a changing climate.

Despite these and other challenges, most Native people continue to practice a lifestyle deeply connected to their natural surroundings. Cultural practices that tie them to the land include the gathering of herbal medicines and local plant foods, subsistence hunting and fishing, and traditional agricultural practices, such as farming and sheep raising. These practices can offer some stability in otherwise financially challenging

Map compiled by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History, 2018.

Fig. 1. Map of North American Indian sites affected by climate change as discussed in this chapter: (1) Shishmaref, AK; (2) Kivalina, AK; (3) Newtok, AK; (4) Tuktoyaktuk, NWT; (5) 2012 fire and 2011 flood in Blackfeet Indian Reservation (IR); (6) 2011 flood in Ft. Belknap IR; (7) 2012 fire and 2011 flood on the Little Bighorn River in Crow IR; (8) 2012 fire in Northern Cheyenne IR; (9) 2013 flood in Standing Rock Sioux IR; (10) coastal woodland range of Sudden Oak Death (SODMAP project of UC Berkeley, http://nature.berkeley.edu/garbelottowp/?page_id=755); (11) Big Pine Paiute of Owens Valley; (12) 2007 Poomacha fire; (13) 2003 San Diego County wildfires; (14) Tuba City, AZ; (15) Tolani Lake, AZ; (16) 2002 Rodeo-Chediski wildfire; (17) Eastern Band of Cherokee; (18) Isle de Jean Charles, LA; (19) Big Cypress (Seminole) and Miccosukee tribal lands.

circumstances and contribute to community coherence and well-being. They also help cope with added health risks in the context of family and community health that includes traditional healing and medicines, other cultural traditions, and strong tribal and ethnic identity (Whyte 2013; Donatuto et al. 2014; Ruscio et al. 2015; see "Food Sovereignty," this vol.)—that can all be affected by a changing climate (Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996; J.B. Smith et al. 2008; Green and Raygorodetsky 2010).

The limited data available show that in the Southwest, Arctic, coastal areas, and Great Plains, as elsewhere across the continent (see "Additional Readings," this chapter), Indigenous people are already experiencing substantial to severe climate change impacts that bring new risks, increase vulnerability, and diminish or change the spectrum of local subsistence resources.

Compounding issues of vulnerability, few detailed scientific studies examine current climate impacts to tribal communities, except in Alaska and northern Canada, although this knowledge disparity has declined in recent years (Bolton et al. 2011; Redsteer et al. 2013). Currently, many communities promote or directly participate in studies that incorporate local observations and knowledge about climate change (Redsteer et al. 2010; Doyle et al. 2013; Rising Voices 2014). These efforts have led to increasing public and local awareness, spurring community action and increasing adaptive capacity (Cochran et al. 2013; Redsteer et al. 2018).

Southwest: Extreme Droughts and Wildfires

The southwestern United States, including California, is home to 182 federally recognized tribes (Federal Register 2019a). California has the largest Native American population in the country, while Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah are home to seven of the most populous tribes (U.S. Census 2010). More than one-third of the land in Arizona is tribal land. Although the studies of climate-related challenges to Native communities in the Southwest are limited, significant recent impacts to ecosystems on Native lands have been documented. Similar transitions have been observed across northern Mexico and along the U.S.-Mexican border (Stahle et al. 2009; Wilder et. 2013)

Increased Wildfires

In 2002, drought conditions and high winds in the Southwest spurred wildfires that appear to be part of increasingly intense and long fire seasons that have resulted from a warming climate (Feltz et al. 2003; Williams et al. 2019). The Rodeo-Chediski fire in Arizona, which burned timber and grazing lands of the White Mountain Apache Tribe, set a record for its immense size (Strom 2005; Kuenzi 2006). The fire resulted in severely burned areas, with 50 percent of the land showing no signs of ponderosa pine regeneration. New growth was projected to shift vegetation dominance to oak-manzanita shrubland (Strom 2005).

A continuation of dry, windy conditions also led to record-breaking wildfires that affected tribal lands in California (Federal Emergency Management Agency 2004). In October 2003, three simultaneous wildfires—some of the largest in the history of California—charred 376,000 acres in San Diego County. Again in October 2007, nine simultaneous fires of varying sizes burned throughout the county, requiring widespread evacuations on Indian lands.

In the 2007 Poomacha fire, the La Jolla Band of Luiseño Indians and the Rincon Band of Luiseño Indians, who had survived prior fires in 2003, suffered severe damage that caused food shortages (U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs 2007). The damage to tribal communities is actually more severe than these statistics would suggest because of cultural ties to the land and its resources (Kelly 2007). The Poomacha fire burned 94 percent of the La Jolla Reservation, destroying thick forests of live oak that had provided acorns for generations of Native Americans.

Other communities affected by California wildfires in 2000–2015 include the Barona Band of Mission Indians, the Inaja-Cosmit Band Indians, the Mesa Grande Band of Mission Indians, the Pala Band of Mission Indians, the Pauma Band of Luiseño Indians, the San Pasqual Band of Diegueno Mission Indians, the Iipay Nation of Santa Ysabel, and the Viejas Band of Kumeyaay Indians (Ti'pai). Many more tribes throughout North America are certain to face similar challenges, but because of the relatively low economic value of their land, they would be a low priority for fire-fighting resources (Intertribal Timber Council 2015).

Change in Vegetation

A climate-related impact called "sudden oak death"—spread by a pathogen sensitive to changes in humidity and temperature—is a growing concern in California coastal areas (Guo et al. 2005; Liu et al. 2007). It may have been rare until changes in the environment and increased fire frequency led to its increasing prevalence (Rizzo and Garbelotto 2003, Pautasso et al. 2012). Tribes that have used oaks and acorns include the Miwok, Western Mono, Chumash, Yokut, Yurok, Paiute,

and various Apache bands (Anderson 2005). Acorns are a recognized staple food source of Native Americans in coastal California and the surrounding region. In addition to being a source of traditional foods, oaks are a valued source of traditional medicine and dyes for basketry (Ortiz 2008).

Many southwestern tribal economies now depend on livestock (including the Hopi, Hualapai, Jicarilla, White Mountain and San Carlos Apache, Navajo, Pyramid Lake Paiute, Southern Ute, and groups across the U.S.–Mexico border). The livestock, especially cattle, are a significant source of savings and food security for large numbers of families and help preserve aspects of traditional culture, especially for Navajo (Diné) people (Redsteer et al. 2010). These communities tend to have limited alternative livelihoods, and additional climate-related stresses to rangelands will further reduce their economic resources.

For the Navajo Nation of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah, the largest American Indian reservation in the United States, reservation boundaries were established within the driest third of their traditional homeland (Redsteer et al. 2010). Fierce competition among Anglo and Hispanic populations for the best rangelands prevented the Navajo from retaining the more verdant traditional lands for their use (Bailey and Bailey 1986). Today, prolonged drought combined with increasing temperatures is significantly altering the habitability of this region, which is already characterized by harsh conditions (Redsteer et al. 2013).

Lifetime observations of 73 Elders from the Navajo Nation record changes that include a long-term decrease in the amount of annual snowfall over the past century, a transition from wet conditions to dry conditions in the mid-twentieth century, and a decline in surface water features, all of which have magnified drought severity (Redsteer et al. 2018). This lack of water, in addition to changing socioeconomic conditions, is a leading cause of the decline in the Navajo ability to grow corn and other crops. Navajo Elders point to the disappearance of springs and certain plant and animal populations, particularly medicinal plants, cottonwood trees, beavers, and eagles.

Increasing Sand Dune Mobility

Nearly a third of the Navajo Nation and almost half of Hopi tribal rangelands are covered with sand dunes that have been variably active during prehistoric droughts (Redsteer 2020). The mobility of dune deposits is a function of wind, sand supply, and vegetation cover. In areas of Navajo and Hopi land that have wetter and cooler conditions, vegetation grows on sand dunes and stabilizes them. However, increased aridity due to higher temperatures and a prolonged drought that began in the late 1990s has led to the deterioration of surface vegetation and has increased dune mobility, jeopardizing rangeland productivity (Redsteer 2002; Redsteer and Block 2004). With projected warmer and drier conditions, more dunes are likely to become mobile (Thomas et al. 2005; Muhs and Maat, 1993). An additional complication is that during floods, new sediment delivered in ephemeral rivers and washes (i.e., drainages that flow only temporarily after precipitation or snowmelt) provides a sand supply for new dune fields (Redsteer 2020). Currently, dunes and related dust storms are damaging infrastructure, causing transportation problems, and contributing to a loss of rare and endangered native plants and grazing land (fig. 2) (Redsteer et al. 2010).

Photographs by M.H. Redsteer.

Fig. 2. left, Abandoned car buried by moving sand, 2017. right, Blowing sand and dust during 2009 drought that illustrates poor rangeland and living conditions.

Water Shortages

Water resources on arid reservations are typically marginal and susceptible to water shortages (fig. 3). Water rights and access to potable water are closely linked to the vulnerability and adaptive capacity of Native people (Gautam et al. 2013; Royster 2013; USGCRP 2016). In the United States, the legal basis for tribal water rights is the federal "reserved rights" doctrine, which holds that Indian nations have reserved rights to land and resources in treaties they signed with the United States. In the 1908 case of *Winters* v. *United States*, the Supreme Court held that when the U.S. government establishes a reservation, it also implicitly reserves water rights sufficient to meet the current and future needs of the tribe and the purpose for which the reservation was set aside (Cohen 2012). Difficulties arise, however, because water settlements are required to obtain adjudicated access, and state-led applications of the law are uneven (Cordalis and Cordalis 2013).

In the arid Owens Valley of California, spring and summer snowmelt are crucial to water supplies. The Big Pine Paiute Tribe of Owens Valley, which channels this runoff to irrigate important food plants, have observed changes to runoff in the watershed. The tribe shares water with the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (DWP), which owns nearly all the water rights in the valley. Repeat photography of the upstream Palisade Glacier shows its notable shrinkage, and water shortages are likely to increase DWP's export of water from the valley, leaving the Big Pine Paiute with an uncertain supply.

Weather extremes, including both droughts and floods, now occur frequently, resulting in emergency declarations. For example, Havasupai lands are situated within narrow canyons that are increasingly prone to floods, with severe impacts occurring in 2008, 2017, and 2018 that have curtailed profits from their ecotourism-based economy (Federal Emergency Management Agency 2018). In 2013, extreme storms in the Navajo Nation produced floods that displaced 160 people and resulted in 3 fatalities (as reported by the Navajo Nation Emergency Management).

Shortage of Resources

Poverty and lack of resources have left many tribal communities unprepared to cope with climate extremes. Whereas every state across the U.S. Southwest has a drought plan, only four (out of almost 100 southwestern tribes) had completed their specific drought plans by 2015 (National Drought Mitigation Center 2010; U.S. Bureau of Reclamation 2010). Tribes have limited resources to develop and implement such plans because they lack the personnel and funding to perform actions that the plans require (Knutson et al. 2007).

Many reservations, particularly those with large landholdings, have insufficient capacity to adequately monitor weather and climate change on their land (Ferguson et al. 2011). Without monitoring, tribal decision-makers do not have the data they need to quantify and evaluate the changes taking place and to manage resources accordingly. Most reservations lack the data necessary to contribute to more accurate

Photograph by M.H. Redsteer.

Fig. 3. Traditional Navajo cornfield that relies on adequate rainfall and local varieties of corn buried deep in moisture-retaining sand, 2019.

downscaled climate models because weather monitoring is sparse over areas of significant size. Even so, the climate observation network of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) lost funding in 2014, compromising the operation of monitoring sites intended to fill data gaps.

Southeast: Sea-Level Rise, Extreme Weather Events, and Land Loss

Changing climate and landscape create significant challenges for the tribes across the U.S. Southeast and leave them at risk of losing access to cultural, medicinal, subsistence, and environmental resources (figs. 4, 5) (USDA, Forest Service 2014). Tribal residents in southeast Louisiana report that it stays warmer longer and the winters are short with fewer cold days. Hotter temperatures prevent plants and trees from entering their customary dormant season, which is essential for good production and health (Coastal Louisiana Tribal Communities 2012). Rising sea surface temperatures are expected to continue over the coming decades, increasing the risk of more intense hurricanes (Walsh et al. 2014) and flooding during heavy rain events in low-lying coastal areas (Carter et al. 2014:401; Kunkel et al. 2013). Even so, Indigenous people are working to preserve culture, communities, and ancestral lands by elevating their houses above floodwaters, revising planting strategies, continuing subsistence food practices, and forming collaborative partnerships (Coastal Louisiana Tribal Communities 2012; Laska 2012; Maldonado et al. 2015a). Many Indigenous groups in the U.S. Southeast have formed intertribal partnerships and collaborate with agencies and scientists to share information, monitoring, and resource management planning (USDA, Forest Service 2014).

Tribal communities in North Carolina have voiced concerns to government agencies about climate change impacts on water management, more storm severity, increasing insect and pest populations, and loss of medicinal plants (Fouladbash 2015). The Lumbee are seeing dramatically falling lake water levels that could impact pollution levels from coal ash ponds. Warmer water in the rivers has reduced trout populations, an important resource for the Eastern Band of Cherokee (Fouladbash 2015). The Seminole and Miccosukee lands in Florida are at extreme risk from sea-level rise, saltwater incursion, coastal inundation, and erosion (Hanna 2007). These risks threaten freshwater supplies, coastal plants and animals that are significant to traditional lifestyles, and tribal citrus and sugarcane operations (Hanna 2007).

Extreme Environmental Changes in Coastal Louisiana

A complex web of land-use factors puts tribes living in coastal Louisiana at especially high risk from sea-level rise, coastal erosion, saltwater inundation, subsidence, and increased impacts from hurricanes and storm surges (Holland and Bruyère 2014). In the 1700s and 1800s, cypress logging and forest destruction produced a network of canals. Subsequently, the damming of the Mississippi River, the construction of levees, and flood control measures introduced throughout the twentieth century hampered important sediment delivery that supports the Louisiana delta (Barry 1997; Burley 2010; Freudenberg et al. 2009; Penland et al. 2000). Large-scale agricultural development brought additional environmental pressure (Button and Peterson 2009). Oil and gas companies dredged canals and laid thousands of miles of pipelines (Laska et al. 2005). More recent incidents such as the 2010 BP Deepwater Horizon oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico additionally affected subsistence practices and community health (Maldonado 2017). These disturbances have diminished coastal tribes' adaptive capacity and increasingly limited their options for in situ adaptation (Laska and Peterson 2013; Maldonado 2014, 2019).

During the early 1800s, many Indigenous communities were forcibly displaced from their lands along the Eastern Seaboard; some found refuge in southeast Louisiana to avoid being relocated or killed. In the twenty-first century, they experience the threat of displacement once again. Sea-level rise and intensified hurricanes compound the effects of erosion and subsidence to the Louisiana delta (Burkett and Davidson 2012), producing one of the world's highest rates of relative sea-level rise at faster than twice the global average (Karl et al. 2009; Melillo et al. 2014). An additional 4.3-foot rise is predicted by the end of the twenty-first century (Marshall 2013; T. Osborn 2013). Coastal Louisiana lost 1,880 square miles of land between 1932 and 2010 alone (CPRA 2017), decreasing the natural buffers for coastal Indigenous communities against flooding and threatening tribal cultures and water-based settlements and livelihoods (Bennett et al. 2014; Maldonado 2014; Maldonado et al. 2014).

Historically, a number of tribes in Louisiana lived safely along high ridges and with barrier islands to the south protecting against hurricanes and storms, but with extreme land loss, they are now situated in harm's way. Among the first peoples of the region, the Grand Bayou Atakapa-Ishak/Chawasha Tribe, according to Tribal narrative, never lost a person to a hurricane and adapted to seasonal changes by taking precautions. In just the decade between 2005 and

Photograph by Julie Maldonado.

Fig. 4. Loss of livelihood and subsistence practices, due in part to sea level rise, Isle de Jean Charles, Louisiana.

Photograph by Julie Maldonado.

Fig. 5. Ghost forest, Pointe-au-Chien, Louisiana. Trees died in part because of rising saltwater level and increased salination of island soil.

2015, southeast Louisiana's six tribes (the Isle de Jean Charles Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw Indians of Louisiana, now the Jean Charles Choctaw Nation; Grand Caillou/Dulac Band of Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw; Bayou Lafourche Band of Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw; Pointe-au-Chien Indian Tribe; Grand Bayou Atakapa-Ishak/Chawasha Tribe; and United Houma Nation) endured severe flooding, strong winds, and king tides from eight major storms and hurricanes. Many of the trees, traditional and medicinal plants, gardens, and trapping grounds are now gone (Coastal Louisiana Tribal Communities 2012). Economic and subsistence resources have declined, resulting in diminished sharing, exchange, and reciprocity (Laska et al. 2010; Laska 2012, Maldonado et al. 2015a). Even so, most communities in the region focus on adapting in-place by drawing upon their historical roots, traditions of sustainability, and new means to increase social capacity. Coastal tribes have chosen to adapt in different ways, for the restoration of the coast and the protection of coastal livelihoods are core to their physical and spiritual health and lifeways.

On the Isle de Jean Charles in the Mississippi Delta, as of 2015, approximately 320 of the original 22,400 acres of land remained (fig. 6). If immediate and inclusive restoration and flood protection actions are not taken, the island could be gone before 2050 (CPRA 2012). Currently, with little land left and no protection from increasingly extreme weather events and flooding, many Tribal residents are forced to move out after storms. Yet the Island community has been mostly omitted from coastal restoration efforts and it received minimal attention in Louisiana's 50-year Master Plan for Coastal Restoration (see CPRA 2012, 2017). In 2002, Isle de Jean Charles was home to 78 houses and approximately 325 people; by 2015, with widespread, persistent flooding and loss of subsistence-based livelihoods, only 25 houses and 70 people remained. Because of these problems, the Isle de Jean Charles Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw Tribal Council made the difficult decision to resettle their community in an effort to maintain their culture, lifeways, and traditions (Maldonado 2019).

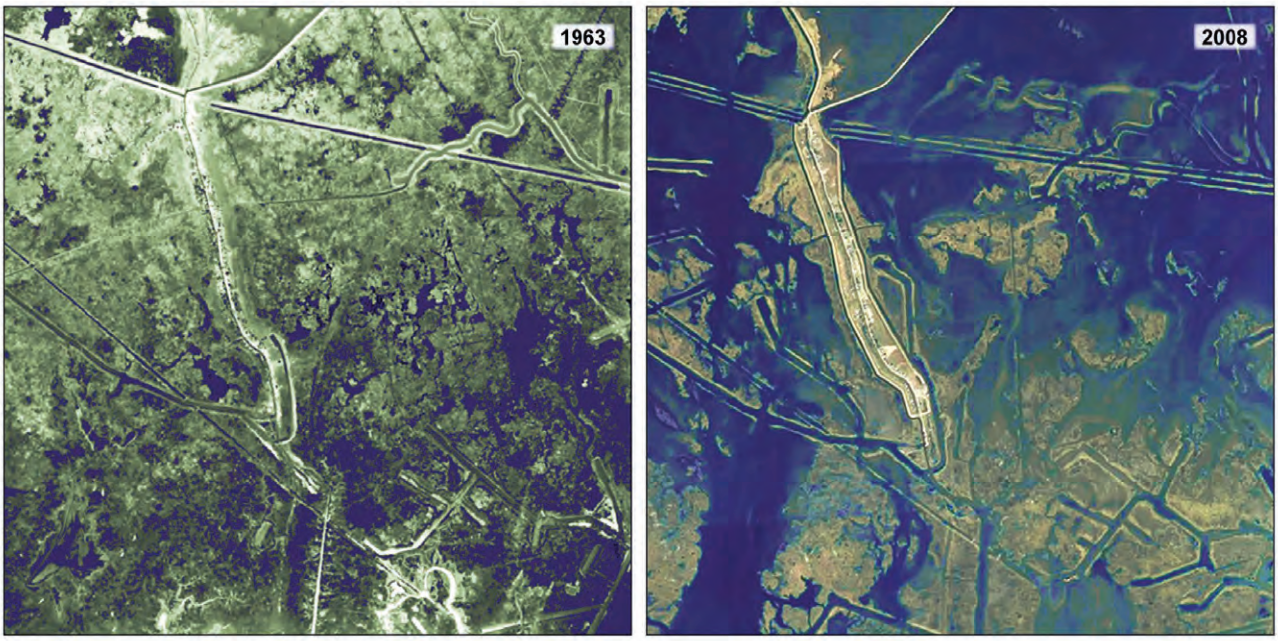
Faced with the threat of cultural genocide, the Isle de Jean Charles Tribal Council has actively worked to resettle the community for nearly two decades (Maldonado et al. 2013; Peterson and Maldonado 2016). In partnership with the Lowlander Center (a local non-profit organization), volunteers from the Tribe, academic institutions, and professional groups, the Tribal Council developed a community-based, culturally appropriate, sustainable resettlement plan, including protection and rehabilitation of the island (Laska et al. 2014; Swan et al. 2015). Without a government agency authorized to provide funds and institutional support for community relocation efforts (Bronen 2011), the Isle de Jean Charles Tribal Council has persistently sought partnerships and support from the United Nations, the U.S. Congress, and tribal partners and networks (Maldonado and Peterson 2018).

In January 2016, the U.S. Housing and Urban Development Agency and the Rockefeller Foundation's National Disaster Resilience Competition awarded the state of Louisiana a $48 million grant to support the Isle de Jean Charles Tribe's Resettlement. It is not yet known if the Tribe's vision of community resettlement will be implemented; one challenge is that federal programs, such as buyout options, are based on individual—not community—rights and are in conflict with the Tribe's community-based values (Maldonado 2019). In the case of resettlement, these policies and programs do not provide the means to reestablish the physical, economic, cultural, social, and spiritual fabric that enables community well-being (Maldonado and Peterson 2018).

Arctic: Melting Sea Ice and New Threats to Native Communities

Indigenous communities in Alaska, Canada, and Greenland feel the brunt of a changing environment due to climate warming at double the global average (Larsen et al. 2014b). Since the 1990s, they have communicated the impacts on their lands and waters through national and international dialogues, voicing apprehension much earlier than other Indigenous groups in North America. Arctic scientists were eager to listen and to disseminate these concerns (BESIS 1997; Bielawski 1997; Ernerk 1994; Gibson and Schullinger 1998; McDonald et al. 1997; Weller and Anderson 1999). In the early 2000s, projects documenting Arctic Indigenous observations produced numerous government and NGO reports, scholarly papers, local studies, and community-based programs (Aporta 2002; Ashford and Castelden 2001; Fox 2000; Huntington 2000a; Huntington et al. 2001; Krupnik and Jolly 2002; Riedlinger 2001; Riedlinger and Berkes 2001; *Sila Alangotok* 2000; Thorpe et al. 2003), culminating in an authoritative pan-Arctic synthesis of Indigenous data on climate change (Huntington and Fox 2005).

As government agencies and international bodies started grappling with climate change impacts, Arctic Indigenous activists advanced the issue to broader political arenas (Fenge 2001; Inuit Circumpolar Conference 2001; Whitehorse Declaration 2001). Their efforts culminated in a well-known petition filed on December 5, 2005, to the Inter-American Commission



Source: U.S. Geological Survey. | GAO-20-488

top, Photograph by Babs Bagwell. bottom, U.S. Geological Survey (GAO 2020:18).

Fig. 6. top, Contemporary view of Isle de Jean Charles, Louisiana from the air, 2012. bottom, Land loss at Isle de Jean Charles, Louisiana, 1963 to 2008.

on Human Rights by Sheila Watt-Cloutier, the chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, along with 62 Inuit hunters and Elders from Canada and Alaska. The petition alleged that the growing emissions of greenhouse gases generated by the U.S. economy violated Inuit cultural and environmental human rights. The commission invited Watt-Cloutier to testify at its first hearing on climate change and human rights in 2007. For her climate activism, Watt-Cloutier received the 2005 Champions of the Earth award from the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and was nominated for the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize. This episode represented one of the first times the world recognized an Indigenous contribution to the climate change debate.

The Arctic provides a rare example of consensus that exists among scientists, Indigenous peoples, NGOs, and local governments about the threats from global warming, though this consensus has yet to be reflected in consistent policy actions (Ford et al. 2013). In a rare example of scientific and Indigenous collaboration, studies from the 1990s and early 2000s provided foresight about major impacts and drivers of rapid change in the polar regions of North America. These included the shrinking and thinning of Arctic sea ice, pressure on commercial fisheries, increase in storm frequency and coastal erosion, thawing of the permafrost, and shifting ranges of key wildlife species (Callaway et al. 1999; Herlander and Mustonen 2004; Krupnik 2000a; Nickels et al. 2005). In the late 1990s, public opinion was driven primarily by the issue of increased storms and coastal erosion that endangered many coastal villages and towns, with images of cliff-hanging Native houses and cabins (cf. E. Marino 2015; fig. 7).

Since the early 2000s, local communities viewed growing weather unpredictability as the biggest challenge brought by climate change (Berkes 2002; Krupnik and Jolly 2002). Soon, the critical importance of sea ice melting, thinning, and rapidly declining, and associated risks, were documented across the Arctic areas from the Bering Strait to Greenland (Krupnik et al. 2010a, 2010b; Laidler 2006; Laidler and Ikummaq 2008; Laidler et al. 2010; Nuttall 2009; Taverniers 2010). At the same time, researchers developed new approaches to studying adaptation, such as resilience and vulnerability assessment (Ford et al. 2006a; Hovelsrud and Smit 2010; Smit and Wandel 2006). Whereas most widely recognized impacts in the Arctic communities are melting sea ice, coastal erosion, and climate-induced relocation, other issues, such as food security, sustainability, land stewardship, and climate justice gained importance (Cameron et al. 2015; Ford

Photograph by Michael Brubaker.

Fig. 7. For several months of the year, the sea ice cover protects the town of Shishmaref, Alaska, from ocean storms and coastal erosion, but the window of protection is shortening because of climate change, June 2014.

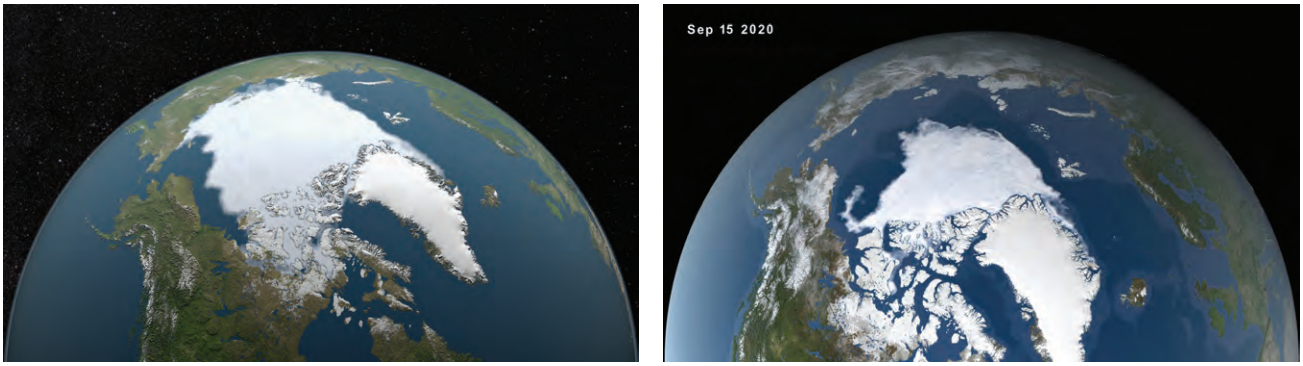
et al. 2010; Inuit Circumpolar Council–Alaska 2015). Known impacts now include challenges to health and well-being from a loss of traditional food, new diseases, damage to infrastructure and heritage sites, and challenges to tourism and resource development (Bennett et al. 2014; Bolton et al. 2011; Chapin et al. 2014; Cochran et al. 2013; Ford et al. 2012a, 2012b, 2014; Struzik 2016; Upagiaqtavut 2010). Many of these issues are being addressed using a well-preserved pool of traditional (or local) ecological knowledge (TEK or LEK; see "Arctic," this vol.).

Sea Ice

Melting sea ice (fig. 8) remains by far the dominant topic of research related to Arctic Native peoples, due to its iconic status as the most recognizable symbol of rapid climate change. As one of the prime research domains in the 2000s, it expanded far beyond its original focus on Native knowledge and observations of sea ice dynamics (Gearheard et al. 2006; Krupnik 2002; Krupnik et al. 2010b; Laidler 2006; Laidler et al. 2010; Laidler and Ikummaq 2008; Norton 2002; Oozeva et al. 2004). New research areas include ice safety, navigation, symbolic and cultural values (Aporta et al. 2011; Bravo 2010; Fienup-Riordan and Rearden 2012; Gearheard et al. 2013; Stuckenberger 2007; Tyrrell 2013; Wisniewski 2010), preservation of Indigenous heritage, languages, and knowledge (Heyes 2011; Krupnik 2011; Weyapuk and Krupnik 2012), political and legal discourse (Baker and Mooney 2013; Lovecraft 2013), and media treatment (Bjørst 2010; Christensen et al. 2013). Sea ice will remain a powerful nexus of scholarly and public attention owing to its key role in climate change impacts. Yet by 2030, most of the Arctic Ocean is expected to be ice-free during the summer.

Climate-Induced Relocations

Like in other parts of North America, rising sea levels and coastal erosion threaten Indigenous communities in the Arctic, particularly in Alaska and the Canadian Northwest Territories. In contrast to the U.S. Southeast, however, the predicaments of endangered polar communities, such as Shishmaref, Kivalina, Point Hope, and Newtok in Alaska, and Tuktoyaktuk in Arctic Canada, have been widely publicized by scientists and the media (Bronen 2011; Chapin et al. 2014; Maldonado et al. 2013; E. Marino 2012, 2015; Sejersen 2012; Shearer 2011). The scope of threat is far more substantial, as governmental surveys in the early 2000s reported that 184 out of 213 (or 86 percent) of Alaska Native villages were "to some extent" affected by flooding and coastal erosion (USACE 2009). Thirty-one Native Alaskan communities were declared "high-risk" sites, because of flooding, as early as in 2009, and some are literally sandbagged year-round. Twelve Alaskan communities have already decided to relocate to higher ground (Anonymous 2011a; USACE 2009), and four most-affected Native communities, Kivalina (population 374), Newtok (population 354), Shaktoolik (population 251), and Shishmaref (population 563; all numbers from the 2010 U.S. Census) may be forced to relocate within a decade, even though the amount of state and federal resources invested in protecting them is much higher than in other parts of North America. As of 2019, twenty-seven Native Alaskan communities have been listed in the "highest risk" category, because of the threat of flooding, and forty-six more in the "Flood Group 2" (high risk) (University of Alaska Fairbanks Institute of Northern Engineering et al. 2019:A-4–A-5).



NASA, Scientific Visualization Studio (https://svs.gsfc.nasa.gov/4941).

Fig. 8. Minimal Arctic sea ice extent, on right, in September 2020 (at 3.74 million km^2 or 1.44 million square miles), compared to the similar extent, on left, in September 1979 (at 6.455 million km^2).

Regional Climate Change Strategies

Thanks to recent political empowerment, a large portion of Arctic Indigenous peoples live under various forms of Native self-government, such as Greenland Home Rule government (Self Rule since 2009), the Territory of Nunavut in Canada, or in other local jurisdictions where Native people constitute a majority, like the North Slope Borough in Alaska (see "Arctic," this vol.). This self-governance offers more resources for formulating local responses to climate change and makes Arctic peoples less dependent on the policies and regulations of their respective nation-states. Some Arctic jurisdictions with Native majorities have developed their own policies regarding climate change, like the Nunavut Climate Strategy of 2003 and its later iteration of 2010 (Upagiaqtavut 2010).

New Role of Indigenous Knowledge

Many scientists and government agencies actively support collaborative approaches that emphasize Indigenous participation and knowledge sharing, such as "community-based monitoring" (Danielsen et al. 2014; Gofman 2010; Hovelsrud et al. 2011; Johnson et al. 2015; Pearce et al. 2009) and "knowledge coproduction" (Armitage et al. 2011). In Canada, *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, the Inuktitut term for the system of Inuit traditional knowledge and societal values, is the officially promoted approach to research and governance in the Arctic Territory of Nunavut (Arnakak 2002; Tester and Irniq 2008). The 2009 Tromsø Declaration adopted by the Arctic Council acknowledged the critical role of Arctic Indigenous peoples (Arctic Council 2009). In summer 2015, the Arctic Council officially recommended thirteen principles for the use of traditional knowledge of Arctic peoples in all future efforts to secure a "sustainable Arctic," under the title of *Ottawa Traditional Knowledge Principles* (2015).

Resilience and Self-Reliance

After two decades of bearing witness to the growing climate impacts on their lands, waters, and livelihoods, Arctic Indigenous peoples increasingly voice a message of resilience and self-reliance (Krupnik 2019; Tejsner 2013). Some Native activists argue for certain tangible benefits that could be brought about by modern climate change, particularly better transportation, opportunities for economic development, infrastructure improvement, and a growing tourist industry (Inuit Circumpolar Conference 2001). This viewpoint is especially pronounced in mineral-rich areas, such as the Alaskan North Slope Borough (Welch 2015) or in Greenland, where certain political parties in the Self Rule government have taken an unabashedly prodevelopment (pro-mining) stand (Lennert 2014; Nuttall 2013, 2016). The "climate change versus development" conflict remains a highly polarizing factor among Indigenous political forces across the North American Arctic.

Great Plains: Shifting Seasons and Other Challenges

The northern Plains of Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Nebraska includes 22 tribes and 12 large land-based reservations of more than 100,000 acres (Federal Register 2019a; Wilkins 2013). Although northern Plains tribes, their southern neighbors, and related Canadian First Nations of southern Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan are recognized for their relationship with and dependence on the iconic American bison (*Bison bison*), their traditions have also relied heavily on many other animals and plants specific to the region (DeMallie 2001a). Many of these species have already changed their distribution and experienced population declines due to shifting seasonal precipitation and rising temperatures, even though the northern Plains is hardly considered to be on the frontlines of a changing climate.

Another iconic species, the cottonwood tree (*Populus* sp.), is sacred to many Plains tribes and used in the Sundance ceremony as the center pole of the Sundance lodge. Cottonwood populations across the western United States have declined since the mid-twentieth century as a result of changes in streamflow. Damming, irrigation, and flood control initially altered stream ecosystem dynamics, but warming temperatures have increasingly contributed to changing and diminishing stream discharges upon which the cottonwood depends (Rood et al. 2003, Whited et al. 2007).

Changes in climate also threaten the lodgepole pine trees (*Pinus contorta*) that, as their name suggests, have long been a source of tipi poles for the people of the Great Plains (fig. 9). Across the northern Great Plains and Rocky Mountains the number of frost-free days has increased (Doyle et al. 2013), and the longer growing season allows pests, such as the bark beetle, to reproduce more quickly. Additionally, drought conditions throughout the western United States and Canada have lowered the lodgepole pines' natural defenses against beetle attack. Consequently, as the number of beetles has increased, so has the trees' susceptibility to

Photograph by John Doyle.

Fig. 9. Setting up tipis at Crow Agency, Montana, 2014. Tipi poles are made of lodgepole pine trunks because of their slender, light, and flexible characteristics.

them increased, significantly raising the mortality rate of mature pines (Rudolf 2011).

Dead and dying pines increase fire hazards to the forested areas of reservation lands. In January 2012, strong winds pummeled the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana and spread a wildfire twenty miles, across the reservation town of Browning (Indian Gaming Association, 2012). Then, in the summer of 2012, numerous reservation fires on the Crow and adjoining Northern Cheyenne Reservations in Montana resulted in extreme fire damage. More than 60 percent of the 445,000-acre Northern Cheyenne Reservation burned. Homes and livestock were lost, and some areas were burned so badly the soil blistered, creating concern that the pastures and wildlife forage would not recover. The Alberta ("Fort McMurray") wildfire of May 2016 in Canada introduced the phenomenon of spring fires to the Canadian forested areas, owing to combination of extremely dry weather and low winter snowfall.

The Crow Reservation in Montana, which encompasses 2.3 million acres, including three mountain ranges and three major river valleys, has witnessed many impacts of climate change on its ecosystems, particularly its water supplies, subsistence foods, and forage resources (Doyle et al. 2013). Most of its approximately 8,000 tribal members reside primarily within the river valleys and flood plains. In recent years, spring floods have left entire reservation towns isolated for weeks and forest fires have triggered large-scale evacuations. Available meteorological data reveal a 70 percent decline in annual snowfall and an increase in frost-free days from an average of 175 in the 1950s to 210 currently. In addition, the data show a shift in precipitation from winter to early spring and a doubling of extremely hot days, with temperatures exceeding 90°F (32°C). Streamflow data also show a long-term trend of declining discharge (Doyle et al. 2013).

A synopsis of Elders' observations augmented the local climate analysis and provided insights about how the shift in seasons is affecting ecosystems and traditional foods (Doyle et al. 2013). Community Elders point to long-term changes in the local climate, including declining winter snowfall, milder winters, and warmer summers. They remember that the ground used to be covered in deep snow and stayed frozen from November to March, whereas today the prairies are bare grass for much of the winter and winter days are frequently above freezing. Spring ice jams on the Little Bighorn River would break up and scour out the river bottom and banks in the early to mid-1900s, but today, the ice is thin by early spring (Doyle et al. 2013).

Elders also noted changes in fish distribution and in plant species that provide subsistence foods. Many

kinds of berries from riparian trees and shrubs have long been gathered, including juneberries, wild plums, chokecherries, and buffalo berries. Now these trees sometimes bud out so early in the spring that a cold snap kills the blossoms and they never fruit. When trees do bear fruit, the timing has changed: chokecherries used to ripen after the juneberries, and now they ripen at the same time. Elderberries in the mountains now ripen in July instead of in August. Buffalo berries have traditionally been harvested after the first frost in the fall, as freezing sweetens the berries. In recent years, however, buffalo berries are dried out before the first frost hits, and the quality has declined such that they are not considered worth gathering. Plum trees are now widely infested with pests.

Warmer summer temperatures have increased concerns about heat exposure during outdoor ceremonies. Those taking part in the Sundance ceremony fast (going without food or water), dance, and pray for three to four days in mid-June. An older Sundance chief noted that as the weather has gotten progressively hotter, the Sundance has become increasingly challenging for the fasting participants. Plants used in the ceremony have also changed. Cattails (genus *Typha*) that are harvested during the Sundance to provide relief from the heat to dance participants formerly averaged six feet in length; now, they are only about three feet long.

River ecosystems appear to be warming in parallel with surface temperatures. Reduced stream flows and warmer summers, in addition to increased agricultural pollution, affect the Little Bighorn River, with impacts on fish and other aquatic species. Brown trout, which were commonly found at the mouth of the river, are now found more than 35 miles upstream. Low stream flows in August also strain the ability of the Crow Nation water supply system to provide drinking water and further decreases in summer streamflow could be challenging.

Coincident with rising temperatures, rapid spring thaws have produced widespread flooding in the upper reaches of the Missouri River basin, such that extreme floods have become frequent. Spring flooding imposes new health risks, including widespread water contamination. During the 2011 spring flood on Crow land, the Lodge Grass wastewater lagoon overflowed into the Little Bighorn River, contaminating floodwaters that inundated downriver homes and businesses. Many homes were destroyed, and more than 200 were damaged (Olp 2011). The Fort Belknap and Blackfeet communities were also evacuated. In 2013, the Standing Rock Sioux suffered $1.3 million in flood damage. These recent severe floods have increased concerns about climate-driven impacts of increased flood frequency and severity.

Local data are an essential complement to regional predictions, but observation sites on Indigenous lands are sparse (Patz and Olson 2006), and little has been published about observed impacts until very recently. Local changes in climate brought to light by meteorological records differ from projected changes as outlined in the Third National Climate Assessment (NCA3 – Melillo et al. 2014) and demonstrate the need for analyses at both local and regional scales.

Resource Equity and Climate Justice for Indigenous Communities

Climate change impacts are deeply interconnected with issues of inequity, justice, and human rights (Piguet et al. 2011). The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples states that Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to the forced assimilation or destruction of their culture (United Nations 2007:Article 8). In the case of climate change, whereas Native American tribes and First Nations are among the groups that have contributed the least to the greenhouse gas emissions that drive climate change (Trainor et al. 2007; Abate and Kronk 2013), they are disproportionately threatened by its impacts (Houser et al. 2001:357). Indeed, many Native communities may soon face serious threats to their culture, spirituality, and traditions (Tsosie 2007b). Therefore, in addressing climate change as the new force of the twenty-first century, Native nations also approach it in the context of self-governance and collective rights as both Aboriginal people and citizens of their respective nation-states (see "Contestation from Invisibility," this vol.).

Challenges for Adaptation Planning

Indigenous people have a long history of adapting to changing conditions (Nakashima et al. 2012). However, colonial history and policies have reduced their adaptation options. Fairness in response to climate change involves active and inclusive engagement of Indigenous peoples in both the process and outcomes of adaptation planning. Such participation is intertwined with institutions and methods of collective action at various levels of decision-making and governance (Mimura et al. 2014). Tribal rights to water, cultural resources, and sacred sites are deeply connected to adaptation planning (Redsteer et al. 2013). If sacred sites are not recognized, there is a substantial chance of increased conflict that could constrain or derail efforts to maintain resilient cultures and sustainable resources. The notion of "climate justice" (Whyte

2011, 2013; Wildcat 2009) requires a consideration of principles, such as precautionary principle and the protection of the most at risk, because of the inherent uncertainty and irreversibility of impacts (Adger et al. 2006). There are ethical as well as practical reasons to address adaptation without intensifying current vulnerabilities.

For many Native peoples, land, identity, and sovereignty are uniquely connected (Kronk 2012; see "Contestation from Invisibility," this vol.). In both the United States and Canada, additional considerations include federal trust responsibility for Native Americans' lands and resources (Cordalis and Suagee 2008; Middleton 2011). For government land managers, the challenges of adaptation planning can lead to conflicts between their trust responsibility to Indian nations and other agency mandates. Tribes have initiated effective partnerships to address climate-related issues (Chief et al. 2014), but in many cases, ineffective communication leads to conflicts over resources and traditional practices (Mahoney 2011). Agency-led adaptation plans and actions usually ignore sociocultural factors, such as identity, belief systems, and traditions, and Western law has often ignored Indigenous jurisprudence (Middleton 2015). At the root of many restoration and adaptation plans and their implementation "lie differentials in power: power to tell the story of the future and then to enact it" (Walker et al. 2012; Westman 2013:112).

In the past, Native peoples adapted to natural hazards through unique strategies guided by local knowledge and culturally based decision-making (Tsosie 2007b, Kelley and Francis 2019a). Although many such traditions continue today, modern land-use policies circumvent their ability to practice many traditional adaptation strategies (James et al. 2008; Redsteer et al. 2010). Although tribal environmental and natural-resources programs can address local impacts, tribes must lobby for adaptation funding from the federal government. According to California Indian Water Commission president Atta Stevenson (Cahto Tribe), "There are numerous climate change conditions we have witnessed and try to adapt to, but climate change is a global crisis without funding resources or commitment by government leadership to address Tribal suffrage and ecological demise of our traditional cultures. We cannot combat this . . . alone" (Stevenson, personal communication, 2011; see Redsteer et al. 2013).

Federal Recognition of Indian Tribes

Under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the Office of Indian Affairs assumed the authority to create a process whereby the U.S. government dictated tribal recognition (Klopotek 2011:19; M.E. Miller 2013). After formalization of procedures in 1978, the government accepted tribes as federally recognized if they had engaged with it through past treaties, lawsuits, or policy enactments (Klopotek 2011; G. Roth 2008a). There are currently 574 federally recognized tribes in the United States (as of January 2021); however, approximately one-quarter to one-half of Indigenous peoples in the United States and U.S.-occupied territories are not federally recognized (Barker 2011:28). The situation is even more complex in Canada.

Tribes that are not federally recognized face several limitations. Grants or programs that assist tribes usually require federal recognition. With fewer available resources to counter social inequities, unrecognized tribes are limited in their exercise of power. Moreover, without recognition, despite having inherent sovereign rights, tribes' sovereignty is not respected by the federal government. More than legal and political rights, sovereignty is an affirmation of who they are as a people (Rising Voices 2013; see more in G. Roth 2008a).

Climate Change Mitigation

Tribal lands across North America, but particularly in the western United States, have physical attributes that are highly conducive to renewable energy generation, such as solar and wind power (EIA 2000). So, although resources are limited, some tribes have embraced the opportunity to develop energy on their lands (Redsteer et al. 2013). Even though renewable energy is often viewed as an opportunity for tribes to bolster their economies, there are obstacles in embracing "green options." The history of natural resource development on reservation lands, and policies such as the Indian Mineral Leasing Act, have led to a dependence on nonrenewable resources and narrowed the economic focus to revenue that provides support for many tribal governments (Krakoff 2011; Krakoff and Lavallee 2013). Yet, with government subsidies, wind and solar power-generating facilities are making their way to Indigenous lands, including the most distant Arctic communities in Alaska and Canada (fig. 10).

Strategies and policy tools that North American tribal governments could adopt in transitioning to carbon-neutral development and climate action plans (Suagee 2012) include updating substandard tribal housing, building new homes, and addressing the lack of inclusion of federally recognized tribes in the Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007. This act requires housing to conform to an energy conservation code. To lower the cost of Indian housing, authorities have not generally applied the act to tribal lands—a situation that leaves the Native occupants

Photograph by DeAnna Von Halle. Courtesy of U.S. National Park Service.

Fig. 10. Wind turbines installed in 2009 in the Yupik community of Gambell, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, to help power the remote village. Gambell is listed as a class 7 wind site.

with higher energy bills and other issues that accompany inexpensive housing. The U.S. Indian Tribal Energy Development and Self-Determination Act (passed in 2005) provides an additional framework for developing energy infrastructure. However, the current legal framework may not adequately address the needs of tribes (Bronin 2012). Studies of land-use impacts on local ecosystems in tribal lands are often less rigorous than elsewhere, while incentives such as tax credits available to other entities developing alternative energy projects do not apply on reservations.

Conclusion

Indigenous peoples' cultures and lifeways are at increasing risk from climate change. Since 2000, the number of published studies about climate change and its impacts on Indigenous communities has multiplied. These studies provided compelling information about changes to ecosystems that are already a focus for adaptation planning for the tribes (e.g., Nania and Guarino 2014). Studies that incorporate Indigenous and local knowledge have also led to an increasing local awareness of climate change impacts, encouraging communities to plan for and address climate change (Doyle et al 2013; Redsteer et al. 2018). Various adaptation and mitigation plans are now underway, although it is unclear as of 2020 whether Indigenous nations will find the resources necessary to adapt and, if needed, to relocate affected communities in a coordinated way that would allow preservation of established support networks and cultural ties.

Despite these challenges, the people currently being most affected are demanding change. Their resolution is illustrated by several recent grassroot movements such as Idle No More, founded in December 2012 by three First Nations women and one non-Native ally in Canada (see "Social Media," this vol.) and which gained strength among Canadian First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples and their non-Aboriginal supporters, as well as globally. The question remains whether Indigenous knowledge of the lands and waters will be respected and will guide efforts to restore the land, adapt to new environments, and reimagine ways to live more sustainably in the twenty-first century.

Additional Readings

For general information on climate change and Native American and First Nations communities, see Bennett et al. (2014), Fiske et al. (2014), Maldonado et al. (2014), Lefthand-Begay et al. (2012), Maynard (2014), National Wildlife Federation (2011), Norton-Smith and Lynn (2016), Rising Voices (2014, 2015), Vinyeta et al. (2015).

For sources on traditional knowledge, climate justice and legal and ethical issues, and Native American communities, see Cahokia Statement (2015), Chief et al. (2014), Cordalis and Suagee (2008), Climate and Traditional Knowledges Workgroup (2014), Hanna (2007), Intertribal Climate Change Working Group (2009), Krakoff (2008, 2011), Tsosie (2007b, 2013), Vickery and Hunter (2016), Whyte (2011, 2013), Wildcat (2009), Williams and Hardison (2013).

For general works on Indigenous people and climate change with an international focus see Abate and Kronk (2013), Crate and Nuttall (2009, 2016), Galloway McLean (2010), Nakashima et al (2012, 2018), Orlove et al. (2014), Savo et al. (2016).

For information on other regions of North America not covered in this chapter, see Downing and Cuerrier (2011) and Ford et al. (2010) for Subarctic; Grossman and Parker (2012) and Lynn et al. (2013) for Northwest Coast; Riley et al. (2012) for Great Plains; Shifting Seasons (2011) for the Great Lakes; Daigle et al. (2009) for Northeast; and Lazrus (2012) and Souza and Tanimoto (2012) for Pacific Islands. For the summary of data on climate and environmental change within the U.S. territory, including Alaska, Hawai'i, U.S. Caribbean, and the U.S.-affiliated Pacific Islands, see the Fourth National Climate Assessment (USGCRP 2018).

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Native American Languages at the Threshold of the New Millennium

MARIANNE MITHUN

North America is home to rich linguistic diversity, with nearly 330 known languages indigenous to the area that is now Canada, the United States, and northern Mexico. The languages comprise over 60 distinct genealogical groups. Various factors, among them increasing globalization, are leading to the accelerating disappearance of many of them: the majority now have only small numbers of first-language speakers, most elderly, or are no longer spoken at all. It is generally recognized that language is at the heart of culture. The fading of a language is a loss not only for humanity in general but also for the communities whose heritage it is and the community members for whom it represents an identity. The new millennium, however, is bringing new life and purpose to these languages, providing constantly developing technological resources for documenting, revitalizing, and appreciating them and connecting people with shared values.

Some overviews of the languages indigenous to North America, their genealogical relationships, and histories of their description are available in volume 17 of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Goddard 1996b, c, e) and elsewhere (Campbell 1997; Jany et al., in press; Mithun 1996b, 1999). Goddard (1996d:3) estimated the number of those still spoken in 1995 at 209. At the time, only 46 were spoken by significant numbers of children, 91 by adults but no or very few children, and 72 by only a few of the oldest people. One hundred twenty no longer had first-language speakers at all. The number with native speakers a quarter century later is smaller and dwindling quickly. This chapter discusses the status of Indigenous languages north of the U.S.–Mexico border (for communities in northern Mexico, see "Southwest-2," this vol.).

By the turn of the twenty-first century, work directed at the revitalization of indigenous languages was underway in communities throughout the United States and Canada, and twenty years later, projects were even more widespread and achieving impressive goals. They included school and community language classes, immersion schools, college and university programs, and summer camps, as well as literacy workshops, teacher training programs, and conferences dedicated to revitalization. The internet has played a major role in such programs, as a resource for those wanting to learn their traditional languages both within communities and those living farther away (see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.).

The following sections discuss the nature of linguistic diversity, circumstances underlying language shift, factors driving preservation and revitalization, approaches taken toward realizing various goals, new roles for technology, and sources of support available in the first decades of the twenty-first century.

Diversity

It is important to recognize that neither the languages nor the communities are monolithic. The languages vary not only in their structures but also in the amount of information available on them, the existence of related languages that might help in the interpretation of records of languages no longer spoken, the ages and numbers of first-language speakers, the spheres in which the languages are used, the numbers of individuals interested and able to participate in language projects, available funding, and, perhaps most importantly, community attitudes toward the languages themselves.

Glimpses of Linguistic Diversity

Languages can differ in myriad ways. Perhaps the most obvious is their words. Vocabulary organizes the flow of experience into concepts, which are not necessarily equivalent across languages. Central Alaskan Yup'ik, for example, spoken in southwestern Alaska, contains stems that are more specific in meaning than their English counterparts, such as *maligneq* (carcass of animal killed by wolves) and *kii-* (they stay in the village rather than going to fish camp in summer). Other stems have wider ranges of meaning, like *ella* (world, outdoors, weather, sky, universe, awareness, sense) and *ilacir-* (to refrain from acting, hoping others will act for one; to draw breath again after almost drowning; to change one's behavior uncharacteristically when one's close relative is dying, even if the person

so acting is unaware of the imminent death) (George Charles, personal communication; Jacobson 2012).

Languages can also differ substantially in their grammars, in how ideas are put together. In many North American Indigenous languages, a single word can convey what is typically expressed in a longer sentence in European languages. The Barbareño Chumash word *k'esiyeqilisiliušwep* (and they didn't want to change) consists of multiple parts: *k'e=s-iy-e-qili-sili-ušwep* and=3=PLURAL-NEGATIVE-HABITUAL-DESIDERATIVE-change (Mary Yee, speaker, recorded by J.P. Harrington). Languages vary in the distinctions they require speakers to specify, those that they make easy, and those they make cumbersome.

The meanings encoded by vocabulary and grammar in a language are not random. They reflect distinctions that speakers have chosen to express the most often in their everyday conversation over the course of development of the language. At first an idea may be expressed in separate words, but with frequent use, a recurring phrase can become routinized, processed as a single chunk, much like the individual gestures involved in riding a bicycle. Some words in the phrase may lose their individual salience and fuse with others, resulting in reduced form and ultimately simply pieces of words: prefixes or suffixes. It is no accident, for example, that Yup'ik has a tiny verb suffix *-ir-* (have cold X) that can be added to nouns to form words such as *it'ga-**ir**-tua* (my nose is cold). Nisgha (Nisga'a) has proclitics such as ʔik^{w}s= (outward; away from the point of reference, especially moving from shore toward the water; head out to sea), as in the verb *uk^{w}s=he:t^{w}* (head out to sea) (Tarpent 1987:532). Language is a tool, but replacing one language with another is not equivalent to simply substituting one spatula for another. It is a rich, complex instrument that has been shaped by a culture, via daily communication, over millennia. It provides ways of viewing the world, recognizing significant distinctions, packaging experience into recognizable concepts, and relating these concepts in more complex ideas. Basic information that can be conveyed in one language can usually be conveyed in another, though perhaps with more effort. But speakers do not tend to say exactly the same things in different languages, and the words and phrases they use have different associations in different languages. Substituting one language for another replaces the product of one cultural heritage with another.

Language Resources

There is substantial variation in the information available to communities on the languages, in the form of both historical documentation and modern skilled speakers. Some languages which have not been spoken for nearly two centuries, like the isolates Beothuk of Newfoundland and Esselen of California, are represented only by short wordlists and little or no connected speech (Hewson 1968; Howley 1915; Shaul 1995). Some, like the Iroquoian language Wendat (Huron) of Quebec and the Algonquian languages Wampanoag of New England and Myaamia (Miami) of the Midwest, have not been learned as first languages within living memory, but missionaries left rich records of them (Boissoneault 2017; Fermino 2000; Goddard and Bragdon 1988; Lukaniec 2018; Trumbull 1903; Westen and Sorensen 2011). With training in linguistics, more and more descendants of the speakers have been working through the historical documents, often gleaning clues for interpreting them from related languages still spoken. In the new millennium, many communities with first-language speakers have been avidly documenting their speech, creating important resources for current and future generations. In some, like the Mohawk communities of Quebec, elders have devoted invaluable time to conversing with learners on a regular basis. Certain North American Indigenous languages, like Kalaallisut in Greenland and Navajo in the U.S. Southwest, are spoken well by large communities of speakers of parent age, providing opportunities for raising bilingual children.

A Heritage under Threat

Even where there are relatively large numbers of first-language speakers, if children no longer acquire the language, it cannot survive beyond the lives of the youngest speakers unless changes are made. Some North American languages vanished early on with little trace, like Calusa of Florida (Marquardt 2004) and Yamasee of Georgia (Goddard 2005), when their speakers became victims of wars or introduced epidemics. Many more have lost first-language speakers because of assimilatory practices in both the United States and Canada. Such practices culminated in policies extending from the late nineteenth century through the late twentieth, when Native children were sent to residential schools and forbidden to speak their mother tongue. The schools deprived them not only of their families and the opportunity to grow up with their own traditions but also of an appreciation of their value. Many of those children never had the chance to learn their parents' language; many who did know it chose not to pass it on to their children, hoping to spare them from the suffering they had experienced and equip them for success in the outside world (Bear

2008; Child 2000; Ellis 1996; Grant 1996; Little 2018; Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2016a, 2016b).

Further assimilationist programs were initiated during the mid-twentieth century. Among these were relocation efforts set up in the 1950s with the goal of moving Indigenous people out of reservations and into urban centers where they might obtain vocational training and help in finding jobs (Boyer 2018; Burt 2008). Over generations, ties of relocated persons to their original home communities often faded. The descendants of residential school graduates who married classmates, and of those relocated to cities, now often have multiethnic heritages, further lessening the probability that a heritage language will be spoken in the home.

Even general public schools have had a dampening effect on the languages, with children striving to fit in. In some quarters, it is still feared that learning a second language might weaken development in the first. In areas where two major languages are spoken, such as French and English in Quebec, Canada, or Spanish and English in large parts of the United States, it is often felt that learning a second European language can provide better job opportunities than learning the traditional language.

In insightful work, Green (2009) traced the process of language shift from Kanien'kéha' (Mohawk) to English in the Six Nations community at Ohsweken, Ontario. He reported that children entering the state residential school there up until around 1940 were punished for speaking Mohawk, but those entering after 1940 no longer knew the language. He attributed language shift to both community-external and community-internal forces, citing three major factors. The first was the loss of economic independence (rural farming) and integration into the wage-earning economy, which often meant relocation away from the community. The second was substructure, the breakdown of the traditional extended family, with more children identified as orphans and sent to residential schools, where they were beaten for speaking the language. The third was superstructure, the loss of political independence and the ability to protect places where the language was spoken.

In the twenty-first century, the consequences of language loss have been increasingly recognized in Indigenous communities across North America. Abenaki language teacher Jesse Bowman Bruchac, in an interview on Vermont Public Radio in 2015, articulated widely shared concerns.

> When we learn the language and know what the roots are, we gain a perspective. And when we lose a language we lose that perspective, we lose that understanding. Every language holds within it an entire understanding of the world. When we lose a language, we've lost some of the diversity of human thought, human relations to the world. A lot of history can only be understood through these terms and the ways in which we relate to the world. . . . On a social level, the language helps us identify ourselves as something unique, as something different. . . . When Native communities lose their language, when individuals within a Native community or any community lose a language, they lose a sense of connection to that community and uniqueness (Lindholm and Lucey 2015).

Indigenous Languages in the Twenty-First Century

The twentieth century brought broader awareness of life beyond the local community to people throughout the United States and Canada, with greater opportunities for travel, education, and exposure to mass media. When the first generations of Indigenous people not to know their heritage languages began to assume positions of leadership, some experienced personal conflicts: they saw their identity in their heritage but felt guilt at not commanding its central symbol, their heritage language. The discomfort often led to dismissal of the value of the language and efforts at sustaining it. In many cases, the notion of identity shifted from that of a specific language or community to generalized "Nativeness" (Champagne 2015; Liebler and Zacher 2013).

The new millennium, however, brought a resurgence in the value accorded the languages and remarkable achievements on their behalf. Younger generations, replacing guilt with activism, are feeling ever-increasing pride in their heritage. Wider spheres of interaction beyond the community, in domains from intertribal powwows to social media, can provide powerful networks that nurture shared values, including appreciation of individual languages, as well as technological support for all kinds of documentation and revitalization projects (see "Social Media" and "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.).

Once again, language has become appreciated as a central aspect of identity. Jacey Firth, a young Gwich'in woman learning her heritage language (a Dene language of Alaska, the Northwest Territories, and the Yukon), was cited in a 2015 CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) report. "Speaking Gwich'in and learning about my culture just empowered me so much, it made me feel so good about myself and I hope I can make others feel the same way by like showing people that language and culture is cool" (Trailbreaker 2015). Firth further commented: "It makes me feel like I'm giving credit to my family, my parents, and my grandparents. How I'm here now because of them, learning my language and teaching

it as a way of giving back." Inspired by other participants at Indigenous languages conference, she created the Gwich'in Language Revival Campaign Facebook page (Deerchild 2016).

Explosion of Language Programs

Programs aimed at language preservation and revitalization have now been established in Indigenous communities all over the United States and Canada. Appropriately, they represent a diversity of goals and measures of success. In some cases, the primary goal is appreciation of the heritage language. Learning about its richness, intricacy, and beauty can have a substantial impact on pride in the heritage itself, whether or not people become fluent speakers.

In many other cases the goal is basic speaking ability, so that community members can greet each other and carry on basic conversations, making the language and the identity it represents a daily presence. Most Indigenous communities across Canada and the United States now have language classes for children and/or adults, which often fulfill school language requirements. In Oklahoma, nine different Native languages were taught in 2012 in up to 34 public schools, from kindergarten through twelfth grade: Cherokee, Cheyenne, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Comanche, Kiowa, Osage, Pawnee, and Ponca (Armitage 2012). According to Desa Dawson, director of World Language Education for the Oklahoma State Department of Education, in 2012, 1,355 elementary and high school students in Oklahoma, both Native and non-Native, took Native American language classes as their world language requirement. Native American languages also satisfy the "world language" requirement for graduating seniors in Montana.

By 2018, there were 37 tribal colleges and universities, most controlled by tribes and located within Indigenous communities. As part of their commitment to culturally grounded instruction and community renewal, they had made language a priority (Boyer 2018). Most required one or more semesters of language study, and the language was intentionally incorporated into student life and formal college events, such as graduation ceremonies. Many provide training for elementary school teachers and community members partnering with linguists and Elders to produce new documentation and enhance the use of historical materials.

Immersion Programs

A major innovation that began in the late twentieth century and blossomed in the twenty-first is the creation of immersion programs, in which students spend from half to all of their day in the heritage language as the medium of instruction. Immersion schools are now ubiquitous; Pease-Pretty On Top (2005) counted 50 in the United States alone that were active in the early years of the twenty-first century. The number has grown substantially since that time. There are language nests, which provide immersion childcare for very young children while replicating the home environment with native speakers. In some cases, inspired by the language nests for Maori in New Zealand and Hawaiian in Hawaii, programs began with an immersion-added class at the preschool or kindergarten level then add one more level each year, as the first students moved up through the system.

By the second decade of the twenty-first century, Indigenous language immersion schools proliferated across North America. Central Alaskan Yup'ik was the language of instruction at the Ayaprun Elitnaurvik Yup'ik Immersion School in Bethel, Alaska. The curriculum was the same as that taught at other schools in the district, with language arts, music, art, social studies, math, science, and physical education. It enrolled 170 students, from kindergarten through grade 6, where students were taught mostly in Yup'ik the first three years, 75 percent in grade 3, and 50 percent in grades 4 through 6.

In Oregon, Chinuk Wawa (often called Chinook Jargon), the lingua franca of the Northwest, is the language of the immersion school at the Grand Ronde Reservation (Center for Applied Linguistics 2016). Preschool immersion is offered five hours a day five days per week, kindergarten partial immersion five days per week, and first and second grade blended immersion.

In northwest Montana, in 1985, the Blackfeet Indian Reservation conducted a language survey and discovered that the majority of first-language Blackfeet (Niitsitape) speakers at that time were in their late fifties and projected that, without intervention, by 2005 the few remaining speakers would be in their late eighties (Piegan Institute 2017). Immersion schooling was initiated in 1992 at the Cuts Wood Academy, and by 2019, it served 23 children in grades 1–6 (Private School Review 2019). Also in northwest Montana, on the Flathead Reservation, the Nkwusm immersion school was founded in 2002 to provide instruction in Montana Salish (GuideStar 2017; A. Martin 2015). By 2017, the school offered immersion education for prekindergarten through age 10.

By 2013, there were operational daycare and Head Start Crow immersion programs at Crow Agency in Montana, and immersion elementary schools on the Flathead (Salish), Blackfeet (Blackfoot), and Fort

Belknap (Assiniboine/Nakoda) Reservations (Wipf 2013). In Wyoming, on the Wind River Reservation, the Hinono'eitiino'oowu Arapaho Language Lodge opened in 2008 with Arapaho as the medium of instruction for children from prekindergarten through first grade, with the goal of adding one or two grades each year (Frosch 2008).

The Lakota Language Initiative on the Pine Ridge Reservation in Oglala, South Dakota, provides an impressive example. By the second decade of the twenty-first century, they had established an impressive set of programs. The Lakota Immersion Childcare provides 100 percent Lakota-speaking daycare for preschool children beginning at 18 months of age. The Iyápi Glukínipi Owáyawa Elementary School provides full immersion for graduates of the childcare program from kindergarten through second grade. The Lakʔótiyapi Press produces children's books, educational videos, computer games, and apps and other web content in the language. A curriculum development project focuses on developing a culturally infused curriculum. A Second Language Learners' Program is geared toward parents, community members, and staff. In 2018, they launched a five-day per week. four-year fluency program for adults. And the Lakʔótiya Škiʔiyapi athletic program mentors children and youth in the language (https://thundervalley.org/live-rez/our-programs/lakota-language, active December 26, 2020).

An Ojibwe immersion kindergarten began in Duluth, Minnesota, in 2014, taught by Maajii Gaameyaash speaking only Ojibwe in the classroom. He commented, "I smell everything in Ojibwe, I taste everything in Ojibwe, I hear everything in Ojibwe, I feel everything in Ojibwe" (Manisero 2015). In Hayward, Wisconsin, at the Waadookodaading Language Immersion School, classes are also taught in Ojibwe (Ammann 2019).

The Seminole Nation of Oklahoma operates a preschool immersion program at the Mvnettvlke Enhake school for children from 6 months to 3 years of age (Armitage 2012). The program includes curriculum development for classes through grade 5 as well as teacher training in second-language acquisition and pedagogical skills. The Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma opened the Cherokee Immersion Charter School in Tahlequah in 2002. Students start at age three and continue through grade 8, studying all subjects required by the state of Oklahoma but entirely in Cherokee (Baker 2015). In North Carolina, the New Kituwah Academy offered Cherokee immersion to about 90 students from early childhood through grade 12 in 2015 (Whitelocks 2015). Children begin with total immersion in Cherokee; English is introduced gradually in the higher grades.

In 1988, Mohawk immersion schools started in Kahnawà:ke, Quebec. Three decades later, children aged 18 months through 4 years could attend the Karonhiahónhnha school. Beginning with prekindergarten at age 4, they could attend the Karonhiahónhnha school, with all instruction in Mohawk through grade 4. In grades 5 and 6, English is added as a second language and French as an optional third language. A dedicated curriculum center develops, produces, and distributes all materials used in the schools that are geared toward the community and its culture. Students receive secondary education in Mohawk language and culture through high school and at the Kahnawake Survival School. Educators stated as part of their mission, "We believe that children, who have a strong Kanien'kehá:ka self-concept and positive self-esteem, will become respectful, self-sufficient, and self-determined Kahnawa'kehró:non'." Their efforts have been met with great success (Karonhianónhnha tsi Ionterihwaienstáhkhwa 2019).

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, there are Mohawk immersion schools in all other Mohawk communities as well (Mithun and DeCaire, in press). The Akwesasne Freedom school, founded in 1979, began offering Mohawk immersion from prekindergarten through grade 6, with a transition school for grades 7 and 8 (White 2015). A representative of the traditional council remarked, "We need a school that focuses first on our language and culture, because in order for the Mohawk Nation to survive, we need our language" (Ash Center 2019). At the Six Nations Reserve in Ohsweken, Ontario, the Kawenní:io/Gawení:yo School began offering immersion education in both Mohawk and Cayuga, another Iroquoian language, at the elementary level in 1986, and at the secondary level in 1995. There is 100 percent immersion from kindergarten through grade 6, 50 pecent in grades 7 and 8, and 25 percent in high school (Kawenní:io/Gawení:yo Private School 2015). During the 2014–2015 academic year, the elementary school served approximately 122 students and the high school 16 students (Kawenní:io/Gawení:yo 2015:9). Their stated vision was "to provide a culturally-based education that promotes understanding and pride in being Rotinonhsión:ni/Hodinǫhsǫ́:ni while preparing students to deal successfully with the complexities of contemporary society" (Kawenní:io/Gawení:yo 2015:6).

The immersion programs for children have shown important results. Based on three decades of studies of immersion programs for Navajo and other indigenous languages, it confirms the benefits of promoting students' language acquisition: enhanced test performance, increased school retention and graduation rates, college entry, and other important outcomes,

such as parent involvement and cultural pride. Further, Native-language immersion is a positive influence on diversity and equity in schools and society (McCarty 2014). Immersion education produces not only fluency but also stronger personal cultural identities with the potential for improving student test scores and restoring fractured families and communities (Pease 2018).

Language Camps

A number of communities offer language camps during the summer, many with immersion. The Sealaska Heritage Institute, dedicated to the advancement of Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian of Alaska, offers summer basketball camps, with all drills incorporating some communication in Tlingit (Kelly 2014).

In the twenty-first century, more and more communities have come to value language education beyond the regular school context. The film *Keep Talking* documents the work of elders and educators of Kodiak Island in Alaska to reclaim their Alutiiq language (Worthington 2018). By 2018, there were fewer than 40 fluent first-language speakers, but children were brought to the remote island of Afognak for a language immersion camp.

In the Yukon Territory, Canada, a Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in (Hän) immersion camp was held at Moosehide in 2011, a Na-cho-Nyäk Dun Northern Tutchone immersion camp in Ethel Lake also in 2011, and a Tlingit immersion camp in Teslin in 2012. By 2017, the Nehiyawak Summer Language Program had been running for 13 years in Saskatchewan, aiming for total Cree immersion. Demand was high, but numbers were limited to provide the best experience. In 2017, there were 11 speakers and 16 participants. One of the participants, Rheana Worme, remarked, "We're on our healing journeys now and I think that's what this language movement is about" (Martell 2017). The founder and teacher, Belinda Daniels of Sturgeon Lake, noted that people learn not only the language but also about seeing the world as a Cree person (Woloski 2015).

Salish language and culture camps are offered during the summer on the Flathead Reservation in St. Ignatius, Montana (Wipf 2013). Intensive eight-week Nakota/Dakota summer immersion camps for children and adults have been offered on the Fort Peck Indian Reservation in northeastern Montana. A documentary film *Cante Etanhan lapi* (Language of the Heart) follows children at the camp (Wipf 2014). Another weeklong camp introduced youth to their traditional language, Blackfoot, via rap music (CBC News Calgary 2015).

The Ho-Chunk Nation of Wisconsin offered a summer Ho-Chun Culture Camp in 2019 for youth entering the sixth through twelfth grades. Its mission was "to support healthy, substance-free youth who are empowered through language, culture, and traditional values to encourage and develop positive cultural identities as young Hoocak leaders." Weeklong summer language camps for learning Myaamia have been held in Myaamia, Oklahoma (Donahue 2015), where children and teens use the language in its modern context with social media such as Facebook and Twitter. The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians runs summer Choctaw Language Immersion Camps, whereas Abenaki/Penobscot immersion camps have been held in Vermont and New Hampshire (Lindholm and Lucey 2015).

Adult Programs

Three kinds of programs have been aimed at adult learners. Working with the nonprofit group Advocates for Indigenous California Survival, linguist Leanne Hinton developed master-apprentice programs specifically for communities with only a handful of elderly first-language speakers (Hinton 2002, 2008, 2011, Hinton et al. 2018). A skilled first-language speaker (the master) and a learner (the apprentice) spend time together communicating only in the language for an extended period, usually 10–20 hours per week, typically over a period of two to three years. They engage in everyday activities, such as cooking, beading, playing cards, shopping, gardening, fishing, and other activities. Teams receive training at weekend workshops and are coached throughout the project by a mentor, in person and/or by telephone.

Master-apprentice programs have been initiated all over North America, sometimes with just a single team, sometimes more. The First Peoples' Heritage, Language, and Cultural Council of British Columbia, Canada, began a mentor-apprentice program in 2008 with 12 teams from 11 British Columbia languages then followed with a second group of 10 teams in 2010. Their goal was for each team to complete 3 years of 300 hours per year (First Peoples' Cultural Council 2012, 2014a, 2014b). The First Peoples' Cultural Council held workshops for those undertaking mentor-apprentice projects. They also put together a *Language Nest Handbook* for British Columbia First Nations communities and an online companion toolkit, including teaching tools for language nests, resources for administrators, program planning for language nests, language assessment, and information about child language acquisition.

Other master-apprentice projects have been started for Haida, Tlingit, Ahtna, Northern Tutchone, Tsimshian, Senćoten, Menominee, Ojibwe, Ho-chunk, Sauk, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Mi'kmaq/Mi'gmaq. It is often hoped that apprentices who learn the lan-

guage through these programs will go on to teach the language themselves.

Since the beginning of the adult immersion programs for Indigenous languages in the late 1900s, there have been some remarkable results. The Mohawk schools in Kahnawake, Quebec, were among the earliest to offer immersion programs in North America, beginning around 1980. In 2002, an adult immersion program was established, Kanien'kéha' Ratiwennahní:rats (Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa 2015). Demand for participation is very high, but only 20 applicants can be admitted each year. Adults devote all day, five days each week for a year, attending the program. Objectives include not only increasing spoken language proficiency but also fostering increased understanding and knowledge of traditional Kanien'kehá:ka cultural teachings delivered in the context of language learning, to prepare future immersion teachers, and to increase the resource pool of highly proficient Kenien'kéha' speakers in the community

The results of the Mohawk adult immersion program have been nothing short of astonishing. By the end of the first year, participants were able to express themselves fluently, something many people had never thought would be possible. But the community was not complacent. In 2008, the adult immersion was extended to a two-year program with even more impressive results. Now a new two-year program begins each year, so that there are always two going on. A vibrant community of fluent new speakers has been created. As noted on the program's Facebook page (https://www.facebook.com/Iakwahwatsiratatie/, active December 26, 2020), "Past graduates of the program can now be seen employed throughout Kahnawà:ke, carrying on the language through radio, television, within community organizations, and working within all community schools." A number are now using the language at home with their children, and new generations of first-language Mohawk speakers are being produced.

A similar successful Mohawk immersion two-year program is in place at Six Nations, Onkwawén:na' Kentyóhkwa' (Our Language Society), which students attend all day, five days a week, September through May. It is producing fluent speakers. (Onkwawén:na' Kentyóhkwa' 2013). During 2014–2015, the Six Nations adult intensive immersion curriculum was also taught in Buffalo, New York, at the Native American Cultural Service Center.

Staffing

Staffing language classes can be a challenge when there are no first-language speakers with training in pedagogy or teaching credentials, and/or most first-language speakers are elderly. Bird Real Bird, cabinet head of education for the Crow Tribe in Montana, commented, "Finding teachers who have training in both early childhood education and are fluent Crow speakers is a challenge" (Wipf 2013). As in so many communities, most of the parents of the children do not speak the language, but their grandparents do. Not only must teachers be fluent speakers, they must also be skilled teachers, master the English curriculum, and re-create it in the heritage language without simply translating word for word. Teachers must usually also create their own culturally relevant curriculum materials. They must tread a thin line between providing children with the content they need to meet outside expectations on the one hand and passing down traditional ways of thinking and interacting on the other. It can be helpful to know something about the structure of the language, not necessarily to teach grammar per se, but to appreciate potential complexities confronting children coming from a different home language.

Workshops and Training

Language training programs have arisen in response to these needs. The American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) was founded in 1978 to provide intense summer training programs in Arizona in Indigenous language teaching, maintenance, documentation, and revitalization. AILDI also runs workshops on documentation technology for dictionaries and indigenous knowledge, as well as in grant writing. In 1990, AILDI found a permanent home at the University of Arizona. At the 2019 summer workshop, there were 21 individuals from 10 states, representing 13 tribal nations (https://aildi.arizona.edu/content/welcome-aildi, active December 26, 2020).

The Canadian Indigenous Languages and Literacy Development Institute (CILLDI) was developed at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Canada, to provide basic training for Indigenous language activists in linguistics, Native languages, second language teaching, policy making, and other topics pertinent to the revitalization of Canada's Indigenous languages through documentation, teaching, and literacy. In 2000, they began summer Cree immersion classes in Indigenous communities in Alberta and Saskatchewan. In 2003, the program was expanded to offer more classes at the University of Alberta. In 2018, the summer school enrolled 94 students in 16 classes in linguistics, elementary education, Native and interdisciplinary studies (https://www.ualberta.ca/canadian-indigenous-languages-and-literacy-development-institute/about/context, active December 26, 2020).

At the University of Oregon, the Northwest Indian Languages Institute (NIILI) has played an important role in training Indigenous language teachers and scholars. Running continuously since 1998, their summer institute has drawn participants from all over the Pacific Northwest. Curriculum development is "place based," situating the language in cultural practices, around topics such as canoe building and river culture or seasonal activities and festivals. A typical day begins with an advocacy class focused on language revitalization, followed by linguistics and language classes. Languages taught are Ichishkíin, Dee-ni'(Tolowa), Lushootseed, Chinuk Wawa, and others requested by participants. The afternoon is devoted to Native language teaching strategies, language documentation, creating teaching materials, and NILI's youth program (https://nili.uoregon.edu/summer-institute/, active December 26, 2020).

Some workshops have been more specialized for individual Native languages, such as the Crow Summer Institute in Montana, where Crow language teachers from around the tribal school system have found professional support (Crow Language Consortium 2015). The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, Sitting Bull College, and the Language Consortium have conducted the Lakȟtipayi Summer Institute for Lakota and Dakota languages since 2007, with courses ranging from intensive intermediate language learning and teaching methods to Lakota/Dakota linguistics (https://laksummerinst.com, active December 26, 2020). The Navajo Language Academy has offered Navajo linguistics workshops for language teachers and scholars every summer since 1997, covering both pedagogical topics, such as techniques for teaching complex verb forms in the classroom, and various aspects of the structure of Navajo, as well as issues of language policy (https://www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/tfernal1/nla/nla.htm, active December 26, 2020).

Aimed at a broader audience, CoLang, a summer Institute on Collaborative Language Research, was begun in 2008 at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and has been held every two years since then, at the University of Oregon, the University of Kansas, the University of Texas in Arlington, the University of Alaska Fairbanks, the University of Florida and, in 2022, at the University of Montana in collaboration with Chief Dull Knife College. Participants come from all over the world. The goal is to provide training to community language activists and linguists in community-based language documentation, description, and revitalization. Two-week training courses are followed by a three-week class in which students work directly with speakers of an endangered language. Courses offered include Introduction to Linguistics for Language Activists; Orthography and Writing Systems; Dictionary Building; Transcription; Project Planning; Grant Writing; Language Reclamation; Language Activism; Life in Communities; Survey Methods, Community Language Archives; Ways of Knowing: Language and Ethnosciences; Documenting the Language of Landscape; Navigating Consent, Rights, Intellectual Property, and Traditional Knowledge; Managing Language Materials for Archiving; Documenting Conversation; Teaching Indigenous Languages: Pronunciation; Teaching Indigenous Languages: Communicative Language for Second Language Learners; Immersion Methods; Pedagogical Grammar; and such technical skills as Audio Recording; Video; FLEx; ELAN; SayMore; and others.

The Breath of Life Workshops Institute on Collaborative Language Research Institute originated at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1995 and targeted communities that no longer had first-language speakers. The programs have now spread to other locations (Baldwin et al. 2018). Its biannual workshops provide hands-on summer training of one or two weeks for Native people in locating and utilizing archival materials on their languages for language learning and teaching, as well as in linguistic analysis and documentation, and in community programs toward language renewal. Workshops have been held at the University of Washington focused on languages of Oregon and Washington (in 2003 and 2005), the Sam Noble Museum in Norman, Oklahoma (in 2012 and 2014), the University of British Columbia in Canada (2015), the University of California, Berkeley (2018), and other locations.

The National Breath of Life Archival Institute for Indigenous Languages, part of the Recovering Voices Program at the Smithsonian Institution, held four National Breath of Life workshops in 2011, 2013, 2015, and 2017 at the National Anthropological Archives (NAA), in Washington, DC. Participants included 117 tribal representatives from 55 language communities. The 2020 workshop was hosted by the Miami University of Ohio, with training in use of the Indigenous Languages Digital Archive (ILDA), a web-based archive designed to support tribal efforts in archives-based language revitalization, originally developed at the Myaamia Center at Miami University in 2012 (http://miamioh.edu/myaamia-center/breath-of-life/index.html, active December 26, 2020). Funding for workshops has come from the Documenting Endangered Languages Program, a joint effort between the U.S. National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities (see Baldwin et al. 2018; Dwyer et al. 2018; https://aicls.org/breath-of-life-institute/, active December 26, 2020).

Increasing Community Presence

Language revitalization has also taken less institutionalized forms. Many communities have put language back into ritual contexts, whether or not they were otherwise working toward general fluency. Signs around communities in traditional languages are increasing everyday consciousness of the heritage they represent. And basic greetings and phrases are heard more often in daily interactions.

Some inspiring achievements have come from families who have taken it upon themselves to create new generations of speakers within their homes, using only their traditional languages with their children. Some of these efforts have been described by these pioneers themselves (Hinton 2013). In some cases, such as that of Ahkwesahsne Mohawk and Anishinaabemowin, the parents were still fully fluent first-language speakers (Noori 2013; Peters and Peters 2013). In others, such as that of Karuk and Yuchi, the parents were not first-language speakers, but there were still elders who were and could interact with learners (Albers and Albers 2013; Grounds and Grounds 2013). In still others, such as Myaamia (Miami), Wampanoag (Mashpee), and Kawaiisu, there had been no speakers for some time, but these courageous souls worked from earlier documentation to reclaim the languages (Baldwin et al. 2013; Little Doe Baird 2013; Grant and Turner 2013). In many cases, these individuals acquired sophisticated skills in linguistics to accomplish their goals, such as Daryl Baldwin and Jessie Little Doe Baird. Some were backed by strong community support, while others were necessarily working alone.

New Roles for Technology

Technological developments in the twenty-first century are continually opening new avenues for language documentation and revitalization (see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.). For many languages, information was until recently accessible only through trips to a museum or archive to examine rare books or field notes from earlier researchers, often only with special permission. Accessibility to such resources is increasing rapidly with more published dictionaries, grammars, and text collections but also more material has been made available and searchable online. The NAA offers a Collections Search site that listed 119,872 entries pertaining to North American languages as of 2019, with access to published and unpublished material, sound recordings, and videos. The American Philosophical Society's Digital Library in Philadelphia also has an extensive collection of manuscripts and audio recordings relating to North American languages accessible online (https://www.amphilsoc.org/library/search-collections, active December 26, 2020). Many other museum and archival institutions across the United States and Canada are increasingly making their Indigenous language holdings accessible online.

A number of internet sites current as of 2019 list online resources for North American languages (see "Additional Readings," this chapter; see also "Access to Native Collections in Museums and Archives" and "Emergent Digital Networks," this vol.). The former Resource Network for Linguistic Diversity of the Australian Government program Indigenous Languages and Arts (currently called Living Languages) maintains a list of documentation and revitalization projects, including projects in the United States and Canada, as well as links to resources for indigenous language apps and software, orthography development, equipment, and a well-being manual (https://www.livinglanguages.org.au/, active December 26, 2020).

Tools for audio and video recording of a quality and ease of use unimaginable a short time ago have become widely accessible. Digital recorders are small, unobtrusive, and easily transportable. Audio and video recordings can even be made from a computer, tablet, or smartphone, so that anyone with an internet connection can download software for analyzing, editing, and managing recordings. It is now possible to record from remote locations via Zoom. Several programs, like Audacity or Praat, offer open-source, cross-platform software for recording, editing, and analyzing sounds; they are free, widely used, and constantly updated.

Software for transcribing speech, translating, and coding has become readily available at no charge with such tools as ELAN, developed by the Language Archive of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, Netherlands (http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/). Summer Institute of Linguistics Fieldworks (http://fieldworks.sil.org/, active February 3, 2022) is a suite of software tools for dictionary development, interlinearization of texts, morphological analysis, and more. Additional web-based resources are available for preservationists and students working to learn and maintain their languages (Sadler 2015), like Freelang.net, a free online dictionary program updated by volunteers, and Forvo.com, which allows the upload of words and offers spoken translations (https://www.freelang.net/, https://forvo.com/, active December 26, 2020). Many other tools are available, and new ones continue to emerge. Since the recordings, transcriptions, translations, and coding are now digital, they can be copied an infinite number of times without degradation, shared widely, and archived in multiple locations.

The availability of such tools has already produced valuable results. Karen Begay, herself Navajo, has been recording elders from tribes across the United States (Locke 2015). "We're letting the people talk in their own languages, talk about their history, their family history, their tribe, and their culture." The video recordings are then translated and subtitled. She also commented on her dismay at meeting younger individuals who are not connected to their own people and hopes that her work will help counter forces leading to cultural disconnection and language loss.

An important contribution of technology to language revitalization has been the development of applications (apps) for language learning (see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.). At a time when access to skilled first-language speakers is diminishing, learners can access good-quality audio and video recordings whenever they wish via smartphones and tablets. The Diné Bizaad (Navajo) app for iPhone, iPad, and iPod for example, an open-source language-learning tool, became available in the iTunes store in 2014 (Winters 2014). With Diné–English and English–Diné dictionaries, users can both hear and read words, phrases, and sentences. It was crowdsourced with input from Navajo speakers all over the world. The Oneida Language app for iPhone, iPod Touch and iPad, with common Oneida (Iroquoian) phrases, both written and recorded by first-language speakers in Wisconsin, became available in 2015 (Delaney 2014). The Chickasaw Basic app, developed by the tribe, has hundreds of Chickasaw words, phrases, songs, and videos. It is freely downloadable for desktop and Android devices (www.Chickasaw.net/anompa, active December 26, 2020) and for Apple uses at the iTunes App Store. The Native-owned Thornton Media Inc. (http://www.ndnlanguage.com, active December 26, 2020) has been working with tribal governments to create language apps, now also available at the iTunes App Store. Apps include games and listening/speaking/reading quizzes at different levels of difficulty, storybooks that relate the creation story of that community, electronic comic books that highlight local issues and feature photographs from the community.

The Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma has been particularly energetic in partnering with technology for language maintenance and revitalization. There are Cherokee language apps, Cherokee language versions of Microsoft Office Suite, Google, and Wikipedia, and a Cherokee YouTube channel. Facebook is available in Cherokee, and text messages can be sent in the language (Keeping 2014; see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.). A collaboration between the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma and the Tulsa City-County Library, using Mango Languages software, has produced an online language-learning system that allows users of 3,000 libraries nationwide to learn to speak Cherokee, as well as read and write the syllabary, from a home computer, laptop, or mobile device (Tulsa City-County Library 2015).

Mass Media

Indigenous languages have become ever more accessible in mass media. In the first decades of the twenty-first century, there were numerous local and online streaming radio stations with some or all programming in the traditional languages. Within Canada, TNI radio broadcasts community radio in Inuktitut to 14 communities in the Nunavik region of Quebec. From Saskatchewan, MBC Radio broadcasts Achimowin Cree from 1:00–3:00 P.M. CST on weekdays, and from Manitoba, NCI FM broadcasts both "Voices of the North" with Cree language programs, and "Anishinaabe All the Way" with Ojibway programs. From Ohsweken, Ontario, CKRZ-FM, broadcasts in English, Cayuga, and Mohawk. From Ontario, CKON Akwesasne Mohawk Radio broadcasts an all-Mohawk show on Saturdays from noon until 6:00 P.M., and a Mohawk language lesson program Mondays through Fridays around 6:15 P.M. From Kahnawà:ke, Quebec, K103.7 broadcasts all-Mohawk talk shows, language lessons, and storytelling.

The MNRI Maliseet Nation Radio (CKTP radio) in Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, offers Maliseet programming. Western Abenaki Radio WAR offers downloadable shows with conversation lessons, traditional and contemporary stories and songs, games, news, and other information all presented in the language. In the Southeast, Chickasaw.TV has a channel (Chikashshanompa') dedicated to learning the Chickasaw language through lessons, songs, games, and stories. The Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma broadcasts a weekly radio show "Cherokee Voices, Cherokee Sounds, with host Dennis Sixkiller" that includes music in Cherokee, interviews with Cherokee elders, as well as the latest Cherokee Nation community news. In the Southwest, there are several Navajo radio stations, including KYAT-FM, which offers 24-hour Navajo language broadcasting. KTTN-AM broadcasts Navajo tribal music and audio from Navajo powwow dances among other things. Most of its announcers are bilingual and broadcast in both Navajo and English. Broadcasting in Indigenous languages has been rapidly increasing across North American and there is every indication that it will continue.

Social media are now a major force in connecting people with an interest in their heritage language,

wherever they may live (see "Social Media," this vol.). Numerous Facebook groups have been formed for this purpose. Some focus on sharing knowledge about the language. Contributors to the Pomo Languages Discussion Group (a Northern California family), for example, ask about particular words and phrases, discuss their shades of meaning and counterparts in related languages, and upload sound files. Some groups have content mainly or completely in the language itself. Facebook was the vehicle for the 2014 Indigenous Language Challenge. People all over the world were challenged to post a video of themselves speaking their traditional language on the Indigenous Language Challenge Facebook page (https://www.facebook.com/groups/539092832857899/, active December 26, 2020) and then to tap someone else to do the same. The result was a wealth of impressive videos of both first- and second-language speakers of Indigenous languages of all ages, many from North America.

Growing Institutional Support for Languages

Much important work on language documentation and revitalization in the 1900s was undertaken with little or no outside funding by people who dedicated their own time, skills, and resources to the goals they believed in. But there are limits to what can be done without financial support. As the loss of languages has accelerated, the consequences of inaction have become more widely recognized. Funding has become available from various sources, and it has produced impressive results.

Since 2000, support for language revitalization and documentation has come from tribes themselves. The Pikayune Rancheria of the Chukchansi Indians (Foothills Yokut) in California provided a $1 million grant from casino income for the construction of a dictionary and the creation of apps for teaching the language with the help of Fresno State University (Mumma 2014). The Android and iPhone apps will be used as part of the curriculum in schools and afterschool programs. The Chickasaw Nation fully funds all of their programs: extensive master-apprentice training, dictionary development, adult community classes, technology, and television (https://www.chickasaw.net/Services/Chickasaw-Language-Revitalization-Program.aspx, active December 26, 2020). In the Southwest, the Cochiti Pueblo language programs are also internally funded.

Support has also come from federal, provincial, and state governments in Canada and the United States. In Canada, the Aboriginal Languages Initiative is a federal program funded by the Department of Canadian Heritage. It supports community-based activities such as developing and delivering community language training programs (language and culture instruction and camps, language nests, online training, mater-apprentice programs, etc.); developing materials to increase Indigenous language use and proficiency, such as books, videos, workbooks, lexicons, language kits, and games; developing systems to facilitate communications in Indigenous languages, such as databases; developing digital tools for sharing information, materials, and resources among Indigenous language groups; and recording, documenting, and preserving Indigenous languages. (https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/funding/aboriginal-peoples/languages.html, active December 26, 2020). The initiative has funded a variety of projects, among them the Mohawk Iakwahwatsiratátie' Language Nest at Kahnawà:ke, Quebec; a Dakota Immersion Workshop in Winnipeg, Manitoba; a Cree Revitalization Class at the Edmonton Aboriginal Seniors' Centre in Alberta; and continuation of Cree, Ojibway, and Michif language lessons to community members at the Friendship Center in Selkirk, Manitoba (Marketwired 2014).

In the United States, the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) was established in 1974 within the United States Department of Health and Human Services. In 2006, the Esther Martiniez Native American Languages Preservation Act was passed to fund three-year projects for language nests, survival schools, and restoration programs. (Esther Martinez [b. 1912, d. 2006] was an inspirational Tewa teacher and storyteller dedicated to the preservation of her language). The initiative focuses on community-driven projects and supports the development of self-determining, healthy, culturally and linguistically vibrant, self-sufficient Native American communities (https://www.acf.hhs.gov/ana/fact-sheet/active-grants-native-languages-esther-martinez-immersion, active December 26, 2020).

Between 2008 and 2017, the Esther Martinez Immersion (EMI) program funded 55 projects, involving 28 different languages. Among the projects was one in the small Village of Igiugig in Alaska (population 69 in 2019). The village was awarded $857,979 in ANA grant funds in 2015 to create a Yup'ik language immersion program over a three-year period (Grounds 2019). At that time, there were 23 fluent speakers of this dialect of Yup'ik in the region, all elderly, but the language was still valued (http://www.igiugig.com/village-life/about-igiugig/history-culture, active December 26, 2020). The project included a mentor-apprentice program for the elders to work with learners one on one, targeting young parents as apprentices,

who could then become language instructors in an intensive preschool program. In 2018, Alaska senator Lisa Murkowski pointed to the importance of language revitalization for general education, noting that this program "reinvigorated students in Igiugig and led to measurable success of those students at school with the 96 percent attendance record percent and a graduation rate of 100 percent" (Cordova Times 2018).

The Endangered Language Fund has provided small grants since 1996 in support of the documentation and preservation of endangered languages worldwide. It has funded a wide range of projects, including orthography construction, dictionaries, archiving of earlier materials, documentation of conversation, song, and speech registers, creation of curriculum materials, master-apprentice programs, radio stations, immersion camps, and more. Funds go to individuals and groups, communities, and institutions. As of 2017, funds were awarded in support of several Indigenous Native American language projects, including for Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, Micmac, Odawa, Miami, Potawatomi, Menominee, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Michif, Tuscarora, Cherokee, Choctaw, Muskogee Creek, Wichita, Omaha, Ponca, Hidatsa, Dakota, Assiniboine, Yuchi, Southern Tiwa, Comanche, Tohono O'odham, Cahuilla, Burns Paiute, Karuk, Maidu, Klamath, Yakima and Umatilla Sahaptin, Plains Apache, Hupa, Upper Tanana, Tanacross, Tahltan (Nahani), Gitxsan, Twana, Halq'emeylem, Secwépemc, Alutiiq, and Inupiaq http://www.endangeredlanguagefund.org/, active December 26, 2020).

In addition, its Native Voices Endowment, funded from the U.S. Mint's sale of the Lewis and Clark 2004 Commemorative Coin, provides grants specifically to tribes that came into contact with the Lewis and Clark Expedition between 1803 and 1806. As of 2017, projects were funded for work with Arapaho, Arikara, Bannock Shoshoni, Blackfeet, Cheyenne, Coeur d'Alene (Skitswish), Crow, Dakota/Dakotah, Hidatsa, Ho-Chunk, Kanza, Kaw, Kiksht, Kiowa, Kootenai, Lakota, Nakona, Nakota, Nez Perce (Nimiipuu), Odawa, Okanagan (Syilx), Omaha, Ponca, Potawatomi, Quinault, Sahaptin, Salish, Sauk, Shawnee, Spokane, Umatilla, and Yakama http://www.endangeredlanguagefund.org/native-voices-endowment.html, active December 26, 2020).

The Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society (APS) in Philadelphia has provided small grants for research on languages indigenous to the continental United States and Canada. The priority has been for primary documentation of languages by younger scholars, starting many on lifetimes of valued research. https://www.amphilsoc.org/grants/phillips-fund-native-american-research, active December 26, 2020).

The Endangered Languages Documentation Programme housed at SOAS, the University of London, was founded in 2002 to fund language documentation worldwide and produce digital collections freely available online (https://www.eldp.net, active December 26, 2020). Grants are awarded to both individuals and institutions regardless of nationality. This organization has also funded a large number of projects involving North American Indigenous languages, including Passamaquoddy-Maliseet, Arapaho, Koasati, Lakota, Kiksht, Yakama, Kwak'wala, Haisla and Henaaksiala, Hupa, Gitxsan, Haida, Aleut, and Inuit Sign Language. Projects have resulted in audio and video recordings of conversation, narratives of different genres, different speech registers, and geographic knowledge.

The first decades of the new millennium also brought government initiatives in support of Indigenous languages at various levels. In 2013, the Montana State legislature passed the Montana Indian Language Preservation Pilot Program, which funded a range of activities from developing mobile apps and immersion camps to recording talking dictionaries and writing comprehensive language curricula (Lozar 2014). The funds were divided among Montana's nine tribes. A bill passed in 2015 subsidized immersion programs in public schools (A. Martin 2015). In 2019, bills were passed maintaining funding for language programs at $1.5 million for the 2021 biennium and extending the termination date of the Cultural Integrity Commitment Act, supporting immersion programs, to 2023.

In 2005, the U.S. National Science Foundation and National Endowment for the Humanities jointly initiated a program for Documenting Endangered Languages, DEL (https://www.neh.gov/grants/preservation/documenting-endangered-languages, active December 26, 2020). DEL has funded numerous projects, some for doctoral dissertation research, some for larger-scale undertakings, such as basic documentation; analysis; creation of dictionaries, grammars, electronic databases, archives, and other online digital resources; tools for documentation; and conferences and training workshops. Most projects involve collaboration between Indigenous communities, tribal colleges, and/or other research institutions, bringing together speakers, linguists, language teachers, and other researchers.

Between 2013 and 2019, DEL funded an especially valuable set of projects aimed at creating accessible, searchable digital archives of materials in the languages. Where available, they included not only written documentation, complete with modern transcription, analysis, and translation but also sound files where available, grammatical information, and even photographs. Much valuable language material was

produced during earlier times, some during the nineteenth century, when analytic techniques were less developed but the speakers were highly skilled and used the languages on a daily basis. Where fluent speakers of those languages remain today, they collaborated with scholars to interpret the early materials, refining transcriptions, explaining meanings, and providing cultural context. The DEL program made possible work with many Indigenous languages across North America, among them Kodiak Aleut, St. Lawrence Island Yup'ik, Toklat (Lower Tanana) and Middle Tanana of Alaska; Hanis, Milluk, Siuslaw, Tutni, Coquille, Galice, and Ichishkiin (Sahaptin) of Oregon; Karuk, Hupa, and Kawaiisu of California; Northern Paiute on the Oregon-Nevada border; Arapaho of Wyoming and Oklahoma; Shoshoni of Utah; Hualapai of Arizona; Navajo and Jicarilla Apache of Arizona and New Mexico; Sisseton Dakota and Lakota of South Dakota; Anishinaabemowin or Chippewa, spanning an area from Manitoba to Quebec; Cheyenne of Montana and Oklahoma; Chickasaw, Kiowa, and Sauk of Oklahoma; Menominee of Wisconsin; and Inuktitut of eastern Canada; Seneca and Long Island Algonquian of New York State.

The DEL program has also supported CoLang, Breath of Life workshops, and the Navajo Language Academy, as well as the biennial International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation, which brings together linguists, students, and community activists to share resources and research and discuss issues of importance in documenting and revitalizing the world's endangered languages.

An important point in this brief overview is that most successful efforts in language revitalization have been primarily community driven, demonstrating that language revival is part of a larger process of cultural maintenance and revival.

Conclusion

Though the twentieth century saw devastating losses of first-language speakers of North American languages, the new millennium is witnessing vibrant new initiatives geared toward documenting, revitalizing, and appreciating them. Understanding of the structures of the languages and their uses has advanced on all fronts, from fine acoustic detail, including prosody, to the packaging of information through discourse. Research is being carried out by scholars both from within the local communities and outside, most often in collaboration. New technologies, archives, and funding sources are making possible ever better documentation, with attention to audio and video recording of connected speech in natural contexts, especially interactive conversation but also ceremonial speech and narrative, and to the production of materials that will be accessible and useful to communities.

In the first two decades of the twenty-first century, Native American language maintenance and revitalization programs are ubiquitous, with language classes and language camps spread throughout the United States and Canada (and now expanding into northern Mexico). Especially impressive are immersion programs, in which the traditional language is the medium of instruction, beginning in some cases with language nests and continuing through elementary school and beyond. Intensive adult immersion programs are accomplishing goals generally thought to be impossible a short time ago: producing new fluent speakers. Though the loss of first-language speakers is universally mourned, the Indigenous languages are now cherished more than ever across North America. The increasing respect for and appreciation of them is having an impact well beyond the languages themselves, in greater pride on the part of communities and their members in their rich heritages.

Additional Readings

Several sites, besides those listed in the text, provide information on the status of North American Indigenous languages and efforts in their revitalization. The following prime sources were active as of December 2020: the Ethnos Project (http://resources.ethnosproject.org), the Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages (http://livingtongues.org/resource-page/?utm_content=buffere8e2f&utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebook.com&utm_campaign=buffer), the People's Paths First Peoples' Language Resources http://www.yvwiiusdinvnohii.net/language.html), the First Voices Language Archives of Canada (http://www.firstvoices.com/en/home), Native Web (http://www.nativeweb.org/resources/languages_linguistics/native_american_languages), and others. The Administration for Native Americans has put together a reference guide for establishing archives and repositories and the Native Language Resources page (https://www.acf.hhs.gov/ana/programs).

Immigrant Indigenous Communities: Indigenous Latino Populations in the United States

GABRIELA PÉREZ BÁEZ, CYNTHIA VIDAURRI, AND JOSÉ BARREIRO

This chapter serves as an introduction to the topic of Indigenous peoples from Latin America and the Caribbean (hereafter Indigenous Latinos) living in the United States, a group that has been relatively understudied until recently. Through three case studies on the diaspora of Taíno, Zapotec, and Guatemalan Maya peoples, it provides insights into the experiences of a particular segment of Latinos in the United States who self-identify as Indigenous in origin, and it explores the impact of this identity (often, several matching identities) on the process of adapting to a new society. The overall goal is to illustrate the complex makeup of these populations, their migration experience, and their adaptation process in the twenty-first century.

Terms for Indigenous peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean have evolved over time and may be quite distinct from one region to another. These terms have carried the biases of the dominant power and reflected how Indigenous peoples were situated in society. Identifiers such as *indio, mestizo, indo-mestizo, euro-mestizo, afro-mestizo, ladino, pueblos originarios, aborígenes, Raza,* and *pueblo* are used historically and/or academically or as self-identifiers. The colonial term *indio* is still in use as a self-identifier among one of the studied populations, the Taínos of Puerto Rico and Cuba; in Mexico, however, this term can be offensive. This chapter addresses this complexity by giving preference to the term *Indigenous Latinos* to refer to various peoples of Indigenous origin living in the United States from what are now recognized as Latin America and the Caribbean.

In defining the term *Indigenous Latino,* it is critical to define what areas are considered to be within Latin America and the Caribbean in historical and contemporary terms. Not all definitions consider the Caribbean to be part of Latin America. The identity of a colonial power or its language also imposes definitional criteria on Latin America and the Caribbean. Questions emerge when considering territories that were once colonized by Spain but later came under the control of another colonial power. Further complications arise from the continual reshaping of territories by European colonial empires and later from the independence movements that reorganized the North American continent into individual nation-states. This process is illustrated in the evolution of the Spanish Empire and its relationship to what is now recognized as the United States.

One more concept that needs attention is that of *mestizaje*. *Mestizaje* (miscegenation in English) relates to *mestizo,* a racial and political category that has various meanings in colonial Spanish America (in Canada, *Métis*). Most commonly, *mestizo* refers to offspring from the mix of Spaniard and American Indian. Over time, Native, European, and African gene pools blended, and an elaborate caste system, carrying social implications and imposing stereotypes, emerged to categorize people based on the colonial power structures. Exogamous practices during colonial times further blended gene pools and cultural practices in Latin America and the Caribbean. The complexity of this *mestizaje* has had and continues to have significant implications for what it means to be Indigenous. *Mestizaje* carries different meanings and associations depending on the region; among other terms sometimes used to cover overlapping Indigenous identities are *indio, pardo, trigueño, moreno, mulato, guajiro, Jíbaro, aplatanao,* and *guachinangos*. For the purposes of this chapter, what is essential is to recognize the racial and cultural diversity throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, the range of experiences during colonization, and the resulting social consequences.

Indigenous Migration in a Historical Context

There has been a tendency to approach the presence of Latinos of Indigenous origin in the United States as a twentieth- and twenty-first-century phenomenon. However, population movements across the American continent are not new, and they complicate concepts of origins tied to Indigeneity, states, or territories fluidly refined by geopolitical criteria. Before the arrival of Europeans, Native peoples moved considerable distances using extensive trading networks that stretched throughout the North American continent. The Mis-

sissippian settlement of Cahokia, near present-day St. Louis, Missouri, was an important trading center thought to have been visited by Mesoamerican peoples (Indigenous Trade: The Northeast 1997; see "Emergence of Cultural Diversity," this vol.). Similarly, the Anasazi of the U.S. Southwest traded with Toltecs from what is now central Mexico (John 1975; Wilcox and Masse 1981).

From the same region, exploratory expeditions expanded northward during the Spanish colonial period. From 1539 to 1542, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado headed a massive expedition of some 2,000 individuals through what is now northern Mexico, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. The expedition included an estimated 1,300–1,500 Indigenous people from what is now central and western Mexico (Flint 2008). Some did not return to their places of origin and were found 40 years later living in the Zuni area when the Antonio de Espino expedition traveled through New Mexico and Arizona (Flint and Flint 2005). In 1769, the Gaspar de Portolá expedition into California included 15 people of Indigenous origin from Baja California (Breschini 2000). While not all expeditions documented the presence of Native people in their mix, it is reasonable to think that the inclusion of Natives in such expeditions was not uncommon.

At the height of the Spanish colonial empire in the 1600s and 1700s, Spain claimed territories that included the current state of Florida, lands west of the Mississippi River extending north into what is today southern Canada, the U.S. Southwest, and the so-called Nootka Territory (Territorio de Nutca) along the Pacific Northwest up to today's southern Alaska. These regions were populated by diverse Native American communities whose populations varied in origin and size. After Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821, Mexico's northern territorial borders evolved with Texas's independence (1836), the temporary establishment of the Republic of the Rio Grande (1840), the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), and the Gadsden Purchase (1853). The lands Spain lost to the United States during these decades now make up (partly or fully) the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, Kansas, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, and Utah. These events created an artificial boundary for many Native American communities whose members had lived and moved throughout the region. As a result, Indigenous populations that were formerly under Spanish colonial rule and by definition would have constituted Indigenous peoples are no longer of "Latin American origin" in the current geopolitical context.

Contemporary Indigenous Migration to the United States

Without lessening the importance of the situation of Indigenous peoples who currently reside in the United States and whose histories associate them with Latin America through Spanish colonial rule, this chapter focuses primarily on migration to the United States by Indigenous peoples in the decades following the Bracero program. This program was designed to alleviate labor shortages in the United States during World War II through a bilateral guest worker agreement with Mexico that lasted from 1942 to 1964. More than four million labor contracts were issued to temporary workers from Mexico during this time (Fox and Rivera-Salgado 2004b), and the participation of P'orhepecha (Tarascan) or P'urhepecha, Mixtec, and Zapotec workers in the Bracero program is well documented (Fox and Rivera-Salgado 2004a). Recovered oral histories produced for the Bracero History Archive project also attest to the substantial migration of Mexican people of Indigenous origin to the United States during this era (Loza 2011).

In 2000, the U.S. Census for the first time gave people the option of identifying themselves as Hispanic American Indian, referring to individuals who are originally from an Indigenous community in a predominantly Spanish-speaking country. In that census, 407,073 individuals self-identified as Hispanic American Indian; this number is considered a "minimum estimate" (Huizar Murillo and Cerda 2004:283). In 2010, the U.S. Census reported that 1,190,904 Hispanic-Latino people identified themselves as fully or partly American Indian. Of these, 685,150 identified themselves as fully American Indians or Alaska Natives and 505,754 identified themselves as American Indian mixed with one or more other races (Humes et al. 2011).

Among Puerto Ricans, the 2010 U.S. Census counted 35,753 individuals identifying themselves as fully or partly American Indian; 19,839 identified themselves as fully American Indian ("American Indian only"), and another 15,914 identified themselves as American Indian or Alaska Native mixed with at least one additional race (Norris et al. 2012). Among Dominicans in the United States, 19,183 identified themselves as "single-race" American Indians or Alaska Natives—the highest percentage (1.4 percent) of full Native-identified people among the Spanish-speaking Caribbean populations. Among Cubans in the United States, 3,002 identified themselves as "single-race" American Indian or Alaska Native. Interestingly, among countries of the Greater Antilles, documented

by Rivero de la Calle (1973) and others, Cuba reports the most identifiable continuity of historical Native communities and kinship groups. The overall number of Indigenous Latinos hovers around 20 percent of the total U.S. American Indian and Alaska Native population. According to the 2010 census, 1.2 million people of Hispanic origin also identified as American Indian and Alaska Native (Humes et al. 2011) while the total American Indian and Alaska Native population is reported at 5.2 million people (Norris et al. 2012). Unfortunately, no similar figures are available for the Canadian population censuses of 2006 and 2016.

This chapter, through three case studies, provides the context necessary to discuss several critical issues related to contemporary immigration of Indigenous people from Latin America and the Caribbean to the United States. These issues include, but are not limited to, regeneration of Indigenous identity in light of the widely spread notions of extinction, as in the case of the Taíno of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic; linguistic diversity and the impact of migration on the vitality of Indigenous languages, as in the case of the San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec people from southern Mexico; and maintenance of an identity in light of homogenizing approaches employed in the pan-Maya movement and attitudes of the host society, as in the case of Maya communities from Guatemala. Most important, for the first time in the *Handbook of North American Indians* series, this chapter acknowledges and explores the rich diversity of cultures, languages, and histories of Indigenous immigrants of Latin American and Caribbean origin living in the United States.

The Taíno Diaspora and Resurgence Movement

For the Caribbean region, it has been commonly assumed that its Indigenous people suffered complete extinction under European colonial rule starting in the 1500s. Still, the *Handbook of South American Indians* mentioned a persistent surviving population in eastern Cuba (Rouse 1948) and acknowledged that there were not enough ethnographic studies on the circum-Caribbean tribes (Steward 1948). The survival of a Cuban Indian subgroup is mentioned in the scientific literature from the 1850s to the contemporary era (Rodríguez Ferrer 1878; Harrington 1921; Ruggles 1955; Rivero de la Calle 1973; Barreiro 2001). In other countries of the Greater Antilles, notably Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, the topic of Indigenous survival has been largely submerged or entwined with polemics of national discourse.

Historiography

The Indigenous peoples of the Caribbean, known today largely as Taíno or Island Arawak (in the Greater Antilles) and as Carib or Kalinago (in the Lesser Antilles), suffered decimation, though not annihilation, during the earliest era of Spanish conquest and colonization. The term *Taíno* was first cited during Columbus's second voyage and reintroduced by nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars. It is the primary identifier of contemporary *indio* identity in the Greater Antilles. Rouse (1992) used the term *Taíno* to describe the material culture of groups inhabiting most of the Greater Antilles at the time of European contact. Still, warfare, enslavement, displacement, escape to remote hiding areas, new diseases, and extensive *mestizaje* led to social dismemberment, early invisibility, and, eventually, claims of total extinction.

Native populations in the Caribbean were less demographically dense than those in Mexico and Central America. Even early in the period of European contact, the inherent remoteness and reduced numbers of *indio*-identified families and communities in the Caribbean tended to obscure their presence. Following Hernán Cortés's 1519 Mexican expedition, early Spanish migration from the Antilles to the mainland slowed the pace of colonial disruption of remaining Indian enclaves on the larger islands. Substantial conjugation between Spanish and African men and Indigenous women, noted historically, is increasingly supported by genetic studies that demonstrate unexpectedly high levels of American Indian mtDNA among Greater Antilles populations. Within and beyond this genetic mother line, or *matria*, the rural and mountain folkways of the island countries appear to include appreciable amounts of Native language, ecosystem and agroecological knowledge, as well as oral traditions of place-based history and knowledge, including spiritual approaches to natural phenomena (Castanha 2011; Feliciano-Santos 2011). Particularly in Puerto Rico, where, notably, the 1787–1788 census pointed to more than 2,300 "pure race" Indians, the Taíno mtDNA footprint is intriguingly high (Abbad y Lasierra 2002; Nazario de Figueroa 1971).

Genetic Evidence

The Taíno identity movement predated the recent spate of genetic studies, but it was fortified by these studies' findings of higher-than-expected percentages of insular Arawak or Taíno mtDNA among Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Dominican populations. Percentages as high as 61 percent mtDNA in Puerto Rico and 34.5 percent

in Cuba, along with a range of 14–33 percent in the Dominican Republic, support the historical narrative of extended early colonial *mestizaje* of Spanish and African males with Taíno women, particularly in the Hispanophone Antilles (Marcheco-Teruel et al. 2014; Martínez Cruzado 2002).

Interpretation of these remarkably high percentages relative to an actual Native ethnic identity is highly contested academically. New archeological and ethnological research raises the probability that the long period of transculturation created a *mundo cotidiano,* or foundational culture, grounded in notable doses of traditional Indigenous knowledge. The American Indian cultural substratum is a notable topic in the national and popular discourses of the Greater Antilles. The discussion is consistently fueled by the *vaivén,* or circular migration, of island peoples and their diasporas in the United States.

Taíno Identity Resurgence

Since the 1970s, Caribbean Indigenous vitalization has become evident and coalesced, representing kinship and consciousness connections to *indio* legacies that have persisted among the populations of the region. The revitalization phenomenon manifests itself intensely in the United States among individuals and families that have been regrouping as *indígena,* Arawak, Ciboney, Carib, or, most widely, Taíno. Linked with the islands and places of origin in the *vaivén,* this identity revitalization movement has stimulated many threads of Indigeneity reach and effect over some 40 years. Particularly among Puerto Ricans, the Taíno movement emerges within a context of cultural identity revitalization and Indigenous rights. Less pronounced is a movement in Haiti and Jamaica, where certain groups of families assert an Indigenous legacy and identify as Amerindian or as Taíno descendants and where scholars point to consistent confluences of Taíno or *indio* elements in Afro-Caribbean spiritualism (García et al. 2007).

New York City: Metropolis as Yucayeque

The revitalization of Taíno identity is most evident in New York City, largely among migrant families from Puerto Rico and, in lesser numbers, from the Dominican Republic and Cuba. A 2015 review of active or registered members of Taíno-identified U.S.-based or U.S.-linked associations gives an estimate of 500 families, or some 3,000 people (Estevez 2015). Taíno identity groups have coalesced in private and public spaces and through social media. These visible networks generate a wide range of activities, from cultural gatherings and academic conferences to cultural recovery of traditional music and dance, Taíno (Insular Arawak) language appreciation and reconstruction, production of ceremonial instruments, feather work, carving, basketry, and other arts and crafts (figs. 1, 2).

Notably, the Taíno movement fields delegates at national and international Indigenous gatherings, some achieving positions of leadership in the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and affirmation from a broad range of Indigenous peoples. Formal and informal meetings and cultural-political activity in Cuba, Dominica, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Puerto Rico, St. Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago, and the United States attest to the contemporaneous nature of the cultural and political advancement by Taíno movement leaders (Borrero 2014).

Photograph by José Barreiro.

Fig. 1. Taíno master craft artist Daniel Silva, Vieques Island, Puerto Rico, 2015.

Photograph by 5th Avenue Digital Photography. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Latino Center.

Fig. 2. José Barreiro (right) interviews master Taíno craft artist Daniel Silva, Vieques Island, Puerto Rico, 2015.

Photograph by José Barreiro.

Fig. 3. Taíno language class, Naguake School, Puerto Rico, 2015.

Indigeneity Revitalization Factors

The regeneration of *indio*-identified groups and communities cuts across Caribbean countries and loops back with these groups' growing identification within their North American diaspora. The *vaivén* with Indigenous people's islands of origin, and the volition to network and intersect with *campesino* and *montuno* (or *guajiro*, *jíbaro*, *indio*, among other identifications) groups within their home countries, seems to have intensified the consciousness of identity regeneration, or what Puerto Rican historian Jalil Sued-Badillo (1978, 1992, 2003) calls a continuing "ethno-genesis" (see also Baker 1988; Gonzalez 1988). Other scholars tie the current revival of consciousness to the lineages of families from Las Indieras and other regions of the island, linking it with "people of *jibaro* or *monte*" backgrounds, whose nationalism is partly rooted in a sense of being *indio* (Feliciano-Santos 2011). Interestingly, the most widespread Taíno-themed educational movement, Naguake, in southeastern Puerto Rico, bases its curriculum on local agroecological skills held by *campesino* or *jíbaro* farmers (fig. 3).

The fact that so many Puerto Ricans identify as principally American Indian is interpreted by many scholars as a result of the residual positioning of the Taíno or Indian ancestry by Puerto Rican cultural institutions as the "first root" of Puerto Rican culture. This "official narrative of the island" is posited to have created a wave of migrants who were imbued with a sense of cultural nationalism before coming to the U.S. mainland (Duany 2002). The general polemics of this debate continue to evolve. Massive displacement of *campesino* sectors, which intensified after World War II, removed from the island's rural farming communities a generation that came of age in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s (Ayala 1996). Intense nostalgia and pining for one's ancestral land are factors in the regeneration of *jíbaro-Boricua-indio* consciousness in the diaspora (Sued-Badillo 1978; also Castanha 2011).

Puerto Ricans coming to the United States were confronted with different constructs of racial identity, which reduced and later expanded the range of acceptable racial identifiers. On the island, identification was more commonly based on physical appearance, involving more tonality and variety of nomencla-

ture; this shifted to the more starkly defined binary (black-white or white-Hispanic) nature of U.S. race definitions. As interpreted by U.S. Census statistics, the "racially-intermediate types (such as the so-called *indios*) . . . found [identity] adaptation particularly difficult" (Duany 2002:244). Puerto Ricans in the United States commonly classify themselves as "neither-black-nor-white," opting rather for the category of "other" (Rodríguez 1974). In the 1980 U.S. Census, 48 percent of Puerto Ricans in the United States chose the "other" category, sometimes writing in terms such as *Boricua*, *Latino*, *Hispanic*, or *Spanish*. By 1990, 46 percent of Puerto Ricans put themselves in the "other race" category (Rodríguez 1989).

Initially, the "official disappearance of racially-intermediate types accelerated the movement from non-white to white categories on the Island" (Duany 2002:250). In the 2010 U.S. Census, however, given the opportunity, this in-between group moved from "white" to the "American Indian/Alaska Native" category. While identification as American Indian increased by 49 percent, the census also reported that some 461,000 islanders identified themselves as "black," an increase of 52 percent, raising the percentage of black-identified people from 8 to 12.4 percent of the island population in 2010. Conversely, the white Puerto Rican population dropped by 8 percent to constitute 76 percent of the island's 3.7 million people, marking the first time that the general proportion of white people had declined since Puerto Rico's first U.S. Census in 1899. As rightly noted, the "increase in the number of people that identified themselves as American-Indian is [due to] the fact that this year [2010], the U.S. Census Bureau allowed them to write down their tribe, whereas, previously, many would select 'other' as their ethnicity, because [there was a 'write-in' option but] there was no direct way to select the category of 'American-Indian' for the Caribbean" (Kay 2010).

Caribbean Indigenous identity is a critical issue as Greater Antilles consciousness of Indigeneity challenges academic discourse and historiography. Indigenous community survival, established in Cuba and increasingly recognized in the Dominican Republic, perhaps remains most contested among scholars and political leaders in Puerto Rico.

As of 2015, the Taíno consciousness movement, stimulated by travel and communications, had manifested an expansive virtual nation-building capacity. This Caribbean current has entered social and political space, engaging with issues in museum practice and methodology, education, language appreciation and recovery, artistic production, agroecology, healing, tourism, community representation and legalization, and participation in the international rights arena (figs. 4, 5, 6). A case of repatriation of American Indian (Taíno) human remains by the Smithsonian Institution (Barreiro 2003) for reburial by Cuban Indian people was attended by mainland U.S.-based Taíno organizations and Indigenous nation representatives from Dominica, Puerto Rico, and Trinidad.

Photograph by 5th Avenue Digital Photography. Courtesy of Smithsonian Latino Center (RW: 0221-20180908-SP-Smithsonian).

Fig. 4. Tai Pelli, liaison officer of the United Confederation of Taíno People (UCTP), is an outspoken advocate for environmental health, food sovereignty, and the rights of Indigenous peoples. Here, she shares her vision for the future at "Taíno: A Symposium in Dialogue with the Movement," organized in 2018 by the Smithsonian Latino Center and the National Museum of the American Indian.

Migration and Language Endangerment: Speakers of Mexican Indigenous Languages

Immigrants of Mexican origin have diverse histories of arrival to the United States. In some cases, migration can be traced back to the Bracero program (Calavita 1992; Fox and Rivera-Salgado 2004a). Other histories

Photograph by 5th Avenue Digital Photography. Courtesy of Smithsonian Latino Center (RW: 0346-20180908-SP-Smithsonian).

Fig. 5. Cacike Martín Caciba Opil Veguilla (right) dances with members of the Concilio Taíno Guatu-Ma-Cu a Borikén at the National Museum of the American Indian in New York City in 2018. Veguilla leads one of the largest Taíno communities, with members in Puerto Rico, the United States, and across the world.

Photograph by 5th Avenue Digital Photography. Courtesy of Smithsonian Latino Center ([RW: 0328-20180908-SP-Smithsonian).

Fig. 6. Elba Anaka Lugo (center) and the Abuela Valeriana Shashira Rodríguez (right), founding members of the Consejo General de Taínos Borincanos, participate in an *areíto* (ceremonial dance) to celebrate unity with other Taíno groups at the National Museum of the American Indian in New York City in 2018.

are more recent, as in the case of members of the Zapotec community of San Lucas Quiaviní, Oaxaca, a community of some 1,800 inhabitants located in the Central Valleys region of the southwestern Mexican state of Oaxaca (figs. 7, 8, 9). The experience of Quiaviní migrants can be extrapolated to consider the impact on the myriad languages spoken by Indigenous Latinos, dispelling the notion that these immigrant groups are linguistically or culturally homogenous.

Ninety-eight percent of the population in Quiaviní, according to the 2010 Mexico Population and Housing Census (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática 2010), speaks the local language, known as San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec (SLQZ). Large-scale migration from Quiaviní to the Los Angeles area and to southern California has been documented since 1968 (López and Runsten 2004).

Speakers of Indigenous Mexican Languages in the United States

Only in recent years have concerted efforts been undertaken to document the presence of Mexico's Indigenous peoples living in the United States (and Canada). In 2010, Mexico's Foreign Ministry, in collaboration with the Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas (INALI), Mexico's bureau in charge of lan-

Photograph by Gabriela Pérez Báez.

Fig. 7. Residents of San Lucas Quiaviní, where the population declined significantly between 1990 and 2010 due to high-scale migration to the United States.

Photograph by Robert M. Garral.

Fig. 8. Patron saint festivities in San Lucas Quiaviní.

Photograph by Robert M. Garral.

Fig. 9. Patron saint festivities in San Lucas Quiaviní.

guage policy, established the Plataforma Especial de Atención a Migrantes Indígenas (PEAMI) to improve the delivery of consular protection services to Mexican immigrants of Indigenous origin. Through this mechanism, speakers of Indigenous languages were invited to enroll in the Directorio de Hablantes de Lenguas Nacionales de Apoyo Consular, a directory intended as a resource that lists individuals who may serve as interpreters in any of Mexico's Indigenous national languages.

Subsequently, certain consulates developed mechanisms to document the presence of Mexicans of Indigenous origin within their jurisdictions. These efforts included surveys of individuals seeking services from the consulates. Though only preliminary, the surveys reported on specific language groups whose speakers may have emigrated to the United States (table 1) and may reside in two major urban areas along the East Coast: the New York tristate area (New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut) and the Washington, DC, capital metropolitan region (Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia).

The units listed in table 1 correspond to language groups rather than individual languages (INALI 2008). Thus the term *Zapotec* refers to an entire group of 61 languages (INALI 2008), each of which may be quite distinct. The impact of linguistic acculturation cannot be quantified if the analysis is done on the basis of the broader label Zapotec, as this would encompass close to 500,000 individuals speaking dozens of Zapotec languages across communities with different migration experiences. Also, demographics can vary widely between one community and another. Consequently, an adequate assessment of the impact of migration on language vitality can be done only through analysis at the microlevel and the community scale.

Table 1. Mexican Indigenous Language Groups Represented in the New York Tri-State and in the DC Metropolitan Areas

	DC–Capital area	*Tri-state area (NY, NJ, CT)*
Akateko	+	
Amuzgo	+	+
Chatino	+	
Chinanteco	+	+
Ch'ol	+	+
Chuj	+	
Cora	+	
Cuicateco	+	
Huasteco	+	
Huave	+	
Kumiai	+	
Maya	+	
Mazahua	+	
Mazateco	+	
Mixe	+	+
Mixteco	+	+
Náhuatl	+	+
Otomí	+	+
Pame	+	
Popoloca		+
Tarasco	+	
Tlapaneco	+	+
Tojolabal	+	+
Totonaco	+	+
Triqui	+	+
Tseltal	+	
Tsotsil	+	+
Zapoteco	+	+

SOURCE: Mexican Consulate in New York and Washington, DC, 2016.

History of San Lucas Quiaviní Migration

The first emigrant from Quiaviní left for California in 1968 (López and Runsten 2004). While there has been no actual census of the population of Quiaviní origin

Photograph by Gabriela Pérez Báez, 2013.

Fig. 10. Patron saint festivities in Santa Monica, California. These celebrations have been adapted based on the celebrations in the hometown of San Lucas Quiaviní.

living in California, it is estimated that more than 800 people from Quiaviní have settled in the Los Angeles area alone (López and Runsten 2004) (fig. 10). Considering that the Mexican national census and population counts reported for Quiaviní a population of 1,941 inhabitants in 2000, 1,769 in 2005, and 1,745 in 2010, (table 2) it is conceivable that at least a third and perhaps as much as half the population of Quiaviní now lives in the Los Angeles area (Pérez Báez 2014).

Language Endangerment

Two factors must be considered in assessing the potential impacts of large-scale outmigration on the vitality of SLQZ. The first is whether population movements may reduce the number of children speaking SLQZ. The second is whether migration patterns are affecting language choices in Quiaviní. A language is considered at risk if it is spoken by all age groups in a community of small size, but the domains in which it is spoken are reduced (Grenoble and Whaley 2006). SLQZ meets both conditions: the language is spoken in the home and in community interaction but is subordinate to Spanish in the town health clinic and at school, where the language of instruction is Spanish. A language is considered endangered under certain parameters, one of which is that its population of speakers is declining. Generally, the decline is observed in the number of speakers of a language in a community with normal population growth, as fewer people, especially children, speak the language and more people shift to another language as their primary means of communication.

In the case of Quiaviní, the percentage of people who speak SLQZ in the town itself is sizable, but the absolute number of speakers of the language has decreased as the town's population has also decreased since 1980. Most crucially, the number of children speaking the language in 2010 was about half of what it was in 1990, showing an overall decline reflective of sustained outmigration during that period. The decline was particularly visible for the younger age cohorts, especially for children ages zero to nine.

The decline in population in Quiaviní across all age groups, but particularly among children (table 3), is associated with large-scale outmigration (Pérez Báez 2014). As the immigrant community grew and more women participated in migration, new families formed and others reunited in California. The question that follows is whether immigrants of Quiaviní origin and their children, whether born in Mexico or the United States, speak SLQZ as their first language. Pérez Báez (2013a, 2013b) provides census data as well as interview data to explain in detail the language choices made by members of the immigrant community. In the new setting, adults might continue to speak SLQZ regularly and sometimes even as their language of choice in certain domains, whereas the U.S.-born children do not. The Quiaviní-born children shift to Spanish and English rapidly upon their arrival to the United States, contributing to the attrition of SLQZ (Pérez Báez 2013a, 2013b). As a consequence, language transmission has all but ceased within the immigrant community.

The impact of these language choices grows exponentially when migrants and their children return to Quiaviní, which they do with frequency. While adults

Table 2. Fluctuations in the Overall Population of San Lucas Quiaviní, 1980–2010

Year	*1980*	*1990*	*1995*	*2000*	*2005*	*2010*
Total population	2,127	2,156	2,088	1,941	1,769	1,745
Change since previous count	—	+ 1.3%	–3.2%	–7.1%	–8.9%	–0.3%

Sources: Censo General de Población y Vivienda 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010, Conteo de Población y Vivienda 1995 and 2005, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía.

Table 3. Population Decline in San Lucas Quiaviní Community, by Age Groups, 1990–2010

Age groups	*1990*	*2010*	*Population change (total number)*	*Population change (%)*
0–4	223	108	–115	–51.6
5–9	296	162	–134	–45.3
10–14	263	175	–88	–33.5
15–19	250	190	–60	–24
20–24	169	113	–56	–33.1
25–29	189	108	–81	–42.8
30–34	148	87	–61	–41.2
35–39	129	97	–32	–24.8
40–44	90	87	–3	–3.3
45–49	85	110	+ 25	+ 29.4
50–54	83	101	+ 18	+ 21.7
55–59	59	82	+ 23	+ 38.9
> 60	172	325	+ 153	+ 88.9
TOTAL	2,156	1,745	–411	–19.1

SOURCES: Archivo Histórico de Localidades, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (http://mapserver.inegi.org.mx/AHL/realizaBusquedaurl.do?cvegeo=202330001).

readily speak Zapotec in Quiaviní, their children do not (Pérez Báez 2013b). In response, family members who are bilingual—73 percent of the population in Quiaviní in 2010 was recorded as bilingual in Zapotec and Spanish (INEGI 2010)—accommodate the children's language preference and shift to Spanish within the home and community domains. As a result, Spanish rapidly enters into the primary domains of use of Zapotec in Quiaviní, encroaching on the domains that have sustained the language and supported it through more than 500 years of colonization and the subsequent dominance of Spanish in Mexico. Here lies the crux of the issue about whether migration affects the long-term survival prospects of Quiaviní Zapotec and most other Indigenous languages with limited numbers of speakers in their home areas.

Microlevel studies of Mexican Indigenous language survival and endangerment through migration have been undertaken in San Juan Guelavía (Falconi 2013) and Teotitlán del Valle (Stephen 2005), both towns neighboring Quiaviní; in three case studies of Zapotec and Mixtec migrants in California and Oregon (Stephen 2007); on cultural maintenance among Yalálag Zapotec in California (Cruz-Manjarrez 2013); on Lozoga' immigrants in California (Bernal 2016); and on the impact of migration in two Chatino towns (Villard and Sullivant 2016).

In relation to the general status of Indigenous languages of Latin America and the Caribbean, a report based on statistics provided by the Endangered Languages Catalog (www.endangeredlanguages.com, active December 24, 2020) found that of 731 Indigenous languages listed for Central and South America including Mexico, none are safe (Pérez Báez et al. 2016). It is therefore essential to understand the degree of participation in migration by Indigenous peoples from Mexico and Central and South America and the impact of that migration on the survival prospects of their already endangered languages.

Practical Implications

A crucial issue is the need to recognize the rich cultural and linguistic diversity among Indigenous Latinos now residing outside of their home areas, primarily in urban settings across North America. While most of the aforementioned studies focus on Zapotec migration, all refer to towns where unique languages are spoken and where cultural practices vary. Yet when these groups are referred to as "Zapotec" cases, this diversity is obscured, pointing to the limitations of surveys, particularly for people outside of Mexico. The problem is exacerbated when broader labels such as Mexican, Latino, or Hispanic are used, as they can stimulate an assumption that all individuals covered by these labels are native speakers of Spanish. As a result, immigrant children from Mexico or Central or South America are often funneled into English as a second language (ESL) programs for Spanish speakers without consideration of the fact that their mother tongue may be one of hundreds of Indigenous languages. Not infrequently, children who do not perform as expected in such programs—and children whose mother tongue is not Spanish—are placed in special education programs. One study of students of Mixtec origin in a New York City school pointed to the importance of acknowledging the specific cultural background of Mexican students for the benefit of their academic performance (Velasco 2014). The cultural and linguistic diversity of Latino immigrants must be recognized, and greater attention to Indigenous Latinos is generally needed.

Cultural Resilience: The Guatemalan Maya

Guatemala is home to descendants of the pre-Columbian Maya civilization, which once extended into southern Mexico and included parts of Belize, El Salvador, and Honduras. Today it has the largest Indigenous population in Central America, especially in

Guatemala, where approximately 40.3 percent of the citizens belong to various Maya groups (Elías 2020). Some sources estimate that the Maya people make up closer to 50 or 60 percent of the country's population (Guatemalan Human Rights Commission 2010). Maya people fall into 21 distinct groups that speak some 26 different Mayan languages (Minority Rights Group International 2008), although the precise number of languages varies depending on the policies and politics of language definition. Both Guatemalan and U.S. Maya communities reflect this regional, linguistic, and cultural diversity.

In 2010, approximately 1.2 million Latinos of Guatemalan origin were living in the United States, making them the sixth-largest Latino group in the country (Brown and Patten 2013). Indigenous Guatemalans are found throughout much of the United States, with sizable communities located in California, Florida, Massachusetts, and Texas. Overall, growth in the U.S. Guatemalan population has been concentrated along the East and West Coasts (Maya Heritage Community Project Website 2015b). Within the U.S. population that identifies itself as American Indian (and Alaska Native), Guatemalans make up 8.7 percent (Guatemalan Human Rights Commission 2010).

Guatemalan Civil War (1960–1996) and the Arrival of Guatemala Maya

The territory of the modern Republic of Guatemala was under Spanish control as a part of the Captaincy General of Guatemala from the early 1500s until 1821. In 1840, after having been part of the First Mexican Empire and the United Provinces of Central America, Guatemala became an independent nation. From the late nineteenth century into the twentieth century, U.S. business interests heavily influenced local politics and U.S. foreign policy toward Guatemala. During this period, a series of repressive military or civilian strongmen ruled the country and further disenfranchised the country's poor and Indigenous populations. National discontent grew over socioeconomic disparities, policies favoring the wealthy and foreign economic interests, and fraudulent elections. Calls for change were met with political repression and intensified violence. This situation gave rise to liberal and leftist insurgent groups and eventually led to the Guatemalan Civil War, which lasted from 1960 to 1996. Suspected of aiding the insurgency groups or being insurgents themselves, Maya communities were specifically targeted in what has been characterized as an ethnic genocide. The government's scorched-earth policy destroyed entire villages, and death squads terrorized the country.

The end result was a tremendous loss of life and a large outward migration of Guatemalan Maya. Some fled to Mexico while others went to Canada or the United States. The war officially ended with the 1996 Peace Accords, but postwar violence continued to impact Indigenous communities. The war had destroyed the country's economy and infrastructure, leaving few opportunities to make a living. A series of environmental disasters further debilitated a tenuous infrastructure and economy. As a result, Guatemalan Maya continue to arrive in the United States as economic migrants.

Refugees in the United States

Maya Civil War refugees fleeing the violence and persecution sought asylum and protection from removal in the United States. During the 1980s, 98 percent of the asylum requests were denied (Jonas 2013). This consistent denial of asylum led to a 1985 class action lawsuit filed by the Center for Constitutional Rights on behalf of Guatemalans, Salvadorans, and various religious organizations. The suit alleged that the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) violated national and international laws requiring that asylum determinations be made independent of the ideology of the sending country and further charged that the rights of sanctuary workers who had helped these refugees had been violated. This case, *American Baptist Churches* v. *Thornburgh*, led to a 1991 settlement agreement that granted those affected with a stay of deportation, a new asylum interview and decision, and detention restrictions. The case settlement required the INS to rehear the previously denied asylum cases of anyone who had arrived in the United States by 1990 (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services 2008).

Other laws and an additional lawsuit also affected the immigration status of Guatemalans. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act allowed undocumented immigrants to legalize their status in the United States if they had been in the country for more than five years or had worked as agricultural laborers. This law provided an option for some Guatemalan refugees but would undermine petitions from the same applicants as refugees (Burns 2000). Later, the 1997 Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act (NACARA) provided for relief from deportation and some additional immigration benefits if the applicants registered as asylum seekers. These applicants had to have resided in the United States for a minimum of five years after 1995 (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services 2011).

A 2007 Immigration and Customs Enforcement raid at the Michael Bianco factory in New Bedford, Massachusetts, shed an unexpected spotlight on Gua-

temalan immigrants when 361 undocumented workers, almost half of whom were Guatemalan Maya, were detained, and many were eventually sent to Texas for further immigration processing (Vásquez Toness 2010). Families were torn apart, and children were separated from their parents. Requests to have Department of Children and Families employees available at the raid to assist with the detained workers' children were denied by INS (*Boston Globe* 2007).

News of the raid spread throughout the country, and its magnitude drew attention to immigration processes and procedures. The event prompted the mobilization of the Maya and larger New Bedford community to support the affected families. The raid ultimately led to greater information about this immigrant community, which had lived in the shadows, and helped secure legal residency for some of the workers.

Among those detained was Manuel Ordonez-Quino. Before making his way to New Bedford, Ordonez-Quino suffered during the Guatemalan Civil War and survived several military attacks on his Maya Quiché community. An immigration judge ordered his return to Guatemala in spite of asylum requests based on his experiences during the war and his belief that he would be vulnerable to further victimization in Guatemala. In 2014, in *Ordonez-Quino* v. *Holder*, attorneys successfully argued he was persecuted during the war because of his race/ethnicity and was eligible for asylum. The resulting landmark decision acknowledged the genocide committed against Guatemala's Indigenous peoples (*Harvard Law Today* 2014).

Main Challenges

The residency or citizenship status of Guatemalan Maya in the United States significantly affects their experience. Those immigrants who have not been able to normalize their status through asylum or other immigration solutions are vulnerable to employer abuse, are ineligible for aid programs, and live in fear of deportation. Stringent federal, state, and local anti-immigration policies established after September 11, 2001, or as part of anti-immigrant political positions make it even more difficult for these immigrants to regularize their immigration status. When apprehended by INS, some claim to be Mexican Americans and attempt to speak a Mexican variety of Spanish in order to be more convincing. Some declare themselves Mexican nationals in the hope of being deported to Mexico and thereby speeding their return to the United States.

The Maya are incorrectly perceived to be Spanish speakers like other Latino immigrants. U.S. legal, health, and educational systems are not prepared to provide language translation into the more than 20 Mayan languages used in Central America (Lewis et al. 2015). Although some federal and state government entities provide Spanish-language information, this approach does not address the language needs of Maya immigrants, who often speak little or no Spanish. Bilingual education programs for Latino students are designed to transition them from Spanish into English. This requires Mayan language–speaking children to learn Spanish before acquiring English. Children who successfully learn English often then function as interpreters for their parents.

Language differences compounded with different culturally based concepts of health and illness make it particularly difficult and, often, frightening for Maya Americans to negotiate the U.S. health care system. For women, health care challenges are even greater. Accustomed to traditional birthing practices where midwives assist with childbirth, many are uncomfortable with male physicians or other health caregivers.

Maya immigrants are also affected by the differences between living in small rural communities and urban settings. The largest concentrations of Maya are found in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York City, Washington, DC, Miami, and New Orleans (Cramer 2011).

Population density, heavy traffic, public transportation, noise and air pollution, household machinery, and lack of public spaces to gather make for a stressful transition. Furthermore, parents in urban communities worry about gangs and their influence on their children as they try to fit into U.S. society.

Advocacy and Cultural Maintenance

Maya immigrants have used a range of advocacy approaches, many of them building on traditional forms of communal organization (Brown and Odem 2011). It is difficult to know exactly how many such communal groups exist, but there are an estimated 300 Guatemalan-formed organizations in the United States (Guatemalan Human Rights Commission 2010). These groups focus on a wide range of issues such as immigration, legal assistance, employment, social services, cultural maintenance, education, language preservation, and health care. They often address multiple issues or partner with other organizations to provide complementary services and resources. Additionally, some organizations are formed in partnership with non-Maya entities and have yielded interesting approaches to bringing together Maya and non-Maya immigrant communities.

Immigrants' most immediate need is gainful employment. In one case, an impromptu labor market where one could hire day laborers emerged in the

town of Jupiter, Florida. Public concerns were raised about these congregations of laborers and their impact on property values and public safety, fueling anti-immigrant tensions in the community. A diverse coalition came together to look for a solution, and in 2005, it established El Sol, Jupiter's Neighborhood Resource Center (http://friendsofelsol.org/, active December 24, 2020). The center focuses on facilitating employment, but over time, it expanded, as the name indicates, into a resource center that offers a wide range of occupational training, facilitates access to health care services and information, and presents family-focused programs. It helps organize cultural activities, including an annual Fiesta Maya, holiday celebrations, and an art festival. Its mission of "improving quality of life for all residents" and "promoting a harmonious integrated community" is manifested in the center's programs and approach to working in partnership with a wide array of local organizations.

Maya workers who use El Sol employment services give back to the community by participating in its service projects. Area community leaders and experts work on committees. An elected workers' council addresses ways of improving the center and helps it provide needed services, while volunteers staff programs and activities. What started as an effort to meet the needs of day laborers has evolved into a transformative organization that uses a comprehensive and holistic approach to help immigrants transition to life in the United States (http://friendsofelsol.org/about/history/2015, active December 24, 2020).

Another example of a collaborative partnership is the innovative community-church-academic initiative called the Maya Heritage Community Project at Kennesaw State University in Kennesaw, Georgia. A key partner in the project is Pastoral Maya, a self-help organization for Maya immigrants that is partially supported by the Subcommittee on the Pastoral Care of Migrants, Refugees and Travelers of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops (Lopez and LeBaron 2012). The project brings together Maya community members, clergy, scholars, students, and former Peace Corp volunteers. At national conferences, they come together to discuss community challenges and issues such as legal rights, education, and Maya culture. They have developed resources such as the "Maya Health Toolkit for Medical Providers" and have established a network of language interpreters. This nationally and locally recognized program, which characterizes itself as an "engaged university" program, applies various theoretical models for research and learning; but most importantly, it emphasizes its relationships with the Maya partners (https://mayaproject.kennesaw.edu/, active December 24, 2020).

Historically, the Roman Catholic Church has played a significant role in Guatemalan Indigenous communities. As in other places in Latin America with large Indigenous populations, in Guatemala Christian practices blended with Indigenous spirituality, and the degree to which Christianity is accepted and practiced varies between individuals and communities. At the height of the 1980s sanctuary movement, Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish organizations provided refuge for Central American refugees fleeing conflict in their home countries. In the United States, the Catholic Church remains an important religious and cultural institution for Maya Americans (fig. 11). Holy Week and patron saint day activities connect U.S. Maya communities with their hometowns. Activities often combine religions and secular components with Indigenous traditions.

At some of these festivities, young women and girls participate in local "Ms. Maya" competitions. Contestants wear a *traje tradicional* (traditional clothing), dance to marimba music, and address the audience in Spanish and or in their specific Mayan language. A panel of judges and the audience evaluate the contestants based on their knowledge of Maya culture, dance skills, and poise. The events may incorporate several segments, including a procession to present the contestants, interview questions, and a coronation ceremony followed by a social dance. Young men participate as escorts and dance partners for the contestants.

Community *fiestas*, patron saint days, weddings, and other cultural events provide occasions for Maya Americans to wear traditional Maya clothing (fig. 12).

Photograph by Cynthia Vidaurri.

Fig. 11. Roman Catholic feast day events bring Mayas together to participate in religious and secular activities. These *andas* (platforms), which carry the saints in a religious procession, are decorated in traditional textiles, 2008.

Photograph by Cynthia Vidaurri.

Fig. 12. A social dance at an Indiantown, Florida, Ms. Maya event is an occasion for the community to enjoy traditional music and food, 2008.

Photograph by Cynthia Vidaurri.

Fig. 13. Marimba music is an essential component of Maya community life. It can be heard at Guatemalan restaurants, on Maya radio programs, and at special cultural and religious events, 2008.

Marimba music serves as the social glue for such events. Some U.S. communities hire musicians from Guatemala to play at important events. Cultural organizations that provide marimba lessons often teach on marimbas made in Guatemala that are imported specifically for that purpose (fig. 13).

Hometown associations help connect immigrants from the same sending community and ease their transition in the United States. They also serve as an important transnational connection. These associations help sending communities by financially supporting emergency relief efforts, health and education projects, and infrastructure development (Orozco 2006).

Culture-Based Entrepreneurs and Transnational Communities

Guatemalan-owned businesses can be found in almost every U.S. city with a recognizable Maya community. These culture-based entrepreneurs provide important cultural links between the U.S. and Guatemalan communities. Stores offer ingredients for traditional meals and prepackaged foods not easily found in the United States. They carry traditional clothing, national soccer team jerseys, Maya-made crafts, marimba recordings, and ritual items (fig. 14). Restaurants serve familiar Guatemalan fare. Customers can enjoy their food while listening to marimba music in dining rooms decorated with murals of natural and cultural Guatemalan landmarks. Maya Americans keep up with recent developments in Guatemala and local news and activities through Spanish- and Mayan-language newspapers and newsletters. Local radio stations broadcast news programs, play marimba music, and air Maya cultural segments.

Photograph by Cynthia Vidaurri.

Fig. 14. Cultural entrepreneurs fill niche-market needs by providing food products not commonly found in U.S. grocery stores and other community-specific items such as traditional clothing and hometown soccer jerseys, 2008.

Privileging Native Identity

An interesting feature of Maya immigration is the self-identifier "Maya American." Rather than adapting the common practice of indicating country of origin as a prime identifier in the United States, some Indigenous immigrants from Guatemala instead opt to reinforce their Indigenous identity. While not all Guatemalan immigrants claim Maya American identity and the extent of this practice is not clear, privileging their Indigenous heritage may serve as a useful path for transitioning in the United States, a way to distinguish themselves from other immigrant Latino

communities, a means to maintain and strengthen connections with the sending communities, and a way to preserve Maya culture.

Conclusion

The case studies presented in this chapter show common threads as well as community-specific experiences. The diaspora has created a domain for cultural maintenance in the Guatemalan Maya case and even for revitalization in the case of the Taíno. In both cases, the community's commitment to maintenance or revitalization is critical. The story of San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec illustrates a language shift process not unlike that described for other immigrant populations. In this case, however, the shift threatens the long-term prospects of an endangered language, both in the United States and in the home community. Signs of efforts toward cultural revitalization in the Quiaviní community of California are now emerging, but they are not yet making a positive impact on language maintenance.

Factors relevant to identity building and cultural maintenance or revitalization include linguistic and cultural practices, both traditional and adapted. In the Taíno case, DNA evidence is used in support of cultural reclamation efforts. In all three cases, homogenizing attitudes, policies, and practices toward Indigenous Latinos are evident in the context of education, health and human services, family structure, language, and other areas. These attitudes can impede the long-term preservation of Indigenous identity, its transgenerational maintenance, and prospective revitalization efforts.

Research and literature on Indigenous Latinos in North America (United States and Canada) have begun to emerge only recently, and this chapter consults and reports on some of this research. It is also important to expand scholarly studies on issues affecting Indigenous Latinos and the factors that influence identification, including the role of the U.S. Census in contributing to or hampering the recognition of diversity, developing a better understanding of the implications of the demographic diversity of Indigenous Latinos for public services and policies, analyzing their interaction with the U.S. Native American communities, the relation of Indigenous Latinos with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the role of transnationalism in ethnic and cultural practices.

Contestation from Invisibility: Indigenous Peoples as a Permanent Part of the World Order

DUANE CHAMPAGNE

Theories about Indigenous peoples often consider them residual groups destined for assimilation into nation-states or casualties of evolutionary or modernizing development. Nonetheless, Indigenous nations have persisted for millennia in the face of colonization and imperial expansion. Most contemporary nation-states do not recognize Indigenous nations as having territory, distinct autonomous cultures, or the power of self-government. When they are declared citizens of their host nation-states, Indigenous peoples are often rendered "invisible," and their civil rights are limited to those of minority and ethnic groups without claims to self-government and land. Some Indigenous people accept the institutions, government, market relations, and political culture of the nation-state, retaining their Indigenous ethnicity but with no strong ties to a particular community. Others participate in nation-state institutions while at the same time upholding their own social and cultural ties, whereas others choose to conduct their lives within Indigenous nations, cultures, and forms of self-government, prioritizing it over that of their respective nation-state.

Indigenous peoples' numerical strength and global distribution, as well as their generally strong cultural and political commitments to Indigenous nations, suggest that they will remain permanent forces within the world order, and in North America specifically, well into the future. Estimates of the number of Indigenous people worldwide range from 200 to 600 million (Baer 2000:223). The United Nations reports that about 370 million people, living in 70 countries, are members of 5,000 groups that identify as Indigenous (United Nations 2009, 2014). The vulnerable political and economic position of most Indigenous nations, however, will limit their growth and may keep most Indigenous nations in a state of persistent marginalization. Indigenous nations will pursue empowerment and inclusion in nation-states, but many will also hold on to tribal identities and diverse and distinct forms of social, cultural, political, economic, and community organization (Niezen 2003). Given that liberal democratic nation-states have considerable difficulties accepting Indigenous claims to culture, self-government, and territory, conflicts over these claims are likely to continue.

Defining Indigeneity

The expression "Indigenous" is increasingly used in a variety of contexts (see International Labour Organization 1989; Martínez Cobo 1987; Niezen 2008; Sanders 1999). Here, *Indigenous* refers to politically distinct groups (or individuals) that live within and support the future and continuity of tribal nations. According to this view, Indigenous nations are not stateless societies, but rather entities possessing governments, territory, and cultures that preceded the formation of present-day nation-states. Max Weber defined the state as an organization that controls the use of legitimate force over a particular territory (Weber 1946), a role that in Indigenous nations is played by many institutions, such as kinship groups, villages, nations, and confederacies, depending on the culture and organization of the group. Alfred Kroeber called local tribal entities that controlled territory "mini-states" (Kroeber n.d.:13). Indigenous states control territory, have leadership (which is often moral, kin-based, cultural, and of nondifferentiated institutional arrangement), manage justice, have membership rules, and maintain ceremonial orders. A person is an Indigenous person if he or she is a participating member of an Indigenous entity. These nations will defend their territory, self-government, membership, justice, and worldviews against nonmembers.

The Indigenous Perspective

Although Indigenous groups worldwide vary in terms of race, ethnicity, political organization, culture, economy, and community structure, they share the struggle to persist socially, politically, and culturally within nation-states and historically within colonial patterns of economic and political domination. In the early twenty-first century, Indigenous groups make common claims of inherent rights to self-government, land, and cultural autonomy—that is, specific Indigenous rights that are distinct from human and civil rights. At the same time, nation-states may have similar constitutional forms but often differ in organization, political

culture, and national culture. Consequently, diverse Indigenous nations have confronted diverse colonial and nation-state relations throughout history and will continue to confront this diversity into the foreseeable future. North America, the primary focus in this chapter, is composed of thousands of historical and contemporary Indigenous nations and three nation-states—the United States, Canada, and Mexico—within which the legal, political, and policy histories of relations with Indigenous peoples vary significantly.

Nevertheless, there is a common struggle among Indigenous peoples around the world, including in North America. In recent decades, Indigenous peoples have sought action and protection through the United Nations, often because of a shared belief that their human, civil, and, perhaps most of all, Indigenous rights within contemporary nation-states could be better realized under a global international system. After decades of discussion, the adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 2007 offered international recognition that Indigenous peoples have continuing and specific claims to self-government, culture, protection of territory, and other rights (Charters and Stavenhagen 2009; Henderson 2008; Lightfoot 2010; United Nations 2007). The UNDRIP addressed many issues brought to the negotiating table by Indigenous peoples and expressed many of their moral, social, cultural, and political concerns.

Today's global Indigenous peoples movement is a loose coalition of independent groups with diverse cultures (Cultural Survival 2018; Niezen 2008). Their individual situations are remarkably diverse, as no single Indigenous entity, organization, or identity is universally recognized at the (inter)government level. Many nation-states and international agencies treat these groups more like interest groups composed of national citizens who seek redress for their grievances at the national or international level. This concept of "interest group citizens" remains predominant in national and international politics around the world, in spite of the impressive rise of the transnational activism in the early twenty-first century (Niezen 2008). Such a position, nevertheless, misrepresents the goals, values, and interests of Indigenous peoples.

Most Indigenous peoples view themselves not merely as groups of citizens, but rather as members of Indigenous cultures, communities, or nations. Moreover, rather than being merely subnations within their respective nation-states, they are holistic cultural entities with government structures, land, community, and political and legal processes that existed for thousands of years before the rise of nation-states and colonial regimes. Furthermore, in North America and in much of the rest of the world, Indigenous peoples were not parties to the formation of nation-states and were made citizens (or excluded from citizenship) usually without their consent. Even if Indigenous peoples are often willing to accept citizenship, they do not wish to do so at the cost of abandoning their own forms of government, justice, culture, language, territory, and other specific features.

The internally and externally holistic character of many Indigenous worldviews and sociocultural relations differs radically from the secular and compartmentalized social and cultural forms of contemporary nation-states. The overlapping, inherently interrelated kinship, political, cultural, economic, and cosmic structures of Indigenous peoples differ considerably from the specialized, secularized, individualistic, and relative autonomy of the economic, political, and cultural institutions of modernizing or industrial nation-states (Gellner 1983; Rejai and Enloe 1969; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002:305).

Often, the land, political institutions, ceremonies, kinship relations, and values of Indigenous peoples are given in creation teachings. The continuing spiritual character of Indigenous social organization, social and political values, and cosmic order suggests that Indigenous peoples are reluctant to make change without spiritual sanction or other strong social, economic, and political forces. Change without spiritual sanction can lead to community and individual misfortune and collective disruption (Champagne 2007:25–44). The patterns of conversion to market systems, legal-bureaucratic nation-states, and cultural and political forms may not necessarily follow the patterns of national non-Indigenous societies. However, Indigenous nations seek to adapt to new conditions while retaining and selectively changing their culture, social organization, and values. The nondifferentiation of values, worldview, and institutional relations in Indigenous nations creates strong attachments to social and political order that many Indigenous peoples prefer and, thus, may be reluctant, even resistant to, top-down change imposed by their respective state governments.

In the world's thousands of Indigenous nations and cultures, patterns of change vary considerably according to the specific legal, political, and economic institutions of the nation-states. Some individuals leave their Indigenous communities by choice, by incitement, or by force. Since colonial contact, Indigenous individuals and groups have had the opportunity to choose their nationality, their citizenship, their religion, and an urban life; for a variety of reasons, they make a range of different choices.

The legal-bureaucratic nature of contemporary nation-states is not designed to recognize the holistic

cultural, political, and territorial claims of Indigenous nations. Across North America, the United States and Mexico emerged as nation-states through armed struggle with their former colonial powers, whereas Canada evolved from a province to a crown dominion to an independent nation, with an earlier inclusion of the conquered former French possessions in Quebec. Both the United States and Canada historically held to the concept that Indigenous peoples did not legally "own" their lands under the doctrine of discovery under a Christian king. Similarly in colonial Mexico, the land was declared to be held in the name of the Christian Spanish king, by the right of discovery. Non-Christians did not have rights to territory under colonial and the then-international law. While such positions are considered outdated today, even by the Catholic Church, they remain critical ideological foundations of North American nation-states.

Overall, then, Indigenous nations and modernizing nation-states do not have compatible cultural, political, or economic foundations. From the Indigenous point of view, all nations should respect the "nations" (that is, political systems) and values of other human and nonhuman societies and power beings, like spiritual entities, deceased ancestors, and former ancestral groups. The predominately secular view of modern nation-states, especially in North America, seeks to transform Indigenous nations into subordinate political entities and incorporate Indigenous individuals as national citizens in ways consistent with the nation-state values of equality, inclusion, and civil and human rights. Indigenous peoples, thus, often formally or informally resist the assimilation policies of nation-states—even if such policies are in keeping with the values of equality, integration, and inclusion—as threatening to their land, community, culture, self-government, and future cultural and political decision-making powers. Indigenous nations and nation-states, as well as the international community, struggle to find common ground between these differing values, political forms, and cultural systems.

Indigenous Peoples, Subjects, and Citizens

A central goal of European colonization was to convert and assimilate Indigenous peoples into colonial regimes and, much later, into new nation-states. Many of such assimilation policies on the part of nation-states and international bodies persist to the present day. The foundations of assimilation lay in international law and papal bulls. In 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued the papal bull "Inter Caetera," declaring that Indigenous peoples were human and that Christian kings who assumed power over Indigenous lands were obligated to convert Indigenous individuals to the Christian faith. According to European law of the early colonial era, Christian kings had the right to conquer or acquire land from non-Christian peoples in the Americas, just as the European Crusades had sought to capture the Holy Land from non-Christians in the Middle East.

In addition to Christianizing the Indians, Christian kings were responsible for ensuring that they were protected and provided for as subjects of a Christian kingdom. Conversion of Indigenous peoples to Christianity, often implemented by ruthless force, was designed to make them cultural and political members of the colonial order. Through this process, the Indigenous peoples were expected to abandon their traditional religious beliefs, kinship relations, territories, and political governments. As subjects of the king, they would have rights similar to those of other subjects. The contemporary understanding of such trust relations held that Indigenous people should rightfully abandon their own cultures in exchange for those of the colonizing powers originated in the colonial period (Newcomb 2012).

In Mexico, as well as in Spain's possessions in what is now the United States, when Spanish explorers declared the land for the Spanish king, it immediately came under the power of the king (Gibson 1988). Indigenous peoples could retain land as they needed for their livelihoods, but the largest portion of land fell under the king's control. The Spanish state used the land for its colonial functions, building forts, roads, and government and public spaces. The remainder of the land was granted to Spanish subjects for agriculture and economic activity. Indigenous peoples were encouraged to take on Spanish forms of municipal governments, by electing an *alcalde* (traditional municipal magistrate with both judicial and administrative functions) and other local government officials and managing enough land to support the livelihood of the municipal community. Municipal governments came under the administration of departments and colonial viceroys, as well as the Spanish king. In this way, as Spanish subjects, Mexican Indigenous peoples were given a degree of political recognition and local government, but always under Spanish law and administration. It was assumed that Indigenous peoples would become Christians, and. while many did, significant numbers of Mexican Indigenous nations have remained identifiable as separate entities up to the present day (see "Southwest-2," this vol.).

In British North America, the colonists dealt with Indigenous peoples primarily through treaties, in part because the Indigenous peoples there retained

considerable territorial and political autonomy during the early decades of colonization (Jacobs 1988; Jones 1988). Some British colonies, such as Massachusetts began to subjugate Indigenous nations within colonial rule as early as the late 1670s, after King Philip's War (Jennings 1971, 1975; Leach 1988). British colonial rule over Indigenous nations became more established after the French and Indian War of 1754–1763 and the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which banned colonial expansion west of the Appalachian Mountains (Jacobs 1972/1985, 1988). Based on the doctrines of Christian discovery and conquest, the British king declared Indians east of the Mississippi River to be subjects of the crown and all land to be crown land. Similarly, in Canada, the Indians lived on the land at the discretion of the king, who was responsible for the well-being of his Indigenous subjects (Surtees 1988a).

In present-day Canada, the Royal Proclamation is still law. Canadian First Nations live on crown land and are subjects of the British crown and the Canadian government (Borrows 2008). In a complex constitutional monarchy such as Canada (as well as Australia and New Zealand), Indigenous peoples are British subjects only insofar as the queen holds a symbolic role as head of state. However, the Dominion of Canada established the apparatus of a nation-state following the British North America Act of 1867. Its section 91(24) vested powers over "Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians" to the federal government of Canada. Indian reserves remained under federal jurisdiction regardless of the province in which they were located. With the subsequent Indian Act of 1868, which created Indian status, Indians became wards of the federal government (Borrows 2008).

The Canadian Indian Act, adopted in 1876 with numerous later amendments, is still the primary document defining how the government of Canada interacts with the 614 Canadian First Nations bands and their members. It defined many Indians on reserves as "status Indians"—that is, recognized members of First Nations bands with associated rights (Backhouse 1999). Like the United States, Canada followed a policy of pursuing land treaties and moving First Nations bands onto small reserves, thereby concentrating their populations, combined with a strong policy of assimilation. Through education and economic and political restrictions, the Canadian government and courts encouraged status Indians to undergo enfranchisement—that is, adoption of Canadian citizenship and forfeiture of all rights and legal ties to their First Nations. Few Indians, however, opted for Canadian citizenship at the expense of tribal membership. Until 1985, Indian women who married Canadian citizens automatically became enfranchised Canadian citizens and were disenfranchised from their former First Nations. After 1985, many formerly enfranchised Indians and their families were legally able to recover band membership and could return to their band communities (Innes 2013:114–140).

It was not until the 1960s that Canadian Indigenous persons gained the right to vote in federal and provincial elections. Today, Indians, Inuit, and Métis (people of mixed indigenous and European descent; Slobodin 1981) are considered citizens of Canada and citizens of First Nations with full rights of mobility who can live anywhere in the country. Nonetheless, because of the power-sharing arrangement between federal and provincial governments, if Indians remain on reserves, the federal government is responsible for delivering all services that otherwise would be the jurisdiction of provincial and municipal governments.

In the United States, except for some Indigenous groups in the original 13 colonies, American Indians were not considered citizens when the U.S. Constitution was ratified in 1789 (Horsman 1988). The case *Johnson* v. *McIntosh* (1823) transferred British colonial law into U.S. law, stipulating that Indigenous peoples did not own land but lived on their traditional lands at the discretion of the U.S. government (Echo-Hawk 2012:55–86.) The United States assumed trust responsibility for the well-being of Indigenous nations. The U.S. government continued to treat with Indians on trade, political alliance, and land until 1871, when Congress ended treaty-making with Indian nations (Prucha 1988). During the latter half of the nineteenth century, U.S. Indian policies were aimed increasingly at offering American-style, English-only education and turning Indians into self-sustaining farmers and then citizens as a means to provide them with a livelihood and to release Indian landholdings (Hagan 1988:58–59). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the government used removal, allotments, education, termination, relocation, and other actions to further assimilate Indians and encourage them to take on the U.S. citizenship and, preferably, abandon tribal life.

The transition from colonial society to modernizing democratic nation-states carried with it government policies for moving Indigenous individuals from the status of colonial subjects to nation-state citizens. As colonial subjects, Indigenous peoples had rights to occupy land and had the king's trust protection of land. Both Mexico and the United States broke away from mother countries and formed new constitutional governments. The breaking of the old colonial empires and the formation of new democratic states based on equality of citizens created new understandings, policies, and relations with Indigenous nations. Yet the

policy intent in all three North American nation-states was to transform Indigenous persons into national citizens, with equal legal rights and access to markets.

The Mexican government followed the pattern of a modernizing state. After a period of political instability from 1810 to the 1830s, it introduced a series of secularization policies intent on turning Indigenous people into free citizens (Spicer 2008). The Indigenous people would be freed from Catholic missions and encouraged to form municipal governments under the new Mexican state and federal governments. The policy of secularization, which had a long history in Spanish colonialism, was translated into action by the Mexican government (Hackel 2005:225–262). Indigenous individuals would have the rights of citizens and be provided with some rights to enough land in their municipality to provide for their livelihood through agriculture. Mexico recognized no special Indigenous status. Indigenous peoples who did not conform to the expectations of citizenship or municipal government, often living in their own villages and marginalized from the Mexican government, were until recently considered to be outside the Mexican social and political community.

Not until 2001 was the Mexican Constitution changed to acknowledge Indigenous peoples and grant them protection and rights to community self-determination (Article 2). In 2003, the passage of the General Law on the Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Peoples explicitly established protection for the individual and collective linguistic rights of Mexican Indigenous peoples (Global Americans 2017; United Nations 2011).

The Mexican government has long had a policy of assimilating Indigenous persons into national government institutions, the market economy, and national culture. Indigenous persons in Mexico are citizens but not necessarily by consent. Within municipal governments, Mexican Indigenous communities are allowed to hold and manage collective land (Global Americans 2017; Womack 1968) under a framework of departmental and federal governments, which hold higher legal and political authority.

Indigeneity within North American Modernizing Nation-States

As modernizing nation-states, Canada, Mexico, and the United States have, to a certain degree, historically encouraged immigrants who were willing to naturalize and become citizens. Both Canada and the United States are generally characterized as settler states (Pedersen and Elkins 2005; Veracini 2010; Wolfe 2006), while Mexico should be classified as a "mixed" (*mestizo*) nationality. Nevertheless, inclusion of all eligible persons and groups, including Indigenous peoples, as citizens has been a central policy orientation for all three North American nation-states. In the United States and Canada, in particular, many Indigenous people have been reluctant to give up their tribal identities and governments in exchange for a national one. Even in the twenty-first century, significant groups of Indigenous tribal communities persist in all three nations, with varying degrees of citizenship.

From the point of view of North American nation-state building and their national ideologies, Indigenous peoples have long been considered artifacts of the past. Populations declined throughout the era of colonial domination, and their numbers did not start to grow again until the twentieth century (O'Donnel 2008; Thornton 1987, 2008). Despite remarkable recent growth, they still constitute small minorities of about 4.9 percent in Canada (1.7 million people in 2016; Statistics Canada 2018) and 1.7 percent in the United States (5.2 million people in 2010; U.S. Census Bureau 2012). In Mexico, the share of the Indigenous population is estimated at about 21.5 percent, a significant increase from previous decades (Comisión Nacional 2006; Fox 1999).

Nevertheless, the relatively small demographic footprint of Indigenous peoples often puts them on the sidelines and limits their political influence in national affairs. Consistently presented as disappearing or as culturally, politically, and economically marginalized, their cultural life is seen as lost, outdated, and not conforming to recognized national norms of political, economic, or cultural modernity. There is a considerable literature on the "vanished" or "forgotten" Indian or Indigenous peoples (Thomas 2000:16–70, 94–122), as well as a long record of scholarly theories about the disappearance, assimilation, social Darwinism, evolutionary dead ends, and neo-Marxist marginalization of Native Americans (P. Deloria 1998; T. King 2012; Thomas 2000). In addition, many contemporary Indigenous peoples are seen as no longer living according to their "authentic" lifestyles; they must, therefore, some argue, accept national rules of political, cultural, and economic inclusion. The challenge to the authenticity of contemporary Indigenous peoples is thus also often a challenge to their Indigenous rights and an argument about their inclusion as citizens (Gelles 2013).

Indigenous nations as collective groups are not seen as being directly included within modernizing nation-states. Collectively oriented Indigenous nations struggle to gain or maintain government-to-government recognition and relations with nation-states. However, Indigenous rights to territory, self-government, cultural

autonomy are often seen as special rights, given that no other citizens enjoy similar rights. In fact, none of the three North American governments recognize Indigenous territory; rather, the nation-state has jurisdiction over the land, and Indigenous peoples have only the right to use the land.

Nation-states have adapted civil rights, human rights, and citizenship to apply to ethnic, racial, religious, and minority groups that do not claim rights to self-government, territory, and cultural autonomy. Reducing Indigenous peoples to this form of minority group satisfies nation-states' methods for recognizing individual citizenship and political inclusion but does not fulfill the rights that many Indigenous peoples consider everyday rules, actions, and powers.

Modernizing nation-states are transformative; they want to create citizens who are committed to democratic political forms, participate in the market economy, and enable and support participation in national government and cultural institutions. These nation-states want to reorganize the political, economic, and cultural orientations of their citizens. Many immigrants came to North America looking for new beginnings, and the emerging North American democratic states welcomed immigrants if they were prepared to accept a national government, participate in the national market economy, and follow national social and cultural norms. Modernizing states built their nations by creating a supportive citizenry. While ethnic identities were often recognized, immigrant groups did not claim territory or exclusive culture and were generally willing to accept and participate in national political institutions. Many immigrant ethnic groups often struggled for greater equality and guarantees of individual and group human and civil rights (such as the Irish, Jews, Chinese, Japanese, and today's immigrants from the Muslim countries). As such, racial, gender, religious, and ethnic groups seek to gain and uphold the rights of equality, political participation, and equal opportunity within the nation-state, while at the same time balancing the rights to continue to practice vestiges of their cultures and traditional social structures publicly or privately.

In contrast, Indigenous peoples do not seek new homelands. They often prefer to live on their traditional homelands and want the freedom or autonomy to enjoy their land, self-government, and cultures. Modernizing nation-states encourage Indigenous people to abandon their tribal societies and instead to choose to operate within the nation-state's structures of citizenship, national culture, and the market economy. These external national pressures for economic, political, and cultural change force people to make choices and encourage conformity among Indigenous nations and individual Indigenous persons. Modern democratic nation-states introduce new religions, forms of government organization, and market economic relationships, which Indigenous people may collectively or individually adopt or reject.

In the face of the cultural, economic, and political opportunities and constraints offered by North American nation-states, Indigenous peoples and individuals have reacted in multiple ways. Individuals are often forced (coerced) to choose among several options: abandon tribal community life (assimilation), move between tribal communities and nation-state institutions (plural membership or multiculturalism), or participate primarily in tribal community and life (tribal membership). Modernizing nation-states prefer that Indigenous individuals assimilate and abandon tribal life and any Indigenous rights in favor of the benefits of political, economic, and cultural inclusion. While some Indigenous individuals have chosen to assimilate, many have not, and modernizing nation-states continue to promote assimilation among the nonconforming Indigenous peoples and communities, even if via more discreet means. From the Indigenous perspective, some individuals have adopted nation-state institutions and cultural identities and decline to participate in Indigenous communities. Often Indigenous communities want to reintegrate Indigenous members, but many have moved away and may not participate in tribal cultural and political activities.

Yet assimilated and multicultural persons can still help uphold Indigenous rights to self-government, territory, and cultural autonomy. Some Indigenous nations or communities with a majority of culturally assimilated members may adopt and support political and legal commitments to continued Indigenous government, territory, and community. In this way, the specific culture, leadership, and political identity of Indigenous nations in the United States and Canada may be based not only on Indigenous culture but also on legal identity, treaties, and rules of membership through lineal descent. Indigenous peoples usually are relatively powerless, and so political and cultural allies, such as assimilated or multicultural individuals and organizations who support Indigenous rights, are of great value in assisting Indigenous people to achieve their goals of both change and continuity.

In Mexico, the large majority of citizens are considered mestizos (Knight 1990:78–85; Wade 1997; see "Immigrant Indigenous Communities," this vol.). About one-third of Mexico's 25.7 million Indigenous people (Encuesta Intercensal 2015a) speak an Indigenous language, including almost 1 million children, and about 1 percent do not speak Spanish (Encuesta Intercensal 2015b:74–75). In Mexico, Indigenous iden-

tity and culture are strongly related to language use. In general, mestizo culture and Spanish language reflect individuals who emerged from Indian cultures and who have mostly abandoned Indian history and identity in favor of modernizing individualism and national membership.

Mexican mestizo culture is composed of people who are biological descendants of Indigenous communities and kinship relations. However, Indigenous ways of life, culture, self-government, and collective landholdings are often disregarded (see "Immigrant Indigenous Communities," this vol.). Spanish and Mexican colonial culture devalued Indigenous heritage and considered Indigenous people outside the pale of "civilized life." Even today, Indigenous people in Mexico are often not viewed as appropriate marriage partners and are considered to live outside of Mexican national political, economic, and cultural institutions and communities (Friedlander 1975; see "Southwest-2," this vol.). As in many Latin American countries, Indigenous peoples continue to be held in a colonial-era caste system. The Mexican government policies offer Indigenous peoples the option to form municipal governments where they may operate their Indigenous political processes, maintain their culture, and speak their languages. The municipal governments, however, are subject to state and federal laws and decisions. Most Mexican Indigenous people are willing to accept full citizenship but would prefer recognition of their Indigenous rights as well. Mexican Indigenous peoples form a cultural, political, and territorial island subordinated and adrift from mainstream Mexican society (see "Southwest-2," this vol.). Mestizo communities accept and participate in the national culture, government, and market economy; they are generally not sympathetic to Indigenous issues and do not form coalitions in support of Indigenous rights in Mexico (Burguete Cal Y Mayor 2000; Speed 2007).

In the United States, according to the 2010 census, about 5.2 million people, or about 1.7 percent of the total U.S. population, claim some degree of American Indian and Alaska Native (AIAN) ancestry. People who claimed Indigenous descent constitute a subset totaling 2.9 million. In addition, 2.3 million persons reported mixed Indigenous and other group ancestry. Among AIAN who reported Indigenous ancestry only, 67 percent did not live on recognized Indigenous land. Among those who reported AIAN ancestry combined with other racial or ethnic groups, 92 percent did not live in AIAN land areas. Only 1,157,552, or 22 percent, of the self-identified AIANs live on Indian land (U.S. Census Bureau 2012:4, 11–12).

"Ethnic Indians" are self-identified individuals who have American Indian ancestry but are not members of any Indian tribe. They may not qualify for tribal membership but consider their Indian ancestry an equal part of their heritage along with other non-Indian ancestry. For the purposes of civil rights classification, ethnic Indians choose to identify as Indian because such classifications are often racial or ethnic rather than based on tribal membership. Lacking explicit ties to particular Indigenous communities, ethnic Indians form an ethnic group with its own culture, organization, and interests. As a group, ethnic Indians are better educated than tribal American Indians, better economically and socially established in American society, and better placed to take advantage of opportunities to exercise their civil rights. Ethnic Indians tend to be sympathetic to Indian issues in U.S., multicultural, and pan-Indian contexts and often act as allies to Indian reservation and urban communities (Kelley 2015).

In Canada, Indigenous persons who are not classified as status Indians generally are legal Canadian citizens. In 2016, the Canadian Census recorded 1.7 million self-identified Indigenous people, about 4.9 percent of the total Canadian population, living in more than 600 First Nations communities and in urban areas across the country (Statistics Canada 2018). This number also included some 587,000 self-identified Métis and 65,000 Inuit, mostly residing in their traditional lands in northern Canada. Métis, composed of Indian, French, and other group ancestries, form a group that also holds rights to land. However, many Métis, though they may have long political and blood ties to some Canadian Indian bands, have separated from those bands and pursue their land claims and cultures separately. Sometimes Métis and Indians bands join together to pursue common goals and interests. The Métis population and the Canadian ethnic Indian population participate in national political life but are too small demographically to play a major role.

The identity of most citizens in both Canada and the United States is rooted in settler or non-Indigenous identities and descent. Therefore, the dominant nation-state ideologies in both countries struggle with accommodating Indigenous claims to separate identities and ways of life.

Collective Choices

Tribal Indigenous communities or nations also make collective political and cultural choices. Many Indigenous communities in North America have adopted one or more forms of Christianity, often generations ago. Two-thirds of the Navajo nation tribal members are either Mormon or Catholic (see "Southwest-2,"

this vol.). Present-day U.S. Indian and Canadian First Nations communities are increasingly multifaith and multicultural (Innes 2013:70). A community's degree of multiculturalism and political commitment to Indigenous land and self-government can affect collective strategies and patterns for preserving Indigenous nations.

Reserves in Canada and reservations in the United States were created through treaties and other agreements. Most Indigenous peoples living on reserves/reservations remain strongly politically committed to the preservation of their community or communities. The choice to live on a reserve/reservation is a political and cultural statement about self-government and cultural preservation, despite often-poor economic conditions. U.S. Indian tribal governments and Canadian Indian band governments are usually secular and disassociated from band or kinship structures, following American or Canadian political models. The Indian Act in Canada dictates the band government organization of most Indigenous First Nations in Canada.

Reserve/reservation institutions have continuously evolved over the years depending on market opportunities, cultural commitments of the community, changing policies, and shifting community values. The great cultural and institutional diversity of Indigenous nations is reflected in the diversity of their patterns of change and continuity. Some reserves/reservations may have access to local markets or gaming opportunities, and if financially successful, these activities can generate significant economic gains for future development (Cattelino 2008a). Nevertheless, most successful Indigenous communities do not melt down into individual self-interest and assimilation. Collective assets, collective redistribution, and the strengthening of community cultures signify continued commitments to Indigenous rights and ways of life (Champagne 2007:45).

The cultural demography (diversity, composition), as well as the range of current cultural capital of Indigenous communities, plays a significant role in the leadership and direction of Indigenous nations. Communities with a strong commitment to traditional culture, values, and institutions typically retain their cultural and institutional order and work to adapt to contemporary nation-states, markets, and globalized culture from within their traditional values and institutional relations. In the United States, the Pueblos, many tribes in the Great Lakes region (see "Northeast," this vol.), and most California Indians retain kinship-based communities and governments while also managing large-scale gaming and increasingly diversified economic portfolios. In both Canada and the United States, membership in an Indigenous nation has become highly legalistic (T. King 2012:68); it is usually based on lineal descent and often, in the United States, on blood quantum. In practice, however, blood quantum is not always a clear marker of cultural orientation or political commitment to an Indigenous nation.

In Canada, the Territory of Nunavut, established in 1999 and populated predominantly by Inuit people, could at some future time become a province of Canada. These developments are organized within the Canadian constitutional order, rules, and regulations. The Inuit majority manages legislation and government administration in Nunavut, but its authority is not based on arguments about Indigenous self-government (Ejesiak 2008:246). In British Columbia, about 100 Indigenous nations engaged in more than 15 years of treaty negotiations to work out agreements on their sovereign health, land, and language rights in relation to the provincial government (Alfred 2005; Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation 2011). About 20 Canadian bands are working to withdraw from some constraints in the Indian Act of 1969 and looking toward greater self-regulation of reserve land, management of oil and gas funds, access to bond markets, and authority to develop business and commercial regulations similar to provincial governments. In 2006, however, bills designed to grant Indian bands the right to make their own constitutional governments failed in the Canadian parliament (Parliament of Canada 2006).

Many Indigenous people in Mexico have adopted municipal governments under the Mexican Constitution, often with the intention of expressing their own culture, norms, and values within the municipal framework (Burguete Cal Y Mayor 2000). Similarly, in the U.S. state of Maine, the Passamaquoddy Indian nation challenges the power of the state government over municipal tribal communities (Loring 2008).

The persistence of Indigenous groups in North America takes a broad array of forms. Indigenous nations continue to be, as they always have been, constructed in a variety of ways, and social changes and choices have created a level of complexity that goes beyond the original precontact diversity of Indigenous nations. Present-day global markets and cultures and the laws and policies of nation-states all influence the increasingly diverse ways that Indigenous peoples construct self-government, communities, landholdings, multiculturalism, and multiethnicity. Given the considerable internal cultural and institutional diversity among Indigenous nations, the possible patterns of change also range widely.

Critical Moments in Recognizing the Continuity of Indigenous Peoples

After more than 500 years of colonialism, Indigenous nations still exist in North America and around the world. Their mobilization to protect their political autonomy, land rights, cultures, identities, and histories are markers of continued persistence. Indigenous peoples' efforts to preserve and adapt institutions, communities, and landholdings were continuous, often underground, throughout the colonial era and into the modern nation-state period.

Multinationalism was not new to Indigenous peoples. In precontact time, Indigenous nations were culturally and institutionally diverse, and, in spite of persistent intertribal conflicts, they generally respected the cultures, creation teachings, ceremonies, and communities of neighboring nations. Furthermore, they commonly participated in the intertribal political, social, and ceremonial protocols of other Indigenous nations.

When Europeans arrived, the newcomers added to the existing diversity of nations across the Americas. Europeans tried to change the worldviews of Indigenous people and impose political and legal regimes upon them. Nevertheless, many Indigenous nations have continued to the present, despite efforts to transform them into subjects, Christians, and citizens. In hindsight, it appears that they persisted by maintaining many aspects of their community structure and cultures, while at the same time using diplomatic and cultural skills to address the demands of colonial states and nation-states (Spicer 1962).

At several points, the modernizing nation-states in North America undertook significant policy initiatives to dismantle Indigenous communities or, in the Mexican case, reaffirm the status quo. Indigenous peoples' responses to these actions explicitly expressed their intention to retain self-government, culture, and land and, at the same time, conceptualize relations with nation-states.

At least three critical series of events—one each in the United States, Canada, and Mexico—elicited responses from Indigenous people that currently help define the course of Indigenous and nation-state relations. These events, in chronological order, were: the termination policy in the United States, introduced in the 1950s, followed by its eventual demise, and the struggle to restore "terminated" tribes (Burt 1986, 2008; Deloria 1984; Fixico 1986; G. Roth 2008b); the White Paper of 1969 in Canada (Cairns 2000; Cardinal 1999; Indian and Northern Affairs 1969; Weaver 1981); and the San Andrés Accords of 1996 between the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) and the Mexican government, which granted autonomy, recognition, and rights to the Indigenous population of Mexico (Hernandez 1999; La Botz 2016).

During the late 1940s and 1950s, the United States moved to dismantle Indian reservations and sell Indian land, with the aim of turning Indians into U.S. citizens who would enjoy equal rights and participate in the U.S. market economy. Various administrative actions and congressional acts were put into play. About 110 Indian nations in the United States refused termination but generally accepted citizenship. U.S. termination policy had the effect of mobilizing Indian resistance at a national level, through the establishment of the National Congress of American Indians and other tribal and national organizations (Burt 1986, 2008; Deloria 1984, 2008; Fixico 1986; Philp 2002).

Working with state and local allies, who feared that the costs of termination would fall upon states and counties, Indians were able to stop termination bills by the early 1960s. Since 1975, most terminated Indian nations have been restored to tribal recognition (G. Roth 2008b:106). In rejecting the termination policy, U.S. Indian nations were not opposed to becoming U.S. citizens; they were, however, strongly opposed to giving up their treaty rights, land, tribal government, and communities. American Indians thus moved toward dual citizenship status, as members of their respective Indigenous nations and also citizens of the United States (Gray 2013:163; Peroff 1982; Trafzer 2009).

In Canada, the 1969 White Paper put forward by the government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chrétien proposed dismantling Canadian First Nations and accepting Indians as full Canadian citizens. Again, Canadian First Nations were not opposed to adopting the rights of Canadian citizens (Chartrand 2009; Indian Association of Alberta 1970), but they did not want to trade away their Indigenous rights. A national movement of status Indians strengthened Indigenous leadership and organization and blocked implementation of the policies proposed in the White Paper (Friederes and Krosenbrink-Gelissen 1998). Canadian Indians, after some debate, moved toward a "citizens plural" model, where status Indians enjoyed more Canadian citizenship rights while retaining Indigenous rights as members attached to a specific Indian reserve (Borrows 2008; Cardinal 1999; Chartrand 2009; Weaver 1981).

In Mexico, some indigenous individuals held the status of citizens starting from the early Mexican Republic (Spicer 1988). However, few Indians had the right to vote through most of the Mexican era. There

were no treaties or legal recognition of Indigenous rights to self-government, land, or cultural diversity until the 1990s. While Mexican Indigenous peoples complied with Mexican law, most did not adopt the predominant mestizo identity. They continued to live in Indigenous communities and cultures and spoke Indigenous languages.

The text of the San Andrés Accords of 1996 and the events leading up to those accords provide insight into the aspirations and values of Indigenous peoples within the Mexican state. For years, Indigenous peoples and Mexican government agencies and troops had been in conflict in the state of Chiapas. The accords were widely discussed among Mexican Indigenous peoples, and there was a general agreement on the principles of the accords.

The San Andrés Accords did not reject the rule of law or the Mexican government. Rather Mexican Indigenous peoples asked for greater participation, democratization, decentralization, and influence within government programs, budget decisions, expenditures, and development plans. They wanted recognition of the autonomy of their communities, political organization, and municipalities. They sought affirmation of their Mexican citizenship rights, recognition of Indigenous cultural diversity, and protection of their land, sacred places, and plants and animals. "The various levels of government and State institutions will not intervene unilaterally in the affairs and decisions of the indigenous towns and communities, in their organization and form of representation, and in their current strategies for the use of resources" (Hernandez 1999; San Andrés Accords 1996). The San Andrés Accords were subject to legal, political, and even military actions and remain the focus of national debate and discussion to the present (Burguete Cal Y Mayor 2000; Coello 2015).

The Indigenous peoples of the United States, Canada, and Mexico continue to affirm their Indigenous rights and at the same time seek participation in the nation-state as Indigenous peoples and governments. In the twenty-first century, they reject inclusion in their host states as citizens without Indigenous rights. In both the United States and Canada, efforts to move Indigenous people toward full citizenship in the nation-state without recognition of Indigenous rights were contested and remain the basis of continuing debate, discussion, and Indigenous and government legal and political actions. In Mexico, the San Andrés Accords gave voice to Indigenous aspirations that a pluralistic democratic state would recognize Indigenous cultures, governments, and land rights and support Indigenous participation in, and direction of, economic development, justice, funding, and other governing and political processes affecting their communities. In North America, Indigenous peoples have not rejected nation-state governance but want their specific rights recognized, protected, and supported by the nation-state.

The New World Order and Indigenous Peoples

In countries around the world, relations between Indigenous peoples and nation-states are similar to those in Mexico; that is, nation-states are willing to make Indigenous people into citizens but not to substantially recognize their specific Indigenous rights (Champagne 2005, 2007). In contrast, in the United States and Canada, treaties provided some recognition of Indigenous rights and issues. The American Indian rejection of termination, as well as the Canadian First Nations' resistance to the 1969 White Paper proposals, led to the new movements seeking recognition of Indigenous rights. These movements then helped reignite Indigenous activism in Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere, leading to the development of a more unified, if not fully shared, international Indigenous rights statement (Champagne 2010:77; Charters 2006; Garcia and Lucero 2014; Niezen 2008; Varese 2010).

More than 30 years of discussion at various international forums resulted in the adoption of several critical declarations and conventions such as the International Labour Organization Convention of 1989 and the UNDRIP of 2007. The UNDRIP gave international attention to Indigenous issues but no specific recognition of the right of Indigenous self-government, which was left to the individual nation-states. Most nation-states, however, do not recognize Indigenous rights to self-government, control over land and resources, and cultural autonomy. In one sense, the granting of citizenship without Indigenous rights is the language of termination. It is thus reasonable to expect continued contestation over the powers of government, government-to-government relations, territory and resources, cultural understanding, and recognition.

Each nation-state, therefore, is left to negotiate or suppress the specific Indigenous rights of its Indigenous citizens. General nonrecognition is a form of suppression of Indigenous rights and serves, at best, to include people as citizens but not recognized as Indigenous peoples. Without self-government and sufficient territorial rights, Indigenous peoples are reconstructed as ethnic groups with collective and human rights. This type of ethnic or citizen identity does not satisfy many Indigenous peoples. At the same time, nation-states have not moved beyond their own values of individuality, private property, and legal

equality, which offer no special rights for particular groups of citizens (Montes and Cisneros 2009:141). UNDRIP does not provide an answer, but it offers a moral platform to address many of the issues that Indigenous peoples face.

Indigenous people do not universally embrace the nation-state or the international legal assertion of Indigenous rights, but many continue to seek inclusion in nation-states along with the preservation of their self-government, land, and cultural autonomy. The future will likely consist of continued cultural, political, territorial, and economic struggle between Indigenous peoples and nation-states (Champagne 2005, 2007). Different state systems and their cultures will contest with diverse Indigenous nations, which will keep asserting both citizenship and Indigenous rights. This world of diversities in contention is made even more complicated with individuals and groups who are either "between" cultures or are multicultural or in the process of creating new Indigenous ethnic entities, as is often the case with the newly "recognized" tribes.

Indigenous worldviews do not necessarily aspire for liberation or freedom (in the modern "nation-state" sense) but rather see nations and individuals embedded in cosmic interdependence. Indigenous cosmic views perceive holism and interrelatedness—with relations built on recognition, respect for each other's way of life, and mutual reciprocity—as the optimal principles underlying how human beings and nations live, work, and realize their cultural values.

Recent United Nations diplomatic views suggest that the twenty-first century is the time to move away from monocultural states and toward multinational ones. For many ethnic groups and nations, such a move would be a significant improvement that would respect culture and differentiate and detach it from national political processes. Even if widely adopted and successful, however, this change may not be congenial to Indigenous nations based on their worldviews and institutional order (Clavero 2009; Stavenhagen 2009:353, 364, 367–369). The concepts of race, ethnicity, minority, and citizen assume a common political understanding and consensual inclusion within the nation-state's legal and political regime. The United Nations vision of multicultural states offers greater realization of collective human rights but no recognition of Indigenous political forms and no institutional pathways to preserve the Indigenous ways of life.

For Indigenous people, the future promises complex challenges in policy, nation building, national preservation, and cultural continuity. There is much to analyze from diverse scholarly points of view on the way to creating space for an Indigenous paradigm that explores the diversities of Indigenous experiences and how diverse cultures can reach a goal of human well-being. Such a paradigm should put the goals and values of Indigenous nations at the center of analysis and develop knowledge that is scholarly and policy oriented. Above all, it should inform and support Indigenous struggles for self-government, cultural continuity and creativity, territory, and Indigenous nation building, among other issues.

The contemporary Indigenous world is full of diversity, multicultural richness, and multiple political loyalties. Native nations and Indigenous peoples will continue to make choices about their futures, values, and heritages and express their fundamental interests and goals. This expression of culture and political identity may lead to tension and conflict, but it also represents the human spirit as expressed in the diversity of cultures throughout history. By means of the Indigenous peoples' movement, in fact, of *many* different movements, human cultural creativity may not be lost, and it may be strengthened and preserved.

Arctic

PETER COLLINGS

The Arctic is unique among the culture areas of North America, set apart from other regions by the relative homogeneity of its inhabitants (fig. 1). Arctic peoples speak languages from the same large Esko-Aleutian language family, share a common and recent ancestry, and demonstrate similar cultural adaptations to a remarkably unforgiving environment. Despite centuries of continuous interaction with Europeans—first colonial settlements date from 1700 in Labrador (Trudel 1978), 1721 in Greenland (Gad 1973), and the 1740s–1780s in the Aleutian Islands of Alaska (Black 2004)—the peoples of the Arctic long remained the most isolated in North America. In the central Canadian Arctic early twentieth-century explorers documented cultures only minimally altered by contact (Damas 1984; Jenness 1922; Rasmussen 1929, 1931; Stefansson 1913).

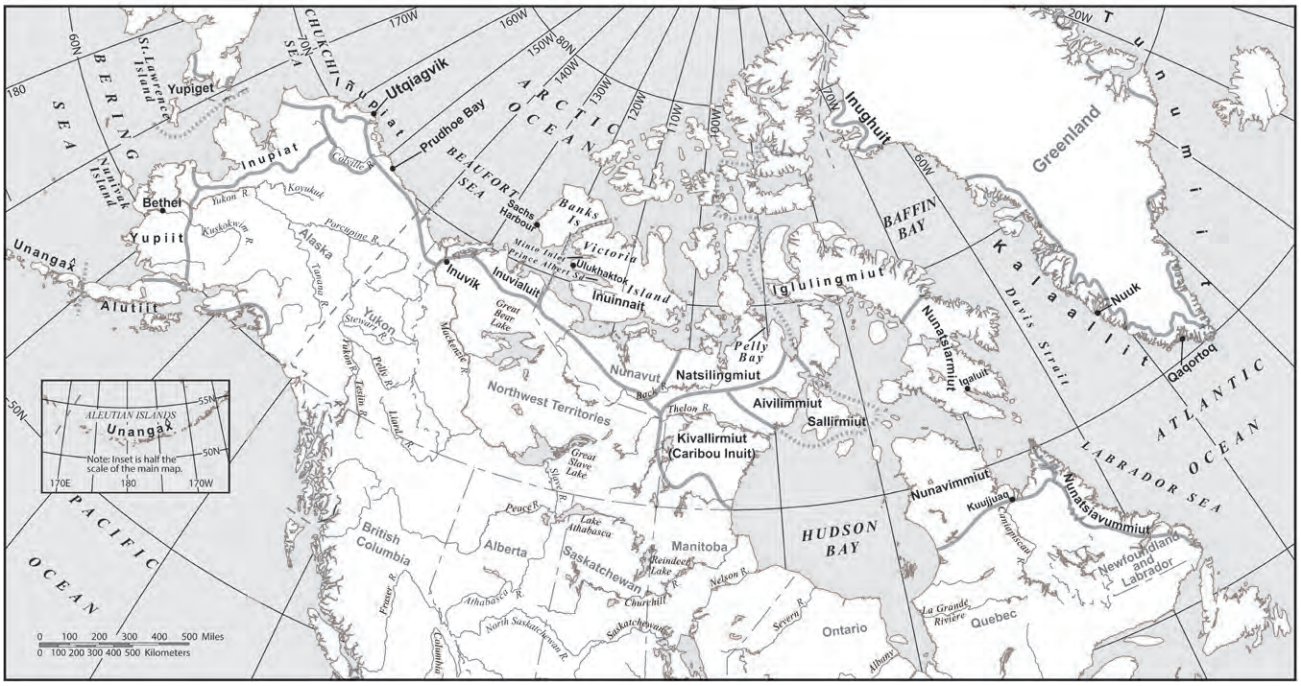
When the *Handbook* series was first conceived in the 1960s, government-sponsored administrative policies toward Native populations in much of the North American Arctic were still evolving and the process of population concentration in some areas was ongoing or only recently completed. Across the Arctic, southern intrusion was often abrupt if not brutal, with observers documenting the speed with which traditional lifeways were altered as people moved "off the land" and their livelihoods grew increasingly dependent on state economies and political structures (Chance 1984; Saladin d'Anglure 1984; Vallee et al. 1984).

The relative isolation of these peoples made the Arctic an attractive research "laboratory" for mid-twentieth-century anthropologists. Early ecological approaches in the discipline during the 1960s emphasized understanding adaptation to different environments. Concurrent interests in foraging both as an economic typology and as a stage of cultural evolution encouraged comparative research agendas, subsequently known as hunter-gatherer studies (Lee and Devore 1968). Other disciplinary trends emphasized the consequences of culture contact and culture change for both physical and mental health (Chance 1960, 1965; Hughes 1965; Vallee 1962), exemplifying the then-dominant focus on acculturation in the Arctic.

The *Arctic* volume of the *Handbook* series reflected both modes of inquiry (Damas 1984). Ecological approaches targeted the cultural mechanisms driving adaptation to physical and social environments (Damas 1969; Kemp 1971; Müller-Wille 1978; Wenzel 1981). Acculturation approaches emphasized the transformative nature of contact, attending to the negative consequences of incorporation into southern states (Chance 1966; From et al. 1975; Honigmann and Honigmann 1970; Hughes 1960; Jolles 2016). The result was a useful record of traditional cultures of the North American Arctic on the cusp of dramatic transformation. Although many chapters in the *Arctic* volume explored issues related to the region's inclusion into nation-states, its enduring value is as a compendium of regional cultural variation prior to global economic integration. Despite this high documentary value, such a static, salvage approach has limited utility today, particularly in understanding responses to global acculturative forces.

This chapter explores major research trajectories in the studies of Arctic communities and peoples since the publication of the *Arctic* volume in 1984. Despite the emergence of novel practical and academic problems, the principal themes directing the structure of the volume in 1984—acculturation and adaptation—persist in contemporary research, often in contrived tension (Wenzel 2001). The chapter explores the mechanisms by which traditional cultural practices persist and how those practices help people adapt to the stresses associated with a rapidly changing world. Comparative approaches within the North American Arctic are complicated by the fact that the region is governed by three separate nation-states—the United States, Canada, and Denmark—each with its own history with northern Indigenous people and, accordingly, its own political structures and social contracts.

Furthermore, Arctic scholarship has expanded significantly since 1984. Contributors to the *Arctic* volume were drawn from within a relatively small group of ethnographers, ethnologists, and archaeologists and included no Indigenous authors outside of Greenland. The number of academics working in the North has



Map by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 1. Map of major linguistic and regional subdivisions of contemporary Inuit-Yupiit-Unangax̂ (Esko-Aleut) people.

since grown significantly in both size and disciplinary representation; today it includes geographers, ecologists, psychologists, historians, sociologists, nutritionists, and linguists—and first and foremost, a growing cadre of Indigenous researchers. Contemporary developments in the North have likewise directed scholarship away from the kinds of ethnographic and ethnohistorical work favored by the twentieth-century anthropologists and toward interdisciplinary, collaborative, and community-based work that focuses more on specific issues that affect northern residents.

By the 1980s, a new intellectual paradigm had emerged. "Inuit studies" embraced some older modes of inquiry while pushing others into the background and replacing the old term *Eskimology* (Krupnik 2016; Riches 1990). Ethnology and linguistics were joined by research on health and well-being, community development, arts and media, and education. Archaeology declined significantly, and today, research in this area is characterized largely by public archaeology and ethnoarchaeological approaches (Friesen 2013; see "Indigenous North Americans and Archaeology," this vol.). Physical and biological anthropology has nearly vanished from the Arctic (but see Keenleyside [2006] for an overview of continuing research programs). For these reasons, this chapter attends primarily to research in ethnographic, ethnologically allied, and applied scholarship.

A note on naming is necessary. The *Arctic* volume (Damas 1984) employed the term *Eskimo* as a generic referent for northern Indigenous peoples, with Aleut being the lone exception. However, even when the volume was in production in the early 1980s, it was clear that Indigenous peoples increasingly favored their own self-referents. In Alaska, distinct peoples formerly referred to as Western Alaskan *Eskimos* are now identified as *Yup'ik* (or Yupiit, sometimes self-named *Yupiat;* Kawagley 1995) or *Iñupiat*, as well as *Alutiit* or *Sugpiat* for the southwest Alaskan groups (Berezkin 2012; Crowell et al. 2001). In Canada, the principal identifier is *Inuit*, although Inuit in the western Canadian Arctic prefer *Inuvialuit*. In Greenland, *Greenlander* and *Greenlandic Inuit* are frequently employed, though *Kalaallit, Inughuit,* and *Tunumiit* are the preferred regional self-identifiers.

These new terms are not merely expressions of autonomy; rather, they reflect the processes of identity formation across the Arctic. Precontact band affiliations and settlement, regional, and national identities are held simultaneously, but people frequently attend to local and regional identities more than to national and international ones. Because of the general complications of terminology highlighted here and the pejorative meaning attached to *Eskimo*, particularly in Canada, the chapter uses *Inuit* as the most general referent but applies specific names when addressing local

communities and groups across the North American Arctic.

Arctic Subsistence Research

The Pragmatic Origins of Subsistence Research

Research on the changing livelihoods of Arctic peoples fully emerged during the 1960s, when subsistence economies—economies based on hunting, trapping, and fishing—captured the attention of ecologically oriented scholars. This work was driven in equal measure by academic interests and pragmatic concerns. In Canada, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (currently Crown Relations and Northern Affairs Canada) documented local economic conditions to inform administrative planning for the Arctic, such as in the Coppermine-Holman region (Usher 1965), in Sachs Harbour (Usher 1970–1971), and in and around Pelly Bay (Balikci 1964).

Concurrently, the Arctic was one of the last regions of North America where formal agreements between Indigenous peoples and state societies had yet to be settled. In Alaska, the discovery of oil at Prudhoe Bay in the 1960s encouraged the U.S. government to formalize its relationship with Alaska Natives, which it accomplished in 1971 through the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) (Berger 1985; Burch 1984). However, the importance and persistence of subsistence economies stimulated research on ANCSA's impact on Native peoples that was further encouraged by the passage of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) in 1980. The study of subsistence production in largely aboriginal communities was undertaken primarily by the Division of Subsistence at the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, created specifically for this purpose (Fall 1990). The legacy of this research demonstrates the continued importance of traditional hunting and fishing activities to rural economies in Alaska (Burch 1985; Wheeler and Thornton 2005), including in the context of intense economic and industrial development (Kruse 1991; Langdon 1991; Wolfe and Walker 1987).

In the Canadian Arctic, documentation of subsistence production varied considerably by region, though it generally covered longer periods of time than in either Alaska or Greenland. In the Northwest Territories (NWT), the Northwest Game Act of 1929 required Indigenous hunters to report their harvests (Usher 1977; Usher and Wenzel 1987). As in Alaska, uncertainty about relations between Inuit and the state encouraged the Inuit to organize politically. The Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE) was founded in 1970, followed shortly thereafter by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC; Vallee et al. 1984). The Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (ILUOP) emerged to document Inuit rights and subsistence practices while simultaneously stimulating further research (Aporta 2016; Freeman 1976, 2011). Information generated by the ILUOP and related projects formed the basis for land claims settlements in western Canada (Inuvialuit Final Agreement; Canada 1984), eastern Canada (Nunavut; Canada 1993), northern Quebec (James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement; Canada 2004), and Labrador (Canada 2009; see "Subarctic," this vol.).

In Greenland, Danish control dated from 1721, with direct administration of West Greenland by the Royal Greenland Trade Department (KGH) established in 1774 (Gad 1973). The KGH organized local production of fish, blubber, and seal pelts for markets in Europe, a process that intensified after 1953, when Greenland was legally decolonized. Denmark actively promoted commercial production while pursuing policies designed to move Inuit from small settlements to larger towns (Dahl 1986). These policies also developed commercial markets for wild-caught, or "country," foods (Marquardt and Caulfield 1996). One consequence of commercialization is that untangling subsistence rights in Greenland, where licensed commercial hunters produce the bulk of traditional foods, is a more complicated endeavor than in Canada or Alaska, where commercial markets for hunted foods are restricted (Gombay 2005).

These different arrangements reflect a general comparative problem: Inuit-state relations regarding subsistence rights have different underlying assumptions. In Alaska, subsistence rights, responsibilities, and resource management are legally understood primarily as urban-rural issues. In Canada, subsistence has been cast largely as a question of Indigenous versus non-Native rights. In Greenland, subsistence is an occupational distinction, with hunting rights and responsibilities defined and regulated based on their contribution to individual livelihoods.

Taken together, the economies of Arctic communities have long been understood as "mixed," a combination of the hunting and trapping that characterized traditional and early contact livelihoods, and the wage economies that emerged as people moved into permanent settlements (figs. 2, 3, 4). Initially, studies of these mixed economies addressed how people integrated the two sectors (Langdon 1991; Lonner 1980; Usher 1976) and how local socioeconomic forces affected subsistence production. Over time, understanding of subsistence has expanded beyond production to include market exchange, food sharing, and consumption. The

Photograph by Peter Collings.

Fig. 2. Moonrise over the hamlet (town) of Ulukhaktok on Victoria Island, Northwest Territory, Canada, population 396 (2016).

Photograph by Peter Collings.

Fig. 3. Main street in the hamlet of Ulukhaktok, with types of housing typical for today's Arctic communities.

importance of traditional sharing patterns as a component of the subsistence economy was reasonably well documented even before 1984 (Damas 1972; Van de Velde 1956), but later researchers paid greater attention to how food moved within settlements and how sharing networks connected families and households (Chabot 2003; Natcher 2009; Wenzel 1995). Research strategies currently range from documenting how traditional practices are repurposed to meet current needs (Collings 2011; Collings et al. 1998; Kishigami 2004, 2006), to assessment of sharing within the context of contemporary social organization (Bodenhorn 2000; Nuttall 2000), to more formal approaches employing the tools of social network analysis (Dombrowski et al. 2013; Magdanz et al. 2002).

The continuing tension between adaptation and acculturation is evident, however. Other modes of research have examined the degree to which traditional sharing practices have eroded over time. One strain examined the loss of traditional practices as a consequence primarily of incorporation into regional and national economies (Buijs 1993; Remie 1984). Other studies, particularly in the Canadian Arctic (Ford et al. 2006b; Pearce et al. 2010), considered the erosion of traditional food-sharing practices as a factor in increased vulnerability to climate change in the North (see "Native American Communities and Climate Change," this vol.).

Inquiry into contemporary food-sharing practices reflected a wider shift toward understanding subsistence

Photograph by Igor Krupnik.

Fig. 4. Many rural Arctic communities now have year-round access to a large variety of produced food products, like this community grocery store in the town of Savoonga on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska.

within the context of commercial hunting and southern-based economic development (Dahl 1989, 2000). Research modes have expanded and taken different forms, including an increased focus on the connections between subsistence and material conditions in communities; the role of subsistence in identity and social cohesion; and hunters' environmental knowledge and its contribution to biology, ecology, and game management.

Subsistence Economics, Contemporary Living Conditions, and Well-Being

A particular interest in the connections between subsistence and material conditions emerged during the late 1990s as researchers developed methods to measure relationships between the elements of Indigenous mixed economies, contemporary social life, and physical and mental health. These three variables form the core of well-being, an approach with roots in Scandinavian social and policy research designed to improve social welfare programs (Andersen and Poppel 2002). This approach was initially limited to Greenland (figs. 5, 6) but quickly encompassed the entire circumpolar North, primarily through the multiyear international project called Survey of Living Conditions in the Arctic (SLiCA), ongoing since 1997 (Poppel 2015; Poppel and Kruse 2009; Poppel et al. 2007; Usher et al. 2003). SLiCA was instrumental in developing cross-boundary methods and operationalizing variables important to both Arctic people and academics.

SLiCA's emergence and evolvement after 2000 also highlighted a significant shift in research approaches: this program specifically incorporated Indigenous people in project design and implementation. The Alaska Native Management Board initially directed the Alaska component of SLiCA. The steering committee for the Canadian portion of SLiCA included representatives from each of the Inuit administrative regions (Labrador, northern Quebec, Nunavut, and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region). The Greenland advisory group was composed principally of Greenlanders (Andersen et al. 2002; Andersen and Poppel 2002; Kruse et al. 2008; O'Donnell and Tait 2003; Poppel and Kruse 2009; Poppel et. al. 2007). Overall, SLiCA demonstrated that the integration of the subsistence and cash economies continues to characterize northern communities; that the persistence of traditional activities within communities plays an important role in life satisfaction; that limited employment, lack of access to locally available foods, and perceptions of a lack of self-determination contribute to poor well-being; and lastly, that health conditions are highly variable across the Arctic.

Photograph by Hunter T. Snyder.

Fig. 5. Small-scale fishers returning from the workday along the pathway through town, Qeqertarsuatsiaat, southwest Greenland.

Photograph by Hunter T. Snyder.

Fig. 6. A small-scale halibut fisher baiting a longline in the municipal workshop, Nuuk, Greenland.

Concurrent with SLiCA, several studies examined similar themes at the local level. They trained a more refined lens on these problems and offered more nuanced interpretations in the context of changing economies, by viewing contemporary subsistence as a luxury dependent upon the wage economy (Reimer 1993), a recreational outlet (Stern 2000), or an economic form of limited utility under northern development (Myers and Forrest 2000).

Detailed inquiries into Arctic people's living conditions appeared around the same time, with new research addressing the historical trajectories of sedentarization and the nature of Inuit-state relations. In Canada, the development of Inuit settlement was often driven by both Inuit and the Canadian government, as Inuit increasingly congregated in settlements in search of wage-labor opportunities while federal policy in the north shifted to expand social welfare programs (Damas 2002). Despite the expansion of social programs, government-sponsored resettlement policies frequently had negative social and psychological outcomes (Marcus 1995; Tester and Kulchyski 1994). In Greenland, colonial policies promoting resettlement in urban centers were directly tied to the development of Greenlandic identity and political movements, resulting in Home Rule (in 1979) and Self-Rule in 2009 (Dahl 2010; Sejersen 2007; Thuesen 2016).

Human Health and Well-Being

There is a rich legacy of research on the health of Arctic peoples (Fortuine 1989; Shephard and Rode 1996; Young 1994; Young and Bjerregaard 2008), but SLiCA's incorporation of health under the umbrella of well-being marked a significant shift. The well-being approach is a considerable departure from the epidemiological focus of most health research, which tends to document disease rates, comparing those results to reference populations, usually in the South, or to a national average (Colquhoun et al. 2012). Well-being research, by contrast, incorporates local understandings of what it *means* to be well.

Research on well-being in the Arctic took two major forms. The first emphasized an empirical and quantitative approach, known as Arctic Social Indicators (Larsen et al. 2010). It argued for the development of a set of measures of well-being based on readily available, comparable data from across the Arctic. It generally followed SLiCA and the other major study of the era, the *Arctic Human Development Report* (AHDR 2004; Larsen et al. 2014a), employing the results of these works to augment its recommendations. A significant driver of this work was the desire to identify variables that best captured the differences and similarities in well-being across the Arctic, such as health, demographics, education, and economics, supplemented by measures of cultural vitality, autonomy, and access to the natural environment.

Research with a more ethnographic focus documented the cultural nuances embedded in Inuit and Western concepts of psychological health (Kirmayer and Valaskakis 2009) and the consequences of the disconnect between these two systems (Stevenson 2014). Examples included investigations of the social, economic, and cultural context of Iñupiat youth suicide and how cultural beliefs and behaviors promoted resilience to the stresses of settlement life (Wexler 2006; Wexler and Goodwin 2006, Wexler et al. 2012, 2014). Other work addressed the protective effect of traditional lifeways in relation to suicide among Alaska Native students (DeCou et al. 2013) and the role of cultural practices in promoting and maintaining sobriety (Mohatt et al. 2004). Research on Inuit definitions of happiness and well-being demonstrated the persistence and effectiveness of traditional health practices that functioned independently of state-sponsored health systems (Kral and Idlout, 2009, 2012; Kral et al. 2011) (figs. 7, 8). Taken together, this research demonstrated that traditional values and behaviors offer protection from negative health or mental health outcomes (Petrasek MacDonald et al. 2013) and help promote resilience against the stresses associated with rapid change and modernization (Wexler 2014).

Subsistence and Identity

• YOUTH, IDENTITY, AND SUBSISTENCE Research engaging youth in contemporary settlements invoked another significant shift emerging from the work on subsistence (e.g., Wexler 2006; Wexler and Goodwin 2006; Wexler et al. 2014). By the early 1990s, the limited scope of most subsistence studies was increasingly clear, as anthropologists typically targeted "expert" subsistence users, usually older, more traditional hunters born and raised on the land rather than in government-sponsored settlements. In response, an interest in younger, settlement-raised Inuit appeared (O'Neil 1983). These youth were less engaged in the subsistence sector of the mixed economy because of a combination of southern cultural values that devalued traditional activities, economic changes that made subsistence hunting more difficult for younger Inuit, and social conditions in larger settlements, including schooling.

Richard Condon (b. 1952, d. 1995) started a pioneering study of adolescence in the central Canadian Arctic that thoroughly documented this process (Collings and Condon 1996; Condon 1987, 1990a,

Photograph by Peter Collings.

Fig. 7. Ulukhaktok resident Roger Memogana and Dr. Meredith Marten conducting an interview about health and wellness in Ulukhaktok.

Photograph by Hunter T. Snyder.

Fig. 8. Community members dancing in the school gym on a Friday evening in Qeqertarsuatsiaat, Greenland.

1990b; Condon and Stern 1993; Stern and Condon 1995). These and similar works invoked the acculturation studies of the previous generation (Berreman 1964; Chance 1960, 1966; Hughes 1960; VanStone 1962), but rather than focusing on cultural loss, they emphasized how younger Inuit actively adapted to new socioeconomic conditions and redefined what it means to be Inuit.

Interest in the cohorts of Inuit born and raised in settlements in the 1960s and 1970s spawned a body of research specifically on youth and contemporary settlement life while generating questions about identity and its measurement (Dorais and Searles 2001; Oosten and Remie 1999). It quickly became apparent that subsistence was a critically important component of Inuit identity, a means of setting Inuit apart from Qallunaat—"white people"—and other outsiders. For the Inuit, identity was best expressed through subsistence, frequently coded as "being on the land" (Dorais 1997).

Research with young adult men in the Canadian Arctic showed the degree to which subsistence framed identity for this settlement-born cohort (Condon et al. 1995). Even brief and limited activity on the land significantly enhanced their sense of being Inuit. Eating traditional "country foods" and sharing these foods were also important to how Inuit saw themselves in relation to others (Searles 2002). Eating and sharing within the confines of the settlement, however, paled in comparison with active engagement with the environment. Subsistence was seen as the primary mechanism Inuit employ to express themselves (Rasing 1999; Searles 2010). Although alternative pathways to Inuit identity have emerged among settlement-born Inuit, active hunting is still viewed as the easiest path to manhood (Collings 2014). Similarly, the mechanisms by which women develop their identity lie in the land, local history, and geography, and in opposition to southern values (Dowsley 2014).

A steady accumulation of research in this domain has supported the view that Inuit identity is tied to landscape (Brody 1975). Among the Yup'ik (Yupiit) in western Alaska, the foundational connections between landscape, activity, and social organization specifically highlighted the role of land in knowledge transmission between generations (Fienup-Riordan 1983, 2001). Similar studies in northwest Greenland revealed the processes by which land and locality created and reinforced social structures and community cohesion (Nuttall 1992).

Connections to the environment beyond hunting are thus crucial to identity formation. Interacting with the land is a constructive and inherently social process. An individual's relationships with the environment, the nonhuman beings inhabiting that environment, and the kinship networks embedding individuals within society all form the core of an individual's identity (Stairs 1992; Stairs and Wenzel 1992).

• LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, AND SUBSISTENCE Being on the land, a setting where memories are both stored and created, is an iterative process, and awareness of this process has led to explorations of how language mediates relationships between the land and identity. Although Kalaallisut, spoken in Greenland, is thriving thanks to local educational and social policies, aboriginal languages in western Canada and Alaska have been undermined by the presence of settlers, residential schooling in English, and economic and political dependence upon southern states (Dorais 2010). A significant body of research explores how Arctic In-

digenous peoples in situations of language endangerment employ language to set themselves apart from outsiders.

The Iñupiaq youth of northern Alaska provide an instructive example. Whereas Elders strongly equated Iñupiaq identity with speaking the language, younger Iñupiat cohorts commonly acquired Iñupiaq as a second language if they spoke it at all. Nevertheless, youth continued to employ Iñupiaq words within the context of English sentences and used a distinctive "village English" that further reinforced their identity (Kaplan 2001). A similar process appears in northern Quebec, where language choices—Inuktitut, English, and French—reinforce local identity and highlight the differences between Inuit and Qallunaat (Dorais 1991, 1995).

Research among the Yup'ik (Yupiit) in southwestern Alaska (Hensel 1996, 2001) examined the nature of discourse on and about subsistence. In the context of rapid change, actions and activities that typically marked identity in the past have become less reliable. Speech, however, provides a clear indicator of a person's loyalties and worldview, reflecting an individual's current status. Talk about subsistence is, not surprisingly, the principal indicator of identity. More importantly, it highlights identity as a discursive process, a mechanism for managing and maintaining identities in relation to others.

Other research among the Yup'ik people in western Alaska and the Inuit in the Canadian Arctic reflected a broader tradition of scholarship on naming and social organization (Fienup-Riordan et al. 2000; Guemple 1965; Wachmeister 1956; Williamson 1988). Multiple layers of meaning are embedded in personal names that link generations and connect individuals to others through namesake relationships and kinship terminology. Naming and kinship establish positions within social networks and outline behavioral obligations toward others.

Names also carry power in the landscape. In the Canadian Arctic, Inuit place names serve multiple functions, describing both landscape features and the behavior that occurs there (Collignon 1993, 2006a, 2006b; Müller-Wille 2000; Müller-Wille and Weber 1983). Landscapes and their labels thus mark particular kinds of activities, conceptions, emotions, and histories. This situated knowledge narrates personal histories and relationships between people and animals. Oral histories likewise reflect these complexities. In the western Canadian Arctic, Inuvialuit terminology surrounding notions of time and memory reveals a remarkable level of lexical sophistication (Nagy 2006). "Being on the land" is an engagement that is simultaneously contemporary and historic.

The emerging consensus is that identity is best understood as a process by which Inuit actively develop and assert themselves in relation to others (Dorais 2005; Dybbroe 1996; Searles 2011). Furthermore, research on identity revealed that the distinction between "traditional" and "modern" is a convenient but limited dichotomy (Wenzel 2001). While scholars often emphasize the degree to which Inuit communities have changed as a result of increasing integration with southern economies and values, Inuit themselves emphasize continuity with their past, finding value in their traditional beliefs and the practices of their ancestors, which help them adapt to contemporary conditions.

Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK)

A prominent mode of inquiry embedded within subsistence addresses Inuit environmental knowledge. *Traditional ecological knowledge*, or TEK, seems to be the most commonly employed term in this domain, parallel to Indigenous knowledge, local ecological knowledge, and traditional knowledge, among others (Huntington and Fox 2005). The term *TEK* is employed here though its use is recognized as problematic.

Early documentary work on ecological knowledge demonstrated the extensive and detailed knowledge that Indigenous peoples possessed about their environments and its utility for wildlife management (Freeman 1975; Nelson 1969). The origins of a detailed academic interest in TEK, however, were clearly tied to the land claims era of the 1970s. The Canadian Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (1972–1976) established Inuit claims to territory, but the research itself went beyond documentation of land use (Aporta 2016; Freeman 1976). It initiated interest in Inuit embeddedness within their physical and social environments. The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (Berger 1977), which investigated the social, economic, and environmental impacts of a proposed gas pipeline through the Yukon and NWT of Canada, further reflected the developing interest in Indigenous understandings of local ecology.

Academic interest in TEK intensified during the 1980s. One consequence of rising attention to the concept of the tragedy of the commons (Hardin 1968) was that, for many, the concept generated or reaffirmed expectations that mechanized hunting from permanent settlements led to declines in wildlife populations that could be rectified only by increased surveillance and control of aboriginal hunters (see Kelsall 1968:216–225; MacPherson 1981; Miller 1983, 1987). Ethnographic inquiry, however, demonstrated the opposite: Indigenous peoples possessed remarkably detailed and practical knowledge of their environments and

were adept managers of the wildlife on which they depended (Berkes 1981, 1985; Freeman 1981, 1985, 1987; Inglis 1993; Tester 1981; Usher 1981). It quickly became clear that TEK also had significant scientific utility (Freeman 1992; Nuttall 1998:71–95).

Interest in TEK and its potential for management and conservation grew rapidly in the 1990s and 2000s (see Wenzel 1999). Typical of this genre were investigations of knowledge about particular species, even specific populations, such as caribou (Ferguson and Messier 1997), beluga whales in the Bering Sea (Huntington et al. 1999), ringed seals on Baffin Island (Furgal et al. 2002), common eider in Hudson Bay (Nakashima 1991, 1993), and walrus off West Greenland (Born et al. 2017). As these kinds of studies become more prevalent and circumpolar in scope (Anderson and Nuttall 2004; Freeman et al. 1998), and as TEK became a mandatory component of management regimes, publications detailing methods for documenting and using TEK appeared (Huntington 2000b, 2005).

A significant outcome of land claims processes and emerging political autonomy was that Inuit gained an increasing voice in management decisions, and the integration of TEK into management became required. Consequently, research attended to the nature and structure of comanagement regimes, highlighting the significant tensions between wildlife managers and hunters, tensions best resolved through the use of management strategies that integrate scientific knowledge with traditional knowledge and incorporate the concerns of local subsistence users (Huntington 1992). Research examining specific management outcomes grew rapidly, covering, among other things, subsistence whaling in Alaska (Freeman 1993) and Greenland (Caulfield 1997a, 1997b; Sejersen 2001), moose hunting (Anderson and Alexander 1992) and goose hunting (Fienup-Riordan 1999b) in Alaska, and polar bear hunting in Nunavut, Canada (Dowsley and Wenzel 2008). Other research investigated the continuing problems of incorporating TEK into management regimes (Usher 2000) or the functionality of specific cases (Kishigami 2005; Kruse et al. 1998). The integration of aboriginal subsistence hunting and state management regimes also received attention in the context of international political and economic pressure (Freeman et al. 1998).

Nevertheless, the full integration of TEK and scientific knowledge remains problematic: management is as much a political as a scientific process (Nadasdy 1999). Scientists and traditional knowledge holders frequently see these forms of knowledge as independent and contradictory systems, with integration further hampered by power differentials between Inuit and agents of the state, such as wildlife managers. Research since the late 1990s has increasingly recognized this problem, and the discourse has shifted toward documentation of successful comanagement regimes and the processes of knowledge coproduction (Armitage et al. 2011; Kofinas et al. 2002), where partnership between scientific and Indigenous knowledge has ideally generated a more complete understanding of specific ecologies.

One example of the problems inherent in incorporating TEK and scientific approaches was reflected by the emergence of *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*, or *IQ*, as a central governing concept in environmental and wildlife management in Nunavut, Canada (Thorpe 2004; Wenzel 2004). *IQ* is frequently defined as "Inuit traditional knowledge," encapsulating Inuit values and beliefs about human-environment relationships that go beyond TEK. TEK has been employed largely as sets of facts about specific species or areas while lacking the more holistic implications of Inuit knowledge (Collings et al. 2018). Invoking *IQ* draws attention to the complexities of Inuit beliefs and value systems and how these have persisted despite significant economic and social pressure to change (Tester and Irniq 2008).

Modes of Representation in Contemporary Inuit Communities

Personhood and Ways of Knowing

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit may form the fundamental basis governing decision-making in Nunavut in the early twenty-first century, but what precisely does IQ entail? Though some of its elements were addressed earlier—the encoded meanings in place names and identity as a relational, fluid process—research examining the underlying meanings of IQ begins with investigations of personhood, the self, and human development.

Contemporary research in these domains builds upon the work of anthropologist Jean Briggs (b. 1929, d. 2016), whose work addressed the complexities of Inuit family dynamics, human development, and emotional expression in the central Canadian Arctic (primarily Briggs 1970, 1991, 1994, 1998). She highlighted the concept of *ishuma*—frequently translated as "wisdom" or "knowledge"—as the basis of Inuit development, a phenomenon echoed on the North Slope of Alaska as well (Gubser 1965).

Briggs's research on the nature of child development was supplemented by other scholars employing different approaches, including studies of Inuit linguistic and child socialization practices (Crago 1992; Crago et al. 1993). Life course perspectives employed in the study of aging likewise outlined *ishuma* as the

basic marker of transitions between life stages, uncoupled from both the physical and socioeconomic markers of life course transitions commonly employed in other societies (Collings 2000, 2001). Inuit perceive the emergence of *ishuma* as akin to "waking up," emerging from the haze of sleep and understanding the world in sharper focus (Nagy 2006).

Additional research applied the concept of the *inummarik*, or the "genuine person" (first identified by Brody [1975]), as the culmination of social maturity. Its emphasis upon balance and interdependence is a component of an ecocentric worldview, where a person's principal grounding is found within their relationship to the land (Stairs 1992). The path to becoming a genuine person is a lifelong process of demonstrating proper behavior and attitudes toward other people, animals, and oneself (Fienup-Riordan 1986; Searles 2001). In the Canadian Arctic, settlement-raised Inuit men found traditional concepts such as these important as they negotiated social and economic conditions vastly different from those experienced by their parents and grandparents (Collings 2014).

Understanding Inuit personhood has important implications in multiple domains of contemporary life. Education policies in the Arctic remain problematic because of fundamental differences between southern schooling systems, which are teacher driven, and Inuit educational systems, which expect learners to actively direct the process (Annahatak 1994). Traditional concepts are critical to formulating effective education programs, the success of which depend upon integrating Indigenous understandings of human development and socialization and Western educational philosophy (Kawagley 1995; Laugrand and Oosten 2009). For education programs to be effective, southern-based education systems must adapt to Inuit values.

Personhood scholarship likewise has significant implications for conducting research across cultural boundaries. Inuit place significant emphasis on individual autonomy, with numerous researchers commenting on the poor behavior of outsiders purporting to do research in Inuit communities. The rudeness of direct questions is additionally harmful because according to Inuit custom one cannot flatly deny a request or refuse to answer a question, creating a situation that places an individual in a difficult bind (Fienup-Riordan 2001; Morrow 1996). Researchers may be met with evasion and misdirection after asking numerous, seemingly innocent questions; only after learning to learn by observation and demonstrating competence can they develop the rapport necessary to conduct adequate work (Searles 2000).

Personhood highlights a significant problem with concepts such as *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit*: humans are not the only beings that possess personhood. It has been long established that the environment is inhabited by numerous entities—nonhuman persons—many of which are malevolent (Burch 1971). The animals on which humans depend are also persons, and hunters' success depends upon their ability to maintain those relationships and behave appropriately toward them by, for example, following the admonitions against predicting success or talking about animals (Fienup-Riordan 1994). Consequently, many of the fundamental and necessary requirements of science, such as animal counts, are understood to be the root causes of declines in wildlife ranging from geese (Fienup-Riordan 1999b) to polar bears (Wenzel 2005). Such examples highlight the fundamentally different base upon which Inuit understand their place in the world (Laugrand and Oosten 2015).

Histories and Representation

Perhaps more than any other mode of inquiry, ethnohistorical research varies significantly by topic and in scope across the Arctic. Compiling cultural history relies on the critical examination of multiple lines of evidence, among them documentary, linguistic, and ethnographic. The quality of those sources, however, varies considerably because of the timing and nature of contact. In southern Alaska, West Greenland, and Labrador, early and sustained contact starting in the 1700s left a rich trail of documentary information about Indigenous cultures at contact but less in the way of direct experience. In most cases, ethnographers arrived on the scene long after explorers, traders, missionaries, and other state agents. In the central Canadian Arctic, ethnographers typically arrived and observed Inuit cultures closer to contact in the mid- to late 1800s, even early 1900s (see Alunik et al. 2003; Damas 1984; Eber 1989), that had been somewhat less transformed by southern intrusion, although the ethnographers had fewer external resources available for cross-checking information.

Two concurrent forces spurred ethnohistorical research in Alaska before 1990. The first was the need to address land claims by documenting land-use patterns and histories of occupation of the landscape (Burch 2005a; Pratt 2009, 2016). The second was a more practical consideration: documentary sources provided a useful means of interpreting material culture remains, making ethnohistory a particularly attractive tool for archaeologists (Oswalt 1990; Ray 1975; VanStone 1989). Equally important during this period was that ethnohistorical research followed trends across the discipline (Krech 1991), reflecting the salvage approach of Arctic scholarship from earlier periods.

Other studies used documentary sources to investigate the consequences of Russian contact in southwest Alaska (Black 1984, 1992) and drew on historical records, ethnographic sources, and material technology to explore questions about the prevalence and efficacy of prehistoric whaling (Black 1987; Lantis 1938).

Ethnographic material is clearly important to ethnohistoric accounts, but concerns remained about the reliability and accuracy of oral history beyond 50 years from the present (Burch 1991). Yet oral histories of the distant past allowed researchers to compile the ethnohistories of the people of northern Alaska and to document its different aboriginal nations (Burch 1998), social life and customs (Burch 2006), and political systems (Burch 2005b). Such work established methodological standards for ethnohistoric reconstruction using oral histories and documentary sources (Burch 2010).

Accompanying a shift toward greater acceptance of oral history were trends in research that attended more specifically to meaning and the needs of Native peoples themselves. Documentary and reconstructive accounts in this mode include examinations of the Native-missionary encounters (Fienup-Riordan 1991, 2012; Jolles 2002), with insights into the Native (Yup'ik and Siberian/St. Lawrence Island Yupik) worldviews and the dialectical and creative process by which Alaska Natives incorporated Christian ideas into their own cosmology. Work in the eastern Canadian Arctic (Laugrand and Oosten 2010) documented the transition to Christianity, highlighting the more nuanced ways in which Inuit identify as Christian even as they understand and engage in the traditional practices necessary to navigate the social and physical environment.

Additional scholarship emerged to engage specific Native audiences, resulting in works intended for local use rather than for academic readership. These included a series of bilingual books on the Central Alaskan Yup'ik oral tradition, spirituality, and indigenous knowledge (Barker et al. 2010; Fienup-Riordan 1996b, 2007, 2015, 2018; Fienup-Riordan et al. 2018; Fienup-Riordan and Rearden 2015; Rearden and Fienup-Riordan 2013, 2014); an overview of the Copper Inuit (Inuinnait) history (Condon 1996); a compilation of historical records for local Yupik communities on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska (Krupnik et al. 2002); and catalogs of historical photographs and portraits accompanied by the narratives of their descendants as an effort at "knowledge repatriation" (Krupnik and Kaneshiro 2011). These and other works (see also Campbell 1998, 2004) represented a spectrum of diverse approaches toward the collection of oral history and narrative. An additional representation of this mode comes from works authored by Native people themselves that combine historical documents with life history narratives and oral histories to develop a history of the Inuvialuit and Inuit people of the Canadian Arctic (Alunik et al. 2003; Eber 1989).

Another thread of cultural history research came full circle back to the issue of land claims. As land claims were settled and Inuit established various forms of self-government in Alaska, Canada, and Greenland during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, histories and ethnohistories emerged to document the steps toward political autonomy and self-rule. Some studies covered the immediate processes involved in the creation of Nunavut (Dahl et al. 2000); others documented Canadian government policy in the eastern Arctic after 1945 and how it spurred Inuit political organization and demands for autonomy (Duffy 1988). In Greenland, research on autonomy and self-rule reflected on the experience of colonialism and internal colonialism in the era of home rule (Kleist 2016; Petersen 1995). Other studies compared the land claims and self-rule processes in Nunavut with those in Greenland, paying particular attention to the disconnect between Native visions of how self-governance should function and the problems engendered by continued internal and external colonialism in the respective nation-states (Loukacheva 2007).

Overall, investigations within this domain increasingly recognized the existence of multiple representations of Inuit culture generated by different underlying assumptions and research goals. Ethnohistoric approaches designed for academic audiences rely on different data sources and have different goals from scholarship designed for, and increasingly conducted by, Indigenous peoples themselves (Aupilaarjuk 1999; Ekho and Ottokie 2000; Nakasuk et al. 1999).

Dimensions of Environmental Change in the Arctic

The most pressing problems for Arctic people today center on the environment. Inuit identity, well-being, and cultural survival rely heavily on environmental engagement in which subsistence plays a considerable role. Contemporary economic and environmental concerns have pushed both research and policy toward the investigation of the human-environment relationship in two interconnected ways. One research arena focuses on food, particularly food (in)security. A second agenda addresses the challenges that global climate change poses to the Inuit and their cultural survival.

Food and Environment

Food systems research in the North American Arctic has a lengthy history. Anthropologists have ap-

Photograph by Elspeth Ready.

Fig. 9. Beluga meat on drying rack, near Kangiqsujuaq, Nunavik, Canada.

proached the study of food systems largely under the banner of subsistence. The main emphasis of subsistence research was food production and the influence of economic changes on hunting and trapping. The consumption component of subsistence received significantly less attention but has since become a primary concern (figs. 9, 10, 11).

Research on food consumption in the Arctic initially investigated the relationship between health and the rapid shifts to purchased store food associated with settlement in permanent communities. Investigations during this period observed the correlation between the introduction of and increased reliance on imported, processed foods and significant declines in health (Mann et al. 1962; Mayhall 1976; Schaefer et al. 1980). Additional scholarship established the nutritional benefits and costs associated with traditional diets (Draper 1977, 1980). Later research compiled the nutritional profiles of country foods and established that the traditional Arctic diet is nutritionally superior to available alternatives (Kuhnlein and Soueida 1992; Kuhnlein et al. 1996; Moffat 1995). Despite the recognized superiority of country foods, the increasing significance of industrial foods in the diets of northern residents is well known (see Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996). The imported foods available in Arctic settlements tend to be highly processed, calorically dense, and nutrient poor. Consumption of these foods is associated with adverse health outcomes, including rising rates of obesity and diabetes (Egeland et al. 2011; Huet et al. 2012; Wesche and Chan 2010).

Research on food consumption, however, has not yet identified precisely why Inuit consume industrial foods with such great frequency; in Nunavik, Inuit allocated 55 percent of household income to food and food production, a significant economic burden (Duhaime et al. 2002). Economic forces play a significant role in constraining participation in subsistence across the Arctic and are highly influential in limiting access to both country and industrial foods (Lambden et al. 2006). Other research, however, suggests that acculturative forces amplify the desirability of industrial foods while advocating for health intervention programs, emphasizing southern-style exercise regimes and calling for reductions in the cost of imported foods, particularly fresh produce (Sharma 2010; Sharma et al. 2010).

Concerns about food and nutrition include potential exposure to environmental toxins and contaminants present in traditional foods. These concerns grew during the 1980s, partially owing to the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster in the former U.S.S.R., which released radioactive material from a Soviet nuclear power plant

Photograph by Edmund Searles.

Fig. 10. Eating *quaq* (fish to be eaten raw and frozen) at the Kuyait Outpost Camp with the Pisuktie family.

Photograph by Edmund Searles.

Fig. 11. Pauloosie Pisuktie with a fresh batch of *palauraq* (bannock) that he made at the Kuyait Outpost Camp.

and impacted Saami reindeer stocks and the herding economy in the Swedish Arctic (Beach 1990). The potential impacts of radioactive and other environmental toxins on Inuit health remain a significant problem (Berner and Furgal 2004; Downie and Fenge 2003), leading to speculation about the long-term consequences of chronic exposure (Boucher et al. 2012; Kraemer et al. 2005; Sharp 2009; Wheatley 1997).

Other research addressed how Inuit perceive the contaminants message, cautioning scholars to consider the nature of the discourse (Downie and Fenge 2003; Myers and Furgal 2006). Inuit frequently receive messages about contaminated food quite differently than scientists intend. Contaminants research tends to exclude Inuit knowledge, and Inuit perceive warnings about contaminants to be more severe than they actually are (O'Neil et al. 1997). Given the importance of country foods for both mental and physical health, mixed messages about food safety may have significant negative outcomes (Pufall et al. 2011). Most scholarship argues that the benefits of country food outweigh worries about contaminants (Kuhnlein 1995; Kuhnlein et al. 1999; Kuhnlein and Chan 2000).

More recently, concerns about food and health have been applied to the domain of food security, and standards developed by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (2009) have been used to document this problem in the North. This specific interest appears to be relatively new (see "Food Sovereignty," this vol.), though earlier work has linked the concepts encoded by food security within a larger discussion of subsistence rights (Freeman 1988b, 1997; Freeman et al. 1992).

Research on food insecurity has highlighted several important factors associated with food in the Arctic, among them the impact of food insecurity on health, patterns of food insecurity in communities, and the increasing impacts of global climate change on Inuit food systems. The 2007–2008 Inuit Health Survey of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) in the Canadian NWT captured the dire problem (Egeland 2010). Food insecurity affects an estimated 46 percent of households in the ISR, with 13 percent being severely food insecure. Members of these households reported that they disrupted their eating patterns, limited their consumption, or skipped meals. The remaining families were moderately food insecure, consuming reduced quality, limited variety, or less desirable foods. Such findings are consistent across the Arctic (see Chan et al. 2006; Huet et al. 2012) and reinforced by reports in popular and social media of the astronomically high costs of food in the North. Food insecurity has clear implications for Inuit children's health, well-being, and cognitive development (Egeland et al. 2010; Johnson-Down and Egeland 2010), findings reinforced by research on the negative health outcomes associated with food insecurity and poor diet quality (Château-Degat et al. 2011; Noël et al. 2012).

Research exploring variation within settlements typically addresses gender and food insecurity, finding that women in female-headed households are particularly vulnerable. Research in Nunavik documented the high prevalence of food insecurity among single women, attributing higher rates of food insecurity to the lack of a male hunter in the household (Duhaime et al. 2002). Studies across the ISR drew similar conclusions, highlighting the lack of access to the missing partner's sharing network as an additional consequence of the female-headed household (Collings et al. 2016). For female-headed households, the high cost and poor quality of industrial food further exacerbate the problems of food insecurity (Beaumier and Ford 2010).

More recent scholarship addresses methodological issues, given that food insecurity assessments were designed primarily for agricultural societies. Commonly employed food insecurity surveys cannot adequately address the country food/industrial food dichotomy that characterizes the contemporary Arctic diet (Ready 2016); alternative measures may be necessary for assessing food insecurity among Inuit and other hunting-and-gathering peoples (Loring and Gerlach 2009; Power 2008). More generally, limited attention has been paid to how Inuit experience food insecurity (Harder and Wenzel 2012). These and other concerns have been addressed by Arctic Indigenous organizations (see Inuit Circumpolar Council–Alaska 2014a, 2015). Despite these current limitations, the consensus remains that greater inclusion of country food in the diet is associated with both better health and reduced food insecurity (Egeland et al. 2011; Ford and Berrang-Ford 2009; Wein et al. 1996).

Inuit and Rapid Climate Change

Inuit food systems have received a great deal of attention, but it is abundantly clear that the most pressing research issue is global environmental change and the impacts of climate change in the Arctic on cultural survival. Scholarship in this arena has taken two specific forms, particularly since 2000 (see "Native American Communities and Climate Change," this vol.). The first emerged from academic engagement with Indigenous ecological knowledge, and the second stemmed from systems ecology approaches, which employ concepts such as adaptability, resilience, and vulnerability to understand ecological disturbance.

Although climate change in the Arctic was on scientists' radar throughout most of the twentieth century, it was not until the mid- to late 1990s that research on the human dimensions of climate change emerged almost simultaneously in Canada (Fast and Berkes 1998; McDonald et al. 1997) and Alaska (Langdon 1995; see "Native American Communities and Climate Change," this vol.). One of the earliest studies of Inuit observations of climate change documented local observations and recorded the specific strategies that Inuit employed to cope with environmental change (Berkes and Jolly 2001). It also established that, given the limited time span covered by scientific observations of Arctic environments, Inuit observations of climate change provided additional opportunities for understanding these processes (fig. 12).

Research on Indigenous people's observations of climate change grew quickly and produced both across-the-board overviews of ongoing knowledge (Krupnik and Jolly 2002; Huntington and Fox 2005) and numerous other works examining local climate observations across the Arctic, including Kotzebue, Alaska (Whiting 2002), Nunavut (S. Fox 2004), and Greenland (Nuttall 2009). Subsequent work reinforced the links between scientific and Inuit observations of climate change in specific ecological regimes (Huntington et al. 2004; Krupnik and Ray 2007; Meier et al. 2006), including problems of communication and documentation (Aporta 2011; Gearheard 2005; Gearheard and Shirley 2007).

Embedded within these investigations is a clear understanding that observations of climate change go beyond establishing how the physical environment has changed. Inuit perspectives, while providing useful scientific data, open a window to the meaning and experience of change (Huntington and Fox 2005). Inuit narratives have helped place the problem within the context of at least a half century of social, economic, and political changes. Consequently, investigations of climate change increasingly integrate observational reports as one component of the changes Arctic peoples have experienced (Berman and Kofinas 2004; Berman et al. 2004). Beyond observations of the changing climate and general environment are concerns about the impact of those changes on Inuit cultural survival, and research in this area has expanded rapidly (Nuttall 2005).

Examinations of climate change and human-environment interactions in the Arctic have typically employed ecological and systemic perspectives used in ecology (Gunderson and Holling 2002) and research on hazards and vulnerability (Kelly and Adger 2000; McCarthy and Martello 2005). In Arctic research, the adoption of this paradigm led to the application of concepts like adaptive capacity, resilience, and vulnerability to ecological systems in which humans are significantly involved. Initial work in this domain was largely conceptual and concerned with developing analytical frameworks and applying them to the Arctic (Ford and Smit 2004; Robards and Alessa 2004; Smit and Wandel 2006). The work quickly shifted to topically focused investigations documenting the impacts of ecosystem changes on Native communities. These impacts have included Inuit perceptions of increased risk associated with hunting and traveling in rapidly changing physical environments (Ford et al. 2006b;

Photograph by Igor Krupnik.

Fig. 12. Climate change has dramatically transformed winter sea ice conditions at many Arctic communities. This beach in Gambell, St. Lawrence Island, Alaska, in February 2017 has no shore-fast ice and just patches of floating young ice, preventing hunters from following established patterns of winter sea ice hunting.

Furgal and Seguin 2006, Tremblay et al. 2006) and changes in the availability and health of wildlife resources upon which Native peoples depend for their subsistence (Brinkman et al. 2007; Riedlinger and Berkes 2001), including growing food insecurity as an interrelated problem (Goldhar and Ford 2010).

Implicit in this research are significant concerns about cultural viability and cultural survival in the context of the rapidly changing environments. Research in Canada focused extensively on local observations of the changing climate in the context of traditional knowledge and skills and challenged both the viability of traditional practices in rapidly changing conditions and the efficiency by which that knowledge is transferred to the younger generation (Ford et al. 2008; Pearce et al. 2011). The approach replicated the old concerns about acculturation present in the *Arctic* volume (Damas 1984) in that climate change was perceived as a new significant threat to cultural survival from which Inuit may not recover.

It is clear that Arctic peoples do not experience climate change uniformly; regional variation in climate shifts may yield different outcomes. The West Greenland fishery's transition from cod to shrimp affected communities differentially. Some communities prospered economically, and social conditions and resource use played key roles in how people experienced those changes (Hamilton et al. 2003). Some of the prevailing concerns about Inuit cultural survival in the context of rapid climate change may look premature in the early twenty-first century. Adaptability is perhaps the key feature of Inuit culture, with its reliance on flexibility and mobility, an observation with considerable history in Arctic scholarship (Balikci 1968; Langdon 1995; Wenzel 2009).

Post-2015 scholarship increasingly questioned both the utility of the approach and the academic practices underlying climate change research (Huntington et al. 2019). These concerns echoed the cautionary observations of food insecurity and contaminants studies, suggesting that climate change scholarship replicated certain colonial patterns, like applying a concept of "vulnerability" generated by scientists while paying little attention to how Inuit might define or perceive vulnerability and what it means to them. This lack of reflexivity risks generating misguided policy actions, triggers discourses of dependency, and undermines Inuit value systems (Cameron 2012; Haalboom and Natcher 2012). Others warned that research on the human dimensions of climate change needlessly exoticized Native peoples, often presenting them as distressed and lacking agency, an ironic development emerging from a domain of significant concern to Inuit themselves (Hall and Sanders 2015).

Conclusion

The publication of the *Arctic* volume of the *Handbook* (Damas 1984) occurred during a major paradigm shift in Arctic social sciences. The later stages of "Eskimology" captured by the volume emphasized knowledge production about Arctic peoples in the context of rapidly changing economic, political, and social circumstances (see Krupnik 2016). When the volume was produced and published, the field was in the midst of a shift toward a new paradigm of "Inuit studies," which emphasized research *for* rather than *about* Inuit. The new Inuit studies paradigm increasingly targeted both non-Native professionals—educators, art historians, media specialists, public policy makers—and Inuit themselves.

Despite this shift in audience and focus, the central frames of the *Arctic* volume, particularly the tensions between adaptation and acculturation perspectives on Inuit cultural survival, persisted in Arctic social science past 1984. Subsistence remained a powerful organizing concept up to the early 2000s, embedded in investigations of Inuit identity, economic development, food security, and knowledge systems. In each of these different investigative domains, scholarship is oriented in a particular way, seeing the problem of climate change (as one example) either as one to which Inuit will actively and uniquely adapt or as a problem to which Inuit are particularly vulnerable. Nevertheless, while the research trajectories of the past 35 years are firmly rooted in agendas set in the 1960s and 1970s, a significant development since 1984 is that Inuit play an increasingly important role in influencing research.

Ultimately, this tension may be more important to researchers than it is to Inuit themselves, who are much more adept at referencing cultural beliefs and traditions and employing them to address the problems associated with rapidly changing circumstances. Although the emergence of "Inuit studies" (as a new name for the field) advocated that research be of and for, rather than about, Inuit peoples, the degree to which this shift has occurred in various specific domains has been relatively slow and uneven (Stern and Stevenson 2006).

One hallmark of this shift has been the growing incorporation of Indigenous peoples into design, execution, and dissemination of research. Examples of this shift appeared in the previously discussed movement toward knowledge coproduction and comanagement regimes and the emergence of Indigenous scholarship on oral history and cultural representation. This development has occurred alongside refinements in research ethics protocols and expectations of re-

searchers at both the academic and community levels. In academic terms, community-based approaches emerged from the postcolonial movement, which viewed academic research as complicit in reinforcing the power and authority of state agencies rather than attending to the needs of research subjects (Fletcher 2003). Community-based strategies emphasize studies that emerge at the local level, serve community needs, yield outcomes leading to self-sufficiency and autonomy, and develop sustainable programs to address local problems. In practical terms, these concerns emerged locally and regionally through the development of guidelines for research (Barnhardt and Kawagley 2005; Felt and Natcher 2011; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami 2018; Nickels and Knotsch 2011; Raymond-Yakoubian and Raymond-Yakoubian 2017).

Community-based research strategies are the first step toward truly decolonized research models (Chambers and Balanoff 2009), but, as noted above, their employment and effectiveness remain uneven. Rasmus (2014) demonstrated the potential of community-based participatory research to both affect positive change within communities and produce better science and social science, but she also highlighted that work remained to be done in this arena. Participatory, and, ultimately, fully decolonized approaches require academic researchers to accept and incorporate Indigenous methodologies and epistemologies (Andersen and Walter 2013; Graeme 2013; Kovach 2009), attend to the dynamics of researcher/researched relationships (Castleden et al. 2012; Dutheil et al. 2015), and prioritize accountability to communities rather than to external institutional review boards (Ruttan 2004; Weber-Pillwax 2004).

These shifting research regimes emphasize that, as the Arctic and its Indigenous peoples become increasingly globalized, future research must attend to contemporary social and political processes. That shift is certain to push new issues and themes to the forefront, such as the social and economic consequences of increasingly intense resource extraction activities; social and economic connections with southerners as drivers of outmigration and its consequences for Arctic communities; and the various political, economic, social, and environmental forces operating in the Arctic and how these synergies affect people across different scales.

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Subarctic: Accommodation and Resistance since 1970

COLIN SCOTT, WILLIAM E. SIMEONE, ROBERT WISHART, AND JANELLE BAKER

The cultural and political diversity of the Subarctic, comprising a substantial portion of the North American continent, is formidable. The area is inhabited by peoples of two Indigenous language families, Algonquian and Athapaskan (Na-Dene), which include many languages and regional dialects. The homelands of these peoples lie within seven present-day provinces and two territories in Canada, as well as in the U.S. state of Alaska (fig. 1).

Throughout colonial history, the Indigenous inhabitants of the Subarctic have made voluntary and involuntary adjustments to Euro-North American state systems, capitalism, and "Western culture." Yet they have also resisted unwanted changes. They have brought diverse visions and priorities of their own to their interactions with newcomers, have asserted their rights and identities, and have challenged mainstream assumptions about assimilation, cultural authenticity, and myths of progress and modernity. Indigenous visions and agendas have to some extent been system transforming for the Canadian and American states. Resistance and accommodation involve two-way traffic. If the two federalized postcolonial states have resisted Indigenous aspirations, they have also to some degree accommodated Indigenous livelihoods, tenure systems, knowledge, and demands for sovereignty. The possibilities for creative accommodation have perhaps been greater in the Subarctic than in more populous and settled agricultural and urban regions of the North American continent.

Subarctic, volume 6 of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Helm 1981), was published four decades ago and focused primarily (though not exclusively) on describing "traditional" cultures. But retained agency and autonomy were already hallmarks of societies whose domestic mode of production, land tenure arrangements, local political orders, and knowledge systems had interacted with the colonial fur trade for up to three centuries (Scott 2018). The terms of this interaction were, to a significant extent, set by Indigenous hunter-fisher-gatherers, who maintained relationships in the larger communities of life on their territory according to their own cultural visions and practices. The perceived lack of agricultural value of the North American boreal forest zone deterred settlers from moving into large portions of the Subarctic. Many of the small Indigenous settlements along the banks and shores of boreal forest waterways have little or no road access to this day and were long insulated from some of the ruptures related to colonization and the physical appropriation of Indigenous lands by the state. Still, even these remote areas experienced turmoil in the course of the fur trade, when commercial competition sometimes became bloody.

Scholars differ in their assessment of the level of structural violence of the fur trade, with some (Francis and Morantz 1983) finding significant agency on the part of hunters in establishing terms and modalities of trade and others (Sider 2014) regarding hunters' reliance on trade goods and an exploitative credit system as responsible for systemic starvation among hunters. Religious conversion to Christianity did not generally induce sedentization, but by the 1960s, both in Canada and in U.S./Alaska government-sponsored settlement schemes, residential schooling, hunting and fishing laws, regulated commercial fisheries, and increasing bureaucratic oversight affected broad-scale direct interference with Indigenous lives and livelihoods. Some areas, such as the Klondike River basin toward the end of the nineteenth century, had earlier been subject to large influxes of non-Indigenous people, phenomena echoed in the British Columbia-Yukon-Alaska highway and its offshoots by the mid-twentieth century, with accompanying sedentization of Indigenous communities.

In much of the Subarctic, the arrival in the 1970s of resource extractive industries from the South—principally hydroelectricity, mining, petroleum extraction and transportation, industrial forestry, and commercial fisheries, with varying degrees of Indigenous participation—brought the first physical appropriation of territory and resources under the auspices of federal, provincial, state, and territorial governments. In certain parts of Canada, particularly in Labrador and northern Alberta, low-level military flights and weapons training and testing programs compromised substantial Indigenous territory (Barker 2001; Wadden 1991). The cumulative effect of dislocation and

Map by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 1. Map of Subarctic First Nations and Native Alaskan groups (tribes). It reflects, for the most part, the areas of cultural-linguistic groups as drawn in the *Subarctic* volume (Helm 1981) with added new autonyms in use by the corresponding Indigenous groups today. The group boundaries have always been approximate, and the ethnographic knowledge on which they were originally based was not uniform from area-to-area. Shared occupation and use of territory, and sometimes contested territorial overlaps, were and remain common.

rapid change has been traumatic for many communities (Goddard 1991; Samson 2003; Shkilnyk 1985). At the same time, Indigenous peoples responded to intrusive "development" with discourses on decolonization and civil, human, and Indigenous rights, generating new strategies for territorial defense, even as Indigenous peoples' land-based lifeways and livelihoods developed more complex articulations with public spending, welfare state policies, and new wage and entrepreneurial opportunities.

Since the 1970s, Subarctic Indigenous societies have undergone remarkable institutional elaboration. Many of these changes have been driven by grassroots responses to resource extractive industries and accompanying state laws and regulations, as Indigenous groups have confronted infringement of their land-based activities, treaty rights, and cultural heritage. The changes have also been driven by demographic factors, including endogenous population growth and, in places, non-Indigenous immigration; the emergence of complex mixed economies (combining land-based production with market- and public administration-oriented employment and entrepreneurship, as well as government transfers); and hybridity between Indigenous ideas and institutions and those of modernity.

Scholarship on Subarctic peoples has undergone commensurate changes. There have been important developments in interpreting Indigenous worldviews, in documenting languages and history, in bringing women's history into play, and in understanding contemporary economies and politics. Scholarship addressing the realities of Subarctic peoples has transformed theoretical paradigms and methodologies. Collaborative, partnered, or participatory research is now the norm as Indigenous people insist on the validity of their own knowledge, control over their own

research priorities, and the power to shape their own identities. Gendered perspectives on all dimensions of Indigenous reality have emerged, closely associated with participatory approaches to conducting research (Fast 2002; Kassam and the Soaring Eagle Friendship Center 2001). In the Canadian Yukon and Northwest Territories (NWT), Catharine McClellan (1975), Julie Cruikshank (Cruikshank et al. 1990), and June Helm (2000), with collaborator Nancy Lurie, set a standard for long-term engagement with communities and their oral histories especially the stories of women. These works continue to inspire scholars to remedy male-biased lacunae. In communities that have suffered some of the most severe social trauma from colonial intrusions, women's leadership has been vital in finding a way forward (Fast 2002).

This chapter addresses the major material, institutional, and cultural arenas of the past 40 years (since Helm [1981]) in which resistance and accommodation are at play, and it considers the research processes—Indigenous, academic, and governmental—that both analyze and shape these dynamics.

The Transition in Modes of Research and Scholarship

Evolutionist thinking of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reinforced expectations that Indigenous cultures would give way to the ostensibly more civilized forms of newcomers. The chapters in *Subarctic* (Helm 1981) reflected, in part, efforts at salvage ethnography and at theorizing hunter-gatherer societies as imagined before colonization. But by the 1970s, it had become apparent that Indigenous communities and lifeways persisted despite assimilationist policies. Indeed, Indigenous peoples did not embrace a melting pot of modernity but maintained lifeways and relationships with the land through contemporary strategies and adaptations. Anthropological appreciation for these realities was manifested in interpretations of historical as well as contemporary change in Subarctic societies.

The well-known debate over Algonquian "family hunting territories" is a case in point. The earliest professional ethnographers (Speck 1915, 1923) regarded the family hunting territory system as aboriginal, predating the fur trade, but later interpretations countered this view of family territories, arguing instead that they were adaptations to the commercial fur trade and/or state administration (Knight 1965; Leacock 1954; Murphy and Steward 1956). Since the 1970s, a consensus has emerged that family territories pre-dated the fur trade and over the centuries adapted to commercial fur production and state regulation but are not strictly a product of those changes. Family territories have retained their economic, social, and symbolic importance in diverse Subarctic contexts, notwithstanding the decline in value of commercial fur production relative to subsistence pursuits (Bishop 1986; Chaplier and Scott 2018; Feit 1979, 1991, 2004, 2005; Mailhot 1986, 1997; Morantz 1986; Poirier 2001; Scott 1986, 1988; Sieciechowicz 1986; Tanner 1986), and they have also operated in tandem with adaptive mobility across larger collective territories.

Like the Algonquians, Athapaskan (Dene) people were understood by cultural ecologists to have undergone radical change through the mercantile fur trade (Wishart and Asch 2009). In this conjectural world history, Dene represented a collapsed, refugee-like society (Service 1971:77), not one of continuity or active resistance. Unsurprisingly, this view became a convenient rationale for government tutelage and industrial development plans. From the 1970s to the present, multiple proposals to build pipelines along the Alaska Highway and the Mackenzie River have assumed that local aboriginal societies in a stalled or retrograde condition should welcome development as a means of progress. This ideology has been seriously challenged by First Nations, anthropologists, and others who witnessed the situation firsthand. Thomas R. Berger (b. 1933), a lawyer and later judge appointed by the Canadian government to hold an inquiry into the development proposals, realized that such "progress" was based in southern imaginations for the benefit of the South (Berger 1977). At the same time, community-based challenges contributed to an alliance of Mackenzie Valley Athapaskan communities called the Dene Nation (Dene Nation 1975), which declared itself a polity with territorial rights and jurisdiction that preceded those of the Canadian state (Fumoleau 1977, 1984; Watkins 1977).

Ethnohistorical studies since the 1970s have also challenged the assumptions of conjectural history through a better understanding of the impacts of the fur trade, missionaries, schooling, and other state intrusions (Abel 1993; Helm 2000; Hultkrantz 1973; Krech 1979, 1981a; McCarthy 1995; Morantz 2002; Pratt 2009; Simeone 1995, 1998; Smith 1982; Usher 1971; VanStone 1979). Following an early lead by Osgood (1936), scholars have investigated variations in kinship and social structure to refute the notion that hunter-fisher-gatherers like the Athapaskans must live in relatively small, simple bands and that any other social forms could have arisen only through seasonal availability of salmon or with contact (Asch 1988; Helm 1965; Krech 1984b; Slobodin 1962). The complexity of kinship in fur trade society arising from the

unions of Indigenous women with European traders has contributed to other unexpected trajectories (Van Kirk 1983), including social rankings among formerly egalitarian groups (Mailhot 1997:48–70).

Not only have scholars adopted a new appreciation of Indigenous people as authors of their own histories, but scholars and Indigenous communities have also reassessed their mutual relationship in the context of anthropological research. Whom does research serve, and what sort of research is beneficial? Whatever ideals of neutrality and objectivity may inspire its practitioners, research produces "political" facts that can be used for or against Indigenous people. These sensibilities are associated with an era of cooperative research serving local people as well as the academy. All authors of *Subarctic* (Helm 1981) were non-Indigenous, but the authority of the anthropologist as interpreter is now challenged. Politically astute Indigenous audiences are not interested in social theory for theory's sake but in documenting their own culture and language and in amassing knowledge to transform their relations with the state, mainstream and global economies, and larger publics (figs. 2, 3, 4).

Collaborative, partnered, or participatory research (Baker 2016; Mulrennan et al. 2012) addresses land claims, environmental impact assessment, cultural heritage programming, community-driven conservation, and other processes to defend cultural practices and prerogatives (Baker and Westman 2018; Mulrennan et al. 2019; Scott 2019). Local and regional Indigenous self-government institutions must consent to research topics and methods and be able to review results before publication. In Alaska, statewide organizations such as the Alaska Federation of Natives and the Alaska Native Science Commission have developed protocols and codes of research ethics (http://nativescience.org/, active December 26, 2020). Locally and regionally, Indigenous leaders have designed procedures for researchers' collaboration with Indigenous knowledge holders for projects responding to community concerns (S. Wilson 2008).

Currently, in the first decades of the twenty-first century, a growing number of people from Subarctic Indigenous communities have earned academic credentials. Their work frequently addresses themes of decolonization and cultural survival (Coulthard 2014; Turner 2006). Indigenous leaders have written numerous analyses of their communities' political struggles (Bosum 2001; Matchewan 1990; Penashue 2001). Many projects have employed Indigenous research methods and collaborative work (Kovach 2009; Koskey et al. 2018; Schneider 2018; Simeone 2018; S. Wilson 2008). Narrative ethnographies by Brightman (1993), Brody (2004 [1981]), Moore (1990), Preston (2002), Ridington (2013), and Young et al. (1989) attest to this trend. First Nations and Métis local community organizations increasingly fund and direct research on their priorities, such as language revitalization (LeClaire and Cardinal 1998) through courses, online dictionaries, and smartphone applications (see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.); traditional environmental knowledge documentation (Brody 2004 [1981]); territory mapping (Tobias 2000, 2009); and recording of oral traditions (Ahenakew 2000; Marshall and Masty 2013; Ridington 2014).

Since the 1980s, postsecondary programs and institutions for Indigenous teaching and research have emerged. Northern First Nations colleges, Indigenous studies programs, and online courses cater to aborigi-

Photograph by Janelle Baker.

Fig. 2. Wilfred Grandjambe speaking in front of video camera, Fort McKay First Nation.

Photograph by Janelle Baker.

Fig. 3. Helen Noskiye showing her George Jones shirt while checking traps, Bigstone Cree Nation.

Photograph by William E. Simeone.

Fig. 4. Alaska governor Bill Walker visits the Ahtna community of Gulkana, 2016. From left, Michelle Anderson, president of Ahtna, Inc.; Craig Fleener, special assistant to the governor; Governor Walker; Bob Neeley; and Roy S. Ewan, past President of Ahtna, Inc.

nal students and scholars. Colleges in or near the Subarctic are more viable educational venues for students who have grown up in these remote areas and speak English or French as second languages. Indigenous language revitalization programs support Indigenous academics in documenting and teaching their own languages. These scholars are developing and working in immersion schools and cultural programs that promote Indigenous teachings.

It is apparent that the next wave of research in the region will be led to a significant degree by Athapaskan, Ojibwe, Cree, Innu, Atikamekw, and Métis scholars working within their own territories (Andersen 2014; Evanoff 2010; Fast 2002; Ghostkeeper 1996; Kovach 2009; S. Wilson 2008). This wave of Indigenous scholarship accompanies Indigenous intellectual and artistic productivity through a new proliferation of genres and media, such as fiction, poetry, documentary film, journalism, music, and painting, which often combine scholarship with art (e.g., Simpson 2013). Web-based media, particularly for youth, have become major sites of creativity and information exchange (see "Social Media," this vol.).

Treaties, Land Claims, Aboriginal Title, and Rights

The economic and political power and prospects of Subarctic Indigenous peoples are strongly conditioned by whether they were party to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century treaties, signed modern land claims settlements, or retained nonnegotiated aboriginal title. Athapaskan and Algonquian communities in Subarctic sections of the Canadian provinces of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta and the northeastern corner of British Columbia were party to the "numbered" treaties of "extinguishment." In Alaska, Yukon, Northwest Territories, Quebec, and Labrador, either no such treaties were signed, or they were of dubious legal effect (as in the case of treaties in the Northwest Territories).

Treaties

The nineteenth- and early twentieth-century treaties were characterized by major discrepancies between the textual and orally negotiated versions, given that Indigenous parties operated without the benefit of legal representation and without literacy and relied on interpreters. Government claims that the treaties accomplished cession and surrender of land rights are not supported by the actual discussions between treaty commissioners and Indigenous community leaders (Asch 2013, 2014; Long 2010). In the decades following the treaties, community members were subject to institutional schooling, learned English or French, and became familiar with the institutional procedures of the "mainstream" society. Ironically, most Americans and Canadians mistook this acquisition of intercultural skills as symptomatic of assimilation and the demise of Indigenous cultures. But Indigenous people

used this very fluency to orchestrate legal and political opposition to resource-extractive rushes on their territories post-1970.

Treaties did guarantee Canadian First Nations the right to pursue vocations of hunting, trapping, and fishing on and off reserve on federal and provincial Crown lands. In recent decades, however, natural resource extraction on such lands has often forced people into reduced enclaves (Brightman 1993; Brody 2004 [1981]). This has markedly been the case with bitumen deposits in northern Alberta and related oil and gas extraction and pipelines that extend into British Columbia and Saskatchewan. First Nations have met this sudden and large-scale disruption of the landscape with direct action, litigation, and negotiation.

Some Canadian First Nations in treaty areas were missed or overlooked by treaty commission parties. These include, for example, the Bear Island Anishinaabe in northern Ontario and the Lubicon Cree in northern Alberta (Martin-Hill 2008). Such nontreaty communities occupy a jurisdictional limbo regarding territorial rights. Canada does not recognize other Indigenous people as "status Indians"—most commonly because they had an identifiable non-Indigenous paternal ancestor when registry lists were created—and they live without support from the federal government.

In the Subarctic region of Canada's western provinces, most reserves have adjacent or internal settlements for Métis community members or women and their descendants who lost Indian status through outmarriage under the federal Indian Act, though some regained status through Bill C-31 in 1985, designed to mitigate gender discrimination. Métis in the Subarctic have strong historical ties to the fur trade and are thoroughly intermarried with and socialized into status Indian communities. Their ambiguous status has produced variable accommodation. Eight Métis settlements in northern Alberta occupy the only constitutionally protected Métis land base in Canada. In the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (Anonymous 1976), the Crees refused to have nonstatus relatives excluded as beneficiaries of the agreement. In 2003, Métis gained recognition from the Supreme Court of Canada of their aboriginal right to harvest food (Canada, Supreme Court 2003), and in 2016, the Court ruled that the federal government must recognize more comprehensive jurisdictional responsibilities for Métis as holders of aboriginal rights, with effects to be negotiated and implemented (Canada, Supreme Court 2016).

The experience of communities affected by the Northern Flood Agreement (NFA; Anonymous 1977) in northern Manitoba illustrated the enormous difficulties facing Subarctic communities whose ancestors were signatories to the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century "treaties of extinguishment." The five allied communities experienced environmental and social dislocations from the massive Churchill-Nelson Rivers Hydro Diversion Project. Negotiated provisions for compensation, environmental remedial measures, and enhanced community development were largely ignored by the governments of Manitoba and Canada, who instead pursued a protracted campaign of divide and rule. Through a combination of pressures (including targeted underfunding of recalcitrant communities) and enticements, communities were split from the alliance one by one in exchange for immediate rewards that not only failed to meet the key principles and objectives of the original NFA but also erected barriers to litigation should the government signatories default on the agreed-upon terms (Brown and Chodkiewicz 1999; Kulchyski 2008; Kulchyski et al. 2006).

Comprehensive Claims Settlements

Among Subarctic regions not subject to late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century treaties, the possibilities for regional-scale settlements and sustainable political solidarity have been greater. Land claims settlements have involved both accommodation and resistance. On the one hand, such settlements have established terms for state- and corporate-sponsored "development" of Indigenous lands, waters, and resources. On the other hand, in both Canada and Alaska, Indigenous people secured permanent land bases, together with a set of bridging or hybrid institutions, rights and benefits that provide the means for collective action, and emergent new regional polities. In neither case have they secured title to all traditional territories. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 (ANCSA; U.S. Congress 1971a) afforded the Ahtna people title to about 7 percent of their traditional territory. But unlike the Canadian settlements, ANCSA extinguished aboriginal subsistence claims, and while the subsequent Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980 (ANILCA; U.S. Congress 1980) provided some relief in this regard, it did not recognize tribal rights. Neither ANCSA nor ANILCA provided for the comanagement of wildlife resources in Alaska, a standard feature of Canadian settlements.

Cash compensation has been a major feature of all comprehensive claims settlements. In exchange for relinquishing their aboriginal land claims and hunting and fishing rights, and to clear the way for the construction of the trans-Alaska oil pipeline, Alaska Natives received $1 billion and 49 million acres of land under ANCSA (Anderson 2007). The land was not

converted to reservations but rather conveyed to Native corporations, whose stockholders are the Native people (Arnold 1976; Burch 1984; Worl 2008a). In the decades since, Native-owned regional and village corporations and affiliated nonprofits have contributed substantially to the state economy; administered health, housing, and energy programs; devoted resources to perpetuate their rich and varied cultures; and fought for state and federal recognition of tribal governments and subsistence rights.

But ANCSA has created tensions within the Alaska Native community. Because ANCSA lands are private property, some Natives fear that the land could be lost through corporate failure, corporate takeover, or taxation (Berger 1985), although these fears have been addressed partly through subsequent amendments to the act (Worl 2008a). In some cases, ANCSA has also resulted in a power shift under which local tribal governments have lost control to regional entities that retain control of land and money. There is concern that corporate fiduciary obligations to generate profits and provide dividends from land assets will undermine village use of that same land for traditional subsistence (Langdon 1986; Moore 1997). To protect the land, the Native sovereignty movement, developed partly in reaction to ANSCA, advocates dissolving the ANCSA corporations and retribalizing ANCSA lands (Jacobs and Hirsch 1998).

Although ANCSA extinguished aboriginal hunting and fishing rights, ANILCA, passed by the U.S. Congress in 1980, included protection for customary subsistence uses of Alaska Natives and other rural residents (Anderson 2007; Case and Voluck 2012). In 1989, however, the Alaska Supreme Court ruled that under the Alaska Constitution, the subsistence hunting and fishing priority was open to all Alaska residents, urban and rural, Native and non-Native alike. Non-Native urban sport hunting and fishing groups have been influential in blocking attempts to amend the state constitution. In 1990, the federal government took over authority for subsistence management on federal lands to uphold a rural preference, with the state retaining authority on state and privately owned (including Native) lands (Morehouse and Holleman 1994).

The Canadian model for comprehensive claims settlements first emerged with the 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA; Anonymous 1976) in the wake of litigation against Hydro-Québec's LaGrande-Eastmain hydroelectric project (fig. 5). This agreement triggered a remarkable accumulation of political power by the Cree of Eeyou Istchee (Feit 1989; Salisbury 1986; Scott 2008, 2013), hinging on Cree success in maintaining regional unity and employing multiple creative legal, political, and public relations strategies to secure a series of advantageous complementary agreements. In the early 1990s, with the advantages of the organization, resources, and experience gained in the earlier round, the Grand Council of the Crees (GCC) blocked Hydro-Québec's Great Whale hydroelectric complex (Craik 2004). This success, together with the GCC's role in opposing the "yes" option in Quebec's 1995 independence referendum, persuaded the Quebec provincial government that it was henceforth wiser to gain Cree consent to future development projects.

The New Relationship agreement ("La Paix des Braves"; Anonymous 2002) that followed included enhanced environmental protection through forestry comanagement (Scott 2005). The Paix des Braves agreement provided a Cree share of resource revenues from hydroelectricity, forestry, and mining of not less than $3.5 billion for the next 50 years, indexed to any increased extraction, and renegotiable at the end of that term. The financial benefits, an order of magnitude greater than the compensation received under the JBNQA, involved acceptance of Hydro-Québec's Rupert River Diversion, flooding about one-tenth the area of the initial LaGrande-Eastmain project.

But the Crees' success has been difficult to duplicate elsewhere in Quebec (Charest 2008). The Mamuitun-Nutashkuan agreement-in-principle (Anonymous 2004) declared an intention to harmonize resource exploitation with the approaches to conservation and biodiversity expressed by the Innu (formerly, Montagnais) community. Proposed compensation, however, was not comparable to that achieved by the Cree. The wording of the agreement was careful to protect the conventional jurisdictional prerogatives of Canada and Quebec over most traditional Innu lands, made the intention to engage Innu in governance nonbinding, and explicitly ruled out legal recourse. Not surprisingly, a final agreement remains elusive.

In such contexts, many Canadian First Nations are forced to rely on piecemeal negotiations with provincial and federal governments and/or resource extractive companies, project by project and community by community (see Wyatt [2006] for an Atikamekw example). Direct negotiation with companies is no substitute for nation-to-nation relations with the state, which alone have the power to negotiate broad territorial and governmental rights and interests. As a result, bitter litigation and/or direct action risking criminalization of Indigenous resisters can become endemic (Matchewan 1990; Pasternak 2017; Richardson 1993:146–165; Trudel 2005).

The Innu people of Labrador have endured particularly rapid social change, making a transition from largely nomadic reliance on migratory caribou in the

Photograph by Katherine Scott.

Fig. 5. Old and new elements of village life in Wemindji, James Bay, which is a Cree community of 1,400 residents on the east coast of James Bay at the mouth of the Maquatua River in Quebec, Canada.

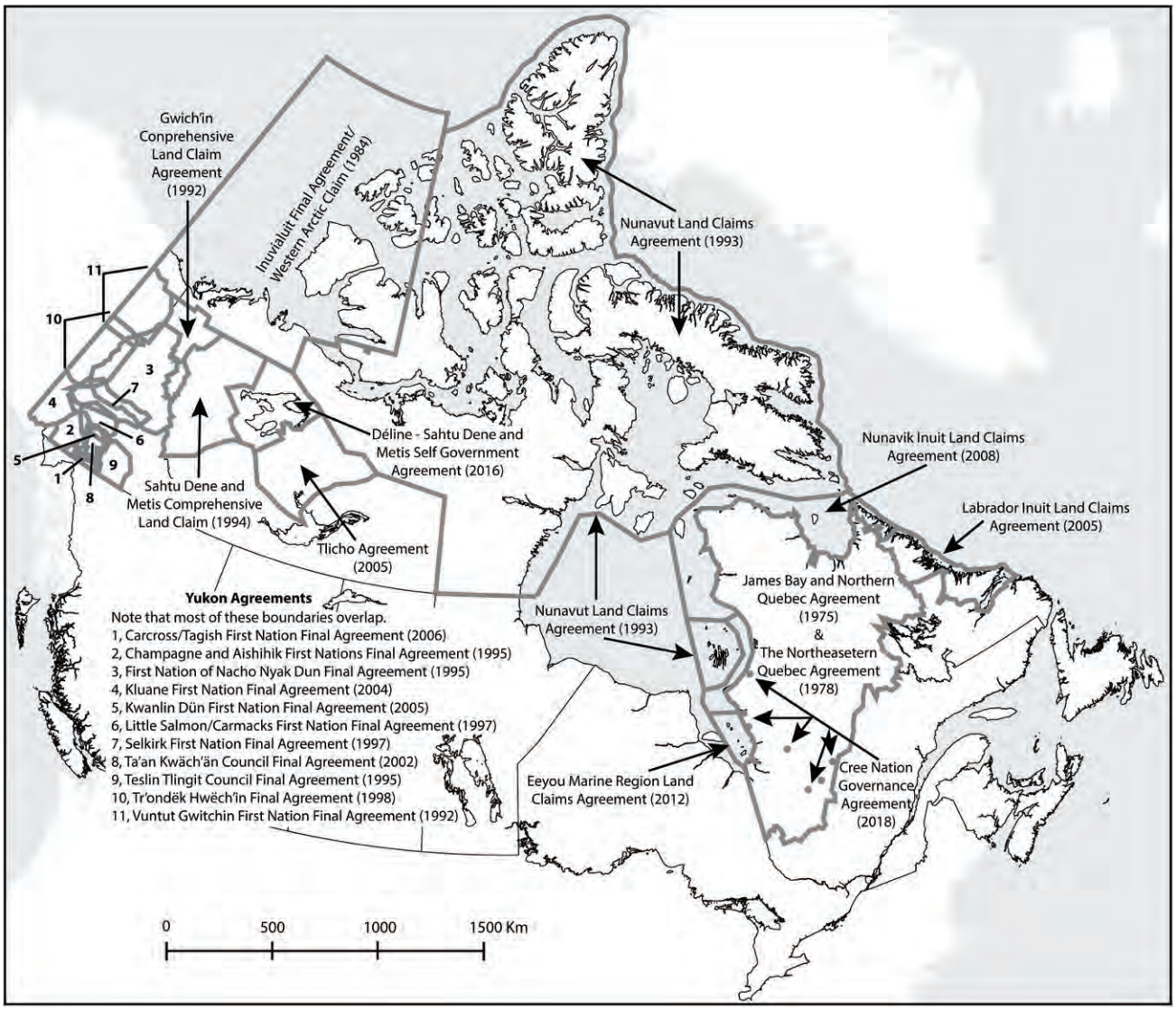
1960s to settlement-based life on the Labrador coast in the span of a few short years (Armitage 1991; Henriksen 1973). Their major challenges with respect to territorial infringement include the Churchill Falls hydroelectric development and the low-level jet flights over extensive portions of their hunting territory and homeland under a NATO pilot training program (Barker 2001). For some time, the Innu response has been complicated by their ambiguous status, since Newfoundland-Labrador (the "Newfoundland Dominion") had joined the Canadian Confederation in 1949 on the initial condition that the federal Indian Act and, presumably, various aspects of Canadian aboriginal rights doctrine would not apply in the new provincial jurisdiction (Tanner 1993). The achievement of an acceptable comprehensive claims settlement has been difficult, though an agreement-in-principle has been reached (Anonymous 2011b).

Comprehensive claims settlements in Canada's NWT and the Yukon have been more forthcoming. The Dene people in the NWT were party to Treaty 8 (1899), which also covered northern parts of British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan as well as the southeast corner of the NWT, and to Treaty 11 (1921), which covered nearly all remaining NWT Dene lands and a small part of the southern Yukon. In most of the Yukon Territory, there were no treaties. Dene oral history, including that of living witnesses of Treaty 11, helped persuade the Supreme Court of the NWT that the Dene had not negotiated extinguishment, a finding not overturned in a 1977 decision before the Supreme Court of Canada (Asch 2013, 2014; Fumoleau 1977). Canada began to negotiate with the Dene Nation on a regional basis as a result of various factors—the Dene Nation's embrace of the oral version of the treaties and insistence on nation-to-nation negotiations with Canada, the impetus to settle claims generated by the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and its Alaska Highway alternative (Berger 1977; Lysyk et al. 1977), the Supreme Court of Canada's watershed Calder decision (Canada, Supreme Court 1973) affirming aboriginal title, and Canada's ensuing comprehensive claims policy.

In the NWT, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement of 1984 (covering the land used by the Inuit/Inuvialuit; see "Arctic," this vol.) put additional pressure on the Dene Nation to make similar agreements. The Gwich'in (formerly known as Kutchin) Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement (Anonymous 1992), the Sahtu Dene and Metis Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement (Anonymous 1994), and the Tlicho Agreement (Anonymous 2003) followed (fig. 6). At present the Deh Cho region remains without a final settlement, with some preferring to seek decolonization and have their title as a nation recognized. In the Yukon Territory, 12 Yukon First Nations came together in 1968 as the Yukon Indian Brotherhood to press for their collective rights and seek recompense for damage done to their lands and people during the Yukon gold rush and the construction of the Alaska Highway. The publication of a joint statement, *Together Today for Our Children Tomorrow*, by the Yukon Indian People (Council for Yukon Indians 1977) communicated the resolve of the Yukon First Nations to pursue recognition of their rights while rejecting the colonial imposition of the distinction between status and nonstatus Indians. In 1990, the Council for Yukon Indians and the government of Canada signed an Umbrella Final Agreement (Anonymous 1990), which was to serve as a guide for resolving the claims of the individual First Nations. To date, 11 final settlements have taken place under this umbrella).

Consultation Is Not Consent

The past four decades have witnessed significant differences in the strategies pursued and patterns of change experienced by Subarctic Indigenous people based on whether they have been subject to historical treaties, contemporary claim settlements, or aboriginal title unmodified by agreement. In general, Canadian First Nations with historical numbered treaties—at least those who have not successfully challenged the written versions—have had far less leverage than those retaining unnegotiated aboriginal title or comprehensive claim settlements. On the strength of aboriginal title undiminished by treaty, the Tsilhqot'in (formerly Chilkotin; Lane 1981) of northern British



Map redrawn by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History. From Canada 2019.

Fig. 6. Map of Canadian First Nations and Inuit land claims and self-government agreements (with effective dates).

Columbia have had their title to 1,700 km^2 of their traditional territory recognized by the Supreme Court of Canada (Canada, Supreme Court 2014). That title includes a right to use, enjoy, and profit from the land. Development on aboriginal title land can occur if the title holders consent or if the Crown can demonstrate a "pressing and substantial" need for development—in other words, aboriginal consent is a usual but not absolute requirement.

The development of international law on the rights of Indigenous peoples has exerted pressure through the new standard of "free, prior and informed consent" (United Nations 2013). Canadian jurisprudence has reinforced federal, provincial, and territorial governments' legal "duty to consult" communities and to "reasonably accommodate" rights and interests affected by development projects. Consultation and accommodation, however, are not the same as consent. Pursuant to the Supreme Court of Canada's Mikisew Cree Decision (Canada, Supreme Court 2005), Cree and Dene communities faced myriad requests for consultation on proposed oil and gas developments. Consultation typically takes a "stakeholder management" approach (Passelac-Ross and Potes 2007) with a proponent informing First Nations of a project then hiring an environmental consulting firm to undertake a traditional land use (TLU) assessment for the environmental impact assessment (EIA).

By 2016, many First Nations had instituted departments within their band offices to deal with hundreds of applications annually. Under impossible deadlines, they perform land-based interviews and surveys and

report on their concerns and predictions concerning project impacts on their land use rights. The process favors site-specific mapping of culturally significant features so they can be avoided or impacts can be mitigated; it is not a holistic approach to impacts, immediate and cumulative, of dislocation from livelihoods. For companies, governments, and consultants, traditional environmental knowledge becomes a commodity, something available for a price to satisfy a regulation (Baker and Westman 2018). Knowledge that does not fit neatly into "scientific" impact assessments and report writing is disregarded, while selected elements of traditional ecological knowledge (Nadasdy 2005a) enable work to continue by fulfilling consultation requirements and allowing for project approval. Such rubber-stamping fails standards of meaningful consultation and accommodation, sound research practice (Westman 2013:111), or reconciliation (Laidlaw and Passelac-Ross 2014), let alone respect for a right of consent or veto that might signal relinquishment of colonial control by the state (Scott 2001:431).

Defending and Nurturing Land-Based Lifeways and Livelihoods

Berger's seminal volume *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland* (Berger 1977), which presents the results of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, captured the tension between southern mainstream and northern Indigenous perspectives—resource hinterland versus inhabited homeland. Indigenous resistance has so often centered on issues of land rights and subsistence that go to the heart of Indigenous culture and identity (fig. 7). These issues represent, among other things, autonomy, security, and community. Intrusions on Indigenous connections to their places and territories have typically become flashpoints in a tug-of-war of accommodation and resistance between Indigenous communities, state policymakers, regulators, enforcers, and corporate developers. Indigenous people are repeatedly forced into the courts to challenge these intrusions. Indigenous activists also regularly take to the streets and to hinterland byways, blocking logging roads and pipeline concessions, demonstrating at legislatures, and generally employing a variety of strategies of civil disobedience and direct action. Indigenous communities have become media savvy, amassing public support and networking with environmental and human rights nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to influence state governments. In some instances, as with the Great Whale River hydroelectric project in northern Quebec presented in 1986 and suspended indefinitely in 1994 (Scott 2008; Tanner 1999), the orchestration of multiple strategies in combination has achieved the cancellation of megaprojects deemed environmentally and culturally unacceptable.

Photograph by Janelle Baker.

Fig. 7. Fort McKay Elders boarding a boat on the Athabasca River, with oil sands mine upgrader plume in background. Fort McKay First Nation, Alberta Canada.

But land-based livelihoods amount to more than the politics of identity. Subsistence research portrays a contemporary mixed economy in which cash and wildlife resources play complementary roles. The assimilationist argument that capitalist "development" will dissolve Indigenous society by absorbing it into the market economy assumes an inability to resist the pull of consumer culture; it assumes that Indigenous people are passive, not active, participants. Research shows otherwise. Berger's (1977) findings in the Mackenzie Pipeline Inquiry were among the first to challenge a prejudicial stance asserted by both government and industry that the local bush economy is either dead or dying and that large-scale industrial development is a panacea for the social ills of northern people.

Indeed, a strong wage sector invigorates the subsistence sector. Subsistence production remains fundamental to household economy and nutrition, even as mixed economy options have proliferated (Berkes et al. 1994, 1995; Berger 1977; Fall 1990, 2014; George et al. 1995; Goldsmith 2007; Kofinas et al. 2010; Kruse 1979; Lonner 1980; Salisbury 1986; Scott 1984; Usher 1976; Watkins 1977; Wolfe et al. 1984; Wolfe and Walker 1987) (figs. 8, 9). These insights have led anthropologists and their interdisciplinary collaborators to views of Subarctic development and sustainability that are culturally and ecologically adapted to the Subarctic (George et al. 1996; Preston et al. 1996). Cash economic development supports the enhancement of other aspects of Indigenous culture, too. Athapaskan groups in the western Subarctic use cash for elaborate potlatches that strengthen artistic expression, kinship ties, and spiritual connections between living and dead (Simeone 1995).

Photograph by Katherine Scott.

Fig. 8. The late Margaret Mistacheesick at her Camp on Moar Bay, Wemindji, James Bay, Quebec, Canada.

Photograph by Ara Murray.

Fig. 9. Eileen Koe making bannock at Dry River, Tetlit Zheh/ Fort McPherson, NWT.

While arguments defending the mixed economy have been crucial to Indigenous rights and interests, legal tests of sustained occupancy and use make it equally crucial to document how the land itself is traveled and intimately known. The Dene Mapping Project (Nahanni 1977) began a process of mapping people's travels, activities, and stories in a way that demonstrated the "mutually constitutive and interdependent" aspects of politics, voice, and the land (McCall 2011:54). It also began to set a standard for community-based collaborative research that valued the input of community members in all aspects of the work. The connections between place, stories, movement, and history have become an important research focus (Andrews 2004; Balluta 2008; Blondin 1990; Ellanna and Balluta 1992; Evanoff 2010; L. Johnson 2010; Kari and Fall 2003; Legat 2012; Pratt 2009). Julie Cruikshank's work in collaboration with the Yukon elders Angela Sidney, Kitty Smith, and Annie Ned (Cruikshank et al. 1990) is perhaps the best-known example. Such practices as customary justice (Ryan 1995), marginalized in official discourse, come to the fore in these stories.

Courtesy of Ahtna, Inc.

Fig. 10. Ahtna elder Katie John, circa 1995.

Subsistence, viewed as the backbone of culture, both a lifeway and a matter of livelihood, has been and remains a defining issue for many Subarctic Indigenous residents. The Alaskan story of the so-called Katie John case was an exemplary 30-year battle waged between federal, tribal, and state interests over jurisdiction over Alaska Native subsistence fishing rights. It involved a traditional fish camp located on the upper Copper River where John (fig. 10), an Ahtna elder (b. 1915, d. 2013), had grown up. The state closed fishing there in 1964. Twenty years later, John and another Ahtna elder, Doris Charles, initiated lawsuits against state and federal governments, winning the right to fish on their traditional land. In 1995, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals concluded that federal jurisdiction under ANILCA did extend to navigable waters on or adjacent to federal lands (Case and Voluck 2012; Nockels 1996; https://www.narf.org/cases/katie-john-v-norton, active December 26, 2020). In 2014, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected the last in the series of State of Alaska petitions to review lower court rulings that affirm rules for subsistence hunting and fishing on federal land and navigable waters, closing the case in John's favor after a 30-year legal battle.

Confrontations related to oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) in north Alaska have been another flash point since the 1980s in the continual struggle over subsistence rights, pitting the Nets'aii Gwich'in against the State of Alaska, development interests, and the neighboring Iñupiat communities, who stand to profit from oil development. For the Gwich'in, the caribou calving grounds on the coastal plain of ANWR are sacred sources of life, and they fear that drilling will not only compromise an important source of food but have long-term cultural repercussions (Dinero 2003; http://www.vgfn.ca/caribou.php, active December 26, 2020).

Over the history of negotiations since the 1970s, it is clear that Canadian First Nations and Native Alaskans welcome forms of economic development that provide wage or investment incomes that complement their land-based economy. Conversely, they reject anything that neglects their desire to continue land-based activities or that would impose disastrous environmental impacts destroying their ability to make a living now or in the future. Most of the Dene people eventually welcomed the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline in 2000, but only after environmental assurances had been made and part ownership of the pipeline was ceded to the Aboriginal Pipeline Group.

Relational Ontologies and Worldviews

The ontological premises—theories of being—of Subarctic Algonquians and Athapaskans are remarkably similar, as has long been noted for circumpolar hunters more generally (Hallowell 1964 [1960]). Relational ontologies, in which laws of reciprocity govern relations among all forms of life, are the norm. Brightman (1993) described a complex of respect for animals among the Manitoba Rock Cree, in broad outlines familiar elsewhere in the Subarctic (Feit 1988; Nelson 1983; Scott 2006; Tanner 1978). When hunters act appropriately, through song, dream interpretation, proper butchering techniques, and other observances and rituals, animals will make themselves available. An animal is given for a hunter to be successful and will be reborn to continue the gift cycle (Brightman 1993:103), provided the hunter treats the animal's body respectfully and makes offerings to the animal's soul at feasts (Brightman 1993:187). Practical ecological knowledge wedded to ethics of respect (Berkes 1999; Brody 2004 [1981]; Scott 2006) promotes subsistence without overharvesting, in a system of "relational sustainability" (Langdon 2002) geared to maintaining human–animal relations. In recent decades, ethnographers have increased their focus on taking seriously the ontology of reciprocal thought and action in hunting practices (Nadasdy 2007), while paying attention to the stories people tell about their way of being (McClellan et al. 1987), including systems of gifting and obligation (D.A. Smith 2002).

Scholars such as Cruikshank (1981, 2005), Rushforth (1992), Rushforth and Chisholm (1991), and Sharp (1991, 2001) have demonstrated the ways that mythical charters and beings continue to influence people in their daily lives, including the choices they make in regulating their own actions. Commensurate attention has been paid to the kinds of knowledge and how they are learned (Goulet 1998; Jarvenpa 1998; Loovers 2010). For Dene people, the natural world is inhabited by weak human beings whose primary obsession is maintaining the goodwill of powerful, knowing animals so that humans can successfully hunt them to survive. In times long past, animals and humans were undifferentiated; animals could speak and preyed upon humans (Cruikshank et al. 1990; de Laguna 1969–70; Kalifornsky 1991; Nadasdy 2003, 2007; Nelson 1983, 1986 [1973]; H. Sharp 2001). The culture hero Yamaagn Teeshyaay, "the one who goes (angrily) around the edge of the sky" in Upper Tanana language, took away the animals' power of speech, subdued those that preyed on humans, and transformed all animals into their present forms as the legitimate prey of human hunters, leaving them with knowledge of human attitudes and intentions. In essence, Yamaagn Teeshyaay established a new moral order in which humans became distinct beings but remained a part of nature and reciprocally obligated to animals (Krupa 1999), a reciprocity through mythical time also found in Algonquian mythology.

The importance of Indigenous ontology lies not only in appreciating Indigenous knowledge in its full cultural context. Relational ontologies are foundational to Indigenous conceptions of living well and of health and healing (Adelson 2000). There is a related concept of "political ontology" (Blaser 2009), describing the ways in which active "life projects" of Indigenous polities are pursued based on distinctive ontological dispositions and convictions. Relational orientations vis-à-vis other humans and other-than-human entities in the world shape the politics of environment and development in unique ways. Reciprocity, whether positive or negative, governs all relations between beings, an ontological conviction bearing on Cree negotiations with state and corporate actors (Feit 2004; Preston 2010a, 2010b; Scott 2013). Indeed, the spirit of the treaties, and the enduring expectation and insistence that they be honored and fulfilled (Asch 2014), is an expression of Indigenous political ontology.

Yet relational ontologies typically remain opaque even in deliberate dialogue about comanaging wildlife

resources, or ontological precepts are glossed over in cursory fashion by Indigenous participants as "respect" for animals, or "we share," or "we don't waste"—assertions also made by non-Indigenous people. A Dene political ontology asserts something more distinctive, sometimes expressed in a reverse anthropology (Krupa 1999) that critiques contemporary culture as the "White man's way" (Guédon 1974; John 1996). But it also combines a traditional Dene worldview with Christian tenets, embracing both as variations on a common theme, reaching for a universal normative truth (Dinero 2003; Kondo 2015; Legros 1999). The Northern Dene memorial potlatch, which includes the distribution of food and gifts, is cited as an example of how the Dene transcend cultural differences through the love and generosity expressed in the teachings of Christ while upholding their own tradition of honoring their reciprocal obligations to friends and relations (John 1996; Simeone 1995).

The call by Indigenous leaders and scholars (Alfred 2009) for governments to desist from interfering in First Nations' relationships with sentient landscapes is grounded in a multiplicity of attachments within the communities of life comprising their territories, which are to be occupied by First Nations according to their own values, stories, institutions, and everyday knowledge. For accommodation of this kind to occur, companies, governments, and non-Indigenous citizens must take seriously the possibility that First Nations' reciprocal relationships with other beings amount to more than myth or superstition, that there is truth in the knowledge that they share with us (Nadasdy 2007:37). Subarctic Indigenous peoples' ability to care for their homelands and to maintain social and ecological relationships of respect and positive reciprocity is critical to their self-determination (Scott 2013:365) and to counter the negative reciprocity they have so frequently experienced at the hands of extractive industries and the persistent colonialist practices of the state governments that license these industries.

Indigenous ontology, together with Indigenous places and territories, is a "place to stand" and a space for creative action not reducible to the forces and designs of state sovereignties and capitalist market economics. As such, its negotiated coexistence with mainstream and global social orders is to some extent transformative of those orders.

Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Comanagement

The growing acceptance of collaborative research and the strong connection between Indigenous rights and environmental integrity have been accompanied by a tremendous surge of interest in what has come to be called traditional ecological knowledge (TEK). There have been studies of TEK and diverse animals, birds, fish, and plants; TEK and climate change, TEK and fire management; TEK and water resources; and TEK and forest management (Andersen et al. 2004; Berkes 1999; Brody 2004 [1981]; Brown et al. 2010; Gwich'in Renewable Resources Board 1997; Jarvenpa 1998; Koskey and Mull 2011; Lewis and Ferguson 1988; Nelson 1986 [1973]; Simeone and Kari 2002, 2004; Simeone and Valentine 2007; Young et al. 1989). By no means has all, or even the majority, of this research been conducted by anthropologists; human ecologists, geographers, natural resource scientists, nutritionists, biologists, and others have joined in. The impetus for some of this work has been a statutory and regulatory obligation to include TEK in EIA, development project planning, and environmental remediation (Usher 2000).

There are disagreements between researchers about the nature of TEK and research methodologies. On the one side are those who work closely with the natural sciences and attempt to integrate Indigenous knowledge into the scientific paradigm. Indigenous knowledge thus becomes one source of data among others. On the other side are those who criticize this approach as a way to cherry-pick facts and specific intellectual constructs compatible with scientific rationality while ignoring Indigenous paradigms and relational ontologies. Indigenous knowledge, anthropologically, is embedded in a cultural system of metaphors that often differ from those of Western science (Scott 1996). The compartmentalization of TEK for bureaucratic management obscures the lived experiences of human and nonhuman beings, stripping Indigenous knowledge of its cultural context and reifying institutional science as the transcendent discourse (Cruikshank 1998, 2005; Nadasdy 2003).

Scientists and Indigenous people have nevertheless managed to collaborate on a variety of issues, though this collaboration has often been asymmetrical. For their own part, Indigenous people have vigorously insisted that their intimate knowledge of communities of life on their lands is as legitimate as the knowledge produced by scientists. Indeed, numerous studies show that TEK is based on close observation of very specific localities over generations and that these long-time observations are often highly discriminating in detecting changes that may be misunderstood or dismissed by some as merely anecdotal. Local views of the environment are sensitive to many factors, including observed changes in resources, circumstances of competition over resources, and histories of regulation (Berkes 1999; Nelson 1986 [1973]; Simeone and Kari 2002; Simeone et al. 2011).

Nowhere is TEK more routinely invoked than in wildlife comanagement. Wildlife management has had a long colonial history in the Subarctic (Sandlos 2007; Wishart 2003, 2004), countered to some degree by insistence in land claims agreements on aboriginal participation in joint management of lands, waters, forests, and wildlife. Notwithstanding the challenges of including TEK in systems oriented to the authority of scientific management, there are sustained efforts to integrate TEK into cooperative management bodies such as the Alaska Migratory Bird Co-Management Council (Brelsford 2009). Native groups, such as the Tanana Chiefs Conference (TCC) in Alaska, have begun fisheries programs partnering with NGOs and state and federal agencies to combine TEK and non-Indigenous science, develop local capacity and expertise, and advocate for aboriginal fishing and hunting rights (fig. 11). Statewide Native organizations, such as the Alaska Federation of Natives, and regional entities, such as TCC and Ahtna, Inc., have called for the development of comanagement bodies, and in some cases demanded primary responsibility. Ahtna, Inc., the ANCSA corporation of the Ahtna people, has proposed federal legislation that would enable Ahtna, Inc., and local tribal governments to form a commission to manage hunting of moose, caribou, Dall sheep, and bison on Ahtna, Inc. lands (http://ahtna-inc.com, active December 26, 2020).

However, the State of Alaska resists comanagement, especially when it comes to highly valued animals such as caribou, moose, and salmon that are important to both Natives and non-Natives. State agencies are reluctant to relinquish their management authority, and there is political pressure not to give Native people any perceived advantage or right, consistent with a doctrine embedded in state law that refuses

Courtesy of Ahtna, Inc.

Fig. 11. Ahtna elder John Goodlataw standing in front of a fish wheel he built. Fish wheels are used in the Copper River to catch salmon. Copper Center, circa 1995.

explicit recognition of "special" Native subsistence rights (Wheeler and Thornton 2005). On a pragmatic level, local participation in management decisions is often needed, resulting in some compromise on the part of state authorities.

The literature on TEK in Subarctic resource management is vast, but some general observations are in order. Although comanagement seldom amounts to decolonization in practice, where Indigenous self-management is rendered unworkable by the greater power of external interests, comanagement may be better than defaulting to state management (Feit 1988). Comanagement occupies a broad spectrum of possibilities, from genuine cogovernance on the basis of mutual decision-making and consent between Indigenous and state actors, to weak forms of consultation and delegated rights for Indigenous parties, with correspondingly limited respect for Indigenous knowledge (Mulrennan and Scott 2005). Debates around the historical and contemporary efficacy of Indigenous knowledge in wildlife management continue to generate academic controversy (Feit 2007; Krech 1999; Nadasdy 2005b) with significant stakes for Indigenous stewards of their lands.

Cultural Heritage

While Indigenous people have been resourceful and resilient in maintaining cosmovisions, customary tenures, territorial rights, and social and ceremonial lives (figs. 12, 13), there is no denying that they also experience a risk of cultural loss and generally agree that concerted measures are required to renew some elements of cultural knowledge. A kind of latter-day, indigenized "salvage ethnography" has been a strong motivator for abundant research in ethnogeography, Indigenous ecological knowledge, history, and oral traditions. Indigenous voices and researchers have been prominent in this work. Changes in patterns of land-based activity, some voluntary and some due to environmental damage associated with resource extraction, leave communities with a keen awareness of the need to record what might otherwise be forgotten.

Photograph by William E. Simeone.

Fig. 12. Tanacross potlatch, 1987. The drummers and singers are from different Dene communities. Left to right, unknown, Titus David of Tetlin, Oscar Isaac of Tanacross, Buster Gene of Gakona, Joe John of Tetlin, Charlie James of Tanacross, and Charlie David of Tetlin.

Photograph by William E. Simeone.

Fig. 13. left to right, Bob Jonathan, Andrew Isaac, Kenneth Thomas, Sr., and Oscar Isaac at Tanacross potlatch, 1990, consulting on the distribution of gifts. All are members of the Ałts' ị' Dendeey clan.

Agreements worked out between state governments, corporate developers, and Indigenous communities around specific resource-extractive projects routinely include funding for such salvage ethnography and archaeology. Traditional land use studies and assessments are helping to protect some important sites and are funding visits to places that are difficult to access to record knowledge and revisit oral histories.

Language loss is a central preoccupation, and there has long been great grassroots interest in documenting and revitalizing languages, as well as in documenting place names, cultural narratives, and cultural history in general. Communities in much of the Canadian Subarctic have relatively intact Indigenous languages, with almost 100 percent fluency in some isolated communities (Westman and Schreyer 2014). In contrast, in Alaska all Dene languages are considered endangered. However, the shares of people with native competence in Indigenous languages have declined in all areas, and even in communities where Indigenous languages remain primary, there are concerns about loss of knowledge and vocabulary associated with land-based activities, as the share of occupational hunters, fishers, and trappers has generally declined and access to lands has been inhibited through sedentization and industrial activity. Many Indigenous groups are acting to implement language and culture programs to counter the declines in intergenerational knowledge transmission. Notable, for example, are the teaching program and materials developed by the Cree School Board in northern Quebec, in tandem with an impressive dictionary, now online, that has involved the collaboration of linguists and Cree educators since the 1970s (Junker et al. 2007; Mackenzie et al. 2004–2007).

Since 1970, the Alaska Native Language Center and the Yukon Native Language Centre have made great strides in documenting Dene languages; by 2016, almost every Dene language in Alaska and the Yukon Territory had some form of dictionary (Arnold et al. 2009; Jette and Jones 2000; Kari 1990; Peter 2003), grammar, and/or tutorial aide. There are dozens of publications covering oral traditions, history, biography, place names, and ethnogeography (Attla 1996; Chickalusion et al. 1979; Cruikshank et al. 1990; Deacon 1987; Frank et al. 1995; Kari 1986; Tenenbaum et al. 2006; Tyone and Kari 1996), many of which can be obtained from the Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks. Of particular value are studies of Dene geographical knowledge (Kari 1977, 2008, 2010, 2011; Kari and Fall 2003), staggering in their detail and offering unique perspectives on human orientation to the natural world.

Beyond supporting language revitalization, the ANCSA corporations have joined together to establish organizations such as the Alaska Native Heritage Center, the Alaska Native Justice Center, and the Koahnic Broadcast Corporation. On the regional level, Native Alaskan corporations, such as Ahtna, Inc., Cook Inlet Region, Inc., and Doyon, Ltd., have started foundations to preserve, promote, enhance, and strengthen local cultures. Individual communities have created culture camps to teach and strengthen traditional land-based skills.

Many Subarctic communities and organizations are developing local and regional museums and cultural centers (like the Aanischaaukamikw Cree Cultural Institute in northern Quebec; www.creeculturalinstitute.ca/, accessed February 14, 2022), while also collaborating on international museum exhibits and publications (Thompson 2013). In stark contrast to earlier mainstream museum exhibits that were limited to urban centers and involved negligible Indigenous participation

(Boudreau 1974), more recent exhibits have toured the North and made use of Indigenous collaboration and joint curatorship (Jones et al. 2013; see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology," this vol.).

It is in the sphere of cultural heritage that the greatest number of publications produced by the First Nations themselves can be found. The recording and writing of history both for their own use and as a communicative device to further cross-cultural understanding have been crucial in countering the dominant state narrative of Indigenous societal collapse (Helm and Gillespie 1981). These histories do not reject change but focus attention on conscious decisions made by both state agents and Indigenous people themselves as drivers of change (Hein et al. 2007; Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation and Smith 2010).

Recent years have also seen growing interest in community archaeological exploration, material culture revitalization, forms of creative repatriation, and community access to museum collections (Andrews 2013; Pratt 2009; see "Indigenous Peoples, Museums, and Anthropology," "Access to Native Collections in Museums and Archives," and "Emergent Digital Networks," this vol.). Communities are engaging with museums, which are both repatriating materials and loaning them to source communities. Community members can examine and remake objects through a process of on-the-land gathering of materials, revitalizing nearly forgotten skill sets. Examples include the Gwich'in Traditional Caribou Skin Clothing Project (Kritch and Wright-Fraser 2002), Revitalising the Tlicho Caribou Skin Lodge (Andrews 2013), and the Dogrib Birchbark Canoe Project (Andrews and Zoe 1998). There has also been a growing interest in asserting continued occupation by reestablishing trading trails and traditional buildings on the land as a way of serving revitalization purposes and posing inconvenient obstacles to state reconfiguration of depopulated northern lands (Wishart and Loovers 2013).

At the same time, there is a general understanding in Indigenous communities that the representation of cultural heritage in central museums and cultural centers, even locally controlled ones, is but one tool for the intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge. Nor are cultural programs incorporated into institutional schooling in villages or urban centers adequate to the task. Land-based knowledge can really be acquired only through land-based activity. In parts of the Subarctic, a diminishing proportion of Indigenous youth have people in their kin networks who can take them onto the land to learn knowledge, skills, values, and outlooks in proper context. In an attempt to deal with this problem, a number of innovative programs have been developed, including culture camps in the bush, canoe expeditions, and long-distance snowshoe walks, led by middle-aged and elder local knowledge experts as guides and mentors. In some places there are also roles for Indigenous people in environmental monitoring and surveillance (e.g., local officers pursuant to the Eeyou Marine Region Land Claims Agreement; Anonymous 2010), combining local and scientific knowledge (Baker 2016). In the final analysis, it is the continued vitality of land-based livelihoods within a mixed economy that will ensure enough presence and activity on the land to guarantee the retention and renewal of important spheres of cultural knowledge and relationships (fig. 14).

Photograph by Katherine Scott.

Fig. 14. First Snowshoe walk, an occasion for cultural renewal. left to right, Justin Otter, Martin Otter, Linda Stewart-Georgekish, Shea Stewart, and Barney Georgekish of the Cree Nation of Wemindji.

Conclusion

Subarctic research conducted since the publication of the *Handbook* regional volume (Helm 1981) has been heavily shaped by Indigenous people's struggles for self-determination, involving a complex balance of accommodation and resistance to mainstream institutions of market economics, state authority, and modernist ideology. In anthropology, ethnohistory, language documentation, and other cognate disciplines, this research engages growing numbers of Indigenous researchers, many with professional training and advanced degrees. Collaborative and participatory research with Indigenous partners has become the norm, responding to the expectations of Indigenous communities, to legal and regulatory environments, and to humanistic and environmentalist ideologies extending through academic, governmental, and nongovernmental spheres.

The collective "life projects" of Indigenous communities and nations across the Subarctic area of North America retain significant moorings in Indigenous ontologies, while tackling a spectrum of issues related to territorial rights and jurisdiction, traditional livelihoods, environmental integrity, development alternatives, and the defense of cultural heritage and language. Research from multiple disciplinary perspectives, in conversation with Indigenous knowledge, has proliferated across this broad spectrum. The decades since the publication of the *Subarctic* volume (Helm 1981) have witnessed the emergence of a more politically engaged scholarship, in which Indigenous and non-Indigenous practitioners alike grapple with the meaning of decolonization in practice and in people's everyday life.

Additional Readings

For the most recent developments in the field, particularly in the areas of Subarctic nations' ethnohistory and worldviews, see Cannon et al. 2020; David 2017; Easton 2021; Mishler and Frank 2019; Sam et al. 2021; and Simeone et al. 2019a, 2019b.

Northwest Coast: Ethnology since the Late 1980s

SERGEI KAN AND MICHAEL HARKIN

Volume 7 of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Suttles 1990), published more than 30 years ago, went a long way toward representing a summary of the accumulated anthropological and historical knowledge on the indigenous cultures of the Northwest Coast from the time of Franz Boas' research to the late 1980s (fig. 1). While quite comprehensive in its coverage, it bore a definite stamp of the scholarly vision of its editor, Wayne Suttles. Trained at the University of Washington by students of Boas, Suttles was one of the last representatives of the so-called classical era in Northwest Coast anthropology, as far as his ability to conduct research in ethnology, linguistics, and archaeology, but his theoretical orientation was strongly ecological.

Given Suttles' scholarly orientation, the volume was most successful in its examination of the environmental variability of the area, in challenging the outdated Boasian notions of some Northwest Coast cultures being "climax" and others derivative, in describing material culture, and offering informative sketches of most of the ethnic and/or linguistic groups of the region, especially in the northern and central parts of the coast (cf. B. Miller 1991–1992:180–181; Harkin 1992:172; Kan 1992). The volume has been and continues to be a rich source of valuable information for researchers and those in the academic community who use it as a source of references for students. Descendants of the Native societies described in it have also found useful information on their ancestral cultures in its pages.

However, this publication has been less useful for those in the academic community and outside of it who do not have much familiarity with the peoples, cultures, and histories it describes. One of the volume's biggest problems was its heavy concentration on the past rather than the present. Thus, most of the historical chapters (with a few exceptions) did not say very much about the recent development in Native/First Nations economic, political, and social life. Moreover, these chapters tend to be written in the tradition of the older historiography and by and large did not discuss the meaning of the Native–European encounters to Native Americans themselves and the cultural reasons for the Native behavior during those encounters (Harkin 1992). The history chapters also tended to avoid addressing the role of conflict in Native–White relations (Miller 1991–1992:179–180). Moreover, while the work of the younger generation of Northwest Coast ethnologists, whose approaches departed from the older culture historical, functionalist, or ecological one, was mentioned in some of the chapters, it was not adequately reflected in the ethnographic chapters. Such important topics as the lives of urban migrants and residents in large local cities and several others were barely mentioned.

Finally, the volume hardly conveyed a sense of people's real-life experiences. This happened because the specific ethnographic chapters were written in the traditional style that emphasized rule-bound behavior and norms rather than daily conduct and social process (see Miller 1991–1992:182–183). Life histories, biographies, and autobiographies of and by Northwest Coast men and women, which could have challenged this overly normative picture, were mentioned but not explored.

Given the volume's shortcomings as well as our task to reflect upon the major new developments in Northwest Coast research since its publication (fig. 2), we were faced with a challenge of selecting the main themes and works to be discussed in this chapter, while also trying to be at least somewhat comprehensive in our regional coverage. As far as the latter task is concerned, we admit at the outset that our own areas of expertise are somewhat limited, with Kan being primarily a specialist on the Tlingit and secondarily the Haida and the Tsimshian, and Harkin's research having been focused mainly on the Heiltsuk as well as the Kwakwaka'wakw the Nuu-chah-nulth, and the Nuxalk (fig. 2).

The biggest change that has taken place in anthropology and related disciplines involved in studying the culture and history of the indigenous peoples of the Northwest Coast in the last 30+ years is the obligation most professional researchers have felt to ensure that their work benefits the so-called source communities. This new ethics—known as collaborative, community-based, or participatory action research—has emerged out of the changing ideological climate

Courtesy Joanna Cohan Scherer.

Fig. 1. Handbook brochure (flier) for the *Northwest Coast* volume, 1991.

in the United States and Canada as well as the needs and demands of Native/First Nations communities. In the words of Alison Brown and Laura Peers, "These new ways of working begin with the acknowledgment that dominant-society heritage professionals are not the only ones who know about, own, and control heritage resources: that local communities have rights in their culture and heritage and in its representation and dissemination" (2006:101; cf. Lassiter 2000; Strong 2005; Mauzé et al. 2004b). This new approach to research also often involves what has been referred to as "the repatriation of knowledge." This is particularly appropriate when it comes to enabling indigenous communities to gain access to archival documents, photographs, recordings of songs and stories, and other forms of cultural and historical data, which must be repatriated to them, and to engaging in (re)interpreting these data in collaboration with experts from these communities (cf. Anderson and Nyce 1999; Krupnik and Jolly 2002). In some cases, tribal and band governments, regional corporations, and other indigenous governmental bodies and nonprofit cultural preservation organizations have hired anthropologists, ethnohistorians, archaeologists, and linguists to carry out research for them. In such cases, local cooperation is obviously expected.

This collaboration has been more common in those places where the Native/First Nations community's relationship with the state (or provincial) and federal governments has been less conflictual and more cooperative. Hence, there seems to have been more collaborative research in Tlingit country than on Haida Gwaii and some other parts of British Columbia (Kan 2015a, 2015b). At the same time, some anthropologists have been actively involved in the land claims undertaken by the Gitxsan and Nisg'a (Nishga) people of British Columbia and others have carried out very successful work on language revitalization among the Coast Tsimshian (Cruikshank 1992a; Mills 1994; Stebbins 2003; see also Menzies 2004). Others have undertaken ethnohistorical projects in British Columbia and Washington state Salish communities involving close collaboration with local elders and community historians (e.g., K.T. Carlson 1997).

Most of the themes or topics that have dominated Northwest Coast research since the publication of volume 7, *Northwest Coast* (Suttles 1990), chosen here for discussion, either did not exist prior to the late 1980s or were just beginning to emerge. They include ethnohistory; subsistence, land claims, and the struggle for self-determination and sovereignty; repatriation of human remains and clan regalia and

Drawn by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 2. Map of the Northwest Coast Groups/First Nations.

other forms of cultural property as well as relationships between "traditional" museums, Native-owned museums, and indigenous communities; the work of Native anthropologists among their own people (autoethnography); recording, translation, publication, and analysis of oral narratives by Native speakers; a theoretically grounded (re)analysis of pre- and early contact ideologies and ritual practices; and ethnogeography and traditional ecological knowledge. Some of these topics have figured more prominently in southeastern Alaskan anthropology, others in the work undertaken by British Columbia anthropologists, and some have been central to the research of the scholars specializing on Salish and/or Makah cultures of Oregon and Washington.

The Ambiguous Significance of Claude Lévi-Strauss

One notable absence from volume 7 of the *Handbook* was Claude Lévi-Strauss, who first became interested in Northwest Coast culture during a period spent in New York City during World War II and who made his first foray into Northwest Coast myth in the 1950s. This was due, no doubt, to the resistance of American and Canadian field anthropologists to the idea of a Parisian armchair anthropologist making pronouncements on "their" area. Moreover, it is certainly true that Lévi-Strauss had no connection to descendant communities in British Columbia, despite having written extensively on the oral literature and art of their ancestors. Indeed, when Harkin was in Bella Bella in the mid-1980s, Lévi-Strauss's article "Structuralism and Ecology" (Lévi-Strauss 1973) published a decade prior, offered one of the more recondite of his myth readings, including of a Heiltsuk myth collected by Boas. The local reaction was, frankly, scornful. Nevertheless, owing to his influence upon the larger field of anthropology, apart from Northwest Coast ethnology, Lévi-Strauss was a significant figure.

Arriving in New York as a refugee in 1941, Lévi-Strauss was affiliated with the New School for Social Research, as well as the francophone École Libre des Hautes Études. He got to know Franz Boas in the last year of his life (Boas would die in 1942 in Lévi-Strauss's arms). Boas made him familiar with texts as well as material culture and art. Lévi-Strauss became enamored of both the texts and the objects. He was able to amass a significant collection of masks and other artifacts that are found today in the Northwest Coast collection at the Musée de Quai Branly.

Although Lévi-Strauss never conducted fieldwork on the Northwest Coast, he visited British Columbia several times and was well received by scholars, artists, and indigenous people. One such visit is featured in the National Film Board of Canada documentary *Behind the Masks*. In the summer of 2000, Marie Mauzé, along with Kan and Harkin, organized a conference at the Collège de France honoring his contributions to Northwest Coast anthropology, as well as contributions of other French ethnologists and their influence on American and Canadian studies of the Northwest Coast, resulting in an edited volume (Mauzé et al. 2004a). These contributions were in fact significant, touching on the areas of social organization, art, religion, and myth (Halpin 2004).

Lévi-Strauss's most significant research on Northwest Coast social organization, which demonstrated a direct link between him and Boas, was his contribution to understanding nonunilineal kinship systems, which characterize the central portion of the coast, including the Kwakwaka'wakw. Boas was baffled by the Kwakwaka'wakw *numaym* (*'na'mima* in modern orthography), which looked and behaved like a corporate group, even though cognatic kinship systems had no way to automatically define membership in such a group on the basis of genealogy. Rather, cognatic kinship systems were thought to produce flexible, mobile webs of kindred. Boas ended up by just using the Native term and dispensing with analytical language altogether. Lévi-Strauss's contribution was to introduce the concept of "house" to describe such groupings, while maintaining that they were in fact fairly common, existing, for instance, in medieval Europe (Lévi-Strauss 1982:163–187).

Another area in which Lévi-Strauss positioned himself as an heir to Boas was art. In addition to building a modest but still impressive museum collection, he addressed formal issues of style in Northwest Coast art. He began with the concept of "split representation," a direct quotation from Boas, publishing an early piece on "Split Representation in the Art of Asia and America" (Lévi-Strauss 1963). In this piece, he presented a comparative overview of Pacific Rim artistic forms, along with some from Amazonia. He posited dualisms of both plastic and graphic forms, correlated to dualisms at the level of society and cosmology. As with the concept of house society, he theorized an empirical observation of Boas, which both helped to elucidate the ethnographic datum and to further his own theoretical enterprise.

His magnum opus on Northwest Coast art is *The Way of the Masks* (Lévi-Strauss 1982). It is of a piece with, although not formally part of, his multivolume project *Mythologiques*. In *Way of the Masks*, he examined masks and their associated ritual from contiguous but unrelated societies, notably the Kwakwaka'wakw

and Coast Salish. He returned to another central theme of structuralist anthropology: transformation. Through an examination of the Dzonoqwa and Xwexwe masks, he argued that as mask complexes (including dances, songs, and stories) cross-cultural and/or linguistic boundaries, one of two possibilities arise: the plastic form remains the same while the semantic content is reversed, or the plastic form is reversed while the semantic content is retained. Here too, we see Lévi-Strauss's intervention as a theoretical refinement of a Boasian insight. Although providing a relentlessly "experience-distant" (to use Geertz's term) model, which is not supported by actual ethnohistorical data, his is an intriguing model for the larger issue of cultural exchange.

Finally, we associate both Boas and Lévi-Strauss strongly with myths and texts. For both, texts were reasonable substitutes for whole cultures, which, in the view of both men, were sadly disappearing around them. We lack space here for any detailed examination of his work on Northwest Coast myth, appearing in *Mythologiques* and elsewhere. His best-known analysis of a Northwest Coast myth is certainly "The Story of Asdiwal" (Lévi-Strauss 1967 see M.S. Anderson 2004). In it, he examined a Tsimshian myth collected by Boas and Hunt, suggesting a variety of oppositions in geographical, cosmological, and sociological categories, as well as the key concept of mediation. Through the mediation of these dualisms, sacred power is acquired.

Despite his lack of fieldwork experience on the Northwest Coast, Lévi-Strauss was nonetheless an important, even central, figure in Northwest Coast anthropology. As he said at the 2000 Paris conference, he was proud to be considered a Boasian; indeed, for many Northwest Coast scholars, he was the only remaining bridge to Boas and the beginnings of anthropology in the region (Lévi-Strauss 2004:1–4). Lévi-Strauss has exerted significant influence on many practitioners in the field. In addition to orthodox structuralists such as Rosman and Rubel, Marjorie Halpin (especially her early work), and Jay Miller (1997, 1999), many scholars would consider themselves quasi- or poststructuralists, including Kan and Harkin, Marie Mauzé, Wilson Duff, Christopher Roth, Marianne Boelscher, and several others.

Ethnohistory

Volume 7, as in most of the *Handbook* series, maintained a synchronic "ethnographic present" as a sort of useful fiction allowing scholars to ignore the incursions of the Euro-American world. Boas himself pioneered this technique. Salvage ethnography, the examination of objects and texts outside the historical context of their production, in order to produce a simulacrum of precontact indigenous cultures, was the general method of Boasian and post-Boasian anthropology on the Northwest Coast. With a few notable exceptions (e.g., Codere 1950; de Laguna 1972), scholars of Northwest Coast cultures ignored historical change. At the same time, historians of the region tended to ignore or not pay sufficient attention to the role of indigenous culture and agency in the colonial encounter (e.g., Fisher 1992).

However, with ethnohistorical research on other regions of Native North America rapidly expanding and with the publications by prominent anthropologists such as Eric Wolf (1982) and Marshall Sahlins (1985) exhorting anthropologists to engage with history and dispense with the fiction of an ethnographic present, University of Chicago–trained anthropologists such as Harkin (1997a), Kan (1999), and Christopher Roth (2008), along with other scholars such as Marie Mauzé (1992a) brought a more ethnohistorical sensibility to the field in the 1980s and 1990s.

This coincided with efforts on the part of indigenous communities to collect both archival and oral histories, often in support of land claims, repatriation, and related sovereignty issues. Ethnohistorical studies employed oral history, along with archives of various religious organizations, commercial enterprises such as the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company, and government records. These ethnohistories often helped local communities to retain a social memory, while also providing documentation of sometimes forgotten events (e.g., K.T. Carlson 1997). More recently, a wave of ethnographically oriented historians such as John Lutz (2008), Coll Thrush (2008, 2011), Paige Raibmon (2005), and Alexandra Harmon (2000) have extended the ethnohistorical perspective beyond community studies, looking at various contexts in which indigenous people interacted with Europeans on regional, national, continental, and global scales. Robert Boyd's (1999) study of infectious disease and population decline on the Northwest Coast similarly situates the region within a transnational context. Missionization remains an important theme in the region, with works by Clarence Bolt (1992), Robert Boyd (1996), Harkin (1997a), Kan (1996, 1999), Susan Neylan (2003), Hare and Barman (2006), among others. Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown (1996) documented the history of the Indian Shaker Church among the Coast Salish people.

Ethnohistory has also approached questions of historical production and consciousness. Raymond Fogelson's well-known exhortation to pursue "ethno-

ethnohistory" has been widely accepted, albeit in various ways. Thus, Kan's (1991) earlier paper examined how, in the 1980s, Tlingit elders reinterpreted the early contact era shamanism in light of their own twentieth-century indigenized Christianity. Christopher Roth (2008) saw Tsimshian historical notions of historical praxis as anchored to title names rather than individuals; it is the names, and in a larger context, the crest groups, that possess historical agency. Harkin (2003) argued that the emotional content of historical memory must be attended to. Colleen Boyd (2009) situated this emotional resonance in the notion of haunted places possessing a pervasive sense of the "uncanny," in Freud's term. Boyd and Thrush's (2011) edited volume took the concept of haunting as a fundamental form of indigenous historical consciousness and applied it in a continental context. In a similar vein, Lisa Blee's (2014) recent historical biography of the Nisqually chief Leschi explored questions of social memory, emotions, and haunting.

In Tlingit research, ethnohistory has expanded significantly in the last 30 years, parting ways with a much more conventional history of the interactions between the Tlingit and the American newcomers during the first 50 years of American Alaska (Hinckley 1996). A more Tlingit-focused ethnohistorical work based mainly on primary sources from various Russian archives is a monograph by a Russian anthropologist and historian Andrei V. Grinev (2005) *The Tlingit Indians in Russian America, 1741–1867*, first published in Russian in 1991 and then in English. Grinev focused on the Tlingit-Russian interaction from their early contact till 1867 and also analyzed the (limited) effects of that interaction on Tlingit material culture, economy, and social organization. His study had much less to stay about changes in the Tlingit worldview brought about by their contact with the Russian Orthodox Church. That topic had been the subject of Kan's archival and ethnographic research between the early 1980s and the mid-1990s, culminating in a detailed ethnohistory or cultural history of Tlingit conversion to Russian Orthodoxy and the development of an indigenized form of Christianity, from the early nineteenth century to the 1980s (Kan 1999).

A different approach to the study of Tlingit ethnohistory is exemplified by the work of Judith Berman (2004, 2015). Her two essays on the history of a southern Tlingit regional group, the Taant'a Kwáan, combined information gleaned from the manuscript records compiled by fur traders and other visitors to the Tlingit shores with the one derived from the indigenous oral history tradition recorded by earlier researchers. By carefully comparing the ethnographic data with all the information on the Taant'a Kwáan she could find in the non-Native written records, Berman was not only able to significantly enrich our knowledge of the history of this little known regional group but demonstrated that the unpublished work of some of the anthropologists of the earlier times could still be utilized as a major source of important historical and cultural information and that this method of combining traditional Native forms of history with primary non-Native documentary sources is valid and can yield important results (see also Glass et al. 2017).

As far as more recent Tlingit history is concerned, relatively little research has been conducted since the late 1980s. Notable exceptions are the articles on the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) by Stephen Haycox (1986, 1989) and a paper by Thomas F. Thornton (2002) on the transformation of the Tlingit political organization in the twentieth century. Photographs as an important source of information on Tlingit cultural history were explored by Wyatt (1989) and Gmelch (2008), who focused on the work of professional photographers residing in southeastern Alaska in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (see also Blackman 1973). However, both scholars were more interested in the artistic and ideological aspects of the Tlingit encounter with photography. Kan's 2013 book, *A Russian-American Photographer in Tlingit Country*, is dedicated entirely to the pictures taken by an amateur photographer, a son of the local Russian Orthodox priest, in two adjacent Tlingit villages of Angoon and Killisnoo, between the 1890s and the late 1910s. Drawing on his previous ethnographic and ethnohistorical research in Angoon, additional archival research, and interviews with the descendants of the people photographed, Kan offered a photographic ethnohistory of a culturally conservative Tlingit community, whose members divided their time between their old winter village of Angoon and their summer residence in Killisnoo, where they worked for the local fish processing plant. Finally, another noteworthy current project that used photography to analyze the ethnohistory of an indigenous southeastern Alaska community is Mique'l Icesis Dangeli's research on the life and activities of Benjamin Alfred Haldane (1874–1941), a professional Tsimshian photographer from Metlakatla (2015). Being herself a Metlakatla Tsimshian, Dangeli was able to interview a number of Haldane's descendants and other local people who knew or heard of him. Having identified many of the persons photographed by Haldane, Dangeli offered an interpretation of Metlakatla's history in the late nineteenth through the first third of the twentieth centuries that emphasized resistance and cultural perseverance instead of assimilation and loss of "traditional" culture. Film also has been a subject of considerable

interest, both as a primary document and a visual text to be critiqued (Evans and Glass 2014; Morris 1994).

Another specific domain of southeastern Alaska Native history that has attracted several researchers' attention in the last decades has been the American tourism of the Gilded Age. Both Kan (2004) and Robert Campbell (2007) examined the expectations, stereotypes, and prejudices that middle- and upper-class American tourists sailing up the Inside Passage brought with them on their tours, as they simultaneously searched for exotic/"primitive" Indians while also admiring the Americanized/"civilized" ones and hunted for bargains in curio shops and Native street markets. Kan also discussed the degree to which the local Native people exercised their agency as far as self-representation and economic benefits from the tourist trade.

Sovereignty, Land Claims, Repatriation, Law, and Politics

In British Columbia, where treaties extinguishing Native ownership of land were never put in place, the status of unceded lands had been in question since the late eighteenth century (Tennant 1990; Roth 2002). Court cases worked their way through the legal system attempting to establish aboriginal title to land. *Delgamuukw* v. *British Columbia*, begun in 1984 by hereditary chiefs of the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en Nations, was finally decided in 1991 (Mills 1994). The initial ruling went against them, but in 1997, the Supreme Court of Canada overturned that decision, finding that an aboriginal title did in fact exist. During this period, the neighboring and culturally similar Nishga took the opportunity to sign a treaty extinguishing aboriginal title in exchange for cash, retaining only a small portion of the original land. Careful ethnohistorical work by scholars working on both sides attempted to fix tribal boundaries (Sterrit et al. 1998).

At about the same time, the British Columbia Treaty Process (BCTP), a six-stage process of negotiation between the provincial government and recognized bands, was begun. Only a few cases have made it all the way through by the time of this writing. As Roth (2002) noted, the ethnographic and political contexts in different parts of British Columbia, and the quality of reimagining the relationship of indigenous people to a settler colonial state from scratch, makes this necessarily a potentially radical moment. As he said in 2002: "It's 1492." By this, he meant that the recognition by the Crown of not only aboriginal title but of the political and legal mechanisms by which that title was maintained, was potentially earth shattering. Thus, the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs were recognized as having legal standing. They presented in court not as individuals but as temporary holders of titles, implying ownership of and authority over land, much like European noble titles. Moreover, a key feature of this ownership is the traditional legal principle that land can never be alienated. Hunting grounds may never be subdivided or given away (Roth 2002:154). Thus, in one sense the Crown admitted the validity of an alternate political-legal regime.

The situation is very different in southern British Columbia, where unilineal descent groups were uncommon. However, the role of anthropology in this process has been considerable. Anthropologist Brian Thom (2010) and many others have been involved in legal cases and treaty negotiations, continuing the work of Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy carried out decades earlier.

In southeastern Alaska, the Native land claims issue was supposed to have been resolved by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971 and the creation of Sealaska, the regional corporation, as well as by the Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act (ANILCA) of 1980. However, a number of serious issues involving the relationship between the Tlingit and Haida tribes, on the one hand, and the state of Alaska and the federal government on the other persisted, while new ones arose. With the exception of Kirk Dombrowski (2001), who critiqued the effects of Sealaska capitalist development activities on rural Tlingit economy and society using (limited) ethnography and Marxist theory, little anthropological work on the political, legal, or economic consequences of ANCSA in the region has been done, except in the area of subsistence (see "Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Ethnobotany," this chapter).

In Coast Salish studies, Bruce G. Miller (1992, 2001, 2006) advanced an ethnographically, historically, and theoretically informed understanding of Native politics (including the role of women) and especially tribal legal systems and their relationship to tribal sovereignty. By comparing a number of such systems in coastal British Columbia and Washington state, he demonstrated that despite their common cultural heritage and ties, each of these communities has taken a different direction in establishing a system of tribal justice.

Although a less existential issue in the United Sates, where the relationship between tribes and the federal government are well established, there has nonetheless been considerable movement in a number of areas. Religious freedom, casino gambling, Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), and other issues have been areas in

which virtually all of the federally recognized tribes in the "lower 48," including those of the Northwest Coast, have been involved. The distinctive issue for Northwest Coast tribes has been fishing rights and the related matter of fisheries management, especially the issue of dam removal. In 2012, the U.S. government demolished the Elwha River dam, leading to the restoration of salmon populations (Boyd and Boyd 2012). Daniel Boxberger (1989, 1993, 1994) has examined the impact of the Boldt decision for the Lummi (Lhaq'temish) and other tribes of northwestern Washington state, who have had an increasingly prominent say in the management of fisheries (see also Wilkinson 2000; Heffernan 2012).

In Canada, the issue of repatriation of ceremonial regalia has constituted a major point of conflict and negotiation between bands and the federal and provincial governments. In the United States, this process has been shaped somewhat differently ("Task Force Report" 1992). NAGPRA and the establishment in 2004 of the National Museum of the American Indian on the National Mall, has led to less of the sort of repatriation efforts that we see with cases such as the Alert Bay Kwakwaka'wakw. In the best known of the British Columbia repatriation cases, the artifacts seized extralegally by the federal government were returned to the Alert Bay community in the 1970s and 1980s. A museum structure was opened in 1980 as the U'mista Cultural Centre. Repatriation settlements were also made with the Kwagiuthl of Cape Mudge, with the Nuymbalees Cultural Centre housing these materials, and to the Nisga'a, in the wake of their historic treaty. This issue was first broached in the article by Gloria Cranmer Webster in volume 7 of the *Handbook* and has been followed by a considerable body of literature on repatriation in British Columbia (e.g., Jonaitis and Inglis 1999; Krmpotich 2014) (fig. 3).

It is not just material goods that have been repatriated. As well, human remains have been returned to Native communities on the Northwest Coast, including

Photograph by Bruce Granville Miller.

Fig. 3. Salish Repatriation. First Salmon Ceremony and the repatriation of a Sasq'ets mask to the Sts'ailes First Nation (formerly the Chehalis) band from the Museum of Vancouver, May 14, 2014.

the Haida (Krmpotich 2014). In this case, the return of ancestors has allowed the community to hold "end of mourning" rites, ritually taking care of what had been important unfinished business. In Tlingit country, NAGPRA has been important in the repatriation of both remains and artifacts. As Martha Graham and Nell Murphy (2010), Hollinger and Jacobs (2015), and Jonaitis (2017) showed, Tlingit *at.óow*, sacred ceremonial objects owned collectively by a matrilineal group (clan, "house"), make ideal candidates for repatriation. In fact, some of the earliest successful cases of repatriation nationwide involved such Tlingit artifacts. The essay by Hollinger (a repatriation specialist at the Smithsonian Institution's Anthropology Department) and Harold Jacobs/Kawóotk Guwakaan (a cultural resource specialist of the Central Council of the Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska) described the process of repatriation of a carved wooden headdress belonging to the Killer Whale Clan, sold improperly to John Swanton in the early 1900s and repatriated to Mr. Jacobs's father, the head of that clan, in 2004.

Despite the initial fears that many museum professionals had about repatriation resulting in the loss of a large portion of their collections, the return of the *at.óow* to their rightful owners and/or the loaning of them to Tlingit clans for ceremonial purposes have mostly increased the museologists' and the anthropologists' knowledge of Tlingit culture and have contributed significantly to the development of more cooperative and collaborative relationships between the Native and the museum/anthropological communities.

Museums and Art

In the age of repatriation, the politics and poetics of museum display—both in new tribal museums and in traditional museums—became a focus for scholars, activists, and museum professionals. Additionally, two new museums with significant Northwest Coast materials opened their doors in the 2000s—the National Museum of the American Indian and the Musée de Quai Branly. In a concise overview of the four major museums in British Columbia—the Royal British Columbia Museum (RBCM) in Victoria, the University of British Columbia (UBC) Museum in Vancouver, and the aforementioned Kwakwaka'wakw museums—James Clifford proposed structural oppositions (Clifford 1997b). He saw the "official" museums contrasting with the tribal museums in terms of the interpretation of the objects: public versus private, as well as the audience to whom the displays are directed. The tribal museums, on the other hand, work to destabilize assumptions about works of art. In the Alert Bay museum, objects are displayed in the open with no glass case, as they had been "imprisoned" for so long, thus imputing agency to them. In the Cape Mudge museum, the nature of the objects as private property rather than "pure" art is emphasized (see Cranmer Webster 1995; Sewid-Smith 2013).

Thus, within the two categories, important oppositions exist: the Alert Bay as the "official" representative of Kwakwaka'wakw culture, via its connection with Boas and Hunt, speaks to national, international, and "fourth world" audiences, while Cape Mudge is more modest in scope, preferring to tell a more local tale. Similarly, the UBC Museum asserts an aesthetic perspective, reflected not only in the display of objects but in the building itself and its setting on a cliff above Vancouver Harbour. The RBCM, on the other hand, integrates these objects within its overarching mission, to tell the history of the province. Differences and possible areas of agreement in the area of conservation between Euro-Canadian museum professionals and the First Nations of British Columbia were discussed by Miriam Clavir (2002).

Both of these strategies are subject to criticism. Michael Ames (1992), the long-time director of the UBC Museum, took aim at both the construction of historical master narratives and the aestheticization of living cultures. There are no easy answers when confronting dilemmas such as "art or artifact" or trying to reconcile national histories with community-based ones, the latter often containing an element of what outsiders would consider myth (see Townsend-Gault et al. 2013). Rather, museums by their very nature transcend the limited perspective that comes with their status as legacies of imperialism and agents of capitalism. At the same time, Ames suggested, museums do represent important spaces in which differing and often conflicting perspectives may meet. Still, the ongoing crisis of the museum is such that a major Northwest Coast scholar can ask if it is the "end" of ethnographic museums (Mauzé and Rostkowski 2007).

In a different approach, art historian Aldona Jonaitis (1999, 2006) and anthropologist Aaron Glass have continued to write with insight about Northwest Coast art, including, recently about totem poles, their history of display in urban public spaces (figs. 4, 5, 6), and the proliferation of totem pole carving in the last few decades by indigenous artists who use both the more traditional styles as well as more innovative ones (Jonaitis and Glass 2010). Ira Jacknis (2002c) produced a masterly historical overview of the relationship among the Kwakwaka'wakw, anthropologists, and museums going back to the time of Boas, and more recently pushed the temporal horizon back a century (Jacknis

Photograph by Marie Mauzé.

Fig. 4. Two recent Kwakwaka'wakw memorial poles (foreground) in the old 'Namgis (Nimpkish) Burial Ground, Alert Bay, BC. The pole on the left was raised by Johnny Speck at his potlatch in 2015 and carved under the supervision of Marcus Alfred. The pole on the right was raised by Marcus Alfred at his potlatch in 2014 and carved by Beau Dick and his crew.

Photograph by Houston White. Courtesy of University of British Columbia Museum.

Fig. 5. Reconciliation pole raised at UBC on Saturday April 1, 2017, representing the victims and survivors of Canada's residential school system.

2013). Collections at the Field Museum, the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), and many other museums were built up by anthropologist-collectors (see Glass 2011, Jonaitis 1999). Recently, the massive, edited volume *Native Art of the Northwest Coast* (Townsend-Gault et al. 2013) appeared. The trend in recent exhibitions is toward community curators, who reflect the sensibilities of contemporary communities. Recent moves by the Field Museum and the AMNH to employ guest curators, who are themselves traditional artists, is quite significant. The redesign of the Great Northwest Coast Hall of the AMNH is from the perspective of Northwest Coast ethnology.

Community-based museums, unlike their national counterparts, do seem to be successful in doing far more than providing displays of artifacts. For instance, the Makah Cultural and Research Center (MCRC) has provided a resource for many aspects of cultural retention and revitalization (Bowechop 2004; Erikson 2005 Tweedie 2002). It was founded not with repatriated items but with artifacts excavated at Ozette. These artifacts, among others held in the MCRC were used, for instance, in the preparation for renewed whaling and the revival of traditional forms of basketry. Similarly, the U'mista Centre has an active language-learning program, while the Nuymbalees collects local and oral history. As far as these activities are concerned, especially noteworthy is the award-winning Haida Heritage Center, which opened in 2007 at Kay Llnagaay, an ancient village site on Haida Gwaii.

Ethnogeography

At roughly the same time as the "spatial turn" in anthropology was occurring, a complementary "ethnographic turn" was happening in history and geography, with the cutting-edge work in this area occurring in the Northwest Coast (Carlson 2006, 2010; Galois 1994; Harris 2002; Thornton 2008; Thrush 2008). These scholars looked at traditional topics such as place-names and dated historical events but examined

Photographs by Aaron Glass.

Fig. 6. Contemporary carvings by Susan Point (Musqueam) at the Vancouver International Airport.

as well deeper meanings and memories that help contribute to the "place-making" process, in Keith Basso's phrase (Basso 1996).

On one level, all of this work is designed with the end of "decolonizing" space in mind. Thrush (2008) did this in urban settings, reclaiming the city for indigenous people, much as had been previously done for Chicago. Thornton and, especially, Carlson's work centered in localized rural communities. Thornton demonstrated that the Tlingit notion of space actually consists of three dimensions—space, time, and experience—each of which is both ecological and culturally constituted (Thornton 1997, 2000, 2004, 2008). By analyzing each of these dimensions, Thornton showed how individual and collective notions of place, being, and identity are formed and maintained over time. He also argued that, despite some fundamental sociocultural, political, and environmental changes that have taken place in the Tlingit world in the past 100 years, a significant number of Tlingit continue to connect themselves to places on the land in ways that are different from those of their non-Tlingit neighbors (2012). Going far beyond collecting and decoding ethnonyms, this work provided a rich and textured sense of the natural environment as both meaningful and meaning creating. Indeed, one prominent feature of Northwest Coast landscapes is the agency of what from a Western perspective would be called landscape features. Mountains, rivers, and other "natural" features take active roles in myth and social identity. Certain specific places—often ecotones or interfaces, such as between land and sea—are pregnant with the possibility of both danger and fortune.

The agency of landscape has been addressed most openly by Julie Cruikshank in her magisterial *Do Glaciers Listen?* (Cruikshank 2005). Although set on the very edge of the Northwest Coast area, it is relevant, as it is set in the Mount Saint Elias range and involves both Tlingit and Athapaskan cultures. Here, the glaciers represent both an obstacle and an opportunity for travel between the coast and the interior. The pathway to wealth, contact with relatives, marriage alliances, and so on, was fraught with danger. The glaciers played an active role in determining the outcome, based on the moral character of the traveler. The glaciers also became a way of talking about colonialism, culture change, and a host of related issues.

Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Ethnobotany

Along with other regions in North America, anthropologists on the Northwest Coast have become interested in traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) (Menzies 2006). This intersects with interests in sustainability and environmental stewardship, centered on arguments concerning the "ecological Indian" (Krech 1999; Harkin and Lewis 2007). Traditional foodways have been a focus of research for Thomas Thornton and others working in Tlingit territory. Tlingit subsistence, both

in the older and more conventional sense of a careful documentation of the Tlingit and Haida use of traditional resources as well as the more innovative work, has been explored in indigenous notions of space and related them to the traditional social structure and ideology. The former type of research, which has great significance for the local Natives, as they defend their subsistence rights against the encroachment by the state of Alaska, had first been undertaken among the Tlingit and Haida by Steve J. Langdon in the late 1970s and continues to this day (1987, 2006, 2015). Thornton also did a good deal of "applied" research on Tlingit subsistence and, like Langdon, conducted it with strong support from and collaboration with the Native community (Thornton 1999; Hunn and Thornton 2010; cf. Newton and Moss 2005).

Sophisticated ethnobotanical methods arrived in Northwest Coast anthropology in the 1970s. This allowed scholars to reexamine long-held assumptions about cultural ecology. For instance, it is still received wisdom that Northwest Coast peoples subsisted almost exclusively on maritime resources and that the "anomaly" of their appearing to be sedentary-like agriculturalists was due to the abundance and regularity of the supply of salmon and other food sources. Over the past several decades, though, this view has come under increasing attack from ethnobotanists, who argue that the cultivation of plant foods was an important part of the Northwest Coast adaptation. This news has gone largely unheeded, as even recent textbooks continue to push the overabundance thesis.

Most prominent among these scholars is Nancy Turner, who has conducted fieldwork in numerous communities. Her research clearly demonstrates that Northwest Coast people cultivated plants in a variety of fashions (Duer and Turner 2005; Turner 2014). There is clear evidence of planting, fertilizing, and watering of food and medicinal plants. Cultivation occurred on a sliding scale of intensification; Northwest Coast practices never resulted in wholly new domesticated species, as was the case with cereal grains. Rather, as Bruce D. Smith (2001) argued, Northwest Coast cultivation occupied a middle ground between foraging and domestication, what he called "low-level food production...without morphological domesticates" (Deur and Turner 2005:61). A similar argument has been made for traditional fisheries management (Thornton et al. 2015).

Autoethnography, Collaborative Ethnography

It is first necessary to reclaim the term *autoethnography* from the now much more common usage referring to highly personal, reflexive ethnography. Rather, we mean it in the sense of a community member conducting ethnographic work—increasingly film as much as written works—in his or her own community. We would exclude here indigenous scholars working in other indigenous communities, which is relatively more common. Julie Cruikshank played a prominent role in this development at UBC, by modeling collaborative ethnographic practice. Two prominent anthropologists at UBC have taken this direction. Charles Menzies was trained at City University of New York and completed his dissertation fieldwork on a commercial fishing collective in Bretagne. He returned to his own Gitxaala (Tsimshian) community, where he similarly focused on fishing, both traditional and modern (Menzies 2008, 2010). His work in Gitxaala examined the TEK associated with fishing and harvesting practices, as well as the impact of a neoliberal world order on local fisheries, this latter being a theme that runs through his earlier ethnography. He has produced ethnographic films on Gitxaala, a decision other indigenous scholars have made when returning to their communities (Menzies 2008, 2009). Film, as opposed to scholarly writing, has a wider and more immediate impact on a community and can be an effective way of documenting a way of life more richly than written ethnography.

Leslie A. Robertson has coproduced a masterly historical ethnography centered on the figure of Jane Constance Cook, a noblewoman of the Fort Rupert Kwagul Gixsam clan, with whom she worked closely and gave authorial credit (Robertson 2012). Cook was a classic culture broker, who was a devout Christian who opposed traditional cultural practices. She was also an activist for indigenous rights and was the only woman on the executive committee of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia. This rich, highly collaborative work is a model of successful collaborative ethnography. Charlotte Cote (2010) wrote about the revival of whaling in her native Nuu-chah-nulth community. Daisy Sewid-Smith, a Kwagul scholar, working in collaboration with Martine Reid, produced a biography of a Kwagul elder (Reid and Sewid-Smith 2004; cf. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1994).

Autoethnography is a growing trend. The great universities in the region are producing indigenous scholars who work in their own communities. It seems likely that a good deal of ethnography will be autoethnography at some point in the future. This is not for the reasons commonly assumed about the difficulty of gaining entry and the controls placed on research by outsiders. Not only are there many field contexts outside reserve/reservation and southeast Alaska Native communities where such problems may be avoided,

conditions for fieldwork within indigenous communities seem to be fairly positive, a far cry from the often fraught situation of the 1970s and 1980s. Rather, as communities increasingly accept the value of ethnographic and ethnohistorical research, although fully recognizing it as the legacy of colonialism, it nonetheless attracts some students from those communities traditionally scrutinized by anthropology.

Cultural Revitalization

Cultural revitalization on the Northwest Coast arguably began with the repeal of the Potlatch Law in Canada in 1951, although this may be more of a convenient mnemonic, as many traditional practices were carried out even during the ban. However, it was really not until the late 1960s in British Columbia; the late 1960s to early 1970s in southeast Alaska, with the establishment of the Alaska Federation of Natives and the passage of ANCSA; and the 1960s–1970s in coastal Washington and Oregon partly as an outcome of national legislation, which allowed local tribes to exercise greater control over tribal affair and partly due to the fishing rights litigation and especially the 1974 landmark case of Judge George Boldt that a major revival of traditional art and ceremonial forms, accompanied by scholarship focused on contemporary issues, rather than " salvage anthropology," took off (Glass 2013).

By the 1980s, with the repatriation of collections at Alert Bay and Cape Mudge, culture centers were created in those communities and in many others in both the United States and Canada. These centers not only displayed traditional arts and crafts but also were actively involved in language revival and cultural practices. Already mentioned is the role of the Makah center in reviving (albeit briefly) traditional whaling practices (fig. 7). In existence since the early 1980s, the Sealaska Heritage Institute (fig. 8), the non-profit arm of the Sealaska Corporation, has been involved in preserving and teaching the region's Indigenous languages, encouraging and showcasing Native arts, collecting documents and photographs pertaining to local history, sponsoring summer " culture camps" for children, and organizing the biennial "Celebration," which brings together native song and dance groups from the entire region (Worl 2008b) (fig. 9).

In Bella Bella in the 1980s, the practice of long-distance canoe trips, with rituals of respect paid to tribes whose territories were crossed, was (re)created (Harkin 1997b), to be later expanded to many other Northwest Coast groups (fig. 10). In other communities, esoteric knowledge was renewed. In Alert Bay,

Photograph by Janine Ledford.

Fig. 7. Gray whale skeleton and Makah seal and whale hunting canoes on display at the Makah Cultural and Research Center, Neah Bay, Washington.

the powerful *hamatsa* dance was continuously practiced (Glass 2004a). As Marshall Sahlins has pointed out, indigenous people often apply a notion of "culture," one that most anthropologists have rejected. However, this notion of culture as something tangible is highly useful in the land claims, sovereignty struggles, and the desire to retain a local identity in the face of cultural entropy.

However, adapting cultural practices to new contexts is not a simple matter. In Alert Bay, what had been the most secret, sacred, and high-ranking dance of the Winter Ceremonial has now taken on a role as cultural showpiece. It is taught to schoolchildren, both Native and non-Native. It is performed not only at potlatches but also in parades and other public events. At its heart, the *hamatsa* addresses existential issues: questions of life and death, sacrifice, the trophic relations among species, playing a role similar to that of Christ in the Christian religion. It is, then, a considerable transformation to the role of a public symbol of culture and identity. However, this is not unprecedented and parallels other examples of the "folklorization" of the sacred, seen particularly in the Catholic world. Similarly, since the late 1970s and early 1980s, Tlingit song and dance groups, often composed of children and young adults representing various lineages and clans, have been publicly performing many of the songs and dances that used to be reserved for the memorial potlatch (Kan 1990; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1990).

Most Coast Salish tribes now observe the first Salmon Ceremony, revived in the late 1970s in Washington state (see fig. 3). As local Native communities and tribal organizations become increasingly involved in tribal cultural and ecological tourism, thus asserting their right to represent their own culture and history on

Photograph by Peter Metcalfe.

Fig. 8. Walter Soboleff Building, the home of the Sealaska Heritage Institute in downtown Juneau. Dedicated in 2015.

Photograph by Sergei Kan.

Fig. 9. A group of Tlingit participants arriving in Juneau by canoe from a neighboring community for "Celebration 2014," a biannual festival, which brings together traditional indigenous song and dance groups from the entire southeastern Alaska as well as coastal communities further south.

Photographs by Aaron Glass.

Fig. 10. Contemporary canoes on the Kwagu'l (Kwakiutl) Reserve at Fort Rupert, BC, on the occasion of a 2013 gathering of the descendants of Robert Hunt (English) and Mary Ebbetts Hunt/Anisalaga (Tlingit), many of whom are well-known Kwakwaka'wakw artists.

their own terms, some aspects of the Native performative and visual arts are being shared with outside visitors while other ones are still reserved for internal use. The challenges of maintaining an indigenous identity and cultural sovereignty, while also commercializing one's heritage are addressed by Alexis Bunten (2015), a Dartmouth- and UCLA-trained Alaska Native anthropologist, in the first ethnographic monograph on a tribally owned and operated tourist enterprise on the Northwest Coast.

As elsewhere in the world, from New Zealand to Africa, cultural traditions are being repurposed for contemporary political and cultural contexts. It is hardly surprising that a region as rich in innovation as the Northwest Coast, many of whose great cultural and artistic traditions date to the postcontact era, would do so as well (see Stanley 1998).

Photograph by Peter Metcalfe.

Fig. 11. Nora Marks Dauenhauer (b. 1927, d. 2017) and Richard Dauenhauer (b. 1942, d. 2014).

Oral Literature

The collection and analysis of native language texts is of course a structure of the long durée in Northwest Coast studies. In the period under consideration, this trajectory has continued. Dell Hymes, a founder of the field of ethnopoetics, continued to publish essays on oral literature and criticism (Hymes 2003). Other notable work includes Crisca Bierwert (1996) on Coast Salish, and the poet Robert Bringhurst (1995, 2001) on Haida, as well as Judith Berman's many articles on Kwak'wala texts (e.g., Berman 1991, 2004). In Alaska, Nora Marks Dauenhauer (Keixwnéi) (1927–2017), a well-known poet and writer as well as a scholar of Tlingit language and culture, and her husband Richard Dauenhauer (1942–2014) (fig. 11), a linguist and a folklorist, recorded, translated, published, and commented on the Tlingit verbal art for the last 40 years. Nora, whose first language was Tlingit, had been steeped in the Tlingit oral tradition since childhood (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 2015; N. Dauenhauer 2000). In the early 1970s, she began transcribing and translating memorial potlatch oratory recorded by her a few years earlier (N. Dauenhauer 2000:31–53; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 2015).

This type of work had never been done before. Very few ethnographers had an opportunity to be present at the potlatch, and even those who were did not record the ceremonial oratory verbatim. Moreover, they did

not have the necessary command of the Tlingit language or sufficient understanding of the intricacies of the local social structure and interpersonal relations to be able to place those speeches in their proper sociocultural context (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1990). In Keixwnéi's case, the success of her work was further increased by close cooperation with Richard, whose own expertise complemented hers. Their joint labor of translating and interpreting the meaning of Tlingit oratory resulted in a publication, which for the first time made Tlingit oratory available in a bilingual form, but also situated it in the ritual context and analyzed its ceremonial, social, religious and emotional functions (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1990).

The oral literature the Dauenhauers collected, transcribed, and translated range from well-known classic myths to stories about the first encounters between the Tlingit and the Europeans (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987). While some of these narratives had been published by previous scholars, only the Dauenhauers' publications are fully bilingual and present as accurate a rendition of the storytellers' words as possible. In addition, each story is accompanied by a detailed linguistic and cultural commentary. Besides producing four large volumes in the Classics of Tlingit Oral Literature Series, the Dauenhauers also published a number of important scholarly articles addressing several key aspects of the relationship between Tlingit language and culture, including Native people's reactions to language loss (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1995, 1998), and also offered a kind of "critical autoethnography" of the more recent developments in Tlingit culture (R. Dauenhauer 2000; Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 2004).

The Dauenhauers' 2008 publication also focused on narratives but used them to study Tlingit history and especially their "ethno-ethnohistory" (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 2008). The narratives in question described the two famous battles between the Tlingit and the Russians that took place in Sitka in 1802 and 1804 and are remembered to this day. The first one is celebrated as an outright Tlingit victory, and the second is considered an honorable temporary retreat or even a kind of victory rather than defeat, as the Russians interpreted it. These stories have been passed down from generation to generation within a particular local clan that was involved in them and still resides mainly in Sitka. Between the late 1950s and the late 1970s, these narratives had been recorded in Tlingit and English from knowledgeable elderly members of that clan, yet it was the Dauenhauer team that finally undertook their transcription, translation, and publication.

The Potlatch and Other Rituals

The potlatch constitutes another long-standing interest of Northwest Coast anthropological scholarship (see Harkin 2001b, 2015; Kan 2005). The term *potlatch* is problematic from several perspectives. It always is oversignified within the context of indigenous culture. Thus, many forms of gift exchange and ceremonialism existed outside of what was properly the potlatch (Bracken 1997). The politics of the Potlatch Law in Canada made it a synecdoche of the entire range of traditional lifeways (Cole and Chaikin 1990). And from a regional perspective, considerable variation occurs. In an ethnohistorical and ethnographic work with the Tlingit, Kan emphasized themes of complementarity and reciprocity, rather than agonistic exchange (Kan 1986, 1989b). Kan's study of the nineteenth-century Tlingit memorial *koo.éex'* (the term many Tlingit prefer today) (fig. 12) utilized not only prior ethnographic data, but also previously ignored Russian accounts of this ceremony as well as his own information collected while participating in several Tlingit potlatches in the 1980s. Using symbolic and structural analysis, Kan analyzed the potlatch as a Maussian "total social fact," which combined social, political, religious, and emotional concerns, the latter being largely ignored by previous ethnologists. Building on Hertz's ideas, he examined the koo.éex' as a ritual of secondary treatment of the deceased. Kan also suggested that death-related ideology and symbolism had been more central to the potlatches of other Northwest Coast societies and that some of his conclusions could apply to them as well. Several subsequent publications on the subject supported the validity of his argument

Photograph by Sergei Kan.

Fig. 12. A Tlingit memorial koo.éex' (ceremony). Naming of a baby from the host moiety, Angoon, Alaska, 1991.

(e.g., C.F. Roth 2008). The second updated edition of Kan's potlatch book includes an epilogue describing continuity and change in the Tlingit koo.éex' in the twentieth to early twenty-first centuries (Kan 2015c; cf. Kan 1989a). Boelscher (1989) analyzed the traditional Haida potlatch and oratory, while a detailed account of a series of potlatches in a Gitxsan village of Gitsegukla recorded by a Coast Tsimshian ethnographer William Beynon in 1945 was published with annotation by Margaret Anderson and Marjorie Halpin (2011). The 1990s Coast Salish longhouse ceremonies ("spirit dancing") were one of the topics of Bierwert's (1999) ethnography, which is both rich and eloquent but also postmodern and hence fragmented.

Conclusion

It is hard to summarize the state of scholarship on diverse cultures crossing two international borders, not to mention the cultural processes informing them, but if one were to pick a single label to describe the past quarter century, it would be "decolonization." Efforts have been made, by and for indigenous people, to decolonize, inter alia, space and place, art and artifacts, human remains, museums, knowledge, and cultural symbols. Knowledge about Northwest Coast cultures has departed radically from the reductive, encyclopedic mode of the earlier iteration of the *Handbook* toward a more situated and pragmatic mode. Scholars must necessarily engage with communities, including with their political agendas and historical aspirations. Communities, having realized the value of scholarship to their own projects, have encouraged and nurtured scholars, both Native and non-Native, who have gone on to produce works that are both valuable in their own right and useful. Autoethnography is important here as well, although it is clear from this survey of literature that scholars who arrived on the scene in the quarter century since the publication of volume 7 are still mostly non-Native.

In addition to changes in scholarly practice, we have seen considerable change in the dissemination of knowledge. No longer the exclusive domain of universities, museums, and publishing houses, Native people themselves circulate knowledge, often but not always through local culture centers. PDFs of papers by anthropologists circulate among Native people by e-mail. Facebook and other social media are used to announce events, circulate information, post photographs of potlatches and other ceremonies, and organize political actions (see "Emergent Digital Networks," this vol.). As graduate students seeking to learn a Native language in the late 1970 and 1980s, we considered ourselves lucky to have a dictionary and grammar available. Today, language lessons are posted online and can be taken for free by anyone. Adapting to changes in the broader society, which have allowed for decentralized models of knowledge creation, Native communities in both the United States and Canada have reclaimed their agency and are shaping their own futures.

Additional Readings

For the most recent insights on the status of Northwest Coast research see Moore (2018), Bunn-Marcuse and Jonatis (2020), Smetzer (2021), and Glass (2021).

California

IRA JACKNIS (†), CAROLYN SMITH, AND OLIVIA CHILCOTE

The first volume in the *Handbook* series to be published was *California* (Heizer 1978b), for several reasons. Certainly, Alfred Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Kroeber 1925) served as a model that helped organize the subject. More important, however, were the personal talents of volume editor Robert F. Heizer (b. 1915, d. 1979) coupled with his dominance of the field. While all the volumes were started at the same time, around 1970–1972, and were expected to follow a more or less similar format, the California volume become a model for the process, thanks to "the techniques that Heizer developed for dealing with authors and their manuscripts" (Sturtevant 1981:2; see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.). Heizer's combination of knowledge, skill, and energy propelled the *California* volume to become the first in the series to reach the public (fig. 1).

Changing Contexts of Scholarship

Regional Coverage and Temporal Perspectives

In contextualizing the *California* volume, one must consider its treatment of the region's cultures in space and time. Perhaps because Kroeber's handbook (1925) was not part of a continental series of handbooks, it followed the borders of the state. Thus, it considered the neighboring tribes of the Great Basin and Plateau culture areas where they fell within the state's boundaries. Instead, the 1978 volume adopted the more usual anthropological delineation of culture areas, which delimited only the more central parts of the state (fig. 2). However, in this regional approach to defining Native California, it was a notable failure, as almost every comprehensive consideration of the state's Indigenous cultures since that time has followed Kroeber's more inclusive model. Certainly a major reason has been the political imperative of state funding in research, collection, and publication, especially at the University of California (UC).

The two volumes have many fascinating similarities and differences, but the greatest difference was surely Heizer's interest (shared by general editor William Sturtevant) in firmly dated historical description in place of the "ethnographic present." However, both handbooks have been severely criticized for what has come to be regarded as a reification of fluid cultural dynamics and for their declaration that many of the Native groups—most notably the Costanoan/Ohlone—had become extinct (Field 1999; Lightfoot 2006:30–48).

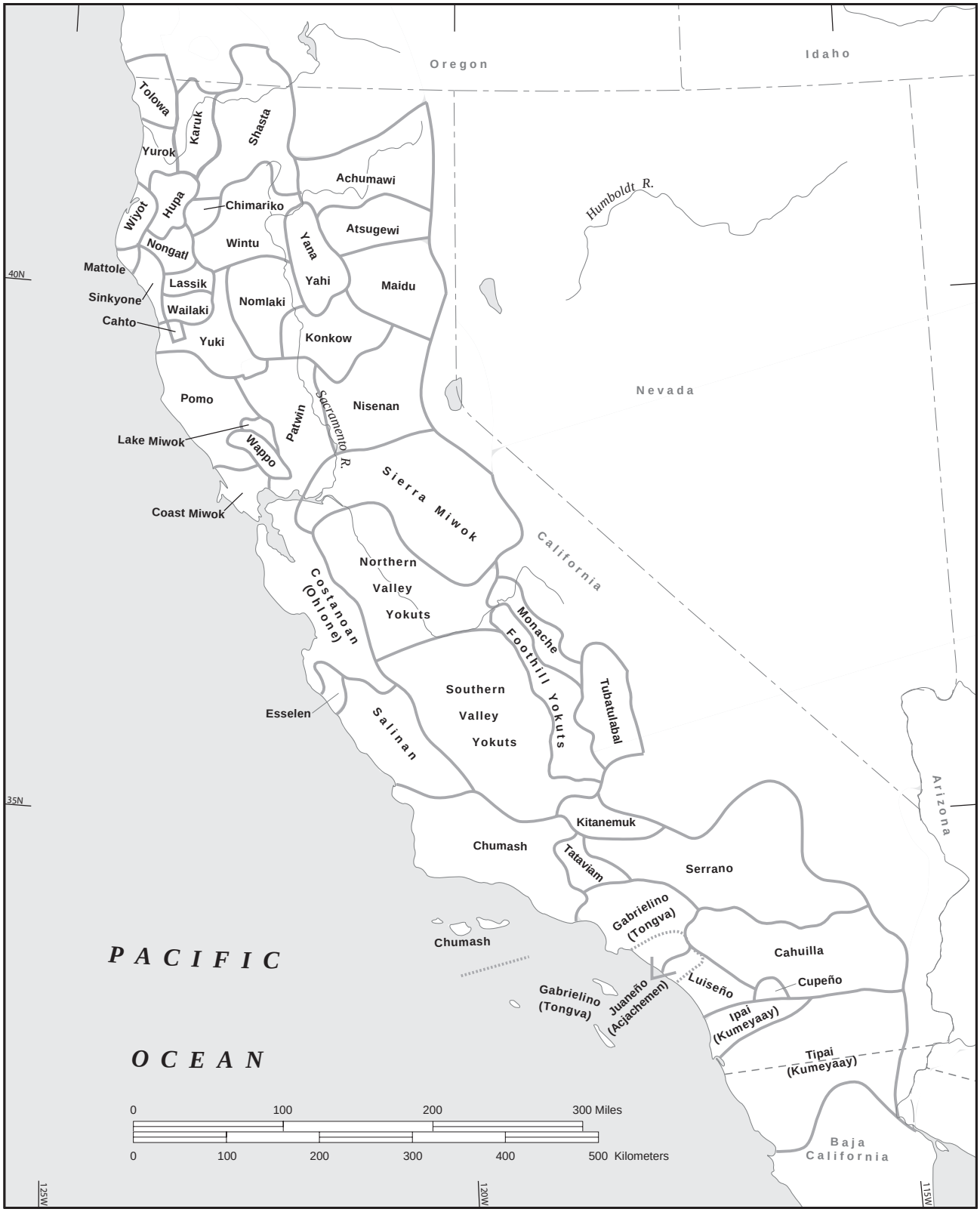
Ethnic Names as an Expression of Cultural Revival

One recent cultural development that would have surprised both Kroeber and Heizer has been the enormous contemporary revival of Native Californian cultures. Both volumes repeatedly observed that much of the region's Indigenous cultures had "disappeared." Today there is ample evidence that Native Californian peoples have maintained, restored, and modernized many important elements of their cultures (fig. 3).

When the 1978 *Handbook* was published, Arnold Pilling wrote: "None of the traditional major [Yurok] ceremonies was being performed on Yurok territory,

Photograph by Richard Hofmeister. Smithsonian Archives (78-5878-23).

Fig. 1. Volume editor Robert F. Heizer at a reception for the just-published *California* in the North American Indian Hall at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, April 17, 1978. left to right, Robert F. Heizer, Betty Arens, William C. Sturtevant, Secretary S. Dillon Ripley.



Map by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History. Revised from California map.

Fig. 2. Historical Indigenous groups of California.

Photographs (figs. 3–9) by Ralph C. Shanks. Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and Regents of the University of California (Catalog No. 15-30008).

Fig. 3. Axel R. Lindgren, Jr. (Yurok, b. 1918, d. 1999) carving a dugout canoe, near Trinidad, California, 1980s or early 1990s.

nor had any been held at a traditional Yurok site since 1939" (Pilling 1978:148), and he believed that there was not enough surviving knowledge to revive the ceremonies with the possible exception of the Pecwan Jump Dance. More than two decades later, it was clear that the Pecwan Jump Dance had endured, and other dances had been revived (Buckley 2002:267) (fig. 4). The evidence of cultural revitalization is nowhere better demonstrated than in the many post-1978 publications, especially from Heyday Books and its magazine *News from Native California* and its books on the tribes of the Sierra Foothills (Bibby and Aguilar 2005) and the Cahuilla (Dozier 1998).

Both handbooks employed largely the same cultural nomenclature (with the major exception of Heizer's use of Tipai-Ipai for Kroeber's Diegueño, or Kumeyaay). However, shortly after the 1978 volume was published, new names were introduced by Native groups themselves, mostly for those living around San Francisco (Ohlone for the Costanoan), Los Angeles (Tongva for the Gabrielino and Acjachemen for the Juaneño), and San Diego (Kumeyaay for the Diegueño). Widely supported by Native peoples, both the general public and anthropologists have largely accepted these terms. Somewhat less widely adopted have been variant spellings, such as Miwuk or Mewuk for Miwok, and Achomawi, Ajumawi, or Ahjumawi

Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and Regents of the University of California (Catalog No. 15-30010).

Fig. 4. Tolowa Dancers, under the direction of Loren Bommelyn (Tolowa/Karuk/Wintu, b. 1956), standing in center, performing the "Feather Dance," near Crescent City, California, 1980s or early 1990s.

for Achumawi. Overall, the *California* volume had thoroughly documented synonymies, and it seems that unanimity in many tribal names is not to be expected.

The History of Californianist Anthropology

Every regional volume in the *Handbook* series reviewed the history of anthropological scholarship on the region. By and large, this history was not presented in as much detail for Californian anthropology (Heizer 1978b) as it was in the volumes for other culture areas. Since then, the earliest periods of professionalization have attracted much attention, and there has been continual interest, particularly in the career of Alfred Kroeber (b. 1876, d. 1960) (Buckley 1996; Jacknis 2002b) and the Hearst Museum at the University of California, Berkeley (Jacknis and Schevill 1993; Long 1998). Much relevant material is buried in archival collections and obituaries, including on Robert Heizer as an ethnohistorian (Simmons and Bickel 1981).

Much of the best historically relevant later research on California anthropology has come in the form of biographies. While the major figures like Kroeber, John P. Harrington (b. 1884, d. 1961), and Heizer still did not receive the attention they deserve, there are illuminating studies of Jaime de Angulo (b. 1887, d. 1950) (Leeds-Hurwitz 2004) and two of Kroeber's students: Julian Steward (b. 1902, d. 1972) (Kerns 2003) and Cora Du Bois (b. 1903, d. 1991) (S.C. Seymour 2015).

Despite the recent burgeoning of archaeological activity in California, its history has been relatively neglected. Among the few notable contributions are the history of central Californian archaeology from 1880 to 1940 (Towne 1984) and an essay on the founding of the University of California's Archaeological Survey in 1948 (Fagette 1998). Certainly the most sustained study is a critical review of the long history of UC Berkeley's archaeological excavations among the Coastal Yurok, particularly the collection of human remains (Platt 2011). In linguistics, Golla has been the most active, with an edition of the Kroeber–Sapir correspondence (Golla 1984), as well as a general history of Californianist linguistics (Golla 2011:11–59).

State of the Field: 1980s–2010s

Major Scholarly Institutions

Over the twentieth century, Kroeber's (and UC Berkeley's) nearly total control of Californianist anthropology gradually eroded. By the 1960s, when Heizer's power was at its peak, most of the contributors were his students or colleagues. After his death in 1979, the teaching of Californianist anthropology continued at UC Berkeley, led by archaeologist Kent Lightfoot and ethnologist William S. Simmons. Since 1998, sociocultural work has been conducted only by the Linguistics Department and the nonteaching Hearst Museum or incorporated into Native American Studies.

Even by the 1960s, Californianist anthropology was being conducted at many other campuses across the state, especially University of California, Davis, University of California, Santa Barbara, and University of California, Los Angeles. Many of their graduates have gone out to teach in the California State University system and community colleges. In the 2000s, Californianist studies are especially active on these smaller campuses, which are often closer to Native communities in both rural and urban areas. The decline in focus on Native California within the anthropology program at UC Berkeley is also a trend at other colleges, where the study of California Indians is now often carried out not by anthropologists but in the Departments of Native American Studies and History.

Beyond academic programs, a range of research centers and professional organizations also facilitate Californianist anthropology (Vane and Bean 1990). Three of the most important research collections for California are still at UC Berkeley (Jacknis 2002a). The major artifact and media collections are in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, founded as the University of California Museum of Anthropology in 1901 and long known as the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology (1959–1991), until it was renamed after its founder in 1991. The principal book and manuscript collections are held by the Bancroft Library. The major sound and language collections are split between the Hearst Museum (for the years until the mid-1960s) and the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages in the Linguistics Department (from 1948 on). In addition, there are important Californian museum and archival collections in the southern part of the state, all emphasizing their local Native populations: the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, the Southwest Museum at the Autry Museum of the American West, the Riverside Metropolitan Museum, and the San Diego Museum of Man.

In the post-1978 period, Californianist anthropology has been dominated by two successive publishers: Lowell John Bean and Malcolm Margolin. Bean (PhD, 1970, UCLA), one of the *California* volume's most prolific contributors (Bean 1978a, 1978b; Bean and Shipek 1978; Bean and Smith 1978a, 1978b, 1978c; Bean and Theodoratus 1978; Bean and Vane 1978; Blackburn and Bean 1978), served as professor of anthropology at California State University Hayward (1966–1992). It may be fairly argued that

Bean succeeded Kroeber and Heizer as the doyen of Californianist anthropology. His Ballena Press published a string of critical scholarly anthologies from the 1980s through the 1990s, until it was sold to the Malki Museum Press (in 2005). Founded on the Morongo Indian Reservation in 1965, the Malki Museum Press published the important *Journal of California Anthropology* (1974–1978) and now publishes its successor, the *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* (since 1979). Even more important, especially in the popular sphere, has been Malcolm Margolin's Berkeley-based Heyday Books that has dominated both scholarly and public understandings of California Indians, with an emphasis on presenting internal views of the Native Californian world (Bancroft 2014; Margolin1978), as well as the magazine *News from Native California* (since 1987).

Relative Disciplinary Perspectives since 1978

Since the publication of the *California* volume (Heizer 1978b), there has been a relative decline in what could be regarded as traditional ethnography. Ethnographic research has continued in more specialized domains, such as studies of the environment or Indian basketry (see "The Environment," "Material Culture," this chapter).

The most active anthropological subdiscipline in California has been archaeology (see "Additional Readings," this chapter). At first glance, this extensive archaeological activity is somewhat surprising given the lack of university-based field excavation, the rise of excavations for development mitigation, and the sensitive issue of human remains. This active status of archaeology is due to two factors. First, more archaeological data have become available to scholars since 1978 owing to the rise of cultural resource management (CRM). Second, those data are now susceptible to greater and more intensive forms of analysis. Studies before the 1970s generally lacked radiocarbon-based chronology, modern methods of data recovery, analysis of diet and technology, paleo-environmental conditions, and other kinds of information available today (Raab and Jones 2004:208, cf. Moratto and Chartkoff 2007:1). All of this has engendered a rich scholarly literature and archaeological practices that further productive interchanges between academics, museum workers, contract archaeologists, the public, and Native peoples (not mutually exclusive categories).

Like archaeology, physical anthropology has continued to mine the accumulated collections in museums. One of the most active researchers on Californian physical anthropology was Phillip L. Walker (b. 1947, d. 2009). His seminal chapter on the skeletal biology of California (Walker 2006) in the *Environment, Origins, and Population* volume of the *Handbook* covered population movement and genetic affinities, diet, activity patterns, health and disease, warfare and violence, and effects of European contact. Many of the most critical developments in this area since 1978 have been made possible by the analysis of mitochondrial DNA (Eshleman and Smith 2007; J.R. Johnson et al. 2012), a method certainly undreamed of in 1978.

While it is true that each of these areas of study and methodologies yields its own distinct findings, the most important and exciting developments have come when scholars are able to synthesize diverse bodies of evidence, such as in the review of the Chumash world at European contact (Gamble 2008).

Native Agency in Scholarship

The rise of Native agency in scholarship is undoubtedly the most important development since 1978. Just 2 of 47 contributors in the *California* volume were Native Californians: artist, ceremonialist, and professor Frank R. LaPena (Wintu) and ethnohistorian Edward D. Castillo (Cahuilla/Luiseño). On the volume planning committee, two of its nine members were Native: Castillo (b. 1948) and Jack D. Forbes (Powhatan-Renapé/Lenape). Castillo, a student of Heizer, was for many years director of the Native American Studies program at Sonoma State University, in addition to teaching American Indian studies at UCLA (Ortiz 2018). Forbes (b. 1934, d. 2011), a historian/anthropologist, helped found the Native American studies program at UC Davis, one of the first in the United States. In 1971, Forbes was one of the founders of Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University (commonly called D-Q University), a community college near Davis and the first tribal college in California, which closed in 2005.

Also active during this time were historians Rupert Costo (Cahuilla, b. 1906, d. 1989) and Jeannette Henry Costo (Cherokee, b. 1909, d. 2001). In addition to writing their own books (Costo and Costo 1987, 1995), the Costos were critical in supporting Native scholarship by founding the journal *The Indian Historian* (1964) and the Indian Historian Press (1969), advocating for a more accurate understanding of Native Californians in public education, and endowing the Costo Chair of American Indian Affairs at the UC Riverside, in 1986 (Castillo 1978:716; Soza War Soldier 2013).

Since 1978, many new tribal institutions have been established, such as Native museums and the California Indian Basketweavers' Association (CIBA), founded in 1992. Also important are a range of

conferences, such as the biennial Breath of Life language revitalization conference, which began in 1994 (supported by Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival); the annual California Indian Conference, which began in 1985; and the California-related activities of the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), which began in 1989.

Native scholarship and publications have a long history in California. In 1834, Pablo Tac (b. 1820, d. 1841), a young Luiseño man from the San Luis Rey Mission, went to Rome to study for the priesthood. While there, he wrote a Luiseño grammar, history, and account of life at the Mission (Haas 2011). Yurok author Lucy Thompson (b. 1856, d. 1932) made another early contribution (Thompson 1916). In 1942, Kroeber followed Boas' example with George Hunt by sharing authorship with Yurok consultant Robert Spott (b. 1888, d. 1953) (Spott and Kroeber 1942). Heizer was a pioneer in recognizing the contributions of Native consultants to the anthropological record (Heizer and Nissen 1973; Sturtevant 1981:3). Beginning in the 1970s, Lowell Bean went even further in his collaboration with Cahuilla scholar Katherine Siva Saubel (b. 1920, d. 2011), such as their work on Cahuilla plants (Bean and Saubel 1972).

Among the many scholars of the now-senior generation, Jack Norton (Hupa/Cherokee) was the first California Indian to be appointed to the Rupert Costo Chair of American Indian Affairs at the UC Riverside (1997–1999); he also helped found the Humboldt State University's Native American Studies program in 1998 and authored a seminal book on genocide in northwestern California (Norton 1979). Since the cultural revival of the 1980s, many contemporary Native Californian authors and scholars have risen to prominence, including William Bauer (Wailacki/Concow), Julian Lang (Karuk), Frank LaPena (Wintu; b. 1937, d. 2019), L. Frank Manriquez (Tongva/Acjachemen), Deborah Miranda (Ohlone/Esselen), Michael Connolly Miskwish (Kumeyaay), Joely Proudfit (Luiseño), Greg Sarris (Coast Miwok), Sherrie Smith-Ferri (Pomo/Bodega Miwok), and Darryl Babe Wilson (Achumawi/Atsugewi; b. 1939, d. 2014).

Since 2000, there has been a surge of California Indians who have pursued and acquired doctoral degrees. Many have also obtained university faculty positions, including Cutcha Risling Baldy (Hupa/Yurok/Karuk), Kayla Rae Begay (Hupa), Mark Minch-de Leon (Maidu), and Tsim Schnieder (Coast Miwok/Pomo) (Soza War Soldier 2018). Along with the burgeoning of Native scholarship, Natives and non-Natives have collaborated to make important scholarly contributions (Field et al. 2008; Hinton et al. 2002; Lightfoot and Parrish 2009).

Ethnography: Regional and Topical

Just as the original *California* volume was being published came a flourishing of new theoretical perspectives (Bean and Blackburn 1976), led largely by Lowell J. Bean, a member of the volume planning committee and author or coauthor of eight chapters. Much of this scholarship was intended to explicitly relate sociocultural organization with ecological factors and thus had strong archaeological resonances. Both Sturtevant and Heizer were skeptical of these approaches and tried to minimize them in the volume (Sturtevant 1981:2–3), an approach that stimulated later criticism (Clemmer 1983).

Regionally specific Californian ethnographies have continued, although they are no longer a dominant genre. Ethnographic, or perhaps ethnological, research has largely been transformed by becoming less global and more observational, more specific, and more historical. Recent years have seen the continual publication of studies conducted earlier in the twentieth century, such as on Yurok and Karuk myths (Kroeber 1976; Kroeber and Gifford 1980), and Isabel Kelly's field notes on the Coast Miwok (Collier and Thalman 1991). Again, Heizer initiated this trend, especially with his publication of the ethnology of C. Hart Merriam (b. 1855, d. 1942) (Merriam 1955). Like Smithsonian anthropologist John Peabody Harrington (b. 1884, d.1961), Merriam, a zoologist, had generally been excluded from Kroeber's UC Berkeley circle. So appreciation of both Harrington and Merriam had to await Kroeber's passing in 1960.

Perhaps of all the Native Californian groups, the Chumash of the Santa Barbara area have been the subject of the most prolific scholarship (Gamble 2008; Hudson and Blackburn 1982–1987; Timbrook 2007). Part of this activity was due to the continuing transcription and publication of Harrington's voluminous manuscripts kept at the Smithsonian National Anthropological Archives (NAA) (Mills 1981).

This combined ethnographic and historical scholarship has been especially popular for the groups most affected by settlement, such as the Ohlone (Costanoan) in the San Francisco Bay area (Bean 1994) and the Tongva (Gabrielino) in the Los Angeles area (Jurmain and McCawley 2009; McCawley 1999). This scholarship is all the more important for representing tribal communities that were declared "extinct" by both Kroeber and Heizer and whose documentation has been scattered and obscured.

Former generalized community studies were replaced with accounts told from the perspective of individual tribal members, such as Mabel McKay for the Pomo (Sarris 1994a), Grace McKibbin for the

Wintu (Shepherd 1997), and Mavis McCovey for the Karuk (McCovey and Salter 2009). Much of this work has followed in the path of the classic autobiography of the Kumeyaay woman Delfina Cuero (b. 1900, d. 1972) (Shipek 1991[1968]). This trend also reveals a movement from external collaborators to Native-authored publications.

Post-1978 publications on religion have not been plentiful. Many Native people are hesitant to share their beliefs and practices not only because they constitute sacred subjects but also because many Native communities have been previously exploited by academic researchers. Using a mixture of historic and contemporary sources, an extremely valuable general study of shamanism (Bean 1992a) included the works of three Native authors—Jack Norton (Hupa), Floyd Buckskin (Ajumawi), and Frank LaPena (Wintu).

Three of the most important recent studies of Native spirituality come from the northwestern part of the state: on Yurok religion (Buckley 2002), on sacred song among the Yurok, Hupa, and Karuk (Keeling 1992), and on revitalization of the Hupa women's coming-of-age ceremony (Risling Baldy 2018). Buckley (2002) effectively made the case that Yurok culture was much more spiritual than Kroeber had allowed for and, more importantly, that Yurok religious life continued to thrive. It was also significant for being the product of a dialogue with Native teachers. Cutcha Risling Baldy (Hupa/Yurok/Karuk) (2018) analyzed the connection between ceremonial revitalization and Native feminisms through the Hupa Flower Dance and critically interrogated previous anthropological and ethnographic studies on women's coming-of-age ceremonies. Her study foregrounded Hupa women's perspectives on the power of ceremony and Indigenous epistemologies, paralleling and building on a larger movement toward gendered and feminist analyses in Native American studies scholarship.

Beyond these topics, perhaps the most active areas of ethnographic scholarship have been devoted to the environment, material culture, and language and literature.

The Environment

By the mid-1970s, scholars were actively exploring the role of environmental factors in Native Californian cultures, a concern of great interest to Kroeber and of obvious importance to archaeologists. One of the first books drawing on decades of prior work (Heizer and Elsasser 1980) recognized the diversity of the ecological terrain in which Native Californians lived. Yet it was the volume *Before the Wilderness* (Blackburn and Anderson 1993b) that became a turning point in the study of Native Californian traditional ecological management. It demonstrated that the historical uses of fire, pruning, coppicing, and other strategies had "managed, maintained, and *effectively transformed*" (p. 17) the landscape, as well as showed the difficulties that contemporary California Indians experience because of the loss of territory and governmental restrictions.

Later studies advanced the notion that Native Californians' knowledge of the land and natural resources developed through attentive interaction and use (Anderson 2005). Careful gathering practices helped native plants to thrive, and over time, many plants adapted to human intervention. They have illuminated the increase in scholarship on California Indians' traditional ecological knowledge and landscape management practices (Lightfoot and Parrish 2009), showed how Indigenous resource management practices helped shape the landscape via the use of fire and other management methods, and described the array of plants and animals that Native Californians used to support their regional economies. Tribal ethnobotanies—such as of the Chumash (Timbrook 2007) and the Karuk (Peters and Ortiz 2010)—have continued to attract wide scholarly and public interest.

Fire was one of the most important tools that California Indians employed to cultivate their landscape. Intentionally set fires and those occurring from lightning strikes helped to strengthen landscape biodiversity (Lightfoot and Parrish 2009). Fires supported better harvests, controlled invasive pests, provided ample grazing areas for deer and other animals (Anderson 2005). After more than a century of fire suppression policies introduced by government agencies, there is increasing recognition that the practice of prescribed burning helps alleviate the devastation of catastrophic forest fires and increases biodiversity (Lightfoot and Parrish 2009). A growing number of intertribal organizations, government agencies, and institutions are partnering with Native Californians to work on these issues.

Many Native Californians still gather and harvest traditional plants for food, medicine, basketry materials, tools, and regalia (Bettinger and Wohlgemuth 2006; Lightfoot and Parrish 2009), but it is often difficult for people to gain access to these resources. Traditional land bases have shrunk, with many communities surrounded by private, public, state, and federal lands (Anderson 2005), and plant materials are contaminated by pesticides. CIBA has been at the forefront of grassroots involvement in addressing these concerns (Ortiz 1993). Tribes are also partnering with conservation groups to protect their traditional lands and stewardship, as well as to assert tribal sovereignty and self-determination (Middleton 2011; Risling Baldy 2013).

The related topic of Native Californian foods was the subject of two comprehensive books (Dubin and Tolley 2008; Jacknis 2004b) and a widely traveled exhibition, *Seaweed, Salmon, and Manzanita Cider: A California Indian Feast*, curated by Sherrie Smith-Ferri (Dry Creek Pomo/Bodega Miwok), beginning at the Grace Hudson Museum in 2010. One of the most important studies on this subject was the presentation of traditional Yosemite Indian acorn preparation by Julia Parker (Ortiz 1991). Kathleen Rose Smith (Dry Creek Pomo/Bodega Miwok) also published a book of reminiscences of the foods of her youth (2014).

For Native Californians, natural resource management is not only about carefully cultivating the landscape for food and other necessities but also particularly about the connection to, respect for, and stewardship of landscapes that are deeply intertwined with Indigenous cultures. Traditional ecological knowledge is not just a means to acquire resources but is profoundly embedded in social, cultural, and spiritual practices (Anderson 2005; Berkes 2012; Lightfoot and Parrish 2009).

Material Culture: Art and Artifact

Not surprisingly, the one aboriginal object type most associated with Native California—basketry—has generated the most sustained interest in publications, exhibitions, and, arguably, the hearts and minds of Native Californians. The founding of the Native-run CIBA in 1992 greatly encouraged a revival in the art. The craft is still precarious, owing to the difficulties of gathering traditional materials and the enormous amount of time it takes to make a basket. Baskets are still vitally important to Native people, and much of contemporary production is circulated within tribal communities, given as gifts, or made for ceremonial use. The commercial market is largely restricted to reselling historic objects, some for very high prices.

Scholarship has included regional overview summaries (Bibby 1996, 2012; Moser 1986, 1989, 1993; Shanks 2006, 2010, 2015), as well as tribal studies for the Klamath River tribes (Johnson and Marks 1997, 2012; Johnson et al. 2014), the Pomo (McLendon and Holland 1979; Abel-Vidor et al. 1996), the Sierra Miwok (Bates and Lee 1990), and the Luiseño (Farmer 2004). The ongoing interest in the history of collecting is illustrated by a study of dealer Grace Nicholson and her patronage of Karuk-Wiyot weaver Elizabeth Hickox and her daughter Louisa (Cohodas 1997) and a portrait of Coast Miwok/Pomo weaver Julia Parker (Valoma 2013).

Past decades have seen an exciting revival of Native regalia making. As they have for most of the region's aboriginal crafts, Native peoples have encountered severe difficulties in acquiring traditional materials, especially feathers (Gleeson et al. 2012), but they are painstakingly continuing, re-creating, and adapting older forms to contemporary situations (Jacknis 1993b). Related to these ceremonial arts is the recent efflorescence of Native jewelry (in shells, seeds, fibers, and hide) but also in innovative media such as silver and gold by artists such as Otis Parrish (Kashaya Pomo) and George Blake (Hupa/Yurok). Generally, these arts have been poorly studied, except for the northwest region of the state (Johnson and Marks 2010).

While ethnologists in California have virtually abandoned the study of traditional technology, popular authors, many stimulated by the so-called primitive skills or technology movement, continue to replicate many forms of Californian aboriginal technologies (Campbell 1999, 2007). This largely amateur movement is related to the more professional work of experimental archaeologists, particularly flintknappers. Much of their practice has been inspired by Ishi (b. circa 1860, d. 1916), one of the last "traditional" stone workers, whose work was reasonably well documented (Whittaker 2004).

One person who notably made the transition from hobbyist to scholar was Craig D. Bates, who, as curator of ethnography at the Yosemite Park Museum, focused on the Miwok, Maidu, and other peoples of the Sierras (e.g., Bates 1982). Bates's work, along with that of many others, both Native and non-Native, was greatly encouraged by Herb Puffer (b. 1925, d. 2012) and his store, Pacific Western Traders, which he established in Folsom in 1971 (LaPena 2008). With few exceptions, Native Californian arts and crafts do not have the commercial support found in other regions of North America, such as the Northwest Coast or the Southwest.

Like almost every aspect of Native Californian life, the study of material culture and museum collections has been affected by the turn to ethnohistory. A pioneer of this approach was Travis Hudson (b. 1941, d. 1985), thanks to his five-volume study of Chumash artifacts (Hudson and Blackburn 1982–1987) based partly on museum collections and partly on the rich field notes of J.P. Harrington, and summaries of the earliest extant California Indian artifact collections in Europe (Blackburn and Hudson 1990) and Russia (Hudson and Bates 2014).

Since 1978, Native artistry has expanded from being more or less a continuation of traditional object types to the development of a distinctly Native Californian tradition of fine arts in the introduced media of painting, prints, and sculpture (see Dubin 2002; LaPena 1985; LaPena and Johnson 2019). One of the

first and most important of these artists was painter and printmaker Fritz Scholder (b. 1937, d. 2005) of Luiseño ancestry, who studied art in Sacramento before going on to make a career out of challenging stereotypes of Indians. Among the most prominent later artists were Frank LaPena (Wintu, b. 1937, d. 2019) (LaPena 2004), Harry Fonseca (Nisenan Maidu/Hawaiian/Portuguese, b. 1946, d. 2006) (Woody et al. 1996), Judith Lowry (Maidu/Pit River) (Lowry et al. 1999), Brian Tripp (Karuk) (Johnson et al. 1992), George Blake (Hupa/Yurok) (Jacknis 1995), Rick Bartow (Wiyot/Yurok, b. 1946, d. 2016) (Hartz and Knapp 2015), and Dugan Aguilar (Pit River/Maidu/Paiute, b. 1947, d. 2018) (Harlan 2015). One transitional figure was painter Frank Day (b. 1902, d. 1976), an untrained folk artist who illustrated his Maidu culture (Dobkins et al. 1997). Often considered along with these visual artists is James Luna (Luiseño/Kumeyaay, b. 1950, d. 2018), a performance artist whose pieces often address the complexity of museums, anthropological representations, and Native identity.

Language and Literature

One of the strongest areas of scholarship has been the study of Native Californian languages, building on the earlier foundation of Kroeber, Roland B. Dixon, Edward Sapir, and Harrington. This work was institutionalized by Mary Haas (b. 1910, d. 1996), member of the *Handbook* Advisory Board, in the Survey of California Indian Languages, which began at UC Berkeley in 1953 and is now known as the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages (https://cla.berkeley.edu). Part of the stimulus has been the gradual publication of archival sources, in this case the voluminous notes by J.P. Harrington at the NAA (Golla 1994; Mills 1981).

Linguists have continued their technical analyses (Golla 2011), while other efforts have addressed issues of broader anthropological or even popular relevance (Hinton 1994), like questions of linguistic and ethnic diversity that are particularly characteristic of Native California (O'Neill 2008). Even more critical has been the linguistic contribution to an understanding of California prehistory. This work has teased out the implications of language form and distribution for what they might tell us about the migrations and development of ancient peoples (Golla [2011:239–258], with an earlier comprehensive summary in Moratto [1984:529–574]).

Also of relevance are new approaches to oral literature. Older collections have been published, either as reprints (e.g., Merriam 1993) or for the first time (Kroeber 1976; Kroeber and Gifford 1980). More significant has been the application of contemporary ethnopoetic approaches to Californian Native oral traditions, such as the application to Roland Dixon's Maidu texts of Dell Hymes's ethnopoetical presentation of mythic narratives as measured verse (Nevins 2017; Shipley 1991). Much of this work was represented in an important anthology of Native Californian oral literature (Luthin 2002).

Given the inevitable challenges to the survival of Native Californian languages, linguists have spent increasing efforts on the support and revival of extinct and endangered languages. Since the early 1990s, Leanne Hinton at UC Berkeley has led this effort, serving as a model for similar programs throughout the country (Hinton et al. 2002, Hinton 2008). In 1992, she helped found the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival (AICLS), which deals with the support of endangered languages, primarily through intensive conversational methods of master speakers and apprentices. In 1996, she organized the first Breath of Life workshop, a biennial Native language restoration conference that has met at UC Berkeley, the Smithsonian Institution, the Sam Noble Museum at the University of Oklahoma, the University of British Columbia, and the University of Washington. These workshops focus on the revival of languages through the study of texts and archival collections. Board members and participants in both programs, who hail from tribes across California, have been leaders of language revitalization programs in their communities.

Native communities have been at the forefront of creating formal language programs. The Pechanga Band of Luiseño Mission Indians has established Luiseño instruction ranging from preschool (at the Pechanga Chámmakilawish School in Temecula) through the university level at California State University, San Bernardino, which is home to the first formal course sequence in a Native American language in a state university. The Santa Ynez Band of Chumash has sponsored linguistic research, including preparation of a dictionary (Applegate and Santa Ynez 2007). Elsewhere, Native agency in linguistics and related areas has been prominent. Native peoples themselves are largely directing these efforts and are being published as authors in their own right. Loren Bommelyn (Tolowa), who earned a master's degree in linguistics (University of Oregon, 1997), has been a strong advocate for teaching Native languages in both local schools and universities (fig. 5). His example has led to several Native doctorates in linguistics. Similarly motivated to preserve his ancestral language, Julian Lang (Karuk)—an artist, traditional singer and storyteller, and Karuk language

Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and Regents of the University of California (Catalog No. 15-29958).

Fig. 5. Elem Pomo tribal office, Lower Lake, California, 1980s or early 1990s. Tribal offices are increasingly used across California to house tribal language and heritage revitalization programs.

instructor—has produced editions of Karuk mythic and ritual texts (Lang 1994).

In addition to nonfiction, Native Californian authors writing in English have developed an Indigenous literary tradition (e.g., Sarris 1993, 1994b), paralleling the similar rise of the fine arts of painting and sculpture. Native Californian poets have made significant contributions to the field of Native American literature (e.g., Miranda 1999; Pico 2017; Rose 1980), and their works often explore themes of identity, gender, sexuality, and colonialism. Native Californian works of poetry have received wide acclaim, including the American Book Award and nomination for the Pulitzer Prize.

Time Perspective: Ethnohistory and History

The development of a Native Californian ethnohistory and narrative of culture-contact was one that Heizer had pioneered in the 1940s and 1950s (Heizer 1947), against the largely ahistorical views of his mentor, Kroeber. More particularly, in contrast to Kroeber's conscious avoidance of the pain and suffering of Native peoples (Buckley 1996), Heizer focused on the overwhelming genocide to which Native Californians were subjected in the nineteenth century (Heizer 1974; cf. Simmons and Bickel 1981). This historical perspective has now become fundamental to the field, and almost all studies are now conducted within a temporal framework.

Since the 1980s, the studies of culture-contact and ethnohistory have largely been taken over by professional historians, particularly those investigating the postcontact but pre-state periods of Spanish and Mexican control, before 1850 (Hurtado 1988; Rawls 1984). Much of this work has focused on the Spanish missions, which play such a major role in the Californian imaginary (Haas 2014; Hackel 2005; Jackson and Castillo 1995; Sandos 2004). Recently, the Russian settlements, especially among the Kashaya Pomo at Fort Ross, have drawn scholarly attention (Farris 2012; Gibson 2013). The colonial or pre-state period has also attracted the attention of historical archaeologists (Lightfoot 2006; Lightfoot et al. 1991; Silliman 2004). Randall Milliken, though trained as an archaeologist, has exhaustively mined archived mission records to reconstruct changes among Native communities in the San Francisco Bay area (Milliken 1995), as has anthropologist John R. Johnson in the Chumash area (1988, 2000).

Historians have effectively challenged prior understandings of the early statehood period. There are now detailed accounts of genocide in early California that go far beyond earlier summaries (Lindsay 2012; Madley 2016). Both non-Native (Phillips 2014), and Native authors produced a wide range of studies, such as those by Clifford E. Trafzer (Wyandot) on the maintenance of identity through cultural practices for the Chemehuevi of Twenty-Nine Palms (Trafzer 2015) and William Bauer (Wailacki/Concow) on labor and community on the Round Valley Reservation (Bauer 2009). These studies paint a picture of Indian resistance and the creation of complex interdependent communities.

As a special instance of ethnohistory, one must note the continuing fascination with perhaps the most famous Californian Indian: Ishi, the so-called last Yahi Indian, who lived at the University of California Museum of Anthropology in San Francisco from 1911 until his death in 1916. This fascination has only increased since the publication of Theodora Kroeber's book (Kroeber 1961; Heizer and Kroeber 1979). Interest was greatly stimulated by the repatriation of his brain from the Smithsonian Institution in 1999 and the subsequent reburial of his remains (Burrill 2001, 2004, 2006, 2011, 2014; Clifford 2013; Kroeber and Kroeber 2003; Sackman 2010; Starn 2004). Because Ishi had such a well-documented identity and because his story can stand for larger forces of intercultural relations, his life can represent, and reinforce, larger narratives in the historical and biographical study of Native Californians. Still, whatever the merits of Ishi's story and its relation to the massive nineteenth-century genocide, one person's life cannot tell us about the survival and revival of Native Californian cultures in the twentieth century.

An important milestone was ethnohistorical study of the changing Tolowa identity in the wake of the devastating colonial contact (Collins 1998). In a related vein, but from Native and tribal perspective, was the history of the Hupa since contact (Nelson 1978). Similarly, a study of Native Californian oral histories (Bauer 2016), recorded in the 1930s, explored Native understandings of history and culture-contact.

One topic that went virtually unmentioned in the *California* volume (Heizer 1978b) was the condition of Indians living in urban environments. According to Sturtevant (1981:2), despite Heizer's appreciation of history, extending even into the twentieth century, he was not as supportive of contemporary studies, which he referred to somewhat disparagingly as "ethnosociology" (however, see volume chapters, "Litigation and Its Effects" [Stewart 1978] and "Twentieth-Century Secular Movements" [Castillo 1978]).

Over a century, the federal government stimulated a massive rural-to-urban migration: first by its residential Indian boarding schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and then in relocation policies in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Even more, at least in terms of sheer demography, was the arrival of many Native Americans from other regions outside the state. There have been three major studies of the Native American communities in the state's two largest population centers: the San Francisco Bay area (Lobo 2002) and Los Angeles (Rosenthal 2012; Weibel-Orlando 1991). Each of these takes a different approach: oral histories and personal testimony (Lobo 2002), in-depth ethnography (Weibel-Orlando 1991), or history (Rosenthal 2012). All documented the complex interrelation between peoples Native to the state, who have a direct connection to the land, and Native immigrants, who have ancestral ties to other communities as well as to their adoptive home in California.

Related to these movements was the Native American occupation of the former federal prison on Alcatraz Island between November 1969 and June 1971 (that was *not* covered in the 1978 volume; see Castillo 1994; Deloria 2008; Fortunate Eagle 1992; Johnson 1996). Several Native Californians participated (most notably Edward Castillo), and the occupation played a vital role in fostering a spirit of Native American activism both in the state and across the nation. Few of these contemporary developments have made their way into anthropological scholarship, but many have been well covered in the more than three decades of *News from Native California*, a quarterly magazine devoted to California's Indigenous peoples.

Sovereignty and Federal Recognition

The most prominent political concerns across Native California involve the protection, maintenance, and recognition of tribal sovereignty. This has been true not only for federally recognized tribes (Frank and Goldberg 2010) but also for unrecognized and terminated tribes seeking federally recognized status. The Office of Federal Acknowledgment within the Department of the Interior has reported that California is home to the most unrecognized tribes in the United States.

The large number of tribes seeking federal recognition and restoration of their sovereign status is a result of the various ways colonization took place in California over time. Spanish missionization, Mexican ranching, the annexation of California into the United States following the Mexican–American War of 1846, the subsequent gold rush, and formal policies of genocide all contributed to the fraught situation of tribal sovereignty. The absence of ratified treaties and the relative lack of reservations in California, topics that came to the fore in the competing testimony from Kroeber and Julian Steward for the Indian Claims Commission in the late 1950s, illustrate how U.S. policies toward Native Californians have contributed to the struggle for sovereignty (Ray 2006; Rigsby 1997). Supporting the Indians, Kroeber (along with his students, Samuel Barrett and Robert Heizer) argued that Indians occupied definite and recognized territories. Taking a more ecological approach, some of his other students (Julian Steward, Ralph Beals, and Harold Driver) testified for the federal government, claiming that Indians merely used the land and its resources in varying degrees.

In 1978, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) created seven criteria for recognizing Native American tribal sovereignty through its Federal Acknowledgment Process (FAP) (25 C.F.R. Part 83; G. Roth 2008a). The FAP has resulted in the recognition of only one tribe from California, the Death Valley Timbisha Shoshone Band. Three other California tribes—the Ione Band of Miwok Indians, the Koi Nation of Northern California (formerly the Lower Lake Rancheria), and the Tejon Indian Tribe—gained federal recognition outside of the FAP through a somewhat controversial method known as "reaffirmation." Reaffirmation, procedures for which were not defined in law or regulation, was used at the discretion of the assistant secretary of Indian affairs to remedy administrative errors that left tribes off the official list of federally recognized tribes published by the Federal Register (Office of the Inspector General 2013). Many terminated tribes in California were unable to use the FAP, but they have been successful at restoring their sovereignty through

the courts or through Congress (G. Roth 2008b). *Tillie Hardwick et al.* v. *United States of America* (1983), which restored 17 small California rancherias, was the best-known court case. In 2000, the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria (Coast Miwok and Southern Pomo) was the last California tribe to be restored by Congress.

Since the Supreme Court case *California* v. *Cabazon Band of Mission Indians* legalized casino gaming on Native American reservation lands (1987), much of the discourse around unrecognized tribes has changed. Members of the general public often believe that unrecognized tribes are inauthentic Native peoples masquerading as tribal governments in an effort to build casinos. The rise of Native casinos has created a stigma that operates to the detriment of California's unrecognized and terminated tribes, which sought to secure federal recognition long before tribal casinos were legal and before the FAP was created.

Few scholarly works take up the issues raised by the lack of federal recognition among California tribes. As of 2016, there was only one book-length anthropological study on a California tribe, the Honey Lake Maidu, petitioning for federal acknowledgment through the FAP (Tolley 2006). The need for Native people to battle to make their identities legible, often through anthropology, is a contemporary reality in the quest for federal recognition.

For the Honey Lake Maidu and many other tribes in California seeking federal acknowledgment, histories of colonization, genocide, and assimilation tactics have profoundly affected how anthropologists studied and wrote about tribes during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These anthropological definitions of what constitutes a tribe have influenced federal policy since the late nineteenth century. Later works complemented anthropology's impacts on contemporary quests for federal recognition among California tribes (Field 1999, 2003; Field et al. 1992; Field et al. 2013; Leventhal et al. 1994; Lightfoot 2006; Lightfoot et al. 2013b). Yet there is still much to be done on the topic of federal acknowledgment in California.

Tribal Museums and Repatriation

One of the outcomes of the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990 (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.) was the increased collaboration between tribal communities and museums. In addition, repatriation has raised questions and generated fundamental changes in how museum collections are stewarded, how Native Californians are represented in exhibits, and how Native Californian identity is negotiated with regard to federal and state laws. With the establishment of tribal museums in California, the legacy of anthropological museum practices, from record keeping to pest management, has been illuminated, raising the need for more funding and research to pave the way for increased repatriation efforts. And, while repatriation is an important issue for both federally recognized and non–federally recognized tribes, many of the objects that do come back home to tribal communities are not put on exhibit because of their sacred nature. Instead, tribal museums are largely sites of cultural revitalization and empowerment.

California Tribal Museums

At the heart of tribal museums is the desire to strengthen the bonds of community, honor the past, and share knowledge with future generations (Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008). Tribal museums offer communities greater latitude to create their own self-representations (Erikson 1999a). They move beyond the traditional museum model and embrace dynamic community spaces that can be places of research and remembrance, performance and skill building, and language and material culture revitalization (Simpson 1996). Objects in tribal museum collections are handled with respect and flow in and out of the museum so they can be active in ceremonies, performances, and community events (Kreps 2003). Tribal museums can be spaces that reflect the worldviews of the community, offering a way to preserve not the static past, but a living culture (Bowechop and Erikson 2005).

The oldest tribal museum in California is the Malki Museum, located on the Morongo Reservation (fig. 6). In 1965, the museum opened its doors with a collection of objects that had been passed down for generations. The Malki Museum has realized its twin goals of preservation and education through a range of activities by creating a permanent physical space and running the Malki-Ballena Press. In partnership with the Department of Anthropology, San Diego State University, the Malki Museum, Inc., has also published the *Journal of California Anthropology* and its successor, the *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology*, since 1974.

In 1996, the California Indian Museum and Cultural Center (CIMCC) opened at the San Francisco Presidio and then moved to a permanent home in Santa Rosa in the early 2000s. The National Indian Justice Center established this museum as a place for learning about California Indians. Many tribal museums have recently opened in the southern part of the state, including one of the largest Native museums in

Photograph by Ralph C. Shanks. Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and Regents of the University of California (Catalog No. 15-29921).

Fig. 6. Cahuilla Bird Singers, performing at the Memorial Day fiesta, Malki Museum on the Morongo Reservation, California, 1983. left to right, Alvino Siva (b. 1923, d. 2009), Robert Levi (b. 1918, d. 2007), and Anthony Andreas, Jr. (b. 1938, d. 2009).

the area, the Barona Cultural Center and Museum, which opened in 2000. With a collection of more than 3,000 objects and a library of more than 1,000 books, it makes these resources available to both local Kumeyaay and visitors.

Tribal museums are living places, where people come together and engage in cultural practices. Their dynamism is illustrated in some of the innovative programs and services they offer to their communities. The Hoopa Tribal Museum, founded in 1974 as a nonprofit entity of the Hupa Tribe, displays baskets, regalia, and other objects that are on loan from tribal members and that are removed from display periodically to be used in ceremonies. The Cupa Cultural Center, also founded in 1974, by the Pala Band of Mission Indians, hosts the award-winning Pala Rez Radio 91.3 FM. The Owens Valley Paiute Shoshone Cultural Center, opened in 1978, has an exhibit in its Memorial Hall that honors American Indian veterans and their families.

Over the years, federal, state, and local agencies have partnered at varying levels with Native Californians to protect and interpret culturally and environmentally sensitive sites. At Point Reyes National Seashore, a reconstructed Coast Miwok village, Kule Loklo, built in the 1970s by the Miwok Archeological Preserve of Marin (MAPOM) hosts an annual Big Time Festival (figs. 7, 8, 9). Open to the public, it features Miwok dances, songs, and craftwork. The Sumêg Village at Sue-meg State Park is a Yurok village, complete with traditional family houses, a sweathouse, and a dance house. The Yurok Tribe uses this space for educational purposes and for hosting its yearly celebrations. The Coyote Hills Regional Park in Fremont offers interpretive programs discussing the history, culture, and archaeology of Ohlone peoples past and present.

Partnerships between Native Californian tribes and museums cannot be understated. Many museums across California have Native American advisory committees that offer invaluable input on exhibits, education, and repatriation. Since the passage of NAGPRA, there has been an increase in collaboration between Native communities and museums, decentering the curatorial voice and allowing for multivocal representations of culture and history. The Oakland Museum of California's Gallery of California History, which reopened in 2010, features a contemporary California Native representation of history in the exhibit *Before the Other People Came*. On a national scale, the Agua Caliente Cultural Museum—founded by the local band of Cahuilla in 1991—is the first American Indian museum to take part in the Smithsonian Institution Affiliations Program, which allows access to loans, scholarships, research partnerships, workshops, and education and performing-art programs.

Repatriation (NAGPRA) in California

Before the passage of NAGPRA, several laws offered protection to Native Californian sacred sites, graves, and cultural heritage. The California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) of 1970 required identification and mitigation, if feasible, of proposed projects with significant environmental impacts. Embedded in this state law were provisions to mitigate the disturbance of environmentally and culturally sensitive sites. In 1976, the Native American Heritage Commission (NAHC) (Assembly Bill 4239) was established to identify and catalog California Indian cultural resources. The NAHC was also charged with preserving and ensuring accessibility of sacred sites and burials,

Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and Regents of the University of California (Catalog No. 15-30075).

Fig. 7. Langford ("Lanny") Pinola (Kashaya Pomo, b. 1938, d. 2003), interpreter at Kule Loklo, a reconstructed Coast Miwok village at Point Reyes National Seashore, 1980s or early 1990s.

Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and Regents of the University of California (Catalog No. 15-30077).

Fig. 8. Kashaya Pomo Strawberry Festival, Point Reyes National Seashore. Singers: left to right, Bun Lucas, Gladys Gonzalez, Lanny Pinola, and Irene Pinola (mother of Lanny Pinola), 1980s or early 1990s.

Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and Regents of the University of California (Catalog No. 15-30021).

Fig. 9. Sierra Miwok children playing Indian football game, Indian Grindstone State Park, Volcano, California, 1980s or early 1990s.

as well as to the disposition of Native American human remains and burial items (Schneider 2008). In 2014, Assembly Bill 52 was added onto existing CEQA statutes to protect California tribal cultural resources, including sites, features, places, cultural landscapes, and sacred places and objects (Owsowitz 2015). AB 52 required consultation with both federally recognized and non–federally recognized tribes through all phases of projects.

These California state laws, coupled with several federal laws, such as the Antiquities Act (1906), the National Historic Preservation Act (1966), the National Environmental Policy Act (1969), the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978), and the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (1979) (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.), went far to protect Native American sacred places, ceremonial centers, and cultural resources. However, tribes that are not recognized by the federal government find that the law restricts their rights to repatriation, even if they are culturally affiliated with remains and objects in museums. This is a particularly salient issue for the many unrecognized tribes in California (Neller et al. 2013:163).

In California, museum implementation of NAGPRA continues to be a challenging process. Many Native California collections are held by branches of the University of California. University affiliates found it difficult to complete NAGPRA inventories by the mandated deadlines primarily because of the large size of their collections and the lack of funding.

In addition, fundamental differences in interpreting NAGPRA generated rifts in the relationships between Native communities and museums (Platt 2011). To address this stalemate, in 2001, the state passed the California Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (Cal-NAGPRA) (Cal. Health & Safety Code §8010–8030). Cal-NAGPRA required state-funded institutions to streamline the repatriation process. Mirroring federal statutes, Cal-NAGPRA went several steps further. California tribes that were not federally recognized but did have state cultural recognition were able to make repatriation claims for ancestral remains and cultural objects. Civil penalties were to be levied against museums and other agencies for noncompliance. A Repatriation Oversight Committee was also created to help tribes, agencies, and museums craft guidelines for consultation and to provide dispute resolution protocols. Additionally, in late 2018, the California Legislature passed AB 2836, which addresses the continued difficulties of the University of California's NAGPRA implementation. This assembly bill requires both system-wide and applicable UC campuses to establish NAGPRA implementation oversight committees, which would establish policies and procedures, reviewed by California's Native American Heritage Commission. The goal for AB 2836 is to create a more consistent and transparent process that complies with the federal law.

The return of objects from museums to their home communities is often an arduous task but is vitally important to many California tribes, who believe that these objects have a living spirit and need to be a part of their social and ceremonial communities (Field et al. 2008; Gleeson et al. 2012; Lang 1994; Margolin 1981). Unfortunately, bringing sacred belongings home can be problematic. Added to the emotional and financial costs associated with the process of repatriation is the issue of pesticide contamination of museum collections, particularly when the kinds and concentrations of organic and inorganic chemicals remain unknown. When the Hoopa Tribal Museum repatriated 17 sacred items from the Peabody Museum at Harvard in 1997, curators worked with a team of chemists from San Francisco State University, who showed a troubling amount of arsenic, mercury, and other pesticides applied to the ceremonial regalia (Caldararo et al. 2001). Grave concerns abound not only for the welfare of the people who handle the objects but also for the well-being of the objects themselves.

Conclusion

Running through the decades since the publication of the *California* volume (Heizer 1978b) have been at least four main scholarly themes. First, there has

been a gradual but pronounced diversification in the institutional setting for the study of California Indians. Through most of the twentieth century, the UC Berkeley, dominated Californianist anthropology, first with Alfred Kroeber and then with his student Robert Heizer, the two editors of the 1925 and 1978 versions of a Californian Indian handbook. Their own views of the field have remained influential, to be either extended or resisted. In the four decades since 1978, this dominance has not disappeared, but it has faded, especially owing to the mass of accumulated primary sources.

Second, there has been a gradual but emphatic rise of a historical and temporal perspective. Coupled with this has been a shift from an ethnographic (sociocultural) focus to an emphasis on archaeology. Third, environmental approaches have showed growing significance, since Kroeberian times, although they are now treated in a more complex and integrative fashion. Most important, Native perspectives and agency have become prominent in most aspects of the field. And the center of scholarship and publication has shifted substantially from the universities to more localized and independent sources.

In all of these aspects, it is clear that regional anthropology has not existed in some kind of intellectual vacuum but, like all scholarship, has evolved in a constantly shifting sociocultural and political milieu. A prime example is the case of Chumash identity. Several scholars (e.g., Haley and Wilcoxon 1997, 2005) have called into question the ethnic credentials of some Chumash individuals and groups. They argue that the writings of anthropologists such as J.P. Harrington can be and have been selectively used to establish or refute such identities. Opponents of these arguments (Erlandson et al. 1998; Field 1999) cite other anthropological findings to argue the opposite. Such disputes are not merely scholarly disagreements, as can be seen in their critical role in the Federal Acknowledgment Process, as well as in establishing standing for repatriation requests and the monitoring of archaeological excavations. In fact, Native communities and anthropologists (neither exclusively defined) find themselves on all sides of these vital questions. Thus, an understanding of the accumulated tradition of Californianist anthropology is likely to prove increasingly critical in the coming years.

Additional Readings

For reviews of the *California* volume (Heizer 1978b), see Aerni (1978), Clemmer (1983), Costo (1979), Lévi-Strauss (1979), Moratto (1979), and Phillips (1980). Since its publication, there have been no similar state- or culture area–wide overviews of Native Californian cultures. However, several more specialized works have been published. There were two special issues of journals, one more scholarly (Norton 1989) and one more popular (Bean 1992b); two editions of a compendium of Native Californian testimonies, *The Way We Lived* (Margolin 1981, revised 1993); and several editions of accessible guides to California Indian communities (e.g., Eargle 2000). Two Native authors (Costo and Costo 1995; Forbes 1982) published overviews addressed to students and a broad popular audience.

For an excellent guide to primary sources on California Indians' manuscripts, artifacts, documents, serials, music, and illustrations, see Vane and Bean (1990), and see Jacknis (2002a) specifically for the rich anthropological archives at UC Berkeley.

On the region's archaeology, two comprehensive reviews were published in 1984, one for professionals (Moratto 1984) and one for popular audiences (Chartkoff and Chartkoff 1984). Decades later, the Society for California Archaeology sought to mark the developments in the field since these seminal publications (Jones and Klar 2007). Soon thereafter, two more general summaries appeared (Arnold and Walsh 2010; Jones and Perry 2012); the former was organized regionally and written for students and lay readers, the latter devoted to "contemporary issues." Two specialized reviews covered most of the state: on Californianist archaeology and the "myth of paradise" (Raab and Jones 2004) and on the long history of coastal occupation (Gamble 2015). Both shared an interest in the impact of changing climates and environments on Native populations, an issue perhaps foregrounded by contemporary climate change. In the realm of archaeological popularization, see Fagan (2003).

In addition to material sources, there has been a persistent interest in visual sources, one encouraged by Heizer himself (e.g., Kroeber and Heizer 1968). Following from the classic *Drawn from Life* (Kroeber et al. 1977), Blackburn edited an edition of the Sacramento Valley sketches of Henry B. Brown, 1851–1852 (Blackburn 2006). Much of this research has focused on the northwestern part of the state—see the work of photo-historian Peter Palmquist (1975, 1976) and the review by R. Johnson et al. (2012). A great loss was the premature death of anthropological photographer Scott Patterson (b. 1952, d. 1986), who was acclaimed for his sensitive representations of the Pomo (1989). For photography, important contributions addressed the sharing of Native collections of personal photo-

graphs (Frank and Hogeland 2007) and the creative work of Native Californians themselves, most especially Dugan Aguilar (Harlan 2015).

Readers should also consult the major periodicals: *Journal of California Anthropology* (1974–1978) and its successor, *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology (*1979–); *California Archaeology*, published by the Society for California Archaeology (2009–), along with its annual *Proceedings* (1988–); and the magazine *News from Native California* (1987–).

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Map by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 1. Map of the Greater Southwest Native tribes (nations), including northern Mexico. The boundaries shown on the map match the depiction of tribal areas in *Handbook* volumes 9 and 10 (Ortiz 1979, 1983) and largely correspond to the 1880s, except for some aboriginal lands as determined by the Indian Claims Commission (e.g., for Yavapai, Western Apache, Hopi). The map represents generalized tribal territories as understood by anthropologists by the time volumes 9 and 10 were produced, with new Indigenous names added for many groups (see "Appendix 3," this vol.).

Greater Southwest: Introduction

IGOR KRUPNIK

From the early days of the planning for the Smithsonian Handbook series in 1966, it had been decided that the "Greater Southwest" culture area, one of the most complex regions in North America, should be covered in two separate volumes (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.). The editor for the two *Southwest* volumes, Alfonso Alex Ortiz (San Juan Pueblo, b. 1939, d. 1997), was selected by the general editor in early 1970, and the tentative structure of the two volumes was approved in late 1970 (see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.). The first *Southwest* volume would cover the history of research on local Indigenous groups, early history and archaeology, the beginnings of agriculture and settled life, and 20 Pueblo communities as well as the Hopi Tribe (Ortiz 1979). The second *Southwest* volume would be dedicated to the non-Pueblo groups and the Indigenous peoples of northern Mexico (Ortiz 1983). The two volumes had one editor but different planning committees and non-overlapping teams of contributors (fig. 1).

This introductory volume follows the same template, and it covers developments in the Southwest anthropology in two consecutive chapters, "Southwest-1" and "Southwest-2," written by two separate teams. The first provides an overview of general issues and research themes common to most of the Southwest groups, though using primarily the material related to Pueblo communities (while also citing data from other groups in the region). The second focuses exclusively on non-Pueblo communities: the Yuman, Tohono O'odham, the Akimel O'odham (formerly known as Pima and Papago), Indigenous groups of northern Mexico, Navajo (Diné), and Apache. It almost replicates the structure of volume 10, except that the small section on the mixed community of Genízaros, originally covered in volume 9 (Chávez 1979), is presented together with material on the non-Pueblo groups of the Greater Southwest.

Southwest-1

GWYNEIRA ISAAC, KLINTON BURGIO-ERICSON, CHIP COLWELL,
T.J. FERGUSON, JANE HILL (†), DEBRA MARTIN, AND OFELIA ZEPEDA

The Southwest is one of the most intensively studied cultural regions of North America and has played a leading role in shaping the character of American anthropology in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Basso 1979b; Fowler 2000). In 1879, the first anthropological expedition in the Southwest, under the aegis of the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE), resulted in some of the earliest research and ethnographic collections from the region (Parezo 1987). This expedition resulted in Frank Hamilton Cushing's (b. 1857, d. 1900) immersive fieldwork in Zuni, an experiment that pioneered participant-observation ethnography. Matilda Coxe Stevenson (b. 1849, d. 1915), who was also member of this BAE expedition, pioneered the use of photography as a part of ethnographic fieldwork (Isaac 2005b). Archaeologists in the Southwest were also early adopters of stratigraphic methods, like excavations by Nels Nelson and A.V. Kidder in the Rio Grande area, and by Leslie Spier and Frederick Webb Hodge in the Zuni region (Schroeder 1979).

In the 1970s, research in the Southwest was (and had long been seen as) "a mirror of American anthropology" (Basso 1979b:14). This region has also been viewed as "a metonymic who's who of early disciplinary history within the United States" (Whiteley 1998:7).

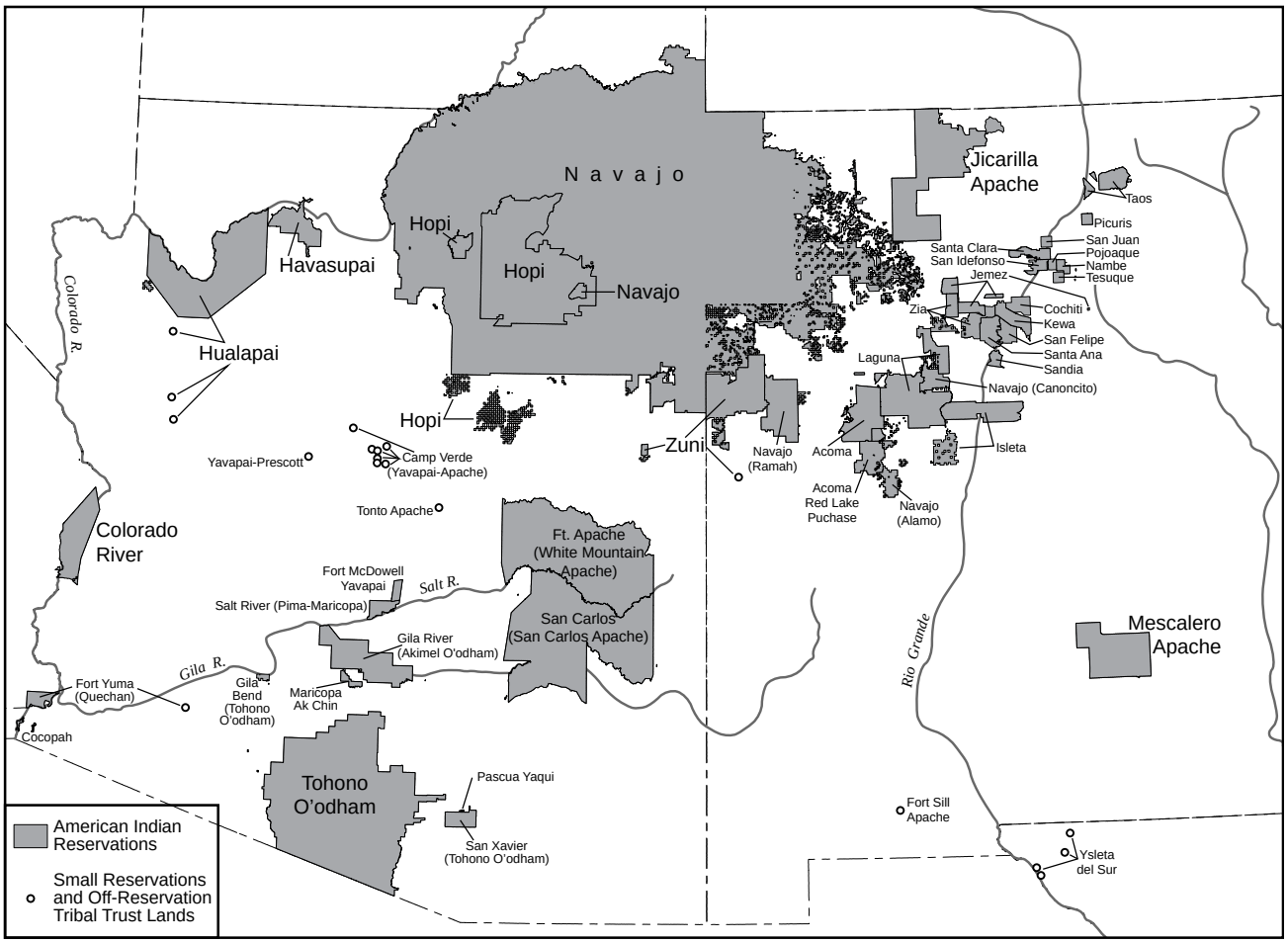
Extensive use of photography and film documentation during early government-led expeditions brought about a high level of visibility for the Native communities in territories now part of the states of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah (Faris 1996; Fleming and Luskey 1986; Fowler 1989; La Farge 2013). The ancient cliff ruins, pueblos, and desert peoples were seen as having potential to reveal the origins of civilization in North America and ignited popular romantic imaginations about the Southwest as part of a national cultural treasure (Bandelier 2008; Hinsley 1994; Lamphere et al. 1992; McFeely 2001). The display and popularity of Puebloan pottery and religious artifacts in large museums in the eastern United States drew attention from European and Anglo-American artists and collectors (Babcock 1994; Clemmer 2008). By the 1920s, the Southwest was central to a rapidly growing art and tourist trade, with complex socio-cultural dynamics that still dominates the region's cultural and economic relations today (Bernstein 1994; Conner and Taggert 2009; Dilworth 1996; Felker et. al. 2013; Weigle and Babcock 1996).

Long-term, immersive ethnographic methods, as well as partnerships with community members subsequently influenced the work of linguists (Haile 1926, 1941; Reichard 1945), medical anthropologists (Leighton and Leighton 1944), and students of acculturation (Adair and Vogt 1949; Goodwin 1942. The 1950s and 1960s also saw the professionalization of Native American scholars in the Southwest, with Edward P. Dozier (b. 1916, d. 1971, Santa Clara Pueblo) and Alfonso Ortiz (b. 1939, d. 1997, Ohkay Owingey Pueblo). The growing contribution of Native American scholars in documenting their communities was especially notable in the two *Southwest* volumes in the *Handbook* series (Ortiz 1979, 1983) that included Native scholars Kenneth Yazzie Begishe (Navajo), LaVerne Masayesva Jeanne (Hopi), Edmund Ladd (Zuni), Sally Giff Pablo (Pima/Akimel O'odham), Velma Garcia Mason (Acoma), and Joe Sando (Jemez).

Resistance by Native peoples against being the subject of anthropological studies eventually led to a decline in ethnographic fieldwork conducted by non-Native scholars and a shift toward tribal contracts with researchers hired to work on community-directed issues—a pattern that started in the 1970s and has continued to the present day (see "Southwest-2," this vol.).

The *Southwest* volumes (Ortiz 1979, 1983) represented an important transition in diverse methodological approaches aimed to introduce Indigenous perspectives in academic discourse. The imprint of later twentieth-century advances in anthropological conceptions was evident in the treatment of southwestern Native peoples, not as exemplars of timeless cultural purity in hermetic isolation but rather as communities enmeshed in relations of exchange among other groups (pueblos and tribes) and Spanish and Anglo-American arrivals.

The implicit recognition of the agency of Native people was reflected in the changing research environment of the 1970s and 1980s (fig. 1). Effective self-determination and self-governance movements led to



Map produced by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 1. Lands held in trust for federally recognized tribes across the U.S. Southwest, 2020.

the tribal management of heritage sites and programs related to intangible culture, such as the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. Contracted archaeological research also increased under the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). An increase in the number of Native people trained in federal laws and tribally led programs overseeing repatriation and culturally related research also led to the development of collaborative approaches, especially in archaeology (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2007, see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.) (fig. 2).

The emergence of American Indian studies in the Southwest also inflected developments in regional anthropology. By the 1970s, partly in opposition to the legacy of anthropological methods, Native scholars argued for and established specialized Native and Indigenous study programs, often introducing Indigenous knowledge to decolonize particular research practices. Since the 1990s, university programs in American Indian Studies have drawn Native experts from anthropology, sociology, social work, psychology, public health, law, education, history, philosophy, religious studies, English and creative writing, geography, linguistics, art, and art history. Although a number of faculty originated from anthropology, this broader scope of disciplinary expertise has revealed a move away from the anthropologically informed, single-community, reservation-based ethnographic fieldwork and toward interdisciplinary, multisited, often urban, multi-institutional perspectives on how Native people live in the Southwest today. While drawing on ethnographic methods and concepts of culture, these studies avoid publishing information on religious practices and beliefs, considering them part of a cultural realm that communities see as private and requiring specific responsibilities (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2011; Isaac 2007; Whiteley 1993).

This chapter explores recent developments in the study of Southwest American Indian cultures. It is not an exhaustive summary of all research in the region

Photo by Chip Colwell.

Fig. 2. A team of Zuni cultural advisors considers the impacts of a proposed water pipeline on their traditional places.

since the publication of two *Southwest* volumes of the *Handbook* series (Ortiz 1979, 1983), focusing instead on the overview by major subfields and discussion of Pueblo communities (Ortiz 1979). Specific data on Indigenous groups across the Greater Southwest, including northern Mexico, are presented in the following chapter (see "Southwest-2," this vol.).

Ethnography and Contemporary American Indian Experiences

Since the 1960s, southwestern tribes' ongoing efforts to expand their self-governance and the critiques of anthropological practices by American Indian activists have changed ethnographic fieldwork in the region. Overall, there has been a move toward contract-based practices, in which research addresses tribally led issues, such as water rights, land claims, environment, and health disparities. The perceived difficulty of research among the Pueblos has also shaped the scope and focus of ethnographic studies since the 1980s, leading to greater emphasis on other groups, such as the Apache and Navajo, who remained central subjects in traditional forms of ethnographic literature (see "Southwest-2," this vol.).

In a move toward greater self-determination, numerous Southwest Indian communities have developed their own museums and cultural heritage programs (Fuller 1992). These new institutions, like the Ak-Chin Him Dak Ecomuseum supported by the Ak-Chin Indian Community in Maricopa, Arizona, and the Huhugam Ki Museum, supported by the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community in Scottsdale, Arizona, have become important repositories for archeological collections resulting from contract work, as well as centers for tribal archives, community-based exhibits, and programming. The Ak-Chin Ecomuseum became the model later adopted by the Zuni for their A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center, with both institutions regarding their own community members as the repositories of cultural knowledge. In Zuni, the museum developed practices and programming according to Zuni values and expectations about the transmission of cultural knowledge (Isaac 2007), moving the tribal museum concept beyond issues of self-representation and into Indigenous museology, including how collections

Photograph by Gwyneira Isaac.

Fig. 3. Karen Kahe Charley (left), from the Hopi Tribe, and Lea McChesney (right) during the Recovering Voices Hopi potters research visit, National Museum of Natural History, 2019.

and esoteric knowledge should be used and protected (Holman 1996).

Tribal museums supported by casinos have also been established, such as Acoma Pueblo's Sky City Cultural Center and Haak'u Museum, which alongside repatriation and archival spaces for the tribe, have museum galleries that communicate their culture to outside audiences. Other tribal institutions, such as the Poeh Center established by Pojoaque Pueblo in Pojoaque, New Mexico, have partnered with large eastern museums like the National Museum of the American Museum (NMAI), to bring objects collected in the nineteenth century back to the community. Overall, these museums and cultural centers have emerged as mechanisms for tribal management of tourism but have also influenced ethnographic research by hosting visiting scholars and overseeing or shaping the type of research conducted (Isaac 2014).

Collaborative ethnographic studies in partnership with Southwest communities have become prevalent models for research. Among the Pueblo groups, these have included studies in Hopi on how women create their social worlds through pottery (Charley and McChesney 2007; McChesney 2007; McChesney and Charley 2011, 2015) (figs. 3, 4), the reconstruction of history from Hopi songs (Sekaquaptewa and Washburn 2004), Hopi concepts of reciprocity (McChesney and Isaac 2018; Whiteley 2004a, 2004c), tradition and tribal law (Richland 2008, 2009), and ethnohistory, and the rethinking of ethnography, along with the value of place-names (Whiteley 1988, 1998, 2009, 2011). Ethnographic studies at Zuni have included ethnoecology (Ford 1999), the study of aging (Moss 2000), the Zuni knowledge system and tribal museum (Isaac 2007, 2011), and oral literature (Quam 2015). Ethnographic research among the Tewa has covered dance and identity (Sweet 2004).

Like archaeology, much ethnographic research is now conducted in compliance with historic preservation legislation, or during land claims and legal proceedings such as the Hopi–Navajo land dispute. Commissioned reports, however, are often not published as ethnographic texts and may not be readily accessible.

Many disciplines have also imported ethnographic approaches and concepts as part of their research methodology. As a result, the ethnographically informed

Photo by Lea S. McChesney.

Fig. 4. Bernadette Crook, Hopi potter, uncovers pottery after a mass firing of several potters' work during the Third Annual Hopi Intergenerational Pottery Festival in 2019, Polacca (First Mesa), Hopi Reservation, Arizona.

study of American Indian life in the Southwest is broadly distributed across fields including law and history (Hart 1995), and public health (Cordova 2015; Kunitz and Levy 1994; Schwarz 1997, 2008; Wallerstein et al. 2003), which includes the use of traditional foods (Flora 2009; Salmon 2012), education (McCarty and Bia 2002), and environmental studies (Weinstein 2001). There has also been an increased interest in the field of ethnohistory, including Hopi migrations (Kuwanwisiwma et al. 2018), Hopi social formations over time (Whiteley 2018), Navajo history (Iverson 2002), Indian law and Hualapai land rights (McMillen 2009), and Pueblo social history (Ware 2014). The development of Southwest studies has also produced regional multicultural histories (Dockstader 1985; Melendez 2001; Wenger 2009), especially of tourism and art markets (Lidchi 2015; Mullin 2001; Rothman 2003; Tisdale 1996). While it is difficult to construct a single, holistic picture from this widely dispersed landscape of culturally based research, the dissemination of ethnographic concepts of culture, as well as the adoption of ethnographic methods, have enabled discussion about the nature and role of cultural systems in the Southwest to expand beyond ethnology.

During the 1990s, a significant shift took place in anthropology, as questions about the nature and processes of identity construction generated interest in the experiential aspects of culture (Conzen et al. 1992). In the Southwest, ethnographic examinations of the social construction of identity led to studies about its fluidity—especially identity as history in Hopi oral traditions (Bernardini 2008), Apache concepts of identity as part of a shared history (Samuels 2004), and Indigenous identity evident through Hopi law (Richland 2005). Additionally, collaborative research in ethnoarchaeology looked at identity and cultural affiliation in the Southwest (Adler and Bruning 2007). Interdisciplinary Southwest studies scholars have developed their own approaches to concepts of cultural identity, specifically documenting factors affecting American Indian life that traditional reservation-based ethnographers have overlooked, including changing demographics and the migration of American Indians to urban areas. According to a study of American Indian youth in Phoenix (Kulis et. al. 2013), 60 percent were living in urban rather than tribal environments, 21 percent had multiple tribal affiliations, and 44 percent had a non–American Indian parent—34 percent of whom were Hispanic. Most of the youth in the study belonged to a tribal community that was near an urban metropolis and traveled between the two communities, retaining "a strong and multifaceted sense of connection to their Indigenous background" (Kulis et al. 2013:290).

American Indian scholars of the Southwest have presented the experience of traversing multiple Native and mainstream identities as a critical framework. For example, observations about Apache skateboard culture question the strict binaries often ascribed to American Indian people, affirming ideas about how "identity is far from fixed in the indigenous world" (Martínez 2013b:373). Past assumptions from outside researchers have presented barriers to understanding contemporary issues facing Native youth: "What has become apparent is that the obsolete dichotomies of traditional/contemporary, urban/reservation, Indian/white need to give way" as a generation of Native artists explore new territories (Martínez 2013b:384). A study of Albuquerque's colonial history and the development of contemporary pan-Indian institutions likewise disrupts past ethnographic models and "the divisive paradigm of urban versus reservation" identities—a limited binary that represents those not living in tribal communities as "less Indian" (Vicenti Carpio 2011:258). These kinds of studies have also revealed American Indian scholars exploring ways in which to

incorporate their own knowledge systems into their academic research and institutions (Cajete 2000).

By and large, many expressions of identity and explorations of contemporary Southwest culture have transpired outside of anthropological literature. The American Indian art worlds of Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and Phoenix have been particularly prolific, giving voice and presence to artists, many of whom claim multiple cultural identities. In 2007, the Heard Museum, in collaboration with the NMAI, curated the exhibit *Remix: New Modernities in a Post-Indian World*. Artists such as Steven Yazzie, who identifies as Navajo/Laguna/Welsh, deliberately challenged the limiting frame of singular tribal identities. While cultural anthropologists have largely ignored hybrid identities, works of art in *Remix* and similar exhibitions embodied these experiences, making them both public and part of a new discourse on Native identity in an "Age of Hybridity" (Heartney 2007).

Apprehension about potential repercussions from redefining American Indian cultural identities in the Southwest is enmeshed with tribal and federal politics about sovereignty and tribal recognition, as well as the complex legacies of colonialism. This intricate and intersecting cultural landscape explains, in part, why ethnographic research in this area is conducted cautiously. From a Native perspective, documenting and communicating what it is like to be American Indian today requires a more multivocal approach than past ethnographic frameworks provided (Vicenti Carpio 2011). The work of Native scholars, artists, writers, and poets has therefore illuminated the intersectional and experiential aspects of Native identity in the contemporary Southwest.

Language in the Southwest

Language is a crucial concern for Native communities in the Southwest. What should their heritage languages mean in the context of the undeniable instrumental importance of English? How should communities retain and develop their languages, universally recognized as threatened, in order to accomplish those meanings? Linguistic anthropologists and linguists have used new theoretical approaches to these questions, engaging long-standing ethnological issues.

The chapters on semantics in the *Southwest* volumes sought to retrieve the worldview of speakers from structural analyses of vocabulary (Walker 1979; Witherspoon 1983). They focused almost exclusively on the referential function of language—the way that linguistic elements label things in the world—and assumed that this function was equally important to the language communities. The anthropology of language that was already emerging in the 1970s challenged the centrality of the referential function and turned increasingly to exploring the capacity for language to create new meanings, embedded in much larger systems of communicative modalities, so that culture itself emerges even in everyday talk. In communities with multiple languages, where speakers are grounded in diverse positions, the forms and uses of language are inevitably political, making it possible to speak of "ideologies" of language and communication (Agha 2007; Hymes 1976; Irvine and Gal 2000; Schieffelin et al.1998; and Silverstein 1976) (fig. 5).

Research on language in the Village of Tewa in Arizona and among the Navajo Nation has illustrated how scholars have been addressing the meanings of languages. The Arizona Tewa hold that their language is, quite literally, their history (Kroskrity 1993). In speaking Tewa, they "speak their past" and aim toward desired futures. Tewa ideology asserts the ritual language of the kiva as an ideal since it "promotes a unifying model for speech behavior that crosscuts clan and class divisions" (Kroskrity 1998:108) and simultaneously licenses theocratic forms of power that remain dominant in the community. Although many Arizona Tewa are multilingual, ideologies of "Indigenous purism" and "strict compartmentalization" continually

Photograph by Jane Hill.

Fig. 5. Bumper sticker in Shiprock-Sanostee from the 2008 presidential election written in Navajo, which translates as "Yes we can Obama."

assert the distinctiveness of Tewa language and identity by devaluing language mixing and innovation through borrowing. "Regulation by convention" links the language to the deep past by prescribing traditional rhetorical forms both within the kiva and without. These studies shed light on the question of how the Arizona Tewa have maintained a distinct identity during 300 years as a small minority among the Hopi and provide a foundation for investigating the functions of language in other Puebloan communities.

Contemporary Navajo ideologies have expressed the contradictions that have emerged, due to an expanding role for English. The Navajo language is celebrated as uniquely expressive and superior in every respect (Gómez de García et al. 2009; House 2002). This valorization includes acclaim for the World War II Navajo code talkers (Meadows 2011) and the legal requirement, finally overturned in a 2015 referendum, that tribal leaders must be "fluent" speakers of Navajo (Donovan 2015; Quintero 2014). The linguistic landscape—the language of signage and other public written materials—of the Navajo Nation has become increasingly Navajo (Webster 2014) (fig. 6). Yet despite this idealization, Lee (2007, 2009) and Field (2009) found that young people who speak the language publicly risked ridicule as "Johns," or backward hillbillies. Navajo and English are frequently mingled in informal talk, but this practical usage is an object of scorn. Navajos worry about inadequate command of both English and written "standard" Navajo (Peery 2012). Navajo poets write and perform "intimate grammars" of Navajo that are personally meaningful to them (Webster 2012, 2016). Yet to produce this poetry is an "ordeal of language" (Basso 2009), and poets almost never publish work using the "Navlish" mixed forms.

Photograph by Jane Hill.

Fig. 6. Sign from Buffalo Pass written in Navajo that provides traditional place names.

The documentation and development of language programs present important challenges for Native communities in the Southwest. Language instruction has moved from bilingual education programs in public, tribally controlled and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools as well as Head Start classrooms (all noted in Ortiz 1979, 1983) to formal and informal venues including alternative and charter schools, after-school programs, summer language camps, and a range of community-based language programs (Hinton 2001a). State grants and tribally funded initiatives have supported this move, as well as federal funds (most often the Administration for Native Americans' preservation and maintenance grants) (McCarty 2013). Tribal colleges and universities, such as Tohono O'odham Community College and Diné College, have become important players in language teaching, research, and program development.

Language camps, often intergenerational as well as serving children and young adults, have emphasized language appropriate for cultural activities, including traditional arts, games, foods, botanical study, storytelling, and traditional dances (Hinton 2001c; Pecos and Blum-Martinez 2001). The Yuman-speaking communities have organized regular summer language camps that include participants from languages across the Yuman family. Different language communities have volunteered to host the annual camp, and others provide support, including knowledgeable speakers and elders. The Jicarilla Apache of New Mexico, for example, have hosted regular day camps, supported by the state and the Johnson-O'Malley Program, for students aged 8 to 11 from the Dulce Elementary School, which also maintains a bilingual multicultural program funded by the state's Department of Education. Adult volunteers have included experts in traditional practices, which permit diverse strategies for language input. Counselors fluent in Jicarilla Apache are given questions to ask the campers and an exit test conducted in Jicarilla asks for a simple recall of several items at the camp.

While language camps have sought to have children and traditional teachers share success in bringing attention to the language, Native speakers who have come from multilingual communities have often needed training in order to stay in the language within the camp setting, so as not to miss opportunities for regular language input (Olsen 2002). The language immersion method has been successful in producing speakers (Hinton 2001a, 2002; Sims 2001), and Southwest tribes have noted the success of language immersion programs for New Zealand Maori and Native Hawaiians (Timutimu et al. 2009), and communities including the Apache, Navajo, and Keres have developed immersion programs.

Perhaps most successful are those at Cochiti and Acoma Pueblos. By the 1970s, children in these pueblos were no longer learning Keres at home. The language loss continued over two more decades of bilingual education in the schools, so these two pueblos moved to create immersion programs—Cochiti in 1996 and Acoma in 1997 (Romero-Little and McCarty 2006). Keres-speaking scholars Christine Sims (Acoma) and Mary Eunice Romero-Little (Cochiti) surveyed their communities' sociolinguistic practices, revealing the depth of language loss but simultaneously providing heartening information about the significant number of speakers remaining (Sims 2001). Based on this information, organizers developed daily interactive language-learning activities. The tribes offered classes for tribal employees. Class subjects for young men included creating songs and their pertinent cultural protocols and for women included traditional cooking and the importance of food preparation for ceremonial occasions. The programs served not only to instill the language throughout the communities but also to sustain and build vital cultural traditions. The Cochiti community-based program includes a "language nest," replicating the successful Pacific Island efforts by placing very young children in immersion settings (Romero-Little and McCarty 2006).

For many tribes that have chosen to write their languages and have histories of orthographic activity, writing continues to be a source of pride and ownership. The "core values" statement of the Tohono O'odham Community College is written in O'odham. These core values have appeared on college literature and attractive posters throughout the campus, where a walking path has documented the surrounding plant life in O'odham with appropriate botanical references describing traditional knowledge and uses of the plants. The college's basketball team has an O'odham name—Jegos, or "dust storm"—and the Jegos logo has appeared on T-shirts, caps, and other team-related products. The college has required all new hires to take an O'odham language and culture class, enabling both O'odham and non-O'odham employees to fully participate in the goal of integrating O'odham language and culture throughout the curriculum (http://www.tocc.edu/, active December 20, 2020).

The southwestern Pueblo groups have often preferred oral methods of language perpetuation. Whereas the Jicarilla Apache language camps use both written and oral methods, the Cochiti immersion program is primarily oral (Pecos and Blum-Martinez 2001). Other Pueblo communities keep written language development materials under tight control of theocratic authorities and often restrict access to only a few people, even among tribal members. In one Rio Grande pueblo, the written materials developed for a dictionary of the language became tools for "refinement and control," and materials that might be written down were withheld, often for years, to permit due consideration of appropriateness (Debenport 2013:201). Documents have been closely held and used to construct "extremely limited, private spheres" (Debenport 2015:140), rather than the broader publics often associated with literacy. These practices were part of local control of knowledge, again a classic problem in southwestern ethnography (e.g., Brandt 1980, 1981) and illustrate the productive power of secrecy. Such restrictions on the diffusion of discourse are linked closely to theories of knowledge as necessarily local (Richland 2005, 2009).

Like writing, new digital methods for language development have also raised contradictions (see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.). Some Western Apache adults were ambivalent about the use of computers in the language classroom and found their children's engagement with computers as reminiscent of the way they were glued to home television screens and therefore "not listening" or engaging appropriately with elders in interactions seen as foundational to Apache identity and language acquisition (Nevins 2004). Digital media has also raised the risk that language materials will escape appropriate control, and some communities insist on password protection of documentation efforts such as dictionaries.

Although digital methods can be controversial, many tribes take advantage of freeware and tools such as the iPhone for developing digitally based language material ranging from substantial dictionaries to games (Penfield et al. 2006; see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.). Digital methods have also encouraged the development of new popular media, such as the Navajo *Star Wars* film (Taylor 2014), and such methods may encourage youth to become interested in their heritage languages (Galla 2009). Also, teachers have taken the pragmatic view that new technologies are additional resources to support oral use of the heritage languages.

Diverse training programs have permitted members to develop skills in all areas of language teaching as well as in producing digital material. The American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) at the University of Arizona has a long history in training teachers and researchers of Native American languages, and since 1990, it has worked to close the "digital divide." AILDI offers workshops and courses on technology for producing electronic dictionaries, games, and other types of language resources (Penfield et al. 2006). Institutes like AILDI have become a mainstay for many tribal communities seeking training

Photograph by Ofelia Zepeda.

Fig. 7. Using iPads and iPhones for language documentation and teaching materials at an American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) workshop.

in Native American linguistics across the Southwest as practical tools to meet the needs of their language teachers, resource people, community members, and tribal researchers (McCarty et al. 2001). The institute also provides an important opportunity for networking and exchanging ideas among language workers from many tribes. A number of other campuses and tribes across the United States and Canada have replicated AILDI's format (fig. 7).

Verbal art was hardly mentioned in the 1979 and 1983 *Southwest* volumes, and even the seminal study of Zuni narrative poetry, *Finding the Center* (Tedlock 1972) was not cited. Later works (Hymes 1976; Sherzer 2002; Tedlock 1972, 1983) have centered this topic in the anthropology of language and permitted interpretation of miniature discursive forms, such as personal names (Whiteley 1992) and place names as literature. Place names turn out to be far more than labels; rather, they are literary forms suffused with moral messages, which memorialize history and produce local relationships to cultural landscapes (Basso 1996; Hedquist et al. 2014b; Nevins 2008; Samuels 2001; Whiteley 2011). Other important genres include jokes (Basso 1979b) and public announcements (Kroskrity 1992; Shaul 1988).

Emerging alongside "traditional" forms of verbal art since the 1970s, contemporary literary expression employs languages in new ways, especially in poetry. Some of the most important poets in the Southwest now incorporate their first languages into their writing, sometimes only a few words or subtitles and sometimes full compositions. Navajo poet Rex Lee Jim (1995, 1998) published his early work in Navajo, including page numbers. Jim has observed that using Navajo is simultaneously an aesthetic choice (which may depend on the subject matter) and a form of resistance and empowerment (Webster 2004). Other poets who have published popular works in their first language include Simon Ortiz (2004) from Acoma and O'odham poet Ofelia Zepeda (1996, 1997).

New Approaches to Archaeology

Most archaeological work in the Southwest since 1970 has been part of cultural resource management (CRM). Since 2000, 90 percent of archaeologists work in the United States outside of universities, and about 95 percent of the billion dollars spent on archaeology annually relates to CRM by or for federal, state, tribal, and local governmental agencies (Altschul and Patterson 2010; Doelle and Altschul 2009). Major data recovery programs mitigating the adverse effects of development, especially in reservoir construction, have advanced knowledge of key areas of the Southwest, including the Dolores and Animas-La Plata areas of Colorado (Breternitz 1993; Potter and Chuipka 2007) and the Roosevelt Dam area of Arizona (Ciolek-Torrello et al. 1994; Elson et al. 1995; Rice 1998). The growth of the CRM industry has spawned scores of private companies operating in the Southwest (Doelle and Phillips 2005).

Several southwestern tribes have developed programs and enterprises to provide professional services related to the NHPA and other environmental legislation, including the Navajo Nation, the Pueblo of Zuni (A:shiwi), and the Gila River Indian Community (Anyon et al. 2000). The 1992 amendment of the NHPA greatly increased the participation of American Indian tribes in historic preservation activities through several provisions (Ferguson 2000), one of which recognized traditional cultural properties as eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (Parker and King 1990). Since 1992, most tribes in the Southwest have actively engaged in ethnographic research to identify traditional cultural properties affected by federal undertakings, the significance of which derives from their role in cultural retention and transmission, in order to evaluate their eligibility for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. Accordingly, identification and evaluation of Native American traditional cultural properties is best done with the participation of the communities with which they are associated. Such tribal involvement has led to an increased emphasis on cultural landscapes rather than consideration of discrete historic properties in relative isolation from one another (Ferguson and Kuwanwisiwma 2017; Fowles 2010) (fig. 8).

Photograph by Chip Colwell.

Fig. 8. Ronnie Cachini, a religious leader of the Pueblo of Zuni, discusses ancestral rock art at a site in New Mexico.

Another provision of the 1992 NHPA amendment that increased Native American participation in historic preservation was the establishment of federally funded tribal historic preservation officers (THPOs), who could assume responsibilities formerly held by state historic preservation officers. For many Southwest tribes, replacing a state official with a tribal official was a significant assertion of sovereignty. Tribes with THPOs have greatly increased their control over archaeological and ethnographic research on reservations and provide substantial input into work on other federal lands.

As of 2019, 22 tribes in the Southwest have established THPOs (National Organization of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (28 tribes in early 2022, see https://members.nathpo.org/thpodirectory/FindStartsWith?term=%23%21, accessed February 20, 2022; also Stapp and Burney 2002). In addition to federally funded THPO programs, several tribes operate cultural or historic preservation programs, including the Hopi Tribe, the Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation, and the Yavapai-Apache Nation.

Much of the literature about NAGPRA focuses on repatriation of museum collections (fig. 9), but the graves protection section of the law, along with state reburial laws, fundamentally changed archaeology in the Southwest. The excavation of Native American graves in the region has virtually ceased, except in instances where burials need to be relocated prior to land disturbance

Photograph by T.J. Ferguson.

Fig. 9. Gregson Schachner and Wilton Kooyahoema (right) collaborate in an analysis of Hohokam artifacts at the Arizona State Museum during a NAGPRA cultural affiliation study sponsored by the Hopi Tribe in 2002.

and development. At the same time, all excavated Native American graves are fully documented before reburial. NAGPRA has had unintended consequences that have greatly increased collaboration among Native Americans and scholars (Gonzales and Marek-Martinez 2015; Killion 2007) and spurred substantial research about past and present cultural identities in the Southwest (T.J. Ferguson 2004; Kintigh 2007).

Since the 1970s, significant research has been conducted for litigation of land claims and water rights in the Southwest. After the Indian Land Claims Commission adjourned in 1978, remaining dockets were transferred to the United States Court of Claims, to which the Pueblos of Isleta, Santo Domingo, and Zuni added several new claims seeking monetary settlements for lands taken by the United States without payment. After its claim was settled, the Pueblo of Zuni convinced Congress to place 18 square miles encompassing a sacred area in Arizona in trust for the tribe because the Zuni had never relinquished their aboriginal title (Hart 1995).

Litigation between the Hopi Tribe and Navajo Nation over ownership of the Hopi Reservation resulted in its partitioning and the resettlement of many Navajo families (Bennally 2011; Brugge 1994). Related litigation concerning the 1934 Navajo Reservation resulted in the transfer of 100 square miles around the Hopi village of Munqapi from the Navajo Reservation to the Hopi Reservation. During the 1934 Navajo Reservation litigation, the San Juan Southern Paiute were federally recognized as a tribe and a small reservation provided for them (Bunte and Franklin 1986). Much of the scholarship associated with these and other land cases remains as unpublished court documents.

Stream-by-stream adjudication is gradually determining water rights in the states of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. These cases, many of which span decades of litigation, entail substantial ethnographic, historical, and archaeological research. Although much of this research remains unpublished, available only in court documents, some of it is being gradually incorporated into academic publications (Anschuetz et al. 2017; Dobyns 1998; Flint 2015; Pailes et al. 2015; Huckleberry et al. 2016).

The biennial Southwest Symposium, which started in the early 2000s, has been an important means of bridging academic and CRM research, as well as integrating work conducted on both sides of the U.S.–Mexico border. These conferences have focused on topics that span landscape use and ecological change; movement and ethnogenesis; connectivity and scale; place and memory; boundaries, social identity and cultural affiliation; feasting and commensal politics; and transnational archaeologies (Hegmon 2008a; Mills 2004b; Nelson and Strawhacker 2011; Schlanger 2002; Villalpando and McGuire 2014; Walker and Venzor 2011). Several edited volumes have also synthesized research in the Southwest (Cordell and Fowler 2005; Cordell and Gumerman 1989; Gumerman 1994; Mills and Fowles 2017; Parezo and Janetski 2013).

Research and in situ preservation by nonprofit organizations such as the Archaeological Conservancy and Archaeology Southwest have helped to protect significant archaeological sites by increasing knowledge about them and acquiring property or development rights to safeguard them (Doelle 2012). Preservation archaeology has also helped to fill the gap between academic research and CRM by targeting significant sites and landscapes for study and management; it is thus archaeology for the future (figs. 10, 11).

Photograph by Chip Colwell, 2010.

Fig. 10. Kenny Bowekaty, a member of the Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team, holds a worked flake in Arizona.

Photograph by Chip Colwell.

Fig. 11. Hopi cultural advisors inspect a cairn during a Hopi Cultural Preservation Office project in 2015.

Current archaeological research in the Southwest is vibrant, encompassing themes such as migration (Clark and Lyons 2012; Kohler and Varien 2012; Lyons 2003; Varien et al. 2007), traditional history (Bernardini 2005), cultural landscapes (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006), social organization and ritual (Ensor 2013; Fowles 2013; Ware 2015; Wright 2014), resistance and warfare (LeBlanc 2007; Liebmann 2012; Liebman and Preucel 2007), and ethnogenesis (Duff 2002; Gregory and Wilcox 2007; Ortman 2012). Investigations of regional centers at Chaco Canyon (Heitman and Plog 2015; Lekson 2006, 2015; Mills 2002b, 2004a), Casas Grandes (Minnis and Whalen 2015), and in the Hohokam area (Fish and Fish 2008) have greatly increased scholars' understanding of regional historical trajectories. New discoveries of ancient sites have also revealed more about the beginnings of agriculture across the region (Mabry 2004; Roney and Hard 2009; Vierra 2018)

A recent trend in archaeological research involves the use of "big data"—regional datasets that span the Southwest, combining the results of numerous academic and CRM research projects. Such datasets have allowed the study of Neolithic demographic transition in the Southwest, placing it in a worldwide context (Kohler et al. 2008). Every site with more than 13 rooms west of the continental divide has been studied to delineate social networks based on artifact assemblages (Mills et al. 2013, 2015), and this analysis now extends to include Chaco Canyon and the San Juan Basin (Mills et al. 2018). After more than a century of research, archaeologists are finally analyzing data at a regional scale that encompasses the entire Southwest. As this trend continues, their understanding of regional interactions that characterized the ancient Southwest will greatly increase.

Biological Anthropology

Studies in biological anthropology focusing on the people of the Southwest have been less well developed than other fields, but the situation is changing. Research using techniques from biological anthropology have explored patterns of disease (Stodder 2012), changes in diet especially during the shift to agriculture (Palkovich 2012), mortuary patterns (Mitchell and Brunson-Hadley 2004), migration (Peeples 2014), and violence (Kohler et al. 2014; Kuckelman et al. 2002; Turner and Turner 1999). There has always been a steady stream of studies centered on demographic transitions that occurred during the adoption of agriculture and settled life (McClelland 2008; Stodder et al. 2002) and the disease, disruption, and dislocation that occurred during the colonial period (Stodder and Martin 1992). Scholars continue to debate the effects of disease, epidemics, and warfare between southwestern groups and colonial invaders in the 1600s (D.L. Martin 2015). Biological anthropologists working with medical anthropologists and clinical doctors also conduct genetic and dietary research about Native people of the region today (Benyshek 2013).

Bioarchaeology focusing on precolonial and historic demographics and health profiles of Southwest people has occurred in lockstep with NAGPRA (Daehnke and Lonetree 2010). Because of the unusually large number of burials recovered since the earliest archaeological expeditions, there has been a steady stream of repatriation efforts throughout the region, bringing these collections back into the hands of descendants to be reburied. Some larger collections, such as those from Mesa Verde and Pecos, were studied prior to repatriation (Begay 2012). Other large skeletal collections are still available for study at repositories throughout the Southwest, as well as at the Smithsonian Institution and the American Museum of Natural History, but all human remains may eventually be returned to those tribal descendants who wish to have them repatriated.

The largest and most active area of research is paleopathology, the study of ancient and historic health and disease (Buikstra 2006; Ortner and Lucas Powell 2006; Stodder 2006). The majority of paleopathology has been carried out and reported in the literature for ancestral Pueblo populations, primarily from the Pueblo I, II, and III periods (circa A.D. 600–1500) (Stodder 2012). Increasingly, data derived from human remains has led to sophisticated questions about change over time, migration, identity, adaptation, and violence in regional and cross-regional perspectives. Diseases such as scurvy have been identified in the ancient Southwest (Crandall 2014), and cases of treponematosis (nonvenereal syphilis) at Chaco Canyon (Marden and Ortner 2011). Focused analyses of infant and juvenile mortality for ancestral Pueblo Indians have shown that there was relatively high mortality in the youngest age categories (birth to age five) due to a range of cultural and nutritional factors (Schillaci et al. 2011).

An innovative methodology used the World Health Organization's Global Burden of Disease framework (Stodder 2012), which was designed to examine the burden of morbidity (illness and disability) by quantifying the frequency of diseases and injuries. Drawing on data from several large skeletal series from the ancient Southwest, it demonstrated that nonlethal and chronic conditions such as advanced osteoarthritis, nutritional problems, tuberculosis, nonvenereal syphilis, and traumatic injuries that cause bone fractures were

all common. Using these kinds of replicable and quantitative assessment tools for parsing out communities' status and then comparing across regions has become a new way of evaluating the effects of environmental or cultural changes on the individual and collective health of Southwest people across time (Stodder, 2016; Dongoske et al. 2015; Tilley and Cameron 2014; Willett and Harrod 2017).

Bioarchaeology can provide information not only about death and the limits to human adaptation to stressful conditions but also about those who survived. Survivors carry the "scars" of healed lesions and reformulated bone shapes that can shed light on the processes of resilience (Baustian et al. 2012; Martin et al. 2010). Survivors of warfare, slavery, droughts, starvation, and political upheavals often retained on their bones the distinctive signatures of having suffered and adapted (Harrod 2012; Stodder 2012). Female captives are identifiable at several early sites in the La Plata and Chaco regions (Harrod and Martin 2015). Hobbling and torture have likewise been identified from an early ancestral Pueblo site showing the killing of 33 men, women, and children (Osterholtz 2012, 2014).

Biological anthropologists have become increasingly interested in genetic relationships among the diverse groups within the Southwest, and studies using genetic traits and advanced techniques are on the rise (Carlyle et al. 2000; Price et al. 1994; Plog et al. 2015). The use of mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) from ancient Mimbres and other ancestral Puebloans has revealed the complexity of relatedness among various groups, as well as the similarities and shared aspects of mtDNA (Snow et al. 2010, 2011). Techniques in imaging (e.g., radiography and three-dimensional scanning), DNA analyses, and isotopic reconstruction are increasingly answering questions about the relations across time and regions within the Southwest. Research has examined the extent of intermarriage and genetic relationships among "Mexican mestizos" and other groups (Salazar-Flores et al. 2014). Genomic data has also provided glimpses of pre-Columbian genetic substructures in relationship to Native Americans (Moreno-Estrada et al. 2014). These kinds of advanced studies of large regional populations are useful in biomedicine as a way to track biomedical traits, as they explore fine-scale patterns in ancestry.

Genetic studies have also generated controversy because of their implications for descendent communities and use of destructive techniques. A 2016 study of 11 elite burials from Chaco Canyon's Pueblo Bonito found that they comprised multiple generations of a single matrilineal group spanning about 330 years (Kennett et al. 2016). This research received criticism as it was done without tribal consultation and was also viewed as contrary to the spirit of NAGPRA, if not violating the letter of the law (Balter 2017; Claw et al. 2017).

Long-term studies of cultural effects on phenotype have examined biological distance among large numbers of samples using dental morphology combined with ethnohistoric information (Ragsdale and Edgar 2014, 2015). This work demonstrated that complex relationships among postclassic Mexican and southwestern groups existed as early as A.D. 900, and revealed the importance of economic relations and shared migration patterns among precolonial Mexico and southwestern groups. Dental traits have been used to trace patterns of migration in the northern Southwest (Durand et al. 2010).

Studies in the Southwest using methods and theories from biological anthropology are moving rapidly into new topics. A long chronological look at how the ancestral Pueblo people dealt with climate change over a period of a thousand years suggests that droughts and changes in weather patterns challenged their ability to adapt but did not cause extinctions (Harrod and Martin 2014). These data also indicated that climate change did not directly correlate with increased violence. Other studies looked at broad patterns of violence over time in the Southwest and reported that there was actually a decrease in the use of violence (Kohler et al. 2014). This research has important implications for understanding the coming effects of climate change on a global level and a wide range of problems affecting people in places beyond the Southwest.

Interdisciplinary Approaches

Like emergent identity issues, topical themes and interdisciplinary research have cut across anthropological fields and southwestern cultural geography. Since 1979, subjects such as Indigenous agency and gender constructs have stimulated broad interest and reframed perspectives on pre-Hispanic, colonial, and recent Native American societies.

Reflecting the assertive success of Native advocates, Indigenous agency has become an increasingly important component of interpretation. Agency is the ability of an individual or group to act, where they could potentially have acted differently. Native cultures such as Hopi emphasize the importance of conscious intentions in the exercise of agency (Kuckelman 2008; Whiteley 1998), but scholars have hypothesized that even habitual, unreflective actions of everyday life may represent agential practice (Hegmon 2008b; Hegmon and Kulow 2005; Potter and Yoder 2008; Silliman 2001). In archaeology, agency often manifests

through cultural encounters among distinct groups, where differences in material culture consolidate ethnic or group identities (Allison 2008; Habicht-Mauche 1993; Hill 1996; Mills 2002b; Ortman 2008; Wilcox 2009:64–69).

Indigenous agency is crucial to many studies of Native resistance to Spanish colonialism in the Southwest, which began to appear by the 1990s as part of a broader interest in "bottom-up" approaches to history (Adams 1989; Liebmann 2002, 2012; Lomawaima 1989; Thomas 1989). The 1680 Pueblo Revolt is a particularly compelling case, in which southwestern Indians allied to expel the Spanish, subsequently maintaining their independence for 12 years (Sando 1979, 2005). Archaeology has furnished new information about social developments in revolt-era New Mexico, and the pioneer edited volume, *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt* (Preucel 2002) catalyzed this research. Studies traced Native agency through architecture and settlement patterns, appropriation of Christian imagery, manipulations in ceramic technology, and generalized styles of resistance (Capone and Preucel 2002; Ferguson 1996, 2002; Liebmann 2010; Mobley-Tanaka 2002; Preucel 2000, 2002; Spielmann et al. 2006; Thomas 2017).

The Pueblo Revolt was not simply a rejection of colonialism but also a creation of new ethnic and pan-Pueblo identities. Theories of ethnogenesis, emphasizing the active construction of ethnic boundaries rather than their cultural contents, provided a useful framework for interpreting revolt-era agency, when cultural interactions stimulated creation of artifacts and behaviors marking the boundaries of group identities. Ceramics and oral history manifest traces of ethnogenetic processes during this period (Mills 2002a; Whiteley 2002; Wilcox 2002, 2009), as do revolt-era refuge towns, which played a critical role in the pan-Pueblo revitalization movement (Liebmann et al. 2005).

Concepts of agency and ethnogenesis have been popular across the Southwest (Anderson 1999; Cordell and Yannie 1991; Erickson 2003; Seymour 2015), and other episodes of colonial resistance also yielded insight into the strategic choices of Native groups (Beck and Trabert 2014; Merrill 2009; Preucel 2010; Reff 1995; Schaafsma 2002a, 2002b; Seymour 2009). A prime example is Pueblo resistance to the initial Spanish expeditions of the sixteenth century (Dongoske and Dongoske 2013; Kennedy and Simplicio 2009; Mathers 2013), in which the Europeans intruded into already complex negotiations of identity among mobile bands of Indians and the more sedentary Pueblos (Seymour 2017).

Despite its productive applications, the resistance paradigm has drawn criticism for being vague, overused, and liable to skew ethnographic data toward conflict while eclipsing other Indigenous behaviors such as altruism, cooperation, and reciprocity (Liebmann and Murphy 2010). Resistance studies risk privileging agonistic approaches over more conciliatory strategies, unintentionally reinscribing romantic and outmoded notions of cultural purity, timelessness, and authenticity. Exclusive focus on armed revolt may overlook the everyday negotiations of intervening periods, responses often equally grounded in Indigenous value systems and agency. Native peoples in the colonial Southwest had recourse to a range of strategies in navigating everyday life (Burgio-Ericson 2018), many complexities of which remain to be drawn out.

Beyond histories of revolt, collections of southwestern material culture offer a matrix for considering intersections of Native peoples of the past and recent theories of materiality attributing agency to artifacts as well as human individuals (Harrison 2013). Intermeshing networks of people and things are particularly relevant to archaeology, helping interpret a variety of artifacts such as shell trumpets and ceramics (Mills and Ferguson 2008; VanPool and Newsome 2012). Indigenous conceptions also challenge museum practices. The Hopi assert that artifacts should be seen as animate kin with organic life cycles rather than inanimate objects preserved indefinitely in museum storerooms (Harrison 2013; Hays-Gilpin and Lomatewama 2013).

Feminist concerns with gendered labor divisions and women's relative social standing found rich material in southwestern archaeology and ethnography, and gender is now generally accepted as an important component in research design. Studies since the 1990s have indicated much variability in the gendered relations of pre-Hispanic Indigenous societies, drawing on analysis of agriculture (Roth 2006), craft production and distribution (Mills 1995a, 1995b, 2000; Rautman 1997), mortuary assemblages (Crown and Fish 1996; Howell 1995; Neitzel 2000; Potter and Perry 2011; Simon and Ravesloot 1995), skeletal remains (Martin 2000), iconography of painted ceramics (Espenshade 1997; Hegmon and Trevathan 1996, 1997; LeBlanc 1997; Munson 2000; Munson and Hays-Gilpin 2010; Shaffer et al. 1997, 2000; VanPool and VanPool 2006), rock art (Hays-Gilpin 2000c, 2004; Hays-Gilpin et al. 1998:123–126), and spatial analysis (Hegmon et al. 2000; Mobley-Tanaka 1997; Perry 2008; Spielmann 1995).

No single, overarching pattern of gendered relations predominated in the pre-Hispanic Southwest. In some cases, evidence has indicated hierarchies in which women experienced lower autonomy and status, as well as risk of exploitation and violence, but in other cases, their status and power appear to have been

comparable (Martin 2000; Perry 2004). As agriculture expanded, workloads increased for both sexes with labor often gender segregated. Complementary gender roles or parallel social hierarchies characterized some societies with competition for prestige among members of the same gender. Because many southwestern cultures appear to have based status on ritual knowledge rather than material possessions, women's participation in ritual activities was an important factor in setting relative prestige (Crown 2000a, 2000b; Mills 1995a).

Spanish documents from the colonial era furnished additional information about changing gender configurations, as increased labor, new religious practices, and physical insecurity affected Native women. They often risked abduction in raids typical across the Spanish borderlands (see "Southwest-2," this vol.), while becoming brokers of intercultural exchange and transformational agents through adoption into their captors' communities (Brooks 2002; Cameron 2011). Close reading of other colonial documents suggested a hardening of existing social hierarchies among the Rio Grande Pueblos with select Pueblo men overseeing political actions, while at least some women sought agency in interethnic networks of personal relationships. Marital records showed that by the mid-eighteenth century some Pueblo individuals had internalized Spanish patriarchal notions of family, but the vast majority resisted colonial norms of church marriage, choosing cohabitation instead (Brown 2013).

Gender archaeology is relatively sparse for the colonial period but has addressed Native women as part of household economies in New Mexico (Trigg 2005), their participation in the Pueblo Revolt (Capone and Preucel 2002; Mills 2002a; Mobley-Tanaka 2002), and the increased workload of colonial potters (Capone 1995; Dyer 2010). Spatial analysis in southern Arizona suggests that among the Sobaípuri O'odham pre-Hispanic household patterns and women's relative high status persisted long after Spanish missionaries arrived. Once resident friars began administering communal food supplies in the mid-eighteenth century, however, they usurped women's sphere of social influence and eroded their status (Seymour 2010, 2011).

With feminist roots, gender studies initially focused on women and their social relations but have expanded to include issues of masculinity; gendered distinctions among age groups; and gay, lesbian, and nonbinary gender categories (Gilchrist 1998; Hays-Gilpin 2000b; Hays-Gilpin and Whitley 1998). While generally recognized as offering great potential, these directions have been less effective in producing new interpretations of particular Southwest case studies. One exception was the subject of "two-spirit" identities, which addressed a diversity of culturally specific practices, including special ritual roles, transgender dressing, same-sex sexuality, and hermaphrodism (Voss 2008:324). The gay rights movement initially spotlighted these practices in the 1970s, and numerous studies have followed with some appropriating Native practices into revisionary histories of sexuality and others seeking a more particularized understanding of gender and two-spirit practices in context (Allen 1986; Blackwood 1984; Brown 1997; Herdt 1996; Jacobs et al.1997b; Katz 1976; Roscoe 1988, 1991, 1998; Schnarch 1992; Whitehead 1981; Williams 1986).

In the Southwest, specific two-spirit practices include Zuni *lhamana*, Tewa *kwidó*, Navajo *nádleeh*, and Mojave (Mohave) *alyha* and *hwame* (Epple 1994, 1998; Roscoe 1996; Sun 1988). It has been difficult to connect such present-day identities directly to archaeological precedents, but ambiguously gendered figures in rock art and ceramics exist, and some anatomically sexed burials included grave goods typical of the opposite gender (Crown 2000a; Hays-Gilpin 2000a; Perry and Joyce 2001; Rautman and Talalay 2000; VanPool and VanPool 2006; Voss 2008). Two-spirit cultural roles suggest alternative conceptions of gender and the body, however, Indigenous observers have been critical of their cooption by feminism and gay activism, and maintain they should not be understood simply as gay or queer (Jaimes and Halsey 1992). Two-spirit ritual roles and occupational practices are often more definitive than sexuality, and they do not correspond to queer theorists' focus on transgression, for many two-spirit people hold valued, socially sanctioned positions within their communities (Alberti 2013; Voss 2008).

In the early 1990s, a number of Native advocates proposed *two-spirit* as a preferred replacement for the term *berdache* that anthropologists used, leading to dialogue about accountability in the study of Indian sexuality that included commentators from the Southwest (Epple 1998; Jacobs and Thomas, 1994; Jacobs et al. 1997b). This effort reflects the impact of Indigenous perspectives arising from activism and American Indian studies in which gender relations are a significant issue. Native advocates have articulated positions in opposition to anthropology, which figures as both an antagonist and as a tacit springboard for their arguments. They have critiqued anthropology's objectification of its subjects, advocating for Indigenous cultural authority and ways of knowing but also drawing on the type of data that anthropology produces to support their arguments (Kidwell and Velie 2005; S.A. Miller 2011; Miller and Riding In 2011).

Another example of Native people contesting academic representations of their gendered histories was

the response to the book, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away* (Gutiérrez 1991) that received wide recognition but also critique for its reconstruction of pre-Hispanic and colonial Pueblo sexual relations. A number of Pueblo intellectuals protested the book's depiction of their ancestors' sexuality as inaccurate (Jojola et al. 1993; Rodríguez 1994), asserting that Pueblos should retain the authority of self-representation and that the author had failed to consult with or incorporate Pueblo perspectives in his version of their history.

Native scholars of the Southwest have also worked to recognize past contributions by Native women (Denetdale 2007) and applied anthropological data on Indigenous gender roles to contemporary political debates (Denetdale 2006, 2009; Lee 2013). The basic data and themes of their efforts overlap significantly with those of anthropology but direct that information toward addressing Indigenous concerns and value systems.

Conclusion

The overview of the history of Southwest research in the *Handbook* volume 9 (Basso 1979b) argued that the region's diverse Native societies had "persisted in situ and essentially intact" alongside "well-preserved archaeological sites," providing conditions necessary for the study of cultural and linguistic diversity, as well as the history of the Indigenous people of the North American continent. By the mid-twentieth century, anthropologists of the Southwest had focused largely on cataloguing cultural contents and defining what they called "cultural systems." The emphasis during this time was on each culture's specific traits and general cultural types, such as Pueblo or Athapaskan. Acculturation was an emerging theme by the 1950s, including specific topics of the era, such as urban migration (Graves 1970; Hodge 1969), or the experiences of World War II veterans (Adair and Vogt 1949).

Frameworks emerging in the twenty-first century question the boundaries and limitations of this earlier view of the Southwest as *only* a pluralistic society with a series of separate tribal and reservation-based entities. These new views of the interconnected histories and nature of Southwest cultures have examined where complexity occurs and where cultural distinctiveness and singularity arise. Such studies have included the archaeology of migration, how movements across of the landscape are remembered through oral history, and how languages retain complex interactions over time (Merrill et al. 2009). Concepts of Southwest American Indian identity as seen through the lens of race, self-awareness of Native heritage among urban American Indian youth (Kulis et al. 2013), and research on bilingualism and community efforts to retain languages (McCarty and Wyman 2009) demonstrate interests in cultural intersections, which sometimes raise issues of cultural rights and sovereignty.

Another key shift has been toward collaborative research methods among scholars and descendant communities. This trend perhaps first emerged in archaeology and CRM, particularly as tribes began to develop their own programs for preserving and perpetuating cultural heritage (Anyon et al. 2000; see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). Archaeologists in particular have focused on collaborative methods that affect broader anthropological concepts of identity, place, and historical processes (Bernardini 2005; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; Kuwanwisiwma et al. 2018; Welch et al. 2009). Museums have become increasingly concerned with the coproduction of exhibits and comanagement of collections (Bernstein 1991; Hays-Gilpin and Lomatewama 2013; Hill et al. 1998). From dictionaries to ethnohistorical studies, coauthorship has also become a hallmark of southwestern scholarship (Hill et al. 1998; Sheridan et al. 2015). Even in the realm of autobiography, cocreated texts reveal individual lives through a collaborative storytelling (Watt 2004), reminiscent of early Native biographical accounts in the American Southwest (Simmons 1942; Underhill 1936).

These research trends reveal an overall interest in interdisciplinary studies of the complexity of Southwest cultures past and present—their interdependencies, their relational aspects, and their maintenance of distinctive cultural identity alongside hybrid forms. Issues of ethnic and cultural identity are central to these frames of thought. Histories of migration patterns and language, extending over longer time periods and larger expanses of the landscape than previously explored, shed light on the origins of communities and relations among them. These studies have forged collaborative approaches between archaeologists, ethnologists, and Southwest communities. At the same time, advances in technology, such as innovations in genetic diagnostic methods and digital technology have helped to expand the scope of research, which now ranges from the microlevel of DNA structures to the macrolevel of vast modeling methodologies and "big data" analysis. With these advances have come novel investigative lenses requiring new ethical considerations and leading to social consequences yet to be fully comprehended.

Southwest-2: Non-Pueblo and Northern Mexico

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Upland and River Yuman

Maurice Crandall

General Ethnology/Ethnography/Ethnohistory

One of the notable developments in Yuman studies since the *Handbook Southwest-2* volume (Ortiz 1983) has been the growing role of Indigenous knowledge in framing new historical research. An influential paper comparing Pima (Akimel O'odham), Piipaash (Maricopa), and Yavapai mythologies discussed whether oral histories of the Uto-Aztecan and Yuman peoples may be considered "native-made mythologies—whole complete telling of ancientness" and how stories from different narrators "were tuned to each other, . . . both within the same tribe and from neighbor to neighbor forever" (Bahr 1998:25). Another study by Leroy Cameron (himself Piipaash) and several Indigenous coauthors recounted the Piipaash narratives of their migration from the banks of the Colorado River near Yuma to their current locations along the Salt and Gila Rivers (Cameron et al. 1994). The account was distilled from a combination of old tape recordings from 1965 and insights from Piipaash elders.

A seminal volume focusing on the Native groups of the Southwest and northern Mexico contained sections on Havasupai, Hualapai, Yavapai, and Colorado River Yuman that explored oral stories, history, and descriptions of ceremonies, among other ethnographic information (Sheridan and Parezo 1996). A general book on the history of the greater Colorado Basin from the early sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries portrayed the region as a world in which successive waves of colonizers encountered complex Indigenous borderlands, where various groups of Yuman, such as Mojave (Mohave, 'Aha Makhav), Quechan, and Cocopah, were notable actors (Zappia 2014).

Now a prominent "transnational" approach addresses commonalities between the Yuman groups of Arizona and California and those of northern Mexico and the impacts of the artificial international border (Wilken Robertson 1993). The most well-known case, the Cocopah (Cocopa), a transnational group split between the U.S. reservation in Somerton, Arizona, and the Mexican Colorado River Delta in El Mayor Cucapá (and known in Mexico as Cucapá), struggle to combat environmental degradation and the loss of language and cultural heritage (Muehlmann 2013).

Upland Yuman: Havasupai, Yavapai, and Hualapai

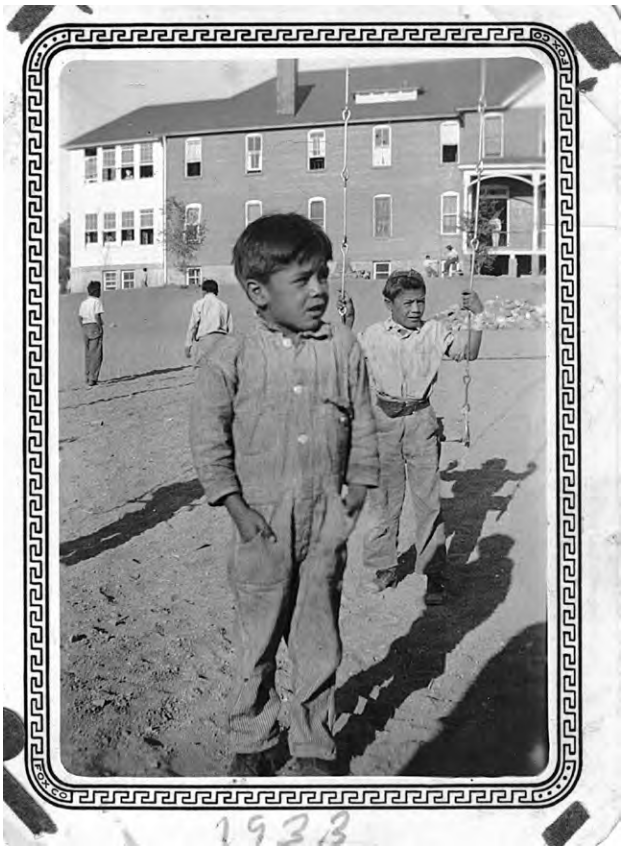
A series of collaborative works produced after 1983 on the Havasupai focused on their mythology and oral tradition (Smithson and Euler 1994). The most complete collection of Havasupai stories to date combined 48 stories originally collected by anthropologists Leslie Spier (b. 1893, d. 1961) in 1918, 1919, and 1921 and Erna Gunther (b. 1896, d. 1982) in 1921 (Tikalsky et al. 2010). The two principal storytellers were both chiefs who gave their respective versions of a number of the stories.

One of the major anthropological contributions on the Havasupai after 1983 was published posthumously, reflecting fieldwork from the mid-twentieth century (Whiting 1985). It contained a wealth of ethnographic material and, more important, a critical exploration of Havasupai environmental knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Much ethnographic and ethnohistorical work on the Yavapai (fig. 1) has also been published since 1983. The most important contribution, based on interviews conducted with Fort McDowell Yavapai elders Mike Harrison and John Williams, offered a thorough overview of Yavapai culture (Harrison and Williams 2012). These oral traditions, in particular, added details on Yavapai singing, healing, hunting, and other practices. Another important book-length study of Yavapai history explored the time from before colonization through the Yavapai return to their homelands in the first decades of the twentieth century (Braatz 2003). Yet another book covered both the Yavapai and the Dilzhe'e (Tonto) Apache, with whom the Yavapai share strong historical and cultural ties (fig. 2) (Herman 2012). It addressed the Yavapai and Dilzhe'e removal from Arizona's Mogollon Rim Country in 1875, their imprisonment at San Carlos, and their eventual return to central Arizona in the early 1900s.

Photograph by Maurice Crandall.

Fig. 1. Aha Gas Gi Yawa (Place of Water, Montezuma Well). Known as the Yavapai place of emergence, Aha Gas Gi Yawa is where the ancestors came out from the underworld.



Courtesy of Maurice Crandall.

Fig. 2. Robert "Bobby" Russell (front) and Ned Russell (on swing), both Yavapai-Apache, at Truxton Canyon Training School, 1933. At Truxton, located on the Hualapai Reservation, the federal government attempted to educate and assimilate children from the Hualapai, Havasupai, Yavapai, and other tribal nations.

Yavapai studies have also benefited from discussions of some prominent Yavapai historical figures, such as Yavapai physician Carlos Montezuma (Wassaja in Yavapai, b. circa 1866, d. 1923) (M. Crandall 2014; Iverson 1982; Martínez 2013a; Speroff 2003). O'odham kidnapped Montezuma as a child, sold him to a white photographer, after which he was raised in the Euro-American society. He eventually became a medical doctor, one of the first Native Americans with a medical degree, and a prominent voice among the so-called Red Progressives of the early 1900s. Montezuma's first cousin, Mike Burns (Hoomothya, b. circa 1862, d. 1934), also captured as a boy, eventually returned to his people after being educated at Carlisle (Burns 2010, 2012).

Biographical works on Montezuma and Burns are part of a larger body of scholarship on Indigenous captivity in Arizona, in which Yavapai and other Yuman played a prominent part (Jagodinsky 2016; V. Smith 2009). One such captive was the Yavapai Bessie Brooks, who was captured in a raid in 1869 and raised by Hezekiah Brooks, an Arizona probate court judge. A study of the life of Olive Oatman (b. 1837, d. 1903), a white girl captured by the Yavapai (Mifflin 2009), shed light on Yavapai captive-taking practices in the second half of the nineteenth century. That Oatman was later traded to Mojave underscored the wider networks of Yuman captive trading. A lengthy compendium on Yavapai warfare brings the Yavapai—who frequently fought alongside and against the Apache—into the larger discussion of the so-called Apache Wars, a topic

that has become the subject of much recent research (Kühn 2014).

A number of ethnohistorical and ethnographic studies on the Hualapai have appeared over the past three decades as well. A book that offered the most complete treatment of Hualapai history to date provides an overview from the precontact period up to the current issues facing the Hualapai Reservation (Shepherd 2010). The book includes numerous oral histories collected on the Hualapai Reservation and was published with the blessing of the Hualapai Tribal Council. Another important ethnohistorical work (McMillen 2009) traced the well-known *United States* v. *Santa Fe Pacific Railroad Co.* in 1941, in which the U.S. Supreme Court decided in favor of the Hualapai Tribe, who had argued that the railroad had been wrongfully granted Hualapai land. The case revolutionized federal Indian law, became a model for future land claims in the Indian Claims Commission, and birthed the field of ethnohistory (see "Northeast," this vol.).

A notable scholarly episode of the 1990s was the debate over Pai (Havasupai, Hualapai, and, to some extent, Yavapai) sociopolitical organization and leadership. The debate began with a paper (Braatz 1998) claiming that an earlier study (Dobyns and Euler 1970) had overemphasized the fixed nature of Pai social and political structures by arguing that of the 13 original Pai bands at the time of contact, 12 merged to form the single Hualapai tribe, while the thirteenth (Havasupai) was given its own reservation. The Braatz paper also questioned what membership in local and regional bands meant to Upland Yuman before the twentieth century. The response from Dobyns and Euler explored Hualapai leadership patterns and structures through the experiences of Cherum, a respected tribal elder of the latter half of the nineteenth century, who at various points served as a war chief, treaty chief, U.S. Army scout, labor gang organizer, and millenarian prophet (Dobyns and Euler 1998). It demonstrated the adaptability of Hualapai leadership in response to the forces of colonialism. That paper in turn elicited a strong response denying the existence of a "head chief" among the Pai peoples (Braatz 1999) and two more papers citing historical sources and ethnographic studies in support of the claim that strong headmen possessed the authority to negotiate on behalf of their people (Dobyns and Euler 1999a, 1999b).

A later critique (Martin 1985) of the three prominent versions of Havasupai-Hualapai origins previously put forward by Kroeber (1951), Schwartz (1959), and Dobyns and Euler (1970) also questioned early Pai sociopolitical organization and leadership, as did another overview of Havasupai history (Martin 1986) that pointed to important changes in socioeconomic conditions and family life during the time of contact. Extensive historical research on the Havasupai also dealt with the history of their reactions to the forces of U.S. colonialism, with extensive ethnographic material and biographical information on several tribal members (Hirst 1985, 2006).

River Yuman: Mojave, Yuma, Cocopah, and Maricopa

A small but important body of ethnohistorical works on the River Yuman explored certain prominent events of the Spanish and early American era, such as the famous 1857 battle between the Mojave (Mohave) and their Quechan allies on one side and the Gila River O'odham and their Piipaash allies on the other, after the Mojave and Quechan traveled from their lower Colorado River home to mount an attack (Kroeber and Fontana 1986). It examined the warfare patterns both among Yuman and between Yuman and their neighbors, using both Indigenous oral accounts and those of outside observers, while exploring the broader culture of the Piipaash, Quechan, and Mojave. This scholarship linked warfare in the Gila and Colorado Rivers region (in 1857 and beyond) to broader causes of regional warfare. Another study documented an ill-advised and disastrous Spanish attempt to establish two military colonies at the Yuma Crossing, which historically bridged Sonora-Arizona and Upper California (Santiago 1998).

A new reappraisal of *The Mohave Heroic Epic of Inyo-kutavêre*, originally published by Alfred Kroeber (Kroeber 1951), was notable in that it reexamined "The Mastamho Preamble," in which Mastamho, the Mohave (Mojave) Inaugurator-Spirit, named the 17 Mohave clans, which Kroeber omitted (Hatto 1999). A study of Mojave pottery offered a valuable discussion of the Mojave ceramic tradition, especially since Yuman are more widely known for their basket making (Furst 2001). It also included a succinct exploration of such topics as Mojave history, music, family life, shamanism, and death (see also Trippel 1984).

Linguistics and Ethnomusicology

All Yuman languages are highly endangered, with the total number of speakers estimated at 2,690 (Whalen and Simons 2012:165). Given this fact, considerable effort has been made to preserve and revitalize them. One of the most important contributions of the past decades include the work of Lucille Watahomigie (b. 1945), an enrolled citizen of the Hualapai tribe, a

native Hualapai speaker, and a linguist. She published significant work for Hualapai educators and in support of the tribe's language preservation efforts, both as the principal author and in collaboration with others, including a reference grammar, a dictionary of the Hualapai language (Watahomigie et al. 1982; Watahomigie et al. 2003), a morphological analysis of Yuman poetry (Watahomigie and Yamamoto 1983), and numerous publications for use in the Hualapai Bilingual Program. Together with linguist Leanne Hinton, she coauthored an edited anthology of Yuman songs and stories (Watahomigie and Hinton 1984). Each section in the volume contains brief ethnographic material, an alphabet for the respective groups, and stories and songs in Yuman with English translations and useful introductory materials, bibliographies, and biographical sketches of prominent elders and scholars for each of the groups covered.

For the Havasupai, publications include exploration of songs (Hinton 1984) and, in conjunction with the Havasupai Tribe Bilingual Education Program, a dictionary of the Havasupai language (Hinton et al. 1984), a collaborative effort involving several Havasupai tribal members. For the Yavapai, a PhD thesis on phonology remains the only in-depth study of their language produced so far (Shaterian 1983). In addition to containing Yavapai-English and English-Yavapai dictionaries, it explored variations in the four regional Yavapai dialects and broader linguistic differences between Yavapai and the other Pai languages.

Similar materials on Cocopah (old form Cocopa), also a highly endangered language, include a survey of its lexicon and published texts, plus detailed Cocopah–English and much shorter English–Cocopah dictionaries (Crawford 1983, 1989). In addition to extensive field data, these publications used data from the word lists from all extant Cocopah texts, including nineteenth-century works. For Piipash (Maricopa) linguistics, a monograph on morphology and syntax remains the most important work (Gordon 1986). An expanded *Mohave Dictionary* provides a substantial body of Mohave terms with their English translations (Munro et al. 1992).

The late Abraham Halpern (b. 1914, d. 1985), a student of Kroeber, was the prime figure in Quechan linguistics before 1983; his posthumous publication remains one of the most important contributions on the Quechan language, covering its grammar and conventions and providing analysis of mourning ceremony narratives (Halpern 1997). Other important works include studies of Yuman plurals (Langdon 1985, 1992), as well as two important books on Quechan oral literature produced in cooperation with George Bryant, a native Quechan speaker and tribal council member (Bryant and Miller 2013; Halpern and Miller 2014).

O'odham: Post-1983 Cultural and Historical Research

Sergei Kan

Since the publication of volume 10 of the *Handbook* (Ortiz 1983), an important change has taken place in the self-designation of some of the main subdivisions of the people speaking the O'odham language. In 1986, the Papago people residing on three reservations in Arizona adopted a new constitution and changed their collective name from the Papago Tribe to the Tohono O'odham Nation (Desert People in the Tohono O'odham language) (fig. 3). Since the early 1980s, many of the people formerly known as the Pima have opted for the Indigenous name Akimel O'odham (River People). However, the term *Pima* continues to be used by them as well as by scholars, and one of the O'odham reservations in Arizona has retained its original name: The Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community.

The third major subdivision of the O'odham people, the Hia C-eḍ O'odham (Sand Dune People), is not federally recognized, but members of this group reside on the Tohono O'odham Reservation and throughout southwestern Arizona. Most of the Hia C-eḍ O'odham have been enrolled members of the Tohono O'odham Nation but continue to view themselves as a separate people with their own distinct culture and historical experience. Even though the Hia C-eḍ O'odham remain unrecognized in both the United States and Mexico, the Tohono O'odham Nation has a committee for addressing their issues and has held land in trust for them since 2012 (the Hia C-eḍ District). In 2015, the Hia C-eḍ leaders announced their goal of seeking federal recognition of the Hia C-eḍ O'odham as a distinct Indian tribe.

Little information on the Hia C-eḍ O'odham, previously known as Sand Papago and Areneños, was available in *Handbook v*olume 10 besides the statement that they "no longer exist as cultural entities" (Fontana 1983a:131). New studies that later challenged that statement drew upon documentary and oral sources (Nabhan et al. 1989:531) as well as family memories (Martínez 2013c). It should also be pointed out that since the Spanish era, despite their linguistic affiliation with one another, O'odham have identified themselves more narrowly by locality, dialect, or kinship (Brenneman 2014:206–208).

Fig. 3. Announcement about the 58th Miss Tohono O'odham Nation Pageant, January 2020.

Oral Literature, Ethnology, and Autobiography

The late Donald Bahr (b. 1940, d. 2016), a long-time scholar of the O'odham oral tradition, published texts in collaboration with Native speakers and ritual specialists, including the main O'odham (Pima-Papago) origin myth (Bahr 1983, 1994). The central text was a creation narrative spoken and sung in 1935 by Juan Smith, an Akimel O'odham storyteller, believed to be the last tribal member with extensive knowledge of the Akimel O'odham version of the story. Archaeologist Julian Hayden wrote it down, and Bahr annotated and supplemented it with other Tohono O'odham and Akimel O'odham versions he had collected.

In later studies, Bahr collaborated with two members of the Pima Nation to analyze the complex Ant and Oriole ritual songs, an important part of Pima traditional social dancing, which ended in the 1970s (Bahr 1997). He also collected O'odham speeches delivered at the Rainmaking Ceremony, the most important ritual of the O'odham people (Bahr 2011). In addition, he published a major body of Akimel O'odham oral literature: songs, stories, and orations related to the O'odham creation mythology recorded in 1927 by

noted anthropologist Ruth Benedict (Bahr 2001), as well as research on their colonial history (Bahr 1991).

Following Bahr's major work on Pima (Akimel O'odham) shamanism and "staying sickness" (Bahr 1974), anthropologist David Kozak and Tohono O'odham elder David Lopez coauthored a study of the Tohono O'odham "devil songs" believed to be its only cure (Kozak and Lopez 1999). This study reflected a turn toward collaborative ethnography in southwestern ethnology in which the authors combined their distinct voices and united "academic analysis and interpretive dialogues between the authors as equals rather than as observer and subject" (Apodaca 2001:496).

Starting in the 1990s, a series of works documenting Akimel O'odham ethnozoology, ethnobotany, and ethno-ornithology appeared, based on three decades of extensive interviews with Native experts (Laferrière et al. 1991; Rea 1997, 1998, 2007). Given the exceedingly high rate of diabetes among the O'odham people, a significant number of works on the subject by medical anthropologists have been published (Dufort 1991; Smith-Morris 2006).

Although anthropologists had produced several autobiographies of O'odham men and women before 1983, a new and more sensitive method of recording the autobiography of an Indigenous female elder was introduced, one that allowed for a Native coauthor—Tohono O'odham elder, basket weaver, and storyteller Frances Manuel—to choose the topics she wished to discuss (Manuel and Neff 2001).

Ethnohistory

New work in the field of O'odham (ethno)history since 1983 has involved extensive archival research and engaged scholars specializing in political science, geography, ecology, and law, in addition to archaeologists working on the late precontact and Spanish colonial eras (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006; see "Southwest-1," this vol.). Collaborative work bringing together O'odham elders, tribal historians, and academic scholars has been the goal and the hallmark of some of the most important and innovative ethnohistorical research in the region.

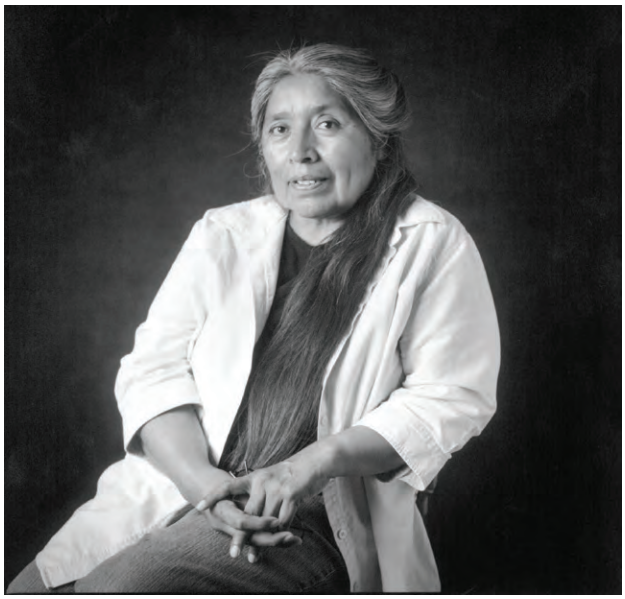
Several major publications since 2000 have focused on the ways the advancing American settlers diverted water away from O'odham farmers, gradually leading to their impoverishment and thereby uprooting the communities that made a living off the land (Sheridan 2006:16). This produced a well-documented transition from early Spanish missionaries and Mexican settlers to twentieth-century American real-estate developers who deprived the Tohono O'odham of many of their traditional lands. Other studies focused on federal, territorial, and state policies that ignored Pima (Akimel O'odham) water rights even while encouraging Native agriculture (DeJong 2016). The diversion of water from the Gila River was a particularly dramatic example of the local non-Natives' rejection of Supreme Court rulings protecting Indian water rights (DeJong 2011). This diversion provided the historical context for a set of interviews conducted with Pima elders in 1911 by the U.S. Indian Irrigation Service that covered decades of Pima history and revealed how upstream diversions of water undermined Pima agriculture. Other areas of focus have been the history of the Akimel O'Odham (Pima) agricultural economy (Bess 2015, 2016; Laferrière and Van Asdall 1992) and continuity and change in Tohono O'odham food systems (Fazzino 2008).

With the traditional territory of the O'odham people straddling the U.S.-Mexican border, their complex history has generated publications in the new field of border studies (Schulze 2018), including those focused on the Indigenous "world" of the entire Colorado River basin during the Spanish, Mexican, and early American eras (Zappia 2014). Other studies addressed the complex issue of the shaping of new ethnoracial categories and identities, such as Indian, Mexican, and Anglo, in Arizona's borderlands between 1880 and 1980, including specifically of the Tohono O'odham people (Meeks 2007). As was rightly pointed out, the "Tohono O'odham Nation did not exist until it was forged through the interaction of multiple O'odham and imperial forces in the friction of colonial nation building" (Lucero 2014:171). In the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, in its effort to assimilate the Tohono O'odham, the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs sought to impose Anglo-American gender norms on them in order to create nuclear families as new units of social organization and economic production (Marak and Tuennerman 2013).

The Office of Ethnohistorical Research at the Arizona State Museum has undertaken a series of translations of the Spanish colonial documents that discussed Spanish relations with the O'odham in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This project includes commentary by O'odham and Piipash (Maricopa) elders on these documents. The *Journal of the Southwest* published a special issue, *O'odham and the Pimería Alta* (2014), which included articles by several researchers working on the project (Brenneman 2014; Daughters 2014; Geronimo 2014; Martínez 2014; Radonic 2014; Rentería-Valencia 2014).

Linguistic Anthropology

Research on the O'odham language has continued since 1983 (Hill 1994). Ofelia Zepeda, a linguist and noted poet in her native Tohono O'odham language (see



Photograph by Tony Celentano.

Fig. 4. Professor Ofelia Zepeda, a Tohono O'odham linguist, folklorist, and poet on the faculty of the University of Arizona.

"Southwest-1," this vol.) (fig. 4), has written on the language of her people, especially its morphology (Zepeda 1984, 1987, 1988, 1999). She has engaged in both academic studies of the language and in collaborative efforts to maintain it (Hill and Zepeda 1992, 1993, 1998, 1999; Zepeda and Hill 1998). Other important research on the Tohono O'odham language has been carried out by one of Zepeda's former students (Fitzgerald 1998, 1999, 2012, 2013), including work on modern storytelling with O'odham scholars (Fitzgerald et al. 2012).

New approaches in linguistic anthropology include attention to materials produced by Native storytellers, like the autobiographical reminiscences of Juan Dolores (1880–1948), the earliest Native recorder of the Tohono O'odham language and a linguist in his own right (Dolores and Mathiot 1991). Another prominent storyteller, Thin Leather, an Akimel O'odham, was not only a key source of information for many early O'odham ethnographers, like Frank Russell (b. 1868, d. 1903) of the Smithsonian Bureau of American Ethnology in 1901–1902 (Rofler 2006), but an important Indigenous intellectual as well (Martínez 2010).

Trends in Navajo (Diné) and Apache Ethnography

Kimberly Jenkins Marshall

Increasing Diné control over the kinds of research conducted on the Navajo Nation (Diné Bikéyah) has fundamentally changed the work of ethnographers within the Four Sacred Mountains of the Diné, as well as with the closely related Apache peoples (fig. 5), since the publication of *Handbook* volume 10, *Southwest-2* volume (Ortiz 1983) and particularly from 1988 to 2018. Two major themes have guided the work of ethnographers: the first involves a new emphasis on reciprocity, writ broadly; the second reflects a growing global focus on Indigenous sovereignty.

K'é

Ethnographic work over the past few decades has, in general, shifted to take seriously the reciprocal relationships contingent in the ethnographic process. Among scholars working in Southern Athapaskan communities, the concept was perhaps best expressed using the Diné concept of *K'é* (kinship in Navajo), which seems to be at the heart of the Diné way of knowing the world. Locally, this concept operates at many levels, from the banal to the supernatural and encompasses both an ethos of mutually beneficial relationships and a concern for the well-being and input of reciprocal others. As explained by Diné elder Victoria Bydone, the "path of beauty" for which Navajo are so well known rests first upon the "establishment and maintenance of proper relationships" based upon "respect, reverence, kindness, and cooperation" (Lewton and Bydone 2000:492). Therefore, the establishment and maintenance of "harmonious" relationships with other humans, nonhuman actors, and the surrounding environment (Schwarz 2008:27) are the foundation upon which health, happiness, and *hózhǫ* ("beauty") are built. This shift has usefully refocused recent ethnographic work toward an increased concern for long-term accountability in fieldwork and research products that are increasingly collaborative, attendant to questions of local interest, and respectful of locally established boundaries.

These boundaries were also formalized and enforced. Since the 1990s, the Navajo Nation has required that all ethnographic researchers have study permits (administered by the Navajo Nation Heritage and Historic Preservation Department, or NN-HHPD), a local Diné sponsor of the research, in some cases permission of the individual chapter house where the research is to be conducted, and NN-HHPD preapproval of all publications and presentations. This high degree of control over the research process ensures that researchers are always aware of their accountability to the Navajo Nation.

Research since 1988 have also trended toward an awareness of the responsibilities of *K'é*, as articulated in two main ways: in the foregrounding of collaboration and in the focus of research topics. Extensive and long-

Photographs by Kimberly Jenkins Marshall.

Fig. 5. top left, Window Rock Formation at Window Rock (Tségháhoodzání in Navajo) in Arizona, administrative capitol of the Navajo Nation. top right, View of Canyon De Chelly at the heart of the Navajo Nation in northeastern Arizona, currently Canyon de Chelly National Monument under the U.S. National Park Service. bottom left, Ship Rock Pinnacle (Tsé Bit´a´í in Navajo, or "Rock with Wings") in San Juan New Mexico. bottom right, Sunset over a student dorm built in the form of hogan, a traditional Navajo house, at the Diné College in Tasile, Arizona.

term collaborations with individual Navajo partners have moved from rare to rather standard. Unlike earlier ethnography, which tended to present single-author texts defining entire cultures (Goodwin 1942; Kluckhohn and Leighton 1946), recent ethnographies have often elevated collaboration to include coauthorship and codesign of large-scale research projects. In the Navajo Healing Project, run by anthropologist Thomas Csordas in 1993–1996, non-Navajo scholars were deliberately paired with Navajo research partners, and each pair cowrote a landmark report published in a special journal issue (Csordas 2000; see Begay and Maryboy 2000; Garrity 2000; Lewton and Bydone 2000; Milne and Howard 2000). Public health scholar Douglas Brugge partnered with two Navajo researchers to gather important local stories for the Navajo Uranium Miner Oral History and Photography Project (Brugge et al. 2007).

Linguistic anthropologists have been particularly careful to precisely distribute credit as due. The collection of texts *Inside Dazzling Mountains: Southwest Native Verbal Arts* carefully lists narrators, commenters, translators, and texts as "introduced by" a particular scholar (Kozak 2013; Nevins 2013b; Webster 2013). *Navajoland Trading Post Encyclopedia,* an exhaustive compendium of the more than 400 trading posts that once connected Navajo lands to the rest of the world, was coauthored and copublished by the NN-HHPD and the Navajo Nation Museum (Kelley and Francis 2018).

In many cases, non-Native scholars who had established themselves by the 1990s turned their attention to intensely collaborative work, producing detailed portraits of individuals or families that spanned decades (Boyer and Gayton 1992; Lamphere et al. 2007; McCloskey 2007; Watt 2004), such as the decades-long relationship between anthropologist Charlotte Johnson Frisbie and the Navajo Mitchell family (Frisbie 2018; Mitchell 1978; Mitchell 2001). This triad

of texts, comprising almost 1,500 pages, represents nearly 60 years of collaborative work.

The other way in which scholarship based upon principles of respect and cooperation advanced is in the choice of topics, both researched and avoided. The Southern Athapaskan literature has moved away from the sweeping generalizations that reify culture to problem-based research. To define those "problems," researchers often turn to local consultants, as in the case of Navajo concerns with the systematic exploitation of female Diné weavers by Anglo trading post owners (M'Closkey 2002). Local passions drove research on the Navajo–Hopi Land Dispute (Brugge 1994), and Navajo concerns about religious shift fostered research into rising Christian fundamentalist movements (Marshall 2016). The widely influential *Wisdom Sits in Places* was a direct result of Western Apache requests for Apache-centered maps (Basso 1996).

Certain areas of abiding local concern have produced a large body of literature. One of these areas is language shift. In both Navajo and Apache communities, there is significant concern about loss of the language, as monolingual Navajo-speaking elders become increasingly rare and monolingual English-speaking youth increasingly become the norm. New studies have provided nuanced portraits of this language shift (Field 2009), the role of poetry and poetics (Webster 2009), and the artistry of Navajo speakers who blend (or resist blending) Navajo and English in contexts of language shift (Webster 2016).

In the Apache-focused literature, building on the canonical contributions by anthropologist Keith Basso (b. 1940, d. 2013) (Basso 1970, 1976, 1979b, 1990, 1996), the issue of language shift has become central (see Adley-Santa Maria 1997). This work includes research on the biblical translations of early missionaries to the Western Apache (Samuels 2006), and the application of new approaches in linguistic anthropology that help explain the current language shift in Western Apache communities (Nevins 2004, 2010, 2012; Nevins and Nevins 2009).

Another prominent area of interest concerns issues of gender. As Diné historian Jennifer Nez Denetdale argued, Diné fundamentally value their maternal clans and the continued centrality of women in decisions about land, livestock, home, and children (Denetdale 2007). Scholars trained in feminist critiques were eager to document the stories and lives of Diné women in several long-term collaborations (Boyer and Gayton 1992; Lamphere et al. 2007; McCloskey 2007; Mitchell 2001; Watt 2004). It was really after third-wave feminism and critical gender studies began questioning binary gender constructs, however, that Southern Athapaskan literature made globally impactful contributions. Some rest upon a long-held fascination in the popular consciousness with the "warrior women" of the Southwest, particularly Lozen (Apache, b. 1840, d. 1889), the sister of the famous Apache warrior and chief Victorio (b. 1825, d. 1880). This fascination produced many popular accounts that fit better in the genre of historical fiction than of history and that have little concern for contemporary Native lives (Aleshire 2001; Ball 1980; Buchanan 1986; Stockel 1991, 1993, 2000; see criticism in Farrer [1992, 1993]).

Luckily, the scholarly corpus on gender among Navajo and Apache has grown to incorporate sustained critical work, including nuanced portraits of female ceremonial practitioners engaging in an occupation typically reserved for men (Schwarz 2003). Another major contribution has been work that questions universal or pan-Indian experiences of homosexuality or nonbinary gender identity, such as Diné scholar Wesley Thomas's discussion of Navajo categories of third and fourth gender constructs (Thomas 1997) and a rethinking of the Navajo third gender *Nádleehí* (Epple 1997, 1998).

The ethos of *K'é* in research with Southern Athapaskan peoples also played a major role in shutting down studies of other popular topics. Without doubt, the documentation and classification of the Navajo (and to a lesser extent Apache) ceremonial complex had been anthropologists' long obsession within Navajo ethnography (Frisbie 1967; Gill 1981; Luckert 1979; McAllester 1954; Matthews 1897; Reichard 1950; Zolbrod 1984; and especially Kluckhohn 1944; Kluckhohn and Wyman 1940; Wyman 1957, 1962, 1970, 1983; Wyman and Kluckhohn 1938). Some of this past work was not conducted with informed consent, and what was recorded was usually provided by one ceremonial practitioner who broke with the generally accepted Diné understanding that the ceremonies were full of power. As a result, recording this information for outsiders was at best not appropriate and at worst potentially dangerous. By the 1980s, the Diné community took steps to limit research on ceremonies, and after about 1990, the Navajo Nation would not approve ethnographic research permits for those topics. Apache have taken steps to limit this research as well. For practical reasons, and to respect *K'é* relationships, scholars interested in Southern Athapaskan religion have generally shifted their focus.

One refocusing technique has been to explore the teachings and philosophies that underlie the Navajo worldviews contained in the ceremonies and in several nonprotected realms. Such studies have attempted to explain Navajo philosophy through the metaphor of the cornstalk (Farella 1984), examined how Diné teachings frame their theories of the body (Schwarz

1997), or assessed Mescalero Apache astronomical teachings (Farrer 1991). While certain publications may be more accessible to non-Navajo students or readers, the basic idea of learning about Southern Athapaskan ontology while moving away from documenting the details of protected ceremonies remains (Farrer 1994; McPherson 2012). Nearly all of the descriptions of ceremonies published since the 1980s are reprints of data collected in the first half of the twentieth century.

There has also been wide recognition that the religious landscape among the Navajo has changed dramatically since the classic studies published before the 1960s. Although an influential study of Navajo Peyotism showed interest in Navajo religious pluralism (Aberle 1966), the complexity of this religious landscape really became a focus after the 1980s. Some studies carefully documented the pluralistic way in which Navajo incorporate multiple religious traditions (Csordas 1999) and demonstrated how Navajo religious communities (such as neo-Pentecostal Oodláni churches) resist this pluralistic accommodation (Marshall 2016). Religious life is a matter of urgent local concern among the Navajo, but the choice about how to approach and present it has been shaped by increasing respect for cultural boundaries at the heart of *K'é*.

Sovereignty

Another pattern since the 1980s has been to use research to foster Diné and Apache sovereignty. The critique that anthropology's history necessitated reparative work pervades Southern Athapaskan ethnographic research in the period under review. This focus on Indigenous sovereignty has proved productive: it has led to important reflective work on the intellectual history of the field, a transformation of some scholarly areas into more Diné-centered spaces, and a mobilization of scholarly work for activist causes.

Sovereignty itself is a rather ambiguous concept, so the following is framed by the work of Indigenous scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith, who articulated sovereignty in research as an interrelated process: promoting healing from colonization, mobilizing Indigenous communities, transforming settler-colonial structures, and decolonizing research programs (Tuhiwai Smith 1999).

If *healing* from colonization is one of the hallmarks of sovereignty-focused studies, it requires an interrogation of the history of the relationships between anthropologists and Southern Athapaskan peoples and critical examination of this particular nexus of knowledge production. For example, the Navajo Film Project was heralded in its time as an innovative attempt to see the world "Through Navajo Eyes" and soon became a part of the visual anthropology canon (Worth and Adair 1972). Recent critical work has questioned the importance of this project (Pack 2012). In particular, the documentary of Diné anthropologist Teresa Montoya (2013) chronicles the return of the films to the community where they were made in the 1960s and asks questions about who benefited from that project and at the expense of whom.

Intellectual history has also led to critical reflection about early ethnographers as positioned individuals, with their priorities, agendas, and concerns, like the reassessment of the journals of a renowned early Apache ethnographer Grenville Goodwin by his son, Neil Goodwin (Goodwin 2004; Goodwin and Goodwin 2000). Several books investigated the lives and motivations of the relatively numerous female ethnographers in the Southwest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as Matilda Coxe Stevenson (b. 1849, d. 1915), Elsie Clews Parsons (b. 1875, d. 1941), Ruth Benedict (b. 1887, d. 1948), Gladys Reichard (b. 1893, d. 1955), Ruth Bunzel (b. 1898, d. 1990), and others (Babcock and Parezo 1988; Lavender 2006; Parezo 1993).

Critical studies of the history of the representation of Diné people within anthropology (Denetdale 2007) include how they have been represented in photographs (Faris 1996) and within the ethnographic description of the Nightway Ceremonial (Faris 1994). Understanding anthropological portrayals of Navajo and Apache people is a critical step in the healing aspect of sovereignty, though much remains to be done (fig. 6).

The second path toward sovereignty, *mobilization*, has been articulated within Native ethnography as "accountability, activism, and engagement" (Starn 1999:7). Scholars promote mobilization when they conduct research with immediate impact for the sovereignty effort of Navajo and Apache people, like Basso's landmark studies documenting Indigenous place names at the request of Western Apache leaders. This research produced a place name book without a single map that is one of the best-known works of Southern Athapaskan anthropology and a major contribution to the anthropology of place (Basso 1996; Basso and Field 1996). Other activist-oriented studies include the "activist archivist" work of scouring the ledger books of old trading posts to understand how female Diné weavers were systematically exploited by flows of international capital and gendered assumptions about their labor (M'Closkey 2002), or the cataloging of the acquisition, transmission, and disposition of Navajo religious paraphernalia, produced in dialogue with the Navajo Medicine Men's Association (Frisbie 1987).

Scholars also facilitate Indigenous mobilization when they promote the work of Navajo artists and

left, Photograph by Kimberly Jenkins Marshall. right, Photograph by Sergei A. Kan.

Fig. 6. left, Apache Mountain Spirit Dancer, on Museum Hill, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Sculpture by Craig Dan Goseyun (San Carlos Eastern White Mountain Apache). right, Navajo Code Talkers Veterans monument in Window Rock, Arizona. Created by Navajo/Ute sculptor Oreland Joe. Opened February 2008.

filmmakers, in calling attention to the rich work of Navajo poets (Webster 2009, 2016), while scholarly collaboration with Navajo filmmakers has produced documentaries about the relationship between Diné weavers and rug traders (Klain and Peterson 2008) and the Columbus Day Parade protests in Denver (Klain and Peterson 2011). Studies of the artistry of Navajo and Apache country musicians illuminate the ways Navajo and Apache identity can be voiced in the contemporary world (Jacobsen 2017; Samuels 2006) (fig. 7).

Powerful ethnographies on Diné and Apache activism have resulted from several recent battles over environmental destruction and land loss in the Southwest, such as the threats to San Carlos (Chiricahua) Apache holy land at Oak Flat (Deschine Parkhurst 2017) and to Navajo sacred land in the San Francisco Peaks (Dunstan 2010, 2012) or the ultimately successful Diné protests against construction of the coal-powered Desert Rock power plant (Powell 2018).

The third path toward sovereignty, *transformation*, emphasizes the need to change settler-colonial structures. An increasing number of Diné and Apache scholars helped challenge these structures, fueling a critical Diné studies movement and making important Diné-centered contributions to historiography (Denetdale 2007; Haskie 2015), gender/masculinity studies (Lee 2014, 2017; Thomas 1997), education policy (Begay 2017; Greyeyes 2016), and critical social geographies by focusing on Diné moral economies in contexts of extractive industries like coal (Curley 2019). With a few exceptions (Wesley Thomas and Teresa Montoya), these scholars were not trained in anthropology and typically did not employ ethnographic techniques. While scholars writing from the perspective of critical Diné studies were sometimes dismissive of work produced by non-Native scholars, we may look forward to further transformations as critical Diné studies become more integrated with work in anthropology.

Photographs by Kimberly Jenkins Marshall.

Fig. 7. "The oldest of all the Navajo Fairs," the 96th Annual Northern Navajo Nation Fair and Parade in Shiprock, New Mexico. top left, Parade banner. top right, Traditional Navajo Dancers. bottom left, White Mountain Apache Crown Dancers. bottom right, Navajo presentation at the annual Gallup Intertribal Ceremonial.

An approach to research that foregrounds the reciprocal responsibilities of *K'é*, collaboration, and coauthorship has changed ethnography for the better. Perhaps the most radical form of transformational ethnography was a model that originated from folklorist Barre Toelken's decades-long relationship with the Yellowman family, who saved his life when he fell ill as a uranium prospector in Utah in the 1950s. Toelken spent decades recording and interpreting the stories of the Yellowman elders, in particular the coyote tales of Hugh Yellowman (Toelken 1969, 1987; Toelken and Scott 1981). By the late 1980s, he was beginning to appreciate Navajo regard for spoken language as something powerful and sometimes dangerous and, in particular, their concerns about tapes preserving the voices of deceased family members. In 1998, Toelken announced his decision to box up the tapes he had recorded in 1966–1997 and return them to the Yellowman family for destruction (Toelken 1996, 1998, 2003).

The final path toward sovereignty is *decolonization*. Despite the great strides made since the 1980s, settler-colonial structures of power still frame research relationships with Southern Athapaskan communities. It may be helpful to think of decolonization as an ongoing process rather than a destination (Ashcroft et al. 1995). Much remains to be done in recruiting, training, and hiring Diné and Apache scholars and in developing a supporting role for non-Native researchers in efforts that foster sovereignty. The field continues to move in this direction because, as the late Indian poet, artist, and activist John Trudell (b. 1946, d. 2015) argued, "decolonization is a process that benefits everyone" (https://www.johntrudell.com/).

Genízaros

Moises Gonzales and Enrique R. Lamadrid

Definition and Origins

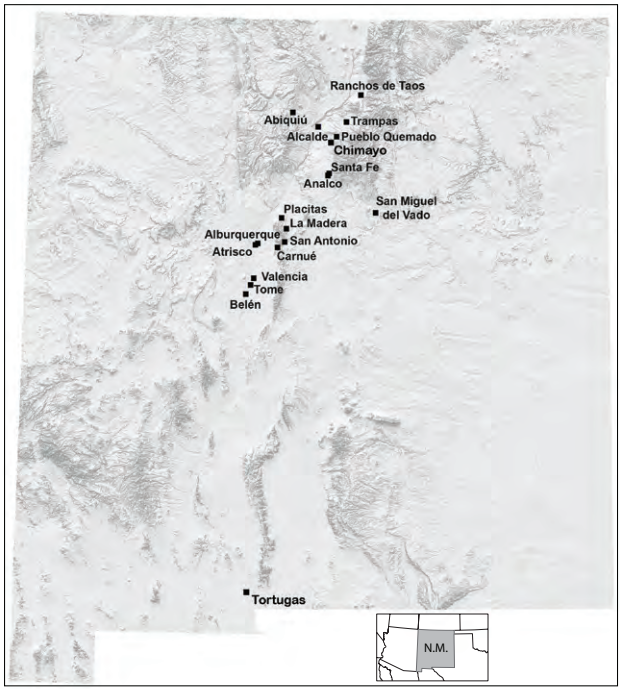
In eighteenth-century Spanish New Mexico the term *Genízaro* (Janissary) was applied to a sizable sector of the Indigenous population, distinct from both Pueblo Indians and Hispanos (Chávez 1979). Hispanicized from the Turkish *yeni cheri* (new troops), in Spain *Genízaro* referred to the Ottoman sultan's elite guard composed of Christian captives. In the rest of Spanish America, it became a generic low-caste synonym of *mestizo* (mixed race) that in New Mexico took on more specific meanings. After Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821, the term was officially abolished. The Genízaros' descendants are still present in the region, and some retain their original culture and identity.

On the far northern borderlands of New Spain, the Genízaros were an assemblage of individuals and communities of people of mixed origins, mostly Apache, Ute, Paiute, Kiowa, Comanche, Pawnee, and Navajo (Chávez 1979). They entered Spanish colonial society as captives taken during skirmishes with tribes that surrounded the upper Rio Grande region (Brooks 2002). Some Pueblo groups, such as the Tewa-Hopi of Abiquiú, became Genízaros by displacement and relocation (Córdova 1979).

Genízaros lived among the Hispano population "in Spanish fashion," with surnames from their former masters and Christian names through baptism in the Roman Catholic faith. They spoke a simple form of Spanish and lived in special communities or were sprinkled among the Hispanic towns and ranches (Chávez 1979:198; Gonzales 2014) (fig. 8).

Genízaros were euphemistically "rescued" from their captors, "adopted," Christianized, and put into the service of Hispano families as domestic laborers, farmhands, or herders or put to work in wool-processing and -knitting workshops (Magnaghi 1990). The law granted their freedom after 15 years or upon marriage. Many distinguished themselves in military service in frontier areas. After they worked off the debt of their ransom, their children were freeborn, but many Genízaros were reabsorbed into the servitude of debt peonage and into the extended families of their masters (Rael-Gálvez 2002; Sisneros 2017). Sold or born into slavery, and then into freedom, they learned and earned their rights, sought redress from abuse, and successfully defended their honor and interests in court as far away as Mexico City (Sisneros 2017:462).

Genízaro borderland communities offered employment and landownership even as they discouraged attacks by enemy Indians that threatened both the Pueblo and Hispano communities of northern New Mexico (Swadesh 1974). They were established in compliance with the Spanish "Laws of the Indies" that required the construction of compact defensible settlements, plaza-centered villages, and a system of equitable distribution of land and water for individual and communal use (Ebright 1994). The community land grants for Genízaros in frontier settlements were viewed as a way to move this landless and often unruly Indigenous population into landownership to serve a strategic military function for the area.



Map by Moises Gonzales, redrawn by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 8. Map of Genízaro communities of New Mexico.

Genízaro Ethnogenesis

Genízaro ethnogenesis emerged in a process of external identification that evolved into self-identification. In the 1690s, nomadic tribes, primarily the Ute and Comanche, began their military dominance of the province as equestrian warrior societies, after they acquired horses following the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. A distinctive economy and way of life emerged on the bison-rich plains, and new tactics were developed to hunt buffalo and conduct mounted warfare.

In the early 1700s, the Comanche and Ute formed political alliances and incorporated themselves into emerging networks of raiding and commerce in captives in the northern colonial borderlands (Hämäläinen

2008:27). Endless warfare repositioned the concepts of ethnic identity, kinship, and belonging among groups. By the late 1700s, after a century of intergroup warfare and captive taking, those Genízaros specifically identified in the census plus others with servile professions and no surnames accounted for approximately one-third of the population (Gutiérrez 1991:171; Magnaghi 1990:89). In this system, the Genízaros occupied an identifiable ethnic space between Spanish, Pueblos, and mestizos.

Historical Memory, Cultural Persistence

In several socially and geographically isolated communities in remote or mountainous areas, Genízaro historical and cultural memory persisted during the 1800s and 1900s through ritual practices, customs, and self-governance (Gandert et al. 2000; Gonzales and Lamadrid 2019). A distinct style of folk Catholicism emerged, complete with a calendar of feast days and, in many villages, the Hermandad de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno (the Brotherhood of Our Father Jesus the Nazarene), a pious confraternity notably popular among Genízaros and dedicated to Lenten rituals and the well-being of their communities (Gutiérrez 2019).

Since 1979, field data have confirmed the continuing persistence of the Genízaro heritage and identity. The Pueblo de Abiquiú, descended from an amalgamation of more than a dozen tribal groups, celebrates its own repertory of distinctive dances and songs, culminating in *el Nanillé*, "the captive children's dance," and a series of pantomime captures and ransoms on the plaza (Córdova 1979) (fig. 9). In other Genízaro communities, two traditions of Indo-Hispano ritual celebrated across New Mexico intertwine, such as the Matachines dance-drama and the Comanche dances and plays (Lamadrid 2003). Danced to the most ancient melodies in the land, the Matachines reconciles the spiritual conflicts of conquest and colonization (fig. 10). The cast of characters includes the *monarca* (king), also known as Moctezuma, an angelic little girl named Malinche (spiritual teacher), *Torito* (little bull), and *abuelos* (ancestral spirits). In a satirical pantomime, the totem bull of Spain is confronted by Malinche and defeated and castrated by the outraged abuelos; it symbolizes the end of empire and the defeat of its evils.

The Comanche celebrations are cast as dances, nativity celebrations, and equestrian dramas all called *los Comanches* (the Comanches) to honor the historical struggles with enemy nomadic tribes, victims, survivors,

Photograph by Miguel A. Gandert.

Fig. 9. Captive children of the Nanillé dance, Abiquiú, New Mexico, 1999.

Photograph by Miguel A. Gandert.

Fig. 10. La Perijundia rests, surrounded by Matachines dancers, San Antonio de Carnué, New Mexico, 1998.

and captives, especially children—*los Comanchitos*, "the Little Comanches" (Lamadrid 2003). Genízaro identity is ritually enacted in communities, like Ranchos de Taos and Talpa, with their repertory of Hispano-Comanche dances and syllable singing, including *El Águila* (the eagle); *El Torito* (the little bull), which honors both bison and domestic bulls; *El Espanta'o* (the frightened one), or shield dance; and *El Cautivo* (the captive), which honors captives through pantomime (fig. 11).

Both the oldest and the newer plazas of the Sandía mountain communities of Carnué, Placitas, and others have always featured celebration of the Matachines in a chain of feast days that spans the calendar and unites the region. Since 2000, several of these communities have revived the Comanchitos dance, which honors all the captives of the past, during Advent. As these people migrated to more urbanized areas like Bernalillo and Atrisco (in greater Albuquerque), they took their rituals with them (Lamadrid 2003).

Genízaro Consciousness

Beginning in the 1740s with the establishment of Genízaro communities in the valleys of the middle Río Grande, a political counterculture emerged. Genízaro political and cultural identity grew stronger in the early nineteenth century (Atencio 1985). In 1837, a coalition of Genízaros, Pueblo Indians, and "coyotes" (people of mixed ancestry) joined in an antifederalist rebellion against the Mexican Republic. A ragtag group of rebels established a short-lived provisional government north of Santa Fe in Santa Cruz and seated José Ángel Gonzales, a Genízaro from Taos, as governor (Lecompte 1985; Gallegos 2017:103–104). Genízaro resistance during the Mexican period failed politically but gave rise to a new Genízaro political consciousness.

After the 1848 annexation of the northern half of Mexico by the United States, sharp class differences emerged in the U.S. territories between Genízaro descendants and the Hispano elites, who had allied themselves with the new order, emphasized their "Spanish American" culture and identity, and sought to distance New Mexico from Mexico (Correia 2013; Ebright 1994; Nieto-Phillips 2008). Genízaro consciousness reemerged in the latter half of the twentieth century through participation in the land grant and the Chicana/Chicano liberation movements. Genízaro descendants

Photograph by Miguel A. Gandert.

Fig. 11. *El Cautivo*, the dance of the captives, Talpa, New Mexico, 1995.

were the most enthusiastic participants in the protests of the 1960s (Chávez 1979:198-200) and joined the agrarian and urban Mexicans or Mexican Americans in social protest and who wished to be called Chicanos. Acknowledging their mestizo and Indigenous heritage, these groups challenged the "Spanish American" identity (Gallegos 2017).

Today, communities that celebrate their Genízaro heritage are located primarily in the same remote mountain region where they were founded, as well as in urban pockets of family kinship networks. The key Genízaro plazas are located on the community land grants of Cristóbal de la Serna (Ranchos de Taos), Pueblo de Abiquiú, San Miguel del Vado, Carnué, and San Antonio de las Huertas (Placitas). According to 2010 New Mexico state law, community land grants are newly recognized political subdivisions of the state designed to continue historical rights of self-government and management of communal land, water, and cultural resources (New Mexico Compilation Commission 2010: Chapter 49). Through a cultural system popularly known as *querencia* (deep love of place and people), Genízaro communities have leveraged a complex system of governance, social and religious ritual, and kinship (Arellano 1997).

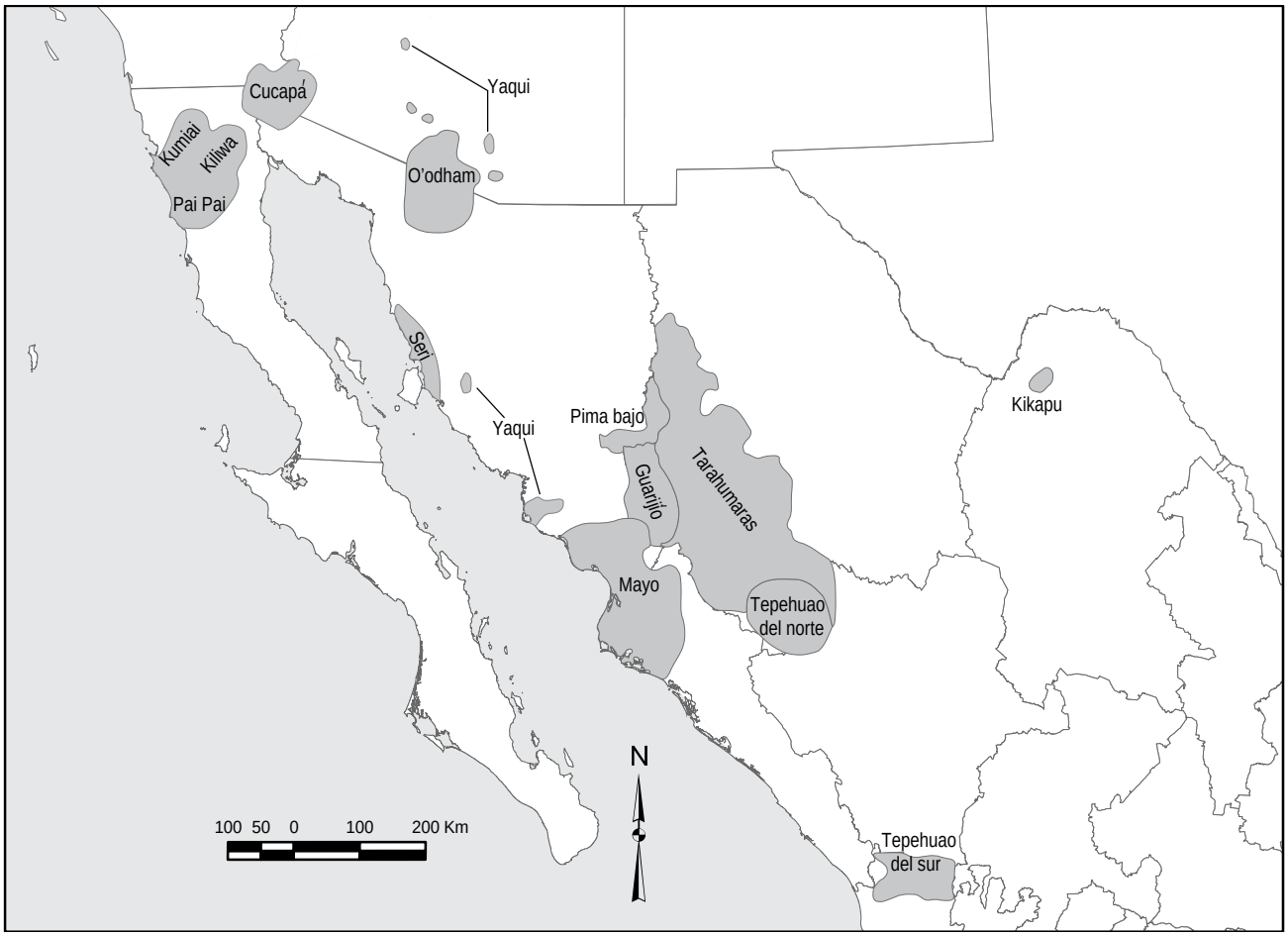
The Genízaro legacy of community resilience has persisted for three centuries. In recognition of this heritage, the 2007 New Mexico state legislature passed Legislative Memorial 59 to acknowledge Genízaro identity, its contributions to state history, and the importance of its descendants today (New Mexico State House and Senate 2007). Although the Genízaro people are not federally recognized as a tribe, they rely on traditions of self-governance and self-recognition to maintain an Indigenous cultural identity that has spanned Spanish, Mexican, and American rule. Regardless of the federal process of tribal recognition, Genízaros continue to recognize themselves as an Indigenous group maintained through intergenerational cultural transmission and community consciousness.

Northern Mexico

José Luis Moctezuma Zamarrón

Ethnology

Ethnological research carried out since 1983 in the north of Mexico has followed diverse models of



Map by Moises Gonzales, redrawn by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History. Adapted from El noroeste de Mexico, Atlas etnográfico (Bartolomé and Barabas 2013).

Fig. 12. Map of the current areas of Indigenous languages spoken in northern Mexico.

analysis, from classic anthropology to more recent models. In Mexico, the structuralism of Claude Lévi-Strauss left a profound impression, and his impact was particularly visible during the latter half of the twentieth century. Studies following structuralist analysis accounted for many publications about Indigenous groups in the northwest of Mexico, particularly the Yaqui (ethnonym: Yoeme) (Olavarría 1989, 2003, 2008), Tarahumara (Rarámuri) (Bonfiglioli 1995), and the so-called Cáhita groups Yaqui and Mayo (Yoreme) (Olmos 1998). Olmos (2011) produced an extensive study of all Indigenous groups of northwest Mexico (fig. 12), including the Yuman of Baja California, while Sánchez (2011) worked among Mayo Pascola dancers (fig. 13).

Close to this model were studies of concepts of body and soul among Indigenous Mexicans, such as the notion of flower body among the Yaqui (Olavarría et al. 2009) and the Rarámuri conceptualization of the soul (Merrill 1988). Many other works have emphasized the role of music and dance that accompany the aesthetic practices, myths, religion, and rituals of the regional Native groups. Studies have examined the relation of the Yaqui with their natural and cultural environment as seen through their dance practices (fig. 14) (Shorter 2009; Varela 1986), and the role of dance among the Tarahumara (de Velasco 1987) and how their religious celebrations and festive atmosphere relate to the richness of their worldview (Pintado 2012). Of particular importance was an analysis of the healing impact of Seri shamanic chants, now in danger of disappearing (Caballero 2016).

Another line of investigation, developed in the 1990s, emphasized interethnic relations and the identity of Native groups in the region. As the ethnic resistance of Indigenous groups became evident, several studies addressed how they dealt with asymmetric power relations among groups in so-called mestizo society to ensure the continuation of their culture. The Yaqui, recognized as the prime resistance group, were the subject of several works because they had been politically independent despite being economically

Photograph by José Moctezuma.

Fig. 13. Pascola Mayo dancers, El Júpare, Hutabampo Sonora, Mexico.

Photographs by José Moctezuma.

Fig. 14. left, Yaqui Pascola pretending to sell turtle eggs during a ritual of dead, Loma de Guamúchil, Cajeme, Sonora, México, 2016. right, Matachin Yaqui dancers, Loma de Guamúchil, Cajene, Sonora, Mexico.

dependent on the Mexican state (Gouy-Gilbert 1983; McGuire 1986). This political dependence has been linked to the persistence of ethnic identity among the Mayo (O'Connor 1989). Research on the identity of the Yaqui and Mayo shows how each group has expressed its identity in distinct ways to counteract the pressure of regional and national societies (Figueroa 1994). The interethnic dimension is also critical in how Yuman groups address the problem of cultural change as they face pressure to assimilate and use their ethnicity to show alternative forms of resistance (Garduño 1994, 2011).

The "globalization model," which examines how global forces affect local communities, was influential in studies of Native communities in northern Mexico, particularly in the area of ethnic identity (Erickson 2008, for the Yaqui; Molinari and Porras 2001, for the Tarahumara). This work drew on sources from diverse areas—from family environment to material and immaterial culture—to address the complexity of Indigenous groups' identity.

The Indigenous Peoples of Mexico Project

In 1998, the Mexican National Institute of Anthropology and History (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, or INAH) started a national project called the Indigenous Peoples of Mexico in the New Millennium. Since then, the project has produced multiple results from the work of about 200 researchers. Activities ranged from mentoring new scholars in ethnographic research to publishing and disseminating an impressive number of scientific publications and scholarly materials. The project was originally made up of 22 teams—

two of them in northern Mexico—whose objective was to review and update the academic and social agenda of the Indigenous groups of Mexico. Several volumes had been published by 2018 with articles and data on Indigenous peoples of the Sonora, Sinaloa, and Chihuahua states of northern Mexico.

A prime area of research has focused on social structure and community organization, including among the O'odham, still known in Mexico as Pápago (Moctezuma et al. 2003a); Seri (Comcaac), Yaqui (Yoeme), Mayo (Yoreme), and Tarahumara and Northern Tepehuan (Ódami; Saucedo 2003). The area of symbolic territoriality was analyzed for the Yaqui, Mayo, Pima (O'ob), and Guarijío (Moctezuma et al. 2003b). Another team carried out research among the Tarahumara (Rarámuri; Porras et al. 2003). The two teams also explored the relationship between the natural and mythical (spiritual) environment among the Tarahumara, Yaqui, Mayo, and Guarijío (Harriss et al. 2015) and among the Pima and the Northern Tepehuan, as well as the Southern Tepehuan and Huichol (Reyes et al. 2015).

Studies of shamanism continue to be popular among the groups of this region, and many have shown the diversity of approaches in dealing with Indigenous shamanistic practices, such as among the Guarijío (Harriss 2013), Tarahumara (Fernández 2013; Morales 2013; Pintado 2013), Yaqui (Merino 2013), Mayo (López 2013), Pima (Oseguera 2013), and Comcaac (Seri) (Hine 2000). Two ethnographic atlases—for the Tarahumara (Gotés et al. 2010) and for the rest of the northwest Indigenous groups (Moctezuma and Aguilar 2013)—were published to disseminate new data on Mexican Indigenous peoples. Several other studies were related to interethnic relations, Indigenous sociocultural regulations and religiosity, migration, and ritual. In 2000, the *Journal of the Southwest* published a special issue on the Comcaac entitled *Seri Hands*, covering a wide range of topics including Seri maps, spirit songs, music, fisheries, and the Seri language (Wilder 2000).

In the late 1900s and early 2000s, anthropological studies in northern Mexico were deeply influenced by the work of Juan Luis Sariego (b. 1949, d. 2015), particularly in the field of applied anthropology and in the criticism of Indigenous "models." Working primarily in the Sierra Tarahumara, Sariego analyzed interethnic relations, identity, and the role of Indigenous communities in political and social processes across the region, including those affecting Indigenous policies (Sariego 2002, 2008). An earlier study had pointed to the forms of Indigenous practices ("policies") related to the exploitation of forest resources in this same region (Lartigue 1983). Another study focused on Indigenous policies among the Guarijío, the group that has survived despite being victims of exploitation throughout their history (Valdivia 1994).

Ethnobotany has been another popular area, particularly among groups in the semidesert region of Sonora, such as the Guarijío (Yetman 2002) and the Mayo (Yetman and van Devender 2002), who have wide knowledge and make use of plants in their daily life. Nabhan (2003) made a significant contribution to Seri (Comcaac) ethnobiology with his study of Seri knowledge and use of sea turtles, while other scholars explored Seri involvement in commercial fishing in the Gulf of California (Bahre et al. 2000; Basurto 2006, 2008; Basurto et al. 2014).

Ethnohistory

Much has been done since 1983 to expand knowledge of the colonial processes in northern Mexico and the role played by Indigenous groups in these developments, which were markedly different from what happened in other parts of New Spain. The advance of ethnohistory in the region helped shift the conventional historical studies of the colonial era, providing a new perspective on the Indigenous groups of the area. It opened a different vision of the European groups, introduced complex interethnic relations into the colonial dynamic and showed ways in which Indigenous societies acted even before the arrival of Spanish rule and its institutions.

Ethnohistorians started to develop a more anthropological vision of the area, and in several cases, they have resorted to the models of this discipline to better account for historical events. Some scholars stood out for their long careers and significant contributions. William Merrill's numerous publications explored how the Sierra Tarahumara adapted Catholicism during the colonial period (Merrill 1993) and how their identity was transformed under the impact of the evangelization (Merrill 1997), as well as various aspects of the Indigenous cultures of northern Mexico, including social organization, resistance to colonization, and cultural and economic changes (Merrill 2009). Another American anthropologist, Thomas Sheridan, made an impressive contribution to the study of Indigenous cultures of northwest Mexico (and the U.S. Southwest), including of the Seri during the colonial period (Sheridan 1999). He also turned to the model of Eric Wolf (1982) on how to study people without history to define the Yaqui point of view before the conflict with the Spaniards (Sheridan 1988).

Susan Deeds is a seminal figure in the field of colonial ethnohistory of northern Mexico and specifically of the Tarahumara (Rarámuri), Tepehuan, Concho,

Xixime, and Acaxee peoples. Her studies revealed the various forms of identity and resistance that ensured the survival of the first two groups, whereas the latter three disappeared during the early stage of colonization (Deeds 2003). Her writings made it clear that various Indigenous groups in northern Mexico maintained an active resistance to the Spanish Crown that in some cases led to their destruction and in others triggered adaptation mechanisms that allowed for survival (Deeds 2000).

Historian Cynthia Radding, specialist in Latin American colonial studies, made significant contributions to the ethnohistory of northern Mexico, starting from her research in Sonora and later focused on the identity of Indigenous groups before the Spanish invasion. Two of her works stand out: a historical study of how the Spanish Crown made an impact on Indigenous groups in northwest Mexico from 1700 to 1850 (Radding 1997) and of the late colonial period covering topics related to gender identity, confrontation between Native and colonial communities, and conflict between shamans and missionaries (Radding 2006).

Other notable ethnohistorical studies addressed the Yaqui resistance during the colonial period (Folsom 2014; Hu-DeHart 1981, 1995); the status of the Mayo (Rodríguez 1986), particularly in relation to the Ópata, a group that had dominated the river valleys of central and eastern Sonora during colonial times but was largely assimilated by the late twentieth century (Yetman 2010); and conflict between the Ópata and local priests and settlers (Yetman 2012). Seminal works include the history of the Comcaac of San Esteban Island in the Gulf of California (Bowen 2000), a study of changing Seri mobility over time (Martínez-Tagüeña and Torres 2018), and an examination of trophy hunting and nonhuman narratives under the Seri bighorn sheep program on Tiburón Island (Rentería-Valencia 2015).

Several important surveys have been organized by region. The first covered the Indigenous groups of the Sierra Tarahumara region through the missionaries' perception of Indigenous resistance to Catholic conversion (González 1982); the second dealt with the process of settlement in the Cahita (Mayo and Yaqui) groups' territory in what is today the state of Sinaloa (López 2010); and the third explored the complex nexus of slavery, *encomienda* (colonial forced labor system), and mineral resource extraction, as well as the ways militaries and missionaries entered the territory of Indigenous groups in Sinaloa (Rodríguez 2010). A major study explored colonial dynamics after the exit of the Jesuits from northern Mexico, emphasizing how Indigenous communities were reconfigured during that period (López et al. 2017).

Linguistic Anthropology

The discipline of linguistic anthropology is less developed in northern Mexico. Its modest status contrasts with the extensive work done on grammatical studies of Indigenous languages. Mexican and foreign scholars have traditionally focused their attention on structural studies of Indigenous languages in the region, particularly after 1980, when the progress advanced almost exponentially. In contrast, relatively little work has been done on the relations between language, culture, and society. The scarce material available shows the great richness of an area that remains poorly explored, including the three subfields of so-called missionary linguistics, language-culture relations, and linguistic anthropology.

The historiographical studies made substantial progress based on linguistic materials produced by the Jesuits on the Tarahumara (Merrill 2020) and the Cahita languages (Acosta et al. 2013). Other scholars wrote about language policies in the colonial period (Hausberger 1999; Moctezuma 2011). Léon-Portilla (2000) reviewed early records on the Yuman languages and local place names of Baja California, including from the colonial era.

Few works have been produced on language-culture relations in northern Mexico. Merrill (1987), following the cultural discourse model, analyzed the role of dreams in the Rarámuri culture and also interpreted the Rarámuri kinship system from a linguistic perspective (Merrill and Burgess 2014). Similar work has been done for the Ópata in comparison with other Uto-Aztecan languages (Anzaldo 2007). Seri kinship was analyzed (Moser and Marlett 1989), and the Kiliwa kinship system was interpreted from an ethnosemantic perspective (Mixco 1994). Mixco (1983) transcribed and analyzed texts in Kiliwa that offered diverse narratives on a language and culture on the verge of disappearing.

One study introduced a novel line of ethnosemantics by looking at the ways in which the Seri categorize objects in their environment, relating a linguistic phenomenon to the geographical features located directly in the cultural field (O'Meara 2021). Another study among the Seri explored the words and names for mollusks (Moser 2014), using ethnography and drawings to document knowledge about the use of some 300 species of mollusks.

After 2000, the field of linguistic anthropology produced notable new studies. One addressed a complex bond of linguistic maintenance and displacement of the Yaqui and Mayo during Spanish rule, based on ethnography of communication models, social networks, linguistic ideology, and ethnic identity to interpret the

Photograph by José Moctezuma

Fig. 15. top, Mayo pharisees, El Júpare, Huatabampo, Sonora, México, 2014. center, Mayo pharisees, Guadalupe Guayparín, Navojoa, Sonora, México, 2014. bottom, Yaqui ritual of dead, Loma de Guamúchil, Cajeme, Sonora, México, 2016.

historical and everyday dynamics of linguistic conflict between Spanish and the two Indigenous languages (Moctezuma 2001). A similar model was used to explore the elements of the Guarijió ethnic identity as a counterweight to the advancement of Spanish language within the small rural settlements where members of the ethnic group lived (Harriss 2012). It revealed how silence was a part of the normative system of the group and how it worked as a form of resistance against Spanish speakers. A third study (Moctezuma 2014) brought together aspects of worldview, rituality, anthropology, cognitive linguistics, and linguistic ideology to interpret different worlds (or universes) in which the Yaqui and Mayo perceived themselves and the natural and symbolic spaces they inhabited (fig. 15). Such complex worldviews helped members of the group coexist with different domains and supernatural beings and can be viewed as a multilayered series of relationships.

Additional Readings

For the most recent insights on the status of research on the cultures discussed in this chapter see Belin et al. (2021), Bess (2021), Conrad (2021), Kelley and Francis (2019b), King (2018), Lahti (2017), Lee (2020), McPherson (2020), Rosser (2021), and Schermerhorn (2019).

Acknowledgment

Sergei Kan would like to thank Colleen Fitzgerald for her kind assistance in preparing the “O’odham” section of this chapter.

Great Basin

CATHERINE S. FOWLER, DAVID RHODE,
ANGUS QUINLAN, AND DARLA GAREY-SAGE

The original plan for the Smithsonian *Handbook* series called for a single volume combining the Great Basin and the Plateau culture areas (see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.). After initial planning sessions, however, it became clear that the cultural and historical differences between the regions and the amount of material to be covered would necessitate two separate volumes. The editorial committee also decided that archaeological themes would receive just as much emphasis as ethnology and other topics, again owing to the large amount of information available. The final product reflected this balance, making the *Great Basin* volume (d'Azevedo 1986a) heavier in archaeological data than most of the others in the series. In 2018, archaeological investigations in the Great Basin continue to outstrip those in Indigenous ethnology, history, languages, and other topics, and thus that weighting continues in this summary.

The tribal entries in the 1986 volume were based primarily on language categories. The editorial committee considered alternatives but decided that, in the context of a general reference work, the older naming practices would be more familiar and that covering the large number of federally recognized tribes individually would be too cumbersome. In addition, placement of some groups in the volume versus in others was debated (d'Azevedo 1986a). Authors for each entry were instructed to address these issues and to summarize divergent views when possible.

Through the years, the *Great Basin* volume has been useful as a reference work and as a tool for educating students and the public. It has been adopted in whole or in part in anthropology and Native Studies courses at regional colleges and universities and is found in many public and some tribal libraries. Since 1986, several regionally focused works have offered updates to the volume: Beck (1999) was intended to be an appraisal 20 years after the start of the *Handbook* series, as well as to set an agenda for future research. Madsen and Rhode (1994) contained chapters reviewing research in archaeology, ethnography, languages, history, and other topics. Two more recent books summarized the region's ancient record (Fowler and Fowler 2008; Simms 2008), and a third (with a later update) treated that record from an integrated ecological and natural history perspective (Grayson 1993, 2011) and provided significant new syntheses. In addition, a wide range of ethnographic and archaeological topics was covered in short encyclopedic entries (Hittman 2013), bringing the data on the region up to the 2010s.

The Great Basin, 2018

Research in the Great Basin (fig. 1) since the early 1980s, though still dominated by archaeology, is now carried out largely in the context of cultural resource management (CRM), and by private environmental firms and a few tribal departments rather than mainly by colleges or universities (see also "Plains," this vol.). Archaeology has remained dominant because a majority of lands in large portions of the region are under various types of federal, tribal, and state jurisdiction and thus subject to companion historic preservation legislation. Technological advances and new theoretical perspectives have changed archaeological research, although ecological models of various types still dominate.

Ethnographers, ethnologists, and historians remain few in number but continue to work with tribal elders, with younger people, and in archives, some under contracts generated by historic preservation concerns. Native and non-Native scholars focus more on oral traditions as well as archives and use new paradigms of interpretation. Linguists, also in small numbers, continue to strengthen the descriptive record on Indigenous languages (Numic languages, Washoe) but more commonly work in the context of community language revitalization projects. Almost all researchers today work collaboratively with Indigenous communities on all projects—a significant change from the 1980s, when the *Great Basin* volume (d'Azevedo 1986a) was published.

Archaeological Research

David Rhode

Much has changed in Great Basin archaeological research in the three decades since the 1986 *Handbook*

Map by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 1. Map of Great Basin Native groups and important archaeological locations mentioned in the text.

volume. Highlighted here are major theoretical directions, advances in methods and practice, and examples of key research areas.

Theoretical Perspectives

Jennings (1986), introducing the original *Handbook* volume "Prehistory" section, warned against optimal foraging theory (OFT) (cf. O'Connell et al. 1982), but OFT and allied models in human behavioral ecology offer so many varied applications that they have become the field's dominant theoretical framework (Bird and O'Connell 2006; Broughton and O'Connell 1999; Codding and Bird 2015; Grayson and Cannon 1999; Simms et al. 2014; Zeanah and Simms 1999). Among the most influential applications are the classic diet-breadth model, which has generated a rich literature of estimated nutritional return rates under various conditions and extractive methods (see "Additional Readings," this chapter). Likewise, central-place foraging theory informs landscape-scale models of residential and logistical settlement organization, resource patch use, and the costs of resource procurement and transport.

Many traditional Great Basin subsistence pursuits are inherently risky, and models focusing on uncertainty have been applied to topics ranging from Paleo-Indian hunting to Fremont agriculture, tool reliability, and tool-stone availability (Barlow 2002, 2006; Bettinger 1999, 2013; Duke 2011; Eerkens 2004; Elston and Zeanah 2002; Elston et al. 2014; R.L. Kelly 1988; Morgan 2009, 2012; Pinson 1999). Technological variation figures strongly in both tool function and the transmission of cultural information, with implications for group identity and intergroup interactions (Beck 1995; Beck and Jones 2010; Bettinger et al. 1996; Bettinger and Eerkens 1999; Davis et al. 2012; Eerkens and Lipo 2005, 2014; Eerkens et al. 2002, 2006, 2014; Jordan and Shennan 2003; Lyman et al. 2009).

Various studies investigate the interplay of actors' divergent interests and goals, such as gender-based resource procurement choices (Elston and Zeanah 2002; Elston et al. 2014; Madsen 2002; Zeanah 2004), the relationships between groups focusing on high-return versus lower-return resources (e.g., the traveler-processor distinction; Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982, 1983), and communal resource sharing versus maintaining private stores (Eerkens 2004, 2009; Hockett et al. 2013; Morgan 2012). These factors play important roles in group dynamics and development of social hierarchies.

Along these same lines, the application of "costly signaling" theory (Bliege Bird et al. 2001; Hawkes and Bliege Bird 2002) has fostered a lively debate over the role that differential success in securing high-value resources between individuals or groups may serve as indicators of fitness and prestige and may influence the evolution of leadership, social complexity, and territoriality (Bayham et al. 2012; Broughton and Bayham 2003; Byers and Broughton 2004; Codding and Jones 2007; Grimstead 2012; Hildebrandt and McGuire 2002, 2003; Hockett 1998, 2005; McGuire and Hildebrandt 2005; Whitaker and Carpenter 2012).

In all, the human behavioral ecology approach has proven to be extraordinarily fertile theoretical ground, transforming the narrative of the earlier "human ecology" paradigm that held sway prior to the *Handbook* series into a more rigorous analytical framework.

Archaeological Methods

The arsenal of methods used in archaeological analyses has improved to an astonishing degree. Geographic information and global positioning systems have made prospecting and mapping techniques more sophisticated, building on an already strong base of regional artifact and site distributional analyses. Geoarchaeology has substantially improved researchers' ability to understand stratigraphic integrity, chronology, formation processes, paleo-environmental reconstructions, and predictive modeling of site locations (see "Additional Readings," this chapter).

Accelerator mass spectrometric (AMS) radiocarbon dating, first used in the mid-1980s, revolutionized archaeologists' access to high-resolution chronometry. It has been used to date tiny textile fragments (Connolly 2013; Connolly et al. 2016; Fowler and Hattori 2008; Geib and Jolie 2009; Ollivier et al. 2017), sinew wrappings on dart points (Smith et al. 2013b), bits of human coprolites (Jenkins 2007; Rhode et al. 2006), and single shell beads (Fitzgerald et al. 2005; Smith et al. 2016; Vellanoweth 2001), strengthening understanding of the histories of human occupation, subsistence, technologies, artifact styles, and interregional trade. Calendrical calibration, novel statistical tools, and the routine generation of large series of dates have all improved chronological inferences on both site-specific and regional scales, including broad reconstructions of population history (Goebel et al. 2007; Goebel and Keene 2014; Ives et al. 2014; Jenkins et al. 2012; Kennett et al. 2014; Louderback et al. 2011; Martin et al. 2017; Talbot and Wilde 1989; D.H. Thomas 1994, 2014). Traditional chronology building based on artifact styles (e.g., projectile points, ceramics) remains centrally important and is often augmented by other methods such as obsidian hydration and luminescence dating.

The study of the ancient movement of goods and people employs a wealth of new methods for tracing the provenances of tool stone, ceramics, shell, turquoise, and even perishable artifacts (see "Additional Readings," this chapter). Determining how far materials were transported contributes directly to understanding tool manufacture sequences, delineating home ranges and mobility patterns, and tracing exchange and interaction networks. Examining population histories has also benefited from the study of human DNA both ancient and modern (O'Rourke et al. 2000; Reich et al. 2012). Molecular archaeology was first used in the Great Basin to investigate human skeletal material exposed by floods in the Great Salt Lake area, Utah, and the Stillwater Marshes and other locations in western Nevada (Carlyle et al. 2000; Kaestle 1997; Kaestle and Smith 2001; Kaestle et al. 1999; O'Rourke et al. 1999; Parr et al. 1996). Ancient human DNA has also been extracted from desiccated fecal material, quids, and other materials (Gilbert et al. 2008; Hamilton-Brehm et al. 2018; Sutton et al. 1996).

Archaeological Practice

Beyond new theoretical frameworks and advances in methods, Great Basin archaeology has changed in its practice. Two major differences stand out: the supremacy of CRM as the primary generator of the Great Basin archaeological record, and the active engagement of Indigenous communities in managing that record.

American archaeology is now predominantly CRM archaeology (Green and Doershuk 1998:121), and nowhere is that truer than in the Great Basin, where the federal government owns or controls most the land. Here, the vast bulk of archaeological work is performed to comply with the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), the Archeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA), the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), and other statutes (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). Since the 1970s, when CRM began in its present form (Aikens 1986; Fowler 1986; Hardesty et al. 1986), a substantial industry has prospered, supporting hundreds of government and contract archaeologists, archaeological compliance managers, academic and museum professionals, and students (Cannon 1999; Gilreath 1999b).

With the enactment of NAGPRA in 1990 and Executive Order 13175 in 2000, requiring government consultation with federally recognized tribes, Indigenous communities are increasingly involved in managing the Great Basin archaeological legacy. Thirteen Great Basin Native communities have tribal historic preservation offices, and many others have designated cultural heritage representatives or NAGPRA contacts. Government agencies routinely work with Indigenous community representatives to consult on issues related to CRM, NAGPRA and repatriation issues, and other projects (Cook 2014). A growing literature explores examples of consultation, cooperation, and contention among Indigenous communities, government CRM managers, and contract or academic archaeologists in the Great Basin (Hockett and Palus 2018; Janetski et al. 1999; Kreutzer 1999; Roberts 2014; Rucks 1999; Simms and Raymond 1999; Stapp and Burney 2002; Stoffle et al. 2001; Zedeño 2014).

Prime Research Areas

Three examples of particular research areas illustrate the key advances since the mid-1980s in understanding the Great Basin's past: early peopling, wetlands, and high-altitude occupation.

• EARLY PEOPLING The most significant find pertaining to Great Basin occupation in the terminal Pleistocene and earliest Holocene comes from Paisley Five-Mile Point Caves in south-central Oregon (fig. 2), originally excavated by Luther Cressman (1942). These caves contained remains of extinct late Pleistocene fauna apparently in association with human occupation. To test this putative association, archaeologists excavated Paisley Caves in 2002–2011. Well-dated occupation sequences spanning the Holocene and terminal Pleistocene were uncovered, containing thousands of stone tools, perishable artifacts, well-preserved faunal and floral materials, and desiccated human fecal specimens (Jenkins 2007; Jenkins et al. 2012, 2014, 2016). Several such paleofecal specimens were AMS radiocarbon dated to more than 12,000 ^{14}C years BP (~14,300 cal years BP) and contain ancient DNA belonging to mitochondrial haplogroups A2 and B2 (Gilbert et al. 2008).

To many archaeologists, these findings and others confirm that people occupied the Great Basin more than a millennium before the Clovis lithic tradition (but see Goldberg et al. 2009; Poinar et al. 2009; Sistiaga et al. 2014). Early strata include extinct horse and camel remains (also extant fauna such as mountain sheep); incisions on sheep bones are interpreted as butchering marks (Hockett and Jenkins 2013). Early artifact assemblages are dominated by tools characteristic of the Western Stemmed lithic tradition, which are technologically and morphologically distinct from Clovis (Beck and Jones 2009, 2012, 2014, 2015; Davis et al. 2012, 2017). In the Great Basin, Western Stemmed technology is more abundant than fluted-point-bearing assemblages, and arguably as old or possibly older (Smith et al. 2020; but cf. Goebel and Keene 2014).

Photograph by David Rhode.

Fig. 2. Paisley Five-Mile Point Caves, southeast Oregon. Excavations led by Dennis Jenkins (University of Oregon) at the shelters yielded human coprolites radiocarbon dated to older than 14,000 cal yr BP, pre-dating the Clovis complex.

A striking example of a Western Stemmed tradition cultural landscape is exposed at the Old River Bed (ORB) delta, a vast extinct marsh that formed in the Great Salt Lake Desert ~11,500–8,500 ^{14}C years BP (Duke 2011; Duke et al. 2021; Madsen et al. 2015). Thousands of archaeological sites lie along traces of ancient channels winding through this former wetland, making the ORB delta one of the richest early Holocene archaeological landscapes in North America. The sites are surface lithic scatters: no residential structures have been found, and hearths are rare. The ORB delta holds a well-preserved archaeological record of a wetlands-oriented lifeway as it was before the adoption of milling stone technology, intensive small-seed processing, and notched-point dart-hunting armatures.

A different sort of Western Stemmed occupation has been found at Bonneville Estates Rockshelter, a large overhang west of the ORB delta with a full Holocene archaeological record (fig. 3). There, an early cultural component, dating between ~11,000 and 9,500 ^{14}C years BP, contains more than a dozen fire hearths and associated points, scrapers, gravers, bone awls and needles, cordage, and tool manufacturing debris (Goebel 2007; Goebel et al. 2007, 2011, 2021; Graf 2007). Dietary faunal remains are wide ranging and include sage grouse, grasshopper, hare, artiodactyl, and possibly black bear (Hockett 2007, 2015); remains of cacti, goosefoot seeds, and ricegrass suggest dietary use of these plants, though no milling equipment was found (Rhode and Louderback 2007).

Photograph by David Rhode.

Fig. 3. Interior of Bonneville Estates Rockshelter, eastern Nevada, showing upper stratified deposits. Lower deposits contain an extensive paleoarchaic occupation dated ~11,650–12,850 cal yr BP.

• WETLAND OCCUPATIONS The role that wetlands and wetland-based resources play in regional land use and subsistence has received a great deal of attention (see "Additional Readings," this chapter). Great Basin wetlands were of course vitally important to Indigenous groups in historic times, and wetlands-oriented archaeological sites have been well known since the early twentieth century (e.g., Cressman 1942; Fowler 1989, 1992; Grosscup 1956; Heizer and Krieger 1956; Janetski 1991; Loud and Harrington 1929). During the

1980s, catastrophic flooding of some marshlands exposed archaeological materials (including residential hamlets and human interments) and required emergency salvage and protection (Raymond and Parks 1990; Simms 1999), affording an unprecedented opportunity to learn about ancient marsh dwellers with modern methods and models. This research generated a rich understanding of behavioral variability in wetlands based on environmental fluctuations, alternative resource patches, differing foraging goals of women and men, and other factors (Fowler 1992; Larsen and Kelly 1995; Madsen 2002; Madsen and Kelly 2008; Thomas 1990; Zeanah 2004).

Wetlands provided essential habitats for residential hubs throughout the Holocene, with the greatest residential use occurring in the last few millennia concordant with the late Holocene population increase (Bettinger 1999). People living in wetland residential bases took advantage of resources in the marshes as well as in the surrounding uplands (Butler 1996, 2001; Coltrain and Stafford 1999; Kelly 2001; Livingston 2001; Madsen 2002; Rhode 2001, 2003; Schoeninger 1999; N. Sharp 2001; Thomas 1985). Men and women led physically rigorous lives with a distinct division of labor. Men were more mobile, traversing difficult upland terrain on extended hunting forays, ending up with osteopathologies in hips, knees, and ankles. Women remained more closely tethered to the wetlands, collecting and processing marsh foods, carrying children and other heavy loads, and ultimately suffering from increased lower-back osteoarthritis (Brooks et al. 1988; Larsen and Kelly 1995; Zeanah 2004).

Stillwater Marsh populations were genetically distinct from modern Indigenous inhabitants of the Stillwater Marsh area (Kaestle 1997; Kaestle et al. 1999) and from Fremont populations in Utah wetlands (O'Rourke et al. 1999), who themselves differed from other Southwest populations (Eshleman et al. 2004; Malhi et al. 2003, 2004). These differences point to the genetic diversity of Great Basin populations and suggest a complex history of population migration, replacement, and admixture.

• HIGH-ALTITUDE OCCUPATIONS Indigenous groups made use of alpine zones in many Great Basin mountain ranges, but most such occupation was limited to seasonal hunting forays marked by drive lines and hunting blinds (Canaday 1997). However, more substantial residential occupation of the alpine zone, marked by clusters of well-built stone enclosures and dense midden deposits (fig. 4), is found in the Toquima Range in central Nevada and the White Mountains in east-central California (Bettinger 1991a, 1999, 2008; Thomas 1982, 1994, 2014; Thomas et al. 2020). At the site of Alta Toquima, some 34 structures and associated middens yielded dozens of well-crafted arrow points, milling equipment, and ceramics. Thomas (2014:138) observed that "families began to live at Alta Toquima during the early Post-Neoglacial Drought (as early as 780–541 cal B.C.); these are the earliest documented alpine residences in the Great Basin." Residential construction commenced anew around A.D. 300–700, A.D. 950, A.D. 1100–1200, and after A.D. 1400 up to the historic period; Thomas (2014; Thomas et al. 2020) linked the onset of alpine residential occupation in the Toquima Range to prominent late Holocene drought episodes (Benson et al. 2002; Mensing et al. 2008, 2013; Stine 1990, 1994).

Photograph by David Rhode.

Fig. 4. Late prehistoric house foundation in the alpine zone at Midway Village, White Mountains, eastern California.

In the White Mountains, Bettinger (1991a) reported about a dozen such residential hamlets. These sites typically postdate 1500 cal BP, younger than Alta Toquima but with a similar residential toolkit. Faunal remains are dominated by marmot and bighorn, with lesser numbers of ground squirrel (Grayson 1991a; Fisher and Goshen 2018). Plant remains contain a mix of upland and lowland resources (Scharf 2009). High-altitude ceremonial complexes have also been reported (Morgan et al. 2014). Bettinger (1989, 1991a, 1999, 2008) suggested that White Mountains alpine residen-

tial occupation was tied to population growth in the adjacent Owens Valley and to social changes affected by the introduction of bow-and-arrow technology, intensification of seed processing, and increased family-oriented food storage. These factors (and others) may have contributed to the postulated expansion of southwestern Great Basin groups through the intermountain west, the so-called Numic spread (Bettinger 1994; Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982, 1983; Lamb 1958; Magargal et al. 2017).

This high-altitude residential pattern fits within a broader milieu of changes in land use and social dynamics that played out throughout the Great Basin and beyond during the late Holocene. The period was marked by climatic fluctuations including persistent droughts that affected peoples' livelihoods (Benson et al. 2007; Larson and Michaelson 1990; Mensing et al. 2013; Thomas 2014). Key technological changes include the bow and arrow, which improved individual hunters' efficiency (Bettinger 2013); ceramics, which enhanced storage and made cooking of starchy seeds more efficient (Eerkens 2004; Morgan 2012); and the adoption of maize and other domesticates to augment wild foods (Codding et al. 2021; Finley et al. 2020; Lyneis 1995; Madsen and Schmitt 2005; Madsen and Simms 1997). Frequencies of radiocarbon-dated occupations (Louderback et al. 2011) suggest a substantial population increase in the past 2,000 years, possibly leading to greater conflict and territorial defense (e.g., Bayham et al. 2012; Codding et al. 2019a; Jones et al. 1999; Parker et al. 2019; Sutton 1986) and to population movements such as the migration of Athabascan-speaking peoples from the northern plains through the eastern Great Basin to the Southwest (Ives 2014, 2020; Ives et al. 2014; Steward 2009) and the much-examined Numic spread (see papers in Madsen and Rhode 1994; also Aikens and Witherspoon 1986; Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982, 1983; Delacorte 2008; Hildebrandt 2016; Janetski 1990; Simms 1983; Sutton 1987, 1993).

The past 30 years of archaeological research since the publication of the *Great Basin* volume enrich our appreciation that the Great Basin's late Holocene cultural history was remarkably dynamic (cf. Bettinger 1999; Hildebrandt et al. 2016; Kelly 1997; Lekson 2014; McGuire and Hildebrandt 2005; McGuire et al. 2014; Simms 2008; Thomas 2019) before the cataclysmic changes wrought by Euro-American contact. Teasing apart the factors leading to this dynamism will be a focus of archaeological study for decades to come.

Rock Art

Angus Quinlan and Darla Garey-Sage

Great Basin rock art has seen renewed archaeological attention, which has resulted in better knowledge of styles that were little known in 1986 (see Schaafsma 1986), greater understanding of rock art's chronology, and new explanatory approaches, including rock art's place in the settled landscape.

The earlier approach to defining individual styles—based on a consideration first of technique and then of motif types or themes portrayed (Heizer and Baumhoff 1962)—has largely been replaced by an approach that identifies formal variability in motif types. Regional variations in the Great Basin's abstract-dominated rock art remain poorly understood. Common labels of the Basin and Range tradition (Woody 2000) (fig. 5) or the Western Archaic tradition (Hedges 2002) are

Photograph by Angus Quinlan.

Fig. 5. Representative Basin and Range petroglyph tradition with curvilinear designs, Lagomarsino Canyon, Nevada.

essentially rubrics describing abstract art accompanied by anthropomorphic and zoomorphic elements that cannot be classed into distinct styles based on their formal attributes alone. The one exception is the Grapevine Canyon style (Christensen and Dickey 2001), found in the eastern Mojave Desert of California and along the Colorado River drainage south of Las Vegas and into the Arizona Strip and Kingman area, with a distinctive set of symmetrical and rectilinear forms that use negative space as essential components of their designs. Based on associated archaeological contexts and its distribution pattern, the Grapevine Canyon style appears Late Prehistoric in age and Patayan in cultural affiliation (Christensen and Dickey 2001:193).

Morphologically distinctive anthropomorph styles appeared to emerge during the Late Archaic and/or Formative period (Schaafsma 1986). In Utah and the southern basin area, these styles were related to economic and social changes accompanying the development of the Fremont and ancestral Puebloan cultures. In eastern California and southeastern Nevada, the Coso and Pahranagat anthropomorph styles (the former associated with stylistically distinct portrayals of bighorn sheep) were made by Archaic hunter-foragers (fig. 6). These styles did not replace abstract rock art traditions; instead anthropomorphs (and bighorn sheep figures) became more prominent. The association of distinctive rock art styles with archaeological cultures has been used to explore whether the Numic dispersal can be tracked through rock art (e.g., Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Quinlan and Woody 2003), without clear consensus.

Scientific dating methods for petroglyphs remain elusive; although some rock art is recognized to be of great antiquity, the general chronology and evolution of Great Basin rock art are still only broadly understood. At Winnemucca Lake, Nevada, the dating of carbonate crusts overlying deeply pecked curvilinear rock art produced minimum and maximum ages of 10,500 to 14,800 years, making it the oldest known rock art site in North America (Benson et al. 2013). At Long Lake, Oregon, similarly deeply pecked curvilinear rock art was found partially buried under a layer of Mount Mazama ash, establishing a minimum age of 8,850 years (Cannon and Ricks 1986). Yet most rock art in the Great Basin region is Middle and Late Archaic in age, based on associated site contexts and themes, like portrayals of atlatls and bows, and the age of distinct anthropomorph styles. There is an evident general evolutionary trajectory of older, exclusively abstract art traditions giving way in some regions to younger traditions in which anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images are more prominent.

Newer studies have shown that rock art is strongly associated with the remains of temporary or seasonal campsites where a wide range of economic activities took place, evidenced by ground stone, lithic scatters, ceramics scatters, and rock rings (e.g., Cannon and Ricks 1986, 2007; Gilreath 1999a; Green 1987; Pendegraft 2007; Ricks 1996; Woody 2000). This work has stimulated debate regarding the functions of rock art. One explanation favored in the past was that rock art served as hunting magic and was strongly associated with hunting locales. Others argued that rock art was made exclusively by male shamans to record important cultural information experienced in trance states and located at vision quest locales, remote from settlements (Whitley 1992, 1994, 1998). Critics of both hunting magic and shamanism as primary explanations drew upon rock art's archaeological and

Photograph by Angus Quinlan.

Fig. 6. Representative Pahranagat solid body anthropomorph and bighorn sheep, Pahranagat Valley, Nevada.

environmental contexts to show that it was mostly located neither directly at the actual scene of the hunt nor at the scene of the vision quest (Rector 1985).

Efforts to verify or refute earlier explanatory approaches have advanced the archaeological study of Great Basin rock art by focusing on its cultural contexts instead of the meaning of its imagery (Quinlan and Woody 2009). Not only has this research produced a better understanding of rock art's place in the settled landscape, but it has also challenged the androcentric focus implicit in the two formerly dominant approaches, hunting magic and shamanism (see Rogers 2007). Based on the strong domestic archaeological settings of much Great Basin rock art, new research explores the role of female agency (Cannon and Woody 2007; Pendegraft 2007; Ricks 1996), correcting the impression of male-only agency that earlier archaeology had promoted.

Ethnography, Ethnology, and Ethnohistory

Catherine S. Fowler

Since the publication of the *Great Basin* volume (d'Azevedo 1986a), fewer changes have occurred in our understanding of the ethnography, ethnology, and ethnohistory of the region, largely because fewer people are actively engaged in this work. Ethnologists have given less attention to theory, including that related to hunter-gatherers (but see Bettinger 1991b; Clemmer 2009a; Kelly 1995b; and Rhode, above). Like archaeologists, most ethnologists working in the region today collaborate with Indigenous communities and are funded by and involved in historic preservation projects.

Expanding the Descriptive Baseline

Publication of older unpublished ethnographic materials has helped improve the general record of early lifeways in the Great Basin region. Prime new sources include the field notes of linguist Edward Sapir (b. 1884, d. 1939) recorded in 1910 from Tony Tillohash, Kaibab Southern Paiute, then a young Carlisle Indian School student (Fowler and Euler 1992; Franklin and Bunte 1994); the extensive notes of ethnographers who worked in the 1930s, such as those of Willard Park with the Nevada Northern Paiute (Fowler 1989) and Isabel Kelly with the Southern Paiute of southern Nevada and California (Fowler 2012a, 2012b; Fowler and Garey-Sage 2016); traditional tales from Northern Ute and Western Shoshone storytellers (Smith 1992, 1993); and the index of stories recorded by Fredrick Hulse and Frank Essene from the Owens Valley Paiute narrators (Big Pine Tribe 2015). In the 2000s, field observations (and collections) of Dutch anthropologist Herman ten Kate of Southern Paiute/Chemehuevi life along the lower Colorado River in 1883 were made available (Hovens and Herlaar 2004; Hovens et al. 2004, 2010). Some of these materials (Sapir, Park, Kelly) are based on "memory ethnography" with likely baselines in the 1880s, but they profile groups with lifeways somewhat different from those of the Western Shoshone as described by Julian Steward (1938), who are generally cited by scholars and others as having *the* characteristic Great Basin lifeway. They also include groups living near large lakes, rivers, and marshes (see Janetski [1991] on the Ute of Utah Lake) and in the hot Mojave Desert rather than in cold Great Basin desert environments.

Examples of ethnographic works since the 1980s, often combined with a more contextualized ethnohistorical approach lacking in the older ethnographies, are those by Bunte and Franklin (1987; Franklin and Bunte 1990) on the San Juan Southern Paiute people, living on what is now the Navajo Reservation; Fowler (1992) on the Northern Paiute people of Stillwater Marsh (cf. Wheat 1967); Hittman (1984, 1996) on the Northern Paiute people in Smith and Mason valleys and their postcontact struggles; and Garfinkel and Williams (2011), combining older and contemporary data on the Kawaiisu people.

Still lacking are fuller ethnographic portraits of twentieth- and early twenty-first-century life in most areas of the region, especially by Indigenous authors. Some of these gaps are being filled by solid ethnohistories that cover the twentieth century, including books by Indigenous authors (Crum 1994a and Blackhawk 2006, on the Western Shoshone and Southern Ute; Trafzer 2015, on the Chemehuevi diaspora; Cuch 2000, on present-day Utah tribes). These sources not only provide Indigenous perspectives on historical events but also examine the important role of Indigenous agency during these times. Historians and ethnohistorians who have covered the nineteenth and twentieth centuries since 1986 include Holt (1992) and Knack (2001) on Southern Paiute communities, McPherson (201la) on the White Mountain Ute of southern Utah, Madsen (1985) and Loendorf and Stone (2006) on the Northern Shoshone of Idaho and Wyoming, and Metcalf (2002) and Young (1997) on the struggles of Utah's Southern Paiute and Colorado's Ute with termination and other twentieth-century issues. Articles on nineteenth- and twentieth-century topics and events can also be found in various regional journals (Clemmer 1986, 1989; Crum 1987a, 1987b, 1991, 1994b, 2008; Gruenwald 1986; Haberfield 2000; McPherson 1999, 2011b, 2011c).

Autobiographies and biographies provide valuable perspectives on twentieth-century Indigenous life but remain far too few (Bahr 2003; Garey-Sage 1995; Harney 1995; Hittman 1996; Horne and McBeth 1998; Kreitzer 2000; Lee 1998; Witherspoon 1993). Elmer Rusco (1987, 1988 1989a, 1989b, 1991, 1992), a political scientist, focused on the history of the formation of several Nevada tribal governments through the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Contemporary ethnographers, working mostly in the context of CRM, continue to make new contributions, particularly in the areas of cultural and natural resource issues. Given that most of this work is done by private firms working through federal, state, or tribal agencies (such as tribal historic preservation offices and cultural preservation committees), it has often required new ways of working beyond the older ethnographic interview techniques. There are more levels of bureaucracy to negotiate, and scholars find themselves working with appointed tribal representatives or in consultation with larger groups of people more than in the past. These cooperative approaches have documented many significant issues and places of Indigenous concern on federal, state, and tribal lands.

Most of these studies are not widely available owing to tribal and/or agency restrictions involving sensitive content (e.g., site locations, sacred topics). Some ethnographers and consultants, however, with Indigenous community and agency consent, have published parts of their results in available venues. Examples include numerous studies done through the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology at the University of Arizona by Richard Stoffle and associates with Southern Paiute and Western Shoshone consultants. They have resulted in a renewed awareness of these landscapes and the deep custodial concerns that descendant Native communities feel for them. They have also helped recover important knowledge of traditional resource and environmental management (TREM) practices associated with these landscapes as well as more general ethnographic and historical information (see "Additional Readings," this chapter).

Aesthetic aspects of current Great Basin cultures, including music and song, oral tradition, and Indigenous arts, have received attention (Vennum 1986). Examples include studies of Ghost Dance songs and the Eastern or Wind River Shoshone women who kept them alive (Vander 1988, 1997), Western Shoshone poetry songs (Crum et al. 2001), Southern Paiute song recitatives (Franklin and Bunte 1994), and Western Mono song genres (Loether 1990, 1993). Similarly, oral literature has received fresh attention (Liljeblad 1986), including in Myers (2006), which provides new data and additional analytic perspectives. Still needed are more literary studies of Great Basin oral traditions (Bahr 1994). The fine art of basketry continues to be popular (Bates and Lee 1990; Cohodas 2015; Dalrymple 2000; Dean et al. 2004; Fowler and Finger 2011), but little has been published on the long and complex history of beadwork, another important art form in the area (Fowler and Delorme 2004). Several Great Basin artisans have been able to learn these and other traditional arts through state and national folk arts master-apprenticeship programs, a welcome development that has stimulated production (Nevada Arts Council 2011) but not, unfortunately, major economic gain.

Newer works on religion include those on the Ghost Dance movement (Barney 1989; Carroll et al. 2004; Hittman 1997; Hussey 1999; Kehoe 1989; Smoak 2006; Stoffle et al. 2000; Vander 1997), Eastern or Wind River Shoshone spirituality (Hultkrantz 1987), Southern Paiute ritual practices (Franklin and Bunte 1996), and peyotism (Stewart and Aberle 1987). Nelson (2007), in partnership with the Cultural Conservancy (2004) and the Chemehuevi Tribe, has written about the sacred journeys and history connected with the Salt Song Trail, an important contemporary topic connected with land conservation issues. Other twentieth-century religious movements, such as the Sun Dance and the Sweat Lodge, have received attention (Harney 1995).

Changing Ethnological Perspectives

• JULIAN STEWARD: IN THE FIELD Past Great Basin ethnographic (and archaeological) interpretations leaned heavily on the work of anthropologist Julian Steward (b. 1902, d. 1972), especially as summarized in his classic work *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Steward 1938; also Steward 1955, 1970). Since 1986, there have been numerous reassessments of Steward's work (Blackhawk 2006; Clemmer 2009d; Clemmer et al. 1999; Crum 1994a).

New biographical works on Steward (Kerns 2003, 2010) now provide clearer context for his fieldwork in the region. They support some previous criticisms of his studies based on his limited field time (except among the Owens Valley Paiute) and his lack of attention to the influence of contact by the time he was working in the 1930s, and they make clear how his theoretical orientation (sociopolitical evolutionary theory, cultural ecology) might have affected his conclusions (Clemmer 2009d). Steward's statements about the "socially fragmenting effect" of Great Basin environments on Western Shoshone lifeways have long been questioned, as was their wider application to other Great Basin peoples (e.g., Service 1962).

Other new ethnographic data, including in the formerly unpublished field notes of early ethnographers on

lake-, riparian-, and marsh-based Great Basin peoples, now broaden the picture of early lifeways in the region and suggest that some rethinking is needed about these peoples' sociopolitical organization, as well as that of other hunter-gatherer-fisher societies. In spite of its faults, Steward's work remains highly significant, especially for the detailed genealogical and land-use data it provides. By documenting occupancy and resource use, it is particularly helpful to descendant communities in their struggles with land managers. Moreover, nothing has yet replaced Steward's ethnography of the central Great Basin (Steward 1941a, 1943); rather, it is the work's historical context that requires reconsideration.

• INDIGENOUS TERRITORIES Other ongoing concerns involving ethnological interpretations include the nature of Indigenous territoriality and concepts of landownership in the region that have significance to former hunter-gatherer-fisher populations in other parts of the world (Rigsby 1995). Steward's (1955:293–294) remark that "anthropology has failed to come to grips with this crucially important problem of 'property' in detail and concreteness" among hunter-gatherers is still true today. A case in point is the attempt to settle the Western Shoshone land claim case, which has pitted the Western Shoshone National Council against the U.S. government, especially the Bureau of Land Management. Although the U.S. Supreme Court in 1985 upheld the Indian Claims Commission's (ICC's) original award of monies to the Western Shoshone people for the taking of their homelands in the 1870s, several Western Shoshone tribes and individuals represented by the Western Shoshone National Council refused to accept it until 2014 (Clemmer 2004, 2009b; Clemmer and Stewart 1986; Luebben and Nelson 2002; Newcomb 2014). Some payments began shortly thereafter, but others continued to refuse the monies.

These same issues about who "owns" federal land in large areas of the West resurfaced in the 1990s during attempts to site the national nuclear waste repository at Yucca Mountain in southern Nevada, and they continue to color relationships between federal and state land managers and tribes in situations of mining, energy development, recreation, low-level nuclear waste disposal, and other federal and state uses of lands and water. Other tribes have sued to regain land and use rights to land excluded by the ICC for various reasons, sometimes as part of federal recognition petitions (Colville Northern Paiute-Washoe, Mono Lake Northern Paiute) or in the form of other exclusions. Examples include the Timbisha Shoshone within Death Valley National Park (Bolland and the Land Restoration Committee 1995; Fowler et al. 1995) and the San Juan Southern Paiute within the Navajo Reservation (Bunte and Franklin 1986; Franklin and Bunte 1988). In some of these cases (Timbisha, San Juan), the older literature has been helpful; in others, the lack of clarity on Indigenous property and land rights has left tribes in legal limbo.

• SUBSISTENCE AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS When the *Great Basin* volume was published, subsistence and economic systems in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were only partially known. The same remains largely true today. Researchers have cataloged plants and animals used for foods, medicines, and other purposes, especially in the past, but few quantitative and qualitative data are available on early subsistence and economic systems—particularly regarding, for example, where, when, and how frequently such activities took place, successes and failures, and seasonal and yearly differences. Such parameters are difficult to estimate, especially in the light of significant environmental change and the erosion of traditional knowledge owing to peoples' exclusion from their lands, language loss, and more. Archaeologists have tried to overcome some of these deficiencies, but much is still unknown. There have been some additions to the historic literature on the role of wage labor in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but these remain far too few (Crum 1994a, 1994b; Hittman 1996; Knack 1987, 1989, 1995, 1996).

Studies of traditional environmental management also remain rare (Anderson 2005; Clemmer 2009c; Fowler 2000; Spoon et al. 2015). There is only speculation about how much and where Great Basin Native peoples contributed to the region's biodiversity as well as whether they developed any anthropogenic environments. Yet Indigenous communities still hold substantial traditional environmental knowledge and carry out continuities in subsistence patterns. Indigenous peoples and land managers should find value in cooperating to preserve traditional knowledge and practices. True partnerships in ecomanagement, involving shared power between agencies and Indigenous communities, are certainly needed.

There is even less knowledge about contemporary subsistence and economic practices, including those involving the incorporation of monies from smoke shops, convenience stores, gaming, and other tribal businesses (fig. 7), or about the general or specific impacts of Indigenous communities and governments on local and regional economies. Many tribes in the Great Basin region are now involved in regional economic development, especially in competing for tourist dollars. Depending on their location (urban, rural) and state situation (laws, compacts, preexisting gaming), some tribes have profited while others have struggled. Economic gains have allowed tribes to build health clinics, community and senior centers, and other types of beneficial infrastructure (fig. 8).

Photograph by Keith Hardin.

Fig. 7. Las Vegas Paiute Tribe's resort and golf course, north of Las Vegas, Nevada, 2017.

Photograph by Don Fowler.

Fig. 8. Reno-Sparks Indian Tribal Health Center, Reno, Nevada, 2016.

Little is known of the economic situation for nonreservation Native populations, although some of the socioeconomic studies for the Yucca Mountain nuclear waste repository generated data on this topic as well as on past and current health issues (Rusco and Hamby 1988). Several urban areas, like Las Vegas, Reno, Denver, Salt Lake City, and Boise, now have multitribal Indian centers that provide activities, health care, and other services.

Gender

Gender roles have been little explored except in studies on Southern Paiute women in the twentieth-century cash economy (Knack 1989) or on Washoe women as traditional knowledge carriers (Garey-Sage 1995; Rucks 2012). Because women (and a few men) are the principal producers of contemporary basketry, beadwork, and other traditional material arts, more research can be done on their roles in producing and marketing these materials. Men are more active as singers, and both men and women participate actively in traditional dancing and ceremonies, yet there is little literature on this important aspect of contemporary life. Both men and women are active in contemporary politics, but little has been written about their agendas and impacts on their communities, states, and federal processes.

Tribal Museums

Several tribal museums have been established since the early 1980s, such as the Southern Ute Cultural Center and Museum, the Pyramid Lake Paiute Museum and Visitor Center (fig. 9), the Museum at Warm Springs, the Shoshone-Bannock Tribal Museum, the Stewart Indian School Museum, and the Wind River Shoshone Tribal Cultural Center. Some exist in conjunction with other tribal enterprises; others were built to promote general awareness of tribal history and culture. These museums often market local arts and crafts, as do shops in urban settings, and they promote Indigenous artists' innovations in painting, sculpture, and jewelry.

Photograph by Don Fowler.

Fig. 9. Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribal Museum and Cultural Center, 2018.

Nontribal museums in the region also house permanent and temporary exhibitions that provide information on tribes and communities, such as the Nevada State Museum, the Natural History Museum of Utah, the Denver Museum of Nature and Science, and the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center (Hovens et al. 2010; Wroth 2000). Some tribal museums, along with tribal historic preservation offices and culture committees, have taken the lead in cultural revitalization programs in the areas of language, oral history and storytelling, song, dance, and arts and crafts, thereby promoting tribal cultural values within and outside their communities.

Linguistics and Languages

Catherine S. Fowler

The literature on Great Basin Indigenous or heritage languages has expanded substantially since 1986, including important additions to the descriptive record. The biggest change has been an increased focus on heritage language retention and revitalization, led largely by speakers and tribal communities that recognize that major efforts are required to see the region's languages safely through the twenty-first century. Another important topic has been the deep history of the Numic languages in the region, which continues to receive attention, especially from archaeologists.

Expanding Language Baselines

Several new grammars and dictionaries have appeared since 1986, improving the analytical record of the region's heritage languages. For the Numic languages (see Miller [1986] for divisions), these include, for the Central Branch, grammars for Timbisha or Panamint (Dayley 1989a; McLaughlin 2006) and Western Shoshone (Crum and Dayley 1993); for Shoshone in general (Elzinga 1999; McLaughlin 2012; Miller 1996); and for Comanche (Charney 1993; Robinson and Armogost 1990).

For the Western Branch, there is a grammatical sketch of the Northern Paiute's southern dialect (Yerington Paiute Tribe 1987), as well as dissertations on the Oregon Northern Paiute (Thornes 2003) and the

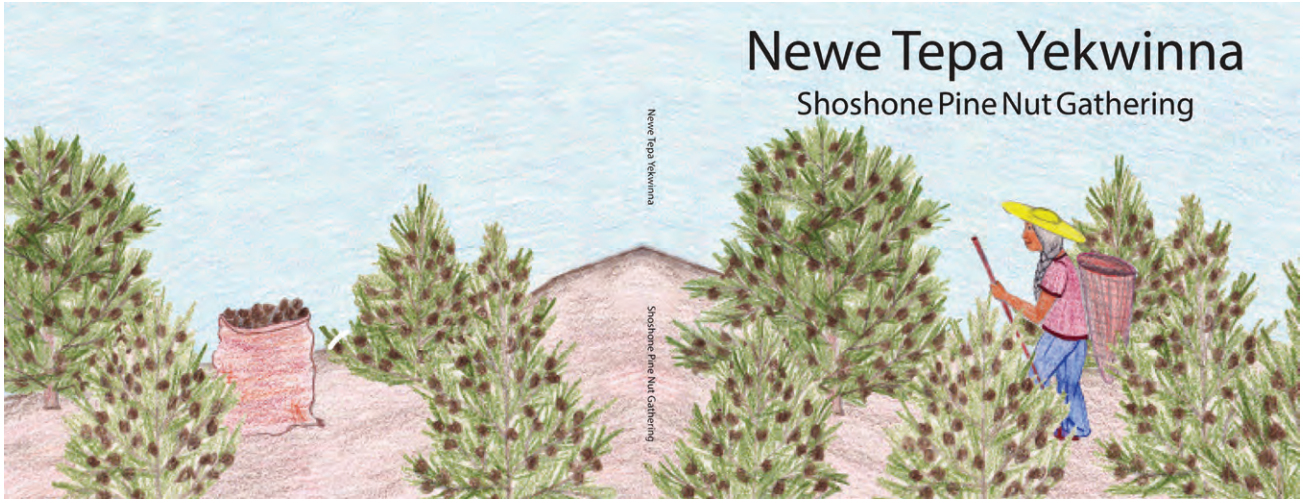
Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute; Norris 1986). For the Southern Numic, there are new grammars of Ute (Givon 2011) and Kawaiisu (Zigmond et al. 1991). Dictionaries and/or texts of these languages are sometimes included with the grammars, but separate dictionaries exist for Western Mono (Bethel et al. 1993), Southern Ute (Charney 1996), Tümbisha (Dayley 1989b), and Northern Paiute (Liljeblad et al. 2012; Poldevaart 1987).

The growth of the internet since 2000 has also changed access to linguistic resources in major ways—in particular, in the availability of online dictionaries. Idaho State University and the University of Utah maintain online Shoshoni dictionaries; smaller programs include the University of California, Santa Cruz's online dictionary for Northern Paiute and the University of Chicago dictionary for Washoe (a Hokan language). The first two sites also make available other language learning resources, such as lessons, texts (audio and visual), monolingual and bilingual books, DVDs, and games.

Language Retention and Revitalization

Since 1986, awareness of the loss of heritage languages in the region has increased dramatically. Several tribes, recognizing the urgency of the situation, have successfully applied for federal and private funding or have diverted precious tribal dollars to this purpose. Native Americans throughout the region see language as a major part of their ethnic and cultural identification, something that is uniquely theirs and therefore extremely important and valuable. Linguists and ethnologists working with the region's languages have joined in the preservation effort by advising programs and helping to produce materials (Crum and Miller [1992] 2011; Gould and Loether 2002; Jacobsen 1996).

The growth and development of tribal language revitalization programs have also led to many new materials on Great Basin Indigenous languages, some published and others made available through tribal programs. Examples of tribal programs, some long-standing, and others more intermittent, include those by the Owens Valley Career Development Center for Owens Valley Paiute; the Warm Springs Tribe, Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe, Reno-Sparks Indian Colony, Fallon, and Fort McDermitt Tribes for Northern Paiute; the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony for Western Shoshone and Washoe; Fort Hall for Shoshone and Bannock; Southern Ute and Ute Mountain for Ute; and the Washoe Tribe for Washoe. Approaches taken by these programs include formal weekly and weekend instruction, master-apprentice programs, language camps, and, occasionally, immersion schools (e.g., Wašiw Wagayay Maŋal). Most disseminate their curricula through various media, including print, audiotapes, videos, and DVDs (Abel 1988–1990; Crum and Miller [1992] 2011; Gould and Loether 2002; Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe 1999; Reno-Sparks Indian Colony 1999–2009); newspaper columns (Southern *Ute Drum*, various); illustrated storybooks (Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California 2014; Shoshoni Language Project 2015) (fig. 10); and computer programs.



Courtesy of Shoshoni Language Project, University of Utah.

Fig. 10. *Newe Tepa Yekwinna* (Shoshone Pine Nut Gathering) (2015) is one of 17 books written, illustrated, and published by the Shoshoni Language Project (SLP) at the University of Utah. The text was drafted by Bryan Hudson, and then edited and translated by Boyd Graham (Duckwater Shoshone Tribe) and Elwood Mose (South Fork Band of the Te-Moak Tribe of Western Shoshone), working with Marianna Di Paolo, director of the SLP and book series editor. The book was illustrated by Racheal Thacker, Shakea Jim, Amanda Francom, and Cora Burchett, advanced students in the SLP's Shoshone/Goshute Youth Language Apprenticeship Program.

Several tribal programs use websites to feature language resources and outlines of the curriculum for tribal members (e.g., the Ute Tribe [Utah], the Owens Valley Career Development Center, the Washoe Tribe of Nevada and California; see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.). Indigenous language conferences offer advice and demonstrate methods and materials to programs and teachers. The Great Basin Languages Conference, first held in 1997 at the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony, attracted participants from all surrounding states. A Shoshone (and Comanche) Gathering with a focus on language revitalization was also a biannual event in the early 2000s. The Shoshoni Language Project at the University of Utah, one of the largest and most varied in curriculum development and tribal assistance, has also sponsored intertribal language gatherings in recent years.

Indigenous people see the importance of integrating a cultural curriculum into language training, making renewal and revitalization efforts multifaceted. Tribal programs commonly embed cultural topics with language learning, especially during longer weekend activities and camps so that students absorb a variety of cultural practices along with related vocabulary and social routines. Since 2009, the University of Utah's Shoshoni Language Project has offered a summer youth apprenticeship program (SYLAP) that focuses on language and culture learning along with general education and high school and college preparation (https://shoshoniproject.utah.edu, active December 19, 2020).

A few states and universities also offer Indigenous language classes for credit: Idaho State University (in Shoshoni); University of Nevada, Reno (formerly in Washoe, presently in Northern Paiute); Western Nevada Community College (Washoe); and others. In 1997, Nevada became the first state in the region to award graduation credit on the secondary-school level for classes in Indigenous languages.

Deep History of Indigenous Languages

The topic of the geographic location and identity of languages spoken in the distant past in the Great Basin has continued to generate considerable interest. At the center of the debate is the hypothesized expansion of speakers of Numic languages into and across the region from the southern heartland and particularly the timing of this expansion (Miller 1986). Originally advanced by linguist Sidney Lamb (1958), this hypothesis suggests that the expansion occurred within the past millennium or two. Since the 1980s, some archaeologists have argued for dates as early as 7,000 BP or more but achieved little consensus (Madsen and Rhode 1994), and others have offered different scenarios based on additional lines of evidence (Ahlstrom and Roberts 2008; Fowler 2011; Merrill et al. 2009; Sutton 1993, 2000). Linguists have introduced alternative scenarios relative to one or more Numic languages as they have addressed their larger concerns with the early geography of Uto-Aztecan languages (J.H. Hill 2001, 2002; Shaul 2014; Stubbs 2011). The issue, aside from being an academic debate, may have implications for NAGPRA and other land negotiations for present-day tribes.

Conclusion

The years since the publication of the *Great Basin* volume (d'Azevedo 1986a) have seen continued inquiry into the multifaceted story of the long tenure of Indigenous people in the Great Basin region, investigations that have led to new and more nuanced understandings of that tenure. Excavations have pushed back the dating of the occupation of parts of the region to more than 14,000 calendar years ago. More sites have been recorded in more areas, while advances in excavation and recovery techniques and in technological methods have allowed for more precise dating and identification of materials. Concerted efforts to understand the association of rock art with archaeological sites and landscapes, and the development and differentiation of styles through time, have also allowed this little-used line of evidence to be better integrated into the larger picture of the region's early history.

Ethnographic/ethnological and historical work has proceeded at a slower pace but has resulted in some new understandings and directions. Some of the gaps in the nineteenth-century record of lifeways in the region have been filled, including profiles of groups residing near lakes and marshes and in hot desert environments less typical of the general portrait of early Great Basin life. Important new work on contemporary Native lifeways, previously sorely lacking, has improved understanding of this critical period.

Biographies and autobiographies of Indigenous peoples have contributed here as well. Work by Native historians has added new perspectives on the modern period and provided more nuanced interpretations of earlier times. As tribes continue to move into new business ventures and become more vocal locally and nationally, their impacts have measurably increased. They have a particularly vocal role in land and heritage issues, including inside and outside their immediate community and reservation borders, owing to custodial concern for their original homelands. Tribes are also taking the lead in preserving and revitalizing Native languages, a trend that will undoubtedly continue.

The pace of research, especially in archaeology, has accelerated, largely because most of the region lies on federal, tribal, and state lands, where historic preservation laws apply. The funding resulting from legislative mandates has stimulated much of this research and led to more collaborative efforts with tribes and their designates. This type of collaboration represents a major change since 1986 in how work has been conducted in the Great Basin region. Nonetheless, many analytical and scholarly advances are still being made by people not specifically engaged in these initiatives. The overall result has been an increase in new information, and there is little doubt that almost all investigations have led to a renewed awareness of the significance of the human and other resources available in the region and the need to work jointly to protect them for future generations. Indigenous peoples are no longer "locked out" from places viewed as "locked up" by past generations. Collaborative work toward understanding the region's deep history and significance should be the legacy for the future.

Additional Readings

The flow of publications related to the Great Basin region is immense and growing. For post-1986 summaries and compilations of *archaeological research* and new archaeological approaches, see Beck (1999), Beck and Jones (1997), Bettinger (1993), Condie and Fowler (1986), Fowler and Fowler (2008), Graf and Schmitt (2007), Grayson (2011), Griset (1986), Hemphill and Larsen (1999), Hockett (2009), Hughes (2011), Janetski and Madsen (1990), Kelly (1997), Lyneis (1995), Mack (1990), Madsen and Rhode (1994), Madsen and Simms (1997), Parezo and Janetski (2014), Rhode (2012), Simms (2008), Sutton et al. (2007), and Willig et al. (1988).

Sources employing the *diet-breadth model* include Barlow (2002, 2006), Broughton et al. (2008, 2011), Byers and Broughton (2004), Jones and Madsen (1991), Madsen and Kirkman (1988), Madsen and Schmitt (1998), Madsen et al. (1997), O'Brien and Liebert (2014), Rhode and Rhode (2015), Schmitt et al. (2004), Simms (1987), Ugan and Bright (2001), and Wandsnider (1997). *Central-place foraging models* inform research by Beck et al. (2002), Elston et al. (2014), Grimstead (2010), Jones and Madsen (1989), Kelly (1999), Madsen (2002), Rhode (1990, 2011), Thomas (2011a), and Zeanah (2000, 2004).

On the *marginal-value theorem* and allied models dealing with decision-making under conditions of diminishing returns, see Barlow and Metcalfe (1996), R.K. Beck (2008), Bettinger et al. (2006), Bright et al. (2002), Buonasera (2015), Codding et al. (2019b), Elston (1990), Hockett et al. (2013), Janetski (1997), Metcalfe and Barlow (1992), Shott (2015), Simms et al. (1997), Thoms (2009), and Ugan et al. (2003).

Publications utilizing *geoarchaeology* include Adams et al. (2008), Benson et al. (2013), J.O. Davis (1983), Duke and King (2014), Elston and Dugas (1993), Graf (2007), Huckleberry et al. (2001), Jenkins et al. (2014), Madsen et al. (2015), Pederson et al. (2014), Pinson (2008), Raven and Elston (1988, 1989), Shillito et al. (2018), Wriston and Smith (2017), Young (2008), and Zeanah et al. (2004). On new methods of chronology, including obsidian hydration and luminescence dating, see Basgall and Hall (2000), Beck and Jones (2009, 2015), Bettinger and Eerkens (1999), Delacorte (2008), Delacorte and Basgall (2012), Gilreath and Hildebrandt (1997, 2011), Hildebrandt and King (2012), Hockett (1995), Hockett and Murphy (2009), Holmer (1986), King (2016), J. King et al. (2011), McGuire et al. (2014), Pederson et al. (2014), Rhode (1994), Rogers (2010), Rogers and Yohe (2011), and Thomas (1981, 2013).

Sources on the quantification of *faunal remains* across the Great Basin region include Broughton and Grayson (1993), Broughton et al. (2011), Butler (1996, 2001), Butler and Delacorte (2004), Byers and Hill (2009), Grayson (1984, 1988, 1989, 1991a, 1991b, 1998), Greenspan (1998), Hockett (1991, 2007, 2015), Hockett and Jenkins (2013), Livingston (1989, 2001), Lyman (1988), Madsen and Kirkman (1988), Pinson (2007), Schmitt and Juell (1994), Schmitt and Lupo (2005, 2012), Sutton (1995), Thomas and Mayer (1983).

Inquiries into past subsistence and diets benefit from new methods in isotopic analyses (Coltrain and Leavitt 2002; Coltrain and Stafford 1999; Schoeninger 1999); identification of molecular and microscopic food residues such as proteins, fatty acids, phytoliths, pollen, starches, and ancient DNA (Cummings 1999; Duke 2015; Herzog and Lawlor 2016; Janetski and Newman 2000; Louderback 2014; Newman et al. 1993; Yohe et al. 1991); investigations of human fecal residues (e.g., Blong et al. 2020; Eiselt 1997; Gilbert et al. 2008; McDonough 2019; Rhode 2003; Shillito et al. 2020; Sutton 1998; Wigand 1997); and macrofloral analyses (e.g., Herzog et al. 2017; McDonough et al. 2022; Rhode 2001, 2008; Rhode and Louderback 2007; Scharf 2009; Stenholm 1999; Wigand and Mehringer 1985; Yoder et al. 2010).

For studies of the ancient *movement of goods and people* using new methods for tracing provenances of stone tools, ceramics, shell, turquoise, and perishable artifacts, see Benson et al. (2006), Bright et al. (2005), Eerkens et al. (2005, 2008), Fowler and Hattori (2012), Gilreath and Hildebrandt (1997), Haarklu

et al. (2005), Harry et al. (2013), Hughes (1986, 1990, 2001, 2005, 2010, 2011, 2014), Jones et al. (1997), J. King et al. (2011), Lyons et al. (2003), Newlander (2015), Page and Duke (2015), Scharlotta (2010), and C.N. Watkins (2006). New data on the transport distances of materials, home ranges and mobility patterns, exchange, and interaction networks are presented in Adovasio (1986, 2012), Basgall (1989), R.K. Beck (2008), Beck et al. (2002), Beck and Jones (2011), Bennyhoff and Hughes (1987), Delacorte and Basgall (2012), Eerkens (2012), Eerkens et al. (2007), Hughes (2011, 2014), Janetski (1990, 2002), Janetski et al. (2011), Jones et al. (2003, 2012), Jones and Madsen (1989), Kelly (2011), McGuire (2002, 2007), McGuire et al. (2012, 2014), Page and Duke (2015), Rhode (2011), Roberts and Ahlstrom (2012), Sakai (2014), Shott (2015), G.M. Smith (2010, 2011), Smith et al. (2013a), and Thomas (2012).

Other examples of research on *early peopling* of the Great Basin (not covered in this chapter) include Adams et al. (2008), Beck and Jones (1997, 1999, 2009), Connolly (1999), Davis et al. (2012, 2019), Duke (2011), Duke and King (2014), Elston and Zeanah (2002), Elston et al. (2014), Geib and Jolie (2009), Goebel et al. (2011), Graf and Schmitt (2007), Hockett et al. (2008), Huckleberry et al. (2001), Janetski et al. (2012), Jones and Beck (2014), McGuire and Stevens (2017), Pinson (2007, 2008, 2011), Rhode et al. (2006), Smith (2010, 2011), Smith and Barker (2017), Smith and Kielhofer (2011), Smith et al. (2013), and Willig et al. (1988).

On the role of ancient *wetlands and wetland-based resources*, see Ahlstrom (2005, 2008), Butler (1996), Butler and Delacorte (2004), Delacorte (1999), Duke and King (2014), Elston and Dugas (1993), Greenspan (1998), Hemphill and Larsen (1999), Janetski (1986), Janetski and Madsen (1990), Kelly (1995b, 2001, 2011), Larsen and Kelly (1995), Madsen (2002, 2016), Madsen and Kelly (2008), Oetting (1999), Raven and Elston (1988, 1989), Rhode (2003), and Thomas (1985).

Examples of *ethnographic* studies carried out through the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology at the University of Arizona with Indigenous consultants include Stoffle et al. (1988, 1990, 1997, 2000, 2001), Stoffle and Zedeño (2001), and Zedeño et al. (2006). Others were conducted with the Washoe at Lake Tahoe (d'Azevedo 2008; Rucks 1999); at Capitol Reef National Monument, Utah (Sucec 2005); at Fish Lake, Utah (Janetski et al. 1999); at the White Knife toolstone quarry, Nevada (Elston 2008; Rusco and Raven 1992); and among the Timbisha Shoshone in Death Valley National Park (Crum 1998; Fowler 1996, 2019; Fowler et al. 2003). Such studies and consultations continue to be carried out routinely with affected tribes. See Bengston (2019) for a recent assessment and Baldrica et al. (2019) for additional citations.

Examples of contributions on *Indigenous arts* include Cohodas (2015) and Gardner (2017). Hebner (2010) adds biographical sketches, and to *languages* include McLaughlin (1987, 2000)

Names of Indigenous groups used here are not always official tribal names. Most tribes now maintain their own websites, with Indigenous names of their choice.

Plateau: Trends in Ethnocultural Research from the 1990s

DAVID W. DINWOODIE

The *Plateau* regional volume in the *Handbook of North American Indians* series (Walker 1998) synthesized previous research to show unequivocally that organized Native American societies had been established in North America long before European entry into the area; that they developed, transformed, and reconfigured themselves over the course of thousands of years; and that—though they were dramatically affected by colonial practices—many continue as vital presences to this day. The volume also raised many basic issues of continuing interest for contemporary Native American research. This chapter assesses the lasting contributions of the *Plateau* volume of 1998, the shifting cultural dynamics stimulated by dramatic recent political and economic transformations of the Plateau region divided between the United States and Canada, and research trends since the 1990s, including the recuperation and renewal of culture and language, environmental history, colonial studies, and historical constructionism (fig. 1).

Contributions of the *Plateau* Volume

As the economic functions of sourcing, production, and consumption have been separated in the era of post–Cold War globalization, the North American Pacific Northwest—to which the Plateau region is connected as its continental "hinterland"—has witnessed the growth of the service sector and the decline of traditional natural resource extraction industries, both in the United States and Canada. Also notable after 1990 were the growth of Indian gaming and the aboriginal heritage activities; the quick rise of reservation-based nongambling industries; the decline of logging, mining, and pulp and paper production; and the diminished economic role of farming and ranching. These economic shifts—along with changes in the regulation and oversight of forestry, ranching, mining, hydroenergy, public land management, and tribal development since 1990—have stimulated running political disputes and lawsuits increasingly centered on identity-based rights. In this context, issues like culture, language, identity, and history—and in particular *aboriginal* culture, identity, and history—have become increasingly salient as well as increasingly divisive and contested in the public domain, in Canada and the United States, alike.

By the time of the publication of the *Plateau* volume (Walker 1998), the editor and many of the volume lead contributors (Lillian Ackerman; Kenneth M. Ames; Randall T. Bouchard; William W. Elme dorff; David H. French; Katherine S. French; Eugene S. Hunn; Dorothy Kennedy; Bruce J. Rigsby; Helen H. Schuster; Allan P. Slickpoo, Sr.; Roderick Sprague; Theodore Stern; and Deward E. Walker, Jr., to name but a few) had built productive careers in research and publishing on various aspects of aboriginal life on the Plateau. Anthropologists, along with linguists and historians, worked with, or on behalf of, tribes on a variety of matters, as recognized tribes grew to be pivotal players in the region.

At the same time, regional institutions have invested heavily in research on aboriginal culture and history. Supported by tribes and institutions, many of these scholars of aboriginal culture and history stayed and advanced through the ranks during the 1980s and 1990s. This "great generation" of Plateau researchers eventually achieved real influence that allowed Deward E. Walker, Jr., *Plateau* volume editor, and his collaborators to produce an acclaimed synthesis of the previously little-documented Native societies of the Plateau region (fig. 2). They perceptively identified characteristic regional cultural patterns; established temporal and spatial parameters for the internal distribution of Native groups and tribal networks; and did their best to theoretically integrate the findings of archaeology, linguistics, and sociocultural anthropology. While the present day offers possibilities for research in new areas—like the increasing tribal participation in cultural and heritage studies and greater tribal control over cultural patrimony—it is difficult to imagine that the future holds the prospect of a broad overview of the Plateau region on a scale comparable to that achieved in the *Plateau* volume.

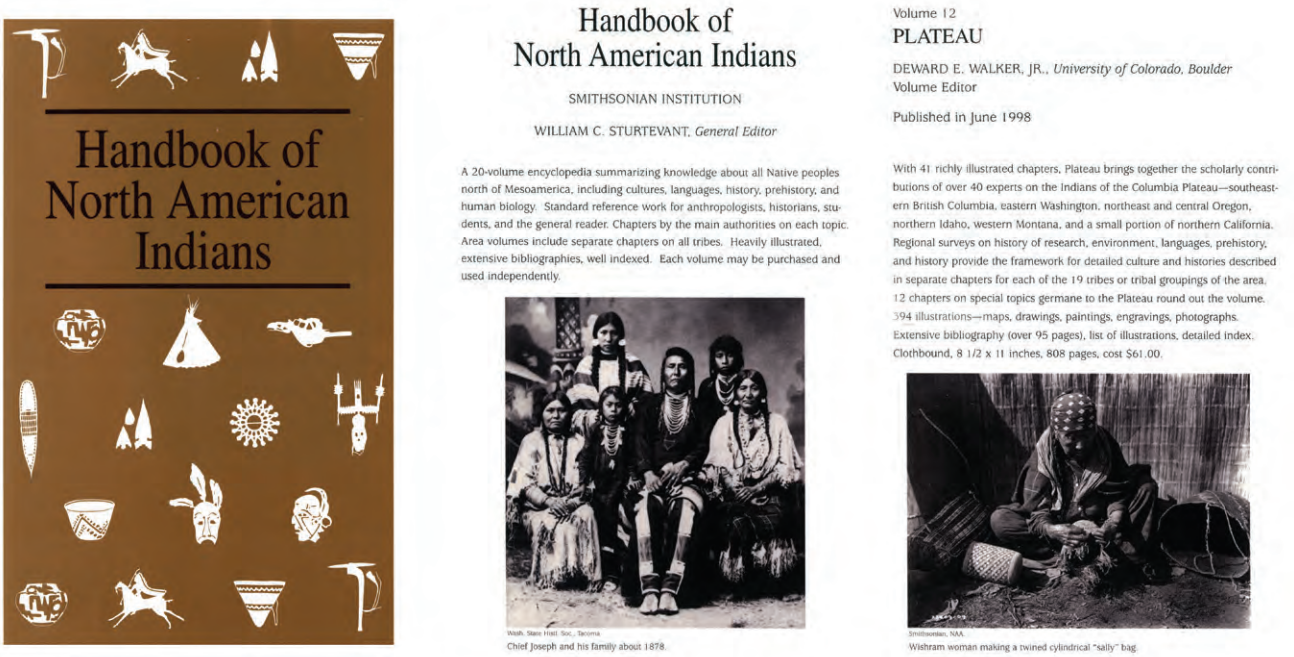
Map by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History. Adapted from *Handbook* vol. 12, *Plateau* (Walker 1998:ix).

Fig. 1. Plateau culture area.

Plateau Volume Limitations

Ambiguous Treatment of Aboriginal Sociopolitical Organization

Although the *Plateau* volume (Walker 1998) was strong both overall and in terms of its individual entries, it had several notable limitations. Its chapters created ambiguity about the character of sociopolitical organization in aboriginal history. In effect, the volume advanced three positions. First, it argued that, before the nineteenth century, the enduring *cultural pattern* in the area centered not on "tribes," a form of organization widely assumed to be typical of Indigenous peoples, but on village-based riverine (linear) settlement patterns, shared use of subsistence resources, extension of kinship ties through intermarriage throughout the area, trade links, and limited political integration. Second, it asserted that the *political* organization of the Plateau people was centered on "tribes" and that



Courtesy of Joanna Cohan Scherer.

Fig. 2. Promotional brochure for *Plateau,* volume 12 of the *Handbook* series, 1998.

Plateau tribes have a long and continuous history in the region (Walker 1998:1, 25–26, and "The Peoples" section, which is structured around tribes). Third, the volume argued that linear riverine settlements across the Plateau in the earlier era gave way to territorial tribalism during the Euro-American colonial phase (Walker 1998:3, 138–173).

Each of these positions had some application, and in principle, all could be understood in relation to each other as elements of a larger theory of the political transformation of regional Native societies. Yet as the *Plateau* volume was written and structured, the relationships among the three positions were not clearly addressed and at times were in clear conflict. As a result, these primary characteristics of the area as identified in the volume became subordinate or incidental to its structure. Reinforcing the *Handbook* series treatment of the tribes as the building units for all regional volumes, the *Plateau* volume's general map represented "tribal territories" rather than villages or linear settlements.

For the most part, the volume portrayed the Plateau culture area as a region marked by enduring cultural patterns, including a reliance on salmon and roots and the sharing of values such as pacifism and political independence (Walker 1998:1–7, 10–17). There is, however, another way to view this culture area. It can be seen as an upland region transected by two great river corridors, a region characterized by movement, flux, trade, extended networks, regional divisions of labor and resources, complexity, indigenous cosmopolitanism, and diversity (see Boyd 1996:73). The structural supremacy of the tribe-based model of political organization may have obscured the potential for using the linear riverine settlement pattern as a vehicle for conceptualizing the Plateau as a culture area. In any case, it is interesting to ponder an observation that the culture area's "most striking feature was its interregional nature, involving traffic in the products of distinct natural and cultural areas" (Stern 1993:18).

The *Handbook* volumes' tribe-based structure raises a concern for the twenty-first century. As globalization proceeds and as American and Canadian societies grow and change, the recognized Native tribes in both countries are likely to face an array of political and legal challenges. From the standpoint of the ongoing politics of recognition, it is critical to realize that none of the three positions advanced in the *Plateau* volume (Walker 1998) represented a political silver bullet.

It is now widely assumed that the position based on the existence of ancient tribes—that is, the second position described above—is morally superior and politically indispensable. In the twenty-first century, it is instrumental in supporting Native tribal recognition and in protecting contemporary tribal sovereignty because it resonates with the idea that legitimate modern nation-states arise from ancient families or communities. Nevertheless, a rich worldwide literature illustrates that this idea of "state formation" is

a nineteenth-century European political ideal not an ancient aboriginal political reality (Hobsbawm 1987).

Seeing precontact aboriginal polities as precursors to U.S. and Canadian recognized tribes is a form of retrospective projection that effectively subsumes the aboriginal past within a modern political ideology (Silverstein 1996). Moreover, asserting the continuity of ancient tribes potentially legitimizes as "Indigenous" those introduced practices through which tribes have been recognized and sustained as colonial/postcolonial institutions, including American and Canadian treaty making, the New Deal establishment of tribal governments, and the recent array of self-government policies (Fisher 2010; Harmon 2000, 2008). For this reason, the uncritical emphasis on the ancient bases of aboriginal nations can be viewed as an externally imposed form of colonial domination (Biolsi 1991).

The linear settlement position could conceivably be used to question the historical basis of contemporary tribes; nevertheless, as expressed by anthropologists, it is generally held to be consistent with affirming the authenticity of aboriginal politics and the legitimacy of Plateau tribes as organizations representing clusters of locally autonomous polities. Due to their linear riverine orientation, this position offers a path to the recognition of the large population of people of mixed Indigenous or Indigenous/European descent, whose circumstances have defied their incorporation into the Indian tribal frameworks of American policy (Fisher 2010). It also illuminates the enduring orientation to riverine practices and riverine networks among so many members of contemporary recognized tribes.

If nationalism was not a factor either as a primordial condition of ethnolinguistic order, nor as a print mediated political doctrine, stirrings of nationality certainly arose in the circumstances of colonial contact. The process remains to be explicitly addressed for the region as a whole; nonetheless, Native people's construction of ethnolinguistic identities in course of the shifting colonial history was an empirically attested feature of Plateau ethnohistory (Anastasio 1972; Boyd 1996:33, 73; D.W. Dinwoodie 1998, 2002, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2013, 2015; Fisher 2010; Hunn 1990a; Steward 1938). Careful studies reveal that despite often being at a technological disadvantage, Native nations of the Plateau area have acted decisively and effectively to address distinct historical challenges. Throughout contact history, they have been effective historical actors and, at times, brilliant strategists. They have long been "modern"—they are not fated to be primitive wards of modern states. These political considerations are neither simple nor permanent; it would be a serious mistake to allow the ostensible political certainties of the day to necessarily override systematic empirical inquiry.

Native Voices Not Historically Situated

Another shortcoming of the *Plateau* volume, that was typical of the entire *Handbook* series, was that it included Native American voices to only a certain extent, failing for the most part to examine Indigenous perspectives as integral to the sociopolitical dynamics of Plateau history. Native voices were represented in some ways in certain chapters (Frey and Hymes 1998; Walker and Schuster 1998; Olsen 1998) but neither universally nor with equal strength**.** Notably, thanks to the work of Johanna Cohan Scherer, the *Handbook* illustrations researcher, Native presence and agency were featured in many of the volume's historical photographs, particularly those showing individuals in important roles, such as religious leaders, dancers, or political actors in historical events.

Still, in its overall analysis of the contours of history, the *Plateau* volume followed Kroeber's general culture area approach, providing broad chronological sequences for peoples without "written history"—an approach that, by avoiding focusing on events and individuals, turned attention away from historically engaged Native voices (Kroeber 1923a, 1931, 1939; Walker 1998:1–3, 11–17).

At the same time, by productively linking biological, archaeological, linguistic, sociocultural, historical, and demographic perspectives on the Plateau, the 1998 *Handbook* volume pointed to the prospect of more fruitful mutual engagement among disciplines, subspecialties, and cultural stakeholders. In particular, it outlined new possibilities in terms of recent history, including religious and political revitalization and the integration of ethnohistory, political anthropology, and linguistics. Such collaborative work across disciplines and subfields makes it imperative to tribal scholars and academics to work together in the twenty-first century, in order to advance a new theoretical understanding of Plateau aboriginal history and future.

Political-Economic Factors Underlying Post-1990 Cultural Dynamics

On both sides of the U.S.-Canadian border, most Native Americans in the Plateau area face racial segregation and high rates of poverty and will certainly continue to do so into the future. Nevertheless, a broad vision of Native American and First Nations life in the new century goes beyond social stigma and economic marginality. The growth of tribal gaming since

the 1990s has been dramatic, and the rise of Native American businesses in nongaming economic activities on reservations has also been unprecedented.

Between 1990 and 2000, median Native household incomes rose 35 percent on gaming reservations and 36 percent on nongaming reservations (Keohane 2006). Legislation has increased tribal governments' material resources and political wherewithal; these laws include the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988, the Indian Self-Determination Act of 1994 (an affirmation and augmentation of Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975), the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990, and the Native American Languages Act of 1990 (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). The cumulative effect has been the expansion of tribal governments and tribal enterprises in both Canada and the United States, a qualitative change in the roles tribes play in local economies and politics, a rise in the visibility of tribal institutions such as schools and museums, and an increased presence in many spheres of Pacific Northwest life of a new Native American "bourgeoisie." The role of casinos and the exercise of tribal sovereignty are particularly noteworthy (Cattelino 2008b; Harmon 2013). In the public spheres of the middle classes, a pattern of desegregation is widely in evidence.

Since the 1990s, well-organized and relatively well-funded tribes have actively sought to protect aboriginal rights across the U.S. portion of the Plateau area. In the greater Columbia River Basin, a major focus has been the legal pursuit of water rights. Within the U.S. Plateau area, aboriginal water rights have derived from two sources: the Winters Doctrine (the principle that water rights are implied in the establishment of reservations for purposes such as agriculture, even when no water rights are formally stated) and off-reservation fishing rights. These fishing rights are explicitly recognized in most of the treaties negotiated by Isaac I. Stevens (b. 1818, d. 1862), appointed governor of the Washington Territory, across the Columbia Basin in the 1850s (R.P. Osborn 2013). Given the aridity of the region, the wide extent of irrigated agriculture, and the growth of urban demand for water, aboriginal water rights litigation is at the very center of political conflict today with many cases being regularly reported in the regions newspapers (Devlin 2014).

Changes are afoot in Canada as well, although so far they are more political than economic and have not yet improved the overall quality of life of most First Nations people to the degree seen in the United States. Aboriginal self-government was recognized in Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution Act of 1982. Since then, self-government policy has been instrumental in the development of social services and housing. The framework for advancing self-government has been the negotiation of self-government agreements (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada 2017). Nonetheless, while things are clearly moving on the Canadian side, significant differences in the configuration of the Canadian and American economies, not to mention the obvious difference in size, have left the Canadian Plateau First Nations relatively poor. As a result, First Nations people have mobilized in new ways to protest federal neglect. Beginning at the end of 2012, a web-based effort known as Idle No More has been remarkably successful in mobilizing aboriginal youth and in reaching the Canadian general public (Idle No More n.d.; see "Social Media," this vol.).

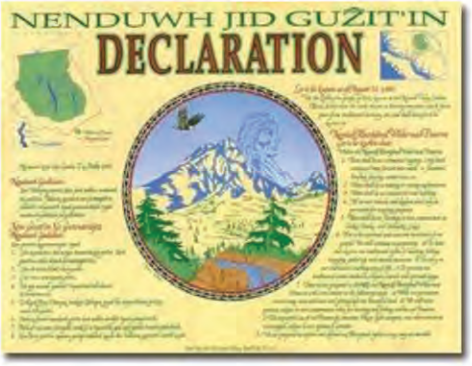
Although the federal government has encouraged negotiation instead of adversarial litigation, litigation and Supreme Court of Canada rulings have also played a major role. In 2014, the Court ruled that the Tsilhqot'in, formerly known as Chilcotin (Lane 1981), hold aboriginal title to their land and have done so continuously throughout the European presence. This decision represented the first outright recognition of a specific aboriginal title in Canadian history (Coates and Newman 2014a, 2014b) (figs. 3, 4).

This case and others like it have changed the political landscape in Canada since the 1974 ruling that affirmed that the Nisga'a nation likely held title to their land in 1858, when the colonial government first came into existence (Anderson 2009; Tennant 1990:220–221). Strategic use of oral history and linguistic, historical, and ethnographic evidence has been key to such cases. With a profound awareness of the strategic value of such material, lawyers have advised Native American and First Nations tribes and bands to carefully oversee anthropological research. This situation has discouraged independent academic research and peer-reviewed scholarly publications and opened a vibrant market in private, non-peer-reviewed research, a subject that has not yet received the attention it warrants.

The growing political and economic roles of recognized bands and tribes in the region, and the expansion of the Native middle class, have not increased opportunities for all tribal members. Moreover, many people of Native descent across the Plateau area are not members of recognized tribes. And within confederated tribes, there exist various degrees of citizenship, leaving some groups and individuals at the margins of development. Another contributing factor is the less than full acceptance of contemporary expectations regarding tribal rights and conduct by tribal members in the region. Even many members of recognized tribes continue a historically attested pattern of traveling widely throughout the area, visiting relatives, and taking various forms

Nenduwh Jid Guzitin Declaration

Nemiah Aboriginal Wilderness Preserve



Let it be known that:

Within the Nemiah Aboriginal Wilderness Preserve:

- There shall be no commercial logging. Only local cutting of trees for our own needs. i.e.firewood, housing, fencing, native uses, etc.
- There shall be no mining or mining explorations.
- There shall be no commercial road building.
- All terrain vehicles and skidoos shall only be permitted for trapping purposes.
- There shall be no flooding or dam construction on Chilko, Taseko, and Tatlayoko Lakes.
- This is the spiritual and economic homeland of our people. We will continue in perpetuity:
    - To have and exercise our traditional rights of hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, and natural resources.
    - To carry on our traditional ranching way of life.
    - To practice our traditional native medicine, religion, sacred, and spiritual ways.
- That we are prepared to SHARE our Nemiah Aboriginal Wilderness Preserve with non-natives in the following ways:
    - With our permission visitors may come and view and photograph our beautiful land.
    - We will issue permits, subject to our conservation rules, for hunting and fishing within our Preserve.
    - The respectful use of our Preserve by canoeists, hikers, light campers, and other visitors is encouraged subject to our system of permits.
- We are prepared to enforce and defend our Aboriginal rights in any way we are able.

Courtesy of David W. Dinwoodie.

Fig. 3. New Signage for the Land Claims Era. top left, “We the Chilcotin People of Nemiah Valley . . .” top right, 1989 declaration with English translation, featured on the “Friends of the Nemaiah Valley” website (http://www.fonv.ca/nemaiahvalley/nenduwhjidguzitindeclaration/, accessed February 17, 2022). bottom, Copy of the original 1989 Nenduwh Jid Guzitin Declaration of the Nemaiah Valley Indian Band (later Xeni Gwet’in First Nations Government).

Photograph by Agnes Jack, courtesy of Annie C. Williams.

Fig. 4. Annie C. Williams, first female chief of the Nemaiah Valley Indian Band (known today as Xeni Gwet'in First Nations Government). As chief from October 1988 to February 1991, Williams initiated the legal effort to gain recognition for Tsilhqot'in aboriginal rights. This eventually led to the landmark 2014 Canadian Supreme Court decision recognizing Tsilhqot'in aboriginal title.

of short-term or seasonal employment (Boyd 1996:73–78). Away from their home reservations, these people do not have full access to local tribal institutions.

Finally, by the beginning of the twenty-first century, the resource-based industries that traditionally employed many Native workers had declined throughout the region. Poverty rates remain high, even on reservations with successful enterprises. Just as in the broader American and Canadian societies, economic growth in tribal societies is in evidence in many areas, but not everyone reaps the benefits.

Research Trends from the 1990s

Since the publication of the *Plateau* volume (Walker 1998), four main research trends regarding the aboriginal peoples of the Plateau area have been evident: recuperation and renewal of Indigenous cultures and languages, environmental history, colonialism, and historical constructionism. While each of these trends has precursors in the earlier research, each also responds to the sociopolitical transformations since 1998.

Continuing Recuperation and Renewal of Cultures and Languages

Long-standing efforts to document and revive Native languages have given rise to a flow of important publications in the past three decades, including the monumental *Nez Perce Dictionary* (Aoki 1994), the *Yakima Sahaptin Dictionary* (Beavert et al. 2009), and the *Umatilla Dictionary* (Rude 2014), published in collaboration with the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, Laurence C. Thompson and his associates organized the Northwest Survey to support research on and publication of grammars and grammatical sketches for many of the Salishan languages of the Plateau and Northwest Coast (Czaykowska-Higgens and Kincade 1998:6). This team established professional linguistic traditions for many Salish languages; though several of its members have since passed away, the work continues for some groups. Complementing dictionaries and grammars, recent publications (Egesdahl 1992; Mattina and DeSautel 2002) included meticulously recorded Native language texts with the documentation of performance settings and times. These texts, rich in ethnographic and historical content, are based on long-term collaborations between scholars and tribal experts. As such, they provide documentation of Native voice expressed in Native languages.

David H. French (b. 1918, d. 1994), the pioneer of ethnoscientific research for the Plateau area (French 1957, 1965), encouraged the subsequent generation of students and collaborators, such as Eugene S. Hunn and Nancy J. Turner (Moore et al. 2018). Hunn spearheaded work in Plateau ethnobiology (Hunn 1990a) and was instrumental in documenting traditional place names in the Sahaptin language (Hunn 1994,1996). This work contributed to a revival of anthropologists' interest in Native concepts of space and place names across North America (Basso 1996; Kari and Fall 1987; Thornton 2015). Turner's work expanded the documentation of Plateau people's Indigenous knowledge of plant use and plant biology (Turner 1998) and raised awareness of the intellectual complexity of Indigenous cultural traditions.

Another prominent Plateau researcher, Lillian A. Ackerman (1982, 1994, 1998), explored the roles of women and men in traditional and contemporary tribal societies that practice gender equality with equal access to power, authority, and autonomy (Ackerman 2003). Her work can be seen as an extension of long-running efforts in this field, going back to the 1930s, with the Plateau-based research by Allan H. Smith (b. 1913, d. 1999) on the Kalispel tribal community of the Kalispel Reservation in northeast Washington state, now preserved primarily in Smith's unpublished field notes and manuscripts on file with the Kalispel Tribe in Usk, Washington (Lahren 1998).

New Wave of Recuperation and Renewal of Cultures and Languages

• BACKGROUND Many recent efforts in cultural and linguistic documentation are tied to current legal and political issues, particularly to efforts to affirm Native tribes' historical claims to their homelands. Across Native North America, the rise of the service economy, tourism, and tribal casinos propelled the development of the twin phenomena of tribal casinos and museums, institutions in which Native peoples craft "counter-histories" (Bodinger de Uriarte 2007:217). The tribes use these performance venues to "(re)invent traditions" and to craft new histories in service of their nation building. The growing number of tribal museums and cultural centers (well over 150 in the United States and about 40 in Canada, as of 2010; see Abrams 2004:35; Cooper and Sandoval 2006:98–114; Jorgensen 2012; Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008:339–341) have self-consciously tried to generate "practices and representations that can offer substantive alternatives to stereotypic or anachronistic images of Native peoples" (Bowechop and Erikson 2005:264). These new processes and voices shape the ideological context underlying a new wave of recuperative research across the Plateau region.

• COLLABORATIVE EFFORTS Native scholarship takes an increasingly prominent role in historical ethnographic publications, including *Wiyaxayxt/Wiyaakaa'an/As Days Go By: Our History, Our Land, and Our People* (Karson 2006), with twin chapters authored by Native and non-Native scholars, and the Native place name atlas, *Chaw Pawa Laakni They Are Not Forgotten*, with authorship shared by Native and non-Native scholars (Hunn et al. 2015).

In another collaborative effort, ethnographic portrait of the Schitsu'umsh (Coeur d'Alene Tribe), the mixed team of contributors sought to document "the quintessential aspects of Schitsu'umsh culture" rather than "adaptations" or "assimilations" from Euro-American society (Frey et al. 2001:14). An analysis of the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition coauthored by the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee and Elders Cultural Advisory Council stated that "native perspectives on the Lewis and Clark Expedition are best revealed through the particular lens of each tribe" (Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee 2005:xii). The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribe that operates the KwaTaqNuk Resort and Casino and Grey Wolf Peak Casino both on Highway 93, the route to the Glacier National Park, appealed to their elders to "tell us that this was and is our land, the place prepared for us by Coyote, the place where we have lived for a very long time, . . . and (where) we were and are a sovereign nation (Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee 2005:xii). Such collaboration is a notable feature of many, but not all, recent recuperation and renewal projects.

Most recent recuperation and renewal efforts aim to reconstruct individual Indigenous languages and cultures. Whether this primary focus on single languages and cultures is suited to highlighting Plateau aboriginal history in its full complexity remains an open question (Silverstein 1996). Anthropologists and historians have long recognized the cosmopolitanism of life in Plateau history (Brinkman 2003; Hunn 1990a, 1990b; Peterson and Peers 1993; Ray 1939, 1960; Stern 1993, 1996, 1998). People of mixed descent moved out of the Columbia District trade region, forming mixed settlements called Frenchtowns, starting in the Willamette Valley in the 1820s, as American settlers flooded the region to the east in the hinterland areas of Walla Walla, Deer Lodge, and Missoula (D.H. Dinwoodie 1995; D.W. Dinwoodie 2010b; Gibson 1985:130; Roth 1994). Families of aboriginal descent across the Plateau, both on reservations and off, often identify themselves as Métis, of both French and Scottish varieties, and actively celebrate their Métis heritage (Fort Connah Restoration Society 2012; Frenchtown Historical Foundation 2012; Goulet and Goulet 2008; Hunter 1996; Jackson 1995).

Sizable aboriginal groups, like the Columbia River Indians, have formed around common practices rather than commonalities of language, culture, or even tribal affiliation (Fisher 2010). In other words, trade, movement, contact, shared practices, conflict, transculturation, and cross-cultural communication are the bases of current and historical recuperation and renewal as much as are Indigenous languages or cultural traditions. Yet these processes receive little attention in anthropological literature.

In fact, the recuperation and renewal of culture models has been increasingly questioned by many who believe that the force driving social life among Indigenous peoples is not "tradition" but rather the insistent realities of contemporary capitalism (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:84). This point is not to invalidate tribal incorporation by contrasting it with a precapitalist past. Indeed, the argument is that in the present-day capitalist world cultural viability is predicated on commodification and that Indigenous people are doing nothing more than engaging with and exploring the real conditions in which they live. In some cases, ethnic incorporation can lead to a more viable class configuration, greater overall wealth, increased stability, and greater investment in culture and linguistic

recuperation and renewal. In others, ethnic incorporation results in growing inequalities, social destabilization, and the alienation of culture and language from their rightful heirs.

Environmental History

• BACKGROUND Environmental history has arisen as a major research impulse in the Plateau area since the 1990s owing in no small part to the influence of historian Richard White and the Portland-based periodical *Pacific Historical Review*. White defined the emerging field of environmental history as developing a focus on the "reciprocal influences of a changing nature and a changing society" (White 1985:323; Johnson 2001:56). As is evident from this characterization, environmental history has become almost anthropological in its ambitions, and it addresses questions of great interest to anthropology, such as the mutual construction of environment and society. One example was White's own influential research exploring the construction of the modern Columbia River region, the east–west axis of the southern Plateau, as a hybrid material-natural system (White 1995:113).

• RECENT WORK Since the publication of the *Plateau* volume (Walker 1998), work on environmental history by both Native experts and non-Native legal scholars has taken several new directions, including examination of Native Americans' active management of their land and resources (Boyd 1996) (fig. 5) and their historical presence as a factor shaping conflicts over the Columbia River corridor (Dupris et al. 2006; Lang and Carriker 1999). Political issues arising from the construction of the Dalles Dam on the Columbia River and the subsequent flooding of the area around Celilo Falls on the border between Washington and Oregon States have been explored (Barber 2005; Ulrich 1999). A study that blended oral history with historical sources was written by an author descending from the Kiksht-speaking eastern Chinookans who lived and worked in the fishing grounds of the Columbia River at Five Mile Rapids in Oregon (Aguilar 2005).

Photograph by David W. Dinwoodie.

Fig. 5. Francis William, Christine Lulua, and their son John Conway Lulua gill netting under the ice at Delgi Choish, Under-Ice Fishing, Nemaiah Valley, also known as Xeni. Winter 1991.

Environmental history was the focus of several volumes by Spokane-based writer and naturalist Jack Nisbet, who has worked closely with his Native colleagues among the Spokan (Spokane) tribe, in particular to connect nature to human endeavor (Nisbet 1994, 2004, 2009). His work has featured Indian people as central figures in the complex contact history of the region, including their interaction with notable early scientists, like botanist David Douglas (b. 1799, d. 1834), the premier explorer of the region and the eponym of the Douglas fir.

For the Canadian Plateau region, recent studies documented the processes through which Native lands were mapped and reconfigured, people dispossessed of their land, and Indians relocated on parcels delineated according to colonial interests (Harris 2002). A survey of changing species range and animal conservation in British Columbia (Thistle 2015) explored the effort to regulate wild horses and grasshoppers on Crown lands as forms of social regulation, practices intended to dispossess First Nations people of property rights (including ownership of horses) and of the right to access public lands beyond reserve allocations.

These and similar works have advanced explorations in environmental history of the "reciprocal influences of a changing nature and a changing society" and revealed its great capacity for illuminating Native American history. They also contribute to an important new approach that documents past practices of the colonial era as factors in shaping the social inequalities of the present. Yet there is a tendency to represent past aboriginal land use as "natural" or "environmentally beneficial" in order to highlight the "social" or politically motivated, that is, colonial and destructive character of practices of the contact period. As such, they at times rely on "naturalistic" or ahistorical understandings of aboriginal life.

Colonial Studies

• BACKGROUND Another critical research impulse of the first two decades of the twenty-first century has been the study of colonialism, with a special focus on the impact of colonialism on Indigenous cultures, languages, and environments of the Plateau. The general thrust of such studies is to show that Europeans, including American and Canadian pioneers, should be seen as "foreign invaders" who sought to exploit Native

societies to enrich European elites (see Osterhammel 2010:16–17). This understanding is broad enough to be applied to the many forms of colonial domination, from early Portuguese colonial trade along the coasts of Africa and Asia, to Spanish mission-based reductions in Central and South America, to Dutch spice-oriented colonialism in Southeast Asia, and to British colonial rule in India, to name but a few.

Much of the recent literature on colonialism in the Plateau region proceeds without any description of what it meant to the Plateau people, even under the broadest established definition (Osterhammel 2010). Colonial studies on the Plateau, as elsewhere, "have begun as a field to fill one of the most notable blind spots in the Western world's examination of its history" (Cooper 2005:3). Though Western colonial expansion too often brought disease and destruction to Indigenous peoples worldwide, in the situations that were not comprehensively and deliberately destructive—as in many places across the North American West—evidence reveals that Native peoples responded to Western colonial expansion promptly and often effectively. As they engaged with their new political environment, Native people adopted new technologies and developed new practices, alliances, and geographies. They quickly reorganized politically to deal with colonial impositions. The Plateau people have long been shaped by colonial practices that have been more widely addressed among Canadian historians than by their American colleagues.

Bringing the study of colonialism into the anthropology and history of the Plateau was a critical development of the last decade of the twentieth century and the beginning of the new millennium (figs. 6, 7). Yet, despite this emerging emphasis on the history and anthropology of colonialism, studies of colonialism and Native cultures in the Plateau region remain limited. The bulk of the new colonial research assumes a "settler colonial studies" approach focusing on large-scale population movements and settlements that take place under an overtly colonial power structure. This narrative commonly involved the European (that is, Euro-American) settlers dispossessing earlier inhabitants or instituting legal and other arrangements that appropriated the principle of "indigenous sovereignty" for themselves (Howe 2002:31; Veracini 2010). The settler colonial literature typically includes the history of the 13 American colonies, the broader United States, Canada, New France (French possessions in North America from the Gulf of Saint Lawrence to Louisiana), Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and, more recently (according to some scholars), Israel. Settler colonial systems contrast with mercantile and other colonial systems, which prioritized trade and economics while restricting or even prohibiting European settlement and where European colonists thus remained a statistical minority (Wolfe 1999; see "Additional Readings," this chapter).

Although the settler colonial paradigm offered perspectives that were applicable to certain time frames and circumstances in Plateau history, the examples that follow show that it was clearly not applicable to many others.

• COLONIAL APPROACH TO PLATEAU: EDITED COLLECTIONS The settler colonial stream in Plateau research was well represented in several edited collections published after 2000 (Coombes 2006; Smithers and Newman 2014). Even while aboriginal people's historical sovereignty was being defied and their territory and economic resources were being reduced, their participation in migratory labor ironically contributed to the vitality of Indigenous cultures across the Plateau and the Pacific Northwest region (Parham 2014). This and other modern research reanimated many themes that had originated in earlier work documenting patterns of behavior, for example, among the Okanagan (Syilx) people. These behaviors were determined not by ethnicity but by the social and cultural isolation of reserve life (Carstens 1991:274) and specifically by the detrimental effects of unilateral Canadian policies of ethnic cleansing (see also G.C. Anderson 2014a, 2014b).

Two studies addressed the "settler colonial" lens on Plateau history, analyzing the landscape stories presented in three interpretive centers along the Oregon Trail in the state of Oregon or common among aboriginal people living in and around the city of Williams Lake in British Columbia (Rose 2006; Furniss 2006; see also Furniss 1987, 1992, 1999, 2004). In Williams Lake, settler society continues to celebrate the "last stands" of Indigenous peoples in the area, such as the last stand of the Tsilhqot'in people, in public events and in the writing and circulation of popular books (Rothenburger 1978).

This emphasis on "last stands" reflects unease in the face of contemporary Indigenous land claims. For their part, aboriginal people challenge the last-stand celebrations by settler societies, contesting the vision that their history is a thing of the past or that it belongs to settler society through its public performances and monument installations. In any analysis of Indigenous discourse in public settings, one must be sensitive to conditions of silence, both deliberate and repressive (Furniss 2006:184–190).

• COLONIAL APPROACH TO PLATEAU: MONOGRAPHS A growing number of monograph studies apply the settler colonial approach to Plateau history (Boyd 1999; Brinkman 2003; Chance 1968; D.W. Dinwoodie 2013, 2015; Fisher 2010; Furniss 1999, 2006; Jackson

Map by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 6. Hudson's Bay Company posts of Department of Columbia.

1995; Lutz 2008; Peterson and Peers 1993; Roth 1994; Stern 1993, 1996, 1998; Turkel 2008). Furniss's seminal research envisioned aboriginal and nonaboriginal people not as isolated cultural enclaves but as members of the same broader community, however ill-functioning (Furniss 1999). It viewed aboriginal and nonaboriginal people as encompassed within the same dominant cultural system. According to this vision, the study of aboriginal–nonaboriginal relations must proceed through ethnographic work with both groups (Furniss 1999:ix).

Furniss illustrated the relational nature of aboriginal identity through the dominant culture of the town of Williams Lake, a medium-size hinterland community in the interior of British Columbia dominated until recently, like many in the Plateau region, by ranching and the timber industry. Here Euro-Canadians take clear stances toward local history and identity, indicating their relationships with aboriginal people, in five domains: formal representations of history in public settings; political discourses of various individuals and groups opposed to the actions of regional and

Photograph © British Library Board.

Fig. 7. Rich in Indigenous information, The Columbia River, mapped by Alexander Ross beginning in 1821, situates each Native group along the area's riverways. Though not formally married until 1828, Ross married an Okanagan (Syilx) woman, Sally, in the fashion of the country around 1814 when staffing Fort Okanagan.

provincial governments; private, casual conversations of Euro-Canadians as they denigrate and joke about Indians; political debates surrounding aboriginal land claims and treaties; and ritual celebrations of the town's heritage during the annual stampede festival. Furniss's meticulous work sets a benchmark for contextualizing aboriginal life within a dominant society. In the future, however, these relationships may look very different in places like Williams Lake in the face of the continuing decline of resource industries, growing recognition of aboriginal rights, and the new legal environment created by recent court decisions in favor of local tribes' aboriginal title.

Other studies, although not explicitly relying on the settler colonial approach or vocabulary, have followed the same line in questioning the ways that "various discursive practices, histories, and images created by missionaries, settlers, academics, and government officials, become necessary for white regional and national identity" (McCoy 2004:xv). Even though local aboriginal people such as the Nez Perce (Nimiipuu) have been obscured and marginalized in non-Native history, many of them have resisted this fate and exercised their autonomy on a local level by "re-creating for themselves a story and a place, that expressed their identity as Nez Perce people" (McCoy 2004:190).

Another analysis explored how the key ideological components of settler colonialist society (race, republicanism, liberal economics, and violence) have been actively used to marginalize the Native people of the lower Columbia River region (Whaley 2010). Yet, even in the face of duplicitousness, demographic collapse, and attempted genocide, Native people fought against the settlers to maintain an Indigenous "homeland," the place they called *Illahee* in the Chinook jargon. By methodologically integrating salvage ethnographies, Indian agency reports, and historical newspapers, this study delineates a true composite of the "Old Oregon" Indian world, in which places like *Illahee* encompassed the numerous, often contradictory, paths along which Native peoples changed in relation to colonialism (Whaley 2010:x).

Perhaps the most important contribution of settler colonial studies in the Plateau is the insight that aboriginal voices have been configured not in "oral traditions" but within the terms of settler colonial domination (Furniss 1999, 2006). In integrating the constraints imposed by settler colonialism into analysis, historians are better situated to recognize the valences of aboriginal voices in such unexpected places as rodeos or other seemingly settler colonial performances (Alexie 1993; Deloria 2004).

Careful use of the settler colonial framework, then, reveals more than unilateral destruction but also unexpected dynamics, involvement, and identification, even in domains viewed as already explored. A detailed study of rodeo in western Canada offers a nuanced ethnographic treatment of rodeo as a contact zone among aboriginal and nonaboriginal people of the Canadian Plateau (Kelm 2011). Such insights are especially notable and resonate with an earlier remarkable exhibit of Plateau and Plains Native cowboy life (Baillargeon and Tepper 1998) as well as with various local studies of aboriginal ranching history in the Plateau area (Cohen 1998) (figs. 8, 9, 10).

Yet settler colonial studies have obvious shortcomings. In contrast to the classical cultural and linguistic approach, a relatively small portion of settler colonial research involves documentation or description of aboriginal practices. Rarely do practitioners of the settler colonial approach possess fluency in Native languages, Native speech registers, or even in what is called "Native English." Too often they rely on early ethnographies, rather than historical documents, for accounts of aboriginal society. As a result, they tend to depict the precontact situation in terms of the synchronic functionalism they otherwise decry.

Without reference to the dynamics of the colonial period per se, the category-triangle upon which settler colonial studies are predicated—settlers, indigenous people, and "exogenous others"—can seem irreducible rather than a contingent product of colonial history, a product that varies from situation to situation and from moment to moment in significant ways.

Historical Constructionist Approach

• BACKGROUND Historical constructionism is a term often used to highlight scholarship that explore the possibility that such human groups as bands, tribes, and nations are much more dynamic than is generally assumed. People construct specific group configurations in particular historical circumstances; membership is not all or none, black or white, but differential; actors participating in one may be members of another; groups are fashioned not singly in isolation but relationally in colonial-like interdependencies; some configurations happen to endure longer than others, but they could be replaced by others at any time. In a theoretically innovative and ethnographically rich example of the approach, the emerging present is shown to be no less historically constructed than the past (Moore 2006). Scholarship in this vein questions whether "race," "territory," "language," and "culture" are first-order determining factors in the formation of groups or whether they are secondary rationalizations (Said 1979, 1993).

Consequently, work in this vein consciously departs from conventional tribal ethnohistories. The goal

Photograph by David W. Dinwoodie.

Fig. 8. Nemaiah Valley Rodeo, bucking chutes.

Photograph by David W. Dinwoodie.

Fig. 9. Nemaiah Valley Rodeo. Harry Setah and Ronnie Solomon (right) remount after hitting high water in the Mountain Race.

Photograph by David W. Dinwoodie.

Fig. 10. Branding Madeleine Setah's calves. Madeleine Setah, Roger William, and Darren Setah by the snubbing post, Wayne William and Wilfred William holding the calf, August 1999.

of historical constructionism is not to chart continuity through time but rather to be more attentive to the dialectical and interactional fashioning of operationally significant groups. The focus is not on discontinuity but rather construction and reconstruction. Historical constructionists seek to better document both the constraints imposed and the agency achieved in mobilizing political representation in challenging historical circumstances.

• RESEARCH ON ETHNOGENESIS AND RELATED TOPICS The emergence of new collective identities and groups ("subjectivities") in Plateau history has attracted anthropological interest almost continuously from early in the twentieth century to the present (see Beckham 1998; Lohse and Sprague 1998; Miller 1985; Spier 1935; Walker and Sprague 1998). Post-1998 studies revealed that the Indians of the Plateau acquired "bits and pieces of Christian doctrine" through the fur trade in the early 1800s and that their responses shifted from initial enthusiasm over Christian ideas in the 1830s and 1840s to violent rejection beginning in 1850 (Cebula 2003:4–5).

A major compendium of all important primary written sources about the rich history of the homeland of the Nez Perce people, from the time of Lewis and Clark to the start of the Nez Perce War of 1877, offered a new vision of the precarious history of the Nez Perce Nation (Baird et al. 2002; see also Lohse and Sprague 1998:16, for Billy William's map of Nez Perce lands showing 78 Nez Perce contact era villages and village sites along major riverways). A compilation of documents from the Methodist mission at Wascopam in the Columbia River valley helped describe the cultural practices of the Chinookan and Sahaptin peoples of the Dalles area between 1805 and 1848 (Boyd 1996). Unpublished research by Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs, particularly the Upper Coquille (Mishikwutinetunne) Athapaskan ethnographic notes and versions of myths and tales recorded around 1936 (now held in the University of Washington Libraries) laid the foundation for the rich documentation of the emergence, decline, and reemergence of a Siletz Reservation community's consciousness through the works and life of Coquelle Thompson (Youst and Seaburg 2002).

Some post-1998 works focus not on the multiple time frames of earlier ethnohistories but on the dynamics of what may be called cultural micropractices. Studies of historically specific patterns of land use through the lens of ethnobiology explored how such practices could shape the identity of the mid–Columbia River Native groups in and of themselves, without regard for state recognition (Hunn 1990a). Meticulous mapping of the locations mentioned in many oral stories of the Secwepemc people produced a detailed index of the microgeography of daily travels among reserves, towns, fishing sites, and other locations in the English-based vernacular stories of contemporary reserve life (Palmer 2005).

• NEW HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTIONIST RESEARCH Since the publication of the *Plateau* volume (Walker 1998), a new cohort of Plateau historians has entered the field and transformed it by illustrating the wide-ranging potential of historical constructionism. Environmental historian William J. Turkel (2008) examined the conflicting construction of history and the present through three cases from the Chilcotin Plateau, part of the greater Fraser River drainage in British Columbia. In the first case, arguments over *whose* vision will shape the future of the area (that of miners, environmentalists, First Nations, or others) were made on the basis of scientific reconstructions of the past at different time scales—geological, biological, and cultural. Another case examined the challenges that the First Nations and democratic socialist politicians in Canada experienced while using the 1993 bicentennial of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's transcontinental journey to celebrate the North American legacy of the British as opposed to the Americans. Given that Mackenzie (b. 1764, d. 1820) was guided by aboriginal people over many long-standing aboriginal highways in his search for the land route to the Pacific Ocean, some First Nations people were inclined to see the MacKenzie celebration as obscuring Native history.

Another notable case involved the debate that arose when revisionist histories of the so-called Chilcotin War of 1864 (Loo 1994) challenged the prior vision that the influence of Euro-Canadian settlers on the Plateau First Nations people has been primarily civilizing and beneficent (on the shifting focus of research, see Lohse and Sprague 1998). While the revisionist history represented an improvement on the original colonial story, First Nations people maintain yet other histories of their own, which have yet to be fully appreciated. Even if Euro-Canadians created the Provincial Archives in the literal sense, and even if various Euro-Canadian elements read those archives differently, "the profusion of physical evidence" available from the various visions of the past of the Chilcotin Plateau prevents any single constituency, say Euro-Canadians, from monopolizing the historical precedents by which present institutions are legitimized (Turkel 2008:xxii).

Drawing on natural and political history, archival documents, anthropology, newspaper accounts, GPS, and memories of families living in the area, modern historians reveal how contemporary Tsilhqot'in people successfully used the physical objects and evidence from the past to tell different histories that play roles

in current political debates. In fact, the Tsilhqot'in people not only have history, but they also have an archive of their own. In their lived landscape, they have a resource by which they can continue to make history today.

Another study (Fisher 2010) analyzed the participation of Native people in the negotiation and signing of the so-called Stevens treaties of 1854–1855 (see Beckham 1998:151–152) to reveal the extent to which the treaties were designed not to recognize preexisting groups but to erase one system of identification and replace it with another (Fisher 2010:11–12, 35). In different historical moments and circumstances, one could see the emergence of the Columbia River People as a sociopolitical group, as a kind of a "shadow tribe." This study illustrated the continuing presence of Indians "beyond the reservation" and argued that Native American identity formation not only is an important subject in its own right, too little examined, but also has the potential to enrich our theoretical understanding of identity formation in general (Fisher 2010:70–71). Colonial studies rather than the settler colonial approach show how Columbia River Indians, along with non-Indian neighbors at times, resisted the racial and ethnic cleansing policies of the colonial state (G.C. Anderson 2014a, 2014b).

• COLVILLE CONFEDERATED TRIBES CASE The potential of historical constructionist research is also seen in the study of the Colville Confederated Tribes' fight against termination and for recognition (Arnold 2012). The author (who is Colville Indian herself) went beyond today's unwavering focus on political recognition and explored the termination drive of the Colville Tribe. "For nearly twenty years, between 1953–1972, tribal members and leaders sought to end what they considered a fictive relationship with the federal government and to return to life as citizens of their own communities, not communities the government had constructed for them" (Arnold 2012:xi). In other words, the Colville people did the unthinkable by today's standards: they considered dissolving themselves as a federally recognized tribe.

By debating termination, the Colville people increased their capacity to engage with complex issues, and the disagreements over termination thus led to a period of growth and sophisticated political machinations unprecedented on the Colville Reservation (Arnold 2012:xii). One of the activists, Helen Toulou, "craved" the end of the Colvilles' special designation and wanted to become "part of the [American] Nation." "In everything, we live modern. We don't use feathers, buckskins or anything. We don't dwell in teepees with campfires. We are absolutely as modern as you are" (Arnold 2012:58). Another tribal leader, Harvey Moses, the Colville council chairman, stated at the general meeting in Nespelem, "We do not want to be a little nation of our own with its own laws. We do not want this separate autocratic and socialistic substitution of Bureau rule superseding Constitutional rights" (Arnold 2012:59).

"Liquidation" of tribal assets, "termination" of Federal trusteeship, and "emancipating" the Indians, all mean the same thing to the people and these words serve as catchwords for those who would like to relieve the Indians from their remaining property by depriving them of the promised federal protection now accorded to them (Arnold 2012:61). Reservation cattlemen, small-town chamber of commerce people, and all the various elements of reservation "society" were present at the public hearings. Although subsequent hearings moved in different directions, and eventually the tide turned against termination, it was through these debates that the tribe cultivated or constructed a critical consciousness applicable to the shifting political moment.

Illuminating the unfolding polarities and insights of key actors in the Colville Confederated Tribes' termination debate greatly enriches understanding of Native voices. It also highlights the historical vitality of questions surrounding Plateau political ideologies in the new century.

Conclusion

The period since 1998 has seen an expansion of tribal museums, Native American studies and language programs, American studies programs, research on Native American history, and contract and consultation research in resource and heritage management (Hinton 2008; Kidwell 2008b; Stein 2008; Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008). As a consequence, anthropological work, as it was known throughout the twentieth century, represents a smaller slice of Plateau research in the early twenty-first century. Moreover, some cultural practices have become off limits for anthropologists owing to their proprietary development for cultural tourism, or for their potential value for establishing legal claims. Nonetheless, activities surrounding and promoting aboriginal cultures are growing in significance throughout the Plateau area, not diminishing. At the same time, anthropology is playing a new important role in the twenty-first century. Anthropologists are shifting from viewing themselves as the primary academic experts, "keepers" of aboriginal culture, to considering themselves students and scholars of the shifting politics of culture in view of the ongoing political and economic transformation in the region.

Additional Readings

Settler colonial studies developed out of the earlier field of "colonial studies" (Asad 1973; Bayly 1988, 1989, 2004; Cohn 1987, 1996; Dirks 1992, 2001; Howe 2010; Said 1979, 1993; N. Thomas 1994; Wilson 2003), emerging eventually as a distinct field. The idea orienting the field is that in settler colonial situations, settler majorities draw selectively on both the political charters of Europe and on the primacy of the indigenous peoples whom they displace to assert their social and political primacy (Veracini 2010:9). Settler colonial situations are sustained by differentiating settler colonizers from indigenous colonized and exogenous others. The idea perpetuated in settler colonies is that settler colonizers are permanent whereas indigenous colonized and exogenous others are ephemeral (Veracini 2010:4–5). For more details, see Coombes (2006), Denoon (1979), Ford (2010), Veracini (2006, 2015), and Wolfe (1999), among others.

The historical constructionist approach draws inspiration from a variety of sources, including sources on global history (Bayly 2004; Burbank and Cooper 2010; Conrad 2016; Hobsbawm 1987), the invention of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), colonial history (Bayly 1988, 1989; Cohn 1987, 1996; Cooper 2005; Dirks 1992, 2001; Said 1979, 1993; Veracini 2010; Wolfe 1999), and more specifically Indigenous scholars' critiques of forms of cultural recognition as colonial coercion (Coulthard 2014; Deloria 1998). It also includes works in ethnography and ethnohistory (Fisher 2010; Harmon 2000; Iverson 1994; Kan and Strong 2006; Merlan 1998), political economic anthropology (Steward 1955; Wolf 1982), and modernist theories of ethnicity and nationalism (Anderson 1983; Smith 1981, 1987). Notably influential in recent years and potentially transformative of the field are revisionist works conceptualizing some instances of Native power—even in the American period—in terms of empire rather than tribe or nation (Hämäläinen 2008; White 1991).

On Métis studies, see Brown (1980), Ens (1996, 2008), Ens and Sawchuck (2016), and Peterson and Brown (1984); on social memory, see Halbwachs (1992); on social semiotics, especially the concept of indexicality and the pragmatics of recognition, see Mertz (2007) and Silverstein (1976, 2003, 2005); on interactional sociology, see Goffman (1981); and on historical ontological approach to social identity, see Appiah (1994, 2005, 2014) and Hacking (1999, 2002).

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Plains: Research since 2000

SEBASTIAN FELIX BRAUN

The *Plains* volume (DeMallie 2001a) of the Smithsonian *Handbook of North American Indians* was published in two parts in 2001, one of the last in the series. Work on volume 13 had originally begun in 1971, with William Bittle as the volume editor (see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.), but it progressed slowly. A fresh start in 1983 led to an intensive focus after 1998 and publication three years later with Raymond J. DeMallie as the new volume editor. The 2001 volume thus presented a relatively recent overview of the field. Its first part provides introductory chapters on historiography and anthropological research, the regional environment, and Native languages on the Plains. The bulk of the volume offers a historical and anthropological overview of knowledge on Plains cultures. A series of chapters organized chronologically and geographically explores the prehistory and the history of the Plains. Then the anthropological knowledge for each known cultural group is summarized in its own chapter. The volume follows the culture area typology, differentiating between the "Prairie Plains" and "High Plains." It concludes with several overview chapters featuring kinship and religion, as well as art and music.

The goal of the *Plains* volume, in keeping with the overall objective of the *Handbook* series, was to provide historical and anthropological knowledge on the entire region, as well as on all individual American Indian groups on the Plains (fig. 1). It clearly succeeded in this regard and remains the standard reference work for the Plains culture area ever since, with its almost encyclopedic coverage and knowledge base and its monumental bibliography section.

The Plains area has a long history of inspiring regional cultural overviews, from the early classical works by James Mooney (b. 1861, d. 1921), James Owen Dorsey (b. 1848, d. 1895), and Alice Fletcher (b. 1838, d. 1923) to the seminal summaries of the 1900s (Ewers 1997; Lowie 1954; Wissler 1912; for an overview, see DeMallie and Ewers 2001) and more recent efforts (L. Fowler 2003; Gelo 2012; Wishart 2007). Some of these works might be more user-friendly introductions to Native cultures of the region, but none provides the in-depth information or the completeness of the 2001 Smithsonian *Handbook* volume. In contrast to some of the earlier volumes in the series, the relatively late publication date of the *Plains* volume means that most anthropological chapters explored cultures and their ongoing changes throughout the entire twentieth century. The volume thus reads less as an examination of past societies and more as a companion of these cultures through time and into the present.

It would be both impossible and pointless to update the *Plains* volume in a single chapter almost two decades after its publication. Instead, this chapter focuses on certain themes that the volume did *not* address, mostly because they fell outside its original scope. The emphasis is thus on the new issues that affect contemporary research about American Indian societies and cultures on the Plains.

One reviewer of the 2001 *Plains* volume (Wishart 2002:218) contended that the *Handbook* volume "reveals as much about anthropology as it does about Plains Indians" and critiqued what he saw as "the view from the outside." As a rhetorical question, he asked whether there was "any indication from the *Plains* volume that anthropologists have changed their interactions with, and representations of, Native Americans." Clearly, his implied answer was in the negative. This line of critique raises important contemporary issues affecting the ways in which knowledge about Plains Indians is conceptualized. The present chapter provides an opportunity to discuss how interactions with and representations of American Indians have changed and how that has transformed the production of knowledge and research about American Indians on the Plains after 2000.

As a standard-bearing academic reference, the Smithsonian *Handbook* series was designed neither to highlight a difference between emic and etic perspectives nor to explore the practice, theory, or ethics of anthropology; its purpose was to summarize the extant knowledge about the history and culture of Native societies in North America. Raymond J. DeMallie, editor of the *Plains* volume, has worked closely with Native collaborators for almost 50 years, in publications, fieldwork, and in informal settings (D.R. Miller

Map by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 1. Traditional Plains societies with areas of contemporary reservations circa 2020 (prior to the *McGirt* v. *Oklahoma* Supreme Court decision).

2013). The volume thus was deeply influenced by views from the inside, and DeMallie's work, as well as that of most of the other contributors, integrated both emic and etic perspectives.

Transitional Themes, 1970–2015

The American Indian and First Nation/Métis cultural landscape of the Plains has changed since the *Handbook* was envisioned in the 1960s and 1970s, and several transitional themes have appeared that have influenced knowledge of Plains Indian tribes. Although Plains anthropology has a long history of collaboration, the increasing expectation to collaborate with and contribute to Native communities and, in some cases a formalization of such expectations, has profoundly changed anthropological and other research with Plains Indians.

Tribal colleges and universities, as well as other tribal institutions devoted to cultural, historical, linguistic, and archaeological research are one of the most important factors in this transition. These initiatives are both a consequence of and cause for increasing Indigenous sovereignty following political developments over the past 40 years. Together with tribal museums and institutional review boards, they represent a growing influence on the part of Plains Native nations over their representation in the literature.

At the same time, funding for ethnological research with Native peoples of the Plains has to a large extent dried up. Along with political and social interests, anthropology as an academic discipline has all but shifted away from Plains cultures. Its place has become occupied in part by American Indian studies, cultural studies, literature, and other disciplines, although of course with very different emphases. Since the 1970s, the continuous critique and self-critique of anthropology has also contributed to more collaborative and more applied research in the area. A growing trend toward specialization in the subfields of anthropology and a reduction of interest in ethnographic work in Native North America helped change the dynamics within the field.

Knowledge production on Native cultures on the Plains has a long history of multivocality. Missionaries, explorers, traders, and Native voices and writers were some of the earliest sources. Women academics and Native writers have continued to strongly influence the field since the late 1800s and throughout the twentieth century (Fletcher 1883, 1902; Fletcher and La Flesche 1911; Fletcher 2013; Deloria 1944, 2007; Deloria 1999a; Densmore 1918, 1923; Kehoe 1968; Liberty 1970; Medicine 2001, 2007; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1998, 2013; Wissler and Kehoe 2013). Missionaries and priests, especially Jesuits, have added their often long-term collaborative experiences with Native communities and histories to these voices (Bucko 1998; Buechel and Manhart 1983; Powell 1998; Steinmetz 1998; Steltenkamp 2009), as have writers (Momaday 1968; Power 1994; Sandoz 1942, 1954), lawyers (Llewelyn and Hoebel 1941), journalists (Giago 1984; Magnuson 2008, 2013), medical doctors (Lewis 1990; Ruby 2010), and astronomers (Hollabaugh 2017). It is no accident that many of these contributions over the past decades have focused on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation, which has come to stand for the "typical" Indian reservation in much of popular perception.

These trends of multivocality continue in the twenty-first century, so that the anthropology of the Plains has been and remains a collage of voices influenced by different experiences and disciplines. For example, Bobby Henry's photo-voice research into Native gangs in Saskatoon (Henry 2013) followed in the footsteps of work with Pine Ridge children 40 years earlier (Sioux Indian Museum and Crafts Center 1971).

Explorations of Native cultures in the Plains have heavily emphasized history, perhaps because the area occupies such a central place in American historical imagination and representation. This historical focus often manifests itself through biographical and autobiographical approaches, but its other consequence is the continuity in studies of Native texts and stories (Red Shirt 2016).

Transitions in methodologies, focus, and epistemology have taken place in a time of significant developments in Plains cultures. An understanding of Plains communities based on the cultures of past centuries is becoming ever more misleading. Plains Native peoples have always mastered the skills of selective adaptation, and they have also been a powerful driving force for global Indigenous developments. Interesting discussions about religion, identity, language, and urbanization are taking place in Native communities; museums, both tribal and nontribal, are innovative in their representation of Native cultures; cultural and linguistic revitalization efforts are shaping new ways of expressing identity; and resource extraction offers new opportunities and simultaneous existential threats to the future of communities.

This chapter provides introduction to these larger issues by addressing them in four major themes, which also update and provide a larger context for the *Plains* volume (DeMallie 2001a) roughly since the year 2000. During this period, collaboration with Native communities and demands for a more applied focus have changed not only what research is being conducted

but also what we know and do not know about contemporary Plains cultures and societies. Ethnography and ethnohistory of Plains nations have continued but find themselves in new positions; they are defined by concerns about sovereignty as well as by internal and external debates about anthropology as a discipline and its relationship with Native American cultures and societies. Finally, all these concerns are increasingly discussed within a global context, with the result that understanding Plains anthropology in the twenty-first century requires looking at transregional themes and their impact on knowledge production on the Plains.

Collaboration and Application

The largest number of applied collaborative projects, and perhaps the visible ones for both Native and non-Native community members, are arguably archaeological. The broader public tends to think of archaeology when hearing "anthropology," and on the Plains, there are at least two reasons for this. Many people still tend to place American Indians, or any interesting knowledge about Native nations, into a prehistoric or precontact past; it is also true, however, that many regional anthropology departments on the Plains developed a focus on archaeological surveys and later on cultural resource management (CRM) (see Hassler 1989). This transition was based partly on the availability of funds, especially in the wake of historic preservation laws that required applied surveys (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). University departments were in place to conduct these surveys, and the discipline could showcase its utility to local legislatures and universities that were starting to demand a more applied focus in social sciences (Blakeslee 2010). Since the 1990s, numerous private archaeological companies have sprung up to provide these services, and university departments increasingly lack the flexibility to compete, as surveys for resource extraction companies or other industries need to be done quickly.

In response to this applied focus, but also to direct their own research, provide better channels for inquiries, and respond to development projects that threatened historical sites (figs. 2, 3), many tribes established tribal historic preservation offices. Although some tribes had already had such offices (the Navajo Nation established the Navajo Nation Cultural Resource Management Program in 1977, the Zuni Pueblo opened Zuni Archaeology Program in 1978; see "Indigenous North Americans and Archaeology," this vol.), federal funds became available for that purpose in 1992, making the creation of such institutions possible for many more tribes. In 1996, 12 tribal historic preservation offices existed; by 2016, there were 171.

Historic preservation offices have become, on the one hand, instruments to build tribal revitalization programs and to increase sovereignty over traditional lands and, on the other hand, necessary contacts and clearinghouses for tribes. Increasingly, federally funded projects have required consultation with Native people for CRM purposes. In some instances, this has led to training opportunities for tribes—many tribal historic preservation officers now hold degrees in anthropology. When tribes and anthropologists work together to find solutions for tribal needs, results are creative and drive the discipline forward in unexpected, often interdisciplinary ways (Houser et al. 2016).

For some archaeologists, cooperation with community members has become routine, and the two groups have learned about and from each other (Ferguson 2009). Hobbling this trend, Americanist teaching positions have been left unfilled as funding for university departments has decreased, and fewer resources are available in the early twenty-first century to thoroughly train applied archaeologists, especially on cultural and ethical issues. In addition, relationships with communities are often forged on a short-term contractual basis, with most CRM firms on the Plains today working for energy and extraction companies rather than tribes. This has led to new problems (Braun 2020; Green and Doershuk 1998). While discussions on ethical conduct have increased and the issue has become much more prominent, some disjunctions have opened between the academy and professionals in private business (Steeves 2015). Just as in other fields, the relationships between Native people and archaeologists are complex and influenced by individual knowledge and experiences. These develop within larger, national conversations dominated by discussions about representation, human remains, and repatriation (Watkins 2005a; see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact" and "Codes of Ethics," this vol.).

Like applied archaeology on the Plains, *linguistics* has become increasingly privatized. Language revitalization efforts have become an ever more pressing need for Plains Indian nations. To be successful, these projects need applied materials such as textbooks for children, dictionaries, smartphone applications, digitized content, and computer games (see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.). Although such materials should be developed on the basis of a thorough knowledge of the language, including grammar and linguistic analysis, traditional academic studies of linguistics have become less attractive. Some universities have produced materials in collaboration with Plains communities; for example, the American

Photograph by Sebastian Braun.

Fig. 2. The Killdeer Battlefield site in western North Dakota in 2008. The site is located mostly on private lands, but a small portion and memorial is accessible to the public.

Photograph by Sebastian Braun.

Fig. 3. The Menoken Indian Village State Historic Site east of Bismarck, North Dakota, in 2017. Occupied between 1100 and 1300 C.E., the site had a palisade and about twelve houses. The continued conservation of such sites is extremely important to understanding the rich history of the Plains.

Indian Studies Research Institute (AISRI) at Indiana University has cooperated with the Red Cloud Indian School (LLP 2010, 2011). Increasingly, though, nongovernmental organizations and other organizations are working with communities that do not yet have their own trained specialists, not least because few universities remain committed to linguistic anthropology.

Ethnographic work, too, has turned increasingly toward more applied subjects or toward studies that seem to be of greater practical use for communities. In part, this is a reaction to critiques from academia and institutions calling for research that is of immediate use for communities. Disciplines such as medicine, nursing, social work, education, and others have adopted aspects of ethnographic methodology and might seem a better fit for need-based research. To carry on a conversation with these disciplines, anthropological works often incorporate new jargon and theoretical and methodological approaches derived from them.

While these and other new disciplinary approaches have produced many valuable insights, the traditional strength of the anthropological approach, namely, to understand a culture holistically has become neglected for many communities. In the twenty-first century, the former integrative understanding of kinship, symbolic culture, religious, social, political, economic, and ecological perspectives, and of the meanings of the world in all their diverse facets as they exist in communities, is often missing. It may be replaced by a generalized, standard "Plains culture" model or by essentialized "Native American" notions. Instead of dismissing these perspectives as simplifications, anthropology needs to find a way to accept them as representations of viewpoints reflecting specific, early twenty-first-century political and cultural realities within and outside of American Indian communities. At the same time, anthropology faces the challenge of thinking in ways that mirror the complex and sometimes paradoxical realities in which people actually live.

Ethnography and Ethnohistory

Grobsmith (1997:48) wrote that "there are very few anthropologists left whose orientation within cultural anthropology is applied rather than ethnohistorical, whose geographic focus is American Indian societies, and whose outlook makes them willing to travel to the reservation, work with living community members, and research and document community concerns." Although this statement seems to hold true as of 2018, ethnographic research by academics and by nonacademics continues on the Plains, and the works from other disciplines are a welcome complementary and sometimes corrective addition.

It is true that much of this work has been historical or ethnohistorical, as is traditional in North American anthropology. However, out of these ethnohistorical works can come new insights into the ethnographic present. A better understanding of the complete historical and ethnographic record is of great value not only to academia but to contemporary communities, if and when it is made accessible to them (Kipp 2009), particularly when it combines linguistics, anthropology, photography, history, and literature to contextualize the relationship of aboriginal peoples with their Plains and Prairie environments (Douaud and Dawson 2002).

Given the rarity of such multiperspective studies, several works on similar subjects or regions, when read together, can broaden conceptual horizons. In Canada, Brown and Peers (2006), Burnett (2010), Regular (2008), and Todd (2003) provided different perspectives on Plains nations in southern Alberta during early Canadian settlement and on the contemporary reverberations of these events. Each one contributed to its specific field; together these accounts provide a rich and complex narrative of policies, individual agency, and economic and social relations and situations and serve as contemporary reflections.

Studies of historical photography offer a good example of such readings across regions. Grafe (2009) continued Brown and Peers's work on Blackfeet photographs south of the U.S.-Canadian border. Buecker (2016) published a rare collection of 1876–1877 stereo card photographs from Red Cloud Agency, Nebraska; Hoelscher (2008) provided an interesting comparison from the western Woodlands, working mainly on Ho-Chunk photographs in Wisconsin and showing cross-influence between Plains and Woodlands, while Southwell and Lovett (2010) contributed a thorough overview of historical photography from the southern Plains. Scherer (2006) produced a comparative study from the Plateau, and Liberty (2006) published the photographs taken in the 1920s by Thomas B. Marquis among the Northern Cheyenne, Montana. Sara Wiles (2011) combined photographs with oral testimonies of the Northern Arapaho at Wind River Reservation, Wyoming, from 1975 through 2005. Chiricahua Apache scholar Nancy Marie Mithlo (2014) presented the images of Kiowa photographer Horace Poolaw (see Smith 2016).

New historical studies of Comanche, Osage, and other Plains Indian nations have integrated anthropological insights as they attempt to reinterpret more traditional historical narratives to emphasize the agency and power of Native peoples (Barr 2007; DuVal 2006;

Gage 2020; Hämäläinen 2008). Interesting dialogues between ethnohistory and contemporary tribal communities are not limited to geographic regions and examine Native cowboys, rodeos, and historical and contemporary Wild West show performers (Baillargeon and Tepper 1998; Iverson 1994; Iverson and MacCannell 1999; McNenly2012; Mellis 2003). These works and exhibitions together, along with much older publications (Ewers 1955a; Roe 1955), create a persuasive narrative of the relationship of Native peoples and horses (Horse Capture and Her Many Horses 2006; Sage 2012; Patent 2012).

Early Plains anthropology was inspired by and coexisted with early images of Plains Indians, most famously by George Catlin (b. 1796, d. 1872) (see Dippie et al. 2002; Eisler 2013; Truettner 1979) and Karl Bodmer (b. 1809, d. 1893) (Ruud 2004; Schierle et al. 2009; Wood et al. 2002). However, Plains Indians themselves depicted their own experiences, and art played an important role in expressing history, culture, and personal narratives in this critical period of transition. This personal and collective agency is reflected in the drawings by prisoners from the southern Plains Indian Wars at Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida (Szabo 2007), and in war books on the northern Plains, where Native people literally drew over those having come to fight them (Dempsey 2007; McLaughlin 2013).

Today, Plains anthropology still exists in a productive dialogue with photographic and video art. Important events and issues are streamed and documented on social media and serve as the subjects of radio, TV, film, and photography. Aamodt (2005) and Le Querrec (2000) portrayed the Big Foot Memorial Ride commemorating the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, an event that continues to dominate and construct historical memories (Coleman 2000; Grua 2016). Those rides have inspired others, like the memorial ride to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the 1862 hanging of 38 Dakota prisoners of war in Minnesota (Hagerty 2012). Video has become an effective medium for linking the past to the present and for portraying and publicizing the modern narratives of various aspects of Native life on the Plains (Bräuning 2009; Carr and Hawes-Davis 2000; Collins 2006; Hermann and Towfighnia 2007; Junge 2006; Vasina 2008).

Contemporary and historic events, cultures, and meanings also find their expression in literature, painting, architecture, print arts, sculpture, and other media. One of the traditional art forms of the Plains that made a comeback in the twenty-first century is ledger art. Native American artists (Arthur Amiotte, Dolores Purdy Corcoran, John Isaiah Pepion, and Dwayne Wilcox) continue to work in the medium and advance its evolution, addressing contemporary subjects. Ledger art has also received significant attention from academia (Calloway 2012; Pearce 2013).

Plains Native art appeared in numerous publications and well-publicized exhibitions in major museums. The exhibition *The Plains Indians: Artists of Earth and Sky* (Torrence 2014) traveled to Paris, Kansas City, and New York; the British Museum curated an exhibition called *Warriors of the Plains* (Carocci 2011); and Alan Hirschfeld published on his impressive private collection of early ethnographic and art objects (Hirschfeld and Winchell 2012). Art forms such as winter counts have continued to receive attention (Greene and Thornton 2007). Individual tribal art traditions, such as that of the Osage (Bailey 2004), have been continually explored, as have individual artists (e.g., Berlo 2000; Greene 2001). Studies of material culture are ongoing (Anderson 2013; Bohr 2014; Hail 2000), and museums and Native communities continue to explore how to work together. In 2010, the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford University brought a collection of five historical Blackfoot shirts from 1841 to the Glenbow Museum in Calgary and the Galt Museum in Lethbridge and encouraged numerous workshops on the shirts in Alberta Plains communities. Such collaborations between museums and tribes might not result in glossy catalogs, but they are vital for the material and spiritual preservation of museum holdings and knowledge about them within communities, as well as for community revitalization.

Strong ethnographic work has continued since 2000, often bridging subfields, disciplines, and genres in creative ways. Cultural anthropology on the Plains has produced many detailed case studies that illuminate larger concerns and frequently situate Native communities as players in global discourses. Pickering (2000) addressed economics on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Sioux Indian Reservations in a global environment that often marginalizes these communities. Braun (2008) provided a case study from the Cheyenne River Indian Reservation on the intersections of economics, ecology, and politics in the context of efforts toward sustainability and sovereignty (fig. 4). Many of these issues came up in the studies of energy development on the Crow and Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservations (Allison 2015), of interactions between Native people and their neighbors in Bennett County, South Dakota (Wagoner 2002), and in work on alcoholism among the Northern Cheyenne (Prussing 2011).

The autobiographies of Alma Hogan Snell (b. 1923, d. 2008; Snell 2000) and Joseph Medicine Crow

Photographs by Sebastian Braun.

Fig. 4. left, Wanblee, Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota. Wanblee is a typical town for northern Plains reservation settings. The view is to the south end of town, including an older HUD housing complex. Wanblee has a store and gas station and is home to Crazy Horse School. The next town is about 30 miles away. right, The foundations of the old Cheyenne River agency buildings revealed in Lake Oahe during winter 2001/2002; bridge over Lake Oahe in the background. The lake dammed the Missouri River north of Pierre, South Dakota, flooded the best lands of the Cheyenne River and Standing Rock Reservations, destroyed their economies, and still impacts the tribes.

(b. 1913, d. 2016) (Medicine Crow with Viola 2006) shed personal light on transitional realities in northern Plains communities, continuing, in many ways, the early narratives by Crow (Apsáalooke) medicine woman Pretty Shield (b. 1856, d. 1944) and Crow chief Plenty Coups (Alaxchiiaahush, b. 1848, d. 1932) (Linderman 1930, 1932). Equally important autobiographies include the recollections of Susan Bordeaux Bettelyoun (Levine 1999) and Josephine Waggoner's writings (Levine 2013).

Foster (2006) produced a valuable account of the Métis communities in Montana that have often been overlooked in the United States (though not in Canada) because they are not federally recognized as American Indians. Combining ethnohistory with sociolinguistics, Palmer (2003) wrote on Kiowa storytelling in southwestern Oklahoma, and Morgan (M.J. Morgan 2009) on language ideologies on the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation, Montana, home to the A'aninin (A'aniiih, Gros Ventre) and the Nakota (Nakoda/Assiniboine). Kiowa relations to the land were the subject of Meadows's study (2008). Ethnomusicology, once a mainstay of Plains anthropology, has been somewhat neglected, but studies of powwows on the southern Plains (Ellis 2003) and of the interfaces of politics and music (Troutman 2009) continue a long-standing tradition of interest in performance and its broader contexts. Scales (2012) contributed a study of northern Plains powwows and their mediation as well as broader representations of aboriginal cultures through musical recordings. Posthumus (2018) and Andersson (2018) continued a long tradition of Lakota religious studies.

Sovereignty and Specialization

Discussions about the relationship between academics, more specifically anthropologists, and American Indians have a long history on the Plains. The number of Native anthropologists and cultural historians and their involvement in academic research often raised questions about whether a sharp distinction between the two groups can be drawn and where to draw it. Such discussions have been elevated since the 1970s by advocates for sovereignty, the rise of tribal colleges and universities, critical self-reflection in anthropology, and the building of tribal institutions.

Ultimately, sovereignty includes control over education and history, perhaps especially in a networked, globalized world. Some of the debates on Plains Indian cultures and histories, as well as the institutions and policies in place to guide research and the contributions to theoretical and methodological discussions, must be seen with this background in mind (Kurkiala 1997). The presentation of Plains cultures was never free from politics (White 1974). Internal and external debates about representations of culture and of people become political because such representations influence laws, budgets, interests, and empathies. The history of Plains Indian nations is tied to specific landscapes and thereby influences land rights. The assumption that most Native people live on reservations or reserves has multiple direct consequences for the administration of and access to education, services, and health care. Similarly, assumptions about social and personal behavior or about cultural difference

Photograph by Sebastian Braun.

Fig. 5. Oglala Lakota College Woksape Tipi (Library), in a public tribal land-grant community college in Kyle, South Dakota, with about 1,500 enrolled students.

influence expectations of identity, economics, and educational needs.

Tribal colleges and universities (fig. 5) sought to regulate the ethical behavior of researchers through tribal review boards. They are at the forefront of providing higher education to Native (and non-Native) students in their communities (Stein 2008) and are the representative institutions of knowledge for these communities. This latter is increasingly reflected in publication efforts (e.g., Diedrich 2007). Outside Native communities, American Indian Studies programs or departments have in many cases replaced anthropology or history in that role.

These developments have led to at least two significant shifts that have had a strong impact on anthropological knowledge of Plains Indian cultures since the 1970s. First, archaeological and linguistic practice and knowledge have been decoupled from more humanistic approaches. Community stories and traditions as emic representations of cultures have replaced archaeology in many educational curricula on Plains cultures. Second, critiques of etic knowledge from anthropology and history have privileged emic perspectives on historical and contemporary cultures.

Some individuals and institutions are actively working toward the indigenization of research and teaching (Robertson et al. 2004). These efforts are also responses to larger debates (Garroutte 2003:99–139; Kovach 2009; Tuhiwai Smith 1999). Ironically, this trend sometimes leads to the marginalization of anthropology, the discipline that paved the way for taking emic sources seriously. Anthropology and history on the Plains and elsewhere have developed alongside this discourse; Lassiter (2005) wrote about collaborative ethnographic practices drawing on his work with Kiowa communities in Oklahoma, while Miller et al. (2008) provided a collaborative history of the Fort Peck Assiniboine and Sioux tribes in Montana.

Collaboration with tribes, communities, and individuals is most often based on long-term fieldwork and personal trust relationships and needs to, at least partially, address the specific needs of the community. Increasingly, formal tribal protocols for research permits are being extended to ethnographic work. While this ensures a tribe's control over research protocols and thus enhances sovereignty, such formal agreements raise new issues. Many tribes are familiar with research protocols from medicine and biosciences, and ethnographic research is sometimes simply put under similar protocols without adjustment. When that happens, tribes want to assert their ownership over research results. For anthropologists, this creates ethical dilemmas; by acknowledging that *tribes* collectively own cultural knowledge, they might diminish their collaborators' individual traditional rights to knowledge and performance.

Ownership over research carried out in communities might also implicitly or explicitly allow tribal governments to access research notes. These notes and the identity of research collaborators often need to be protected, especially from official reviews. Some research questions also might address or lead to potential conflicts between individuals or communities and tribal leadership. If tribes retain the right to approve of publications, cultural and political differences might become invisible. Such issues must be carefully addressed by anthropologists and tribes to preserve the potential for valuable ethnographic studies. The best solutions for ethical anthropological research will allow for a fundamental trust relationship between researchers and their collaborators. It might seem necessary to formalize these relationships in modern times, but formalization often also has the capacity to destroy them (Osborne 2003).

Driven by the need for long-term fieldwork and trust relationships in communities, many scholars have specialized in understanding individual societies or tribes, owing to the difficulty of learning Native languages and the diversity of cultures and histories on the Plains. Tribal colleges usually are mostly interested in the history and cultures of their own communities. Medicine (1998:254) spoke of "tribal ethnocentrism" that furthers the specialization of knowledge. New area studies, like Dakota studies or Métis studies, have emerged in this context. Such specialization is understandable and can lead to fruitful engagements with specific communities. It may also, however, drive the formalization of cultural differences and cultural

boundaries, leading to an emphasis on tribal historical uniqueness where such claims might be misplaced. In fact, Native multiculturalism is an old tradition on the Plains.

Some cultures on the Plains receive more attention than others, and such specialization may reinforce this trend. In part because of popular representations and perceptions, Prairie societies have been neglected (with important exceptions; Foster 2010), while Comanche and Lakota continue to receive the bulk of attention. Within the Lakota, the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation has remained the most widely known community throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries. Kiowa and Crow (Apsáalooke) are noticed, but smaller Plains tribes or those less prominent in popular media are often overlooked.

Because of differences in legal status, political history, and national academic literature, many departments, programs, and researchers also developed a focus on either the Canadian or the U.S. Plains area, although many Native nations, such as the Blackfeet/Blackfoot, Assiniboine/Nakoda, Dakota and Lakota, Plains Chippewa/Ojibwa, and Métis have communities on both sides of the international border. These connections are not limited to short cross-border trips but are often maintained over long distances; they include continuing ties between Athapaskan speakers, like the Tsuu T'ina (Tsuut'ina, Sarcee) Nation in Alberta and Plains Apache (Na i sha) groups in the Southwest.

The difficulty of learning different disciplinary methodologies and perspectives sometimes leads to the development of academic and private communities with their own theoretical and methodological approaches. As knowledge production and epistemologies become more dominated by American Indian studies and cultural studies approaches, archaeological and linguistic contributions have sometimes become marginalized in publications that focus on emic views of cultures and societies. Chronological or thematic overviews help foster cross-disciplinary understanding (Kornfeld and Osborn 2003; Scheiber and Clark 2008; Wood 1998). Nevertheless, recent scholarship on the Plains includes attempts to produce truly interdisciplinary knowledge. Good examples of how archaeology, ethnography, and ecology as well as Native and academic knowledge can be bridged in the twenty-first century include studies on buffalo jumps (Brink 2008) and earth lodges (Roper and Pauls 2005) (fig. 6).

Specialization of a different kind continues in the prominence of biographical studies in Plains Indian research, mainly through the exploration of lives of prominent Native individuals (primarily men) and mostly focused on the Plains Indian wars of the 1860s and 1870s. Crazy Horse (b. 1840, d. 1877), the Lakota war leader remains the most popular figure (Bray 2008; Marshall 2004; Matson 2016; McMurtry 1999; Powers 2010). The lives of other famous Lakota are also being reexplored, including Sitting Bull (b. 1831, d. 1890) (LaPointe 2009; Matteoni 2015; Philbrick 2010), Gall (b. 1840, d. 1894) (Larson 2007), Red Cloud (b. 1822, d. 1909) (Drury and Clavin 2013), and Dewey Beard (b. 1858 or 1862, d. 1955) (Burnham 2014). Other noted Plains Indian leaders revisited are Comanche Ten Bears (b. circa 1790, d. 1872) (Kavanagh 2016), Quanah Parker (b. 1845, d. 1911) (Gwynne 2010), the Dakota leader Inkpaduta (b. 1797, d. 1881) (Van Nuys 2004; P.N. Beck 2008),

Photograph by Sebastian Braun.

Fig. 6. A reconstructed earth lodge at the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site in western North Dakota. The Knife River villages were major settlements for the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara peoples for hundreds of years.

the Cheyenne Black Kettle (b. 1803, d. 1868) (Hatch 2004), and the Ponca chief Standing Bear (b. 1868, d. 1939) (Starita 2009). Women are mostly missing from the "prominent personality" biographies, with exceptions such as Sacagawea (b. 1788, d. 1812), the young Shoshone guide of Lewis and Clark (Johnson with Johnson 2008; Summitt 2008), and Omaha Susan La Flesche Picotte (b. 1865, d. 1915), first American Indian female medical doctor (Starita 2016). Agonito (2017) presented a collection of short biographical vignettes on Plains Indian women.

Some of biographical accounts add new knowledge of Plains cultures; others are interested mostly in retelling a mythical narrative of struggle narrowed down to personal nemesis. For many people, academics included, Plains Indian history is still the history of larger-than-life men engaged in a desperate war for survival. This is not, of course, an issue that exists only on the Plains but because of selected interest in early conflicts (Nester 2001; Chaky 2012) and especially the public fascination with the Plains Indian Wars of the 1860s and 1870s. Examples include Kelman (2013) on the 1864 Sand Creek massacre; Wylie (2016) on the 1870 Baker Massacre; Van de Logt (2010) on Pawnee scouts; Monnett (2017) on the Fetterman fight of 1867; Donovan (2008), Philbrick (2010), Lookingbill (2015), and Tucker (2017) on the Little Bighorn, 1876; Dickson (2011) on the 1881 Sitting Bull surrender census, an ideal companion to the Crazy Horse 1877 surrender ledger (Buecker and Paul 1994); and many more. With this flow of recent publications, the emphasis on Plains Indian history marked and defined by events of warfare and thus a history defined by war leaders may be more prominent than elsewhere. Historical reality, not simply a chain of massacres and war, might have looked rather different (Braun 2013b; Hill 2017; Wischmann 2004; see DeMallie 1993 and Fogelson 1989).

Transregional Themes

Knowledge and writing about Plains historical and contemporary cultures have never existed in isolation from general disciplinary practices and discourses. Accordingly, since the 1970s, the Plains culture area as a focus of regional knowledge has decreased in importance. This is especially true for cultural and linguistic studies; regional specialization has remained mostly intact in archaeology. Thematic lines of inquiry have thus become more important than regional ones, and the culture area approach to defining epistemological boundaries has all but disappeared. This shift might be connected to a general unease within cultural studies toward earlier anthropology and the internalization of these concerns within the discipline. Such critiques led to the abandonment of holistic monographs and encouraged a shift to thematically oriented work. Ironically, comparative ethnography and historiography might be victims of these developments. As knowledge becomes more fragmented among individual disciplines and subdisciplines, seeing and understanding cultural meanings become more difficult.

Contemporary communities on the Plains face many urgent needs in the areas of sovereignty, economic development, language revitalization, representation, and tribal welfare (fig. 7). These issues are not unique to the Plains, but because Plains Indians have played such a

Photograph by Sebastian Braun.

Fig. 7. Overlooking Lake Sakakawea and the Four Bears Bridge from Crow Flies High Butte on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, western North Dakota, in 2008. Lake Sakakawea, which was created by the damming of the Missouri River at Garrison Dam, forced most Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara people to relocate to higher ground and destroyed the economy of the tribes for decades.

prominent role in public and academic perceptions of Native North Americans, Plains nations are often featured as case studies. Even when this is not the case, the national and international discourse on these matters affects scholarship on the Plains communities in both the United States and Canada.

Plains economic development is no longer discussed strictly within regional limits but instead within larger, comparative, or generalized frameworks (Hosmer and O'Neill 2004; Jorgensen 2007; Wuttunee 2004). The same relates to the representation (Hendry 2005; Lawlor 2006), identity (Barker 2011; Deloria 2004), ethnohistory (Braun 2013b), and language (Kroskrity and Field 2009). Discourses on legal and political history and contemporary status and rights are often placed into a national framework, too (Cobb and Fowler 2007; McDonald 2010). Such larger frameworks are not simply academic discussions. Plains nations need to respond to outside expectations of "American Indians," because they need to be recognizable as such to important external constituencies.

In addition, because of the development and formalization of transregional Indigenous networks and identities, this is a discussion with increasingly global ties (Niezen 2003). Although other Indigenous nations might currently be more visible in the global spotlight, Plains Indian communities play a prominent role, and their responses to cultural changes, political status, legal rights, and economic challenges are informed by global discourses.

The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, adopted by the United Nations in 2007, was endorsed as moral guidance by the United States and Canada in 2010. It is frequently cited by people who work toward improving the legal and political status of Plains Indian communities (Echo-Hawk 2013). The origins of the declaration can be traced through the Working Group on Indigenous Populations and the International Indian Treaty Council to the 1974 gathering on the Standing Rock Indian Reservation and, thereby, to the Plains. The efforts, processes, and final report of the groundbreaking Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) (2015a) also included Plains aboriginal peoples and individuals. Reconciliation, as Sinclair (2011) pointed out, may take a few generations, but the impacts of the commission's work can already be felt, and the commission and its work are important in understanding not only the past but also contemporary dynamics (Niezen 2013; TRC 2015b).

Themes with fewer international ties, yet of more importance to local communities in the twenty-first century, are related to land, urbanization, and religion. Land rights and the complexities of American Indian landownership, as well as their consequences for communities, continue to be at the heart of issues for Plains Indian and other Native societies (Ruppel 2008). Fairweather (2006) broadened this discussion and compared land rights and their historical development in Canada and South Africa. Connected to land rights are decisions and rights over resource management, which are aspects of sovereignty (Clow and Sutton 2001). In Canada, the Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba (TRCM) has been working on a collaborative historical atlas of the province in an effort to bridge existing misunderstandings (Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba 2015). In Saskatchewan and Manitoba, mandatory education about treaties in grades K–12 has been implemented since 2010. Montana passed legislation to encourage collaborative education on Native issues for all schools in 1999. The historical discussion about land rights is only one part of the issue, however. While treaties obviously remain the foundations of many Native communities, contemporary practice in land and resource management has changed. Anthropology needs to keep up with the fractionation of titles, individual and tribal trust money accounts, regulations on trust lands, and a host of other legal issues that deeply affect how communities live in the early twenty-first century.

An exclusive focus on treaties and therefore on reservations and reserves might obscure the fact that for most Native peoples, those places are not their lived reality; they reside elsewhere. The move from reservations and Native homelands, mostly to urban centers, is not a new trend for Plains communities, but it has received more attention since the 1970s. Because the resulting urban communities are multitribal, the focus in these studies has been not so much on a single culture area as upon what used to be called pan-Indianism (Hertzberg 1971). Fixico (2000) and Lobo and Peters (2001), among others, addressed those issues, while a number of later studies have focused specifically on Chicago (LaGrand 2002; LaPier and Beck 2015; Laukaitis 2015), following in the footsteps of the innovative work by Straus and Arndt (1998). Ramirez (2007) and Krouse and Howard (2009) specifically emphasized the importance of Native women in urban communities, particularly as cultural brokers and transmitters. In Canada, urban reserves have attracted much attention, especially in Manitoba and Saskatchewan (Anderson 2013; Barron and Garcea 1999; Peters 2011).

Relocation affects cultural values and norms, but it would be a mistake to think that rural Native communities are not diverse. This diversity may create the most dialogue in relation to religious matters. As non-Native interests in and appropriation of Native spirituality have risen, and as some Native people have sought to consciously reengage with traditional practices,

Photographs by Sebastian Braun.

Fig. 8. left, On the Tree (or On-A-Tree) church on the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation in northwestern South Dakota, 2001. right, Saint Charles Church, Saint Francis, South Dakota.

"traditional religion [has become] perhaps the most important symbol of Lakota [and other Plains Indian] identity" (DeMallie 2009:198). While this situation creates much discussion about what defines traditional religion, the symbolic expression of identity cannot be confused with religious belonging, as Plains communities continue to host many different religions (fig. 8).

The ongoing discourse between and about traditional religions, different Christian denominations, the Native American Church, and other religious affiliations helped create a very fluid religious landscape. McNally (2000) for the Ojibwe and Lassiter et al. (2002) for the Kiowa explored hymns to contextualize the complex relations between traditional religion and Christianity (Clatterbuck 2017). It is important not to view such dynamics as discourse on assimilation or on choices regarding Indigeneity, but to see them instead as developments within Native communities, driven by Native agency and cultures. The Métis provide a good example of a group that has worked to redefine its historical and cultural past and future (Adams et al. 2013; Andersen 2014; Fiola 2015; Weinstein 2007).

Current and Future Landscapes

Native agency has ensured cultural continuity amid cultural change in the past, and it is certain to provide solutions into the future. For many Plains Indian nations, current issues might be divided into two broad and intersecting categories: natural resources and community well-being. One factor that brings together both the opportunities and threats from resource extraction and concern about future well-being is climate change, which is affecting Native and non-Native communities on the Plains and beyond (Maldonado et al. 2014; see "Native American Communities and Climate Change," this vol.). Such cross-boundary issues also raise questions about whether the present and future of Plains communities can be addressed simply by looking at Plains Indian cultures.

Plains Indians have a long history of involvement in natural resource extraction; one of the earliest examples being the Lynch Knife River Flint Quarry site, a pre-Columbian flint quarry in North Dakota designated a National Historic Landmark in 2011. It served as a major source of flint stone tools on the Plains and across North America and was used from 11,000 B.C.E. to 1600 C.E. Later resource extractions on the Plains were often tied to boom-and-bust cycles, from the early colonial fur trade through gold, uranium, and coal mining, to land and water rushes and several oil booms, all with impacts on Native communities in the region.

The development of hydraulic fracturing technologies, combined with climate change and political debates in the United States and Canada that emphasized energy independence, have led to a new energy boom in the early twenty-first century. Challenges from modern extraction enterprises include concerns that planned pipelines across reservations, watersheds, and historical Native homelands may destroy ecosystems. Some communities have experienced hydraulic fracturing booms within their territories that produced earthquakes, inflationary prices, crime, and unprecedented economic wealth for mineral rights owners at the same time that they fear contamination from wastewater brine and oil and air and water pollution.

After 2008, northern Plains Indian reservations and reserves were hit by the Bakken and Three Forks

Photograph by Sebastian Braun.

Fig. 9. "Mancamps" outside New Town, on the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, during the Bakken oil boom in 2012. The oil boom brought wealth and opportunity for some people in the communities and for the Three Affiliated Tribes but has been accompanied by housing shortages, an influx of heroin, human trafficking, and environmental damages.

Shale oil boom across North Dakota, Montana, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan (fig. 9). The Fort Berthold Reservation in western North Dakota came to be in the national spotlight, but the Trenton Indian Service Area in North Dakota and Montana, affiliated to the Turtle Mountain Indian Reservation in North Dakota; the Fort Peck Indian Reservation in Montana; and several reserves in Canada also experienced impacts, as did the Blackfeet (Niitsitapi) in Montana and tribes in Oklahoma from other shale plays.

Reactions to resource booms often depend on historical experiences, the existing economic situation, and national and international discourse. They are also often tied to debates on sovereignty and thus vary within individual tribal administrations. On the Fort Berthold Reservation (Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara), one tribal administration signed a tax agreement with the state of North Dakota to attract development; subsequent administrations have been trying to renegotiate the terms of the agreement. Another administration started to build a tribally owned refinery, a project that has since been stopped. The Turtle Mountain tribal government (Plains Chippewa) passed a resolution to ban hydraulic fracturing from the reservation, but many tribal trust lands in the Trenton Indian Service area feature drilled wells. The Fort Peck tribes have been dealing with decades-old contamination of its groundwater resources from deep-injected wastewater plumes that reached water wells, an issue resulting from previous oil booms.

Some of these developments create no economic advantages for tribes because they happen outside tribal territories. Pipelines that simply cross reservations, ancestral homelands, or watersheds providing drinking water, such as the now abandoned Keystone XL Pipeline at the Cheyenne River and Lower Brule Indian Reservations or the Dakota Access Pipeline at the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, create risk without much reward, often for other reservations and communities downriver (Todrys 2021; Keeler 2021). People on many reservations, such as the Pine Ridge (Oglala Lakota) and Cheyenne River (Mnikowoju, O'ohenupa, Itazipco, and Sihasapa Lakota) in South Dakota, fear that upstream uranium mining in the Black Hills area may poison their drinking water supplies.

Yet booms on reservation lands can also present economic opportunities. The Fort Berthold Indian Reservation in North Dakota has been able to build a new health clinic, expand its casino, and invest in housing and other urgent needs. The Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa, also in North Dakota, broke ground on a new casino in Trenton in 2014. Revenues from coal and oil extraction often allow for infrastructure improvement, job offerings, and wealth accumulation that are otherwise unavailable on rural and relatively isolated Plains Indian reservations. The Crow (Apsáalooke) tribe of Montana has considerable interest in developing a new coal mine in the Powder River basin. The neighboring Northern Cheyenne tribe, however, opposes coal extraction.

Plains people have proven time and again that adaptation is not assimilation and that compromises between economic opportunity and ecological threats or between preserving and destroying cultural heritage have not weakened their cultures or their identities. Clearly, they continue on their own paths. In contrast to the New Deal federal Indian programs in the United States in the 1930s (Kelly 1980; Washburn 1984), anthropology is not heavily involved in these contemporary changes. Nonetheless, honest, holistic, and thoroughly informed studies of present and future changes are needed, as Plains communities face a broad range of interrelated issues—from health care, language preservation and revitalization, and education, to domestic violence, law enforcement, and economic development.

Access to and funding for health care remain important issues for many Plains Indian communities, and facilities and access need to be improved. The same can be said about schools. Law enforcement agencies are often understaffed and overworked. Many communities do not have enough resources to diversify economic development projects. Infrastructure needs can

be overwhelming to smaller tribes and even large ones. Often community institutions work because of few dedicated individuals; this is especially true in regard to linguistic and cultural preservation, documentation, and education. In- and out-migration from reservations and reserves as well as from urban areas contribute to vibrant, dynamic cultures and to internal debates.

Plains reservations and reserves, as well as off-reservation Native communities on the Plains, are notably diverse. They range from individuals and families living in urban or rural settings to larger, predominantly Native American neighborhoods, from small reserves to large reservations, and from affluent individuals and communities to those living in extreme poverty. The same diversity can be found in people's ideological attitudes, from a preference for acculturation into the mainstream to one for upholding or redefining traditional cultures.

In small rural communities, tribal heritage preservation officers can serve as language activists, tribal historians, and keepers of oral history through their professional duties, or the community as a whole can be very traditional. Wealthy communities can attempt to deal with stark poverty in their midst, build museums to rediscover histories, and operate in global marketplaces with greater ease. Relatively small towns may face gang warfare. Drug cartels and international human traffickers can be embedded in rural places. People may see law enforcement officials as allies in the fight against domestic violence and abuse, or they may view the police as racist or colonial oppressors. For Native people who travel between communities or who commute to off-reservation workplaces, social landscapes change daily. Education, travel experiences, economic status, ties to historic cultures, and other personal geographies determine Native perspectives just as much as they determine those of their non-Native neighbors. Plains communities have long been, are, and will be the amalgams of these differing perspectives.

The Plains as a Focus of Study

The Plains Indian nations have been the prime object of Americanist anthropology since the 1800s, but it would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of international interest in the region's cultures and histories. Native communities on the Plains have long had direct ties to European travelers, academia, and public audiences. In the global marketplace of ideas and within global Indigenous networks, these contacts are important because they open avenues for support and alternative interpretations.

Drawing on a long tradition, European interest in Plains cultures remained strong (Ahrndt 1997; Feest 1999; Gerber and Ammann 1997; Müller 1970; Vazeilles 1977) and continues to this day. This interest is often geared toward historical themes, especially traditional political organization and religion (Cicognani 2013; Linnertz 2005, 2006; Schroeter 1999; Sonnwalden 2002; Vazeilles 1996). It is sometimes linked to European hobbyist movements (Taylor 1988), including texts that aim to bring Native religious believers and beliefs to Europeans as how-to guides. Plains Indians have also long been a staple of European imageries (Braun 2013a). Serious European work on Plains cultures, often in the broader context of Native American studies, should not be dismissed (Kreis 2007; Rodenberg 1994; Ulmer 2010). It keeps shaping expectations and approaches to American Indians nearly as much as American writings do.

In this context, several questions about Plains anthropology arise. Perhaps foremost is whether Plains anthropology as a unified field of study still exists. This is not simply a question of disciplinary approaches, but also one of regional foci and divergent academic traditions. Is there a recognizable field of Plains anthropology in the twenty-first century? There is certainly a defined Plains archaeology and, to a large extent, the culture area approach holds true within linguistics, yet cultural anthropology has become increasingly diverse. Perhaps it is more accurate to speak of different nodes or networks that draw from what is by now a mostly historic concept of Plains anthropology. As funding has shifted from anthropology to other disciplines, and as universities have largely abandoned anthropology positions in Plains cultural anthropology, it has become much safer to be a medical anthropologist or an ecological anthropologist who works on the Plains than a Plains anthropologist who looks at health or environment.

As noted, anthropology has been critiqued, and its role in knowledge production is often portrayed negatively. Yet much of the basic cultural knowledge that underlies modern work with Native American communities on the Plains was collected and interpreted during the first three-quarters of the twentieth century or earlier. Without invaluable prior records from missionaries, traders, collectors, and anthropologists, many revitalization efforts today would have looked very different. A vibrant community of Plains anthropologists should continue into the future, not because academia should not change, but because people in Plains Indian communities will continue to need the support and specific knowledge that come out of ethnographic research.

It is in these terms that volume 13 of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (DeMallie 2001a) is timeless. It provides an encyclopedic overview of knowledge pertaining to Plains nations, and as such, it exists in a timeless ethnographic present that defines Plains cultures and societies and to which new information can be added, probably without changing the foundation very much. At the same time, volume 13 is clearly dated around the turn of the century, a century that saw Plains anthropology as defining for the entire discipline.

Anthropologists will continue to work on the Plains, but it is doubtful that the Plains volume of the *Handbook* could be written in that form or with that amount of knowledge at any time other than when it *was* written, at the culmination of more than a century of expertise and knowledge and by a generation of scholars who understood the linkages between archaeological, linguistic, and cultural research. Its relatively late publication in the Smithsonian *Handbook* series means that revisions and reinterpretations of older materials had already mostly taken place, enabling the authors to take a critical perspective on the field and its state.

It is clear that because of Indian removal, the Plains became the new home for Native cultures from the Southeast, Northeast, Midwest, and even the Pacific Coast. At some point in the future, it will be worth asking whether these are now Plains cultures or whether they still "belong" to a different culture area. Are the Modoc, for example, still a California/Northwest Coast culture? Are the Shawnee still a Woodlands culture? Do the Seminole of Oklahoma or the Seneca-Cayuga Nation have more in common with their contemporary Sauk and Meskwaki (Sac and Fox), Kickapoo, Ottawa, or Wyandotte (Wyandot) neighbors than with their historical cultures? Is the locally recognized "Oklahoma Indian" ethnicity, which accepts the multiple intereservation kin relationships, valid? It is perhaps too early to raise such questions, which can be painful.

Any culture (or society) in a diaspora needs to identify itself with its original homeland; these ties can often be maintained, even when other aspects of the culture have changed. If North American anthropology were to start over in a contemporary setting and define Native culture areas in the twenty-first century, it is doubtful that the same areas would result or that all Indian nations would be associated with the ones under which they were historically classified, including in the *Handbook* series. On the Plains, at least three new differentiated culture areas seem to be developing, influenced by differences in legal status, policy, and cultural context: the southern Plains, mainly Oklahoma; the middle Plains, mainly South and North Dakota and Montana; and the Canadian Prairies, from Manitoba to Alberta. Although the area from the Dakotas into Canada is usually culturally identified as the "northern Plains," political, legal, and resulting social and cultural differences should be acknowledged as important contexts in the twenty-first century.

Urbanization, globalization, and continued ties with societies and cultures other than one's own, the realities of life on the Plains for a long time, are attracting more attention today as increasing numbers of individuals trace their identities to multiple diverse groups. Are the new "Anishinakota" (Anishinabe/Lakota) or "Navasioux" (Navajo/Oglala) to be included with the Plains Indians, and what do "outside" influences mean for Plains cultures? Is a modern diaspora Lakota community in San Francisco a representation of Plains culture? What does "settler colonialism" mean for tribal members of mixed heritage? Can a Plains Sun Dance ceremony be held in Germany? These are questions that communities in the twenty-first century face and must answer, each in its own context. Plains anthropology remains interesting in large part because it is still defined by flexibility, adaptation, and change.

Acknowledgments

Data used for this chapter were collected in and influenced by many Plains communities and people from those places, especially from the Cheyenne River, Fort Berthold, Standing Rock, and Turtle Mountain Reservations, but also in Native and non-Native communities from Montana to Iowa and from Manitoba to Oklahoma. Their knowledge and sharing helped bring an understanding of the realities of their lives and of the issues they experience in the twenty-first century.

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Most credit belongs to Raymond J. DeMallie, the editor of the *Plains* volume of 2001, who was initially selected to write this chapter. Unfortunately, neither he nor Douglas Parks was able to do it; their teaching and sharing of knowledge were of remarkable help to this text.

Southeast

ROBBIE ETHRIDGE, JESSICA BLANCHARD, AND MARY LINN

Volume 14, *Southeast* (Fogelson 2004), was initially conceived in 1970–1971 as part of the *Handbook* series, with Raymond D. Fogelson invited to serve as its editor. The work, however, progressed slowly. In 1998, with the volume still unpublished, a new planning committee, chaired by Fogelson, revamped the 1970 outline, enlisted new contributors, and updated entries that had already been submitted (Sturtevant and Fogelson 2004:xiii–xiv). Under the new plan, Jason Baird Jackson was invited to serve as associate editor, Ives Goddard oversaw the linguistic entries, and Jerald Milanich coordinated the chapters on archaeology. The volume was published in 2004, the last regional piece in the *Handbook* series, and presented a well-organized synthesis of the state of knowledge on southeastern Indians at the turn of the twentieth century (fig. 1).

The volume was divided into three sections. One was a southeastern regional overview with chapters on the history of archaeological, ethnological, and linguistic research; demographic history; environment; languages; and the precolonial era from 9500 B.C. to 1000 A.D. The second section was organized into four subregions: the interior Southeast, Florida, the Atlantic coastal plain, and the Mississippi valley and Gulf coastal plain. For each of the subregions, contributors produced chapters encompassing the precolonial eras, and the various Native groups, from the time of contact up to present, including groups that were forcibly removed in the mid-nineteenth century. The third section, "Special Topics," explored overarching topics, such as exchange, social organization, music, mythology, ceremonialism, and other subjects , tracing them from the earliest archaeological and historical records to contemporary times.

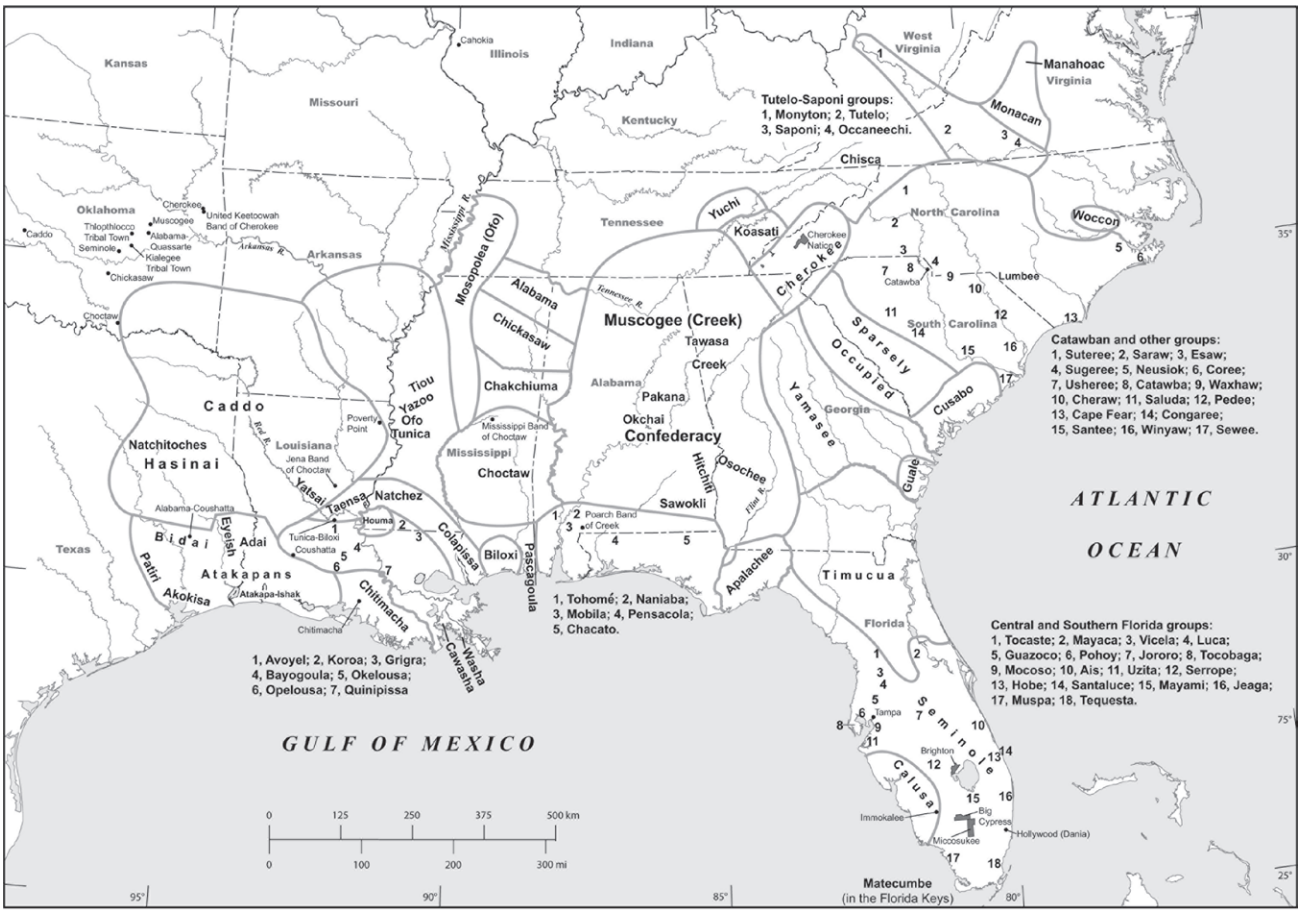
The treatments for individual groups in the *Southeast* volume varied depending on the depth of scholarly knowledge at the time of publication (fig. 2). There are three chapters on the Creek, but only one on the Chickasaw. Overall, the volume goes well beyond the better-known tribes of the Southeast, such as the Creek (Muscogee), the Poarch Creek, the Cherokee, the Eastern Band of Cherokee, the Chickasaw, the Choctaw, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, the Jena Band of Choctaw, the Catawba, the Caddo, the Seminole, and the Miccosukee. The editors wisely included less widely known and smaller groups such as the Alabama and Koasati, Yuchi, Chitimacha, and Tunica-Biloxi. They also opted to include tribes that have yet to be federally recognized such as the Lumbee and Houma.

In the nineteenth century, many southern tribes were forcibly removed to Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, where their descendants live today (fig. 1; table 1). The treatments of the tribes in volume 14 follow Native people to these new lands and into the contemporary era. The editors also gathered information on historic tribes that either were absorbed by other groups during the colonial years or otherwise no longer exist as distinct sociocultural entities. Most of these groups were subsumed under the early colonial or regional chapters. Some, like the Calusa, Timucuans, Guale, Yamasee, Tutelo, Chakchiuma, Cusabo, and Ofo received detailed treatment.

The strength of the *Southeast* volume is in its presentation of Native life as ever changing, adaptable, and dynamic and in its overall emphasis on the complex interplay between continuity and change. It moves the reader far beyond staid tropes such as the "disappearing Indian" or the "ahistorical Indian" and defunct methodologies such as the "ethnographic present" and "salvage ethnography." The Southeast communities come through as vibrant groups, in a real place, moving through and with history into the modern world. The scope and depth of the information are impressive, and researchers, students, and Native readers find a rich compendium of current interpretations of Native life over 12,000 years.

Since 2004, scholarship on southeastern societies has become a truly interdisciplinary endeavor with advances being made in archaeology, ethnohistory, ethnography, folklore, art history, health, psychology, and literary and museum studies. Of these, the ethnohistory of the Native South has grown tremendously. Southeastern archaeology is likewise flourishing and has generated some exciting theoretical and methodological breakthroughs.

The Southeast field has also seen the emergence of scholars spanning disciplinary divides in history,



Map revised by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History, and Robbie Ethridge. From *Handbook* vol. 14, *Southeast* (Fogelson 2004:ix).

Fig. 1. Traditional tribal areas (polities) in the Southeast, with selected areas of contemporary federally recognized tribes and tribal towns and state-recognized tribes, and tribal groups.

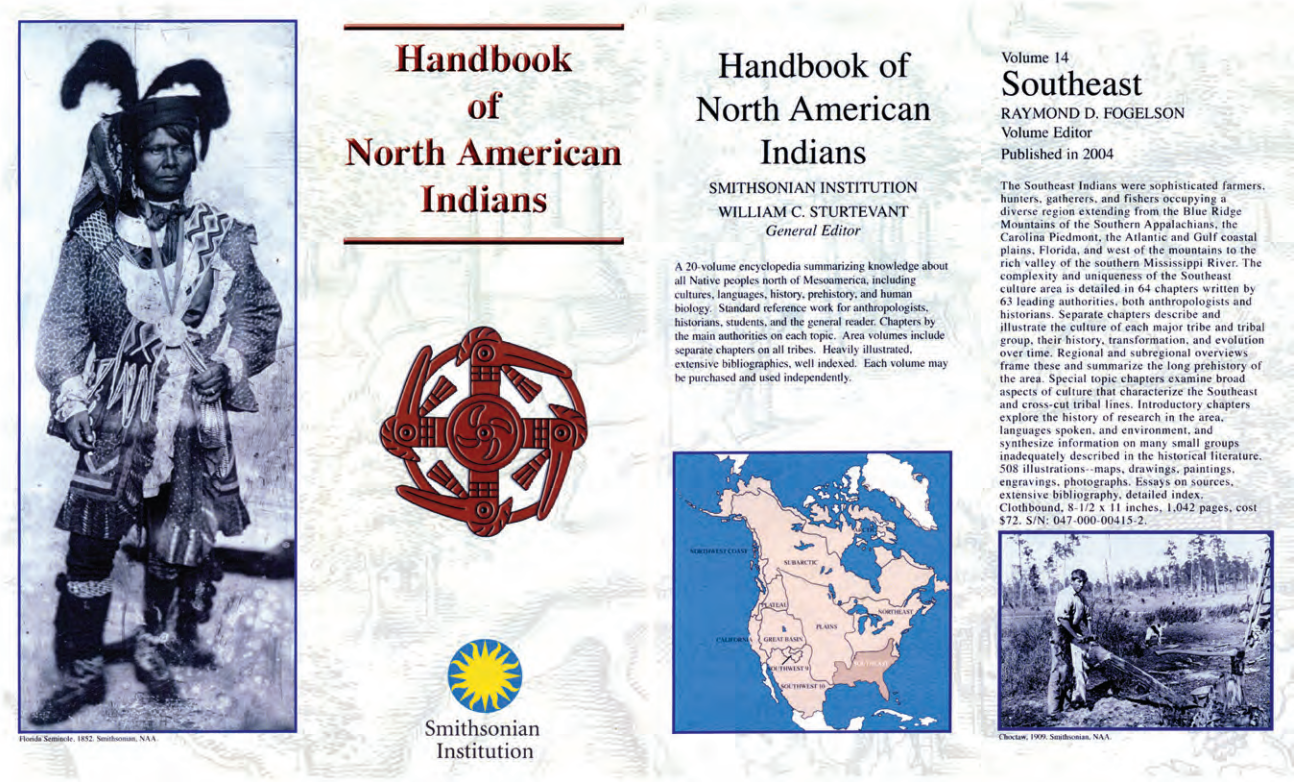
health, law, economics, anthropology, sociology, and psychology to produce ethnographic-based work on health, foodways, mental health, sovereignty, economics, and issues of citizenship and race. Another growing area of inquiry that is not treated in this chapter is literary studies (see Brown 2018; Byrd 2011; Caison 2018; Justice 2006; Rifkin 2011; Squint 2018; Taylor 2012; Teuton 2010; Trefzer 2006; Warrior et al. 2006; Weaver 2014). Finally, a measure of the current robust interest in the Native Southeast is the emergence of the new interdisciplinary journal *Native South*, launched in 2007.

Transitions in Archaeology

The *Southeast* volume offers an excellent discussion of southeastern archaeology. Using the most up-to-date archaeological data and interpretation, contributors provided narratives of the life and times of people living in the Southeast before European contact through the early years of contact. In addition, the chapter on colonial-era exchange and interactions (Waselkov 2004) synthesizes the archaeological record through the nineteenth century. Yet much has occurred in southeastern archaeology since these syntheses, most notably a theoretical shift toward history for understanding the ancient past, from which have come transitions in how southeastern archaeologists understand the historical forces of movement, interconnection, and exchange; art and iconography; mounds and monumental architecture; and economics and ecologies.

The Historical Turn

One important conceptual breakthrough in southeastern archaeology has been the erasure of the divide between "prehistory" and history. In previous decades, scholars studying ancient America emphasized long-term evolutionary change and adaptation, and archaeologists conceptualized pre-Columbian societies as akin to living organisms adapting to environ-



Courtesy of Joanna Cohan Scherer.

Fig. 2. Promotional brochure for *Southeast*, volume 14 of the *Handbook* series.

mental challenges rather than as complex organized groups responding to historical trends and forces. Today, however, archaeologists combine evolutionary processes with a new understanding that so-called prehistory was also historical, contingent, and local (Anderson and Sassaman 2012; Blitz 2009; C.R. Cobb 2005, 2014; Pauketat 2001a, 2007; Sassaman 2010).

Archaeologists in the twenty-first century emphasize that the historic and the "prehistoric" eras were not categorically different and that people across this divide were subject to similar historical forces (such as ethnogenesis, coalescence, and colonialism), events (such as regime change, warfare, and displacements), and developments (such as new technologies, new ideologies, and new hegemonies). In addition, archaeologists now consider the agency of people and individuals and take it for granted that they could and did shape their own histories in the ancient past as well as in the more recent past (Alt 2018; Beck 2013; J. Brown 2004, 2006; Gallivan 2016; A. King 2012; Pauketat 2004; Pluckhahn 2003; Pluckhahn and Thompson 2018; Randall 2015; Rees 2012). The resultant interpretive frame articulates structures of the *longue durée* with events, human agency, and meaning in exciting and innovative ways (Beck 2014; Cobb 2003a; Gilmore and O'Donoughue 2015; Marcoux and Wilson 2010; Randall 2015; Sassaman 2006; Sassaman and Holly 2011; Thompson 2014; Wallis and Randall 2014).

Much of this research has centered on the Mississippi Period (circa 900 A.D.–1600 A.D.). Recent years have seen several seminal publications reconstructing the histories of Mississippian population centers and sites (see "Additional Readings," this chapter), generating a new understanding of Mississippian societies. That Mississippian polities show both important structural similarities and a tremendous amount of diversity across space and time has been commonly accepted for some time. Archaeologists now recognize that this diversity emerged from diverse historical processes and events and that migration and coalescence were fundamental to the formation of polities (Alt 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2018; Beck 2003; C.R. Cobb 2005; Knight and Steponaitis 1998; Milner 2004, 2012; Pauketat 2004; Pollack 2004; Regnier 2014).

Movements, Interconnections, Exchanges, and Flows

The historical turn in archaeology precipitated a new interest in migration, coalescence, and emplacement, as well as advances in technologies such as isotope

Table 1. Federally Recognized Tribes and Tribal Towns and State-Recognized Tribes, Tribal Groups, Associations, and Special Interest Organizations in or from the Southeast, by State, 2020

State	*Federally recognized tribes and tribal towns*	*State-recognized tribes, tribal groups, tribal towns, and tribal associations and organizations*
Alabama	Poarch Band of Creek Indians	Chero-O-Creek Intra Tribal Indians Cherokee Tribe of Northeast Alabama Echota Cherokee Tribe of Alabama Ma-Chis Lower Creek Indian Tribe of Alabama Mowa Band of Choctaws Piqua Shawnee Tribe Southeastern Mvskoke Nation (formerly known as Lower Creek Muskogee Tribe East, Star Clan, Inc.) United Cherokee Ani-Yun-Wiya Nation
Arkansas	none	none
Florida	Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida Seminole Tribe of Florida (Big Cyprus Reservation, Tampa Reservation, Hollywood Reservation, Brighton Reservation, Immokalee Reservation, Ft. Pierce Reservation)	none
Georgia	none	Cherokee of Georgia Tribal Council, Inc. (also known as Cherokee Indians of Georgia, Inc.) Georgia Tribe of Eastern Cherokees Lower Muskogee Creek Tribe (Tama Tribal Town; also known as Lower Muskogee Creek Tribe East of the Mississippi)
Kentucky	none	none
Louisiana	Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana Jena Band of Choctaw Indians Tunica-Biloxi Tribe of Louisiana	Adais Caddo Indians of Louisiana Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw Confederation of Muskogee, Inc. (Bayou Lafourche Band, Grand Caillou/Dulac Band, Isle de Jean Charles Band) Choctaw-Apache Tribe of Ebarb Clifton-Choctaw Four Winds Tribe, Louisiana Cherokee Confederacy Louisiana Band of Choctaw Indians Point au Chien Tribe United Houma Nation
Mississippi	Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians	none
North Carolina	Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina	Coharie Intra-Tribal Council, Inc. Haliwa-Saponi Indian Tribe Cumberland County Association for Indian People (CCAIP)* Guilford Native American Association (GNAA)* Meherrin Indian Tribe Metrolina Native American Association* Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation Sappony Tribe Triangle Native American Society (TNAS)* Waccamaw Siouan Tribe
Oklahoma (limited to tribes from the Southeast)	Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town Caddo Nation of Oklahoma (shares jurisdiction with Delaware and Witchita and affiliated tribes) Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma	none

Table 1. (*Continued*)

State	*Federally recognized tribes and tribal towns*	*State-recognized tribes, tribal groups, tribal towns, and tribal associations and organizations*
	Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma Kialegee Tribal Town Muscogee (Creek) Nation of Oklahoma Thlopthlocco Tribal Town Quapaw Tribe of Indians United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma	
South Carolina	Catawba Indian Nation	American Indian Chamber of Commerce of South Carolina (AICC; special interest organization)** Beaver Creek Indians Chaloklowa Chickasaw Indian People (tribal group)** Edisto Natchez Kusso Tribe of South Carolina Eastern Cherokee, Southern Iroquois, and United Tribes of South Carolina, Inc. (ECSIUT; tribal group**; also known as Cherokee Indian Tribe of South Carolina) Little Horse Creek American Indian Cultural Center (special interest organization) Natchez Indian Tribe (tribal group) Pee Dee Indian Nation of Beaver Creek (tribal group) Pee Dee Nation of Upper South Carolina (PDNUSC) Pee Dee Indian Tribe of South Carolina Piedmont American Indian Association of South Carolina (PAIA; tribal group; also known as Lower Eastern Cherokee Nation of South Carolina)** Santee Indian Organization (formerly White Oak Indian Community) The Sumter Tribe of the Cheraw Waccamaw Indian People Wassamasaw Tribe of Varnertown Indians
Tennessee	none	none
Texas (limited to tribes from the Southeast)	Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas	none from Southeast

* Indicates state-recognized American Indian organizations in urban areas, which North Carolina differentiates from state-recognized tribes.
** Indicates tribal groups and tribal special interest organizations, which South Carolina differentiates from tribes.

studies, neutron activation analysis, X-ray diffraction, and X-ray fluorescence. The collection of large source-material databases allows archaeologists to better track the movement of objects and people across communities and even regions (see "Emergence of Cultural Diversity," this vol.). Archaeologists no longer assume that large, monumental sites were simply the ritual facilities of only people from the attached communities. Rather, many such sites from the Archaic to the Mississippi periods now appear to have been multicultural gathering points for people connected through far-flung networks spanning sometimes hundreds of miles (Alt 2006; D. Anderson 2012; Randall 2015; Regnier 2014; Sassaman 2005; Wallis 2011).

For both monumental and small communities, archaeologists now consider the possibility of long- and short-distance interactions, migrations, and coalescences of disparate groups of people into single communities as well as the possible forced immigrations of war captives and others (Alt 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012; Birch et al. 2016; Birch and Thompson 2018; Peregrin and Lekson 2012; Pollack 2004; Randall

2015; Regnier 2014; Sassaman 2006; Stojanowski 2005; Turner et al. 2005; Wallis 2011; Wilson 2017).

This new lens on movement has revolutionized our understanding of the Archaic Period. The current vision presents this period as having much more complex social, political, and religious elements than previously thought. Archaeologists have given much attention to finding archaeological signatures for Archaic era interaction, alliances, and network building (Anderson and Sassaman 2012:87; Jefferies 2004; Pluckhahn and Thompson 2018; Sassaman 2010). However, instead of producing homogenous Archaic social, political, and cultural groups, such interactions intensified local cultural expressions, resulting in a mosaic of Archaic cultural expressions across the Southeast (Gibson and Carr 2004; Jefferies 2009; Kidder and Sassaman 2009; Pluckhahn et al. 2010; Randall 2015; Sassaman 2006, 2010; Sassaman and Holly 2011; Sassaman and Randall 2012; Thomas and Sanger 2010).

Photograph by David H. Dye.

Fig. 3. Hightower style birdman gorget from Etowah.

Art, Iconography, and Ideology

Twenty-first-century archaeology also offers fresh interpretations of precolonial artwork and symbolism and examines how religion and ideology intersected with the lived experiences of ancient people of the Southeast. Scholars shine a new light on the Hopewell religion of the Middle Woodland era (700 B.C.–1,000 A.D.), combining studies of landscape, memory, myth, symbolism, ritual, and community, and present the Hopewell Interaction Sphere as consisting of shared religious meanings that varied with local histories and contexts (Anderson and Sassaman 2012; Baires 2017; Byers and Wymer 2010; Carr and Case 2005; Charles and Buikstra 2006; Pluckhahn 2003; Pluckhahn et al. 2010).

In addition, new studies of Mississippian iconography, architecture, and mortuary complexes combine with ethnographic analogies to put forward a new understanding of ancient art (Knight 2012; Koldehoff and Pauketat 2018; Lankford et al. 2011; Reilly and Garber 2007). Previously, archaeologists glossed Mississippian iconography as a whole complex known as the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC). New analyses reveal that Mississippian iconography and art are neither exclusively southeastern nor necessarily ceremonial nor a complex (Knight 2006:1). Instead, there was a much wider distribution of this iconography as well as much more diversity in the representations and meanings than previously thought (see "Additional Readings," this chapter). With such new insights, scholars have also revisited the petroglyphs and rock art and have turned a new eye to understanding less durable art such as tattooing (Deter-Wolf and Diaz-Granádos 2013; Diaz-Granádos 2004, 2011; Diaz-Granádos and Duncan 2004; Simek et al. 2013).

The preferred modern term for this collective is the Mississippian Ideological Interaction Sphere (MIIS). Close examination of the MIIS reveals a common religious and ideological grammar that is expressed differently and with distinctive artistic styles that correlate with distinctive Mississippian polities, such as the Braden style for Cahokia (J. Brown 2004, 2007, 2011; Kelly 2006), the Hightower style for Etowah (fig. 3) (A. King et al. 2011; King and Reilly 2011; Reilly and Garber 2011), the Hemphill style for Moundville (Knight and Franke 2007; Knight and Steponaitis 2011), and the Craig style for Spiro (Reilly 2007).

Mounds and Monumentality

Since the discovery in the 1990s that a series of mounds across the lower South dated from the Middle Archaic Period (6900 B.C.–3800 B.C.), the time marked by a foraging way of life, archaeologists have had to rethink mounds. More recently, archaeologists also discovered that the shell rings and shell monuments in present-day Florida are extremely old, with the oldest dating from about 5500 B.C. (Randall 2015:9; Sassaman and Randall 2012; see "Coastal Peoples and Maritime Adaptations," this vol.). Such a long-term view of mound construction makes it clear that although pre-Columbian southeastern people used mounds and monumental architecture over millennia, they did not do so consistently and the meaning, intentionality, and

use of the mounds varied across time and space (Anderson and Sassaman 2012:76).

A picture now emerges in which people were building monuments in great bursts of activity to commemorate important events, personages, religious fervor, displays of authority, or cosmological signifiers. Such bursts of activity were often followed by lulls in building and even abandonment. Several generations later, people would undertake another commemoration by either building altogether new monuments or repurposing ancient monuments in an effort to co-opt an imagined history. Monumental earth- and shellworks, then, are *citations* to history. It is also increasingly clear that mounds have much significance for modern descendants of the mound builders (E.G. Anderson 2016; Chaatsmith 2013; Howe 2014; Miller 2015).

The shell rings and earthworks of the Archaic Period have come under intense new scrutiny. Although archaeologists are still not in agreement about their function, most would agree that the shell rings are not simply piles of refuse accumulated over decades. Rather, the shell rings may have begun as circles of household refuse, but over time and sometimes after periods of abandonment, they also became places of ritual feasting, sacred burial, social bonding, and alliance building—in short, places of historical practice (Claassen 2010, 2015; Pluckhahn and Thompson 2018; Randall 2015; Russo 2010a, 2010b; Sassaman and Heckenberger 2004; Saunders 2012; Saunders 2004; Thomas and Sanger 2010; Thomas 2008; Thompson 2010; Thompson and Andrus 2011; Thompson and Pluckhahn 2010).

Recent research into mound building has also produced the startling realization that many of the earthworks, including some of the largest such as Mound A at Poverty Point and Monks Mound at Cahokia (fig. 4), were built in relatively short periods of time—sometimes in only a matter of months—and not incrementally over hundreds of years, as previously thought. The implications of a short time frame for construction have raised new questions for archaeologists who study the Archaic (Gibson and Carr 2004; Kidder 2011; Kidder et al. 2009; Ortman 2010; Pluckhahn and Thompson 2018; Sherwood and Kidder 2011), Woodland (Byers and Wyme 2010; Carr and Case 2005; Charles 2012; Charles and Buikstra 2006; Kidder et al. 2010; Pluckhahn 2003; Pluckhahn et al. 2010; Rees 2012) and Mississippi periods (Blitz and Livingood 2004; Brown 2006; Kelly 2000; King 2004; A. King et al. 2011; Knight 2010; Milner 2004; Pauketat and Alt 2003; Rodning 2009; Schilling 2013; Wilson 2017). These new considerations include the sort of coordination and resources needed to aggregate large labor forces; what may have prompted people to participate in mound building; why mounds varied in size, the time they were in use, and the meaning of the mounds given the planning behind their construction.

Photograph by Robbie Ethridge.

Fig. 4. Monks Mound, Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site, Collinsville, Illinois.

Based on these new perspectives, archaeologists hypothesize that the sites that were home to Mississippian mound builders were planned cities and towns. Monumental architectural structures such as mounds are now understood to have been only one element in a set of planned political, social, and religious landscapes that included plazas, domestic structures and mundane spaces, burial mounds, palisades and ditches, temples, and charnel houses. Southeastern archaeologists are actively reconsidering past treatments of the Archaic mounds and shell ring sites, the Woodland-era ceremonial and civic centers, and Mississippian towns and cities and reconceiving these spaces as sociograms with specific architectural grammars denoting social, political, and ideological constructs (see "Additional Readings," this chapter).

Economics and Ecology

In the early 1990s, archaeologist Bruce Smith demonstrated that domesticated plant use in the Southeast began during the Late Archaic with the tending of wild plants such as marsh elder, *Chenopodium*, tobacco, and sunflowers (B. Smith 1992). Scholars now understand that Archaic foragers managed and tended their landscapes to make plants and animals more

productive and accessible and thus more useful to people. In the process, Archaic foragers in some cases also manipulated the genetic makeup of plants and animals through selective harvesting and breeding. In short, Archaic people were practicing incipient agriculture (Abrams and Nowacki 2008; Gremillion 2004; Hollenbach 2009; Moore and Dekle 2010; Sherwood and Chapman 2005; Smith and Yarnell 2009).

In addition, archaeologists now have access to high-quality climate data that show a definite global cooling trend, with more precipitation, occurring around 1200–600 B.C. Many archaeologists now believe that climate change initiated intensified use of domestic plants and dramatic social, political, and perhaps religious shifts that resulted in the abandonment of the most impressive Late Archaic sites and the shell ring sites, and heralded the beginning of the Woodland way of life (Kidder 2006; Sanger and Thomas 2010). Climate change has come under new consideration for large-scale abandonments and political dynamics during later periods as well (Anderson et al. 2012; Benson et al. 2009; Blanton 2013; Blanton and Thomas 2008; Meeks and Anderson 2012; Scarry and Reitz 2005).

The Contact Era

In the 1980s and 1990s, the work of Charles Hudson and colleagues reconstructed much about the social geography of the pre-Columbian, Late Mississippi Period of 1400 A.D.–1600 A.D. (Ethridge and Hudson 1998; Hudson 1997; Pluckhahn et al. 2006). With this benchmark in place, it is now clear that the European invasion led to a great transformation for southeastern Indians and that Native societies on either side of this transformational divide were quite distinct (Ethridge and Hudson 1998:34). These insights, along with the historical turn in archaeology, have led archaeologists to begin discerning the regional factors that affected the rise and fall of Late Mississippian polities. Of prime importance now are the geopolitical and population shifts that occurred in the first decades after the European invasion that resulted in the formation of the Historic Period coalescent societies (see "Additional Readings," this chapter).

Transitions in Ethnohistory

The decades since 2000 have seen an explosion of ethnohistoric scholarship on the Native South (Saunt 2008). Several transitions have occurred that are not reflected in the *Southeast* volume (Fogelson 2004). Scholars have revealed a large and vicious colonial Indian slave trade and begun a reconsideration of the consequences of introduced diseases and examined details of life within the large coalescent societies of the Historic Period. New treatments on Indian Removal cast the experiences of African slaves and their descendants in Indian country; they also brought new primary source material into publication.

Indian Slave Trade

One of the most important historical realizations to emerge is that a commercial trade in Indian slaves was set in motion throughout the Eastern Seaboard and beyond soon after European contact in the 1500s. European slave traders would employ Indian slavers to raid other Indian communities for slaves to sell on the European slave market. In return, Indian slavers would receive guns, ammunition, and other European-manufactured goods. Scholars have known for decades that southeastern Indians became ensnared in the European commercial slave network (Crane 2004; Lauber 1913); however, Gallay's book (2002) was the first treatment to examine the Indian slave trade as an economic and imperial system of colonialism. It stimulated subsequent studies on the slave trade not only in the Southeast but in other North American regions as well. These studies delineate a broad network of commercial interests and exchanges within the Indian slave trade that connected the American South to the Mid-Atlantic, to French Canada, to Latin America, and to the Caribbean (Barr 2007; Bialuschewski and Fischer 2016; Bowne 2005; Fischer 2014, 2017; Gallay 2009; Goetz 2016; Newell 2015; Ramsey 2008; Reséndez 2016; Rushforth 2012; Shefveland 2014, 2016; Snyder 2010).

Scholars have documented both how the commercial trade in Indian slaves in the South functioned as an economic mainstay of early colonial efforts and how it disrupted Indian life (Bossy 2016, 2018; Dye 2009; Ethridge 2006, 2009a, 2009b, 2010; Ethridge and Shuck-Hall 2009; Gallay 2002, 2009; Jennings 2011; Marcoux 2010). In the eighteenth century, deerskins would replace Indian slaves as the commodity most in demand on the global market, but the Indian slave trade was the economic foundation for European colonization in the Southeast for the first 80 years or so. The involvement in the slave trade was one component in the long process of restructuring experienced by the Mississippian world in the wake of European contact. Ethridge (2006, 2009a, 2009b, 2014; also Bossy 2014) calls this time and place a "shatter zone," when Native polities were strained beyond their abilities to sustain themselves. The destabilization of the chiefdoms after military encounters with Spanish explorers, the impact of introduced diseases, and incorporation into the

world capitalist economic system through the trade in guns and slaves resulted in massive displacements, migrations, extinctions, and coalescences.

Introduced Diseases

With the revelations from new studies of the Indian slave trade, scholars began to question the role of disease in the disruptions to Native life resulting from European contact. Rethinking the concept of the "demographic collapse," they demonstrated with great care that the enormous loss of Native life after contact did not occur because of the introduction of disease before sustained European contact, but rather over almost 200 years. Thus, disease was but one factor in the shattering of Native life (Rice 2011:7–10). In the twenty-first century, scholars have pointed to several other contributing factors, such as slaving, internecine warfare, dropping fertility rates, violent colonial strategies such as genocide, and general cultural and social malaise resulting from colonial oppression (Alchon 2003; Betts 2006; Hutchinson 2007, 2013, 2016; Hutchinson and Mitchem 2001; D.S. Jones 2003, 2004; Kelton 2007, 2015; Ramenofsky and Kulisheck 2013; Saunders 2002; Stojanowski 2004, 2005, 2010, 2013).

Migrations, Coalescences, and Interactions

Native polities may have collapsed with European contact, but the survivors regrouped and restructured their lives into the larger, better-known Indian societies of the colonial era (1500s–1700s), usually called coalescent societies or confederacies. These were the polities that people most commonly associate with southeastern Indian nations: the Creek, Choctaw, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Catawba, and Seminole. Scholars are actively studying the origins of these and other coalescent societies, uncovering their Mississippian roots, and attempting to reconstruct the multiple migrations and coalescences that occurred throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries to form these new polities as well as the political, social, and ideological mechanisms that held them together (Beck 2014; Bossy 2018; Ethridge 2010; Ethridge and Shuck-Hall 2009; Jenkins 2009; Marcoux 2010; Rodning 2015).

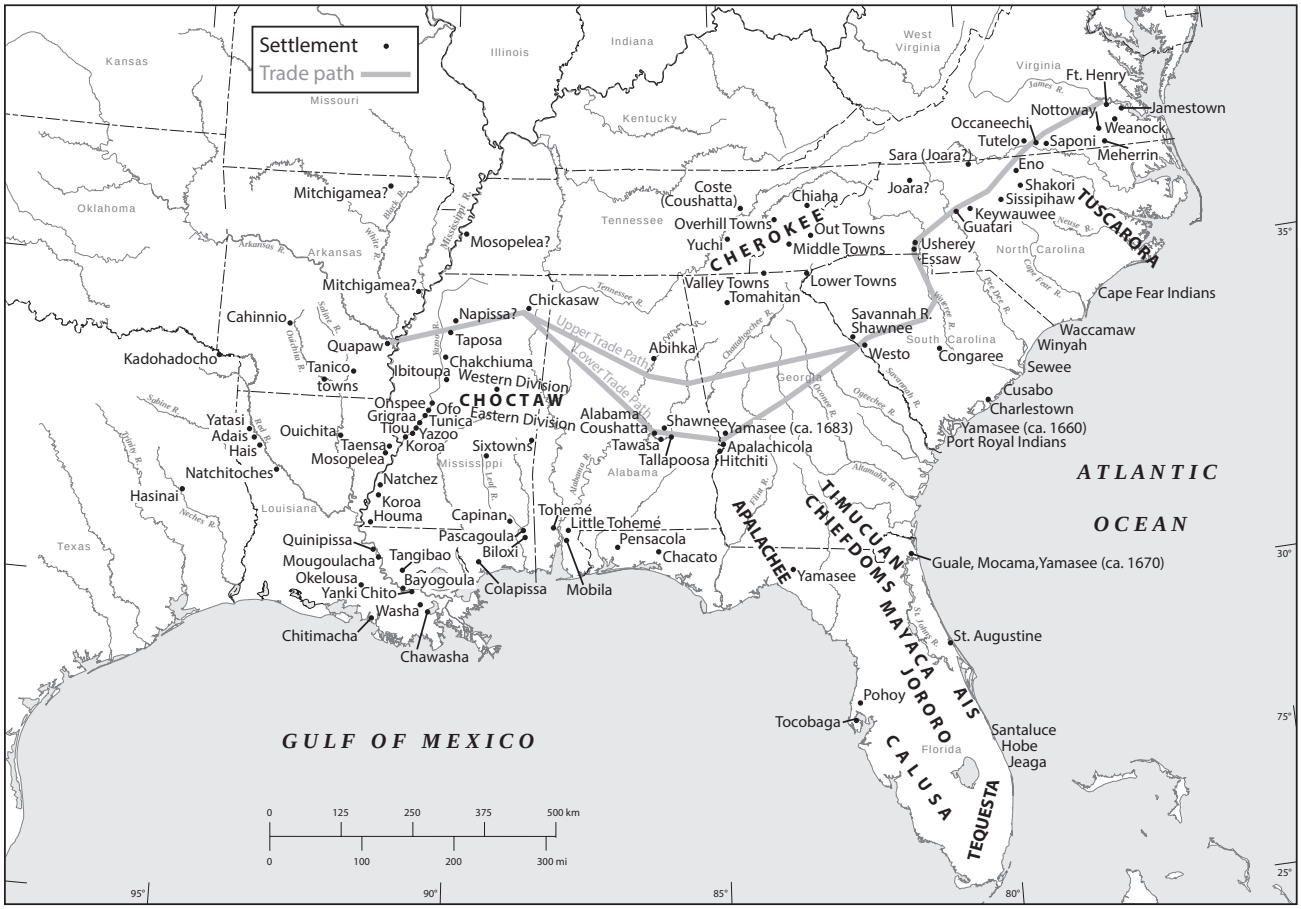
As scholars work to reconstruct these shifts, the diversity of Indian polities and languages during the early colonial era is becoming more and more apparent. Goddard (2005a), combing the ethnohistoric record, argued that the Southeast was home to at least 12 language families (Adai, Atakapa, Caddoan, Calusa, Chitimacha, Iroquoian, Muskogean, Natchesan, Siouan-Catawba, Timucuan, Tunican, and Yuchi) and that, within these 12 families, people spoke more than 70 distinct languages. This linguistic diversity reflected the political diversity of the early colonial years (fig. 5). Over the next 300 years, this diversity would diminish through the amalgamations and coalescences of disparate groups and the extinctions of many small groups as a result of colonial oppression, slaving, and warfare (Ethridge 2010). Still, one can discern remnants of this earlier diversity in the number of southeastern Indian tribes today (table 1).

These new frames have also given rise to a series of works examining the intricacies of interactions between Natives and newcomers that resulted from European contact over the ensuing several centuries. These studies have historicized colonial-era interactions in ways that reveal fundamental differences between the first 100 years of contact, when the European presence was somewhat limited, through the eighteenth century, when the European presence began to increase substantially (see "Additional Readings," this chapter). Numerous changes and continuities have been documented in Native household life (Wesson 2008), leadership (Hahn 2004, 2012; Kokomoor 2019; O'Brien 2002; Piker 2013; Rindfleisch 2013, 2016; Saunt 1999), economies (Greene and Plane 2010; Paulett 2012; Silverman 2016; Stern 2017), religion (Lankford 2008; Zogry 2010), gender roles (LeMaster 2014; Slater and Yarbrough 2011), communities (Piker 2004; Rodning 2007, 2010, 2015), material life (Johnson et al. 2008; Lapham 2005), ecology (Ethridge 2003; Krech 2009; Rice 2009), warfare (Haynes 2018; Jennings 2011), and identity (Boulware 2011; Usner 2015; Warren 2014; White 2012).

New scholarship also takes a decidedly continental approach, connecting events and people of the South to events and people throughout the Eastern Woodlands, the Southwest, the Caribbean, and beyond (Barr 2007; Dowd 2016; Dubcovsky 2016; DuVal 2015; Lakomaki 2014; Ray 2014, 2015; Rice 2009; Saunt 2014; Silverman 2016; Snyder 2017; Shefveland 2016; Warren 2005, 2014). Historians now rethink important moments and processes in American and southern history by considering how Native people helped shaped those events and processes and the perspectives of Natives on those events (DuVal 2015; La Vere 2013; Richter 2013; Rosen 2015; Saunt 2014; Sleeper-Smith et al. 2015; Tortora 2015).

Indian Removal

According to the concept advanced by Wolfe (1999, 2006), settler colonialism—or colonialism predicated on replacing Indigenous populations with colonizer



Map originally drawn by Robbie Ethridge in 2010, produced by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 5. Map of the southeastern Indian tribal territories and major settlements ("towns"), circa 1680.

("settler") populations and the concomitant acquisition of territory—necessarily promoted the "elimination of the native." This elimination, in turn, was realized through a racialization of Indigenous inhabitants that undermined their sovereignties, economies, political systems, and cultures. In the Southeast, settler colonialism followed 200 years of the earlier French and British forms of colonization that were grounded in capitalist-driven, extractive economies designed to export commodities such as slaves and deerskins. In these cases, Indian populations were crucial to the economy, and European in-migration and land acquisitions were minimal. During the Spanish rule in Florida in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, colonization was aimed primarily at policing Spain's holdings and sea lanes by co-opting Indian leaders—a strategy that fully depended on Native populations.

Settler colonialism, on the other hand, sought to replace Indigenous people. In the South, settler colonialism can be said to have begun in the late eighteenth century, after the American Revolution, with the influx of European settlers and African slaves. This triggered the opening of the cotton economy to the interior, a subsequent insatiate grasping for Indian landholdings, the erosion of Indian power and sovereignty, and finally the removal of many southern groups to Indian Territory in the present-day states of Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas.

Modern studies of removal emphasize not only the hardships and deprivations and the harsh federal policies and implementation, but the resiliency and resistance of Native people throughout the process (Bens 2018; Black 2015; Bowes 2007, 2016; Denson 2017; Ellisor 2010; Garrison 2002; Haveman 2016; Langguth 2010; Lowery 2017; Paige et al. 2010; Perdue and Green 2005, 2007; Robertson 2005; Smithers 2015, 2016). The Trail of Tears Association, a nonprofit organization dedicated to establishing a Trail of Tears National Historic Trail, has aroused public interest in Indian Removal and support for establishing significant points along the removal trails (see www.nationaltota.com). The twenty-first-century publications are primarily provocative examinations of the

resistances, accommodations, integrations, syntheses, and entanglements that resulted from the continuing struggle over land and sovereignty in the Southeast and, after removal, in Indian Territory (see "Additional Readings," this chapter).

New studies also highlight innovative southeastern Indian cultural forms that emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through a blending of Indian and Euro-American art and pan-Indian cultural exchanges such as powwows, dance, folklore, and modern music, and they examine the consequent questions of authenticity (Ellis 2003, 2013; Ellis et al. 2005; Harris 2016; Haynes 2010; Jackson 2014; Perea 2013; Troutman 2009).

African Indians and the Complications of Race

The *Southeast* volume includes a treatment of "African-Americans in Indian Societies" (Miles and Naylor-Ojurongbe 2004); that essay laid the groundwork for one of the most robust new field in Native South studies. Southeastern Indian scholars face the complicated issue of the integration of Africans into Indian communities and how, why, and when institutionalized race-based slavery, race, and racism affected Indian and African-Indian relations.

Since 2004, scholars have pulled back the curtain on the African experience among southeastern Indians to reveal a startling, complex, and emergent social system in which Indigenous captive taking, transformed into race-based slavery, coexisted with the admittance of Africans into Indian societies as full citizens (Snyder 2010). Africans thus lived simultaneously as Indian citizens and Indian slaves (fig. 6) (Krauthamer 2015; Miles 2005, 2010; Saunt 2005; Snyder 2010, 2017; Zellar 2007), and runaway slaves joined Indian communities and served as interpreters and cultural brokers (S. Miller 2003; Mulroy 2007). The color lines in southeastern Indian communities were both blurred and sharpened (Hudson 2015; Lowery 2010), and in time, issues of sovereignty became inextricably tied to issues of race (Adams 2016; Chang 2010; Lowery 2018; Naylor 2008; Perdue 2005; Ray 2017; Yarbrough 2008). As discussed below, these issues still inform much about southeastern Indian life well into the twenty-first century.

Primary Source Material

Accompanying this outpouring of interest in the history of the Native South have been new publications of heretofore unpublished primary source material (Anderson et al. 2010; Crews and Starbuck 2010–2014; Haveman 2018; Martinez 2018; McClinton 2007; Perdue and Green 2005; Pitchlynn 2013) as well as newly annotated editions of previously published primary source material (Adair 2005; Pate 2018; Timberlake 2007) and translations of Spanish and French

Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Frank Phillips Collection #3060.

Fig. 6. Chickasaw and Choctaw freedmen enrolling for allotments, circa 1900, Oklahoma.

documents (Francis and Kole 2011; La Salle 2003; Sayre 2009; Worth 2007).

Transitions in Ethnography

Ethnography is no longer the purview of only anthropologists. Today, both Native and non-Native scholars in a variety of disciplines such as sociology, history, law, literary criticism, political science, food studies, environmental studies, health and medicine, and social work employ anthropological ethnographic methods. The new trends in Southeast ethnography are quite variable but can generally be parsed into the categories of health research; participatory research; foodways; sovereignty and economics; and sovereignty, recognition, and citizenship.

Health Disparities

The *Southeast* volume featured a number of discussions on healing, curing, and traditional medicinal plant use, but these fell largely within the context of historical disease environments, ceremonial practices, and religious healing. Later works continued to examine traditional healing, use of medicinal plants, and ceremonial curing (Conley 2005; Lewis and Jordan 2008; Snow and Stans 2015); yet new research is concerned primarily with health and health disparities in contemporary tribal communities, a topic that is mostly absent from volume 14.

Much of this work cuts across tribal and cultural area lines in the same way that contemporary Native communities cut across geographic and cultural boundaries. It is well known that Indian communities suffer disproportionately from physical and mental health deficiencies compared to other groups of higher socioeconomic status (American Psychiatric Association 2014; American Public Health Association 2014). Preventable diseases make up the majority of health concerns facing Native American populations, who have the lowest life expectancy rate of any group in the United States (Arias et al. 2014; Indian Health Service 2018; Jones 2006).

For Indian people, the Indian Health Service (IHS) cites "inadequate education, disproportionate poverty, discrimination in the delivery of health services, and cultural differences" as contributing to these health disparities (Indian Health Service 2018). Modern health research on historically underserved and exploited populations also understands health to be shaped by complex social determinants, such as socioeconomic status, education, gender, access to health care, political immobility, social violence, life expectancy, and the relationship to land and resources. Understanding the importance of social determinants of health has prompted a shift toward health research that speaks directly to the need for improved data collection (Altman and Belt 2009; Bauer and Plescia 2014; Espey et al. 2008; James 2009; Sarche and Spicer 2008; Satter et al. 2014), community-based partnerships and interventions (Daley et al. 2006), capacity building (Jernigan et al. 2015), and opportunities to promote American Indian researchers and health professionals (Claw and Garrison 2017; Sánchez et al. 2016; Warne 2006). This work revisits the nature of Native health in reference to genomics and other developing technologies (Bardill 2014; Blanchard et al. 2017; Claw et al. 2016; Drabiak-Syed 2010; Garrison 2013; Harry and Kanehe 2006; Lee et al. 2001; Popejoy and Fullerton 2016; Reardon and TallBear 2012; TallBear 2013a, 2013b, 2014; Tsosie 2007a). It calls for health policy reform that is shaped by the concerns and needs of the communities (Joe and Gachupin 2012; Warne and Frizzell 2014).

Three health issues in particular—tobacco use, diabetes (Chou et al. 2014; Joe et al. 2014a, 2014b; Lefler and Belt 2009; Mihesuah 2016), and alcohol-related health issues (Ishii 2008; Lowe et al. 2012)—illustrate the challenges for southeastern and other Indian communities. American Indian populations experience tobacco-related health problems at a rate greater than the general population. Tobacco-control initiatives present particular challenges for Native communities because tobacco is central to many Native ceremonial and medicinal practices and tribally owned smoke shops and smoking-allowed casinos often serve as cornerstones of economic development (Báezconde-Garbanati et al. 2007; Blanchard et al. 2015; Choi et al. 2011; Daley et al. 2006, 2010; Eichner et al. 2005; Hodge 2002; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2014; Winter 2000).

American Indian populations also experience mental health–related challenges, such as disproportionately high rates of suicide compared to the general U.S. population. Suicide rates and attempts vary tremendously between tribal groups and regions, but "suicide deaths are approximately 50% higher [for Native] people than for White people" and suicide remains the second leading cause of death among Native adolescents and young adults ages 10 to 24 (Wexler et al. 2015:891). As suicide rates for Native populations continue to exceed other racial and ethnic groups by nearly three and a half times, positive directions in suicide prevention call for improved prevention strategies in rural areas, school-based programs, and community-based programs that highlight survivorship and reporting of suicide in the media (Leavitt et al. 2018). Recent studies explore the prevalence of depression, substance use disorders,

suicide, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, childhood trauma, and domestic violence (Beals et al. 2005; Brown et al. 2008; Gone and Trimble 2012; Gonzales et al. 2018; Kelley and Lowe 2012; U.S. Surgeon General Report 2001; Witko 2006). Native American populations suffer from persistent social injustices—trauma that often translates into mental and physical health issues (Lefler and Belt 2009).

Participatory Research

The state of health challenges across Indian Country demands that health research in Native communities identify pressing community needs, develop meaningful interventions, understand Indigenous ways of knowing disease and health, and contribute to healthy outcomes, while fostering an approach to research that is ethical, responsible, collaborative, and responsive to the need for social justice. Researchers across Indian Country are employing a number of methodologies that incorporate these principles, including community-based participatory research (CBPR), participatory action research (PAR), and tribal participatory research (TPR) (Burhansstipanov et al. 2005; Holkup et al. 2004; Jernigan et al. 2012; Joe et al. 2014b; Kelley et al. 2013; Mariella et al. 2009; Morton et al. 2013; Roberts and Jette 2016; Sahota 2010; Wallerstein and Duran 2003, 2006).

Instrumental in the implementation of community-based initiatives to reduce American Indian health deficits are the three branches of the IHS—the federally operated direct care system, independent tribally operated health care services (fig. 7), and urban Indian health care services (Sequist et al. 2011). In addition, the National Institutes of Health (NIH) partnered with the IHS to fund the Native American Research Centers for Health (NARCH), which prioritizes community-based investigators and capacity building in tribal communities (https://www.nigms.nih.gov/Research/CRCB/NARCH/Pages/default.aspx; see also Wallerstein and Duran 2010). One of the NARCH grantees in the Southeast is the United South and Eastern Tribes–Vanderbilt University (USET-VU) NARCH, a consortium to develop research and training opportunities that benefit American Indians and, specifically, the 26 federally recognized tribes that make up USET (National Institutes of Health 2012:38–39).

Photograph by Angelo Baca.

Fig. 7. Vinita Health Clinic, Cherokee Nation, 2014.

Other state and local collaborations have affected participatory research and health initiatives. The Center for Native Health, in western North Carolina, a collaborative project between the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (EBCI), Western Carolina University (WCU), and Wake Forest University (WFU), is driven by a community-guided agenda and implements educational, community, and research programs focused on the EBCI Qualla Boundary and other tribes in the South (Center for Native Health 2016).

Participatory research reaches beyond health care. Several collections of oral traditions have appeared in recent years wherein Native collaborators work closely with scholars to document contemporary versions of oral traditions, folktales, prophesy, and tales of everyday life (Crediford 2009; Duncan 2008; Gouge 2004; Jackson 2013; Kimball 2010; Mould 2003, 2004). Many southeastern Native groups have long been interested in developing and promoting research, scholarship, and interest in their histories, cultures, and modern developments. To that end, most every federally recognized southeastern tribe and many state-recognized tribes maintain museums and cultural centers that are open to the public. The mission of these centers is typically to preserve, protect, promote, and maintain the rich cultural heritage of their people through archives, archaeology, tribal historic preservation, Native crafts, cultural education, cultural demonstrations, community outreach, and tourism development (Watt and Laurie-Beaumont 2008). These tribal cultural centers and museums have contributed to an upsurge of interest by tribal members in their traditions and homelands and to an effort to mend the long-term separation of those in Indian Territory from those who remain in their homelands.

Today, many Oklahoma Indians return to their eastern homelands as part of tribally organized returns or on their own. Oklahoma Muscogee (Creek) regularly return to attend memorial services at Horseshoe Bend on the Tallapoosa River in Alabama (the site of a disastrous battle against the U.S. Army during the Red Stick War of 1813). The Chickasaw Nation has embarked on a long-term project of purchasing ancestral lands in and around Tupelo, Mississippi, and has regularly scheduled bus trips to the homeland for elders and youths. The Chickasaw Nation Native Explorers Program, among other things, helps bring Chickasaw students to Mississippi to be trained in

Chickasaw archaeology. Oklahoma Cherokee travel to the Qualla Boundary in North Carolina, home of the EBCI (Duncan and Riggs 2004). Oklahoma tribal people travel to powwows and other festivals held in the homelands, and eastern tribal people make similar trips to Oklahoma. These visits have precipitated a new convergence of East and West tribal groups; creative exchanges that generate songs, dances, stories, and arts and crafts; and a revitalization of deeply held reverence for their eastern homelands.

Foodways and Food Sovereignty

Today, Indigenous foodways are of tremendous interest to those investigating the dynamic relationship between Native peoples, food, and health. Particularly important contributions to the study of diet and health are those that focus on issues of food insecurity and food sovereignty (Desmarais and Wittman 2014; Elliott et al. 2012; Grey and Patel 2014; Jernigan et al. 2012; Mailer and Hale 2013; see "Food Sovereignty," this vol.). In addition, new scholarship examines traditional foodways, health and nutrition, health disparities, and Native science systems within the context of settler colonialism, land rights, and sovereignty (Altman 2006; Briggs 2015; Cozzo 2009; Green 2013; Lewis 2018; Mihesuah 2015, 2017).

Interest in food and foodways has also sparked Indigenous community-based programs designed to promote tribal food sustainability; establish seed banks to preserve and restore endangered seeds; and protect Indigenous knowledge, biological knowledge, and health (see "Additional Readings," this chapter; see also "Food Sovereignty," this vol.). Among southeastern tribal communities, there is an interest in Indigenous seed saving, biodiversity projects, and environmental stewardship as forms of cultural resurgence and political resistance (Carroll 2015; Cozzo 2007, 2010; Nazarea et al. 2013; Veteto and Welch 2013).

Sovereignty and Economics

The concept of sovereignty—or state self-governance—was generated in the early years of European nation building in the eighteenth century. Even though it was not an Indigenous concept, Indians across North America found it a useful tool during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when U.S. (and Canadian) treaty relations and tribal recognitions raised the question of who would govern Indian political entities—tribal, state, or federal authorities? Tribes consistently called for tribal political sovereignty, and today the concept of sovereignty, although complex and variable, lies at the foundation of Native political identity.

In the *Southeast* volume (Fogelson 2004), discussions of tribal sovereignty and recognition were largely limited to a few closing paragraphs in tribal chapters. Since 2004, scholarship examining Indigenous sovereignty has come into its own. New works, many of them written from Indigenous perspectives and by Indigenous scholars, have shown that sovereignty has deeply contested and fluid meanings for Natives and non-Natives alike, and for American Indians the concept of sovereignty provides the most potential for imagining a strong national future (Barker 2005, 2017; Bruyneel 2007; Byrd 2014; Cattelino 2008a; Dennison 2012, 2017; Lambert 2007a:17, 2017b; Rosen 2007; Simpson 2014, 2018).

Economic successes in Indian country have called into question Indian authenticity, and hence Indian sovereignty. The presence of "rich Indians" seems antithetical to Western ideas about Indigeneity, which are based on the old concept of the static, ahistorical Indian (Harmon 2013). The new scholarship on economics and sovereignty confronts the supposed paradox of the rich Indian and sovereignty by extending the notion of sovereignty beyond self-governance and economic freedom to include the right of self-definition, Indigenous concepts of authenticity and identity, and the federal recognition process (Corntassel and Witmer 2011; Cramer 2005; Dennison 2012; Lambert 2007a, 2017b; Lewis 2018; Oakley 2018).

For the Southeast, much of this work takes place in tribal studies covering contemporary groups, such as the Seminole (fig. 8), the Eastern Band of Cherokee, Chickasaw, Oklahoma Choctaw, Chitimacha, Creek, and Yuchi (see "Additional Readings," this chapter). It covers a range of activities such as gaming, tourism

Photograph courtesy of the Seminole Hard Rock Hotel & Casino in Hollywood, Florida.

Fig. 8. A promotional rendering of the guitar-shaped hotel at the Seminole Hard Rock Hotel & Casino in Hollywood, Florida, which opened in 2019.

and historical reenactments, arts and crafts, small businesses, and ceremonies. It highlights that American Indian sovereignty in the twenty-first century is established through complex, interdependent economic, social, and cultural relationships between local, state, and federal governments and tribal governments and citizens as well as through intertribal relations.

Sovereignty, Recognition, and Citizenship

Sovereignty entails recognition of the tribes by federal and state governments as well as the rights of Indian nations to determine their own membership and criteria for citizenship. The U.S. federal government mostly has predicated American Indian tribal recognition on assumptions about Native "cultural authenticity, racial purity, and traditional integrity" (Barker 2005:17; Oakley 2008:73–76). Hence, sovereignty, paired with recognition, is deeply entangled in questions of authenticity, race, and cultural continuities. Several studies of contemporary southeastern tribes examine sovereignty and recognition in this light (Adams 2016; Barker 2011; Corntassel and Witmer 2011; Cramer 2005; Dennison 2014, 2017; Gorman 2011; Jacobs and Lerch 2013; Klopotek 2011; Lambert 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2017a, 2017b; M. Miller 2006, 2013; Norgen 2004; Oakley 2005, 2018; Pleasants and Kersey 2010; P. Smith 2009; Sturm 2011; Whitlock 2008). Studies in American Indian activism also wrangle with these questions (Bates 2012, 2016; Cobb 2008; Cobb and Fowler 2007).

For contemporary Indian groups that originated in the American South, questions of "racial purity" are embedded in black and white race relations, the doctrine of white supremacy, and racist ideologies. In fact, several studies demonstrate the inconsistencies, paradoxes, conundrums, and conversations particular to Indian citizenship and belonging born out of the nexus of red, white, and black in the American South (Adams 2016; Bates 2012, 2016; Cramer 2005; Klopotek 2011; Lowery 2010, 2017, 2018; Oakley 2008; Osburn 2014; Ray 2017; Shefveland 2016; Sturm 2011; Usner 2015, 2016; Whitlock 2008; Yarbrough 2008). Linked to these discussions of race is the use of "blood quantum" for defining Indianness. Under nineteenth-century colonial pressure, Native people appropriated the standard of blood quantum to identify themselves. Although some people have warned that blood quantum works to "deracinate—to pull out by the roots—and displace indigenous peoples" (Kauanui 2008:9), most Indian nations insist on using blood quantum today as the criterion for inclusion despite the continued critiques of the blood quantum rule by both Native and non-Native scholars (Dennison 2014; Ellinghaus 2017; Lowery 2010; Lyons 2010; Sturm 2002; Wilkins and Wilkins 2017).

Transitions in Linguistics

The first decades of the twenty-first century have been an active time for linguists studying the Native South. New descriptive works have emerged, as have new studies on the phonetic structures of southeastern Indian languages and language acquisition. Studies in language ideology, a branch of sociolinguistics, have also grown in recent years. In addition, programs in language revitalization have spread across Indian country, including the Native South.

Descriptive Works

Since 2004, scholars have produced an unprecedented output of large descriptive grammatical works, dictionaries, and new collections of oral and written narratives on southeastern languages. Several publicly available language textbooks have also added to the knowledge of the southeastern languages, such as Biloxi, Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Koasati (see "Additional Readings," this chapter). Martin's (2011) *A Grammar of Creek (Muscogee)* won the Linguistic Society of America's prestigious Leonard Bloomfield Book Award in 2012 for its meticulous descriptions, detailed acoustic analyses, attention to dialectal variations, and theoretical underpinnings.

New comprehensive studies of southeastern Indian languages (Hardy and Scancarelli 2005) included descriptions of the non-Muskogean languages Quapaw (Rankin 2005), Caddo (Chafe 2005), and Natchez (Kimball 2005), providing important new data. Haag (2016) compiled re-elicited and new translations of oral literature from Choctaw, Muscogee (Creek), Chickasaw, Yuchi, Cherokee, Koasati, and Atakapa-Ishak, Catawba, and Houma.

In phonetics and phonology, much-needed work on tone and accent systems has been done, in particular on Oklahoma Cherokee tone, with implications beyond the Southeast for how tone arises, how it interacts with morphology, and how speakers and learners perceive tone (Herrick et al. 2015; Johnson 2005; Uchihara 2009, 2013). Other phonetic works include those on Chickasaw (Gordon 2004, 2007; Gordon and Munro 2007), Muskogean (Creek) (Johnson and Martin 2002), and Koasati (Gordon et al. 2015).

Language Acquisition Research

Little research is available on language acquisition for any polysynthetic languages or in any endangered language communities in North America. Thus studies of Cherokee second-language acquisition with children at the Cherokee Immersion Charter School

in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, have made a significant contribution to the field of second-language acquisition. They have addressed the importance of assessing acquisition in revitalization programs, including in efforts to teach children to read and write Cherokee (Peter 2014; Peter and Hirata-Edds 2009), methodological concerns about language acquisition in the Cherokee revitalization program (Peter and Hirata-Edds 2006), and the process of language acquisition among children in these programs and the implications of this process for teaching (Peter et al. 2008). Morgan's (2017) dissertation on Chickasaw adult acquisition, in collaboration with the Chickasaw Nation, is the first study of second-language acquisition of an indigenous language in the United States.

Language Revitalization

Language revitalization programs continue to gain ground in the twenty-first century. Across North America, the awareness of language shift and growing activism related to language rights, language and identity, and language and cultural continuity is at an all-time high (see "Native American Languages at the Threshold of the New Millennium," this vol.). The Southeast is no exception to this trend. Nearly all of the southeastern tribes have some sort of language revitalization program in place (fig. 9). Such programs include accredited immersion schools, master-apprentice programs, community language classes and camps, media and social media outlets, and language documentation that produces online dictionaries, text collections, teaching materials, and more. Most have active websites with language materials posted or available for download.

The Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma has a Cherokee immersion charter school, serving kindergarten through the eighth grade. The Seminole Nation sponsors an immersion program at the Pumvhakv School, with a pre-K through fifth-grade curriculum, and the Florida Seminole Tribe has a kindergarten through eighth grade immersion school at Pemayetv Emahakv. Other notable programs include the Chahta Anumpa Aiikhvna (School of Choctaw Language) in the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma; the Chickasaw Nation Department of Language of the Chickasaw Nation

Photograph by Jami Murphy, courtesy of Cherokee Phoenix Newspaper.

Fig. 9. The Cherokee Language Immersion School, using traditional seed gardens for language instruction.

governmental offices; the Euchee Language Learning Center of Kellyville, Oklahoma, and the Euchee/Yuchi Language Project in Sapulpa, Oklahoma; the Houma Language Project in Golden Meadow, Louisiana; the Koasati Language Project with the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana in Allen Parish, Louisiana; and the Tribal Language Program of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians in Choctaw, Mississippi.

New developments emerged through collaboration involving revitalization programs and modern technologies (see "Digital Domains for Native American Languages," this vol.). Rosetta Stone, the global technology company that produces language-teaching software, recently partnered with the Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana to produce a Chitimacha language program as part of its Endangered Language series. The Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma worked with Microsoft Office to make the company's suite of applications available in the Cherokee syllabary. In addition, most smartphones can be set for complete use in the Cherokee syllabary.

Language Ideology

Although the body of literature on language ideology is not as robust as other linguistic scholarship, some important works on language ideology and sociolinguistics have materialized since 2004. The interest in revitalization programs has prompted scholars to examine how language revitalization and acquisition intersect with identity, empowerment, family, and authority (Davis 2016, 2018; Hasselbacher 2015b). They explore Indian perspectives on such programs and address questions raised by Native people themselves, such as whether it is practical to learn Native languages in today's world, who has the right to learn and speak the language, and what it means to the students of these programs (Chew 2017; Kickham 2015; Ozbolt 2014; Peter 2014; Peter and Hirata-Edds 2009; Peter et al. 2017; Tehee 2014).

Linguists have also turned their attention to exploring the connections between language, more broadly, and Indian identity, authority, authenticity, gender, and sovereignty (Belt and Bender 2007; Bender 2009; Hasselbacher 2015a; Innes 2006). Scholars probe medicinal texts and language to examine language loss, resilience, and changing attitudes (Bender 2013; Innes 2004). Since Cherokee is the only historical written North American Indian language, linguists examine its implications for the broader social and cultural world of the Cherokee, both today and historically (Bender 2002, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010; Cushman 2010, 2011). Folklorists have contributed much to language ideology studies through their examinations of language performance in storytelling, ceremonial calls, ritual speech, everyday speech, and other oratory (Jackson 2003, 2013; Haag 2016; Mould 2003, 2004).

Conclusion

As this discussion has shown, scholarship on the Native South in the twenty-first century is perhaps more vibrant than ever before. Both Native and non-Native scholars are contributing new work to broaden understanding of southeastern Indian life, from the peopling of the Native South to the present day. Much of this work has its roots in anthropology, and much has spilled well beyond the established bounds of anthropology and archaeology, leading scholars from a wide cross-section of disciplines to ask new and important questions.

From archaeology have arisen new questions on pre-Columbian history, monuments, movements, ideologies, and contact. From ethnohistory and history have emerged new understandings of disease, Indian slavery, and coalescence, as well as new frames for understanding the interactions between Indians, Europeans, and Africans in the Southeast. Contemporary ethnographic studies encompass a range of disciplines from health care to psychology to anthropology to environmental studies. These works are framed largely around questions of sovereignty and settler colonialism and examine the implications of these questions for physical and mental health, foodways, race relations, citizenship, economies, and so on. Lastly, linguists studying the Southeast have produced new descriptive and phonology works, and they are examining modern language acquisition, revitalization efforts, and language ideology. Since the publication of the *Southeast* volume (Fogelson 2004), these developments continue to deepen, and they help open new avenues of inquiry in the twenty-first century.

Additional Readings

Extensive new treatments of several Mississippian precolonial centers and sites have become available since 2000, such as that for Cahokia (Alt 2006, 2018; Emerson 2002; Pauketat 2004, 2009), Moundville (Blitz 2012; Knight 2010; Steponaitis and Scarry 2016; Wilson 2008, 2010), Etowah (A. King 2003, 2012), Town Creek (Boudreaux 2007), Bottle Creek (I. Brown 2003), Coweta Creek (Rodning 2007, 2009, 2010, 2015); Tascaluza's chiefdom (Regnier 2014),

the King site (Hally 2008), Coosa (Smith 2000), the Shiloh site (Welch 2006), Joara (Beck et al. 2016), the Carter Robinson site (Meyers 2015), the Savannah River chiefdoms (Anderson 1994), Catawba valley Mississippian (Moore 2002), the Chattahoochee River chiefdoms (Blitz and Lorenz 2006), the Pearl River chiefdoms (Livingood 2011), the Plaquemine polities (Livingood 2011; Rees and Livingood 2006), the chiefdoms on the James River (Gallivan 2003, 2007, 2016), St. Catherine's Island polities (Blair et al. 2009; Deagan and Thomas 2009; Reitz et al. 2010; Thomas 2008; Thompson and Thomas 2013), the Caddo (Girard et al. 2014), and the chiefdoms along the Tombigbee River (Blitz 1993), to name a few. Also, Bowne (2013) offers a general popular guide to the Mississippian chiefdoms.

Some recent scholarship in southeastern archaeology has shifted away from a focus on mounds and elites toward the everyday, ordinary, and identity (Beck et al. 2016; Hodge and Shuler 2018; Peres and Deter-Wolf 2018; Price and Carr 2018; Steere 2017; Waselkov and Smith 2017).

On the much wider distribution of Mississippian iconography, see Brown (2004, 2006, 2011), Diaz-Granádos and Duncan 2004, Dye (2004, 2008, 2009, 2012), Hudson (2003), Knight (2010, 2012), Lankford (2004, 2007), Lankford et al. (2011), Livingood (2008:11–15), Reilly (2004), Reilly and Garber (2007), Smith and Miller (2009), Steponaitis and Knight (2004), Steponaitis et al. (2011), and Townsend and Sharp (2004).

New reconsiderations of the Archaic-era mounds and shell ring sites include Claassen (2010, 2015), Clark 2004), Gibson and Carr (2004), Pluckhahn and Thompson (2018), Randall (2015), Russo (2010a, 2010b), Sassaman (2005), Sassaman and Randall (2012), Saunders (2012), Thompson (2010), Thompson and Andrus (2011). For the Woodland-era ceremonial and civic centers, see Byers and Wymer (2010), Carr and Case (2005), Charles (2012), Charles and Buikstra (2006), Clay (2014), Pluckhahn (2003), Pluckhahn et al. (2010), Rees (2012), Thompson and Pluckhahn (2010), Wallis and McFadden (2012), Wright and Henry (2013). For the Mississippian towns and cities, see data in Anderson (2012), Brown (2004), Gougeon (2015), Hammerstedt (2005), Knight (2010), Lewis and Stout (1998), Livingood (2008:2–11), Pauketat (2009), Rodning (2010, 2015), Sherwood and Kidder (2011), Steponaitis and Scarry (2016).

The geopolitical and population shifts that occurred in the first decades after the European invasion and resulted in the formation of the Historic Period coalescent societies are covered in Beck (2009, 2013, 2014), Beck et al. (2016), Boudreaux et al. (2020), Davis and Riggs (2004), Gallivan (2003, 2007, 2016), Knight (2009), Loren and Wesson (2010), Marcoux (2010), Mathers et al. (2013), Moore (2002), Regnier (2014), Rodning (2015), Sampek et al. (2015), Smith (2000), Sullivan and Rodning (2011), Thompson and Thomas (2013), Waselkov and Smith (2017), Wesson and Rees (2002). On the earlier colonial-era interactions (1500s–1600s), when the European presence was still limited, see Beck (2014), Beck et al. (2016), Boudreaux et al. (2020), Cobb (2003b), Davis and Riggs (2004), Dubcovsky (2016, 2017), Ethridge (2010), Ethridge and Hudson (2002), Gallay (2002), Gallivan (2003, 2007, 2016), Galloway (1995, 2005), J.M. Hall (2009), Loren (2008), Marcoux (2010), Milne (2015), Hahn (2006), Rodning (2009), Smith (2000), Waselkov and Smith (2017), Wesson and Rees (2002). New studies covering interactions in the 1700s include Atkinson (2004), Barnett (2007, 2012), Carson (2003, 2007), Cashin (2009), Denson (2004), DuVal (2006), Hann (2006), Haynes (2018), Jackson (2012), Juricek (2010, 2015), Kokomoor (2019), LeMaster (2012), O'Brien (2008), Ray (2015), Shuck-Hall (2009), Sweet (2005), and Usner (2018).

Recent ethnohistorical publications cover issues as diverse as the role of land speculators (Dupre 2018; Winn 2015); persistence and change within Indian family structures (Inman 2017; Knight 2018; C. Johnson 2010; Stremlau 2011, 2017); economic accommodations (Frank 2017b; Hudson 2010; Nichols 2016; Oakley 2018; Usner 2009, 2015); the challenges of voluntary assimilation and resistance (Abram 2015; Braund 2012; Kidwell 2008a; Osburn 2014; Waselkov 2006; Usner 2016); the resultant, often uneasy, blending of lives and lifeways (Frank 2005, 2017a; Lowery 2010, 2017; Oakley 2005; Perdue 2005; Snyder 2017; Usner 2018); the role of religion (McClinton 2007; Pickett 2015); changing political orders (Haynes 2018; Kokomoor 2019; Peach 2018, Warren 2005); alcohol use (Ishii 2008); incorporation into the capitalist market and mindset (Ethridge 2003; Saunt 1999); and the building of the American nation through conflict (Haynes 2018; Langguth 2010; Rosen 2007, 2015). In addition, new tribal and regional histories recount life for Native southerners from contact into contemporary times (Dupre 2018; Frank 2017a; Lowery 2018; Smithers 2019).

Several publications highlight efforts to devise culturally appropriate medical methods and health assessments for southeastern communities and participatory programs involving tribal citizens (Brown et al. 2008; Chadwick et al. 2014; Deacon et al. 2011; Hartmann and Gone 2012; James 2009; Komro et al.

2015; Lefler and Belt 2009; Lefler et al. 2009; Lowe 2006; Lowe et al. 2008, 2012; Roberts and Jette 2015; Simonds et al. 2012; Warne 2004; Yuan et al. 2014).

Tribal programs devoted to food sovereignty, traditional foodways, and health are numerous across North America. From 2008 to 2014, the Center for Disease Control, as part of its Native Diabetes Wellness Program, partnered with several Native communities across America to explore the impact of traditional foodways movements. In the Southeast, these included the Catawba Lifestyle and Gardening Project, the Cherokee Nation Health Nation/Foods Project, and the Eastern Band of Cherokee Healthy Roots for Healthy Futures (see https://www.cdc.gov/diabetes/ndwp/traditional-foods/index.html). Several southeastern tribes have established various programs promoting gardening, healthy eating, and tribally owned fresh-produce businesses (http://gardenwarriorsgoodseeds.com; also Healthy Native North Carolinians Network at https://americanindiancenter.unc.edu/initiative/healthy-native-north-carolinians). The Federally Recognized Tribes Extension Program (FRTEP) through the U.S. Department of Agriculture aids programs with the Eastern Band of Cherokee that promote gardening and traditional foodways, see https://indiancountryextension.org/extension/office/cherokee-extension. The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians have also initiated a community-supported agricultural project with Choctaw Fresh Produce, see https://www.facebook.com/choctawfreshproduce/.

For recent treatments of American Indian sovereignty issues in the Southeast, see the following: Seminole (Bens 2018; Cattelino 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008a, 2009a, 2009b, 2010b, 2010c, 2011; Frank 2017a, 2017b; Pleasants and Kersy 2010), the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (Brown 2018; Beard-Moose 2009; Lewis 2018; Oakley 2018), Chickasaw (Gorman 2011; Lambert 2017a), Oklahoma Choctaw (Kidwell 2008a; Lambert 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2017a, 2017b); Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (Osburn 2014); Tunica-Biloxi, Jena Choctaw, and Clifton Choctaw (Klopotek 2011), Coushatta (Precht 2015), Poarch Creek (Cramer 2005:113–36), Chitimacha (Usner 2015, 2016), and Yuchis (Jackson 2003, 2013), among others.

New publications in linguistics include treatments of the Biloxi (Kaufman 2013), Cherokee (Feeling et al. 2003, 2010, 2018; Frey 2013; Montgomery-Anderson 2015; Uchihara 2014, 2016), Choctaw (Broadwell 2006; Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma Dictionary Committee 2017; Haag and Willis 2009; Pitchlynn 2013), Chickasaw (Hinson et al. 2012; Munro 2017; Munro and Willamond 2008), Muscogee (Creek) (Gouge 2004; Haas and Hill 2015; Innes et al. 2004, 2009; Martin 2010, 2011, 2018b; Martin and Mauldin 2000), Koasati (Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana Language Committee et al. 2018; Kimball 2010; Martin 2018a), Natchez (Kimball 2005, 2012, 2013a, 2013b), Miccosukee (Cypress and Martin 2006), and Tunica languages (Heaton 2016; Heaton and Anderson 2017).

For the most recent thoughts on the historical turn in southeastern archaeology, see Cobb (2019) and Ethridge and Bowne (2020). An important recent work linking climate change to large-scale, precolonial abandonments is Cable (2020). The most recent, thorough, and modern examination of Indian Removal for the Southern tribes is Saunt (2020).

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Northeast: Research since 1978

KATHLEEN J. BRAGDON AND LARRY NESPER

The Northeast culture area had been defined in the *Handbook* series as a region stretching from northeastern Maine and the Canadian Maritime provinces west to the Great Lakes, and south along the Ohioan and Mississippian drainages to Virginia and the Carolinas (fig. 1). Major subareas within the Northeast included New England, the Great Lakes riverine region, Iroquoia, and the mid-Atlantic (Trigger 1978a). Native peoples of this region practiced maize-based horticulture, and many were also (or exclusively) hunters, fishers, and gatherers.

More recent definitions also focus on the region as a primary contact zone with the European powers beginning perhaps as early as 1000 A.D. (Fitzhugh 2015; see "Emergence of Cultural Diversity," this vol.). Modern characterizations of the Northeast also highlight Native groups that coalesced there in the colonial era, such as mission communities (Cipolla 2013). The former "timeless" quality of writings on the Native peoples of the Northeast has been replaced by historically specific treatments of individual groups and their place in the respective settler societies. Newer writings also focus on social groups neglected in earlier research, including Native women (Claussen 1994), adoptees and enslaved persons (Rushforth 2003), and non-Natives incorporated into Native societies (Newell 2015).

New Orientations and Initiatives in Northeast Scholarship

Bruner (1986) argued that prior to 1970 the American Indian past was idealized as glorious, the present was depicted as disorganized, and the future was seen as a time of assimilation. By 1980, the period of European exploration and settlement was interpreted as a period of exploitation; the present, a time of resistance; and the future, a period of resurgence. When the *Northeast* volume of the *Handbook* appeared (Trigger 1978a), this shift in how Indian people, ethnographers, and historians imagined and presented Indigenous trajectories had just begun. That resurgent period was well underway, and scholarship reflected it (Lurie 1978). Several initiatives established or elaborated since the 1970s have also challenged traditional scholarship. By 2018, that transition has been fully completed.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

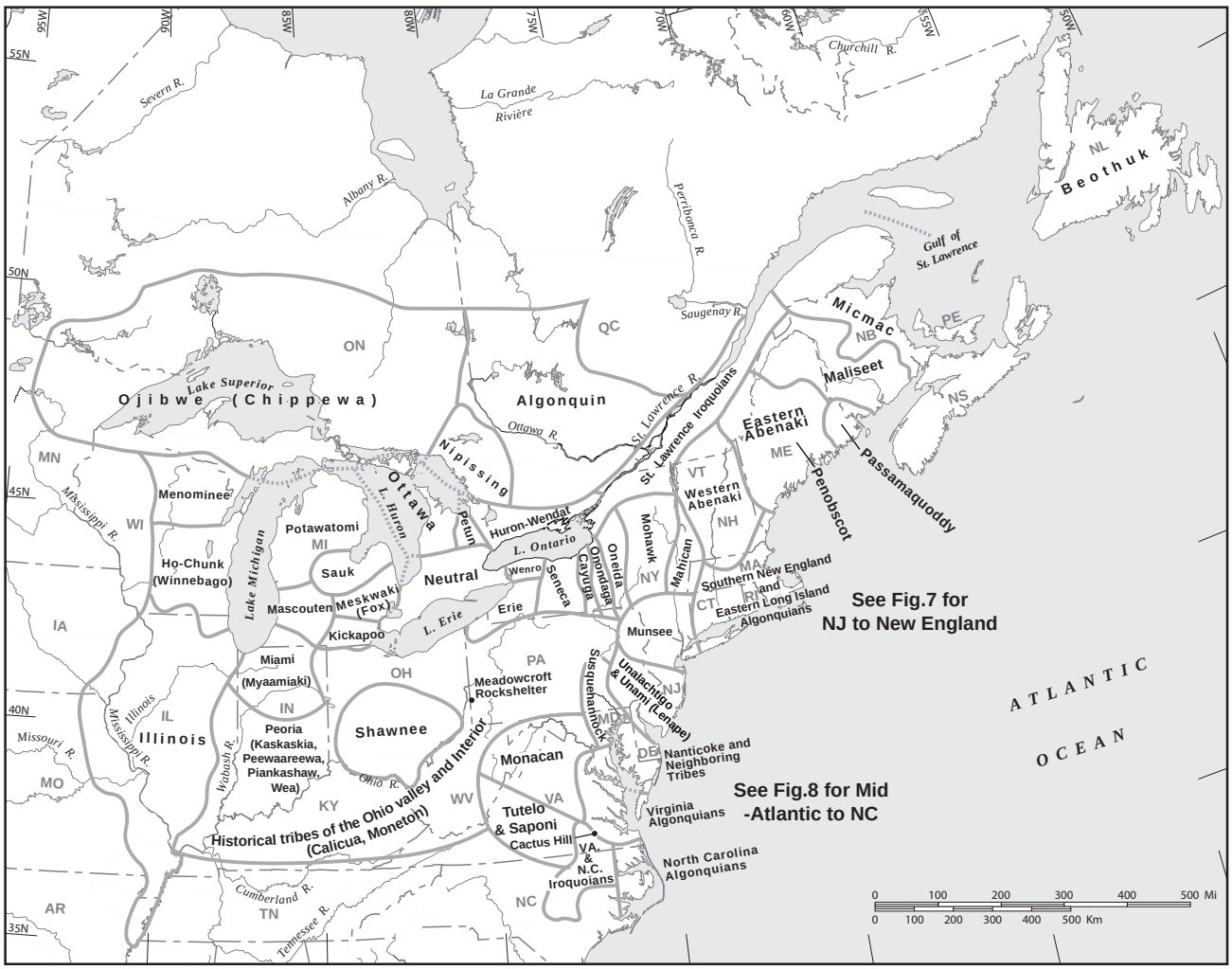
NAGPRA (McKeown 2008; McManamon 2000; see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.) has had an enormous impact on the field of archaeology in the Northeast region and, perhaps more importantly, has brought northeastern Native communities to the table when the ethics and practices of archaeological research are under consideration. In the Northeast (as elsewhere), traditional lines of inquiry have been redefined to reflect new Native American priorities. One example is the experience of the Mashpee Wampanoag, who were federally recognized in 2007 and who have taken a strong stand in favor of the reburial of human remains and associated objects that have been linked to them culturally and historically (Peters 2006).

Federal Acknowledgment of Indian Tribes in the Northeast

Research devoted to satisfying the seven criteria required by federal acknowledgment legislation (1978) has significantly expanded knowledge about Native societies of the Northeast, especially their histories in the postcolonial and early modern era. Nonetheless, many Native groups struggle to meet the stringent acknowledgment criteria, and the complicated legislative and Office of Federal Acknowledgment processes, suggesting that these should be modified to recognize the realities of Native life in the region (Paschal 1991; Carlson 2016).

Collaborative Research

Native peoples in the Northeast increasingly and appropriately demand more participation in the ways in which they are represented and commonly request collaboration from scholars on projects of their own devising. Examples of this fruitful collaborative work



Map compiled by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History, with updates by Ives Goddard and Larry Nesper. From Handbook vol. 15, Northeast (Trigger 1978a).

Fig. 1. Map of precontact and early contact Northeast Native American societies/tribal groups.

include the Wabanaki center (https://naps.umaine.edu/) at the University of Maine, which promotes Native participation in developing curricula, museum exhibits, and outreach programs; the Boston Children's Museum educational programs codirected by Native staff (https://bostonchildrensmuseum.org); and the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, directed and staffed by tribal members and non-Native scholars and museum professionals (Erikson 1999b; Stillman 1998; www.pequotmuseum.org). New websites offer historic documents to a wider audience, including members of Indigenous communities conducting their own research, such as the Yale Indian Papers Project (www.yipp.edu). The National Museum of the American Indian, in cooperation with consultants, produced several exhibits and programs with a focus on the Northeast societies, such as the exhibit *Return to a Native Place: Alqonquian Peoples of the Chesapeake* at the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) opened in 2006.

Indigenous Scholarship

Criticisms of the practices of anthropology and history since the 1970s have challenged newer generations of scholars as they conduct ethnographic and ethnohistorical research (Biolsi and Zimmerman 1997a). They have been forced to confront the ways in which previous ethnographic constructs and historical silence have contributed, deliberately or not, to a "timeless" vision of Native communities that does not fit comfortably with modern tribal identities, political needs, and the ways of being "Native" (Trigger 1981; O'Brien 2010; Bruchac et al. 2010).

In addition, the increasing number of Native American scholars on academic faculties and northeastern

Photograph by Skip Rowland.

Fig. 2. Kody Grant, Cherokee at the Brafferton "Indian School" Building rededication ceremony, College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, 2013.

museum staffs brings new foci to studies that have previously been characterized largely by continuities in the Boasian ethnographic tradition (Strong 2005). Native scholars increasingly ask how the methodologies of ethnography and archaeology can help address Native concerns through collaborative efforts (Ranco 2006; Bruchac 2018a) and assist in "rewriting" Native political histories (Jordan 2009; Stark 2010). As "insiders," they must often walk a fine line between their professional interests and the concerns of fellow tribal members (Simpson 2007), yet Native scholars are uniquely situated to assess and critique the ethnographic and ethnohistorical models of the past. They also work to repatriate cultural patrimony (Bruchac 2018a), improve museum representation, and advocate for Native rights (fig. 2).

Language Revitalization

Native language loss in the Northeast has continued apace since the 1970s, although the passage of Title IX legislation (Indian Education Act of 1972), which enabled educational reforms in Native majority schools, began to reverse this trend, at least for the Passamaquoddy and Mohawk (Erickson 1978:134–135; Mithun and Chafe 1979). Linguists have worked with many communities to ensure what is now called "language documentation," often leading to efforts to reconstruct and revive Native languages. The best-known cases are the Miami language project (The Myaamia Center at the Miami University; Baldwin et. al. 2016) and the Wôpanäak Language Reclamation Project, spearheaded by Jessie Little Doe Baird of the Mashpee Wampanoag tribe (www.wlrp.org). New projects offer classes, workshops, and summer language immersion camps aimed at fostering an appreciation of the beauty and complexity of the ancestral languages.

New Findings in Late Precontact and Protohistoric Studies

In the ongoing effort to dissolve the divide between "prehistory" and history, modern research promotes continuities in archaeology and ethnographic analyses across the Northeast. Ever finer geological, palynological, and geospatial analyses of ancient population centers has given rise to a range of new research questions, including the organization of labor, gender relations, intertribal contact, and ethnogenesis of the precontact Indigenous societies. These new questions and findings provide a stimulating background for the ethnohistorical approach to the late Woodland and early contact period in the Northeast.

Prehistoric and Protohistoric Networks and Social Complexity

Recent studies have highlighted prehistoric contacts and trade among peoples of the Northeast with those of the Midwest, Southeast, and even further afar (see "Emergence of Cultural Diversity," this vol.). Ongoing interest in rock art has resulted in new discoveries linking petroglyph sites throughout the Northeast to the formation of significant ritual gathering places and shamanic practices (Creese 2012).

New radiocarbon calibrations (Little 1993), as well as arrays of biological data from soils and human remains, have caused specialists to rethink the relations between Native Americans and plants in the

Northeast, previously envisioned as a simple linear progression from hunting and gathering to farming (Bailey and Milner 2002; Chilton 2005; Fritz 1990; Hart 2001; Hart et. al. 2007; B.D. Smith 2011). Such a rethinking was critical to scholars' understanding of the social and political organization in the Northeast, the growth of centralized political power and hierarchy, the organization of labor, and relations between men and women in Indigenous societies (Allen 2010; Watson and Kennedy 1991). Further, the distribution of sites, on which early evidence for maize and other cultigens is based, suggests that some trade routes were maritime rather than overland, adding another source of interregional contact that was underestimated in the past (Kehoe 2016; Mickelburgh and Pagan-Jimenez 2012; see "Coastal Peoples and Maritime Adaptations," this vol.).

Scholars now believe that maize adoption itself was not necessarily as socially transformative as once assumed (Chilton 2002; Kelly 1995a), given that maize joined an array of "encouraged" wild plants, grains, legumes, nuts, and fruits that had already been part of the subsistence of coastal and inland foragers for centuries (Lavin 1988; Messner 2011; Recht 1997). It is possible that maize horticulture accelerated only in response to the arrival of European settlers (Ceci 1990), reflecting the trade value of corn and the advantages of a staple crop as Native lands and travel became increasingly restricted in the 1600s and 1700s (Benison 1997; Mrozowski 1994). Thus, the accelerating social complexity in the region might have been the result of other causes.

Native Spirituality

Archaeology has contributed to a deepened understanding of traditional Native spirituality in the Northeast. In Native cosmology, objects with certain colors or reflective qualities, such as copper, crystal, and shell, had deep metaphorical significance. This significance could extend to European trade items with the same qualities—particularly glass beads, which were widely traded, especially in the Northeast (Hamell 1987). The frequent co-occurrence of rites of passage, particular burial rituals, and feasting further linked mimetic and metaphoric objects—in the shape of food preparation and consumption vessels—with traditional practices (Claassen 2008; Hall 1997; Howey 2011).

Social Structure and Complexity

One enduring question is the social and political characterization of protohistoric Native societies as they appear in archaeological, linguistic, and early historical records. Ethnohistorians remain concerned with the means by which these societies responded to new challenges and persisted and changed in the wake of European colonization.

As part of this effort, fascinating new archaeological information from middle and late Woodland Hopewellian sites and places, such as the Mississippian-descended Fort Ancient on the Ohio River, Cahokia (Illinois) and sites further to the south and east, has been collected (Abrams 2009; Griffin 1993; Pauketat 2000). Hopewellian communities were often dispersed clusters of hamlets associated with larger mound or earthwork complexes. For these and other reasons, Hopewellian archaeology provides ethnohistorians with fascinating new data, but also "parallel[s] the state of method and theory" in archaeology in general (Abrams 2009:170).

Colonial and Postcolonial Native Archaeology and Ethnohistory

The Northeast and the Atlantic World

Even before the establishment of European trading and fishing outposts and more permanent settlements in North America in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Northeast became part of what historians now call the Atlantic World (Games 1999). From the late 1400s and through the 1600s, many Native people from the Northeast traveled voluntarily or involuntarily to England and continental Europe (Dickason 1984; Prins 1993; Vaughan 2002), and those few who returned likely catalyzed political and social change (Brinkhouse 2015).

Contact Archaeology

Archaeology of the more recent past, particularly during what is often called the contact period, has vastly expanded scholars' knowledge of the timing and dynamics of the era of European exploration and settlement. In New England, prehistoric trade routes linked Iroquoia with the far Northeast, where Laurentian and northern Iroquoian peoples later acquired trade goods originally supplied by Basque fishermen in the early 1500s (Axtell 1988; Bradley and Childs 1991; Grumet 1995; Stothers and Abel 1991). Early European sites in Newfoundland (Pope 2004), coastal northern Massachusetts and southern Maine (Baker et al. 1994; Petersen et al. 2004), southeastern Massachusetts (Nickerson and Carpenter 1995), and Connecticut and Long Island (McBride 1994a, 1994b; Starna 2003) revealed previously little-noticed interactions between

Native people and Europeans, specifically, with the ephemeral European fishing and trading settlements beginning in the 1500s (see "Emergence of Cultural Diversity," this vol.).

Archaeologists have also located a number of sites that complicate the previous picture of "contact." This work has shifted scholars' understanding of the arrival of European settlers, which has gone from being seen as an abrupt watershed event in Native American history to a set of complex interactions between Native people, Europeans, and enslaved and free African Americans over several centuries (Silliman 2009). Recent excavations at Roanoke Island off the coast of North Carolina and at Jamestown, Virginia, revealed English-made goods associated with what otherwise look like Indigenous domestic contexts (Emery 2015; Lawler 2015). Several sites in tidewater Virginia and North Carolina appear to represent seventeenth-century settlements where Native, African, and European residents lived together (McCartney 2011; Sikes 2014, n.d.). According to excavations in the Chesapeake Bay region, some of these settlements survived until the beginning of the eighteenth century (Galke 2004).

Excavations of Wendat (Huron), and Tionontate sites in Ontario and the Great Lakes region (Williamson 2014) reveal that the old practices of secondary burial and "feasts of the dead," described by Jesuits among Laurentian and northern Iroquoian groups in the early seventeenth century, at least briefly survived the displacement of those peoples as they were dislocated and reabsorbed further south and west (Creese 2013a).

Colonial Era Archaeology

The ongoing "decolonizing" of archaeology disrupted earlier narratives of acculturative loss in favor of a focus on creative readaptations among Native people after the European invasion (Atalay 2006). Excavation on the Eastern Pequot Reservation in Ledyard, Connecticut, showed that eighteenth-century residents had replaced many Native-made items, including pottery, tools, and clothing materials, with items of European manufacture (Silliman and Witt 2010) without necessarily affecting residence patterns, subsistence practices, beliefs, or other "traditional" aspects of experience. In central and coastal Massachusetts, individual Native households survived well into the eighteenth century in the midst of the Anglo-American settlements (Bagley 2013). Excavations on the Pamunkey Reservation in Virginia likewise suggest that continuities in subsistence and pottery manufacture remained strong (Atkins 2010).

Archaeology and Ethnohistory of Warfare

The archaeology of Indigenous and early contact-era warfare was another subject that remained in its infancy in the 1970s. Ethnohistorical scholarship provided increasingly detailed examinations of Native cultural and social practices of conflict (Johnson 1998; Keener 1999; Pulsipher 1996; Richter 1983), including specific rituals related to warfare (fig. 3), such as cannibalism (Abler 1980; Heidenreich 1978:386).

Excavations at many fortified sites throughout the Northeast, including sites from the middle to late Woodland period (Cook 2012; McBride 1994a, 1994b; McFeaters 2008; Prins and Borque 1987), helped explain the relationship between precontact alliances and tensions and those documented in the early contact period. By the time of the arrival of Jacques Cartier on the St. Lawrence in 1535, the Huron village at Hochelaga was heavily fortified (Pendergast 1998), yet it was destroyed by Seneca and Mohawk warriors in 1648–1649. Excavations at other Huron sites of the era, such as the Ball site in Ontario, revealed that while people who lived there were arranged according to social units, the site was originally constructed for defensive purposes (Knight 1987).

Scholars' knowledge of these early conflicts has been expanded through analysis of material remains, including fortified Euro-American and Native settlements, and the recovery of ephemeral evidence linked to the colonial-era military campaigns. The enduring legacy of these wars among Native communities is evident in surviving stories about them and about the losses suffered by Indian people in their wake (Fickes 2000; Crosby 1988; Simmons 1986, 1990, 1992).

Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Fig. 3. Treatment of captives (Lafitau 1724:236–237, plate detail).

In Virginia, excavations at the York River settlement of Wolstenholme Towne, which existed from 1618 to 1622, offered vivid evidence of the First Anglo-Powhatan War of 1609–1614 (Hume 1979). Though interpretations focusing on Native violence rather than on the causes of the uprising are controversial, materials found at Wolstenholme Towne and at Jamestown itself provided insight into Native American practices and beliefs within what had become a warrior-centered chiefdom (Gleach 2000; Hume 1979; Rountree 1989).

Missions and Missionaries

Besides introduced diseases and displacements, the colonial era brought other tumultuous changes, including the effects of the largely Protestant missionary project on the Native peoples of southern New England and the mid-Atlantic and the equally significant impacts of Jesuit and other Catholic missionary orders on northern and northeastern Native communities. Native scholars, in particular, have emphasized the negative psychological and social impact of an outright assault by missionaries, aided by European settlers and colonial officials, on Native beliefs, practices, social organization, and subsistence (Peters 2006). Native enclaves, including officially sanctioned "praying towns" and other settlements where Christian converts and practitioners of traditional beliefs lived together, became increasingly isolated from one another, simplifying colonial surveillance of these communities and limiting the mobility and economic independence of Native people (O'Brien 1998, 2010).

In contrast, scholars of religion emphasize missionaries' sincere efforts, in most cases, to save Native souls and, in times of conflict, to protect their converts (Cogley 2009), as well as the complexity of Native conversions (Winiarski 2004, 2005). It now appears that many Indigenous leaders accepted Christianity in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and that their status made possible a limited autonomy for the communities they led (Conkey et al. 1978:177). Recent studies, including by Mashpee (Wampanoag) tribal scholars, documented the continued influence of Indian elites who served as local church officials in southeastern Massachusetts and on Cape Cod in the late 1600s and early 1700s (Bragdon et al. 2013) (fig. 4).

Missionaries such as John Sergeant (working among the Mahican circa 1734 at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and later at Schaghticoke, New York) and Eleazer Wheelock (working circa 1760 in Lebanon, Connecticut) trained Native missionaries from southern New England, such as Mohegan Samson Occom (1723–1792), to proselytize among others such as the Montauk of Long Island (Conkey et al. 1978:181, 185; Frazier 1992). Moravian missionaries also worked among the Mahican of Dutchess County, New York, (Brasser 1978:208) and accompanied them as they moved with the Delaware south and west through Pennsylvania and Ohio during the French and Indian War (Brasser 1978:208). The Narragansett adopted Christianity thanks in larger part to "New Light" minister Joseph Park in the 1730s (Simmons 1983; Simmons and Simmons 1982). Missionaries, including the Jesuit Pierre Biard and his Native converts, found themselves enmeshed in colonial conflicts in the region, pitting the French and English on the Maine (Snow 1980), Massachusetts, and New Hampshire frontiers in the early 1600s and playing pivotal roles in the most famous of all Native rebellions of that era, King Philip's War, now often called Metacom's Rebellion (Cogley 2009; Drake 1997, 1999).

Courtesy of the Natick Historical Society & Museum, Natick, Massachusetts.

Fig. 4. Lectern of Daniel Takawambpait, Native American preacher and minister ordained in 1683 (d. 1716).

Native Agency in Settler Societies

The variety of Native responses generated by the impositions of colonial rule (Calloway 1997b) and often forced religious conversion are also recognizable in excavations of Indigenous sites from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Salisbury 1992). At the mid-seventeenth-century "praying town" of Natick in eastern Massachusetts, grave goods were included in some inhumations, suggesting the survival of Native beliefs about the afterworld (Bigelow 1830; Brenner 1980). In contrast, at the Native cemetery linked to a small Quaker settlement in Dartmouth, Massachusetts, less than 70 miles away, individuals were interred with great simplicity, in keeping with the teachings of that faith (Hodge 2005).

In English-, Dutch-, and Moravian-influenced communities in Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, not only did Algonquians and Iroquoians establish different versions of Christian settlements, but the residents of these settlements maintained ties with one another and with colonial officials (Meuwese 2011; Preston 2008; Richter 1992b). Information derived from translated German records of Moravian missionaries concerning the Wampano (Wyachtonok) division of Mahican has greatly added to scholars' knowledge of that group and the activities of Protestant and Moravian missionaries (Dally-Starna and Starna 2011; Starna 2013). New data has emerged on missionary activities among the Iroquoian and Great Lakes tribes (Pflug 1992; Schwartz 2008), a short-lived Jesuit outpost targeting the Piscataway in Maryland (Mackie 2006), and the sixteenth-century Spanish mission at Ajacan in eastern Virginia (Brinkhouse 2015).

Natives in the Colonial Economy

Scholars have also learned more about the involvement of Indigenous peoples in the colonial economies and warfare of the English and French. As early as the seventeenth century, Native mariners provided knowledge and crews for the nascent European whaling industry and related trades (Cuffee 1839; Innes 1983; Nicholas 2002; Shoemaker 2015; Strong 1989, 1996; Vickers 1981) (fig. 5). Many Native people also became (or were forced to become) indentured servants, day workers, or itinerant laborers, establishing a pattern that persisted into the nineteenth century (McMullen 1991; McMullen and Handsman 1987; Phillips 1998; Silverman 2001). Many Native men also enlisted as soldiers or served as mercenaries and scouts in the colonial period and after (Carrol 2012; Naumec 2008).

Courtesy of the New Bedford Whaling Museum.

Fig. 5. Amos Smalley, Wampanoag Whaleman, New Bedford, Massachusetts, circa 1902.

Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century History

Research since the 1980s has shed perhaps the most light on the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century history of Native communities across the Northeast—communities that survived and later underwent a significant revival, but whose story was little known (Calloway 1997a). Although the original *Northeast* volume (Trigger 1978a) included sections in each tribal chapter regarding this period, the flood of information uncovered since 1980 has raised new questions about cultural continuities and "reinvention," identity politics, and sovereignty (Gallivan et al. 2011; McMullen 1994, 1996). Inevitably, modern and historic racial consciousness and discrimination and issues of intermarriage among Native Americans, Anglo-Americans, and enslaved and freed African Americans were part of this body of work and remained painful subjects in Native communities (Herndon 1999; Mandell 2010; Simpson 2007).

The biographical approach, an old anthropological practice, remains a fruitful path for capturing the most recent Native history in the region. In addition to the seminal volume *Northeastern Indian Lives, 1632–*

1816 (Grumet 1996), scholars have explored how the better-documented biographies of individual Native people illustrate larger trends in Native experience (Hauptman 1989, 2006b; Koppedrayer 1993; Philbrick 1998). Examples are the biography of an Abenaki healer, Molly Ockett (b. ?, d. 1816), in the disputed territories of northern New Hampshire and southern Maine (B. McBride and Prins 1996), and Wampanoag basket maker Charlotte Mitchell (b. 1848, d. 1930), who linked historic Wampanoag communities to early modern Native advocacy (Simmons 2002).

Language and Literacy Studies

Building on earlier work, linguists have turned their attention to more specialized studies, such as dialectical analyses of northeastern Algonquian languages (Costa 2003, 2007; Goddard 2016; Rudes 1997), reconstructions of certain languages such as Quiripi (Wampano) and Powhatan (Rudes 1997, 2014), pidgin languages in the Northeast (Goddard 1978d, 1997), language contact (Bakker and Papen 2008), and the likelihood of multilingualism (Fiedel 1987, 1999). Beginning with the first contacts in the late 1400s, Native peoples and European explorers and settlers formed new linguistic communities, and new attention has been paid to the role of translators and other Native "cultural brokers" in enabling colonial settlement in the region (Hagedorn 1988, 1995; Richter 1988; Vaughan 2002). Similarly, the work of missionaries who aimed to convert Native speakers to Christianity resulted in a large number of translations of religious works into various northeastern languages, like John Eliot's and Job Nesutan's translation of the Old and New Testaments into what was then called Natick or Massachusetts, now more frequently referred to as Wampanoag (Eliot 1663, 1685).

Multilingual encounters and communities went largely undocumented in the seventeenth century, although a number of early vocabularies and word lists collected by explorers, settlers, and missionaries suggest that new loan words became common in otherwise grammatically traditional languages (Gray 2014). Basque words appeared in Montagnais (Baker 1989), while the Delaware languages (Munsee and Unami) contained words from Dutch (Goddard 1974, 1978b). Similarly, words of Native origin became common in many European languages, particularly among the maritime communities where this kind of knowledge was likely widely shared (Greenblatt 2007).

Protestant missionaries in southern New England, particularly John Eliot (b. 1604, d. 1690), were perhaps the most well-known advocates for Indigenous literacy, arguing that personal access to scripture was essential to sincere conversion (Eliot 1666). Early translations were supplemented by a significant body of documents written by Native speakers themselves (Michelson 1921). Scholars agree that literate Indigenous speakers, who were often bilingual, wielded significant political and social power in Native communities and often acted as liaisons between their own communities and colonial overseers (Bragdon 2015; Gray and Fiering 2000; Salomon and Hyland 2010).

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Native authors have received new attention from literary scholars, who place their work in the larger social and economic context (Bross and Wyss 2008). These early writings were among the first sparks of the Native revitalization movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Tiro 1996) (fig. 6). The well-known "Elegy

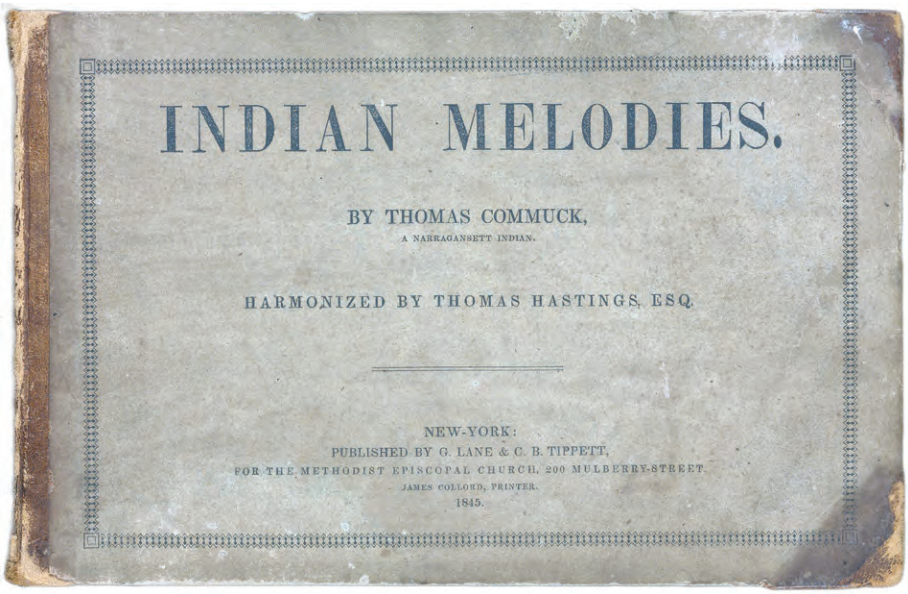


Image provided by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Fig. 6. Cover of the hymnal *Indian Melodies* by Thomas Commuck, a Narragansett Indian, 1845.

to King Philip" (1836) by William Apes (Pequot, b. 1798, d. 1839) was a published sermon related to Mashpee Wampanoag resistance to the so-called enfranchisement movement that resulted in the loss of much of the communally held Indian land in southern New England (Plane and Button 1993).

Regional Overviews: New England and the Far Northeast

Although little material evidence for coastal village-settlements described and depicted in early historical records (Champlain 1613) has been excavated to date (Leveillie et al. 2006), it appears likely that in southern New England and the mid-Atlantic, some coastal societies had been evolving toward chiefly level organization for several centuries before the arrival of Europeans (Bragdon 1996b) (fig. 7). The natural abundance of wetland-dominated landscapes in coastal areas of southern New England (Bernstein 1992; Chilton 1999, 2002) made sedentism less necessary and offered limited regional mobility as an explanation for the rise of sachems as precontact managers and diplomats (Chilton 2005; Herbster and Chilton 2002).

New place-making theory (Rubertone 2009) provides insights into the ways in which sites, settlements, and even burial grounds used only seasonally could have served as centers and possibly ceremonial hubs for social groups (McBride 1994b). Another concomitant of chiefly practice—feasting, or the periodic redistribution of foods and wealth objects by leaders to their followers (Hayden 2014)—might have left only scant traces. Yet ethnohistorical records leave no doubt that such rituals were significant (Simmons 1981, 1986). Archaeologists questioning both the environmental and external stimulus models of social complexity have suggested that control of symbolic capital might be more relevant

Map produced by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History, using data provided by Ives Goddard in 2019.

Fig. 7. Map of the early-contact Native American societies in the "Great New England" region.

in understanding the rise of social complexity in the region and elsewhere (Sassaman 2004).

Further to the Northeast, in the New England interior and in the Maritimes, archaeologists are challenged by the apparent mobility and fluidity of social groupings along the coast of Maine and their relations to Native peoples and communities occupying interior regions. Earlier formulations that linked nascent tribal groupings in the region to dominant river drainages (Snow 1980) are now supplemented by extensive research suggesting that ethnicity during the later historic period was more fluid than had earlier been understood (Baker 2004; Bourque 1989). A great deal of research on treaties and treaty negotiations between leaders and the colonial governments in northern New England and southern New Brunswick and Quebec has helped clarify some of these tribal groupings and relations (Baker 1989; Leavenworth 1999).

The historical sources present an unarguable case for widespread disruptions in Indigenous communities linked to introduced diseases, dislocation, and conflict within and among Native peoples on the Atlantic Coast from the fifteenth century onward as a result of the arrival and settlement of Europeans (Grandjean 2011a, 2011b; see also Conkey et al. 1978; Salwen 1978). However, this ultimately monolineal and materialist perspective, with its focus on technological change, still leaves much about the colonial era and its cultural dynamics unexplained (Thomas 1984). As a result, more recent work has focused on survival, continuity, mimesis, and creative transformations of Native objects, traditions, social and political structures, and ritual practices from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries (Doughton 1997; Lamb-Richmond 1994; Plane 1996, 2000).

Persistent Native Communities along the Atlantic Coast

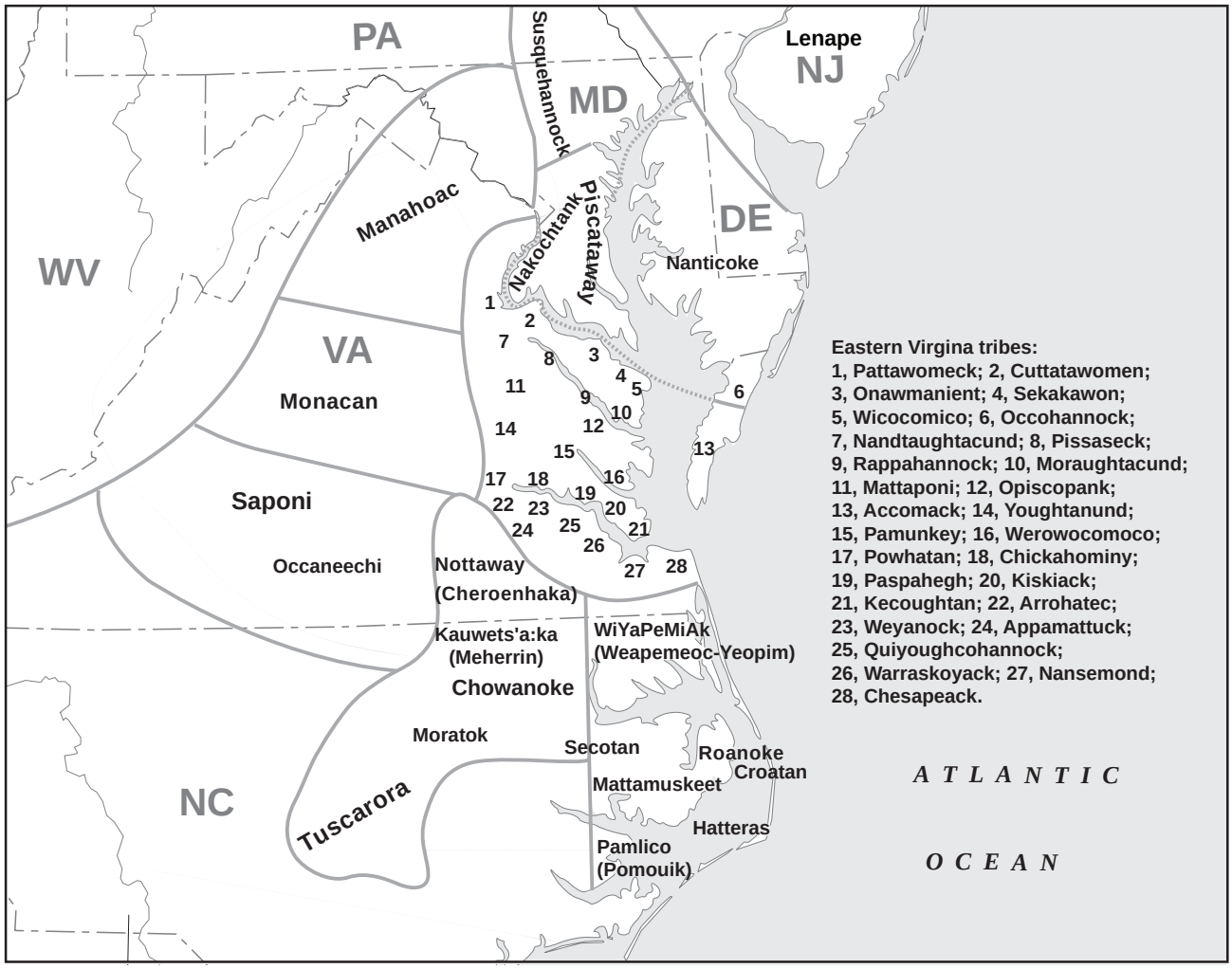
Although most scholarly attention has been traditionally focused on the complex colonial and international politics of the Atlantic region, including the role of Native peoples in various colonial conflicts, the slave trade, and the deer skin trade (Brasser 1978; Conkey et al. 1978; Jacobs 1988; Jennings 1988; Jones 1988; Leach 1988; Washburn 1988a; see "Southeast," this vol.) (fig. 8), less attention has been paid to the Native communities that persisted in place from the colonial era until the present. Although visited by anthropologist Frank Speck in the 1920s (Speck 1925) and later scholars in the 1940s (Mook 1943; Stern 1952), little is known about the social and political practices of Powhatan descendants and the descendants of tribes not affiliated with the Powhatan, such as the Chickahominy and the Monacan.

It is obvious that these Native Virginians forged a separate way in the oppressive and sometimes violent era of the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the establishment of the racially motivated "massive resistance" movement of the early twentieth century (Mays 2008). Through archaeology, written sources, and oral history, Ashley Atkins Spivey, a member of the Pamunkey tribe of Virginia, has documented the continuities of Pamunkey subsistence practices, tribal political structure, and pottery-making tradition into the present (Atkins 2010; Atkins Spivey 2017). This work was assisted in part by the growth of the tourist industry in the region, support for Native arts programs, continuity in matrilineal oral history, and the handing down of pottery-making techniques from mother to daughter for many generations. The Pamunkey tribe of Virginia was finally granted federal recognition in 2015.

The Monacan tribe of Natural Bridge, Virginia, is working with anthropologist Jeffrey Hantman to uncover its deeper history, inspired by a report first published in Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* (1785) that parties of likely Siouan-speaking Native peoples visited some of the mound sites dotting the western Virginia Piedmont. Hantman and his Native colleagues have identified a pattern of such visits occurring in much of the Native Southeast for several centuries after European colonization, speaking to the processes of landscape commemoration and the maintenance of Native identity, even among displaced Native groups (Hantman 1990).

Anthropologists and historians continue to work with the Lumbee people of North Carolina, a complex community ancestrally connected to both Indigenous and African American populations (Blu 1996, 2001; Dial and Eliades 1996; Sider 1994, 2003). Among the Lumbee, scholars have discovered deep and widespread emotional and social ties to the region in which they live that define and explain their Native American heritage (Lowery 2010, 2018).

The ancestors of the historic Tuscarora, Nottoway, and Meherrin (Kauwets'a:ka) peoples of Virginia and North Carolina (Boyce 1978:282) congregated in territories that were not yet settled by colonists attracted to new opportunities in the Virginia and North Carolina colonies (Rountree 1990). The Nottoway (the Surry band and the Cheroenhaka (Nottoway) Indian tribe of Virginia) appear to have pursued a strategy of nonconfrontation yet managed to maintain a matrilineally organized system of land tenure and inheritance until well into the nineteenth century (Woodard 2016). The Meherrin, likely another Iroquoian-speaking group, lived in similarly obscure isolation that served as an



Map produced by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History, using data provided by Ives Goddard in 2019.

Fig. 8. Map of the early-contact Native American societies in the mid-Atlantic region.

effective survival tool in an increasingly biracially divided society (Dawdy 1995). Unlike the Pamunkey, the Lumbee, the Nottoway, and the Meherrin, as well as several other small tribes in Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland, have thus far been unsuccessful in their pursuit of federal recognition, though they have long been recognized as tribes by their home states.

Iroquoia

Since the publication of the *Northeast* volume in the *Handbook* series (Trigger 1978a), research concerning the Iroquois has focused on several topics, including examination of their former cultural practices through ethnohistorical and archaeological records and recent political and social activism among Iroquoian speakers and descendant communities. There is also an extensive body of new scholarship on the origins, homelands, and migrations of what became the Five/Six Nations, as well as on the history of the League of the Iroquois and its interactions with Europeans and the governments of the United States and Canada (see "Additional Readings," this chapter).

In spite of the extensive past research on Iroquois cultural practices—from the early work by Lewis Henry Morgan (b. 1818, d. 1881) and J.N.B. Hewitt (b. 1859, d. 1937) to the career-long investigations by mid-twentieth-century scholars such as William Fenton, Elisabeth Tooker, Bruce Trigger, and others—there is still much to learn about Iroquois ethnohistory and ethnography. This is evidenced by the ongoing research on gender ideology, personhood, and ancient and early modern witchcraft (Harring 1992; Wonderley 2012). The ancient northeastern complex of "warfare, captivity, torture and cannibalism" (Fenton 1978:315–316) is far better known today, owing to both documentary and archaeological research (Abler 1980, 1988;

Richter 1983). The Iroquoian kinship system and postmarital residence patterns continue to challenge modern scholars (Kronenfeld 2001) and are also relevant to recent archaeological studies of the protohistoric period (Birch 2008; Dannin 1982; Hart 2001).

Several later studies have looked at the role of alcohol among the Iroquois and other northeastern peoples and its likely role in traditional ritual (Conrad 1999). The role of sorcery in the colonial-era Iroquoian communities where Catholic missionaries had made inroads has been explored (Blanchard 1982a, 1982b), as has traditional Iroquois warfare of the early contact period (Carpenter 2001). Scholarly debates concerning place making and personhood have also been applied to Iroquoian archaeology (Creese 2012, 2013b), while the excavation of longhouses, the classic Iroquois house form (Fenton 1978:303), still has much to teach us about Iroquoian place making and spatial orientations (Kapches 1990, 1993).

Ideas of personhood and gender have been investigated using both archaeological and ethnohistorical sources, and this research has been applied to topics ranging from mat making (Leeson 2009) to task allocation (Sydoriak 2010) and women's roles, a longstanding topic in Iroquoian studies. A search for greater cultural meaning in archaeological materials has led archaeologists to consider the symbolic and metaphorical aspects of material remains of both Native and European origin, particularly in mortuary ritual. Topics have included color symbolism and the incorporation of glass beads and other objects into Iroquoian practice (Hamell 1987), as well as the presence of trade goods on sites that are demonstrably outside the range of early European settlement in the 1500s and 1600s (Howey 2011, 2012).

The Iroquois played important roles as warriors on the colonial frontier and in the American Civil War, when men from Six Nations communities served in the Army, principally on the Union side. These soldiers performed numerous tasks for the Union and Confederate armies, including dangerous scouting missions (Larry Hauptman, personal communication, 2014).

Of continuing interest is the study of the longstanding relationship between the Iroquois and anthropological scholarship, beginning with Lewis Henry Morgan's seminal research on the Iroquois in the mid-nineteenth century (Bieder 1980; Campisi 1982; Cooper 1998; Hauptman 2012; Tooker 1978).

Iroquoian communities have also been at the forefront of Native activism in the Northeast, as noted in several chapters in the *Northeast* volume (Trigger 1978a). Federal recognition, environmental activism, and issues of sovereignty have united many Six Nations descendants for decades (Hauptman and Campisi 1988; Landsman 1988, Landsman and Ciborski 1992; Simpson 2014). They have successfully repatriated a number of wampum belts, which were used in traditional diplomatic exchanges and as part of longhouse ceremonials (Fenton 1989; Tooker 1998; Sullivan 1992). Native scholars are collaborating with linguists and education specialists on language revitalization programs, continuing the innovative work on Mohawk reported on in the 1978 volume.

Great Lakes and Riverine Region

Contemporary Issues in the Great Lakes

Since the publication of the *Northeast* volume (Trigger 1978a), Native activism and the evolution of federal policy in Canada and the United States have transformed the political, legal, and cultural landscape for Indigenous communities in the area. The tribes have successfully litigated their treaty rights, especially in Michigan (Cleland 1992, 2014; Doherty 1990; Fletcher 2012), Wisconsin (Nesper 2002, 2012; Satz 1991; Whaley and Bressette 1993), and Minnesota (Cleland 2014; McLurken 2000), giving tribal members access to resources throughout the lands they ceded in the nineteenth century (figs. 9, 10).

The Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission (GLIFWC), an Ojibwe intertribal natural resource management agency, established in 1984, integrates traditional ecological and Western scientific knowledge (Kimmerer 2013). Importantly, the GLIFWC tribes signed the Anishinaabe Akii Protocol in 1998, an accord with the Ojibwe communities in

Photograph by Larry Nesper.

Fig. 9. Bad River Round House. Recalling the architectural style of the nineteenth century Drum Dance round houses, this contemporary structure on the Bad River Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Reservation in Wisconsin serves as a meeting house for a variety of activities.

Photograph by Larry Nesper.

Fig. 10. The Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa established a Harvest Education Camp on lands for which the Chippewa have hunting, fishing, and gathering rights that were threatened by iron mining. Thousands visited the camp between April 2013 and June 2015.

Ontario that allows generally for technical knowledge to move north and traditional ecological knowledge to moves south, in a rearticulation of Native nationhood that recalls the dynamics of the regional Indigenous polity in the early historic era (Witgen 2012).

Another change in U.S. federal Indian policy was the development of new criteria for federal recognition of tribes. This shift led to the recognition of two Indigenous communities in the state of Michigan, the Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band and the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians (Low 2016).

For many tribes in the region, the passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act in 1988 (Cattelino 2008b) has led to an economic and cultural renaissance. All 11 recognized tribes in Wisconsin have gaming compacts with the state. Collectively, the tribes own more than 20 separate sites including casino/hotel/conference center complexes. The tribes employ thousands of people, most of whom are not Native, and transfer tens of millions of dollars to the states in exchange for a shared monopoly on casino gaming. The 12 federally recognized tribes in the state of Michigan operate 17 casinos. Eight tribes in Minnesota employ more than 20,000 people in their 17 gaming facilities.

With this unprecedented flow of revenue from gaming, many tribal governments have expanded and can now address poverty and supply public services. The income from per capita dividends—which varies widely from several hundred dollars a year to tens of thousands of dollars—is associated with declines in poverty, unemployment, obesity rates, truancy, smoking, and alcohol consumption rates (Akee et al. 2015:196–198). The effects of this change for the tribes in both the United States and Canada have been documented on tribal websites, in tribal newspapers, and sporadically in academic and legal publication, like those on the Meskwaki of Iowa (Foley1995) and the Oneida in Wisconsin (Hoeft 2014). In addition, several tribes that have benefited from gaming have created tribal museums (Lonetree 2012; Sleeper-Smith 2009b).

Language and Literacy Studies

Indigenous language revitalization programs often associated with tribal schools have also proliferated, including for Potawatomi (Macaulay 2014; Wetzel 2015), Menominee (Macaulay 2009, 2012), Oneida (Abbot et al. 1996), and Ojibwe (Nichols and Nyholm 1995, for the Mille Lacs band in Minnesota). Valentine's (2001) grammar of Odawa and Eastern Ojibwe is regarded as the most comprehensive study

of Ojibwe language undertaken and is being used in second-language acquisition programs throughout the region, especially in Canada. Costa (2003) has reconstructed the Miami-Illinois language spoken south of Lake Michigan, working with tribal member Daryl Baldwin, director of the Myaamia Center, in a cooperative effort with Miami University of Ohio to revitalize the language.

Tribal Institutional Developments

Most of the tribes in the region have established tribal historic preservation offices that deal with NAGPRA and related issues (see "Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact," this vol.). The Potawatomi, the most affluent of the tribes in Wisconsin, have created a common reburial site used by tribes throughout the region.

State committees and commissions on Indian affairs have emerged throughout the Great Lakes region, in Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, and Wisconsin. In Wisconsin, a State of the Tribes address has been given by 1 of the 11 tribal chairs to a joint session of the legislature each spring since 2005; it provides an accounting of the ways in which tribes and states have come to be involved with each other.

Tribal governments also sponsor community websites that serve as clearinghouses for official information, tribal calendars, job announcements, tribal newsletters, and contact information for social, legal, and medical services (Cuillier and Ross 2007) (figs. 11, 12). The Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwe community of Wisconsin hosts both a National Public Radio station and *News from Indian Country*, a national Indian newspaper.

Another aspect of tribal institutional development is the emergence of tribal community colleges in the region (Warner and Gipp 2009), such as the Bay Mills Community College (1981), Lac Courte Oreilles Community College (1982), Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College (1987), Leech Lake Tribal College (1990), the College of the Menominee Nation (1993), White Earth Tribal and Community College (1997), Saginaw Chippewa Tribal College (1998), Keweenaw Bay Ojibwe Community College (2009), and others. Each seeks to reproduce, to a different degree, aspects of local Indigenous culture and society.

Urban Indians

The *Northeast* volume (Trigger 1978a) did not address urban Indian communities in either the United States or Canada (see Weibel-Orlando 2008). Since that time, the field has grown through several major publications on urban Indians—both general overviews (Jackson 2001; Straus and Arndt 1998) and studies of particular urban Indian communities, like Chicago, the "Great Indian Metropolis" (LaGrand 2002; LaPier and Beck 2015; Laukaitis 2015; Low 2016). This new scholarship has revealed how urban areas in the Great Lakes region were effectively annexed by reservation communities and contributed to their vitality in the second half of the twentieth century and beyond.

Photograph by Tina Bushong.

Fig. 11. The Forest County Potawatomi established their court in 1994. It hears cases regarding small claims, child protection, child support, guardianship, wage garnishments, and employment, reflecting the tribal institutional development brought about by gaming. Note the local symbols of Indigenous sovereignty on the back wall of the courtroom: a painting depicting eagles in a natural setting, a wooden icon of Potawatomi as "keepers of the fire," and an eagle staff.

Photograph by Shiela Reaves.

Fig. 12. The Ho-Chunk Judiciary was established in 1995 and is organized as a trial court, supreme court, and traditional court—the latter dealing with matters of traditional law—led by 12 elders representing the Ho-Chunk clans.

The publication of ethnohistorical accounts of tribal groups and tribal-settler interactions stimulated by the Indian Claims Commission (1946–1978; see Royster 2008) continues to revise scholars' understanding of the degree to which Indian peoples have endured as well as shaped the interaction between themselves and settlers. The studies of the Potawatomi, covering three centuries (Clifton 1998), and of the Chippewa (Hickerson 1988; Bohaker 2006, 2020) were exemplary. More recent tribal histories by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars have proliferated, reflecting the complexities of the colonial encounter and often reversing the presumptive power relations between the metropole and hinterland.

White's (1991) *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* marked a watershed in this genre and was later followed by equally compelling and aspiring summaries (Bellfy 2011; McDonnell 2015; Witgen 2012). Many of the later ethnohistorical reappraisals focused on the Ojibwe, Chippewa, or Anishinaabe peoples—the largest group of Indigenous people in the Great Lakes region (Chute 1998; Doerfler 2015; Kugel 1998; Meyer 1994; Miller 2010)—greatly expanding knowledge of how Indigenous communities endured during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through colonization, settlement, land dispossession, and struggle with belonging and citizenship in the course of their history.

Another local group, the Ho-Chunk Nation (formerly the Wisconsin Winnebago tribe; Lurie 1978), received extensive treatment in works about the first contact between Indigenous Great Lakes people and the French (Lurie and Jung 2009) and about the relationships among the Ho-Chunk, early photographers H.H. Bennett and Charles Van Schaick, tourists, and settlers in the evolving political economy of central Wisconsin in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Hoelscher 2008; Jones et al. 2011). These latter works can be compared with a similar study of photography of and by Ojibwe people in Minnesota (White 2008). The new thinking on the Ho-Chunk was expanded thanks to the study of the political and cultural significance of Ho-Chunk powwows and the ways in which the community has endured and imagined itself over the course of the past century as it sought to engage and manage economic, political, cultural, and social forces emanating from the dominant society (Arndt 2016).

The Menominee Indians of Wisconsin have been given less attention by ethnographers and historians since restoration to tribal status in 1973 (Beck 2002, 2005). The exceptions are several studies of their forest industry and of their ability to reproduce many traditional aspects of their society and culture while engaging with the market economy and becoming a lumbering people (Davis 2000; Hosmer 1999).

The Stockbridge Munsee Mohican, adjacent to the Menominee, are also experiencing a renaissance, as noted (Oberly 2005). The nearby Brothertown Indians, not yet federally recognized, are the subject of Cipolla's (2013) synthesis of historical archaeology and ethnohistory, and Birmingham's (2015) monograph on the multiethnic off-reservation community of Skunk Hill also calls attention to the capacity of Indigenous peoples to creatively manage an Indigenous modernity beyond the reach of the federal government (Birmingham 2015; Cipolla 2013).

Since Campisi's essay on the Oneida in the *Northeast* volume (Campisi 1978), the tribe, with more than 17,000 members, has become the largest in the state of Wisconsin. It has reacquired more than 23,000 acres within the borders of its reservation, and it employs more than 3,000 people. Like a number of other tribes in the region, it has a cross-deputized police force, a court system, a school system, health clinics, social service programs, and tribal businesses. As a symbol of its engagement with the regional society, culture, and economy, the east gate of the Green Bay Packers' Lambeau Field is now called the "Oneida Nation Gate," sponsored by the tribe since 2003. The Oneida tribe has sponsored an annual food sovereignty conference since 2013. Historians have continued to interpret the Oneida past (Campisi and Hauptman 1988; Hauptman and McLester 1999; Hoeft 2014; H.S. Lewis 2005).

Drawing effectively on postcolonial theory, Buss's (2011) monograph examined the ways in which Indians were removed from the northern Indiana landscape and from the consciousness of settlers in the first half of the nineteenth century, through both physical removal and erasure from public narratives. Historian Sleeper-Smith (2001) described the same region under the French regime to reveal the important role played by Indigenous women, kinship, and mixed-bloods in the fur trade (see also Murphy 2000, 2014; Peterson and Brown 1984). Another collection further extended this line of research to show how Indian people had played a far more important role in the fur trade than previously thought (Sleeper-Smith 2009a).

Gregory Dowd was also a leader in this phase of new ethnohistorical scholarship (Dowd 1992), which detailed the nature of intertribal relations and the importance of religion and prophecy in the refiguring of Indigenous polities in the region (Dowd 2004; Witgen 2012). In his 2004 book, he homes in on the Pontiac rebellion and extends the approach taken in the earlier

work, revising our understanding of the significance of religious motives in shaping Indigenous military action. This work is complemented by the recent reexamination of the entire Old Northwest as a multicultural world being reshaped by the aspirations of the settler republic and continental empire (Saler 2015). Other studies of the complicated relations among the Midwestern tribes at the time of the Black Hawk War are also relevant (J. Hall 2009; S. Warren 2014), as are two seminal historical works on the Chippewa of Lake Superior and on early reservation life in the Great Lakes region (Danziger 1990, 2009).

Two historical books were produced in collaboration with members of the Bay Mills Ojibwe community in Michigan and the Red Cliff Ojibwe community in northern Wisconsin (Cleland 2000; Paap 2013), complimented by a study of the treaties that remain important at several Ojibwe communities in Wisconsin and Minnesota (Norrgard 2014). The account of the conflict over the exercise of off-reservation fishing rights that took place in the 1980s revealed how the contemporary Lac du Flambeau community in Wisconsin (Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa) redefined itself in the context of political action (Nesper 2002). The same community is also featured in a collection of oral histories drawn from the memories of local elders in the 1990s (Tornes 2004).

The Odawa (Ottawa) communities in Michigan have also experienced a revitalization (Pflug 1998). Complementing, updating, and shifting the focus on Michigan Odawa and Ojibwe communities is Fletcher's (2012) legal history of the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians. Fletcher has also developed *Turtle Talk* (https://turtletalk.wordpress.com/), a blog hosted by the Indigenous Law and Policy Center at the Michigan State University College of Law, which collates legal materials about tribal matters from around the country. This blog, in conjunction with the Newberry Library's website Indians of the Midwest (http://publications.newberry.org/indiansofthemidwest)—a multiyear project directed by ethnohistorians Brian Hosmer and Loretta Fowler—gives users a contemporary portrait of vibrant Indigenous communities in the Great Lakes region. The latter project follows the Newberry Library's earlier support of the *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Tanner 1987), a useful tool for anyone interested in the region. Readers particularly interested in the Indigenous nations of Wisconsin can also find other excellent recent overviews (Loew 2013, 2014).

Finally, several publications followed the ethnographic work conducted in Iowa among the Meskwaki (Fox) and Sauk (Sac) people during the twentieth century by anthropologists Sol Tax (Daubenmier 2008) and Fred McTaggart (1984; see Edmunds and Peyser 1993; Foley 1995; Goddard 1992, 2006).

Religiosity and Spirituality

Several recent publications have addressed how Native American communities have assimilated Christianity over the course of the past century and a half (Devens 1992; Leavelle 2012; McNally 2000, 2009) (fig. 13).

Tribal religions, once thought to be moribund, have been "recollected" (Low 2016) (fig. 14) in several tribal histories done by a cohort of indigenous Great Lakes scholars that has arisen since the 1980s. Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwe Benton-Banai produced *The Mishomis Book*, ostensibly a children's book, which can be found

Photograph by Larry Nesper.

Fig. 13. Kinship transcends religious differences as the proximate Christian graves and traditional spirit house reveal at the Bad River Band of Lake Superior Chippewa reservation cemetery.

Photograph by Larry Nesper.

Fig. 14. License plates are ordinary symbols of sovereignty. *Midewin* refers to the Ojibwe Medicine Lodge, indicating that the owner is an initiated member of this religious society.

in many Ojibwe homes in northern Wisconsin. It played an important role in revitalizing traditional religious practices in the western Great Lakes region (Benton-Banai 1988). *The History of the Ojibway People* (W. Warren 1885/2009) by the nineteenth-century Ojibwe mixed-blood William Warren (b. 1825, d. 1853) was republished with extensive commentary by Schenck, who has also produced full-length extensively annotated volumes on Warren (Schenck 2007) and Edmund Ely (Schenck 2012), a mid-nineteenth-century missionary to the Ojibwe. A sympathetic new historiographical study of the Ojibwe Midewiwin religion (Angel 2002) is a notable addition, as is *An Archaeology of the Soul: Native American Belief and Ritual* (Hall 1997), which includes several essays on Great Lakes tribes. Ethnomusicologist Thomas Vennum has written a valuable study of the Drum Dance, a late nineteenth-century religious revitalization movement (Vennum 1982), as well a detailed survey of wild rice cultivation (Vennum 1988), the promised "food that grows on the water," which reportedly motivated the Ojibwe migration from the east (Benton-Banai 1988).

Indigenous Intellectual Production

Basil Johnston (b. 1929, d. 2015), a Canadian Ojibwe of the Cape Croker First Nation and a member of the Ethnology Department at the Royal Ontario Museum, wrote extensively on Ojibwe language, culture, and history (Johnston 1976, 1987, 1988, 1995), offering an Indigenous perspective. The Minnesota Ojibwe community has also produced other authors, like brothers Anton Treuer (A. Treuer 2011, 2012) and David Treuer (D. Treuer 2012), Leech Lake Ojibwes who are both prominent Indigenous intellectuals with impressive publication records. They explore contemporary issues in their communities with implications for Indian people across the region, if not the continent (fig. 15). Other Native writers, like legal and political philosopher John Borrows (2002, 2016), a member of

Photograph by Shiela Reaves.

Fig. 15. Commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the fourth meeting of the Society of American Indians, which took place on the campus of the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1914, the Nelson Institute sponsored a Native Nations summit in 2015 that brought tribal leaders from all 12 indigenous communities in Wisconsin to campus for the first time in a century.

the Nawash First Nation in Ontario, offer sophisticated new models of the possibilities for relations between Indigenous polities and large nation-states.

Conclusion

As a region of great cultural diversity, the Northeast includes Native societies of remarkable complexity and artistic accomplishment, from the Mississippian and Ohioan people of 100–1400 A.D. to independent and mobile societies adapted to both the coast and the interior, to historical groups with ingenious and sustainable subsistence practices that have modern significance. Northeastern peoples have survived centuries of disruption, dislocation, and population loss, the details of which are now much better known than in the 1970s, when the *Northeast* volume of the *Handbook* was published.

New approaches introduced since its publication in 1978 include innovative and technology-assisted archaeology, new involvement of Native peoples in scholarship and representation, initiatives that encourage and fund Native-run research, new emphasis on Native resistance and creative responses to colonization, postcolonial and Indigenous scholarship, and repatriation. Ongoing and future research might also include a focus on inter- and intracontinental Native networks, erasing the lines between "precontact" and "historic" Native archaeology and "decolonizing" scholarship and the public-academic sphere. Studies published since 1980 have greatly complicated scholars' understanding of the Northeast societies, adding to theoretical debates about materiality, gender, landscape, and memory (Crosby 1993).

New research on Native networks will likely further explore interregional and wider networks among members of ancient and recent Native societies—specifically, the links that connected Native peoples of the Northeast with other regions and contributed to technical innovation, resource exchange, genetic heritage, and the spread of ideas. Earlier studies in ethnohistory have tended to underemphasize continued tribal interactions of this kind, although substantial evidence now points to wider links. Rethinking the idea of "contact" itself includes focusing on Native initiatives in exploration, trade expansion, and intertribal alliance.

Just as older concepts of the isolation of individual tribal communities in the past have given way to new understandings of connectivity, older historical timelines are being reconsidered. Recent interest in what might be called the "deep history" of Native American societies emphasizes continuities between "precontact" communities and those of the colonial and postcolonial period. Under this new approach, the Mississippian and Ohioan societies, once treated almost exclusively as belonging to the precontact past, are now understood to have fifteenth-century and later manifestations in the Northeast, much as the ancient Indigenous ideas of personhood, cosmologies, and ontologies have extended into recent or current Native societies.

Perhaps the most powerful change relates to the "decolonization" of Native history and anthropology. In response to legitimate concerns about the rigidity of past anthropological constructs and of postulated trajectories of precontact "otherness" and postcontact acculturation and disappearance, a number of changes are visible in today's scholarship about the Northeast. These include a better integration of Native community interests in all scholarly studies, inclusion of Native professional and community scholars in the teaching of Indigenous history and ethnography, and greater awareness of the public impact of scholarly production on Indigenous communities. These new directions and further expansion of topics of mutual interest to scholars, both Native and non-Native, help increase the ethnographic and archaeological potential of contemporary research in the Northeast region.

Additional Readings

Owing to space limitations, this chapter omits many important articles and books written about the Native peoples of the Northeast since 1978. Notable among fine book-length ethnographies and collections are Grumet (1996) and Oland et al. (2012), especially on collaborative research and decolonization, as well as Sider (2003). Pauketat (2004) is the best summary of recent archaeological records on Mississippian societies.

Several sources are available on regional topics not covered in this chapter. On the complicated history of the mid-Atlantic coastal region, new writings on the Delaware, besides Goddard's *Handbook* chapter (Goddard 1978b), include Barr (2006), Grimes (2013), Grumet (1980), Lappas (2010), and Schutt (2007). Sources on the Susquehannock or "Conestoga" people, besides the original chapter by Jennings (1978), include Lauria (2012) and Sempowski (1994); for the so-called Marginal Groups (see Berry 1978) on the Pennsylvania frontier, see Richter (1990).

The archaeology of Maryland and Virginia and historical developments among its Native people are well known in outline (Custer 1986, 1996; Fausz 1988; Wall and Lapham 2003) and have been substantially expanded to cover the contact era (Gallivan

2016; King 2012; King et al. 2014; Rountree 1989, 1990; Rountree and Turner 2002; Veit and Bello 2001; Williamson 2008). Specifically on the Jamestown and the Roanoke colonies, see new data in Emery (2015), Helm (2015), and Kupperman (2007). More sinister aspects of the colonial project in the mid-Atlantic region were the Native involvement in the slave trade (Haefeli 2002; Haefeli and Sweeney 1995; Rushforth 2003; Starna and Watkins 1991; Ward 2001) and the insatiable appetite among Native leaders for guns and other European goods (Custer 1994).

For the Iroquoia region, the origins, homelands, and early migrations of the ancestors of the future Confederacy remain popular topics (Abel 2002; Martin 2008; Warrick 2000; Wonderley 2005). The Iroquoian pre- and protohistory has been explored by Hart and Brumbach (2003) and Hart and Engelbrecht (2012). On the early boundaries between Algonquian and Iroquoian speakers, see Chafe and Foster (1981), Guindon (2009), and Mithun (1985). For possible causes of migration, including possible population decline during the Early Woodland period, see Birch (2012), Engelbrecht (1987), and Fiedel (2001). Prime sources on the early populations of certain Iroquois nations include Jones (2010a, 2010b, 2010c), Martin (2008), and Stewart and Cowie (2007). Other scholars used documentary sources to pinpoint the origins of the League (Kuhn and Sempowski 2001; Starna 2008). The role of the League of the Iroquois in the colonial setting has been explored in scores of post-1980 studies (Aquila 1984; Brandao and Starna 1996; Campisi and Starna 1995; Foster et al. 1984; Gehring and Starna 2012; Lehman 1990; Pomedli 1995; Richter 1992b; Robie 1982). On the specific role of the league in colonial conflicts in North America, see Hallock (2003), Parmenter (1997, 2003, 2007), and Richter (1998). On the Iroquois history in the nineteenth century, see Taylor (2002). The model some scholars believe had been provided by the league in the conception and writing of the U.S. Constitution testifies to the enduring importance of the Iroquois confederacy to American history in general (Grinde 1995; Jacobs 1991; Levy 1996; Tooker 1988).

Readers particularly interested in recent works authored by Indigenous scholars in the Great Lakes region are encouraged to see *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories* (Doerfler et al. 2013), *Ojibwe Narratives of Charles and Charlotte Kawbawgam and Jacques LePique, 1893–1895* (Kawbawgam and LePique 1994), the extensive writings of Anton Treuer (e.g., 2011, 2012, 2020) and David Treuer (e.g., 2012, 2019), as well as the legal scholarship of John Borrows (e.g., 2016, 2019).

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Section Introduction

IGOR KRUPNIK

The organizers of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (*HNAI*) had intended to cover its history and early development as part of its introductory volume 1 (Sturtevant 1971f :6–7; see "Introduction: A Gateway to the *Handbook* Series," this vol.). A May 1972 draft outline for that volume included an "Editor's Introduction" of 2,500 words to be written by the series' general editor, William C. Sturtevant, which would address, besides the description of the "previous Handbooks," the "history, organization, and purposes of this one" (Sturtevant 1972b, 1972c). The editor meant for the account of the *Handbook* origin to be brief, of no more than a few pages.

There is no record that such an introduction was ever written; instead, beginning in 1978, all of the published volumes in the *Handbook* series contained a standard one-paragraph statement in their preface:

> Preliminary discussions on the feasibility of the *Handbook* and alternatives for producing it began in 1965 in what was then the Smithsonian's Office of Anthropology. In the early years, the content and production of all volumes of the *Handbook* were planned as indicated in the detailed history of the whole *Handbook* given in Volume 1 (Sturtevant and Heizer 1978:xiii).

The same statement appeared even in volume 2, published in 2008, a year after Sturtevant's passing (Bailey 2008a:xi). By that time, it was obvious that there were no plans to write this "detailed history" of the *Handbook*; it was even unclear whether the series' introductory volume 1 would ever be produced. Nonetheless, when planning for volume 1 began anew in 2013–2014, its editors agreed on the need to chronicle the origin and the full history of the *Handbook* project, albeit almost 50 years after it was started. The five chapters below that cover the history of the *HNAI* project finally fulfill the pledge given by the general editor and the *Handbook* team that is reiterated in each volume of the series.

The Beginnings, 1965–1971

ADRIANNA LINK AND IGOR KRUPNIK

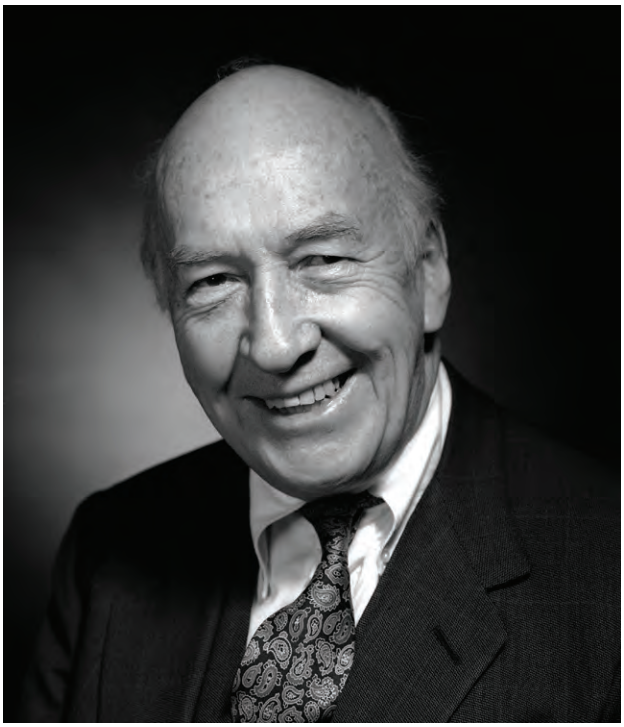
The early years of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (*HNAI*) initiative can be appropriately told as an effort to plan and publish a new multivolume encyclopedic series pertaining to North American Indian societies and histories. At the same time, the *Handbook* endeavor offered a venue to the Smithsonian and those involved with the series production to address many intellectual and sociopolitical issues of the period. The planning for the *Handbook* coincided with the radical cultural and societal transformations of the 1960s and 1970s, a moment in history that affected the future of American anthropology, the Smithsonian, and American society, in general. These transformations included—but were not limited to—the conflicts facing anthropology as a discipline, especially with regard to its views on the status of Native Americans/First Nations, the colonial legacy of North American history and its treatment of Indigenous groups and cultures, and the pursuit of social justice and political rights on a global scale. Planning for the *Handbook* series thus could not have come at a more challenging time. It involved many well-known players, including Smithsonian curators and administrators, Native American/First Nations intellectual and political leaders, and renowned anthropologists and historians of the era.

The following overview of the early history of the *Handbook*, written more than 50 years after the genesis of the series, offers a more nuanced account than the one originally planned for the introductory volume in 1972 (see "Introduction: A Gateway to the *Handbook* Series," this vol.). It examines the development of the *HNAI* project through three intersecting contextual frameworks: institutional, disciplinary, and individual. The *Handbook* saga actually takes its roots with the ascendance of S. Dillon Ripley to the position of Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution in 1964 because of his critical role in inspiring and supporting the series, as well as securing funds for its production (see "Appendix 1," this vol.). That "beginnings" phase concluded in 1971, by which time the series had a detailed outline, an editorial board, and firm plans for each of its individual volume. It would nonetheless take another seven years for the first *Handbook* volumes to be printed in 1978.

Ripley and Tax Come to the Smithsonian, 1964–1965

In 1964, the Smithsonian Board of Regents elected Sidney Dillon Ripley (b. 1913, d. 2001) as the Smithsonian's eighth Secretary (fig. 1). At 51 years old, Ripley came to the Smithsonian following a prominent career at Yale University, where he served as a professor in the Department of Biology and as the director of the Peabody Museum of Natural History (Challinor 2003; Stone 2017). Despite being trained as an ornithologist at a time when biology had begun to move away from museum-oriented taxonomic studies in favor of research done in the laboratory or in the field, Ripley remained a strong advocate of the importance of museums as sites for developing new scientific theories (Appel 2000; Ripley 1965a). He considered natural history museums particularly essential for promoting innovations in environmental conservation and argued that the Smithsonian, as one of the premier museum complexes in the world, had a unique responsibility to prioritize the role of ecology within its research, exhibits, and public programs.

Yet upon his arrival in 1964, Ripley found the Smithsonian Institution to be largely dormant, a "sleeping beauty" that needed to be reawakened in order to achieve its fullest potential (Ripley 1984). One way he aimed to reenergize the institution was through the creation of several new cross-disciplinary offices—namely the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology (1965), the Office of Ecology (1965), the Office of Systematics (1965), and the Office of Oceanography and Limnology (1966)—that would facilitate more collaborative research. In his view, interdisciplinary collaboration was crucial for integrating perspectives from the social sciences into environmental conservation efforts (Ripley 1966b). This thinking underscored his decision to create a unified Office of Anthropology in February 1965 (Annual Report 1965:13, 39–40; Anonymous 1983:87, 94; Smithsonian Office of Anthropology 1968:6), which effectively merged the previously independent Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) with the Department of Anthropology of the United States National Museum (renamed the National



Smithsonian Archives (2001-985).

Fig. 1. S. Dillon Ripley (b. 1913, d. 2001), eighth Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Museum of Natural History in 1967). Through this action, Ripley aimed to broaden the Smithsonian anthropological endeavors and to promote cooperation with researchers working across different departments (Ripley 1964; Smithsonian Institution 1967a:39).

In another effort to rejuvenate the Smithsonian Institution, in September 1965 Ripley organized a three-day celebration honoring the two hundredth birthday of its founder, James Smithson (b. 1765, d. 1829). Attended by hundreds of scholars, government officials, and members of the public, the celebration featured several public events (fig. 2), such as the formal academic procession that introduced the sun in splendor as the institution's new official seal and showcased the institution's long history of contributing to science and culture (Dillon 2015). It also included a lecture series on the merits and potential of engaging museums in research, given by leading figures in the scholarly fields represented at the Smithsonian (Oehser 1966). Among the speakers was the renowned French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (b. 1908, d. 2009). He lauded the BAE's past contribution to documenting the languages and customs of Native Americans. Comparing the need for increased anthropological fieldwork to the discovery of an unknown planet, Lévi-Strauss

Smithsonian Archives (82-3265000004).

Fig. 2. To commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of James Smithson, founding donor of the Smithsonian Institution, a three-day celebration was held in 1965 on September 16, 17, and 18. The event included an academic procession. A portion of the Smithsonian Institution Building is visible in the background. (SIA, Record Unit 95, Box 59, Folder 5)

urged his audience to again take up the task of preserving records of the world's diverse cultures in order to confront the perceived loss of knowledge caused by the rapid technological, economic, and political transformations of the postwar period, before it was too late (Lévi-Strauss 1966:127).

Inspired by this speech and its convergence with his ideas about the utility of anthropological knowledge for worldwide conservation efforts, Ripley approached the American Anthropological Association (AAA) in November 1965 to offer the Smithsonian as an institutional base for international anthropological fieldwork. Eager to support what he called an "urgent horizons in anthropology program for a fuller record of man," he argued that the institution possessed the right balance of resources, departmental flexibility, and political neutrality needed to undertake such a project (American Anthropological Association 1966:760). This action effectively marked the beginning of the Smithsonian's "urgent anthropology" program, which, in keeping with Lévi-Strauss's call-to-arms, committed itself to documenting the languages, behaviors, and physical characteristics of the world's "changing cultures" (AAA 1966; Link 2016; Ripley 1966a).

Since Ripley was not an anthropologist, he sought an expert who could help him develop urgent anthropology at the Smithsonian and would soothe the internal tensions created by the merger of the Department of Anthropology and the former BAE. For this task, he approached University of Chicago anthropologist Sol Tax (b. 1907, d. 1995) (fig. 3) to serve as his special advisor on anthropology. By that time, Tax had emerged as one of anthropology's leading voices and organizers, thanks to his involvement with the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and his position as founding editor of its internationally distributed journal, *Current Anthropology* (Stapp 2012; Stocking 2000; Wax 2008).

Beyond his organizational activities, Tax was perhaps best-known for his method and philosophy of "action anthropology" (Ablon 1979; Lurie 1961b; Tax 1952, 1964, 1975). It was a product of several decades of fieldwork and collaboration with the Meskwaki community (formerly called Sac and Fox Indians) living in Tama, Iowa, including the 1948 so-called Fox Project, which began as a fieldwork exercise for a group of graduate students from the University of Chicago. Tax's vision of action anthropology relied on open communication and collaboration between anthropologists and the group under study to employ in-depth knowledge about the community in order to help it address its social, political, and economic needs (Daubenmier 2008; Tax 1975). This emphasis on open communication became a central governing principle

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 3. Sol Tax, special advisor to Secretary Ripley and the head of the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology and, later, of the Smithsonian Center for the Study of Man (CSM, Box 141).

for nearly all of Tax's activities, both in his political activism alongside Native Americans and in his organization of a broader community of scholars.

Tax, like Ripley, also championed the integration of biological and anthropological perspectives, as evidenced by his organization of the 1959 Darwin Centennial Celebration at the University of Chicago (Smocovitis 1999; Tax 1960). Thus in Ripley's estimation, Tax possessed the right combination of leadership, organizational, and intellectual prowess to rejuvenate Smithsonian anthropology through programs that could "affect the whole discipline, both nationally and internationally" (Ripley 1965b). Likewise, Tax's access to a world constituency of social scientists through the list of subscribers to *Current Anthropology* made him an ideal person to spearhead global change within the field.

While Tax ultimately declined Ripley's invitation to head the newly consolidated Smithsonian Office of Anthropology (SOA), he did agree to serve as his special advisor on anthropology and set to work revamping its programs beginning in January 1966. To this end, Tax submitted a proposal to Ripley requesting Smithsonian funds to establish four major programs to advance the human sciences. These were (1) a study

of rapidly changing cultures across the globe (what became known as Smithsonian urgent anthropology), (2) a program on North American Indians, (3) a paleoanthropology program focused on excavating the remains of fossil hominids, and (4) an archaeological survey of South America (Tax 1966). This list represented a mixture of research projects already underway at the Smithsonian and some more broadly conceived programs intended to serve the needs of anthropology as a whole. Although Tax supported the development of all four programs, his proposal to actively engage in the studies of the world's "changing cultures" most closely reflected his investment in cultivating a global community of anthropologists (Stocking 2000). It also represented a natural extension of his method of action anthropology, as the new program would necessarily rely on creating partnerships between anthropologists and societies seen as undergoing change (Link 2016). Thus, Tax's focus at the Smithsonian turned almost entirely to developing a program in "urgent anthropology" on a global scale, leaving the future of the other three programs largely at the discretion of his Smithsonian colleagues.

Birth of the *HNAI* Project, 1965–1966

The first documented summary of the *Handbook*'s advent appeared in 1967 in a memo written by general editor, William Sturtevant (Sturtevant 1967e). Following a laudatory description of the original BAE *Handbook* (Hodge 1907–1910) and with references to the subsequent *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward 1946–1959) and the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Wauchope 1964–1976), Sturtevant detailed the events surrounding the birth of the new series as follows:

> The suggestion that we issue a new *Handbook of North American Indians* was made by J[ohn].C. Ewers and W[aldo].R. Wedel in December 1965, in response to a call for project ideas issued to the SOA staff by Prof. Sol Tax in his new role of catalyst and adviser. The first result of the ensuing discussion was that Clifford Evans volunteered to prepare and mail a questionnaire on the desirability and possible format of such a handbook, and to analyze the replies. He quickly prepared a draft questionnaire and mailing list, incorporated some suggestions from SOA North Americanists, and mailed the questionnaire to about 450 anthropologists, historians, and other potential users and contributors. His report on the 250 or so replies received [by May 31, 1966] indicated great enthusiasm among respondents and gave indications of the most usable general format (e.g., a topical rather than alphabetical arrangement of articles as preferred by most).
>
> At this point Evans relinquished direct involvement in the project. . . . The only volunteer for the job of editor was Sturtevant; his offer was accepted by the staff, and he has been conducting the planning since about May 1966 (Sturtevant 1967e:2–3).

While Sturtevant's 1967 account seems to put the key elements of the series origins in order, the actual circumstances underlying the project's beginnings were more complex. The first documented reference to a new *Handbook* actually appeared in a memo dated December 28, 1965, written by ethnologist John C. Ewers (b. 1909, d. 1997), North American curator and Plains ethnologist (fig. 4), in response to a query sent by Sol Tax to all SOA anthropologists following his appointment as their (informal) head and Ripley's lead advisor. Although mostly an outline of Ewers' personal research interests, the memo also mentioned prospective ventures of broad interest to the entire SOA staff—including "a revision of the BAE Bulletin 30, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*." After praising the original BAE *Handbook* and listing some of its shortcomings, Ewers expressed his interest in such a project but cautioned that the extent of the undertaking would require a "full-time editor, with full-time assistants" (Ewers 1965:3–4).

A few days later, Ewers wrote to archaeologist Richard Woodbury (b. 1917, d. 2007), then the head of the Department of Anthropology at the U.S. National Museum and asked him to distribute copies of his earlier memo to Tax to the rest of the SOA staff (Ewers 1966a). In this second memo, Ewers expanded on his reasons for a revised *Handbook*, stressing its significance for keeping the Smithsonian at the forefront of Native American scholarship:

> If we don't do these things [update the *Handbook*], others will. . . . Historians, anthropologists, writers, editors and Indian buffs will welcome the day when it is announced that the SI is going to revise the *Handbook* in a scholarly fashion. They will know then that the SI is serious in its intentions to carry on its great tradition in American Indian research (Ewers 1966a:1).

Ewers's idea to revise the old BAE *Handbook* was instantly popular among his colleagues. Archaeologist Waldo R. Wedel (b. 1908, d. 1996) expressed enthusiasm about the idea in his own memo to Tax, in which he praised the first BAE *Handbook* and stated that no single Smithsonian publication in anthropology had been "more widely used by anthropologists, historians, historical writers, university press editors, and others whose researches and writings bring them into contact with Indian tribes and . . . Indian activities of various sorts." Yet, echoing Ewers' cautionary words about the scope of the project, Wedel commented that producing a revised *Handbook* "would certainly run into

Smithsonian Archives (top row: 92-1794, OPA-1184-18, SIA-2002-1278; bottom row: n.n., 2001-7260, SIA2013-04196).

Fig. 4. Composite photo of the SOA curators in 1965, who were instrumental to the early planning for the *Handbook*. top row, left to right, John Ewers, Clifford Evans and Betty Meggers, T. Dale Stewart. bottom row, left to right, Richard Woodbury, Henry B. Collins, Waldo Wedel.

a very large operation culminating in a multi-volume work . . . (and) would require a skilled and highly competent editor, plus substantial financing and co-operation of many experts and specialists both inside and outside the Smithsonian." Putting such production logistics aside, he, nonetheless, assured Tax that "with something like this available, the Smithsonian's image would be greatly improved" (Wedel 1966:1–2).

Tax, however, appeared less enthusiastic about the idea of launching a revision of the BAE *Handbook* among the slew of his newly proposed projects. At a follow-up meeting with the SOA staff held in late January 1966, he listed the *Handbook* as a second-tier item in his plans for the SOA's future, placing it below other activities he hoped would make the Smithsonian "the center of Anthropology nationally and in the World Anthropology" (SOA 1966a:2). He instead outlined his own proposal for a special North American Indian program for the SOA with two possible research directions. The first would "collate already available material in order to have a revised Handbook of North American Indians," while the second would take the form of a "Myrdal-type study of the Indian in American Society." This second idea referenced Gunnar Myrdal's influential publication, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (Myrdal 1944). The latter had relied primarily on contemporary demographic and sociological data, along with social theory, to understand the matrix of American society in the early 1940s. Because of its

sociological angle, Myrdal's text employed very different research methods than the more standard ethnographic accounts that had composed the original BAE *Handbook* (see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.). While Tax voiced a preference for a Myrdal-like model as a structure for the future "handbook"—no doubt influenced by his close associations with the sociologists at the University of Chicago—the Smithsonian anthropologists unanimously favored the old BAE encyclopedic/descriptive template, with which they were closely familiar. It had been a prominent part of their institutional legacy (at least for the North Americanist faction); it also reflected the methodological preferences of most museum anthropologists working in the mid-twentieth century. This point of tension quickly came to a head. In a subsequent memo written to Woodbury, Ewers stressed Tax's unwillingness to accept criticism and charged his Smithsonian colleagues "to stand up and be counted on this issue, especially if it should mean a choice between this [a sociologically oriented approach] and a revision of the [BAE] Handbook" (Ewers 1966b).

Yet, during the early months of 1966, Tax's interest in developing a Smithsonian program on North American Indians was largely overshadowed by his involvement with planning a conference called Changing Cultures, cosponsored by the Smithsonian and the Wenner-Gren Foundation. This three-day gathering centered on the development of the Smithsonian urgent anthropology program and saw the arrival of some 50 participants, including many anthropological luminaries, such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, Margaret Mead, Fredrik Barth, and George P. Murdock, among others (Sturtevant 1967g).

Despite the presence of such renowned scholars, most members of the SOA viewed the event as a mere distraction from their museum responsibilities, with the exception of William Sturtevant, who embraced the possibilities for international collaboration offered by the conference and played an integral role in its organization. Whereas Sturtevant turned his attention to assisting Tax with conference logistics, the rest of the Smithsonian Americanist anthropologists continued their discussion of potential proposals for a new *Handbook*. Again, Ewers volunteered an early outline for the project, noting that the first step would be to identify an editor who could take on the project for about ten years, someone, in his description, who would be "a good GS-17 [senior scientist, the highest federal level]," ideally someone in his middle 50s, who would regard this as a super-challenge (Ewers 1966b).

Other SOA members, including archaeologist Henry B. Collins (b. 1899, d. 1987), Wedel, Woodbury, and, again, Ewers shared their views on the future *Handbook* in personal memos sent to Clifford Evans (b. 1920, d. 1981), curator of South American archaeology (fig. 4). Evans had emerged as the leader of this small group in the spring of 1966 and volunteered to compile various responses and proposals to chart a common course of action. His enthusiasm for the venture was evidently fueled by the recent launch of the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* series and the release of its first volume (Evans 1966a; Wauchope 1964–1976; West 1964; see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.). In Collins' memo, he relayed to Evans that the revised *Handbook* should "follow the alphabetical—dictionary, encyclopaedia, gazetteer—form of Bulletin 30 [the original BAE *Handbook*]" as the most useful arrangement and stressed that having separate, topical volumes would be distracting, and perhaps not really necessary (Collins 1966). Woodbury, on the other hand, proposed an organizational structure of 12 thematic volumes arranged alphabetically "with some long articles and very many short ones" (Woodbury 1966). His list of prospective volumes included:

> (1) Geography, Culture and Natural Areas, Linguistics, the History of the Study of the American Indian; (2) Physical Anthropology, including Racial History, Population, Health, and Disease; (3) History of Indian-White Contact [continuing through the modern period]; (4–7) [no titles]; (8) Southeast; (9) Arctic; (10) Archaeology of the Western United States and the Arctic; (11) Archaeology of the Eastern United States; and (12) Synthesis and Cultural Inventory.

Upon his return to the discussion following the urgent anthropology conference, Sturtevant emphasized the need for special volumes on Native American ethnology, physical anthropology and demography, archaeology, and linguistics (Sturtevant 1966c).

In response to the suggestions submitted by his SOA colleagues, Evans compiled a seven-page questionnaire and circulated it to 450 Americanist scholars in April 1966. In the attached cover letter, he declared that the anthropologists of the Smithsonian Institution believe that "the time is opportune to plan a new *Handbook of North American Indians* [and] . . . the Smithsonian Institution administration has expressed sufficient interest for the staff to consider seriously what type of handbook would be most useful" (Evans 1966b:1). He also asked respondents to indicate whether the future *Handbook* should be framed in an encyclopedic style, from A through Z, "using as many volumes as necessary," or arranged by volumes, according to geographic or culture areas. He explicitly named some possible areas for coverage, including the Arctic, Northwest Coast, Great Basin–Plateau,

West Coast and Desert, Southwest, Southeast, Northeast, and Plains (Evans 1966b:4). In doing so, Evans's detailed questionnaire helped introduce plans for the Smithsonian *Handbook* to the broad anthropological community with three underlying messages. First, the publication would be a *new* handbook, not a revision or an update of the 1907–1910 BAE set. Second, it would be a multivolume series. Finally, the Smithsonian administration would likely fund and publish it. Perhaps most importantly, by circulating their plans within the broader scholarly community, the Smithsonian curators effectively claimed the *Handbook* as a primary new undertaking of the SOA and not as its secondary project as had been proposed by Tax.

By mid-May 1966, more than 200 Americanists replied to Evans' questionnaire. Their responses were mixed, with no clear majority favoring either the encyclopedic or thematic organization for the new series (Ewers 1966c). Ultimately, however, this survey would have little impact on the *Handbook*'s future structure. This is because two days before the questionnaire's deadline, sixteen SOA staff members (including Tax) unanimously nominated Sturtevant, then not yet 40 years of age (fig. 5) to the position of the series general editor (see "William Curtis Sturtevant, General Editor," this vol.). Though Evans still submitted an update on the responses from the questionnaire to his colleagues, Sturtevant's nomination to the helm of the *Handbook* made these opinions moot, since Sturtevant strongly advocated for the thematic organization of the series (Sturtevant 1966d). Consequently, many of the senior Smithsonian curators who had initially favored the shorter alphabetic and encyclopedic format for the *Handbook* opted to leave the project and its planning to Sturtevant's discretion.

In addition to Sturtevant's appointment as general editor, another development took place in 1966 that would have a substantial impact on the *Handbook*'s production. Upon Tax's suggestion, the Smithsonian hired Samuel L. Stanley (b. 1923, d. 2011) (fig. 6), a former PhD student of Tax's at the University of Chicago (with his PhD thesis on historical changes in the Tlingit social structure in southeast Alaska; Anonymous 2011c; Stanley 1958; Stanley et al. 1959), to help oversee the activities of the SOA. While initially perceived by SOA staff as another attempt by Tax to prioritize plans for world anthropology over other Smithsonian projects, Stanley's hire actually contributed much-needed groundwork for the new *Handbook*. With the help of numerous summer interns and SOA fellows, Stanley initiated the indexing of all 12,800 entries from the old BAE *Handbook* volumes onto catalog cards, which could later be sorted by topic and/or tribal name (J. Scherer, personal communication, December 11, 2017; Sturtevant 1967e:4).

In September 1966, Sturtevant drafted a public announcement outlining the Smithsonian's plan for a

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 5. William Sturtevant in his NMNH office during the early planning phase for the *Handbook* (NAA, HNAI Papers, Box 485, 006).

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 6. Samuel L. Stanley, Center for the Study of Man, circa 1966.

Table 1. Tentative Contents for New N.A. Indian Handbook, Prepared by William C. Sturtevant (possibly with Samuel Stanley's assistance)

Volume 1: Origins (Land, People, and Cultures, mostly from an archaeological perspective)
Volume 2: General History (including the contact era, history of Indian administration, pan-Indianism and Indian rights associations, i.e., contemporary movements)
Volumes 3–12: Regional volumes by culture areas (to be arranged along a standard template; nine areas were named: Eskimo (Arctic), Subarctic, Northwest Coast, California, Southwest (almost certainly two volumes), Basin-Plateau, Plains, Northeast, Southeast
Volume 13: Artistic Creativity of North American Indians (including dance, music, literature, and craftwork)
Volume 14: Comparative Ethnology (including social organization, culture change, and modern communities, 1940–1970)
Volume 15: Linguistics (including sociolinguistics and ethnolinguistics)
Volume 16: Biographical Dictionary
Volume 17: General Analytical Index

SOURCE: Sturtevant 1966e; Stanley 1966.

"thoroughly revised and updated edition of the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*" to be published by Smithsonian Institution Press (Sturtevant 1966e). It specified that the proposed *Handbook* would include 15 or more volumes overseen by an editorial board consisting of SOA staff with strong research interests in North American Indians (specifically listed were Collins, Ewers, Stanley, Stewart, Sturtevant, Tax, Wedel, and Woodbury) and with Sturtevant as general editor. By the time the editorial committee met in October 1966, Sturtevant's outline for the new *Handbook* had grown to include 17 volumes (Sturtevant 1966g) (table 1). This structure would provide the blueprint for all further outlines for the *Handbook* series up until the start of its active planning in 1971–1972 and the subsequent production in 1978 (see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.).

The outline also introduced the new title for the series, *Handbook of North American Indians*, and indicated some new themes that would be treated therein. These included: the reciprocity of cultural exchange between Indigenous and Western cultures, Native Americans' contribution to American life in art and economy, and the history of "the contribution to knowledge" resulting from North American Indian studies (Sturtevant 1966g). Thus, from the beginning, the *Handbook* planners tried to balance the basic encyclopedic approach aimed at general readers with more modern and overtly sympathetic perspectives on the role of Native Americans in the formation of the broader American society.

News that the SOA would undertake a revised multivolume edition of the *Handbook of North American Indians* was quickly circulated at the meetings of major anthropological societies, including the American Anthropological Association on November 17, 1966 (Sturtevant 1966e), and through notifications mailed to about 1,000 specialists on Native North Americans previously identified by Stanley. With these public announcements, the vision of a multivolume encyclopedic series in the footsteps of the BAE venerable Americanist tradition had put to rest any possibility of Tax's proposal for a Myrdal-like sociological survey of contemporary Native Americans.

Native American Activism and Transformations in American Anthropology, 1965–1968

The launch of the *Handbook* series did not happen in a vacuum but proceeded within the broader social context of the 1960s, a time of dramatic transformations in

the American public mind affected by the Civil Rights Movement, the Vietnam War protests, cultural radicalization, and other events of the time. Several developments also took place in areas directly related to the *Handbook*'s area of focus, namely the rise of American Indian political activism, the institutional growth of North American anthropology, and an internal crisis within anthropology that reached its peak in the aftermath of Vietnam (see Bunzl 2005; Darnell 2002; H. Lewis 2009, 2014; Link 2016; Trencher 2000). Of these transformations, the rise of Native American political activism presented a watershed to Americanist studies in the 1960s. Its notable hallmarks included the American Indian Chicago Conference of 1961, the establishment of the National Indian Youth Council (1961), the struggle for Native American fishing rights (1964–1968), land claims and the fight against tribal termination policy, the birth of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in 1968, "Red Power" activism, and the occupation of Alcatraz (1969–1971). These events in turn occupied myriad professional books and papers, many of which were later reviewed in the *Handbook* series (e.g., Borrows 2008; Burch 1985; Deloria 2008; Hertzberg 1988; Imai 2008; Lurie 1988; G. Roth 2008b).

Discussions about the *Handbook* beginnings, therefore, could not ignore developments in Native American activism and anthropologists' responses to it. Prior to Tax's 1965 arrival, Smithsonian anthropologists interested in North American Indian societies engaged mostly in the classic Smithsonian mission of the "increase and diffusion of knowledge," meaning the pursuit of traditional academic and museum research in Native American ethnology, as well as in early history and origins. Tax's emergence as Ripley's advisor on anthropology and intellectual driver of SOA helped alter this formally detached stance, as his close ties to Native American communities and his own political activism bled into his approach to Smithsonian anthropology (J. Smith 2010; Stocking 2000). Tax had acted as key organizer of the American Indian Chicago Conference in 1961 that brought together 760 Native American activists from 90 tribes and tribal groups across the United States and Canada (Ablon 1979; Lurie 1961b; Stanley 1996). The conference resulted in a "Declaration of Indian Purpose," a statement of concerns and recommendations with an emphasis on tribal sovereignty and preserving American Indian and Alaska Native identity that was later delivered to President John F. Kennedy. It was a catalyst for Native American consciousness and marked the first attempt to stake a unified Native American position against the U.S. federal policies towards Indigenous Americans. Many proposals debated at the conference were implemented in the 1960s with tribal specific policies included in the Great Society programs (Fixico 2013b; Hauptman and Campisi 1988; Hertzberg 1988; Josephy et al. 1999; Lurie 1988; McKenzie-Jones 2014; Stapp 2012).

Tax, along with Stanley, thus helped introduce a radically different approach to "American Indian studies" to Smithsonian anthropology, one that sought to mobilize anthropological materials and expertise for congressional committees on topics including American Indian policies, education, and economic development (Tax 1962, 1968a; Tax and Stanley 1960). These pursuits often brought them into direct involvement with Native political actions; Tax and Stanley (as well as Sturtevant) were members of the academic "support committee" for the Native American activists occupying Alcatraz in 1969–1971, in which Tax took a leading role. He even made a visit to the island, albeit as a private citizen and not as an official representative of the Smithsonian (Talbot 1997:109–110; Tax 1970:2; see also Deloria 2008; Johnson 1996; Smith and Warrior 1997).

Another milestone event with a strong impact on the *Handbook* was the publication of Vine Deloria, Jr.'s *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*, especially its chapter on "Anthropologists and Other Friends" (Deloria 1969a, 1969b; see "Codes of Ethics," this vol.). Deloria reproached anthropologists for their lack of ethics and for the long tradition of paternalism toward American Indians (Bailey n.d.; Biolsi and Zimmerman 1997a; DeMallie 2006; Martínez 2019; Stull 1999). His scathing criticism triggered heated debates and influenced dramatic changes in how academic scholars viewed their work about, with, and on behalf of Native American communities. In May 1971, the American Anthropological Association adopted its first professional code of ethics, "Principles of Professional Responsibility," which asserted anthropologists' paramount obligation to those they study (AAA 1971; see "Codes of Ethics," this vol.).

At the *Handbook* level, the increased importance of Native American activism for and within anthropology prompted the decision to include a new volume in the series entitled *Indians in Contemporary Society* (vol. 2). It also invigorated the search for Native American contributors and editors who could bring Native perspectives to *Handbook* topics. Deloria himself would eventually become the editor for that volume, following the passing of its originally assigned editor, D'Arcy McNickle (Bailey 2008a; see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.).

Besides increased social activism, the 1960s also witnessed an unparalleled institutional growth in American anthropology fueled by the overall expansion

in higher education and scientific research following World War II and, particularly, in response to the launch of the Soviet satellite Sputnik in October 1957. Between 1958 and 1970, U.S. national spending on research and development almost doubled, growing from $50.5 to $90.5 billion, whereas the annual number of doctorates awarded in all disciplines rose almost fourfold (from 8,611 in 1957 to 33,755 in 1973; Thurgood et al. 2006:7). Anthropologists played only a small role in this process, yet the field benefited from the "high-tide" environment for research and higher education.

The body of tenured faculty in North American anthropology graduate departments surged to more than 4,200 in 1975/1976 from less than 800 in 1963/1964 (Anonymous 1963–1964; Krupnik 2016; Vorwerk 1975; Woodbury 1969). Between 1960 and 1976, the number of PhD degrees in anthropology awarded annually by all North American universities increased fivefold; as a result, the number of attendees and sessions at anthropological meetings, especially the AAA, skyrocketed (H. Lewis 2009:205). Similar (albeit smaller) growth also occurred in Canada, where the ranks of anthropology faculty swelled from a "handful" in 1950 to more than 120 in 1970 (Graburn 2006:244). Notably, between 1960 and 1975, Canadian universities and museums launched a dozen new serial publications in anthropology and northern development, many in response to First Nations' land claims and to an increased demand for data on social and economic issues.

The growth in North American anthropology enabled increased specialization within the discipline. New professional groups and their associated meetings and publications proliferated. Such groups included (but were not limited to) the Northeastern Anthropological Society (established in 1961), the Southern Anthropological Society (1965), the Canadian Archaeological Association (1968), the Algonquian Conferences (1968), the Northern Athapaskan Conferences (1971), and the Hunter-Gatherers conferences (1966). Thus, by the close of the 1960s, the planners of the Smithsonian *Handbook* had at their disposal a pool of hundreds if not thousands of prospective authors located across the United States and Canada and connected through professional scholarly networks, who could contribute their knowledge and expertise to the series.

Whereas North American anthropology continued to grow in size and specialization, a sense of unease also settled into the discipline. Beginning in the early 1960s, the field experienced a series of political, ethical, and intellectual crises. At the core of these conflicts was the involvement of anthropologists in activities abroad, many sponsored by funding from the U.S. government intelligence or international development programs (Cooper and Packard 1997; D. Price 2008, 2016; Trencher 2000). In 1965, it was revealed that some anthropologists had been involved with planning for Project Camelot, an American counterinsurgency effort funded by the U.S. Department of Defense that sought to apply social scientific data toward monitoring social movements and communist activities in Latin America (Horowitz 1967; Solovey 2001). This discovery escalated tensions fueled by other political and military conflicts of the period, especially the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. These conflicts inspired the AAA to organize a review committee on the problems of research and ethics in anthropology and to pass an official resolution condemning warfare and other acts harmful to human beings (AAA 1966). It also inspired younger scholars in the field to launch a series of scathing critiques of the discipline's involvement in colonial and postcolonial projects, and the eventual coinage of anthropology's moniker as the "handmaiden of colonialism" (Gough 1968; Lewis 1973; H. Lewis 2009, 2014; Stauder 1972). By the late 1960s and early 1970s, influential books, including Dell Hymes's *Reinventing Anthropology* (Hymes 1972) and Talal Asad's *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (Asad 1973), as well as scores of journal articles, called for a reassessment of anthropology's obligations to its subjects of study, marking the beginning of what is now referred to as the discipline's "reflexive turn" (Bunzl 2005).

Institutional Obstacles in the *Handbook* Planning, 1967–1969

Amid these disciplinary transformations and debates, the *Handbook* planners presented an upbeat assessment of their progress in the Smithsonian's 1966 Annual Report (Sturtevant 1967a, 1967e). In reality, little had happened in the next two years, between 1967 and early 1969 (Sturtevant 1968d). Part of the delay had to do with Sturtevant's absence from the Smithsonian while abroad on sabbatical in Europe and Asia (see "William Curtis Sturtevant, General Editor" this vol.). In his absence, the *Handbook* continued mostly under Stanley, who focused on various technical tasks, such as reworking files according to subject areas and developing a future list of prospective articles and an outline of volume contents (Stanley 1967; Sturtevant 1967e:4–5; Sturtevant 1969c:2–3).

Another significant cause for the delay in the *Handbook*'s production was a lack of funding. In 1967, the SOA's overall budget had been cut by almost $100,000 owing to the redistribution of government funds to support the war in Vietnam; no funding

was allocated for *Handbook* activities. The *Handbook* team desperately needed a show of Smithsonian commitment, especially in the form of a stable budget and salaried positions. This commitment came in 1968 only, when Ripley agreed to add the *Handbook* as a discrete line item to the Smithsonian annual appropriation request for fiscal year 1969. In his request to the U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations, Ripley called the *Handbook* a "collaborative effort between universities, museums, and Government agencies" and elaborated that "over the next 10 years these other organizations will contribute about 420 man-years of time and effort on the revision of the handbook, worth in this sense about $3.5 million" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1968:2136). He also claimed that the Smithsonian would contribute about $700,000 during this 10-year period and asked the Senate committee for a very modest investment to finance one technician position to work on the *Handbook* and for $26,000 to advance the project. Even such a modest request was ultimately denied.

Another minor but not insignificant factor in slowing *Handbook* progress was the persistent tension among SOA staff following the 1965 merger of the BAE and the Department of Anthropology and Tax's subsequent appointment as Ripley's advisor on anthropology (Merrill 2002a:22–24). Tax's ambitious vision to reorient the Smithsonian as a center for world anthropology received strong resistance from many SOA members who worried about the impact of his international programs on their curatorial and research operations. In October 1967, Richard Woodbury, the retiring Anthropology chair, warned his successor, ethnologist Saul Riesenberg (b. 1911, d. 1994), that the department needed to be "more realistic in recognizing the effect that these things [i.e., urgent anthropology] are having and will have in the future on our own individual research activities. Old-fashioned as it may seem, we may find that we can't have it both ways" (Woodbury 1967).

Recognizing these tensions, Tax appealed to Ripley to reallocate the remaining SOA funds for fiscal year 1968 toward the development of new archives, catalogs, and programs where the results of international anthropological research could be consolidated and applied to future projects (Tax 1967a, 1967b). Additionally, he proposed the creation of a separate unit at the Smithsonian that would prioritize the collaborative interdisciplinary initiatives he and Ripley had envisioned in 1965. He called it the Center for the Study of Man (CSM) and recommended that it be put directly under Ripley's supervision, where it could maintain an independent budget that would not interfere with the museum functions of the SOA (Tax 1967b; Link 2018).

At Tax's suggestion and based on the recommendation of an external review committee composed of archaeologist and future Smithsonian secretary Robert McCormick Adams (b. 1926, d. 2018), ethnologist Ward Goodenough (b. 1919, d. 2013), linguist Floyd Lounsbury (b. 1914, d. 1998), and primatologist Sherwood Washburn (b. 1911, d. 2000), in July 1968, Ripley redivided the SOA into the Department of Anthropology at the National Museum of Natural History and the CSM. Ripley established the CSM as a separate bureau (though physically housed at the Museum of Natural History) comparable in rank to the other Smithsonian units administratively placed under the Office of the Secretary. He appointed Tax as the CSM's acting director and assigned Sam Stanley as program coordinator (Tax 1968b).

In keeping with Ripley's interests in bridging Smithsonian anthropology with environmental conservation efforts, the new center's activities were intended to "serve the needs of SI staff and scholars from outside whose interests lie in anthropology, archaeology, human ecology, and other fields concerned with appraising man's interrelationship with his physical, biological, and cultural environment" (SOA 1968:1). Tax suggested several provisional programs for the center, including the development of a new Museum of Man (Walker 2013), an anthropological film and manuscript archive (the future Human Studies Film Archives and National Anthropological Archives), and the creation of a worldwide anthropological exchange program (Tax 1968c; Link 2016). The SOA, in the meantime, remained a unit within the Museum of Natural History and soon regained its old name, the Department of Anthropology, at which point the short-lived SOA title quietly dropped off (Cowan 1969:66). Although the primary focus of the CSM was on international issues and projects, it also included an American Indian Program, consisting of two rather disjointed parts: the *HNAI* project led by Sturtevant and an amalgamation of other activities supervised by Stanley that focused on contemporary Native American issues (SOA n.d.; Tax 1970). The *Handbook*, as a result, came to be administratively tied to the CSM's budget, where it remained for almost eight years from July 1968 until early 1976, when the center was closed (Link 2021).

Yet, despite the inclusion of American Indian programming, the orientation of the CSM remained deliberately international. Of the CSM's initial 18 members, 5 were from institutions outside of the United States (Claude Lévi-Strauss, Surajit C. Sinha, Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas, Chie Nakane, and Fredrik Barth), and 4 were from American universities (Dell Hymes, Douglas Schwartz, George Stocking, and Sherwood Washburn) (fig. 7). Representatives from the SOA's

Photograph by Robert Myers. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 7. Meeting of the Center for the Study of Man (CSM) staff and board, May 19, 1970. left to right, William C. Sturtevant, Robert M. Laughlin (both Department of Anthropology, NMNH); Sol Tax, University of Chicago, special advisor and acting director; Sam Stanley, CSM; Mysore N. Srinivas, University of Delhi, India; Douglas W. Schwartz, director of the School for American Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico; T. Dale Stewart, Department of Anthropology, NMNH; Fredrik Barth, University of Bergen, Norway; Wilcomb E. Washburn, Department of American Studies, Smithsonian Institution; Laila Shukry El Hamamsy, American University in Cairo, Egypt; George W. Stocking, Jr., University of Chicago, Illinois; Surajit C. Sinha, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta; Gordon D. Gibson, Henry B. Collins (both Department of Anthropology, NMNH). (NAA, CSM Box 141)

staff included Sturtevant, Collins, Ewers, Stewart, and Wedel (all of whom were North Americanists), African ethnologist Gordon Gibson (who was put in charge of developing the ethnographic film program), and Mesoamerican ethnologist Robert Laughlin, responsible for compiling an up-to-date bibliography of anthropological publications (Tax 1968b; 1969:315–316). Another Smithsonian person assigned to the center was historian Wilcomb Washburn (b. 1925, d. 1997) from the Museum of History and Technology, who later served as the editor of volume 4 of the *Handbook* (Washburn 1988a). The CSM's focus on global issues and networks further increased in the early 1970s with Tax's election as president of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (ICAES, September 3–10, 1968). For the next five years, and especially from 1970 to 1973, his attention was directed toward planning ICAES events, which further distanced him from the *Handbook*'s operations.

In spring 1969, Ripley again turned to Congress to obtain supplementary funding for CSM operations. Somewhat surprisingly, he highlighted the production of the *Handbook*, calling it "the definitive work in the field of North American Indian cultures . . . (to be supported by) over 2000 experts in various aspects of Indian culture who are willing to contribute their time toward the revision of this Handbook" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1969:808). This time, he requested $20,000 from Congress to fund the hiring of an additional staff member who could help with the project. Although Congress granted his request, these funds ultimately went toward hiring Priscilla Reining, who was instead assigned to work as the urgent anthropology program coordinator under Stanley with no immediate benefit to the *Handbook* project.

The following spring, Ripley's persistent fundraising efforts finally resulted in a major breakthrough for the *Handbook*'s production. He requested an additional $45,000 from Congress in 1970 to hire an editor, a research assistant, and a clerk-typist for the *Handbook*, as well as funding for several short-term contracts. Once again, he emphasized the *Handbook*'s intellectual value, assuring Congress that "the revised Handbook will become the standard reference work on all aspects of North American Indian history and cultures for students, teachers, authors, researchers, and administrators, both Indian and non-Indian." He also stressed that while the *Handbook* was now at a

point where production could begin, that any further delays would lead to "the disillusionment of the academic community whose support as contributors and advisors is essential" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1971:3496). This time, his persistence paid off.

Handbook Planning Starts in Earnest, 1970–1971

In the summer of 1970, the Smithsonian received funding support for three new positions to begin working on the *Handbook*. It resulted in the hiring of Carol H. Blew, who served as editorial assistant from 1970 to 1972, and Marianna Koskouras, who acted as the *Handbook* secretary from 1970 to 1973 (Sturtevant 1970d:3). In October 1970, Joanna Cohan Scherer joined the Handbook office as illustration researcher (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.). These individuals composed the original *Handbook* "army of three" before more people joined the team in 1971–1972. Their addition to the *Handbook* project augmented the earlier efforts made by Stanley and Sturtevant and finally allowed production of the *Handbook* to begin in earnest.

Building on this momentum, on March 23, 1970, a week after the Senate approved the *Handbook*'s funding, Sturtevant presented a detailed blueprint for the *Handbook* series production in a memo addressed to Sidney Galler, Smithsonian Under Secretary for Science (Sturtevant 1970b:1–3). In the memo, he laid out the following operating procedures: (1) prepare a general outline (table of contents) for the series, (2) solicit editors for individual volumes, (3) convene a general planning session of volume editors and other experts in late spring of 1970, (4) organize planning meetings for individual volumes to identify chapters and chapter authors, and (5) send invitations to authors no later than September 1, 1970. In Sturtevant's mind, "with the usual lags" this timeframe would allow publication to be well underway by 1976 (Sturtevant 1970b:3). His proposed schedule worked nearly flawlessly, as the process of recruiting *Handbook* editors and contributors, planning for the volumes, and soliciting chapters initially all happened on track to meet the estimated 1976 deadline (see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.). Only at the end did Sturtevant's plan falter, as the first volumes would not be published until two years later in 1978 (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.).

Sturtevant's estimated 1976 deadline for the *Handbook* completion, however, proved quite significant for the project's eventual success, as it coincided with the major government effort in planning for the bicentennial of the American Revolution (1776–1976). In 1966, the U.S. Congress established the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission. Four years later, the Smithsonian received $400,000 from the Commission to develop related programming and activities in Washington, D.C. (Walker 2013:153–195). These programs included two major exhibits—*The American Experience*, which eventually evolved into 23 exhibitions and public projects across the institution, and *A Nation of Nations* (1976–1991), at the Museum of History and Technology (renamed the National Museum of American History in 1980). Another proposed Smithsonian contribution to the bicentennial was a Bicentennial Park constructed along the Potomac River (U.S. Department of the Interior 1971:853–854). Ripley's office also decided to tie the *Handbook*'s production to the Smithsonian's publicity aims for the American bicentennial, since the *Handbook*'s subject matter addressed a lesser known yet significant chapter in America's history (Stanley 1970c).

With Ripley's endorsement and initial funding secured, Sturtevant and Stanley worked throughout 1970 and 1971 to finalize the cost estimates for publishing the *Handbook* with the Smithsonian Institution Press. They pitched a series of "20 volumes of average 500 printed pages, presumably well illustrated with photographs and diagrams in black and white," at an initial quote of half a million dollars from the press (Richter 1970:1). By 1971, the estimated size of each *Handbook* volume increased to 750 pages, including 500 pages of text and 250 pages of references, illustrations, index, and other matter. In a letter to SI Press director Gordon Hubel, Stanley reiterated Sturtevant's production schedule for the *Handbook*, assuring the press that the manuscripts would be due to the editorial office by June 1972, to the printers by May 1974, and that all 20 volumes would be published by June 25, 1976—just in time for the bicentennial's Fourth of July celebrations. Reflecting his commitment to Native American activism, Stanley also indicated that at least five hundred 20-volume sets of the *Handbook* would be delivered free "to Indian tribes, Indian schools, Indian Studies programs and various Indian organizations" (Stanley 1971b:2).

Noting these increased estimates, in September 1972, the Smithsonian made a special request for an additional $180,000 to cover the *Handbook*'s printing costs for fiscal year 1974 as part of its $2 million "Bicentennial Appropriation" (Smithsonian Institution 1972a). Ripley continued to request funds for the *Handbook* as part of the Smithsonian bicentennial expenditures until he secured enough money, a total of $930,000, to ensure the series' publication in 1978 (Jameson 1976:1; Sturtevant and Heizer 1978: xv).

Sturtevant spent most of the year 1971 painstakingly building the *Handbook* production infrastructure that he outlined in his memo to Galler in March 1970, namely in appointing volume editors, establishing the series editorial board, and in organizing numerous planning meetings for the series and its individual volumes (see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.). By the end of 1971, all conditions seemed ripe for the *Handbook* to race from the editors' desks to the printers' presses in time for the bicentennial celebration and in accordance with Sturtevant's original production schedule. Hardly anyone anticipated the challenges that the 20-volume series would soon face, when the first drafts of chapters commissioned for several volumes began pouring in in the winter of 1972 (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.).

Conclusion

Fifty years later, the planning phase for the Smithsonian *Handbook of North American Indians* appears mostly as a success story. It took less than six years from the time John Ewers first penned the idea for a new handbook in December 1965 for the *HNAI* team to develop a full outline for the series, appoint its general editor and individual volume editors, and establish an editorial board and planning teams for almost all of its prospective volumes. By 1972, the Handbook office had its first active staff, secure funding for production, and the first solicited chapters already had begun to arrive.

The trials and successes of these early planning years could be assessed differently within various disciplinary, institutional, and individual contexts. At a disciplinary level, the *Handbook* was born in an era of radical transformations that affected American society and, inevitably, anthropology's identity as the field dedicated to understanding social and culture processes. Naturally, the *Handbook* planning reflected many of these changes. Perhaps the strongest indicator was the *Handbook*'s development from a series focused primarily on history, archaeology, and classical anthropological themes relating to Native Americans in the mid-1960s to one that would consciously and deliberately address contemporary matters in almost every volume. This transformation culminated in assigning a special volume *Indians in Contemporary Society* in 1970 that was eventually published in 2008 as *HNAI* volume 2 (Bailey 2008a; see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.).

Within the shifting ideological and activist environment of the late-1960s, Smithsonian anthropologists could not look back to the "salvage anthropology" paradigm that had motivated the production of the *Handbook*'s esteemed precursor, the encyclopaedic BAE *Handbook* at the turn of the twentieth century (Hinsley 1981; Hodge 1907–1910). Rather, the *HNAI* planners were acutely aware of the need to produce an authoritative *modern* sourcebook on Native American communities useful to students, the general public, agency workers, and Native Americans themselves. They actively sought out and listened to prominent Native intellectuals of the period, including Vine Deloria, Jr., D'Arcy McNickle, and Alfonso Ortiz, in order to address and incorporate contemporary Native American issues and perspectives in the new series (fig. 8).

At the institutional level, the *Handbook* was but one of many developments that Ripley initiated as

Photograph by Mile High. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 8. Sol Tax (left) and D'Arcy McNickle (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation) at the seventeenth annual convention of the National Congress of American Indians, November 15, 1960 (NAA, HNAI Series 1, Box 84).

Smithsonian secretary in the 1960s and 1970s. Some of his visions for the institution were hugely successful, like the annual Smithsonian Folklife Festival (see Walker 2013) and the Smithsonian bicentennial activities. Others, however, largely fizzled, including the Smithsonian program in urgent anthropology (Link 2016). In the context of Ripley's overall legacy at the Smithsonian, the *HNAI* series remains one of his greatest lasting achievements. It helped turn the nation's attention to Smithsonian scholarship and reinforced the institution's prime role in facilitating the production and diffusion of knowledge on Native American societies, both historically and in the present (fig. 9). Moreover, it solidified the Smithsonian as a premier site for researchers interested in North American topics. From the 1970s through the 2000s, more than a thousand specialists in North American ethnology, archaeology, history, and linguistics would contribute to the *HNAI* series volumes under the careful guidance of its Smithsonian-based general editor and the *Handbook* production office (see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.).

In contrast to Ripley's institutional developments, Tax's ambitious agenda to turn the Smithsonian into the center for world anthropology received mostly mixed results. The *Handbook* was a small element of Tax's global vision for the Smithsonian, one he never fully embraced and from which he distanced himself at an early stage. Yet the *Handbook*'s success can also be read in part as an outcome of Tax's inability to "globalize" Smithsonian, anthropology, even though some legacies of his engagement with the Institution, such as the National Anthropological Archives (NAA) and Human Studies Film Archives, thrive to these days. The eventual failure of his urgent anthropology agenda underscored the Smithsonian's historical attachment to the Americanist tradition and to the BAE scholarly legacy (see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.).

Thus, at the individual level, several personalities undoubtedly contributed to the *Handbook*'s early success—namely, the confluence of Ripley's fundraising prowess, Tax's ambition and involvement with Native American activism, and Sturtevant's organizational forethought (fig. 10). When some of these elements began to wane, the *HNAI* series sputtered. Successive cohorts of Smithsonian administrators had neither Ripley's vision nor Tax's energy to bring the *Handbook*

Photograph by Richard Hofmeister. Smithsonian Archives (78-5877-03).

Fig. 9. The reception at the NMNH North American Indian Hall for the first published *Handbook* volume, *California* (vol. 8). left to right: volume editor Robert F. Heizer, Betty Arens, Secretary S. Dillon Ripley, T. Dale Stewart, unidentified man, Eugene I. Knez, Jo Ann Moore, unidentified woman, Porter Kier, director of NMNH (with the printed volume in hand).

Smithsonian Archives (2013-04142).

Fig. 10. William Sturtevant in his NMNH office, circa 1975.

to conclusion, and its continued production remained due to the dedication of Sturtevant and his editorial team until the ill-fated closure of the Handbook office in 2007.

Additional Readings

There is ample literature covering the life and scholarly and public career of S. Dillon Ripley, the eighth Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, including several popular books (Coniff 2016; Dillon 2015; Stone 2017), numerous articles and obituaries (Beehler et al. 2002; Challinor 2003). On Ripley's role in organizing the bicentennial of James Smithson in 1965 see Oehser (1966). Link (2016, 2018) remains the most thorough study of the formative impact of Ripley's tenure on the development of the Smithsonian Institution's various science and public programs in anthropology, including the Center for the Study of Man (though with a limited focus on the *Handbook* project). For more details on Ripley's role in the development of the Smithsonian bicentennial-related program and specifically on the Folklife Festivals, see Cadaval et al. (2016) and Walker (2011), and for additional discussion of the never-built Museum of Man, see Walker (2013). For recent work on Smithsonian anthropology in the 1960s and 1970s, see Turner (2020) and Wintle (2016).

The life and professional work of Sol Tax has been also covered in numerous publications (e.g., Ablon 1979; Belshaw 2009; Hinshaw 1979; Lindee and Radin 2016; G. Smith 2010; J. Smith 2015; Stanley 1996, 2012; Stapp 2012, several individual entries; Stocking 2000), though with limited or little focus on his Smithsonian connections. Again, Link (2016, 2018, and 2021) remains the primary source on Tax's collaboration with the Smithsonian Institution and his many impacts.

There are few sources on the early history of the *Handbook* venture (e.g., Merrill 2002a; Sturtevant 1971f, 1981), besides scores of short summaries in the annual *Smithsonian Year* books for individual years (Cowan 1969; Tax 1969; etc.) and mostly anonymous entries in professional newsletters that were commonly written by Sturtevant (e.g., Anonymous 1971). The bulk of the information relevant to the history of the *Handbook* is preserved in the monumental documentary collection "Papers of the Handbook of North American Indians, circa 1966–2008" at the NAA (see https://www.si.edu/object/siris_arc_292686, active December 29, 2020), as well as in the personal papers of William C. Sturtevant and records of the Department of Anthropology at NAA. Additional substantial files related to the *Handbook*, SOA, CSM, and some key individual players—Ripley, Tax, Stanley, Washburn, etc.—are held at the Smithsonian Archives (e.g., https://siarchives.si.edu/history/s-dillon-ripley, active December 29, 2020). Several valuable documents, mostly copies of letters and memos, written and exchanged by Tax with his Smithsonian partners in 1965–1976 are preserved in Sol Tax's personal papers at the Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago.

Acknowledgments

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William Curtis Sturtevant, General Editor

WILLIAM L. MERRILL

William Sturtevant served as general editor of the *Handbook of North American Indians* for four decades, from 1966 until his death in 2007. During his tenure, he directed the planning of the entire encyclopedic work and provided both intellectual and editorial guidance in the completion of 15 of the 20 volumes envisioned for it. Fourteen of these volumes were published during his lifetime, between 1978 and 2006, while the fifteenth (Bailey 2008a) appeared a year after his passing.

Sturtevant (fig. 1) was in many ways the ideal person to direct this monumental undertaking. By 1966, he was already recognized as one of the leading North Americanists of his generation, and through his regular participation in scholarly conferences and the activities of professional organizations, as well as his research in museums, archives, and libraries in the United States, Canada, and Europe, he had established an extensive personal network of colleagues with whom he could consult in planning the new *Handbook*. Although most of his early research focused on the Native Americans of eastern North America, his expertise encompassed the ethnology, culture history, and linguistics of Indigenous peoples throughout the Americas, and his competency in Spanish, French, and German afforded him access to most of the relevant published and unpublished sources.

Photograph by Kim Nielsen. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 1. William Sturtevant in the offices of the *Handbook of North American Indians* at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, with the final page proofs and binding mock-up for volume 5, *Arctic*, 1985. (W.C. Sturtevant Papers, Box 485)

Sturtevant's view of the anthropological enterprise as a whole also influenced his vision for the *Handbook*. He was firmly committed to the four-field approach in anthropology, which held that a comprehensive understanding of humanity required the perspectives of archaeology, ethnology, linguistics, and physical anthropology. From the outset of the *Handbook* planning, Sturtevant regarded the collaboration of specialists in all four subfields, as well as in history, art history, geography, paleoecology, and many other disciplines, as crucial to its success.

This essay provides an overview of Sturtevant's service as the general editor of the *Handbook* series within the framework of his development as a North Americanist and his research and other activities during his career as an anthropologist and museum curator. Additional biographical information on Sturtevant may be found elsewhere (Jackson 2007; Merrill 2002a; and Shapiro 2002).

The Early Years, 1926–1955

Sturtevant was born on July 16, 1926, at his mother's family home in Morristown, New Jersey. His mother, Phoebe Curtis Reed, attended Mount Holyoke College (BA in art, 1916) and completed a course in scientific design at the New York School of Applied Design for Women in 1917. In 1919, she began working as a scientific illustrator in the research laboratory of Thomas Hunt Morgan, professor of experimental zoology at Columbia University in New York. There, she met Sturtevant's father, Alfred Henry Sturtevant II, a member of Morgan's research team since 1910, and the two were married in 1922 (Mount Holyoke College, n.d; E.B. Lewis 1998:4–5). In 1928, Morgan accepted an invitation from the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena to create a new Division of Biology and invited Alfred Sturtevant to join him

there as a professor of genetics (A.H. Sturtevant 1959, 2001; E.B. Lewis 1995, 1998:5, 199; Shapiro 2002:4).

William Sturtevant, the eldest of three children in the family, completed his primary and secondary education in Pasadena and, in the spring of 1944, entered the University of California, Berkeley ("Cal"). He chose to major in anthropology, a subject that, together with the Indigenous cultures and societies of the New World, had fascinated him since early childhood (Merrill 2002a:11; Shapiro 2002:7–8). In the summer of 1944, he pursued these interests by taking courses on Mexican archaeology and South American ethnology in Mexico City at Mexico's National University. While there, he turned 18 and registered for the military draft at the U.S. Embassy, but he contracted hepatitis and was unable to return to classes in the fall or to begin military service. In March 1945, he was drafted into the U.S. Navy and served in the hospital corps, first in Calexico, California, and then in Guam. He was discharged from the Navy in September 1946 and returned to Cal soon afterward.

During his undergraduate years, he complemented coursework in anthropology by participating in 1947 in the University of New Mexico's archaeological field school at Chaco Canyon, New Mexico. This fieldwork afforded him an opportunity to visit Navajo and Rio Grande Pueblo communities. He also devoted considerable time to studying linguistics and foreign languages, including Chinese and Spanish as a freshman and French and German in the summer of 1949. Sturtevant graduated from Cal in 1949, receiving a bachelor's degree with highest honors in anthropology.

In the fall of 1949, Sturtevant began studies in Yale University's graduate program in anthropology. Upon the advice of Irving Rouse, a Yale professor who specialized in Caribbean and Florida archaeology, he decided to conduct his doctoral research among the Seminole of south Florida. He first visited Seminole communities in the summer of 1950 and concluded that he would conduct ethnographic and linguistic research there, focusing on the Mikasuki (Miccosukee) Seminole on the Dania (now Hollywood) and Big Cypress Reservations. He continued his fieldwork in the summer of 1951 and from the spring of 1952 to early 1953, collaborating most closely with Josie Billie, a Mikasuki ritual specialist from the Big Cypress Reservation (Sturtevant 1960b) (fig. 2).

Sturtevant devoted the remainder of 1953 and much of 1954 to writing his doctoral thesis, "The Mikasuki Seminole: Medical Beliefs and Practices," which he defended in 1955. In addition to providing a detailed ethnography of Mikasuki medicine, he compiled extensive information on Mikasuki ethnobotany and contextualized the results of his work within a broad framework, with comparative data on other Indigenous societies in the Southeast and elsewhere in North America. During the same period, he produced several papers on Seminole history and culture (Sturtevant 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956a, 1956b, 1956c), as well as an article on the Seneca of the Allegany Reservation in western New York State, which he coauthored with fellow graduate student Harold Conklin and was based on research they had conducted in 1951 (Conklin and Sturtevant 1953). In 1954, he was hired on a two-year contract as an assistant curator of anthropology in the

left, Photograph by Theda Maw Sturtevant. right, Photograph by Harold C. Conklin. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 2. left, William Sturtevant with Solon Jones, Cattaraugus Reservation, New York, June 29, 1957. right, Josie Billie and William Sturtevant, Big Cypress Reservation, Florida. March 28, 1959. (W.C. Sturtevant Papers, Boxes 484 and 485)

Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History and as an instructor in Yale's Department of Anthropology.

The Bureau of American Ethnology, 1956–1965

Because Yale decided not to renew his contract, Sturtevant applied for permanent employment elsewhere and was offered and accepted a position as an ethnologist at the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) starting in March 1956 (Stirling 1957:22). He was excited by the prospect of working at the BAE because of its long tradition of research on the Indigenous peoples of the New World and its extensive archival and library collections on the subject (Hinsley 1994; Sturtevant 1968c; see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.). The BAE resources were complemented by those of the Department of Anthropology, the division of the U.S. National Museum responsible for the Smithsonian ethnographic, archaeological, and physical anthropology collections from around the world.

While completing his undergraduate and graduate studies, Sturtevant had developed a perspective on anthropology that guided his research and other professional activities over the course of his career. A fundamental element of this perspective was his view that cultures and societies are historical formations that must be understood both as the product of the complex interaction through time of diverse factors, from socioeconomic and political to environmental, and as components of more encompassing regional and supraregional sociocultural systems. This perspective required combining the largely synchronic data collected through ethnographic research with the diachronic data generated by historical and archaeological research. In this synthesis, the ethnographic data contributed to the interpretation of the historical and archaeological record while the historical and archaeological data provided insights into the antecedents and evolution of the cultural and social phenomena documented ethnographically.

Sturtevant applied this perspective in his research first by focusing on the cultural history of the Indigenous cultures and societies of eastern North America. After joining the BAE, he completed studies of the interaction among Indigenous societies of the Southeast and the Antilles and an overview of the history and intercultural dynamics of Spanish–Indian relations in the region (Sturtevant 1960c, 1962b). He also began incorporating into his analyses cultural data from historical drawings, paintings, engravings, and photographs of North American Indigenous people produced between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries (Sturtevant 1962a, 1964a, 1965a, 1965b) (fig. 3). He considered such illustrations and items of material culture in museum collections of great value for the investigation of the cultural history of Native North America because they included data on cultural practices that had disappeared and were not reported in the written record (Sturtevant 1965a:272, 1967d:1–5, 1973c).

Although Sturtevant's specialty was the cultural history of eastern North America, his interests encompassed all of Native North America. He devoted considerable time to expanding his knowledge of Indigenous cultures and societies across the continent by exploring the existing literature and by keeping up to date on new studies. He maintained extensive bibliographic files on a wide variety of topics, some of which he compiled into bibliographies that were made available for general distribution in the form of *Smithsonian Information Leaflets*. Between 1957 and 1962, he prepared bibliographies on American Indian basketry, clothing, languages and language families, medicine and health, songs and dances, and wars and warfare, as well as on maps related to American Indians and the contemporary situation of Indians across the United States and Canada (Merrill 2002b:37–39).

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 3. William Sturtevant studying George Catlin's American Indian paintings at the Smithsonian American Art Museum. (W.C. Sturtevant Papers, Box 485)

In addition to contributing to a better understanding of the Indigenous cultures and societies of North America, Sturtevant was committed to furthering the development of anthropology as an intellectual endeavor and scholarly discipline. He produced a brief but comprehensive overview of the field for nonspecialists and wrote two influential essays on the theory and methodology of ethnographic research and the relationship between anthropology and history (Sturtevant 1957, 1964d, 1966a; Merrill 2002a:17–18). In these essays, he emphasized the importance of incorporating the perspectives on their histories and cultures of the members of the societies at the focus of anthropological investigations. Although he advocated this position for theoretical rather than political reasons, it was consistent with his view that anthropologists should support the efforts of Indigenous communities to resist the detrimental impact of domination by the larger societies of which they formed a part (Merrill 2002a:17–18).

Because the BAE's research staff had no curatorial or teaching responsibilities, its members were able to spend considerable amounts of time conducting fieldwork, an opportunity of which Sturtevant took full advantage (Merrill 2002a:17–22; see also Collins 1965; Roberts 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964; Stirling 1957, 1958). Between 1956 and 1962, he conducted fieldwork among the Seminole in south Florida (fig. 2, right), the Seneca in western New York (fig. 2, left), and the Seneca-Cayuga in northeastern Oklahoma, and he interviewed the last known speaker of the Catawba language in South Carolina. He also briefly visited several other Indian communities, including the Delaware in Oklahoma, the Choctaw in Mississippi, and the Eastern Cherokee in North Carolina. He complemented his ethnographic and linguistic research with extensive work on cultural history and material culture collections in museums, archives, and libraries in the United States, Canada, and Europe.

Sturtevant was also involved in a number of professional organizations, including the American Anthropological Association, the American Indian Ethnohistoric Conference (after 1966, the American Society for Ethnohistory), the Anthropological Society of Washington, the Central States Anthropological Society, the Conference on Iroquois Research, the Florida Anthropological Society, the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, the International Congress of Americanists, the Society for American Archaeology, and the Southern Historical Association. The recognition, early in his career, of Sturtevant as a major North Americanist scholar, as well as a congenial colleague, was based to a considerable degree on his regular and enthusiastic participation in these organizations' conferences and other activities.

In 1963, Sturtevant received a grant from the National Science Foundation to conduct a research project on traditional clothing in Burma (Myanmar). He chose Burma for this study primarily because his wife, Theda Maw, was Burmese and had not visited her family since 1955. The Sturtevant family, which now included three children, spent a full year in Burma, from the fall of 1963 to the fall of 1964 (Merrill 2002a:21; Stewart 1965:40). During his fieldwork, Sturtevant was informed that plans were underway to merge the BAE and the Department of Anthropology of the U.S. National Museum (the future National Museum of Natural History) initiated by S. Dillon Ripley, the new secretary of the Smithsonian (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.). Sturtevant attempted through correspondence to convince Ripley that the BAE should remain independent with an expanded global focus but to no avail (Merrill 2002b; Sturtevant 1964b, 1964c; Ripley 1965c:13).

The Smithsonian Office of Anthropology, 1965–1968

At time of its official merger with the BAE in 1965, the Department of Anthropology was organized into three curatorial and research divisions: archaeology, ethnology, and physical anthropology. When the combined Smithsonian Office of Anthropology (SOA) was created (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.), the physical anthropology division was retained while the archaeology and ethnology divisions merged into a combined division of cultural anthropology (Smithsonian Institution 1965:431–432). It was subsequently subdivided into three divisions: North America, South America, and Old World (Smithsonian Institution 1966:398–399, 1967b:502). Sturtevant formed part of the staff of SOA's cultural anthropology and North American divisions, and he became the sole curator of the North American ethnology collections. John C. Ewers, the other SOA North American ethnologist, was designated as a senior scientist in 1965 (Cowan 1966:78; Ewers 1955b, 1956, 1959; Fenton 1982:15; Walker 2008, 2013:57–59) and was relieved of most curatorial duties, though Sturtevant frequently consulted with him on the Plains collections, Ewers' principal area of expertise.

Despite Sturtevant's opposition to the merger, he enthusiastically embraced his new curatorial role. He had long regarded museums and their collections as fundamental to the anthropological enterprise. Soon after the merger, he prepared a definitive "Guide to

Field Collecting of Ethnographic Specimens" and an essay on the potential contributions of museum collections to anthropological research (Sturtevant 1967d, 1969b; cf. Sturtevant 1966b). He also served on the American Anthropological Association's Committee on Anthropological Research in Museums, which became, in 1974, the Council for Museum Anthropology (Freed et al. 1977).

Sturtevant's Selection as General Editor of the *Handbook*

Sturtevant took an active part in the early discussions about the format and structure of the proposed *Handbook of North American Indians* that SOA staff held in January–April 1966 (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.). He also was involved in developing program activities for the SOA. These included co-organizing with Sol Tax a joint Smithsonian–Wenner-Gren conference on Changing Cultures (April 1966), which aimed to develop a global program in "urgent anthropology" (Sturtevant 1967g).

The planning of the *Handbook* entered a new stage when, in a meeting held in May 1966, the SOA research staff unanimously approved the nomination of Sturtevant as its general editor (SOA 1966c:6; see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.). Sturtevant accepted the appointment without hesitation. He was convinced that a comprehensive, scholarly overview of Native Americans accessible to a broad audience was sorely needed, especially given the major advances in knowledge and changes in Native societies that had taken place since the publication of the original BAE *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Hodge 1907–1910). He was also concerned that his inclination to focus his research on disparate and often highly specific topics would preclude his ever producing a major synthesis of North American ethnology. Organizing the new *Handbook* would offer an opportunity to make a major contribution to the field while significantly enhancing an understanding of Native North America (Merrill 2002a:22; Sturtevant 1967e:1).

At the time of his appointment as general editor, the SOA research staff included five other North Americanists: ethnologist John C. Ewers; physical anthropologist T. Dale Stewart; and archaeologists Henry B. Collins, Waldo R. Wedel, and Richard B. Woodbury. All were highly regarded scholars, but their interests and expertise were more regionally focused than those of Sturtevant (cf. W.W. Fitzhugh 2016b:168; Gradwohl 1996; Ortner 1998; Siebelt 1998; Smithsonian Institution 1966:398; Thompson et al. 2010). They were also farther along in their careers and, ranging in age from 49 to 67, significantly older than Sturtevant, who was 39 years old at the time. None of them was interested in taking on the general editorship of the *Handbook*, but all were willing to collaborate with Sturtevant in developing the project.

Two weeks after being named the *Handbook*'s general editor, Sturtevant traveled to New Orleans to meet with Robert Wauchope, general editor of the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, a similar cultural encyclopedia then being produced at Tulane University and slated for publication by the University of Texas Press (Sturtevant 1966d). He next visited with Gordon Willey, professor of archaeology at Harvard University, who was editor of two volumes in the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* series and had served as assistant editor of the earlier *Handbook of South American Indians*, published by the BAE in the 1940s and 1950s (Sabloff 2004:406; Steward 1946–1959; Willey 1966a, 1966b). The purpose of these meetings was "to learn of some of the mistakes as well as discoveries in the editorial and planning practices of previous handbooks" (Sturtevant 1967e:4).

It is most likely that Sturtevant developed a general concept of the series during the summer and fall of 1966 based on consultation with the other SOA North Americanists and a review of the 240 responses to a questionnaire on the *Handbook* distributed by Clifford Evans (1966b) that Sturtevant characterized as providing "many excellent suggestions as to its format and content" (Sturtevant 1966g, 1967e:2; see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.). He was also finalizing maps of the "Early Indian Tribes, Culture Areas, and Linguistic Stocks" of the United States, which were published in 1967 (Sturtevant 1967c). The culture areas he defined in these maps correspond in most respects to those adopted for use in the *Handbook* volumes.

The planning of the *Handbook* accelerated in the fall of 1966, following the hiring of Samuel L. Stanley, an associate professor of anthropology at California State College, Los Angeles, and former PhD student of Sol Tax at the University of Chicago, to serve as project coordinator of the new SOA initiatives (Cowan 1967:78; see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.). When Stanley joined the SOA staff, his principal responsibility was to assist Sturtevant in planning the *Handbook*. The two also shared an interest in the status of contemporary Indian communities across North America (Stanley 1958; Stanley et al. 1959), and they soon coauthored a study of these communities in the eastern United States (Sturtevant and Stanley 1968).

Sturtevant and Stanley devoted the fall of 1966 and the first half of 1967 to completing a variety of tasks directed toward producing an initial outline of the *Handbook*'s coverage and organization, identifying

approximately 1,000 active North Americanist scholars who could potentially contribute to the series and estimating the personnel and funding required to move forward (Sturtevant 1967a, 1967e). Because the new *Handbook* was intended to replace the BAE *Handbook* of 1907–1910, an analysis of the earlier *Handbook* was a high priority. SOA clerical staff and assistants under Stanley's supervision created a file on index cards of the reportedly 12,800 entries of the original *Handbook* and categorized them by subject matter.

An announcement of the *Handbook* project was prepared by November 1966, mailed to specialists, and distributed at the meetings of seven anthropological societies. It provided a brief overview of the project, introduced the editorial board and the series editor, and invited respondents to offer comments, indicate their willingness to participate, and suggest other potential contributors (Sturtevant 1966e; see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.).

While the planning of the *Handbook* was underway, Sturtevant received a Fulbright Scholar award and spent a year, from July 1967 through July 1968, in England as a lecturer at the University of Oxford's Institute of Social Anthropology (now the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology). After his appointment in Oxford, he traveled to Germany to attend the International Congress of Americanists and then to Kashmir to collect data on artificial island agriculture; he continued on to Japan to present a paper at the Eighth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Tokyo and Kyoto in September 1968 (Cowan 1969:72; Sturtevant 1970a). During this congress, he participated in a meeting of the Working Group on Urgent Anthropology, chaired by Tax (Reining 1969).

During Sturtevant's absence, the *Handbook* project was transferred from SOA to the newly created unit, the Center for the Study of Man (CSM), established as a separate bureau by Smithsonian secretary S. Dillon Ripley in 1968, with Sol Tax as its acting director and Sam Stanley as its program coordinator (Smithsonian Institution 1969a, 1969b:693; Tax 1968b, 1969:313; see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.). Stanley now devoted much of his time to building programs and infrastructure for the new center, and his participation in the day-to-day activities for the *Handbook* ceased almost entirely. While Sturtevant continued to direct the *Handbook* project, he was also involved in planning the future of the CSM as a member of its advisory board.

Planning the *Handbook*, 1968–1971

Between the fall of 1968 and the spring of 1970, Sturtevant focused on working out the conceptual outline for the *Handbook* and expanding the directory of North Americanist scholars; by March 1969, it included around 2,000 specialists (Anonymous 1969; Sturtevant 1969c; U.S. Congress 1969:808–809). In consultation with the members of the *Handbook* editorial board and following the example of the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Wauchope 1964–1976), he decided to seek editors for individual series volumes to coordinate the detailed planning of their contents and the collection of the future chapter manuscripts.

Implementation of this strategy got underway in 1970, when the U.S. Congress approved funding for the *Handbook* project to become available in the summer of 1970 (Sturtevant 1971f:5). Sturtevant had originally submitted a request for $120,000 and seven positions to staff the *Handbook*'s editorial office, but this request had been reduced in the budget planning process to $45,000 and three positions (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.; U.S. Congress 1970:3496). Sturtevant described it as "barely adequate to begin work" (Sturtevant 1970d:3), but it was sufficient to begin organizing planning meetings for the individual volumes and the entire series.

A week after the Congress approved the *Handbook* funding in March 1970, Sturtevant presented a detailed blueprint for its production to Sidney R. Galler, Smithsonian assistant secretary for science (Sturtevant 1970b:1–3). He outlined the following steps: prepare detailed outlines for the series, solicit editors for individual volumes, convene a general planning session of volume editors and other specialists in the late spring or early summer of 1970, organize planning meetings for individual volumes to identify chapters and chapter authors, and send invitations to authors by September 1, 1970.

The first reference to individual volume editors appeared in the same memo, which alluded to the need to select volume editors "in consultation with a volume planning committee, called together by the volume editor." Sturtevant listed six people as prospective volume editors (besides himself): historian Wilcomb Washburn (for *General History*), ethnologists Alfonso Ortiz (*Southwest*) and John Ewers (*Plains* and *Biographical Dictionary*), archaeologists Bruce Trigger (*Northeast*) and Charles Fairbanks (*Southeast*), and linguist Ives Goddard (*Languages*). Of these, Washburn, Ortiz, Trigger, and Goddard agreed to undertake the task, and all led their respective volumes to completion.

The Handbook Editorial Conference, the first of the meetings to address practical issues related to producing the *Handbook*, was held at the Smithsonian in June 1970. The participants, including Sturtevant, Tax, Ewers, Stanley, Woodbury, and a few prospective volume editors, discussed a variety of topics, ranging

from the intended audience for the *Handbook* and the role of volume editors to the contents of individual volumes and various facets of the editorial and publishing process (Anonymous 1970). The group reviewed the outlines for all planned volumes, which at that point totaled 16. It also discussed payments to future authors ($0.02 per word) and volume editors ($4,500), division of labor, printing, and the size and format of the volumes.

The participants also invested substantial time in identifying additional volume editors. During the summer of 1970, Sturtevant approached several of the candidates, and David Damas (*Arctic*, vol. 5), June Helm (*Subarctic*, vol. 6), and Deward Walker (*Plateau*, vol. 12) agreed to serve (Stanley 1970a:1). Sturtevant assumed responsibility as the editor of two volumes, *Introduction* (vol. 1) and *Southeast* (vol. 14). The conclusions reached at the first planning conference were for the most part tentative, but they provided a foundation for moving forward with detailed planning that took place in a series of follow-up meetings between the fall of 1970 and early summer of 1971 (see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.).

In anticipation of these meetings, a General Advisory Board for the *Handbook* was created, comprising five major figures in North Americanist studies: Fred Eggan (b. 1906, d. 1991), a social anthropologist at the University of Chicago; Mary R. Haas (b. 1910, d. 1996), a linguist at the University of California, Berkeley; D'Arcy McNickle (b. 1904, d. 1977), an anthropologist and historian emeritus at the University of Saskatchewan, Regina, and one of the founders of the National Congress of American Indians in 1944; T. Dale Stewart (b. 1901, d. 1997), a physical anthropologist in the Smithsonian's Department of Anthropology; and Gordon R. Willey (b. 1913, d. 2002), an archaeologist at Harvard University. Sturtevant (1970d) noted that the board represented "a good diversity of specialties" and included one woman (Haas) and one Native scholar (McNickle).

As a group, the board (also referred to as the General Advisory Panel; Sturtevant 1970d:1), brought to the *Handbook* planning process expertise in most of the disciplinary and many of the subdisciplinary perspectives, as well as a comprehensive knowledge of the state of North Americanist scholarship at the time. In addition, McNickle, a member of the Salish-Kootenai tribe, was among the earliest activists in the American Indian rights movement of the 1960s (Niermann 2006; Parker 1992). He was well informed on contemporary Native American issues and provided connections to Native American civil rights activists and cultural leaders. Stewart and Willey had experience with other multivolume endeavors, as both served as volume editors for the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* and contributed to the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Marcus and Spores 1978:86; Sabloff 2004:406; Steward 1949:xxiv, 1950:xii).

The *Handbook* General Advisory Board was convened in Chicago in November 1970. In addition to the five members of the board and Sturtevant, meeting participants included six newly appointed volume editors (Damas, Goddard, Helm, Ortiz, Trigger, and Washburn), as well as Tax and Stanley as representatives of the CSM (Sturtevant 1970d; Stanley 1970b). The group proposed changes to the draft organization and contents of the series and recommended the addition of a new volume on contemporary American Indian affairs (vol. 2), for which McNickle volunteered to be the editor. During the meeting, Raymond Fogelson was invited to edit the *Southeast* volume to allow Sturtevant to concentrate on other tasks. Five more volume editors were recommended: Warren d'Azevedo (combined *Basin-Plateau* volume, later divided into two volumes, with d'Azevedo editing *Great Basin*), William Bittle (*Plains*), Robert Heizer (*California*), Frederick Hulse (*Environment and Population*, retitled *Environment, Origins, and Population*), and Wayne Suttles (*Northwest Coast*); all eventually accepted (Sturtevant 1970d:1–2).

By the winter of 1971, Sturtevant had volunteered to edit yet another volume, *Index* (to become vol. 20, a general index to the entire series). Thus, editors had been appointed for all the *Handbook* volumes, planning committees for seven volumes had been created, meetings to develop detailed plans for three volumes had been held, and other planning meetings had been scheduled. Between the fall of 1970 and the early summer of 1971, meetings of the planning committees for 15 volumes (out of 20) had taken place in different parts of the United States and Canada (see table 1).

The response of the North Americanist scholarly community to the *Handbook* project was impressive, as Sturtevant noted in a progress report to Secretary Ripley and other members of the Smithsonian administration:

> It is evidence of the general enthusiasm for this project, of its importance, and, I think, of confidence in the Smithsonian and in the present editorial plans, that of all the many busy individuals asked to help as members of the advisory panel, as volume editors, and as members of planning committees for the individual volumes, so far all but one have accepted. . . . I have never been associated with an editorial scheme or a meeting or series of meetings which had anything approaching this proportion of acceptances (Sturtevant 1970d:2).

Table 1. *Handbook* Volume Planning Meetings, 1970–1971

Volume title	*Date*	*Location*
Subarctic	October 16–18, 1970 (1st)	Iowa City, Iowa
Languages	November 8, 1970	Chicago, Illinois
Northeast	November 13–14, 1970	Montreal, Quebec
History of Indian–White Relations	December 31, 1970	Cambridge, Massachusetts
Southeast	January 4, 1971	Washington, D.C.
Southwest (both volumes)	January 7–9, 1971	Santa Fe, New Mexico
Arctic	January 15–16, 1971	Hamilton, Ontario
Indians in Contemporary Society	February 18–22, 1971	Albuquerque, New Mexico
Northwest Coast	February 27–28, 1971	Portland, Oregon
California	March 5–6, 1971	Berkeley, California
Subarctic	March 17–21, 1971 (2nd)	Ottawa, Ontario
Great Basin and *Plateau*	March 19–20, 1971	Reno, Nevada
Plains	March 21–23, 1971	Norman, Oklahoma
Environment, Origins, and Population	May 2–3, 1971	Tucson, Arizona
Indians in Contemporary Society	June 25–28, 1971	Albuquerque, New Mexico

Eventually, more than one hundred committee members were involved in planning the *Handbook*, some nominally, but many quite actively (for details on the planning of each *Handbook* volume, see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.).

After its November 1970 meeting, the General Advisory Board did not participate as a group in the *Handbook* planning process, but its members continued to provide advice individually and, except for Willey, contributed to the completion of several of the *Handbook* volumes. Until his death in 1977, McNickle was on the planning committee of *History of Indian–White Relations* (vol. 4; Washburn 1988a:v) and served as editor of the volume on contemporary Indian affairs (vol. 2; Bailey 2008a:xi). Eggan was a member of the planning committees for the two *Southwest* volumes and the sole or senior author of three chapters in these volumes and one chapter in the *Plains* volume (Eggan 1979, 1983; Eggan and Maxwell 2001; Eggan and Pandey 1979). Haas and Stewart served on the planning committees of *Languages* and *Environment, Origins, and Population*, respectively, and prepared five biographies of non-Indian scholars for the volume *History of Indian–White Relations* (Haas 1988a, 1988b, 1988c; Stewart 1988a, 1988b).

In the volume planning meetings, the committees developed tables of contents for individual volumes, determined the topics to be covered and the lengths of the chapters to be included, and identified potential chapter authors, to whom formal invitations were sent during 1971 (Sturtevant 1971f:6; Sturtevant and Goddard 1996:xi). Such committees usually comprised six to nine people, always including Sturtevant and, later, Ives Goddard, the series linguistic editor (fig. 4).

During the same period, some changes in the volumes to be edited by Sturtevant himself took place. One of these volumes, *General Culture* (originally titled *Comparative Ethnology*), was intended to provide cross-cultural continental perspectives on Native American cultures and societies. By the spring of 1971, it was dropped and its content incorporated into the projected introductory volume. In addition, a new volume, *Technology and Visual Arts* was added, with Sturtevant identified as its editor (Sturtevant 1971a, 1971b).

Over the course of a year, from June 1970 to June 1971, the general organization of the *Handbook* series was finalized and detailed outlines of the contents of 15 volumes were produced. The five remaining volumes were to be edited by Sturtevant himself: *Introduction* (vol. 1), *Technology and Visual Arts* (vol. 16), the two-volume *Biographical Dictionary* (vols. 18, 19), and the *Index* (vol. 20). The decision had also been made to attempt to publish all of the volumes by the bicentennial date in July 1976 (and, preferably, by June 25, 1976, the centennial of the death of George Armstrong Custer at the Battle of Little Big Horn; Sturtevant 1969c, 1971f). Sturtevant realized, however, that this deadline might be unrealistic.

> The project is so big that several years must be allowed for the process of editing and printing. Authors of most articles are already at work, writing for deadlines in the spring of 1972. Most volumes should appear in 1976, but several may be delayed because their planning is more complex or

Photograph by Jane Walsh. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 4. Ives Goddard (left) and William Sturtevant at the 1978 *Northeast* volume celebration. (W.C. Sturtevant Papers, Box 484)

because it depends in part on completion of some other volumes (Sturtevant 1971f:6).

During 1970 and 1971, the planning of the *Handbook* occupied most of Sturtevant's time. He participated in all of the volume planning meetings except those for *Languages* (1970) and *Subarctic* (1971) (table 1). He collaborated with the volume editors in refining the outlines for their volumes and identifying and inviting potential contributors, engaging in extensive correspondence with them as well as with the members of the General Advisory Board. Stanley (1971a:2) estimated that Sturtevant wrote about 700 personal letters to these individuals, in addition to sending a form letter to approximately 2,000 people, mostly Native, requesting suggestions of Native individuals to be considered for inclusion in the *Biographical Dictionary*. He also produced a comprehensive set of guidelines for contributors to the *Handbook* and publicized the project at professional meetings, through brief announcements, and in a more detailed description that he prepared for publication (Sturtevant 1971d, 1971f).

The amount of time Sturtevant was devoting to the *Handbook* raised the ire of his supervisors in the Department of Anthropology and the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH). In the fall of 1970, as intensive planning for the *Handbook* was getting underway, Clifford Evans, chairman of the Department of Anthropology, complained to Sidney Galler, assistant secretary for science, that Sturtevant was devoting all his time to the *Handbook* even though his salary was paid by the department and that he engaged in travel and other *Handbook*-related activities without securing his approval or even informing him (Evans 1970). His perspective was shared by NMNH director, Richard Cowan, who requested that Galler approve the permanent transfer of Sturtevant from the Department of Anthropology to the CSM for full-time work on the *Handbook* (Cowan 1970). Sturtevant was clearly aware of these complaints and responded indirectly to them in a memo to Secretary Ripley (Sturtevant 1970d:3–4), in which he indicated his commitment to fulfilling his curatorial duties and contributing to the planning of the prospective new Museum of Man while serving as general editor of the *Handbook*. The requested transfer was not approved.

Editing the *Handbook*, 1972–1983

While planning the series volumes, Sturtevant began assembling an editorial staff in office space assigned to the Handbook office in the Natural History building (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.). By the fall of 1970, the staff included an illustrations researcher, an editorial assistant, and a secretary; in 1972, a bibliographer, a scientific illustrator, a manuscript and copy editor, and a research assistant were hired (Sturtevant 1970d:3; Sturtevant and Heizer 1978:xv). During the same period, Sturtevant initiated detailed planning for two of the five volumes for which he served as the editor, *Introduction*

and *Technology and Visual Arts*, organizing planning meetings for them in Washington in March and July 1972, respectively (Sturtevant 1972a, 1972b, 1972c, 1972d; see "Introduction: A Gateway to the *Handbook* Series," this vol.).

In December 1970, while the volume planning meetings were underway, Sturtevant reported to Secretary Ripley, "Our timetable has a target date of May 1, 1976, for simultaneous publication of the entire encyclopedia" (Sturtevant 1970d:2). In fact, he first informed the Smithsonian administration of this target date in March 1970, before detailed planning for the series had begun. At the outset of this process, Sturtevant had anticipated that authors would need about a year to prepare their contributions and that the processing and publication of the chapter manuscripts would require about five years from the time of their receipt (Sturtevant 1970b:3).

By 1973, it was clear that this time frame was insufficient. Authors of chapters in the 15 volumes planned in 1970–1971 had begun submitting their manuscripts in late 1971, but the vast majority of contributors failed to meet the 1972 deadline. By January 1973, the Handbook office had received the initial manuscript versions of only about a third of the 869 chapters planned for these volumes, and the percentage of manuscripts received for each volume varied widely, from more than 50 percent to fewer than 10 percent per volume (table 2). With two-thirds of the manuscripts still lacking, the time available for completing the steps from receipt to publication had been reduced to three and a half years. This delay in the submission of manuscripts jeopardized the possibility of publishing most or all of the *Handbook* series volumes by 1976.

It is unclear why Sturtevant decided, before any manuscripts had been submitted, to predict a publication date for the 20-volume series and why he assumed that a project of that magnitude and complexity could be completed in such a short period of time. The mystery is compounded by the fact that, in planning his *Handbook*, he was aware of the production history of the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Marcus and Spores 1978:85) that began in 1956. By 1970, 14 years after the project's inception, only 9 of its anticipated 16 volumes had been published. If the production rate of the *Handbook* turned out to be comparable to that of the Middle American series, no more than four of the North American *Handbook* volumes would have been produced by 1976. The actual outcome was none.

There is no evidence that Smithsonian administrators pressured Sturtevant in 1970 or earlier to establish a firm date for the completion of the project or questioned his conclusion that 1976 was a viable target date. To the contrary, the administration fully embraced this date because it coincided with the celebration of the bicentennial of the American Revolution, a potential source of federal funding for the *Handbook* project (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.). The Smithsonian's budget request to the U.S. Congress for fiscal year 1971 explicitly linked the *Handbook* to the bicentennial celebration, and in 1972, the *Handbook* was designated as one of four "scholarly projects" of the Smithsonian's bicentennial program (Smithsonian Institution 1972a:28–35; U.S. Congress 1971b:608).

Table 2. Manuscripts Received by January 23, 1973

Volume number	*Volume title*	*Number of chapters planned*	*Number of manuscripts received*	*Percent received*
2	*Indians in Contemporary Society*	64	5	7.8
3	*Environment, Origins, and Population*	66	17	25.8
4	*History of Indian–White Relations*	66	27	40.9
5	*Arctic*	65	15	23.1
6	*Subarctic*	66	22	33.3
7	*Northwest Coast*	65	10	15.4
8	*California*	69	34	49.3
9, 10	*Southwest* (both volumes)	111	44	39.6
11	*Great Basin*	40	21	52.5
12	*Plateau*	45	6	13.3
13	*Plains*	55	15	27.3
14	*Southeast*	59	17	28.8
15	*Northeast*	70	38	54.3
17	*Languages*	28	5	17.9
Totals		869	276	31.8

By 1975, the Smithsonian administration realized that the goal of publishing the entire *Handbook* series in 1976 could not be achieved (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.). An audit of the project identified the amount of time that Sturtevant and the volume editors were devoting to reviewing chapter manuscripts and authors to revising them as major factors contributing to the delays in the progress of the project (Peratino 1975:3). Sturtevant's approach to reviewing manuscripts was time consuming. He focused on ensuring that each manuscript conformed to the highest standards of scholarship and that its coverage and bibliographic citations were comprehensive. He often personally checked the accuracy of information presented in the manuscripts and provided authors with data to fill gaps as well as suggestions for stylistic improvements. He consulted extensively with the volume editors on all manuscript revisions. The time he invested in reviewing manuscripts in volumes for which others served as editors also prevented Sturtevant from developing the volumes for which he was responsible.

The 1975 audit also concluded that the *Handbook* project, as a whole, was in disarray due primarily to poor management (Peratino 1975), and the following year, David Challinor, Smithsonian assistant secretary for science, concluded that closer administrative oversight of the *Handbook* project was required. He transferred control of the CSM and responsibility for its projects, including the *Handbook*, to the NMNH and its director, paleontologist Porter Kier (Della-Loggia 1976; Smithsonian Institution 1977:314). Kier, in turn, placed James F. Mello, NMNH assistant director, in charge of the overall management of the *Handbook* (Della-Loggia 1976; see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.). These changes allowed Sturtevant to focus on providing the intellectual guidance and leadership to ensure that the *Handbook* would be a major contribution to North Americanist scholarship.

The reorganization of the *Handbook*'s management coincided almost exactly with the original target date of June 25, 1976, for the release of the entire series. Although no volumes had been published by this date, the production of one volume, *California* (Heizer 1978b), had advanced to the point that all of its chapters were ready to be typeset. Published in April 1978, the volume was received favorably by the scholarly community, with several laudatory reviews (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," "California," and "Organization and Operation," this vol.).

By the summer of 1978, a second volume, *Northeast* (Trigger 1978a), was being typeset, the first of two volumes on the Southwest (vol. 9, Ortiz 1979) was nearing completion, and intensive work on another volume, *Subarctic* (Helm 1981), was underway. In the case of each volume, Sturtevant reviewed all versions of the chapter manuscripts and worked closely with the editorial staff and volume editors in finalizing chapters for publication. Once the chapters were typeset, he checked the proofs, noted corrections, and repeated the process when the chapters were assembled into volumes.

By the end of 1981, only 4 of the planned 20 volumes in the *Handbook* series had been published. The slow pace of progress led Mello, the *Handbook*'s project manager, to seek to accelerate the production of the remaining volumes by hiring a full-time managing editor to manage the *Handbook* and to assist Sturtevant in his duties as general editor (Mello 1981b). In the fall of 1982, Colin Busby, an archaeologist specializing in western North America, joined the *Handbook* staff as the series' full-time managing editor (Della-Loggia 1982; see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.).

Busby's efforts to fulfill this responsibility were unsuccessful, in part because he concluded that the *Handbook*'s publication rate could not be increased unless quality standards were lowered and Sturtevant invested more of his time in the *Handbook*. Busby's views on how the production of the *Handbook* should move forward were diametrically opposed to those of Sturtevant (Busby 1983a, 1983b). The latter firmly believed that quality should not be sacrificed for speed of production and had concluded that he could not devote any more time to the *Handbook* than he already was (Sturtevant 1983a, 1983b). In fact, in the spring of 1983, he made it known that by the fall of that year, he intended to reduce his involvement in the *Handbook* (Busby 1983b; Fiske 1983; Mello 1983a).

A combination of factors presumably motivated Sturtevant to reach this decision. He was clearly unhappy with the changes in *Handbook* management that had taken place (Sturtevant 1983a), and he was concerned by the impact that his work on the *Handbook* was having on his ability to pursue his other professional activities. When Sturtevant agreed in 1966 to direct the *Handbook*, he had expected that the project would be completed within a decade or so. Given the slow pace of the publication, he was confronted by the possibility that the remainder of his professional career would be limited to serving as its general editor, an outcome he was reluctant to accept. At the *Handbook* volume editors' meeting in the summer of 1983, he proposed that a new general editor be hired to replace him and suggested Raymond DeMallie for this position (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.), but no such change took place. The only significant developments that occurred as a result of this crisis were Busby's resignation and the transfer of

oversight of the *Handbook* to the chair of the NMNH Department of Anthropology (Fiske 1983:2; Smithsonian Institution 1985:569).

Editing the *Handbook*, 1984–1990

Five *Handbook* volumes were published between 1978 and 1983, and four additional volumes were released between 1984 and 1990 (table 3). Yet, by the mid-1980s, many of the chapter manuscripts that had been prepared in the 1970s required updating, resulting in an additional round of revisions by authors and reviews by the volume editors and Sturtevant. In some cases, the original authors were unwilling or unable to update the manuscripts themselves, and the *Handbook* team had to identify new authors or coauthors, as well as replacement authors for chapters that had never been submitted. As time went on, the volume outlines prepared in 1970 and 1971 became inadequate or obsolete, and revised plans were prepared for the eight volumes to be published between 1988 and 2008. Sturtevant collaborated with the volume editors and members of the planning committees in making all of these modifications.

In 1986–1987, Sturtevant spent a year at the University of Oxford as the Smithsonian Fellow of its Worcester College. During this period, Ives Goddard, the *Handbook*'s linguistic editor, took on many of Sturtevant's duties, in effect becoming co–general editor of the series, although he was never officially recognized as such. He continued in this role after Sturtevant returned from England in 1987 and also served as the *Handbook*'s managing editor from 1985 until 1989, when a full-time managing editor, Karla Billups, was hired (Sturtevant and Suttles 1990:xv; see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.). At that point, Goddard became the *Handbook*'s technical editor, a title he created to reflect his work not related to his tasks as the series' linguistic editor (Goddard, personal communication, April 15, 2017).

In addition to his work as the *Handbook*'s general editor, Sturtevant was curator of the North American ethnology collections of the Department of Anthropology (fig. 5), a responsibility that he and I shared after I was hired in 1980 to fill the North American ethnologist position vacated by John C. Ewers, who retired in 1979 (Smithsonian Institution 1980:562). Apart from our standard curatorial duties, we began to address a variety of issues related to the repatriation of museum collections to Native American communities. In 1981, the Department of Anthropology received its first repatriation request, from the Pueblo of Zuni, New Mexico (Merrill et al. 1993; Merrill and Ahlborn 1997). A decade earlier, Sturtevant and the other four members of the American Anthropological Association's Committee on Anthropological Research in Museums had opposed the repatriation of five wampum belts housed in the New York State Museum to the Onondaga; their position had been severely criticized by other anthropologists and Native American activists (Henry 1970; R.W. Hill 2001; Matthews and Jordan 2011; Sturtevant et al. 1970). Sturtevant believed, however, that each repatriation request should be

Table 3. *Handbook* Volumes in Order of Publication

Copyright year	*Volume number*	*Volume title*	*Volume editor*
1978	8	*California*	Robert F. Heizer
1978	15	*Northeast*	Bruce G. Trigger
1979	9	*Southwest*	Alfonso Ortiz
1981	6	*Subarctic*	June Helm
1983	10	*Southwest*	Alfonso Ortiz
1984	5	*Arctic*	David Damas
1986	11	*Great Basin*	Warren L. d'Azevedo
1988	4	*History of Indian–White Relations*	Wilcomb E. Washburn
1990	7	*Northwest Coast*	Wayne Suttles
1996	17	*Languages*	Ives Goddard
1998	12	*Plateau*	Deward E. Walker, Jr.
2001	13	*Plains*	Raymond J. DeMallie
2004	14	*Southeast*	Raymond D. Fogelson
2006	3	*Environment, Origins, and Population*	Douglas H. Ubelaker
2008	2	*Indians in Contemporary Society*	Garrick A. Bailey

Photograph by Josef Koudelka. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 5. William Sturtevant (right) with Claude Lévi-Strauss in his office at the Collège de France, Paris, November 24, 1981. (W.C. Sturtevant Papers, Box 484)

Photograph by Jean-Loup Rousselot. Courtesy of the Smithsonian's Arctic Studies Center.

Fig. 6. William Sturtevant, James VanStone (center), and Bill Holm (right) reviewing objects for *Crossroads of Continents*, in the collections of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg (then Leningrad), Russia, 1986.

evaluated on a case-by-case basis, and he supported approving the Zuni request and several subsequent repatriation requests.

Between 1981 and 1988, Sturtevant made several trips to Russia (then the Soviet Union) as a member of the planning team for the Smithsonian exhibit *Crossroads of Continents*, which brought together objects featuring Indigenous cultures of Siberia, Alaska, and the Northwest Coast from U.S., Canadian, and Russian museums (Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988) (fig. 6). Also in the late 1980s, he was involved in planning two new permanent exhibit halls on Native American

cultures at NMNH. In 1989, that planning was suspended because the Smithsonian secretary at the time, Robert McCormick Adams, prohibited seeking external funding for the project out of concern that this effort would jeopardize fundraising for the new National Museum of the American Indian (Lonetree and Cobb 2008; Walker 2013:222, 224; see "'A New Dream Museum,'" this vol.). For the same reason, the Smithsonian administrators discouraged efforts to solicit private funding to support the production of the *Handbook* (Burnette 1989; see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.).

Editing the *Handbook*, 1991–2007

The publication of *Handbook* volumes at regular intervals ceased between 1990 and 1996. Although revised plans for three volumes, *Languages*, *Plateau*, and *Plains*, were developed between 1985 and 1991 and work to finalize these volumes had begun, their completion was delayed by several years (Sturtevant and DeMallie 2001:xiii; Sturtevant and Goddard 1996:xi; Sturtevant and Walker 1998:xiv). The first to appear was *Languages*, published in 1996, followed by the publication in 1998 and 2001 of *Plateau* and *Plains*, respectively.

By 2001, the only culture area volume that remained to be published was *Southeast*. In 1998, a new planning committee for this volume was created, and in 1999, Jason Baird Jackson, a specialist in the ethnology and ethnohistory of the Southeast, agreed to serve as associate volume editor, assuming many of the duties of volume editor Raymond Fogelson (Sturtevant and Fogelson 2004:xiii). Sturtevant played a particularly significant role in revising the plans for the *Southeast* volume because the area had been the focus of his research for more than four decades. He also coauthored one chapter (Sturtevant and Cattelino 2004) and provided an overview of the history of linguistic research in the region (Jackson et al. 2004), a topic that he explored in greater detail in another essay (Sturtevant 2005).

In 2002 Sturtevant invited Douglas H. Ubelaker, curator of physical anthropology in the Department of Anthropology, to serve as a new editor for volume 3, *Environment, Origins, and Population*. To move it toward publication as efficiently as possible, Ubelaker engaged three other scholars (Bruce D. Smith, Dennis Stanford, and Emőke J.E. Szathmáry) with expertise in the diverse topics to collaborate in developing a revised plan for the volume, to which Sturtevant also contributed (Sturtevant and Ubelaker 2006:xi–xii; Ubelaker 2006a:v).

In April 2005, the Smithsonian administration announced its decision to stop funding the *Handbook* project in 2007 (Evans 2005). In June 2005, Garrick A. Bailey accepted Sturtevant's invitation to become the new volume editor for volume 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society*. Bailey assembled a new planning committee, which, by the end of the year, had created a radically revised outline for the volume and a list of potential contributors (Bailey 2008a:xi). Sturtevant participated in the planning of this volume, but by 2006, his health had begun to decline, and he was forced to curtail his work on the *Handbook* as well as other professional activities. He retired from the Smithsonian in January 2007 and died two months later, on March 2, 2007, at the age of 79 (Jackson 2007; Krech 2008). Volume 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society*, was released in July 2008, one day before what would have been Sturtevant's eighty-first birthday.

Conclusion

Between 1966 and 2008, hundreds of scholars participated in the planning and production of the *Handbook* series. Sturtevant could not have fulfilled his role as its general editor without their collaboration, but at the same time, it is doubtful that the development and accomplishments of the *Handbook* project would have been possible without his contributions. He was a generalist scholar in an era of increasing specialization in Native American studies and in the field of anthropology as a whole. The breadth and depth of his knowledge of Native North America, unparalleled among his contemporaries, and his unwavering commitment to the highest standards of scientific excellence inspired confidence in his ability to provide the intellectual leadership required to produce the *Handbook*. He freely shared his knowledge and perspectives with other people who were key to the realization of the *Handbook*. Their willingness to invest time and energy in the project was motivated not only by their recognition of its significance to Native American studies but also by their bonds of collegiality and friendship with Sturtevant.

In a collaborative endeavor like the *Handbook*, distinguishing the impact of any single individual from that of the collective is impossible. Three features of the *Handbook*, however, can likely be attributed primarily to Sturtevant's influence. The first was the reliance on history as an implicit organizational framework for the series as a whole and the emphasis placed on presenting Native societies and cultures within the context of their histories, both before and after European contact. The second was the prominence given

to Native American languages and linguistics, a topic that is the focus of one *Handbook* volume (Goddard 1996c) and is discussed in some detail in most other volumes in the series. The third was the inclusion of numerous early depictions of Native American subjects in drawings, paintings, engravings, and photographs. In 1966, when the *Handbook* project was launched, Sturtevant was one of the few anthropologists who recognized the importance of such illustrations as sources of data on Native American cultural history (Merrill 2002a:19, 29–30).

From the outset of the *Handbook* project, Sturtevant devoted much of his time to fulfilling his duties as general editor, but he also engaged in various other professional activities (Merrill 2002a, 2002b). He regularly sponsored fellows, interns, and visiting scholars at the Smithsonian and served as an adjunct professor of anthropology at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore (1974–1989), as a Regents Lecturer at the University of California, Berkeley (spring 1981), and as a member of the Boards of Trustees of the Museum of the American Indian–Heye Foundation (1976–1982, 1984–1986) and Survival International (1982–1988). He was elected president of the American Ethnological Society (1977–1978), the Council for Museum Anthropology (1979–1981), the American Anthropological Association (1980–1981), and the Anthropological Society of Washington (1992–1993). He also continued his research and writing on Native American ethnology, cultural history, and linguistics; on the role of museums and archives in the anthropological endeavor; and on early European representations of the New World and its Indigenous peoples (see full bibliography in Merrill 2002b).

Sturtevant dedicated his career to enhancing an understanding of Native North American cultures and societies among both specialists and the public, and he regarded serving as the *Handbook* general editor as an incomparable opportunity to pursue this goal. Although frustrated by the delays in the publication of the *Handbook* volumes, he never doubted the importance of the series, and he remained hopeful, even after the Smithsonian administration decided to end the project, that it would eventually be completed. The fact that 5 of the 20 planned *Handbook* volumes were not released when the project was suspended in 2008 does not detract from the importance of the 15 published volumes, which constitute the core of the series he envisioned. These volumes represent, individually and collectively, a monumental achievement and a major component of William C. Sturtevant's enduring legacy to Native American studies and to North Americanist anthropology.

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Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008: An Insider's View

JOANNA COHAN SCHERER

In December 1966, Margaret C. Blaker hired me to assist her in the operation of the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology Archives, formerly known as the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) archives and later known as the National Anthropological Archives (NAA), for which she served as archivist. In 1970, William C. Sturtevant, general editor, invited me to work on the *Handbook of North American Indians (HNAI)* as its illustrations researcher, and on October 1 of that year, I transferred from the NAA to the *Handbook*'s newly formed office.

Having come from the NAA, I was already familiar with its extensive historical photograph collections. Sturtevant himself was very knowledgeable about early drawings of North American Indians, having published extensively on the subject (Sturtevant 1960a, 1962a, 1964a, 1965b, 1967b, 1968a), and he was keen to have the *Handbook* volumes well illustrated. Our shared enthusiasm for finding never-before-published images allowed me to travel to repositories and archives and visit photographers all over the United States, Canada, and Europe.

I served as the *Handbook* illustrations researcher for 36 years, until retiring in May 2006 (see "Appendix 1," this vol.). During my tenure, I created a collection of more than 100,000 images, both photographs and images of early drawings of Native American subjects, only a small portion of which could be used in the 15 *Handbook* volumes published between 1978 and 2008. The entire image collection is now housed in the NAA (Handbook of North American Indians Papers 1970–2007, 1978–2008), offering a unique resource for researchers.

Although the preface of each *Handbook* volume included a brief history of its planning and boilerplate information on the production process, no critical overview of the 38-year production history (1970–2008) of the published volumes has ever been written. This chapter identifies the key management, personnel, and technical factors that affected the Smithsonian *Handbook* project over that period, particularly the management reviews of 1975, 1981, 1994, and 1999, and provides such an overview.

1970–1975

Initial planning of the *HNAI* began in the mid-1960s, and detailed planning was completed by 1972 (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.). Originally scheduled for publication by the bicentennial celebration of 1976, the core of the *Handbook* series was envisioned to comprise 11 culture area volumes, complemented by 5 topical volumes, a 2-volume biographical dictionary, an introductory volume, and an index volume. By 1972, the *Handbook* editorial office staff was complete enough to begin production. The editorial staff was made up of seven permanent positions: William C. Sturtevant, general editor; Carol H. Blew (replaced by Betty T. Arens), editorial assistant; Diane Della-Loggia, manuscript and copy editor; Lorraine Jacoby, bibliographer; Joanna Cohan Scherer, illustrations researcher; Jo Ann Moore, scientific illustrator and cartographer; and Marianne Koskouras, secretary; and also included William L. Merrill, one-year research assistant.

In 1970–1971, the first *Handbook* editorial office occupied Rooms W516 and W517 within the Department of Botany, in the west wing of the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH). In 1972, the office was moved temporarily to the second floor of the main building and then to Room 85, on the museum ground floor, which had been designated for use by the Center for the Study of Man (CSM). In 1974, the room was remodeled into a two-floor office to better accommodate the growing *Handbook* staff and other projects administered by the CSM. There were separate rooms for staff members and a large open production space that was divided, as needed, into cubicles for temporary staff, fellows, and interns. This was our permanent space until the project was closed in 2007.

Protocol for Processing the Handbook Manuscripts

The protocol for processing manuscripts for the various *Handbook* volumes was established by the general editor in the "Guide for Contributors" (Sturtevant 1971a). When authors completed their draft

manuscripts, they were to send them first to the general editor for review, with the bibliographic citations and preliminary index entries for their chapters on index cards. When Sturtevant had approved the manuscript, a copy was retained in the *Handbook* editorial office and the original was forwarded to the volume editor for review. When the volume editor had approved the text, it was returned to the general editor. In many cases, however, authors sent the drafts of their manuscripts directly to the volume editors, who might request that members of the planning committees for their volumes review the content. A revised first draft of the manuscript was then sent to the editorial office (see also "Organization and Operation," this vol.).

Authors were paid $0.02 a word, a symbolic amount that ensured that the Smithsonian held the rights to the manuscript. Under this arrangement, the Handbook office staff could revise the manuscript if needed and ultimately decide whether to publish it or not (Anonymous 1970).

The completion of approved final manuscripts often involved months and sometimes years of discussion among authors, volume editors, and Sturtevant. Nonetheless, the editorial staff members typically began reviewing a draft manuscript as soon as it arrived in the editorial office so they could begin planning for the accompanying illustrations, maps, and tables and undertake the research required to produce them. Photographs, which had to be ordered from many external sources, including private collectors, photographers, and foreign repositories, often took months to acquire.

Once a manuscript was approved by Sturtevant and the volume editor, the editorial staff began its final work. The manuscript and copy editor ensured that the manuscripts conformed to established standards of usage and style, recommended revisions if needed, and confirmed that the manuscripts were accurate down to the smallest details. The editorial assistant extracted the scientific names of plants and animals, which were verified by specialists. The manuscript and copy editor also created schedules for manuscript completion.

The bibliographer checked the bibliographic cards against the in-text citations in the manuscripts, resolved conflicts between citations of different editions, corrected inaccuracies and omissions, and checked direct quotations against the originals. Bibliographic information was verified by consulting the original work or by comparing citations provided by authors with entries in library catalogs such as the National Union Catalog at the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Libraries card catalog, and the published catalog of the Harvard Peabody Museum Library. Because the bibliographies of the separate chapters in a volume were combined into a single volume bibliography, each card was assigned an alphanumeric code so that bibliographies could be created for the offprints of the individual chapters.

Although some authors submitted photographs, maps, and other illustrations to accompany their chapters, or at least provided suggestions for visual material, most did not. As a result, responsibility for selecting illustrations fell largely to the illustrations researcher and the scientific illustrator, who also prepared captions. Drawings, paintings, and engravings that pre-dated photography were sought in both private and public collections, but the artifacts selected for illustration were from public repositories only, to ensure that they would be available for future research. No unidentified "generic" Native American photographs were considered, even if they were photographically excellent. The illustrations researcher endeavored to acquire original prints from photographers, many of whom were volume contributors, as well as high-quality prints from repositories. Artifact illustration relied heavily on the holdings of the Smithsonian Department of Anthropology, which contained many early, well-documented collections.

The number of illustrations to be included in each chapter was based on the length of the chapter. In 1972, it was decided that 2.75 pages of illustrations—1.25 printed pages of photos (equal to about six photos) and 1.5 pages of line drawings, maps, charts, and diagrams—would be appropriate for every 10 printed pages of text. In 1973, this ratio was increased to 3 pages of illustrations per 10 printed pages. After several volumes had been published, it was determined that 2 pages of illustrations per 10 printed pages would be the rule. The total number of illustrations published in the 15 volumes was about 14,800. For a breakdown of maps, ethnological artifacts, archaeological artifacts, staff drawings, nonstaff drawings, and photos of people and activities, see table 1.

Because the illustrations included in each chapter were intended to supplement rather than simply illustrate the text, the staff compiled detailed documentation on the images and artifacts to be used in captions. This documentation was collected from the repositories and, when possible, from the original photographers, as well as from members of the communities represented in the illustrations. The production of maps also often required considerable background research by the *Handbook* staff because they presented information on topics not detailed in the chapter text, ranging from archaeological sites and tribal territories at different points in time to colonial missions and non-Indian settlements, historic trade routes, battle sites, and areas affected by treaties.

Table 1. Illustrations by Category and Average Illustrations per Page for Published Volumes

Volume title and number	*Published*	*Pages in volume*[1]	*Maps*	*People and activities*[2]	*Staff drawings*[3]	*Nonstaff drawings*[4]	*Ethnological artifacts*	*Archaeological artifacts*	*Total illustrations*	*Average illustrations per page*
California, vol. 8	1978	717	92	168	170	48	199	47	724	1.01
Northeast, vol. 15	1978	804	112	147	209	144	195	290	1,097	1.36
Southwest, vol. 9	1979	622	56	339	225	62	117	166	965	1.55
Subarctic, vol. 6	1981	738	84	401	132	50	179	211	1,059	1.43
Southwest, vol. 10	1983	777	45	542	97	58	318	4	1,064	1.37
Arctic, vol. 5	1984	728	70	371	195	124	374	576	1,710	2.35
Great Basin, vol. 11	1986	737	68	391	354	34	321	225	1,393	1.89
History of Indian–White Relations, vol. 4	1988	699	37	164	2	132	88	8	431	0.62
Northwest Coast, vol. 7	1990	638	58	241	386	46	210	330	1,271	1.99
Languages, vol. 17	1996	720	8	72	13	102	0	0	195	0.27
Plateau, vol. 12	1998	652	41	483	103	92	195	36	950	1.46
Plains, vol. 13 (2 vols.)	2001	1073	56	626	165	165	319	314	1,645	1.53
Southeast, vol. 14	2004	768	62	338	93	209	150	388	1,240	1.61
Environment, Origins, and Population, vol. 3	2006	847	57	318	186	33	36	243	873	1.03
Indians in Contemporary Society, vol. 2	2008	445	12	158	7	13	0	0	190	0.43

[1] Not including preface, bibliography, or index.
[2] Includes terrain with plants, archaeological sites and specimen in situ, and museum exhibits.
[3] Charts and diagrams, all listed as figures (no tables).
[4] Historical drawings and maps, paintings of people and plants, posters, vocabulary lists, Native artwork, and drawings from other publications.
SOURCE: Emily Solomon and Joanna Cohan Scherer.

Printing Arrangements for the Handbook

During this initial period of *Handbook* series production, a key decision had to be made: How would it be printed and distributed? On November 27, 1973, Gordon Hubel and Stephen Kraft, director and managing designer, respectively, of the Smithsonian Institution Press, joined Sturtevant and Sam Stanley, program coordinator of the CSM, in a meeting with representatives of the Congressional Joint Committee on Printing. They concluded that the most effective approach would be to establish an agreement with the Government Printing Office (GPO, known since 2013 as the Government Publishing Office). The GPO, an agency of the legislative branch of the federal government, is the official resource for the production and distribution of information products and services for all federal entities, including the Smithsonian Institution.

The GPO was regarded as the ideal partner for *Handbook* production because it had the expertise required to produce technically complex publications and the capacity to ensure that the multivolume series could be printed in an expedited manner to meet the bicentennial deadline (Hubel 1973). The plan was that the *Handbook* staff would submit camera-ready copy of each volume to the GPO, which would contract with commercial printers to complete the printing. The GPO would supervise the fulfillment of contracts and take responsibility for marketing and selling the volumes, distributing them free of charge to the extensive network of federal depository libraries, and maintaining them in print (Kelley 1999: appendix, p. 7).

Around the time the agreement with the GPO was being worked out, a policy intended to maintain a detailed record of the entire *Handbook* production process was established. Sturtevant, a strong advocate of archives in general and the NAA in particular, worked closely with archivist Margaret Blaker to develop policies for the NAA (Sturtevant 1969a). From the outset, he insisted that the *Handbook* staff maintain complete records of their production work and research activities. On August 30, 1973, in response to the *California* volume editor Robert Heizer, who had suggested to editorial assistant Betty Arens that the volume editors' files should be archived, Sturtevant wrote:

> I think it is an excellent idea, and I will keep it in mind. However, I do not want to propose it to other editors at this stage, for fear of inhibiting their letter writing. The prospect of archiving doesn't deter everyone.... But I recall how my father destroyed much of his correspondence after hearing me talk about the interesting letters I was reading in the Hodge and Cushing papers in the Southwest Museum. So, I'll ask our co-editors after their work is done (Sturtevant 1973d).

It soon became established protocol for correspondence between the volume editors and their authors to be copied and sent to the *Handbook* editorial office. The editorial assistant was responsible for maintaining files of this correspondence, as well as the correspondence produced by the editorial staff labeled as "READ." These files are now housed in the NAA (Handbook of North American Indians Papers 1969–2007).

The original deadline for submission of all chapter manuscripts was the spring of 1972, but by the end of that year, the Handbook office had received fewer than a third of the planned manuscripts (see "William Curtis Sturtevant, General Editor," this vol.). The editorial staff began to process the manuscripts that had arrived, but over the course of 1973, initial optimism that the 20 volumes of the *Handbook* series could be published by the 1976 bicentennial celebration began to wane because most volumes were far from complete.

Early Management Issues and the 1975 Audit

Toward the end of 1973, Diane Della-Loggia, Jo Moore, Lorraine Jacoby, and I decided as a team to concentrate on volumes 8 (*California;* Heizer 1978b) and 15 (*Northeast;* Trigger 1978a), because they had the highest percentage of chapter manuscripts received and accepted by their volume editors. By working almost exclusively on those accepted chapters, staff members hoped that these two volumes could be published by 1976. As it turned out, neither would be released until 1978. To some degree, our plan paralleled that of Sturtevant, who had already decided that working on the illustrations for the *California* volume would be a priority for the *Handbook* staff. On September 7, 1972, following discussions with scientific illustrator Jo Moore, he wrote to Robert Heizer, volume editor of *California*, that "we agree that the *California* volume would be the best one to focus on for a while, to set standards for illustrations for the whole *Handbook*" (Sturtevant 1972f).

Although Sturtevant was aware of the staff's approach, he could not openly sanction it because this new strategy ran counter to the official plan for the simultaneous publication of all volumes in 1976. In keeping with that official plan, in April 1975 he submitted a revised publication schedule to the Smithsonian's Bicentennial Coordinator's Office that anticipated the publication of all 20 volumes of the *Handbook* by July 1978 (table 2; Sturtevant 1975b).

The Smithsonian administration was becoming increasingly concerned about the entire project and the likelihood that none of the volumes would be published by 1976 despite having been funded as part of the bicentennial budget. The extent of the project's

Table 2. Schedule for the *Handbook of North American Indians*

Volume number and title	*Half typeset*	*All typeset*	*Published*
1. *Introduction*	Jan. 1, 1977	July 1, 1977	Jan. 1, 1978
2. *Indians in Contemporary Society*	Jan. 1, 1977	July 1, 1977	Jan. 1, 1978
3. *Environment, Origins, and Population*	July 1, 1976	Jan. 1, 1977	July 1, 1977
4. *History of Indian–White Relations*	Jan. 1, 1976	July 1, 1976	Jan. 1, 1977
5. *Arctic*	July 1, 1975	Jan. 1, 1976	June 25, 1976
6. *Subarctic*	July 1, 1975	Jan. 1, 1976	June 25, 1976
7. *Northwest Coast*	July 1, 1976	Jan. 1, 1977	July 1, 1977
8. *California*	July 1, 1975	Oct. 1, 1975	May 1, 1976
9 and 10. *Southwest*	July 1, 1975	Jan. 1, 1976	June 25, 1976
11. *Great Basin*	July 1, 1976	Jan. 1, 1977	July 1, 1977
12. *Plateau*	July 1, 1976	Jan. 1, 1977	July 1, 1977
13. *Plains*	July 1, 1976	Jan. 1, 1977	July 1, 1977
14. *Southeast*	July 1, 1977	July 1, 1977	Jan. 1, 1978
15. *Northeast*	July 1, 1975	Oct. 1, 1975	May 1, 1976
16. *Languages*	July 1, 1975	Jan. 1, 1976	June 25, 1976
17. *Technology and Visual Arts*	July 1, 1977	July 1, 1977	Jan. 1, 1978
18 and 19. *Biographical Dictionary*	July 1, 1977	Jan. 1, 1978	July 1, 1978
20. *Index*	July 1, 1977	Jan. 1, 1978	July 1, 1978

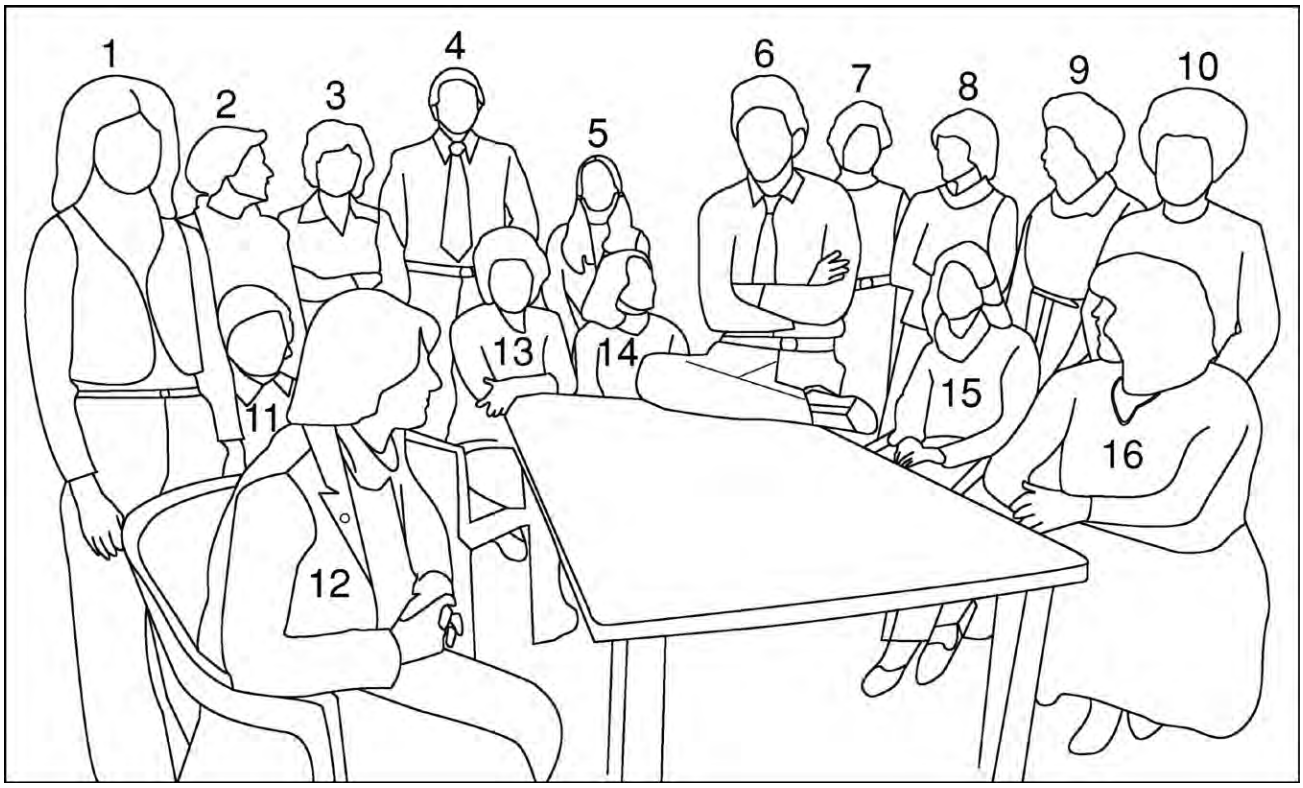
SOURCE: Sturtevant 1975b.

managerial problems was revealed by a complaint of discrimination that I filed on February 6, 1974, against the Department of Anthropology. After a U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission hearing in March 1975, the discrimination complaint was found in my favor on March 12, 1975; it was shown that there was a climate of discrimination against women in the Department of Anthropology in both hiring and promotion and that *Handbook* management needed improvement. In a later case (*Scherer* v. *Ripley*, CA 77-1856), the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia determined that *Handbook* management had engaged in numerous incidents of reprisal against me, and it decided in my favor but not until February 1982.

In the summer of 1975, David Challinor, Smithsonian assistant secretary for science, and Charles Blitzer, assistant secretary for history and art, requested that the Smithsonian Office of Audits conduct the first audit of the *Handbook*. "The purpose of the audit was to review the management of the project to determine why the printing of the Encyclopedia, to be funded with Bicentennial funds of over $900,000 would not be completed in time for the Bicentennial. . . . The offices of the General Counsel and the Smithsonian [Institution] Press were included to the extent necessary" (Peratino 1975:1).

The seven-page audit report was distributed in December 1975. It noted with some disapproval the *Handbook* staff's plan to focus only on the *California* and *Northeast* volumes and the fact that the staff was, in effect, creating its own production plan and schedule. In addition to indicating measures that could make the production process more efficient and effective, the audit recommended that a full-time project manager be hired to be in charge of production of the *Handbook*, that periodic reports be prepared to keep management and volume editors abreast of the progress of the project, and that shifting the editorship of *Technology and Visual Arts* (vol. 16) from Sturtevant to someone else be considered (Peratino 1975:4–6).

Despite the Smithsonian administration's reservations, the editorial staff focused its efforts on volumes 8 and 15, *California* and *Northeast*, for publication because they were so near completion. Final work also began on volume 6, *Subarctic* (Helm 1981) and volume 9, the first of the two *Southwest* volumes (Ortiz 1979), for which a great number of chapters had been accepted. Progress on these volumes was advanced by the creation, between 1973 and 1976, of five new staff positions: an assistant illustrations researcher (1973), a bibliographic assistant (1974), a cartographer (1975), a second scientific illustrator (1975), and a second illustrations researcher (1976). In addition, many research assistants, interns, and volunteers provided assistance on these and subsequent volumes (fig. 1).



Photograph by Ray Lustig, *Washington Star*. Reprinted with permission of the DC Public Library, Star Collection, © Washington Post.

Fig. 1. top, First photo of the *Handbook* staff, January 18, 1978 in the Handbook office, NMNH. bottom, Legend: 1, Cathe Brock; 2, Nikki Lanza; 3, Lydia Ratliff; 4, Ives Goddard; 5, Joanna Cohan Scherer; 6, William C. Sturtevant; 7, Laura J. Greenberg; 8, Judith Crawley Wojcik; 9, Sherrill Berger; 10, Caroline Ladeira; 11, Lorraine Jacoby; 12, Diane Della-Loggia; 13, Betty T. Arens; 14, Jo Ann Moore; 15, Alice Nance Boarman; 16, Melvina Jackson. (SIA, Joanna Cohan Scherer Papers, 1960–2019, Acc. 19-190)

1976–1983

Management and Progress

In July 1976, James Mello, assistant director of the NMNH, was placed in charge of the Handbook office. As the *Handbook*'s first project manager, he was responsible for overseeing the operations of the *Handbook* staff, a role previously filled by Sturtevant. A new position, eventually named production manager, was created to monitor the progress of manuscripts through the production process. Mello appointed Diane Della-Loggia, the manuscript and copy editor, to this position. Her principal task—to develop production schedules for manuscripts from submission through publication—required continual adjustments to accommodate the actual completion of the contributions of the authors, editors, and staff. She was also responsible for identifying errors in the galleys and page proofs and ensuring that the final bound volumes conformed to *Handbook* standards. She also prepared quarterly reports on the *Handbook*'s progress (e.g., Della-Loggia 1977a, 1977b, 1983).

In August 1976, Ives Goddard was hired as assistant curator in the Department of Anthropology with the responsibility of serving as the linguistic editor of the *Handbook* series. Goddard, formerly a postdoc in the Department of Anthropology in 1969–1970, had already acted in this capacity and also as editor of volume 17, *Languages* (Goddard 1996c) while teaching at Harvard University. Goddard was responsible for ensuring that all aspects of the *Handbook* related to Native American languages were accurate and that the words were presented to the degree possible according to a standardized technical alphabet or orthography that had been developed for the *Handbook* (as explained in the preface of each volume; e.g., Sturtevant and Heizer 1978:x–xi). The manuscripts were reviewed by the editorial assistant, who identified the words that required Goddard's attention. He relied on scores of linguistic consultants in fulfilling these responsibilities and prepared orthographic footnotes for the tribal chapters that explained the spelling systems used to represent Native words. He also expanded many of the "Synonymy" sections that summarized the etymology and history of the various tribal names used to identify the Native American groups treated in the chapters.

Between 1976 and 1981, volumes 8 (*California*), 15 (*Northeast*), 9 (*Southwest*), and 6 (*Subarctic*) were finalized and published. (Volume 9, *Southwest*, was printed in early 1980 with an official publication year of 1979.) Starting in January 1981, the staff focused on volume 10, the second *Southwest* volume (Ortiz 1983). A reception, usually attended by the volume editor, was organized to celebrate the publication of each of these volumes (table 3), except for the joint reception for the two *Southwest* volumes held on September 6, 1983 (figs. 2, 3).

Extension of the Handbook Production Schedule

Despite these initial successes, 16 volumes of the *Handbook* series remained to be published in 1981,

Table 3. Reception Dates for Published *Handbook* Volumes

Volume title	*Volume number*	*Year published*	*Reception date*
California	8	1978	April 27, 1978
Northeast	15	1978	November 7, 1978
Subarctic	6	1981	January 11, 1982
Southwest	9	1979	September 6, 1983
	10	1983	September 6, 1983
Arctic	5	1984	January 24, 1985
Great Basin	11	1986	October 30, 1986
History of Indian–White Relations	4	1988	February 16, 1989
Northwest Coast	7	1990	November 16, 1990
Languages	17	1996	March 13, 1997
Plateau	12	1998	No reception
Plains	13	2001	No reception
Southeast	14	2004	April 22, 2005
Environment, Origins, and Population	3	2006	April 17, 2007
Indians in Contemporary Society	2	2008	No reception

Photograph by Kim Nielsen. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (82-491-21A).

Fig. 2. *Subarctic* publication party, January 11, 1982, at NMNH. June Helm (left) and James Mello. (NAA, HNAI Papers, Box 15, Series 8)

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 3. *Southwest* joint publication party for volumes 9 and 10, September 6, 1983, at NMNH. left to right, Jo Ann Moore, Laura Greenberg, Wilcomb Washburn, unidentified woman, William C. Sturtevant. (NAA, HNAI Papers, Box 15, Series 8)

and the Smithsonian Office of Audits conducted a second audit of the *Handbook*. What precipitated the audit is unknown; its records have not been saved (Tad Bennicoff, personal communication, April 30, 2015), but the *Handbook* was one of several NMNH projects that were reviewed. The audit recommendations survive in the form of a three-page summary report (Peratino 1981a).

The audit report noted that "at the current rate of production the HNAI may not be completed until the year 2005 or 17 years longer than the most recent publication schedule shows." Among the recommendations to speed up the production process were hiring a full-time project manager, increasing the production staff and streamlining their functions, providing additional personnel to assist the general editor in reviewing and accepting manuscripts, and submitting an updated publication schedule annually to the NMNH director and the assistant secretary of science. Mello, at the time both acting director of the NMNH and project manager of the Handbook office, focused on complying with the recommendations, noting:

> No one here is satisfied with the production publication schedule for the Handbook of North American Indians. . . . On the other hand, we are very pleased with the quality of the Handbook and its wide acceptance, and do not want to do anything to lower quality. I've no good idea how we can retain the quality and materially accelerate the schedule without additional resources of some sort (Mello 1981a).

On November 5, 1981, Mello submitted a revised production schedule, created by Della-Loggia and Sturtevant, to the director of the NMNH, with a copy to the assistant secretary for science. This schedule extended the completion of the entire *Handbook* series to 1992 if the project was given a full staff and all manuscripts for the volumes were in hand at the start of production (Mello 1981b). In the fall of 1982, as a follow-up to the audit recommendations, Colin Busby was hired as the *Handbook* series' first full-time managing editor to oversee the day-to-day activities of the staff.

A few months later, Goddard shared his perspectives on the *Handbook* with Busby:

> As a general framework, let me make the following observations: The *Handbook* staff are intelligent, dedicated, experienced professionals, with a high degree of pride in their work. Successfully to make the transition to the new management system and tighter scheduling, management must rely on their experience (and be perceived as taking the expertise of the staff seriously) . . . by maintaining (and being perceived to maintain) the high standards of the *Handbook* that instill the pride in workmanship so crucial to this undertaking (Goddard 1983).

The slow progress of *Handbook* production was sometimes attributed to Sturtevant, who insisted on carefully reviewing all chapter manuscripts, illustrations, and other accompanying materials, in addition

to fulfilling his curatorial duties, pursuing his research, and undertaking a wide variety of professional activities (see "William Curtis Sturtevant, General Editor," this vol.). In fact, similar concerns had been raised more than a decade earlier when the *Handbook* management structure was created (Cowan 1970). At that time, Sturtevant rejected the plan to transfer him from the Department of Anthropology to the CSM to devote all of his time to the production of the *Handbook*, responding that "I have made time for the Handbook by dropping or postponing other commitments and plans for my own research and writing" (Sturtevant 1970b). By 1983, his perspective had changed. "I agree that no matter what, I am a bottleneck. Further, I cannot continue to devote even as much time as I have in the past [to the *Handbook*]. Thus, I must have a (partial) substitute, & one I can trust." (Sturtevant 1983b)

The potential leadership vacuum led Mello and Douglas Ubelaker, then chair of the NMNH Department of Anthropology, to convene a meeting of the series volume editors on August 15–16, 1983, to discuss options for completing the *Handbook* within the existing time and financial constraints. According to Mello's notes from these meetings, this *Handbook* review committee included volume editors Warren d'Azevedo (vol. 11, *Great Basin*), David Damas (vol. 5, *Arctic*), Raymond DeMallie (vol. 13, *Plains*), Raymond Fogelson (vol. 14, *Southeast*), June Helm (vol. 6, *Subarctic*), and Wayne Suttles (vol. 7, *Northwest Coast*). Sturtevant and *Handbook* staff members Colin Busby, Diane Della-Loggia, Jo Moore, and Joanna Cohan Scherer, as well as Smithsonian employees and editors Ives Goddard (vol. 17, *Languages*) and Wilcomb Washburn (vol. 4, *History of Indian–White Relations*), participated in parts of the meeting (Mello 1983b).

The actions considered included streamlining the review process, eliminating some planned volumes, reducing coverage for each volume, reducing the number of illustrations, shifting more responsibility to authors and volume editors, convincing the Smithsonian administration to commit more resources to the project, and partnering with other institutions in the production of certain volumes (Mello 1983b). At the end of a two-day session, volume editors could not agree on how best to move forward. At the conclusion of the meeting, Sturtevant agreed with many of the critical comments and recommended that Raymond DeMallie be considered as his replacement (Mello 1983b). DeMallie had recently been made editor for volume 13, *Plains*, taking over from William Bittle, but DeMallie had insisted that Sturtevant be the guiding light for the series. Neither he, nor any of the other volume editors were willing to be considered as the general editor.

Following the meeting, Richard Fiske, the director of the NMNH, reorganized the management of the Handbook office. Fiske reported to the office staff and volume editors that "for some volumes I will ask the volume editor to act as the Chief Executive for that particular volume, under contract with the Smithsonian. For those volumes where the volume editor will not serve, we will seek to hire temporarily young professional anthropologist[s] expert in the pertinent fields to assist us" (Fiske 1983). In theory, Fiske's vision offered a good way to reorganize management of the *HNAI* production, but most volume editors had other professional responsibilities that did not allow them to assume additional duties. In fact, some of the duties of volume editors were fulfilled by associate volume editors, members of the volumes' planning committees, or coordinators of certain sections (see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.), with whom the office staff often worked more closely than with the editors themselves.

By the time of the meeting, Mello had begun distancing himself from the management of the *Handbook*, and in October 1983, managing editor Colin Busby resigned. As a result, in November 1983, Fiske transferred the administration of the *Handbook* to the museum's Department of Anthropology.

The cost of the continued operation of the *Handbook* was also becoming of greater concern to the administration. Although Congress provided the funds to cover the costs of producing the series as part of the Smithsonian's annual budget, the proceeds from sales of *Handbook* volumes went to the U.S. Treasury, not the Smithsonian. The proceeds were not inconsequential. As noted in the "Handbook Quarterly Report" of June 1983, "The GPO had sold 17,665 copies of *California* [vol. 8], 15,166 copies of *Northeast* [vol. 15], 11,312 copies of *Southwest* [vol. 9], and 4,856 copies of *Subarctic* [vol. 6]. These 48,999 books have sold for a total of $990,577, making the *Handbook* volumes some of the most important in the GPO inventory" (Della-Loggia 1983). Nonetheless, it was estimated that it cost the Smithsonian about $2 million to produce those four volumes (Busby 1983a).

1984–1993

Management and Progress

Between 1984 and 1990, four additional *Handbook* volumes were published: *Arctic* (vol. 5 [Damas 1984]), *Great Basin* (vol. 11 [d'Azevedo 1986a]), *History of Indian–White Relations* (vol. 4 [Washburn 1988a]), and *Northwest Coast* (vol. 7 [Suttles 1990])

Photograph by Harold Dougherty. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (85-1136-17).

Fig. 4. *Arctic* publication party, January 24, 1985, at NMNH. left to right, Joanna Cohan Scherer, Judy Crawley Wojcik, Cesare Marino, Ives Goddard, James VanStone (seated), David Damas, Bernard Saladin d'Anglure. (NAA, HNAI Papers, Box 15, Series 8)

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 5. *Great Basin* publication party, October 30, 1986, at NMNH. left, left to right, Warren d'Azevedo, Ives Goddard, Catherine Fowler. right, left to right, Lorraine Jacoby and Joanna Cohan Scherer. (NAA, HNAI Papers, Box 13, Series 8)

(figs. 4–7). By 1990, a total of eight culture area volumes and one topical volume had been produced, with three culture area volumes and four topical volumes in various stages of preparation. Progress on the *Biographical Dictionary* and *Introduction* volumes was minimal.

In January 1985, linguistic editor Ives Goddard assumed the duties of the managing editor. The following year, beginning in September 1986, he also took over many of the duties of the general editor during the latter's absence abroad, and in January 1989, he assumed the role of technical editor as Sturtevant removed himself more and more from daily oversight of the project (Sturtevant and Suttles 1990b:xv). At the same time, Karla Billups was hired as the Handbook office's last managing editor (see "Organization and Operation," this vol.).

Soon after assuming her duties, Billups sent a six-page memorandum to Frank Talbot, NMNH director. Having come from trade publishing, she observed that at least some problems of the *Handbook* could be attributed to the fact that it "has not been planned, managed, or financed as the publishing entity that it is." She noted that the museum had failed to provide the

Photograph by Victor Krantz. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 6. *History of Indian–White Relations* publication party, February 16, 1989, at NMNH. Carolyn Rose (left) and Diane Della-Loggia. (NAA, HNAI Papers, Box 13, Series 8)

Photograph by Jane Beck. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (90-17505).

Fig. 7. *Northwest Coast* publication party, November 16, 1990, at NMNH. left to right, Jo Ann Moore, William C. Sturtevant, and Wayne Suttles. (NAA, HNAI Papers, Box 15, Series 8)

funding required to ensure uninterrupted production and urged that private funding be secured to supplement the *Handbook* allocation from the museum annual budget and provide much needed computer equipment. She also argued for finding a way of rechanneling some of the proceeds of the sale of the volumes back into its production (Billups 1989).

Technology Gap

The *Handbook* editorial staff had been facing the challenges of technology lag for several years. During the initial 17 years of operation (1970–1987), the staff used similar technology as its predecessor, the two-volume *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Hodge 1907–1910), published 70 years prior. Staff members relied on regular mail to communicate with authors and volume editors and to order photographs, created index cards for each of the thousands of bibliographic entries, cataloged each photograph, and made hand drawings of artifacts and maps.

Although the Smithsonian acquired its first mainframe computer in 1967, remote terminals were not available until 1977, and the Smithsonian did not adopt desktop computers until 1981–1982. Various brands of computers were acquired, but most were Decmate-II word processors without hard drives; data were stored on large, eight-inch floppy disks. Robert McCormick Adams, who became secretary of the Smithsonian in January 1984, was the first to have a desk computer. By April 1984, 12 of the 22 curators in the Department of Anthropology had computers in their offices, but there were no computers in the Handbook office. Over the next two years, the various brands of personal computers were replaced with IBM-compatible personal computers, and in the summer of 1986, 100 IBM personal computers were delivered to the Smithsonian. Yet, by August 1993, only about half of the museum staff had personal computers (David Bridge, personal communication, April 7, 2015), and the *Handbook* staff appeals to get personal computers were denied because curators were given priority. After appealing directly to the Automatic Data Processing Office in March 1988, I was given a used Decmate-II from retired stock. Though outdated, this word processor dramatically speeded completion of the captions and the cataloging of incoming photos, and shortly thereafter, all illustrations team members were given word processors. In 1991 or soon after, all the *Handbook* staff received personal computers and finally could communicate via e-mail with authors and volume editors.

In a memo to Talbot, Billups argued that computer equipment was a basic necessity (not a luxury) for the Handbook office (Billups 1989), but the museum and Smithsonian administrations were less than sympathetic. Mary Tanner, the NMNH assistant director for administration, commented on Billups's request that, between 1979 and 1989, the museum had provided the *Handbook* with support for two additional positions (bringing the total from 8 to 10 positions) and a 117 percent increase in funding to defray nonpersonnel costs and that at the end of fiscal year 1988, *Handbook* management had returned or reprogrammed to the Department of Anthropology $40,000 that could have been used to purchase computers (Tanner 1989).

Secretary Adams requested that Alice Green Burnette, assistant secretary for institutional initiatives, also evaluate Billups's memorandum, to which

Burnette responded that "raising private funding for this purpose [*Handbook* series] could really get in the way of NMAI [National Museum of the American Indian] fundraising efforts" (Burnette 1989). The NMAI was incorporated into the Smithsonian in 1989.

In April 1991, the *Handbook* was advised that federal funds that had been carried over since the 1970s would be lost due to an across-the-board policy change in government funding. Billups, the managing editor, warned that losing these funds meant "the death of the program" (Billups 1991). This included the loss of $44,000 of contracts to authors for chapters not yet received, funds to pay the expenses of the volume editors, and $476,000 to pay for typesetting, printing, and binding of the volumes as they became ready for publication. The loss of this $520,000 was critical to the NMNH administration's decision to seek yet another audit of the *Handbook* (Tanner 1991). This audit was initiated in January 1994. It was probably this financial loss that caused Secretary Adams and NMNH director Frank Talbot to consider closing the *Handbook* project (Scherer 1994).

As of September 30, 1993, more than 112,000 copies of the *Handbook* volumes had been sold, generating more than $3 million in proceeds (Handbook of North American Indians Papers 1993:30). The staff was informed that the Inspector General's Office was pursuing the possibility of rechanneling some of these funds to support the completion of the *Handbook*, but this rechanneling never occurred.

1994–1998

Management and Progress

The *Languages* volume (Goddard 1996c) was in active production throughout the mid-1990s. The volume editor, in keeping with *Handbook* tradition emphasizing scholarship over speed, insisted that the authors review the typographically complex proofs instead of just the edited copy. The production manager, Diane Della-Loggia, was torn between Goddard's request for such reviews and the insistence of Dennis Stanford, then chair of the Anthropology Department, that the volume be published by the end of 1996 (Scherer 1996a). In the end, the official publication date of 1996 was maintained although the books were not received until March 1997. The publication celebration was held on March 13, 1997.

In addition, to generate revenue for the *Handbook*, Goddard, in collaboration with Jeannine Schonta of Maryland Cartographics, a division of GeoSystems, and Karen Ackoff and Dan Cole of the *Handbook* office produced a detailed color map, "Native Languages and Language Families of North America" for the volume, which was later sold separately by the University of Nebraska Press (Goddard 1996e). Intense work on the *Plateau* volume began in November 1990 and manuscripts were accepted from l995–1997 (Walker 1998). Raymond DeMallie had assembled a new planning committee for the *Plains* volume in 1985 and actively worked on the volume until 1987 but final drive did not begin until 1998 (DeMallie 2001a).

Administrative Pressure to Complete the Series

Between January 31 and September 9, 1994, the Office of the Inspector General conducted an audit of the NMNH. The 18-page final report, released in January 1995, devoted five pages to the *Handbook* and was quite critical. It noted the history of shifting deadlines for completion of the 20 volumes, originally to be completed in 1976:

> In 1979, handbook management stated that the handbook would be completed by 1988, in 1981 by 1990, in 1988 by 1993. The handbook staff has not produced a volume since 1990. Most recently, the Managing Editor stated that the handbook would be completed by 2004. However, the Managing Editor could not provide written schedules or status reports that support the current completion date (Office of the Inspector General 1995:5).

Given the rate of production between 1978 and 1990—one volume every 2.2 years—the report estimated that the project would not be completed until 2014. It also identified a significant new challenge: a number of manuscripts that had been accepted more than a decade earlier for yet unpublished volumes were out of date and would need to be revised. The report also noted that sales of the last two *Handbook* volumes, vols. 4 (Washburn 1988a) and 7 (Suttles 1990), had declined by 66 percent relative to the sales of the first two volumes (Heizer 1978b; Trigger 1978a) in their first four years of publication, indicating a declining interest in the series.

At a staff meeting on December 8, 1994, the staff was advised that the Inspector General had recommended terminating the production of the *Handbook* and that management would commit only to completing the last of the culture area volumes, volumes 12 (*Plateau*), 13 (*Plains*), and 14 (*Southeast*). They were also informed that the chair of the Department of Anthropology would have additional authority in dealing with the volume editors and that the chair would be eliminating chapters, canceling contracts of authors who had failed to make their deadlines, and significantly revising the production process (Scherer 1994).

In June 1995, acting provost Robert S. Hoffmann requested that William Merrill, acting chair of the Department of Anthropology, produce within a month a viable plan for the production of the remaining *Handbook* volumes for review (Merrill, personal communication, April 16, 2016). To develop this plan, Merrill interviewed all Handbook office members. The staff, in consultation with Merrill and deputy chair Carolyn Rose, asked to be given control of the production of the series with a rotating staff member serving as liaison with the department chair. The production team wanted to prove it could resolve past managerial problems and complete the series. On July 29, 1995, the *Handbook* staff produced by consensus a detailed memorandum on the production schedule for the next four years (Della-Loggia 1995b). Nine pages of attachments listed current *Handbook* staff members and vacancies, indicating their responsibilities in the production process; summarized resources needed to fulfill publication goals; and gave an overview of the production schedule for volumes 12 (*Plateau*), 13 (*Plains*), 14 (*Southeast*), and 17 (*Languages*). Department leadership never responded to the staff's request to self-manage the production of the remaining *HNAI* volumes.

By the fall of 1995, two crucial staff positions—cartographer and bibliographer—were vacant, the artifacts researcher was part-time, and managing editor Karla Billups had resigned. In September, the Department of Anthropology began exploring the possibility of taking the production of the series outside the Smithsonian and requested proposals from three publishing service providers. The proposals were reviewed by *Handbook* staff. The consensus was that these proposals involved literally taking over of the entire project and hiring "someone to do tasks that are clearly already being done, in fact well, by an incumbent" (Della-Loggia 1995a). On November 30, 1995, the Smithsonian Board of Regents was informed that, based on the findings of the 1994 audit, the Smithsonian would save $500,000 annually if *Handbook* production were shut down. The Inspector General recommended to the Regents that the project be ended in three or four years (Office of the Inspector General 1995). Closing down the *Handbook* was then under consideration at the highest levels of the Smithsonian (Scherer 1995). Four years later, in 1999, the Regents' unhappiness with the pace of the program would resurface and another Handbook office audit was initiated.

In the spring of 1996, after the attempt to outsource the *Handbook* had failed, the office staff again proposed that they manage the project by committee with a rotating liaison with the chair of the Department of Anthropology (Scherer 1996c). The administration again ignored this proposal, and Carolyn Rose, deputy chair of the Department of Anthropology, became the de facto managing editor and *Handbook* program manager.

By this time, Sturtevant had removed himself from the daily oversight of the production process, but he continued to attend staff meetings. At one of these, in June 1996, he stated that, in order to increase production, the staff should lower production standards by, for example, no longer having the bibliographer check all quotes in the chapter manuscripts and by reducing the number of illustrations in future volumes (Scherer 1996c; see "Organization and Operation," this vol.). The latter reduction never materialized and only volume 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society* (Bailey 2008a) had far fewer illustrations per page. The staff did cut some of the expenses by no longer producing offprints of chapters for the authors.

By the end of 1996, the *Handbook* footprint in the museum also was reduced. A portion of space that had been used by *Handbook* staff for almost two decades was converted into the NMNH Registrar's Office. The editorial staff was down to six positions, plus Carolyn Rose. Nonetheless, production of volume 12, *Plateau* (Walker 1998) continued. No publication party was held in the summer of 1998, because of an impending 66 percent cut in the *Handbook* budget, which was officially announced in October 1998 (Scherer 1998a).

1999–2007

Management and Progress

The Handbook office continued its work, focusing on volume 13, *Plains* (DeMallie 2001a), which was published in two separate books, because it was too large to be bound in a single volume. The volumes were labeled "Volume 13, Part I" and "Volume 13, Part II" because "Volume 14" had been used for decades to designate the next area volume, *Southeast*. Volume 14 was published three years later (Fogelson 2004), but to cut production costs, it did not include a detailed list of illustrations, in contrast to several earlier volumes in the series (vols. 4, 7, 11–13). Its release was celebrated on April 22, 2005 (fig. 8).

By 2000, the Handbook office had been reduced to five full-time and one part-time members: Ives Goddard, linguistic editor; Cesare Marino, bibliographer; Melvina Jackson, administrative specialist; Paula Cardwell, editorial liaison and staff coordinator; Joanna Cohan Scherer, illustrations researcher; and Diane Della-Loggia, production manager/manuscript editor. Cuts in the *Handbook*'s 1999 budget precluded

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 8. *Southeast* publication party, April 22, 2005, in the Carolyn Rose Seminar Room, Department of Anthropology, NMNH. Bill Fitzhugh (left) and Raymond Fogelson. (NAA, HNAI Papers, Box 17, Series 8)

filling the vacant positions of assistant illustrations researcher, artifacts researcher, and cartographer.

After completing volumes 13 and 14, the staff focused on volume 3, *Environment, Origins, and Population* (Ubelaker 2006a). Bringing this complex volume of almost 1,150 pages—the largest in the series—to publication was difficult. Its first editor, Frederick S. Hulse, agreed to serve in 1970 but resigned in 1982. He was replaced by Richard I. Ford, a member of the first planning committee, who also resigned in 1991. The volume lacked an editor for more than a decade, until 2002, when Smithsonian curator Douglas Ubelaker agreed to serve in this role. The volume was published in 2006 and was celebrated on April 17, 2007, the last of the publication receptions (table 3). Sturtevant, who passed away in March 2007, was honored at this party, and his widow, Sally McLendon, attended. As the staff photograph was taken, she held up a portrait of the late general editor (fig. 9).

The only other volume with three successive editors was volume 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society*

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (2858).

Fig. 9. *Environment, Origins, and Population* publication party, April 17, 2007, in the Carolyn Rose Seminar Room, Department of Anthropology, NMNH. back row, left to right, Sally McLendon (holding photo of William C. Sturtevant), Doug Ubelaker, Ives Goddard. front row, left to right, Joanna Cohan Scherer, Dennis Stanford, Diane Della-Loggia, Paula Cardwell, Vicki Simon, Aleithea Williams, Cesare Marino. (NAA, HNAI Papers, Box 16, Series 8)

(Bailey 2008a), the last completed. In this case, the first two editors died before it could be produced: D'Arcy McNickle (d. 1977) and Vine Deloria, Jr. (d. 2005). Garrick A. Bailey agreed to serve as editor in June 2005 and was informed that it had to be completed in two years because the entire *Handbook* series would be shut down in September 2007. He accepted the challenge but soon learned that many chapter manuscripts were sorely out of date. The whole volume had to be rethought; in the end, only two of the original chapters were retained, and one of these had to be rewritten. The lightning pace of production resulted in a volume much slimmer than the preceding 14 volumes and many topics that the editor wished to include had to be dropped because no author could be found in the shortened period (Bailey 2008a:xii).

Closing of the Handbook Office and Termination of the Series

By the time volume 2 was released in 2008, the Handbook office had been officially eliminated. By then, the effort to close the office and terminate the series had extended over several years. In January 1999, Ross Simons, the NMNH associate director for research and collections, had contracted with Wayne Kelley, Jr., to conduct another audit of the *Handbook*. Kelley had experience in both the public and private publishing sectors, having been the superintendent of documents in the U.S. Government Printing Office from 1991 to 1997 (Wendy Wiswall, personal communication, March 23, 2016). The results of Kelley's review were presented in a 35-page report completed in April 1999.

Based on the staff vacancies, Kelley concluded that additional contract staff were needed and that *Plains* (vol. 13) would not be published by the target date of late 1999 or early 2000 without additional staff resources (Kelley 1999:2). There was a call for management decisions, because "the Handbook series is in danger of becoming what it set out to cure. A worthy reference source sadly out of date. . . . The Handbook series is a great idea. It is a project that is easy to fall in love with. And nearly impossible to manage" (Kelley 1999:4-5).

Kelley noted that, as a result of the early 1990s change of policy concerning held-over funds, "the Handbook was required to return several hundred thousand dollars to the Treasury" (Kelley 1999:1). The *Handbook* had been holding over printing funds and obligations to authors who had not yet finished their assigned chapters (Mary Tanner, personal communication, March 7, 2016). This was a significant blow to the project. He also observed that the "driving force of the series lies outside the Smithsonian. The Volume Editors make the difference.... Action to replace overcommitted Volume Editors and Authors is required" (Kelley 1999:2).

The report proposed a revised production schedule, recommending that the *Plains* volume be completed but that serious consideration be given to dropping the *Southeast* volume (vol. 14), because the manuscripts in hand (about 80 percent of the volume) were "very old." Kelley also recommended using joint ventures to publish the remaining volumes 3 (*Environment, Origins, and Population*), 2 (*Indians in Contemporary Society*), and 16 (*Technology and Visual Arts*) (Kelley 1999:14–21). Kelley's review did not result in any modifications to internal procedures, and his recommendations regarding volumes 2, 3, and 14 were never tried.

In April 2005, David Evans, the Smithsonian undersecretary for science, advised the Department of Anthropology that the *Handbook* project would be closed by the end of fiscal year 2007 (September 30, 2007), and that the six remaining volumes scheduled for production had to be completed by that time. On June 15, 2005, the chair of the Anthropology Department, J. Daniel Rogers, responded that, of the volumes yet to be published, only volumes 2, 3, and 16 could be completed by the end of September 2007 (Rogers 2005b). He also noted that the completion of volume 16 was possible only if it was outsourced to an external editor; for that role, Christian Feest, North American ethnologist at the Museum für Volkerkunde in Vienna, Austria, was recommended. Initial funding of $282,500 was requested for volume 16. Without substantial additional funding, the other volumes remaining to be published—the two-volume *Biographical Dictionary* (vols. 18 and 19), *Introduction* (vol. 1), and *Index* (vol. 20)—could not be completed (Rogers 2005b; see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.).

In an effort to secure external funding to support production of the remaining volumes, Rogers explored the possibility of establishing a partnership with the Alexander Street Press of Alexandria, Virginia. This press specialized in producing electronic collections of published and unpublished accounts from early sources and was in the process of creating a series presenting a wide range of perspectives on Native Americans. It was interested in securing the electronic rights to a text-only version of the existing volumes of the *Handbook*, from which maps and illustrations would be excluded.

The *Handbook* staff was opposed to this option. As Ives Goddard wrote to William Fitzhugh, chair of the Department of Anthropology, on March 12, 2005:

> At the Handbook staff meeting last week we discussed the idea of a text-only electronic version of the Handbook. We saw many serious problems with this. 1) The maps are integral and are what many readers are looking for. 2) The illustrations are also usually integral and the captions are written with additional information not duplicated in the text. 3) There are many cross-references to the maps and illustrations within and between volumes. 4) We should not encourage an inferior version of our product, which no amount of explanation will be able to justify for many users (Goddard 2005b).

The royalties from the electronic publication were estimated to be only about $25,000 over three to five years, and the proposal received no support from the *Handbook* staff, the NMNH, or Smithsonian management (Fitzhugh 2005).

I retired in May 2006, becoming an emeritus anthropologist, but I maintained my desk in the Handbook office. Ives Goddard retired in March 2007, becoming senior linguist emeritus. The final *Handbook* staff then included six members: production manager and manuscript editor Diane Della-Loggia, editorial liaison and staff coordinator Paula Cardwell, bibliographer and researcher Cesare Marino, illustrations researcher Elizabeth Hartjens, scientific illustrator Roger Roop, and rights and reproductions coordinator Erica Davis Choucroun.

On October 4, 2007, J. Daniel Rogers, chair of Anthropology, and Elizabeth Duggal, the NMNH associate director for external affairs and public programs, announced that the Handbook office would officially close on December 8, 2007. In a display of the commitment of the editorial staff, Diane Della-Loggia and Cesare Marino, although officially retired, worked as volunteers through July 2008 to assist in the publication of volume 2 (Bailey 2008a). The Handbook office space was then redesigned for use by the Department of Anthropology's Repatriation Office, and the remaining staff retired or found employment elsewhere.

Conclusion

The most productive period in the publication history of the *Handbook* was from 1978 to 1986, which saw the completion of seven volumes: *California* (Heizer 1978b), *Northeast* (Trigger 1978a), the first *Southwest* volume (Ortiz 1979), *Subarctic* (Helm 1981), the second *Southwest* volume (Ortiz 1983), *Arctic* (Damas 1984), and *Great Basin* (d'Azevedo 1986a). The *Handbook* staff identified three principal reasons for this high level of productivity.

First, the Handbook office was fully staffed with 10 full-time positions: two illustrations researchers, an assistant illustrations researcher, an artifacts researcher, a scientific illustrator, a cartographer, a bibliographer, an assistant bibliographer, an editorial assistant, and a secretary as well as numerous interns and volunteers. Second, for most of this period, the supervisors in NMNH and the Department of Anthropology—James Mello from 1977 to 1982 and Douglas Ubelaker from 1983 to 1984—allowed staff members to do their own scheduling and problem solving. They also supported the work of the office by filling vacant positions and providing assistants when needed. Third, the editors of these seven volumes or their designated representatives recognized the expertise of the staff members and encouraged them to make decisions necessary to complete their work, in some cases coming to Washington when the staff requested their assistance.

At the same time, certain factors contributed to delays in the production of the series. Perhaps most significant was the unwavering commitment to excellence that the editorial staff shared with the general editor, volume editors, and contributors (see "Organization and Operation," this vol.). The operative driving principle was attention to detail and scholarship in all aspects of the *Handbook* series at the expense of everything else, including publishing deadlines. The staff was also confronted by a number of logistical challenges. At the beginning of the *Handbook* project, approximately five years (1972–1977) were devoted to working out the details of the production protocol. It was often difficult to predict the time required to complete the different components. For example, drawings and photographs of activities and artifacts were coordinated to produce complex composites that were time consuming to execute. This effort was justified, because one of the goals of making a drawing of an object was to enhance it by showing the technique of its construction (Moore, personal communication, April 28, 2015; see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol., fig. 4).

One complicated example in volume 7, *Northwest Coast*, related to Makah whaling (Renker and Gunther 1990:424). The illustrations team often decided which artifacts could best be drawn, depending in part on how much space was available in the chapter and how long it would take to make the drawing. Scientific illustrator Karen Ackoff noted that a simple, straightforward pen-and-ink illustration might take an hour or two. A complex illustration—such as details of totemic figures on a Northwest Coast canoe that she made from a specimen in the Smithsonian collection at the request of the artifacts researcher Ernest Lohse—could require a great deal of research and take four weeks or more to complete (Suttles 1990:9;

Ackoff, personal communication, March 31, 2015, and March 7, 2016). In that case, the ink wash drawing was so outstanding that it was subsequently featured in an exhibit in the New York State Museum in Albany in 2000 and was republished in Ackoff (2010:2) and Hodges (2003:161) (fig. 10).

In addition, many authors did not submit suggestions for maps or provide organized bibliographies. Daniel Cole, *Handbook* cartographer from 1986 to 2007, estimated that fewer than 25 percent of authors actually submitted maps (Cole, personal communication, February 12, 2015). Bibliographer Cesare Marino noted that most contributors did not keep up with the most recent publications in their respective fields, so he added them to the chapters' references (Marino, personal communication, February 13, 2015). As the relevant literature grew over the course of the publications, so did the sheer size of the volume bibliographies (table 4).

The staff also had little leverage over the chapter authors, who often failed to respect the page limits set for their texts or to prepare and revise their manuscripts

Drawings by Karen Ackoff (Suttles 1990:9).

Fig. 10. Drawings of totemic figures of bears on Northwest Coast canoes. left and center, Figures of bears on stern and bow of northern type canoe. top right, Stern with bear figure. bottom right, Bow with bird figure on Columbia River type canoe.

Table 4. Bibliographies per *Handbook* Volume (in order of production, 1978–2008)

Volume	*Year*	*Total pages*	*Pages of main text*	*Pages of bibliography*	*Percent of pages of bibliography per text*	*Estimated number of references*
California (8)	1978	816	717	47	6.55	1,600
Northeast (15)	1978	924	804	83	10.32	2,900
Southwest (9)	1979	701	622	53	8.52	1,800
Subarctic (6)	1981	853	738	63	8.53	2,200
Southwest (10)	1983	884	777	59	7.59	2,100
Arctic (5)	1984	845	728	75	10.30	2,300
Great Basin (11)	1986	868	737	77	10.44	2,600
History of Indian–White Relations (4)	1988	852	699	98	14.02	3,500
Northwest Coast (7)	1990	793	639	92	14.39	3,100
Languages (17)	1996	957	761	161	21.15	4,500
Plateau (12)	1998	791	652	96	14.72	3,000
Plains (13), Parts 1 and 2	2001	1,360	1,073	210	19.47	6,900
Southeast (14)	2004	1,042	768	227	29.57	6,800
Environment, Origins, and Population (3)	2006	1,146	847	264	31.19	9,500
Indians in Contemporary Society (2)	2008	557	445	100	22.47	3,300

Table produced by Cesare Marino.

on time, offering intriguing explanations for their delays (Cardwell, personal communication, February 20, 2015). The results were extended production schedules, disrupted publication processes, and ever-longer volumes. The volume editors were responsible for ensuring that the chapter authors submitted their manuscripts, but in practice, the editorial assistants often fulfilled this duty.

History is too important to be based on memories alone. Only by reviewing the archival record of the *Handbook* project—the interoffice communications, schedules, audits, notes from staff meetings, and correspondence with editors and authors—can the production of the 20-volume series be fully understood. In retrospect, one could marvel at what the *Handbook* team accomplished, even when confronted with inadequate technological resources, personnel constraints, insufficient funding, and management inexperience. I spent 36 years working on the production of the *Handbook* series. It is a source of great satisfaction that this current volume is helping to complete the series as it was initially envisioned—an effort to which many of us devoted our professional lives.

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Organization and Operation: Perspectives from 1993

CHRISTIAN CARSTENSEN

From January to August 1993, I worked as an intern in the editorial office of the *Handbook of North American Indians*. Four years earlier, I had completed my master's thesis in anthropology at the University of Tübingen, writing about economic conditions on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation in Oregon and the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. In the course of my studies, the *Handbook* always had been one of the first sources of information, and I was always impressed by the size and scope of the detailed knowledge compiled in its pages. I had become increasingly interested in museum studies and the relationship between museums and Native American communities. Therefore, in 1992 I applied for, and was awarded, an internship at the Handbook office at the Smithsonian Institution, where I worked for seven months as Joanna Cohan Scherer's assistant doing illustration research for the *Handbook* series (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.). I researched illustrations for volume 13, *Plains* (DeMallie 2001a) as well as for the Benedicte Wrensted historical photography project (Scherer 2006).

During my internship in 1993, the Handbook office comprised 11 staff people. A few weeks after I arrived, I started asking staff members about the nature of their responsibilities in the production process. What began as informal conversations soon evolved into a set of more formal interviews. Over the course of these months, my role also shifted from that of an intern to a participant-observer who lent an ear to the stories of the *Handbook* staff members.

In these interviews conducted and recorded in February–August 1993 (table 1), the *Handbook* staff members not only described their activities in detail, but shared their perspectives on the broader institutional context within which the Smithsonian *Handbook* series operated. They discussed the challenges they faced in producing a work of such magnitude in the face of diminishing resources and waning institutional support (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.).

Many members of the *Handbook* team were clearly frustrated with the perception of their work by their colleagues, the Smithsonian administration, and the science community at large:

> We are in a difficult position, because unfortunately sometimes we are perceived as the bad guys, whereas we are the good guys. We are here trying to fix something, not to disrupt anything. . . . The authors, or even the public outside, or the anthropological community . . . [do] not realize that we are a small staff of dedicated people working very hard in trying to get these things out. And . . . you have seen us, the amount of work, the material, and how much work has been done. But people on the outside don't even know where the Handbook office is. (Cesare Marino, May 17, 1993)

When I returned to Germany to begin writing my doctoral thesis, I shared my data with my PhD advisor, Prof. Christian Feest, who had contributed five chapters to the *Handbook* volumes 4 (*History of Indian–White Relations*) and 15 (*Northeast*; Feest 1978a; 1978b; 1978c; 1988; Feest and Feest 1978) and would eventually lead the work on volume 16, *Technology and Visual Arts*, in the early 2000s (see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.). He encouraged me to explore my experience and analyze the general situation of the *Handbook* in the 1990s using my notes and interview transcripts from 1993 within the theoretical framework of organizational studies (Carstensen 1999).

This analysis revealed that three different professional communities were involved in the *Handbook* process, with different perspectives on the "ways we do things around here"—in short, three distinctive group cultures, according to Edgar Schein's definition:

> The culture of a group can . . . be defined as a pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, which has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. (Schein 2010:18)

In the Handbook office, these three colliding group cultures consisted of anthropologists, representative of the Americanist tradition and of scientific scholarship, in general; the Smithsonian administration

Table 1. Interviews with Handbook Office Staff, 1993–1997

Interviewee	*Position*	*Date*	*Comment*
Karen Ackoff	Scientific illustrator	May 14, 1993	taped
Terry Arundel	Cartographer	May 26, 1993	taped
Karla Billups	Project managing editor	June 3, 1993	taped
Paula Cardwell	Editorial liaison	May 19, 1993	taped
Diane Della-Loggia	Manuscript editor and production manager	May 7, 1993	taped
Ives Goddard	Linguistic editor and technical editor	August 16, 1993	taped
Melvina Jackson	Administrative specialist	July 2, 1993	taped
Lorraine Jacoby	Bibliographer	May 27, 1993	taped
Cesare Marino	Researcher and reference bibliographer	May 17, 1993	taped
Joanna Cohan Scherer	Illustrations researcher	June 10, 1993; August 17, 1993	not taped; taped
William Sturtevant and Sally McLendon	General editor; *Handbook* contributor and wife of W. Sturtevant	March 25, 1997	taped, in Frankfurt-a-M, Germany

because the *Handbook* series was a part of the larger Smithsonian Institution operating system; and the publishing business with its particular requirements of editing and publishing a multivolume series or encyclopedia (Carstensen 1999). One crucial culture clash concerned the writing style required for scholarly publications and for encyclopedic texts. In the "publish-or-perish" culture of academia, scientists must present new and original findings, different from what has been published before. They take personal positions in scholarly debates and distinguish themselves from or align themselves with their colleagues' ideas, often in highly contested fields. In contrast, an encyclopedic article is the opposite in its style and purpose. It is designed to summarize existing knowledge in a "neutral" and concise way, and it should be written in nontechnical language so that an interested layperson can understand the text. This was the main challenge for all (or most) authors of the *Handbook* volumes, as well as for the Handbook office staff, whose task was to turn the diverse submitted manuscripts into coherent contributions to the monumental 20-volume series.

From the beginning, the *Handbook* team's goal was to produce a series encompassing all reliable knowledge about the aboriginal populations of North America that would measure up to the standards and the reputation of the Smithsonian Institution. This goal grew out of the recognized obsolescence of many of the *Handbook* predecessors, primarily the first Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) handbook (Hodge 1907–1910), and the desire to produce a reliable source for all readers, including Native Americans, people interested in Native cultures and communities, anthropology and history students, and agency workers (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.).

The *Handbook* series stands out for its scholarly accuracy, its magnitude, and its complexity. These features can be attributed especially to William C. Sturtevant, whose well-known perfectionism and strive for scholarly excellence was pointed out by all staff of the Handbook office (see "William Curtis Sturtevant, General Editor," this vol.). Another critical factor was that the *Handbook* series was published by a public institution, the Smithsonian, rather than by a private publishing company. No private company would have been willing to provide the tremendous resources necessary to produce a series of such magnitude and devote such attention to detail and quality over several decades. Moreover, no private publisher would have then been able to sell the volumes for a price that average scholarly readers as well as Native American tribal colleges and community institutions could afford. It was a perfect match between individual and institution that produced one of the most revered projects in the Smithsonian Institution's history.

This chapter presents a glimpse of the *Handbook* operation as of 1993, from the perspective of an outsider. Personal observations during my seven-month stint in the office are supported by excerpts from interviews with the Handbook office staff, who provided insights on the production process and its principal players. All interviews were conducted in 1993, except for one interview with William Sturtevant, the *Handbook* general editor, and his wife, Dr. Sally McLendon, a contributor to volumes 8 and 17, recorded in 1997, during the Eighteenth European American Indian Workshop in Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

The Handbook Staff's Commitment to Excellence

I vividly remember my first day at the Handbook office. I had anticipated meeting a staff of a couple dozen people working in spacious modern offices, equipped with state-of-the-art computers. What I encountered instead was more like a submarine: a warren of cramped quarters, most with no windows, only artificial light, and ceilings covered with pipes and electrical conduits. The staff was small. People's computers were outdated. Even the phones and furniture reminded me of something from movies of the 1950s or 1960s.

This initial encounter, nonetheless, created an instant admiration for the people who were producing one of the most ambitious publication series in the history of North American Indian studies. That admiration grew steadily over the following months. The commitment of the Handbook office staff to maintaining their high scholarly standards was in part a reflection of the anticipated impact that the *Handbook* series would have as a basic reference work on diverse matters regarding the Native peoples of North America. As Sturtevant stressed in his 1971 "Guide for Contributors," which he circulated to all participating authors:

> It is particularly important to remember that this work is likely to have significant effects on living Indian people and on their relations with their neighbors and with the larger society. It may well influence what the schools teach about Indians; it will be a source for popular writers; it will be used by officials with administrative powers over Indians; it will be examined by Indians searching for information on the history and culture of their own people. The attitudes and points of view expressed—implicitly as well as explicitly—the vocabulary used, the balance between topics, should all be considered in relation to these uses. (Sturtevant 1971a: 1–2)

During the initial years of the *Handbook* planning and production process, Sturtevant would spend the mornings of each workday in his curatorial office on the third floor of the National Museum of Natural History, and then, in the early afternoon, he would come down to the Handbook offices on the ground floor to oversee the progress of the project (see "William Curtis Sturtevant, General Editor," this vol.). As the general editor, Sturtevant considered himself personally responsible for the final product. As bibliographer Lorraine Jacoby noted, "Nothing left the office, nothing was done without his approval. He was the final authority." (Lorraine Jacoby, May 27, 1993)

The *Handbook* staff fully embraced Sturtevant's fervor for perfection. As Diane Della-Loggia (fig. 1), *Handbook* manuscript editor and production manager, commented:

> The real reason [that we do everything so thoroughly] is because Dr. Sturtevant is really a perfectionist. And he has very, very high standards. The point of view is, this is the Smithsonian, and this is a reference book, which is theoretically being written [to last] for 75 years. (Diane Della-Loggia, May 7, 1993)

As Della-Logia explained, this perspective was shared by all *Handbook* staff members, who had benefited from Sturtevant's guidance in developing the skills required to fulfill their responsibilities:

> Most of us who are here, I would say half the staff, were trained by him 20 years ago. The staff has not turned over.

Photograph by Richard Hofmeister. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (78-5877-8).

Fig. 1. Diane Della-Logia, *Handbook* manuscript editor and production manager, and William C. Sturtevant, general editor, at *California* volume publication party, November 1978, in the American Indian Hall, National Museum of Natural History.

> Lorraine [Jacoby], Joanna [Scherer], myself have all been here 20 years and more working on this project. And others are maybe only the second person in the position. For instance, Paula [Cardwell] is not the first person in that position, but she was trained by Sturtevant; she worked for him in the Department [of Anthropology]. So his vision is still very much informing the way this is going. I think it doesn't matter if he's not here anymore, because he is here inside of our heads.

Her views were echoed by Cesare Marino (fig. 2), the *Handbook* series researcher and reference bibliographer:

> I think he has enough trust in us that he allows us to work fairly independently on certain aspects, even though we consult him all the time on major issues. He knows that we know what we are doing, therefore he doesn't need to come down here and check every two minutes what we are doing. There is no reason for him to bother, to waste his time, he can do something else. He wants it to be done in a certain way, and we are trying to do it his way.

During my 1993 tenure at the Handbook office, the project managing editor, Karla Billups, the then official head of the office, seemed to have minimal influence on the *Handbook* final products, because the staff members continued to consult with Sturtevant on all crucial matters and considered him to be the final authority on all professional issues related to the *Handbook* process. In effect, the *Handbook* staff members had embraced and internalized Sturtevant's values and perspectives as their own, creating a particular "group culture" with a set of shared basic assumptions as its core (Schein 2010:18).

These basic assumptions are difficult to change, particularly if a founding leader is still active in a group project (Schein 2010:233). When the Smithsonian administration threatened to discontinue the funding for the *Handbook* series' owing to the delays in publication of several volumes, some changes in procedures were called for (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.). But these changes probably could only come through Sturtevant or at least with his explicit consent. In 1997, Sturtevant met with the *Handbook* staff to update them on the challenges they were facing at the time:

> The pressure was on from the administration: "Get this thing [*Handbook*] out or we kill it. No more money!" Then I said to the editorial staff, "We have to lower our standards in order to get the series finished." They, all of them, have internalized my idea that the quality level has to be kept up. So, when I said, "I know it would be poor, but we have to publish it, let's accept it and go with it," they realized that this was an exception, and they did not like it. And I am pleased that they did not. But if we do not publish, we do not complete it. The money [for the production] is gone, so now the standards inevitably have to be lowered in order to

Photograph by Christian Carstensen.

Fig. 2. Cesare Marino, *Handbook* researcher and reference bibliographer, May 1993.

> get it out. So I think it will affect our subsequent volumes. (William Sturtevant, March 25, 1997)

Nevertheless, pursuit of excellence remained the guiding principle of the *Handbook* team throughout the production process, which took almost four decades, until the office was finally closed and the series was discontinued in 2008.

The Editorial Process

The *Handbook* series overarching goal was to summarize everything known about the Native peoples of North America, "published or unpublished . . . from prehistoric times up to the present" (Sturtevant1987:1). Achieving this ambitious goal required the collaboration of hundreds of specialists, and Sturtevant had in mind contributors with certain characteristics. They should be individuals

> who have a well-rounded thorough knowledge of their topics, are responsive to Indian viewpoints, and can provide an accurate report in an appropriate written style before the agreed-on deadlines. Ideally, an author's knowledge of the subject should be gained by a combination of childhood training and adult participation in an Indian society, by field research (ethnographic, linguistic, or archaeological), and by work with documentary sources. There are not nearly enough scholars sharing all these characteristics; a concerned search has been made for those who most closely approach the ideal. (Sturtevant 1987:2)

Detailed guidelines for contributors explained the goals of the *Handbook* series, listed the topics to be covered in each chapter, and provided instructions for preparing the manuscript (cf. Sturtevant 1971a). An 11-page "Bibliography Style Sheet" presented conventions for in-text citations and bibliographies.

The *Handbook* was intended to be a compendium of information with each chapter covering a broad range of topics in a coherent way. In some cases, information on certain topics was lacking, requiring chapter authors to engage in new research:

> It is also the case that, although the *Handbook* is presented as "This is to be a summary of the existing knowledge," over and over again the author realizes, "This knowledge does not exist, so I'll find it out." So it is new, it is new research that has been encouraged. (Sally McLendon, March 25, 1997)

Even though most authors endeavored to follow the editor's guidelines and conventions, the creation of a homogeneous 20-volume series required monumental effort on the part of the editorial staff:

> What people do not realize is that what goes out as a printed *Handbook* is the product of a lot of work by a lot of people under a number of different professional categories. We could not, I stress that, take the chapters submitted by the contributors and just publish them. Often the articles [in one volume] come from 60 different people. It takes a lot of work to standardize each volume of the *Handbook* into something that is coherent. This is not a collection of essays; it should be an integrated homogenous volume. I do not think that people realize how much really the *Handbook* staff works to get this thing to publishing standards. (Cesare Marino)

Della-Loggia described the process as one of ongoing adjustment and realignment:

> Not that we have rewritten texts, but we have checked and rechecked and sort of realigned them [each chapter] into the point of view [common to] other authors in the book, so that they are not at odds with each other.

Special requirements of producing a compendium like the *Handbook* were also noted in the prefaces to each published volume. For example:

> The published versions frequently reflect more editorial intervention than is customary for academic writings, for the encyclopedic aims and format of the *Handbook* made it necessary to attempt to eliminate duplication, avoid gaps in coverage, prevent contradictions, impose some standardization of organization and terminology, and keep [the content] within strict constraints on length. (Sturtevant and Suttles 1990:xiii)

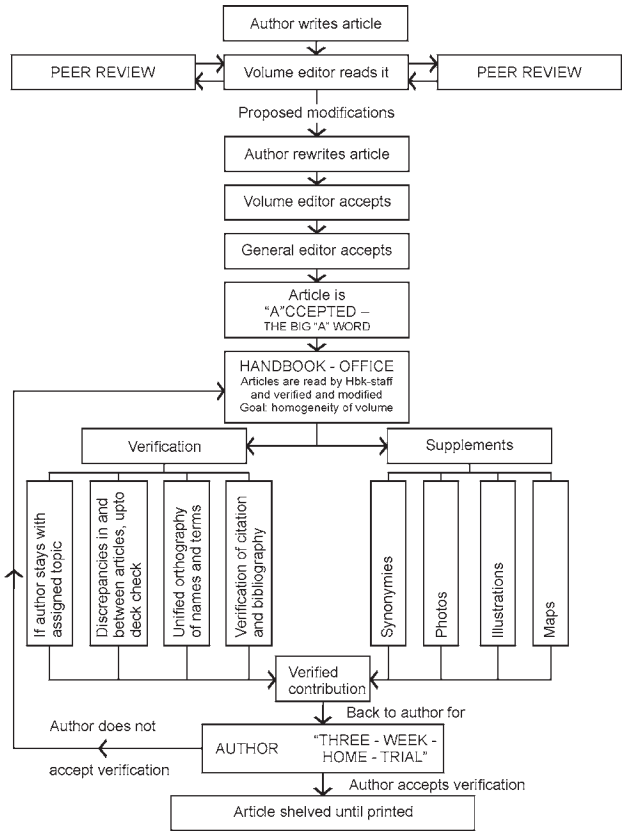
In the "Guide for Contributors" (Sturtevant 1971a), authors were asked to have friends and colleagues review their chapters so that their manuscripts would be close to final drafts before they were submitted to the Handbook office. Once submitted, the editorial review process began.

As they were received, the manuscripts were reviewed by the volume editor, the general editor, and usually one or more referees, who frequently included a member of the volume Planning Committee and authors of other chapters. These extensive reviews often resulted in suggestions for changes and additions (Sturtevant and Suttles 1990:xiii). When the volume editor and general editor gave their approval to a manuscript, it was tagged as "accepted"—"the big A-word," as it was called in the office—and turned over to the editorial staff. The pathway of a manuscript through the editorial process is illustrated in fig. 3.

Paula Cardwell (fig. 4), who served as Sturtevant's editorial liaison from 1984 to 2007, was responsible for managing communication with authors, handling contracts, and logging and administering all of the incoming manuscripts:

> My desk is sort of a clearinghouse for all the information that comes in here. All manuscripts and any kind of correspondence related to the manuscripts come through me. I act as a go-between for Sturtevant, the authors, and the volume editors. (Paula Cardwell, May 19, 1993)

Originally, Cardwell was also responsible for sending out manuscripts for peer review in the name of Sturtevant and the volume editors, as well as for reminding authors if their manuscripts were overdue for submission. Sometime before 1993, this part of her job had shifted increasingly to volume editors. From Cardwell's perspective, the volume editors had unnecessarily increased their workloads, which slowed the pace of publication significantly. She considered these activities to form a logical part of her role in the *Handbook* process and believed that, since the volume editors often had close relationships with the authors, she could be more effective in pressuring delinquent authors to turn in their manuscripts.



Produced by Christian Carstensen.

Fig. 3. Flowchart of the *Handbook* editorial process.

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 4. Paula Cardwell (left), editorial liaison, and Elyse Beldon, Department of Vertebrate Zoology museum specialist, at *Great Basin* volume publication party, October 1986.

Cardwell was not the only administrative person in the Handbook office (see "Production, 1970–2008," this volume). Melvina Jackson's administrative specialist's job (fig. 5) was to support the *HNAI* staff in all administrative matters, allowing her to call herself a "problem solver." Her responsibilities included administering personnel and the budget, making payments, managing contracts, timekeeping, and handling the "red tape" of bureaucracy, even though, in her words, "half the things they [the Smithsonian and federal administration] demand do not make sense" (Melvina Jackson, July 2, 1993). She, nevertheless, had to follow the myriad instructions, which explains why production of the *Handbook* often advanced so slowly.

The editorial process involved a series of activities: verifying the accuracy of the manuscripts' content and correcting mistakes, integrating new knowledge created after the manuscript had been approved, producing maps and drawings, and selecting images and artifacts to accompany the text. Additional tasks sometimes included preparing synopses of the phonologies of the languages whose speakers were the focus of the chapter and compiling different names ("synonymies") that had been used through time to label the Native American societies in question.

The submitted manuscripts required considerable effort on the part of the editorial staff to convert them into publishable texts, according to the *Handbook* style format. Many draft chapters were plagued with inaccuracies. As Marino explained it:

> Some major inaccuracies . . . a lot of little inaccuracies. But if you have a lot of little inaccuracies in one chapter, if you multiply by fifty and publish it, it is a mess. That is what is taking so long. The chapters need Diane [Della-Loggia], they need Lorraine [Jacoby], they need my input, they need the cartographer's input, they need Joanna's [Scherer] input, they need Karen's [Ackoff] input, and Ives's [Goddard] input on the synonymy. They could not go out without our combined input. (Cesare Marino)

For each submitted volume chapter, a cover sheet was created that listed the tasks to be done. It had to be

Photograph by Christian Carstensen.

Fig. 5. Melvina Jackson, *Handbook* administrative specialist, May 1993.

signed and dated by all staff members after they completed their assigned tasks.

In the review of a manuscript, Della-Loggia first confirmed that the author had remained fully focused on the topic of the chapter and then checked for inconsistencies within each chapter and across different chapters. If she encountered inconsistencies among the chapters in the same volume, she tried to locate information to resolve it, but it was not always possible.

> In a recent manuscript I had two authors who both claimed that a certain battle took place about five years apart. They both had published references for their sources. So in that case I sent copies of the manuscripts to both authors and asked them to decide what we should say. (Diane Della-Loggia)

To ensure consistency, Della-Loggia, along with the general editor, the linguistic editor (Ives Goddard), and the volume editors established a set of conventions, which Della-Loggia consulted in her editorial review. She followed a standard procedure.

> I make what I call "style-sheeting." I report every unusual thing, even if it is a regular word, if it is unusual. For example, "tepee" is spelled in a couple of different ways, legitimately, and we have chosen one way for the *Handbook* [tepee], and I write down what page it is on. And many times the names of tribes have not been decided yet when I am editing; it is still unclear how to spell them. . . . So I have to record every single page number, every single line that appears in every manuscript in the whole book, because as sure as I have chosen "e," they are going to come up with "i," but then I have no problems to find and fix it. I keep this whole page [with notes] on every single manuscript. . . . At the very end of the volume[,] . . . when every manuscript is in, I sit down with these 50 or 60 sheets of paper, and I read them over and look for contradictions. (Diane Della-Loggia)

Of course, this process was dramatically simplified later, when the Handbook office staff had better computers and software and could simply search and replace the items in the manuscript files.

Bibliographic issues required a large investment of time. In the beginning, Sturtevant had considered it unnecessary to verify all citations and references, and the original task of Lorraine Jacoby (fig. 6) (the first *Handbook* series bibliographer) had been to combine the bibliographies of each chapter into a single volume bibliography. Early in the process, however, she often discovered inaccuracies and inconsistencies, and the decision was made to check all bibliographic items. After 1983, she was assisted by Marino; he also updated the chapter bibliographies and filled in gaps in chapters' coverage. He and other *Handbook* staff members pointed out the dual roles they often played:

> We are handling such a special project: the *Handbook* is a special project of the Department, and of the Museum, and of the Smithsonian, so we are peculiar in that we are both, at the same time, a research and a publishing unit. (Cesare Marino)

Photograph by Christian Carstensen.

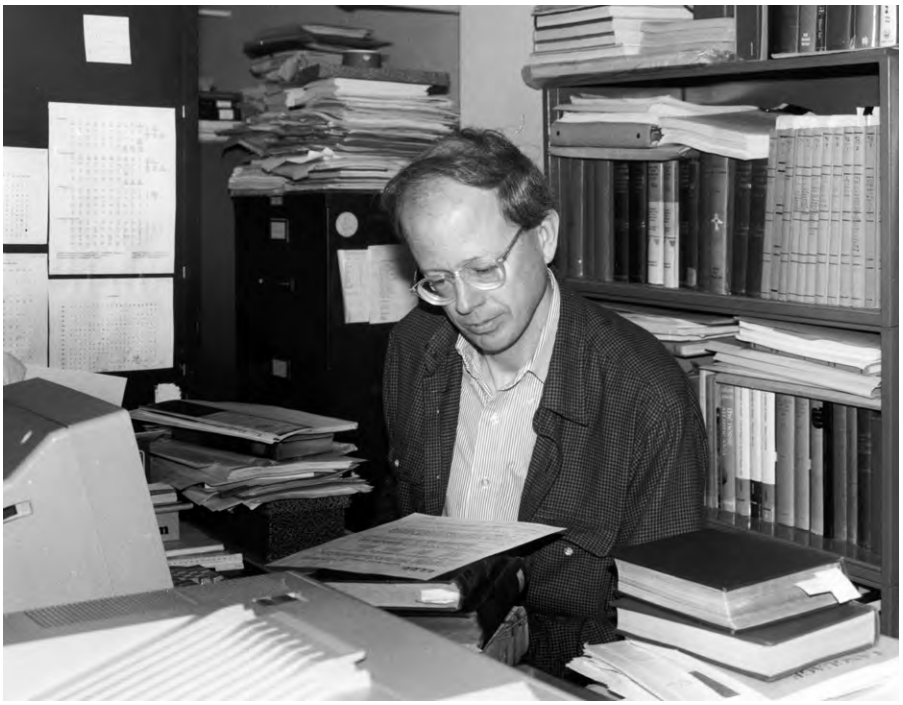
Fig. 6. Lorraine H. Jacoby, *Handbook* bibliographer, May 1993.

Other staff members provided complementary materials that authors often were unable to produce themselves, like synonymies, photographs, maps, and illustrations. Ives Goddard (fig. 7), the series linguistic editor, prepared, or helped authors and volume editors prepare a synonymy section for each tribal chapter that summarized the often voluminous and confusing variety of names used to designate Native American groups through time. The goal was to provide systematic and standardized linguistic data.

> From the beginning we wanted to raise the standard for the citation of linguistic forms from what anthropologists were used to. All of this had been getting weird, so we set up a principle procedure, whereby every linguistic form, thus every human word that an author wanted to cite, would be edited by a linguistic specialist. So that every language would be cited in a consistent spelling system, a consistent orthography, which is according to the latest technical standards, the latest linguistic analysis. This spelling system for each language will be explained in the volume because previously the practice had been to sort of cite or read however it was spelled in the source. If you are writing about the Cherokee, someone might cite one word the way Mooney spelled it and another the way somebody else spelled it. (Ives Goddard, August 16, 1993)

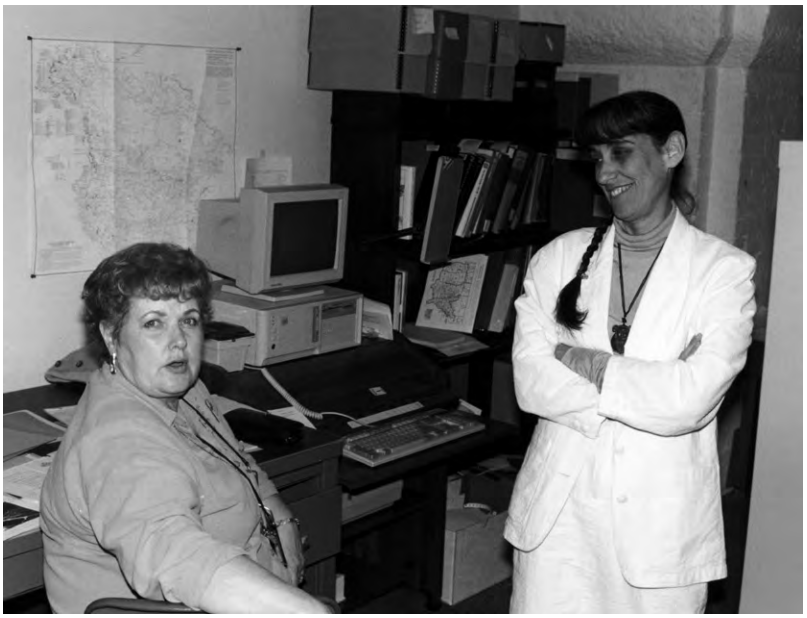
All *Handbook* volumes were accompanied by illustrations and maps. Illustrations researcher Joanna Scherer (fig. 8) was responsible for locating and documenting photographs and other images that were dynamic and of high quality, and that, if possible, had not been published before and provided additional information to the text. She normally started with the visual material provided by the authors, but to a large extent she personally located the illustrations that were eventually used in the printed volumes (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.).

> I try to get documentation on each photograph. So the information that goes into the caption is descriptive information about who the persons are, maybe what they are wearing, if



Photograph by Christian Carstensen.

Fig. 7. Ives Goddard, *Handbook* linguistic editor and technical editor, May 1993.



Photograph by Christian Carstensen.

Fig. 8. Joanna Cohan Scherer (right), *Handbook* illustrations researcher, and intern Kaye Hale, Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, Arrow Lakes Band, May 1993.

> it is a traditional type of clothing, where it was taken, who took it, the date it was taken, where you can find the photograph, and the negative number (Joanna Cohan Scherer, August 17, 1993).

Scientific illustrator Karen Ackoff (fig. 9) helped prepare photographs for publication, often by eliminating scratches and dust spots from older pictures. Her main responsibility, however, was to produce the drawings for the volumes. Drawings were necessary to reveal details of artifacts or cultural practices like body painting that were difficult to view from old photographs. Detailed drawings could sometimes take up to three months to complete and often required extensive research beforehand.

Photograph by Christian Carstensen.

Fig. 9. Karen Ackoff (left), *Handbook* scientific illustrator (1987–1997), and high school intern Becky Biddle, June 1993.

> I research the drawings and sometimes there are things, like they show house types, different types of canoes, and there are things that have never been illustrated before. Sometimes I have to work from witness descriptions, other peoples' sketches, old bad photographs, and sometimes I have good photographs or good material or actual models, so it varies what I have to work from. . . . And sometimes, not very often, I have to travel to another museum to look at an artifact there. There is a costume in New York that is in the exhibit case that they cannot remove to get a good photograph of. So I had to go there and draw it. (Karen Ackoff, May 14, 1993)

Terry Arundel (fig. 10), the series cartographer in the early 1990s, not only produced the maps for the volumes but checked the accuracy of all geographic details, including verifying that geographical names were spelled correctly and that directions of rivers and ridges described in the text corresponded to reality. In addition, he identified modern names for geographical features that had borne different names in the past, because in the *Handbook* maps only current names were used:

> Rivers change names, and there is an example on the very first map that I worked on for the *Handbook*, which was the Kiowa-Apache [Plains Apache] chapter. In that manuscript they were talking about the Red Fork of the Arkansas River. The Red Fork of the Arkansas River does not exist in the Board of Geographic Names as a name for a river in Oklahoma. So I had to verify first what river they are talking about. Because I can go to a current map and the Red Fork of the Arkansas River is not going to show up. . . . So I had to go and research, in the anthropology maps, to locate what they were talking about. . . . [I] research[ed] old maps. And then I found out exactly what they were talking about. It is the same river as the Cimarron River in Oklahoma. (Terry Arundel, May 26, 1993)

Photograph by Christian Carstensen.

Fig. 10. Terry Arundel, *Handbook* cartographer, May 1993.

Photograph by Christian Carstensen.

Fig. 11. Karla Billups, *Handbook* managing editor, May 1993.

When the staff had completed its work, the manuscript was returned to the author, who was given what staff members called a "three-week home trial" to review the proposed final version of the chapter and the complementary material prepared for it. If an author disagreed with the changes in the text (which, according to staff members, seldom happened), the staff consulted with the volume editor and made any needed adjustments. If the author accepted this version, the manuscript was filed away until it was delivered along with other volume chapters to the printer.

Challenges and Impact

According to the original plan, the entire 20-volume *HNAI* series was to be presented to the public on June 25, 1976, just a week before the bicentennial celebration of the U.S. Independence Day on July 4, 1976 (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.). That date was selected to mark the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of the Little Bighorn, in which a united force of Plains tribes defeated the U.S. Seventh Cavalry, under the command of General George A. Custer. The *Handbook* project was funded by a congressional appropriation to support programs for the 1976 bicentennial celebration, but by that date, no *Handbook* volumes had been produced. The slow pace of the series' production raised serious concerns among the Smithsonian administration, who eventually started threatening to shut down the project entirely (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.).

To defend the series, Karla Billups (fig. 11), managing editor from 1989 to 1995, estimated that the *Handbook* volumes published by 1990 had generated around $3 million in sales. These revenues, however, were not reflected in cost calculations for *Handbook* production because they were going to the U.S. Treasury rather than to the Smithsonian Institution, to the National Museum of Natural History, or to the Handbook office directly. Closing the Handbook office would, according to Karla Billups, "kill the goose that lays the golden eggs," a point that apparently helped protect the Handbook office from closing until 2007, even though the series production was under constant financial pressure starting in the late 1980s, if not earlier:

> Whenever [the Secretary] or somebody else wants to give a gift to someone, it is a *Handbook*. It is one of the few visible, touchable, tangible products produced by the entire Smithsonian. And yet . . . as I began to assess the situation, I [asked myself], "Why do I in my position have to beg for money every year? Why don't I get some of the money back from the sales of the *Handbook*?" Nobody would have to worry about this then. . . . It wouldn't be a drain on the museum, or a drain on the Smithsonian. When I feed 50 percent of the pursuits of the sale of the *Handbook* back into the office to perpetuate and complete it, I won't have a problem here. Makes sense? Makes sense to me, but . . . ! Because federal money funds it, this money does not come back to the museum, it does not come back to the Smithsonian, it goes straight into the Federal Treasury. (Karla Billups, June 3, 1993)

As a scholarly work directed toward a broad audience, the *Handbook* series has been a principal source of information on North American Native cultures and societies for a wide range of media, including scholarly and popular publications and films.

> Over and over again, you find people using maps that come out of the *Handbook* without crediting the *Handbook*, illustrations that come out of the *Handbook* without crediting the

> *Handbook*. All the commercial publishers who have been turning out books on American Indians, the television documentaries on American Indians, have all gone to the *Handbook* to find maps, illustrations, [and] texts. If you know the *Handbook*, you can see this material coming up over and over. So it has had an enormous impact on the state of knowledge, and the nature of the knowledge, which people know and accept [as correct] about Indian people in the United States. (Sally McLendon)

The significance of the *Handbook* in the international scholarly community is perhaps best conveyed by the scholarly reviews of the individual volumes in the series as they appeared in print (see "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," this vol.). Many were from reviewers outside of North America and published in foreign journals, like the French *L'Homme* or the German *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*. They demonstrate the international community's appreciation of the *Handbook* series for its usefulness for all kinds of studies and for its reliable and wide-ranging information on Native American societies.

After the first *Handbook* volume, *California* (Heizer 1978b), was published, French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss wrote a review for the French anthropological journal *L'Homm*e praising the volume and the *Handbook* as an indispensable tool for all who work on the topic. He emphasized the enormous effort put in its production, especially by Sturtevant, with his extensive knowledge and his courage in facing and mastering a challenge of such monumental proportions. Lévi-Strauss was especially pleased that the editors and authors had countered stereotypical impressions of American Indians as "belonging to the past," and at the same time, with the help of expressive illustrations, had shown that the descendants of the people described in the chapters were alive and thriving today:

> Here is the first product of a monumental enterprise in gestation for more than ten years under the general direction of W. C. Sturtevant, who brings to the project his organizational talent, his immense erudition, and—one appreciates this on reading the pages where he introduces the whole project—the bold inventiveness and originality that characterizes it. . . . It is hardly necessary to add that the new *Handbook of North American Indians* promises to be what it already is for the California area: an absolutely indispensable tool that should be found on the shelves of all libraries, public and private alike. (Lévi-Strauss 1979: 77, 79; translation from Merrill 2002a:27)

As with Lévi-Strauss, the general perception of the *Handbook* in the broad Americanist community was overwhelmingly positive, although some reviewers found things to criticize, as Robert H. Lister pointed out in his review of volume 9 (Ortiz 1979) in 1981:

> Most Handbooks are apt to be criticized by specialists because their format requires generalizations rather than comprehensive, detailed discussions. Furthermore, the opinions, biases, and personal experiences of the chosen contributors are reflected in their writings, and, even though editors strive to eliminate them, there may be contradictions, overlaps, and unexplained divergent opinions. . . . But, for the general reader, for students of anthropology and history, and for others with a concern for the Southwest, this is a tremendously important and useful reference book. Southwestern scholars, recognizing the aims and methods of the Handbook, should also find the summations and bibliographic references of immeasurable value to their future studies. It undoubtedly will be the standard, readily available, encyclopedic coverage southwestern Indians for years to come. (Lister 1981:213)

Reviewers appreciated not only the information provided in the chapters, but also the technical quality and the additional information in the form of illustrations, maps, synonymies, and extensive bibliographies.

> The production of this book is superb. It is illustrated with hundreds of photographs, many from private collections and archival resources, which were selected by members of the permanent editorial staff. The figures are clearly drawn and the type face is large enough not to strain one's eyes. Very few errors were noted in either the text or the bibliography. Both the bibliography and the index are well prepared and invaluable to the specialist fieldworker and the interested layperson. It is impossible to overstress the importance of this work as a reference manual for students of Eskimo and Aleut cultures. That this opinion is shared by many others is borne out by the fact that the first printing was sold out within weeks of publication. (Rowley 1985:714)

German anthropologist Egon Renner assessed the *Handbook* series in total, with more direct attention to some of the volumes published by 1986 (e.g., vols. 6, 8, and 10). In an elaborate essay, he discussed the theoretical approach of the *Handbook* from the perspective of a cognitive anthropologist; he saw Sturtevant as one of the forerunners of this perspective with his seminal article "Studies in Ethnoscience" (Sturtevant 1964d; Renner 1986).

Canadian anthropologist Regna Darnell reviewed the *Handbook*'s *Languages* volume (Goddard 1996c) and particularly appreciated its "sociolinguistic viewpoint, relating linguistic structure to social usage in some way" (Darnell 1999a:631). Summarizing the detailed discussion of single contributions, she viewed the volume as

> an invaluable reference work, summarizing a century of ethnographic and linguistic investigation dedicated to mapping the linguistic and cultural diversity of aboriginal North America. It documents the history and present status of the linguistic and anthropological disciplines; and for readers of the other volumes of the Handbook, which are organized

> around the concept of culture area, it clarifies that linguistics is inseparable from the study of the American Indian. (Darnell 1999a:633)

One of the last *Handbook* volumes, *Environment, Origins, and Population* (Ubelaker 2006a), was called a "wonderful up-to-date survey of the indigenous population of the Americas" (McNish 2007:134). The reviewer pointed specifically to the integration of various disciplines to deliver a well-rounded picture of the topics, even seeing it as kind of a blueprint for coming publications dealing with other continents (McNish 2007).

Since the time of my brief association with the *Handbook* production process in the spring of 1993, sitting in a visitor's cubicle of an "immobile submarine," the *Handbook* project moved on, despite tremendous obstacles. By 2008, it had produced 6 more volumes to make a total of 15 volumes with 16 books that are unlikely to be replaced by another work of this magnitude in the future. The credit for this outstanding achievement is due to the dedicated staff of the Handbook office who welcomed me as a part of their team, even if for only half a year.

Acknowledgments

The author is grateful to William L. Merrill and Joanna Cohan Scherer for their many helpful suggestions and insights to this chapter. The *Handbook* staff photographs used as illustrations were taken by the author in spring 1993 and were given to Joanna Scherer when the author returned to Germany. They are currently being held by Scherer and will be deposited in the Smithsonian Institution Archives, accession 19-190 ("Joanna Cohan Scherer's papers"), together with other *Handbook* photographs and records, after the release of this volume.

The *Handbook*: A Retrospective

IRA JACKNIS (†), WILLIAM L. MERRILL, AND JOANNA COHAN SCHERER

The *Handbook of North American Indians* (*HNAI*) was the most significant scholarly publication in Native North American studies produced during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. From the outset of its planning in 1966, the *Handbook* was intended to be a comprehensive reference encyclopedia, aimed at a broad audience of specialists and nonspecialists, as well as Native and non-Native readers. Its fundamental goal was to challenge long-standing stereotypes and misconceptions of Native Americans, like the view that their cultures and societies were "primitive" and static, and the popular assumption that distinct Native American identities and cultural practices had for the most part disappeared.

This goal was to be achieved by documenting the diversity and complexity of Native American/First Nations societies; by exploring the dynamic sociocultural, economic, and political processes that affected and were affected by Native Americans; and by providing extensive coverage of their place in the broader societies of which they were a part. A concerted effort was made to involve Native contributors in all facets of *Handbook* production, as advisors, experts, authors, editors, and reviewers (Sturtevant 1971a:2, 1971c:6).

This chapter takes a mostly synchronic perspective on the *Handbook* series by evaluating its 15 published volumes with respect to the degree they accomplished the purpose and goals intended for the series. Of the 20 volumes originally envisioned, 15 were released over a 30-year period (1978–2008), organized in 863 chapters with more than 13,000 pages of text, almost 15,000 illustrations, and approximately 64,000 bibliographic citations (table 1). Together, they constituted an unparalleled synthesis of the knowledge of Native North America—defined ethnogeographically, from the Arctic region to the northern limits of Mesoamerica, but excluding Baja California Peninsula, which was covered in the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Wauchope 1964–1976)—over more than 10,000 years. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the place of the *Handbook of North American Indians* within the scholarly research and popular knowledge of Native American/First Nations cultures and societies.

Organization and Format

The 20-volume *Handbook* set was designed as three sections or groups of volumes (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971" and "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.). Volumes 1–4 were intended to provide continent-wide syntheses on a variety of topics related to the cultural histories of Native American peoples from the time of their earliest documented presence in the New World to the present. Volumes 5–15 were devoted to presentations of Native cultures and histories, organized by the 10 culture areas of North America. The final volumes, 16–20, were, again, topical and continental in scope, focusing on Native American technologies and art (16), languages (17), biographies (18 and 19), and a combined index for the series (20).

Of the originally planned set, volumes 1 (*Introduction*), 16 (*Technology and Visual Arts*), 18 and 19 (*Biographical Dictionary*), and 20 (*Index*) were not completed before the *Handbook* series was terminated in 2007. These unpublished volumes created gaps in the numbering within the HNAI set produced by 2008. Another anomaly was associated with the volume on the Plains area (vol. 13; DeMallie 2001a). At 1,376 pages, it was too lengthy to be bound as a single volume, so it was printed in two books designated as parts 1 and 2, with continuous pagination. The 15 numbered volumes published over the period 1978–2008 thus correspond to 16 physical books.

Shared Features and Components

All *Handbook* volumes share the same format and a number of characteristics. Each volume measures 8.75 by 11.25 inches, features large-size two-column pages, and is bound in a gray cloth cover, accented by a red band. On the front cover of each is the sunburst logo of the Smithsonian Institution, and on the back cover, the stone-axe motif used on publications from the Bureau of American Ethnology from 1881 to 1971. Most of the printed *Handbook* volumes have 800–850 pages, including illustrations, bibliography, and index.

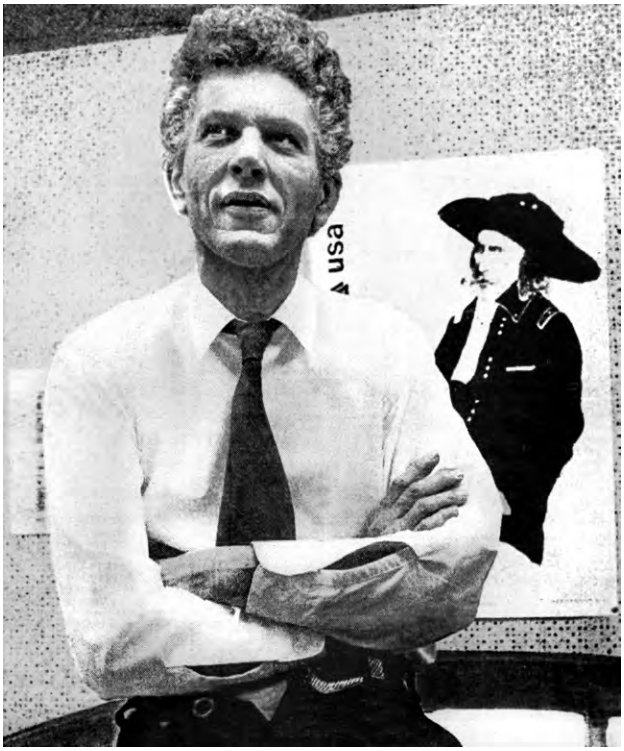
Table 1. *Handbook* Components

Volume number	*Volume title*	*Number of chapters*	*Total pages in volume*	*Number of illustrations*	*Pages devoted to bibliography*	*Estimated number of references*[a]
2	*Indians in Contemporary Society* (2008)	46	591	190	101	3,757
3	*Environment, Origins, and Population* (2006)	72	1,160	873	265	9,858
4	*History of Indian–White Relations* (1988)	58	851	431	99	3,683
5	*Arctic* (1984)	59	845	1,710	76	2,827
6	*Subarctic* (1981)	66	853	1,057	64	2,381
7	*Northwest Coast* (1990)	58	792	1,271	93	3,460
8	*California* (1978)	72	815	724	48	1,786
9	*Southwest* (1979)	59	717	965	54	2,009
10	*Southwest* (1983)	56	884	1,064	60	2,232
11	*Great Basin* (1986)	45	868	1,393	78	2,902
12	*Plateau* (1998)	41	807	950	97	3,608
13	*Plains* (2001)	67	1,376	1,645	211	7,849
14	*Southeast* (2004)	64	1,058	1,240	228	8,482
15	*Northeast* (1978)	73	940	1,097	84	3,125
17	*Languages* (1996)	27	970	195	162	6,026
	Total	863	13,527	14,805	1,720	63,985

[a] This estimate is based on an average of 37.2 references per bibliography page.

In addition to shared physical characteristics, all volumes contain four standard components: front matter, preface, introduction, and back matter. Each begins with a list of all 20 of the planned *Handbook* volumes, with the year of publication when applicable. The volume title and technical pages are followed by a list of the members of the volume planning committee, the table of contents, and a full-page map showing, in the case of the culture area volumes, the locations of the Native groups discussed in the text. The front matter section concludes with an explanation of the orthography adopted to represent the sounds of Native languages as well as the conventions used in the maps and in the illustration credits and captions.

The prefaces are based on a boilerplate text adapted to the specifics of individual volumes. Each preface begins with a standard section outlining the place of the volume in the series, a brief history of its production, details on the linguistic editing, and brief descriptions of the compilation of names used since European contact to identify Native American societies (called "synonymies"), and of the volume bibliography, illustrations, and other materials. All prefaces include an acknowledgments section listing individuals and institutions that contributed to the completion of the volume and the sources of funding for its preparation and publication. All of the prefaces were coauthored by the general editor, William C. Sturtevant (fig. 1), and the volume editors except for



Photograph by Ray Lustig, *Washington Star*. Reprinted with permission of the DC Public Library, Star Collection, © Washington Post.

Fig. 1. William C. Sturtevant in the Handbook office, National Museum of Natural History, January 18, 1978. The photograph was published in the *Washington Star* on April 24, 1978, and marks the only time a major newspaper published an image of Sturtevant in association with the *Handbook* project.

volume 2 (Bailey 2008a), which was published after Sturtevant's death.

The introductions were prepared by the volume editors alone or, in the case of volumes 3 (Ubelaker 2006a) and 14 (Fogelson 2004), by the editors and associate editors. Unlike the prefaces, the introductions vary in length and in the range of topics discussed, although all provide overviews of the organization and contents of their volumes.

The back matter begins with a list of contributing authors, with their academic affiliation and the dates when the chapter manuscripts were initially submitted, accepted, and sent to authors for final approval. Tribal affiliations of Native authors are given, when applicable. The final sections of the back matter are the cumulative bibliography, with full citations for all of the references cited in the volume, and the index.

Topical Volumes

The first of the four published topical volumes, *Indians in Contemporary Society* (vol. 2; Bailey 2008a), is an overview of the social, cultural, political, and economic circumstances of Native Americans and First Nations in the United States and Canada, primarily from the second half of the twentieth century to the first decade of the twenty-first. A wide range of issues and topics are discussed, including the legal status of Native Americans and First Nations communities within the two nation-states; efforts to protect Native rights, sustain Native identities, and establish Native control over land, economic resources, and cultural property; and the development of Native educational institutions and programs. Native contributions to various media—television, newspapers, theater, film, literature, music, and art—are also explored.

The next topical volume, *Environment, Origins, and Population* (vol. 3; Ubelaker 2006a), is thematically the most diverse in the series. It provides detailed information on the earliest evidence of the presence of Native peoples in North America; the relationships of Native Americans with the natural environment, including especially their exploitation of plant and animal resources; and the biological characteristics and trends of Native American populations, from the time of first European contact until the end of the twentieth century. Summaries of the history of research in each area also are included.

History of Indian–White Relations (vol. 4; Washburn 1988a) complements volume 2 by covering Native American history from the earliest encounters with European explorers and settlers until the second half of the twentieth century. While focusing primarily on the United States and Canada, it also includes information on the activities in North America of other European and Euro-American powers: Denmark, England, France, Holland, Spain, Mexico, Sweden, Russia, and the Soviet Union. The volume offers important insights into the complexities of the interactions between Native and non-Native societies during the colonial and postcolonial periods in the spheres of politics, economics, religion, and culture, as well as discussions of European and Euro-American stereotypes of Native Americans and the impact of Native Americans on non-Native cultures. It concludes with biographical sketches of 294 non-Native individuals who had a significant impact on the history of the relationships between Natives and non-Natives. These sketches were intended to complement the two volumes of Native American biographies (vols. 18 and 19), which were never produced.

The fourth published topical volume, *Languages* (vol. 17; Goddard 1996c), provides continent-wide perspectives on the Indigenous languages of North America. Its first section of 13 chapters includes general overviews of the history of linguistic research on these languages, the potential contribution of historical linguistics to understanding the long-term cultural history of Native North America, patterns of shared linguistic features across language boundaries, and the impact on Indigenous languages through the interactions among speakers of different languages (including interactions between speakers of different Native languages and between speakers of Native and European languages). These overviews are complemented by six chapters, also continental in scope, on more specific topics, such as writing systems used to represent Indigenous languages, patterns in the naming of people and places, extended speech forms like oratory and historical and mythological narratives, and the impact of sociocultural contexts on language use. The next section presents detailed "sketches" and selected vocabularies of 12 Indigenous languages. The final chapter is an inventory of sources of linguistic data on Native American languages and dialects listed in alphabetical order.

Volume 17 includes two color maps placed in a back pocket. One, compiled by Ives Goddard, is a large foldout map called "Native Languages and Language Families of North America," which illustrates the consensus classification and historical distribution of 62 Native language families and 328 Native languages as known by the 1990s. The other, called "Linguistic Stocks of American Indians North of Mexico," is a reproduction of one of the earliest such maps, prepared under the direction of John Wesley Powell of the Smithsonian's Bureau of Ethnology (Powell 1891 [1892]; Goddard 1996a:299–300).

Area Volumes

The most detailed information on the Native peoples of North America is presented in the 11 culture area volumes (vols. 5–15), which together constitute about three-quarters of the *Handbook* series (660 of 863 chapters; 9,955 of 13,527 pages, not counting this volume). Each volume provides, for its area of focus, overviews of the anthropological research conducted there, the history of its Indigenous residents before and after the arrival of Europeans, the Indigenous languages documented as spoken in the area, and descriptions of the natural environment. All area volumes also include chapters on more specific topics, such as social organization, subsistence, trade, religion, mythology, material culture, music, and selected cultural and sociopolitical developments. Although their subjects vary, these topical chapters tend to be located in the final section; in about half of the volumes, this section is explicitly labeled "Special Topics."

The core of the culture area volumes consists of the chapters describing the cultures and histories of the more than 400 Native societies documented in North America during the postcontact period. These ethnological chapters are written according to a standard outline and tend to cover a similar range of topics, such as language, territory (accompanied by one or more maps), natural environment, prehistory, history, relations with other Native societies, and population. A separate section titled "Culture" is divided into subsections summarizing ethnographic data from various cultural domains, such as social and political organization, subsistence, material culture, and religion. Near the end of most ethnological chapters is a section titled "Synonymy," which gives an overview of the names used to designate the tribal groups discussed in the chapters, including the names of component bands and subgroups, often as a full listing of the tribe's constituent units. A final section provides a summary of the principal sources, both published and archival.

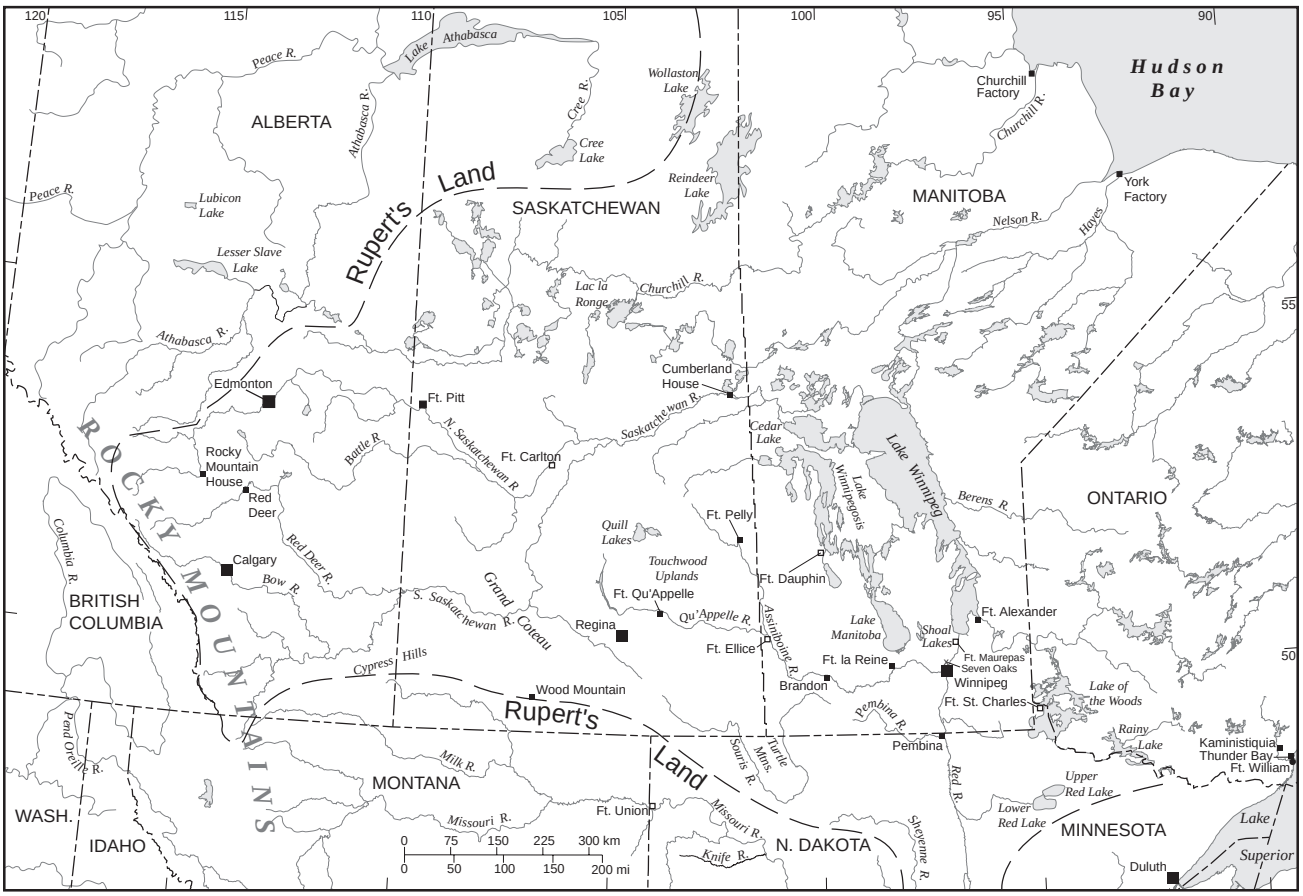
The majority of ethnological chapters focus on single tribal peoples or a few neighboring groups linked by language, cultural similarities, or shared histories. In a few cases, ethnological overviews of particular Native societies are presented in multiple chapters: in *Southwest* (vols. 9 and 10; Ortiz 1979, 1983), 6 chapters are devoted to the Zuni, 8 each to the Hopi and the Upper Pimans (Akimel O'odham and Tohono O'odham, formerly Pima and Papago), and 16 to the Navajo.

Figures and Tables

All of the *Handbook* volumes include figures and tables. Because their contents tend to be self-explanatory (population trends, plants and animals of economic significance, linguistic forms, etc.), the tables are labeled with simple titles and, where relevant, an indication of the sources of the data they contain or key sources of related data. In contrast, the figures, which include maps, photographs, and line drawings compiled or produced for the most part by the editorial staff, are accompanied by captions with detailed commentary on their subject matter. Many of the figures are composites that incorporate multiple maps, photographs, or line drawings. A total of 850 tables and 6,367 figures appear in the 15 published *Handbook* volumes, and almost all chapters include at least one table or figure. Only 43 of the 863 chapters lack both tables and figures (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.).

• MAPS The published 15 volumes include 858 maps. The number of maps in each volume varies, ranging from 112 in volume 15 (*Northeast;* Trigger 1978a) to 12 in volume 2 (*Indians in Contemporary Society*; Bailey 2008a) and 8 in volume 17 (*Languages*; Goddard 1996c). The topical volumes generally feature fewer maps than the culture area volumes. Each of the culture area volumes includes an opening map called "Key to Tribal Territories," intended to orient readers to the location of the main groups or tribes covered in the volume. These are accompanied by detailed chapter maps, which include information on each group's territory and occupied sites at the earliest known time period. Many chapters and all volumes feature additional maps on special topics, such as migration and trade routes, the location of archaeological sites, and the environmental history of Native North America. Of special importance are the numerous historical maps in volume 4 (Washburn 1988a) prepared by the Handbook office cartographer, Daniel Cole. Among other things, these maps cover the shifting Indian tribal areas, land transfers, and migrations; populations, treaties, and battle sites; and major government agencies, religious missions, and trading posts (fig. 2) in Indian Country. Cole's map of American Indian lands in the United States in 1987 compiled for volume 4 (Washburn 1988a:217) was then used as a basic map by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (Cole and Sutton 2013).

Most of the maps in the *Handbook* were created specifically for the series. In many cases, they were based on new research and offered perspectives on Native North America not available elsewhere. Notably absent, however, is an overview map of Native North America consolidating the information presented in the maps of tribal territories and detailed group maps in the culture area volumes. The absence of such a map may be explained by the 1972 publication of the



Map by Daniel G. Cole, National Museum of Natural History. From Handbook volume 13, Plains (DeMallie 2001a:301).

Fig. 2. Map of Rupert's Land, Canada, 1670–1868, with trading posts founded beginning in the 1700s.

National Geographic Society's map "Indians of North America" and its several updated iterations under a slightly different title ("North American Indian Cultures," in 2004, 2011), under Sturtevant's general editorship that present the same basic information found in the *Handbook* series.

• PHOTOGRAPHS The 15 published *Handbook* volumes include more than 11,000 photographs, which fall into three general categories: (1) reproductions of original photographs (fig. 3); (2) photographs of items produced in other media (drawings, paintings, printed materials, and handwritten documents); and (3) photographs of archaeological and ethnographic artifacts and, in a limited number of cases, skeletal materials. All the photographs are in black and white except for 56 color images included in volume 2 (Bailey 2008a),

Photograph by Sara Wiles.

Fig. 3. Family naming ceremony. Paul Moss (Northern Arapaho), center, naming his newborn great-grandson Raphael after his own deceased son. left to right, Ava Moss Glenmore, Mylan, Jr., and Mylan Glenmore, Sr. Ethete, Wyoming, February 1994.

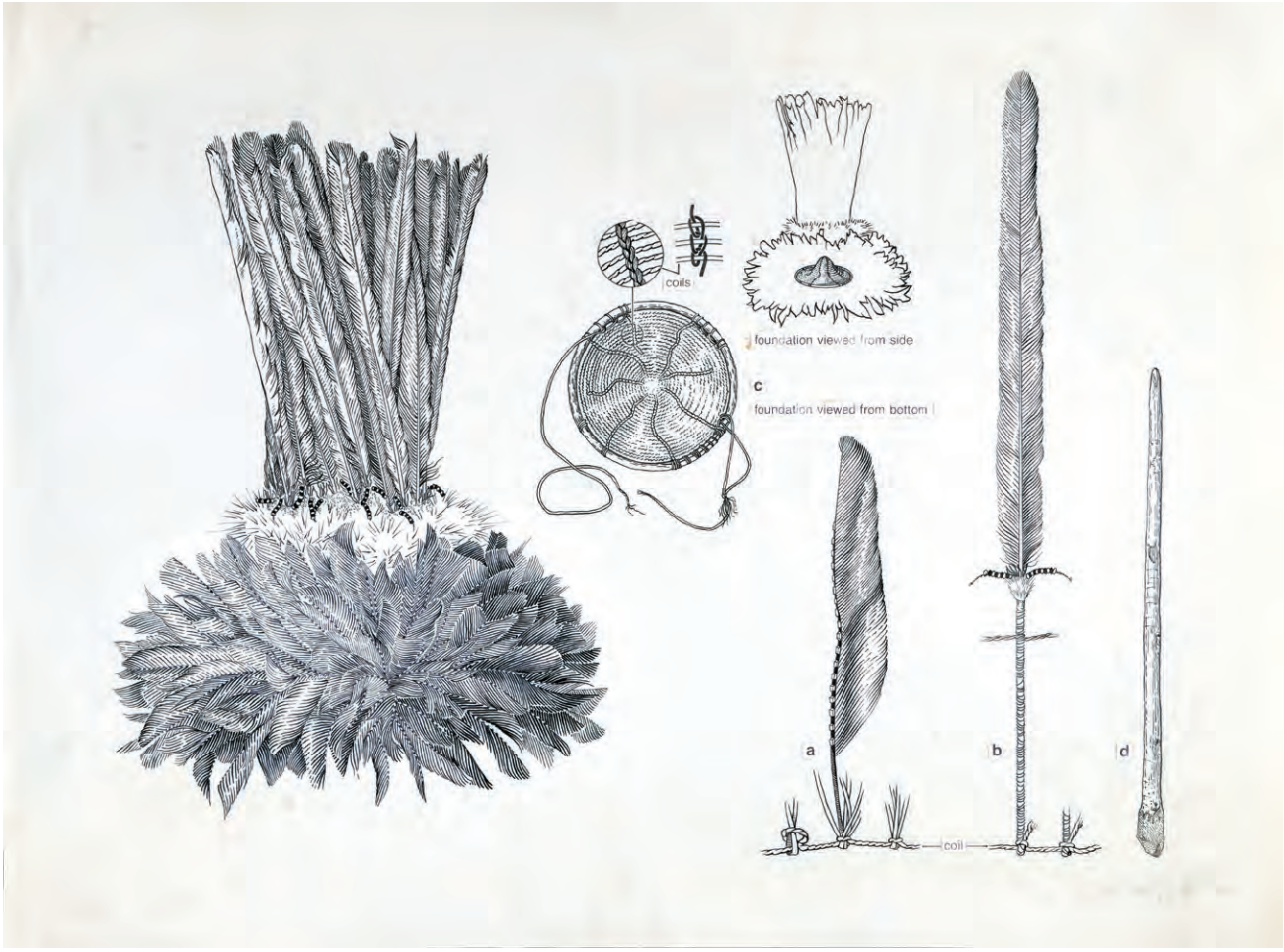
the last of the *Handbook* volumes to be published before the present one.

The illustrations are among the most important contributions of the *Handbook* series. Whenever possible, the staff preferred to select original art works and photographs that were unpublished, drawing upon the vast collections of the Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archives and dozens of other repositories worldwide (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.). In this way, the *Handbook* helped its readers visualize many diverse aspects of Native American cultures, employing images that were new to the public record.

• DRAWINGS Items of material culture, archaeological site features, and the organization of domestic and ceremonial spaces are the principal subjects of the 2,337 drawings, which include charts, graphs, line drawings, and diagrams. The numerous drawings of archaeological and ethnographic artifacts are especially informative, revealing details of composition and construction techniques that are not readily discernible in photographs (Morales et al. 2003) (fig. 4). Their quality reflects the considerable time that the *Handbook* editorial staff invested in researching artifacts in Smithsonian collections and elsewhere (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.).

• CAPTIONS The figure captions were composed for the most part by the editorial staff. In addition to basic data on provenance, most of the captions provide details about the subjects presented in the figures and often considerable information not included in the associated chapter texts. This level of detail is one of the *Handbook*'s most important contributions.

In five volumes published between 1984 and 2001 (vols. 4, 7, 11, 12, and 13), a compilation of abbreviated versions of the captions is presented in a list of illustrations organized by chapter and located at the end of the volume (see "Production of the *Handbook*,



Drawing by Jo Ann Moore. NMNH Dept. of Anthropology (catalog no. 200090). From *Handbook* volume 8, *California* (Heizer 1978b:458).

Fig. 4. Drawing of Southern Valley Yokuts medicine man's headdress from Tule River Reservation, collected in 1898. Detail a, split crow feather with notched shaft; b, magpie tail feather wrapped with red wool, base of feather ornamented with mink fur, red wool, and black and white beads; c, construction of foundation, wood outer rim with continuous coil of cord to which feathers are attached; d, wood skewer to secure headdress to head.

1970–2008," this vol.). None of the other volumes contains a comparable list of tables.

Bibliography

All *Handbook* volumes published to date feature extensive cumulative bibliographies. The rationale, format, and importance of the *Handbook* volume bibliographies are covered in individual volume prefaces (see also "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.).

Contributors

The 15 published *Handbook* volumes were the product of the collaborative efforts of more than a thousand individuals, who contributed as authors, volume editors, associate editors, section coordinators, members of planning committees, *Handbook* editorial staff (fig. 5; see also "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol., fig. 1), contractors, and consultants. Frequently, the same individual fulfilled multiple roles. All volume editors, associate editors, and section coordinators authored chapters, as did the majority of planning committee members and several members of the editorial staff.

Volume Editors, Associate Editors, and Section Coordinators

Fourteen scholars served as editors for the 15 published *Handbook* volumes (table 2). Alfonso Ortiz (San Juan Pueblo) (fig. 6) was the only editor of the two volumes on the Southwest (Ortiz 1979, 1983), while June Helm (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol., fig. 2), the editor of *Subarctic* (Helm 1981), was the only woman. Three of the volume editors were employed by the Smithsonian: Ives Goddard (1996c) (fig. 5; see also "William Curtis Sturtevant, General Editor," this vol., fig. 4), Wilcomb E. Washburn (1988a; see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol., fig. 3), and Douglas H. Ubelaker (2006a; see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol., fig. 9). Other editors were affiliated with various universities in the United States and in Canada.

All of the editors were established academics, mostly midcareer scholars between the ages of 45 and 55 when their volumes were produced. When the *Handbook* series was designed in the early 1970s, many were in their early or late 30s, like DeMallie, Ortiz, and Walker (fig. 7); Goddard, the youngest of all, was 28 years old. The four major subfields of anthropology

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 5. *Southeast* publication party, April 22, 2005, in the Carolyn Rose Seminar Room, Department of Anthropology, NMNH. front row, left to right, William C. Sturtevant, Joanna Cohan Scherer, Vicki Simon, Paula Cardwell, Diane Della-Loggia; back row, left to right, Ives Goddard, Cesare Marino, Roger Roop, Daniel Cole, and Jason Jackson. (NAA, HNAI Papers, Box 17, Series 8)

Table 2. *Handbook* Volume Editors

Volume number	*Volume title (publication year)*	*Volume editor*	*Previous volume editors*
2	*Indians in Contemporary Society* (2008)	Garrick A. Bailey	D'Arcy McNickle (1970–1977), Vine Deloria, Jr. (1978–2005)
3	*Environment, Origins, and Population* (2006)	Douglas H. Ubelaker	Frederick S. Hulse (1970–1982), Richard I. Ford (1982–1991)
4	*History of Indian–White Relations* (1988)	Wilcomb E. Washburn	—
5	*Arctic* (1984)	David J. Damas	—
6	*Subarctic* (1981)	June Helm	—
7	*Northwest Coast* (1990)	Wayne Suttles	—
8	*California* (1978)	Robert F. Heizer	—
9	*Southwest* (1979)	Alfonso Ortiz	—
10	*Southwest* (1983)	Alfonso Ortiz	—
11	*Great Basin* (1986)	Warren L. d'Azevedo	—
12	*Plateau* (1998)	Deward E. Walker, Jr.	—
13	*Plains* (2001)	Raymond J. DeMallie	William E. Bittle (1970–1983)
14	*Southeast* (2004)	Raymond D. Fogelson	—
15	*Northeast* (1978)	Bruce G. Trigger	—
17	*Languages* (1996)	Ives Goddard	—

Lee Marmon Pictorial Collection (2000-017). University of New Mexico, Center for Southwest Research.

Fig. 6. Alfonso Ortiz, editor of the *Southwest* volumes, at Pecos National Historical Park, New Mexico, with ruins of the mission church in the background, 1992.

were represented to varying degrees: ethnology (or cultural anthropology) by eight editors, including Bailey, Damas, d'Azevedo, DeMallie, Fogelson, Helm, Ortiz, and Suttles (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol., figs. 7 and 8); archaeology by three: Heizer, Trigger, and Walker; and linguistics and physical anthropology by one each: Goddard and Ubelaker, respectively. The only nonanthropologist was historian Wilcomb Washburn (1988a).

The majority of the editors had accepted their positions in 1970, during the initial planning period of the *Handbook* series (Sturtevant 1970d:1–2, 1971d). After that initial phase, however, three volumes had rather complex histories. Raymond J. DeMallie (fig. 7) became editor of the *Plains* volume (vol. 13, Parts 1 and 2) in 1983, after its original editor, William Bittle, resigned. Douglas H. Ubelaker accepted the editorship of volume 3, *Environment, Origins, and Population*, in 2002, after the volume had lacked an editor for more than a decade following the 1991 resignation of Richard I. Ford, because of delays in its publication. Ford himself was the second editor, replacing the original editor, Frederick S. Hulse, who resigned in 1982 owing to poor health. Lastly, volume 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society* (Bailey 2008a), had three different editors: D'Arcy McNickle (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol., fig. 8), who died in 1977; Vine Deloria, Jr., who served from 1978 to 2005; and Garrick A. Bailey (fig. 7), who accepted the editorship in 2005, five months before Deloria's death

top left, Photograph courtesy of Deward E. Walker, Jr.; bottom left, Photograph courtesy of Osage Nation Museum; top right, Photograph courtesy of Travis Myers.

Fig. 7. Volume editors. top left, Deward Walker (right), editor of *Plateau*, with Umatilla Tribal team members Quinn Minthorn (left) and Jay Minthorn at Pendleton Roundup, Pendleton, Oregon, September 1998. bottom left, Garrick Bailey (right), editor of *Indians in Contemporary Society*, with Tallee Redcorn (Osage; left) and Frank Redcorn (Osage), April 28, 2010. top right, Raymond DeMallie (right), editor of *Plains*, with Wilmer Mesteth (Oglala Lakota) and his grandson LaDainian RedHawk, September 25, 2008.

(Bailey 2008a:xi; Sturtevant and DeMallie 2001:xiii; Sturtevant and Ubelaker 2006:xi; see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.).

The volume editors of nine volumes were assisted in their tasks by associate editors or section coordinators (table 3). The largest volume in the series, *Environment, Origins, and Population* (Ubelaker 2006a) was divided into four major sections, each with its own associate editor. In two cases, volumes were brought to completion by an associate editor or person serving in that capacity: volume 5 (*Arctic*, editor David Damas; see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," fig. 4) by James VanStone (fig. 8) and volume 14 (*Southeast*, editor Raymond Fogelson) by Jason Baird Jackson (fig. 5).

The volumes with associate editors or section coordinators share certain characteristics. The editors of six out of seven such volumes were ethnologists, so archaeologists coordinated the prehistory sections. In volume 15, *Northeast*, Bruce Trigger (fig. 9), a specialist in the prehistory and ethnohistory of the Huron, served as editor, and Elisabeth Tooker, an ethnologist, coordinated several chapters on the Six Nations of the Iroquois. The position of associate editor was first created by Warren d'Azevedo (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol., fig. 5) for the *Great Basin* volume (d'Azevedo 1986a) and held by Catherine Fowler. None of the volumes published before 1986 had associate editors whereas four of the eight volumes published after 1986 did.

Planning Committees

The editor of each volume created a planning committee to assist in developing the structure and content for the volume, identifying potential authors, and reviewing chapter manuscripts. The volume editor and the general editor were members of all of the planning committees, joined by the associate editors and section coordinators of those volumes that had them. Series linguistic editor

Table 3. Associate Editors and Section Coordinators

Volume number	*Volume title*	*Associate editors*	*Section coordinators*
2	*Indians in Contemporary Society* (2008)	—	—
3	*Environment, Origins, and Population* (2006)	Emöke J.E. Szathmáry (Human Biology) Dennis Stanford (Paleo-Indian) Bruce D. Smith (Plant and Animal Resources) Douglas H. Ubelaker (Skeletal Biology and Population Size)	—
4	*History of Indian–White Relations* (1988)	—	—
5	*Arctic* (1984)	—	Don E. Dumond (Prehistory)
6	*Subarctic* (1981)	—	—
7	*Northwest Coast* (1990)	—	—
8	*California* (1978)	—	—
9	*Southwest* (1979)	—	Richard B. Woodbury (Prehistory and Archeology)
10	*Southwest* (1983)	—	—
11	*Great Basin* (1986)	Catherine S. Fowler	Jesse D. Jennings (Prehistory)
12	*Plateau* (1998)	—	James C. Chatters (Prehistory)
13	*Plains* (2001)	Douglas R. Parks	W. Raymond Wood (Prehistory)
14	*Southeast* (2004)	Jason Baird Jackson	Jerald T. Milanich (Prehistory)
15	*Northeast* (1978)	—	Elisabeth Tooker (Six Nations chapters)
17	*Languages* (1996)	Marianne Mithun	—

Ives Goddard was a member of the planning committees of the last four *Handbook* volumes published after 2000 (vols. 2, 3, 13, and 14), when he had assumed many of the duties of the general editor (see "William Curtis Sturtevant, General Editor," this vol.).

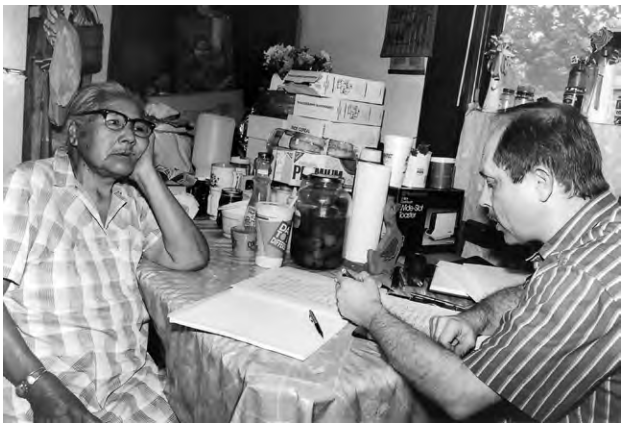
The planning committee of *Plateau* (vol. 12; Walker 1998) was the largest, comprising 14 members, including three Native Americans, while those of the other 14 volumes ranged from 6 to 9 members. The committees included scholars with expertise in a variety of specialties relevant to the focus of their volumes and tended to be drawn from different disciplines or subfields of anthropology, with two exceptions. The planning committee of *History of Indian–White Relations* (Washburn 1988a) included only historians, and that of *Languages* (Goddard 1996c), only linguists, besides the series general editor.

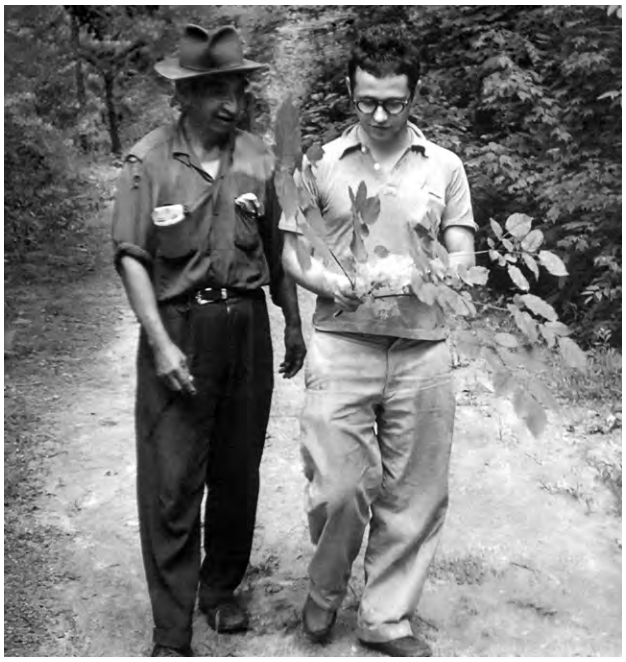
A total of 90 different individuals served on the final planning committees of the 15 published volumes (98 total, if the present volume is included). Seventy-five of these individuals authored or coauthored chapters in these volumes, and 13 of them also authored biographies of non-Native people in volume 4 (Washburn 1988a).

Because of the long delays in their publication, entirely new planning committees were created for the volumes published between 2001 and 2008 (vols. 2, 3, 13, and 14), in most cases because the members of the original 1970–1971 planning committees were retired or deceased by the time new planning started. The original planning committees had included 23 individuals; of these, 7 authored or coauthored chapters and another 2 wrote or cowrote non-Native biographies.

Authors

The 863 chapters published in the *Handbook* (not counting vol. 1) were authored or coauthored by 715





top left, From *Handbook* volume 5, *Arctic* (Damas 1984). bottom left, Photograph courtesy of Douglas R. Parks. top right, Photograph courtesy of Raymond D. Fogelson.

Fig. 8. Volume or subsection editors and consultants. top left, James VanStone (left) and John Long (North Alaska Iñupiat Eskimo of Point Hope), Point Hope, Alaska, spring 1956. bottom left, Douglas Parks (right) and Nora Pratt (Skiri Pawnee) reviewing a Roaming Scout text, near Pawnee, Oklahoma, 1994. top right, Raymond Fogelson (right) and Lloyd Sequoyah (Eastern Cherokee) discussing the American spikenard plant.

different individuals. An additional 91 individuals authored non-Native biographical entries in volume 4 (Washburn 1988a). As one might expect, given the *Handbook*'s subject matter, the majority of authors were trained in anthropology, but specialists in a number of other disciplines were also represented, including linguistics (56), history (52), and Native American, First Nations, or Indigenous studies (21). Other fields included the natural sciences, human biology, folklore, geography, sociology, economics, political science, psychology, religion, music, theater, art and art history, education, journalism, public health, medicine, and law. Most authors were affiliated with universities, but many worked in other institutional settings, such as museums, archives, libraries, historical societies, government agencies, cultural resource management firms, and Native organizations.

Eight members of the *Handbook* editorial staff figured among the 715 contributors, authoring or coauthoring 21 chapters in eight volumes (including the present one). The most prolific of the *Handbook* staff authors was Ives Goddard, the sole author of nine chapters and coauthor of three others. Artifact researcher E.S. Lohse and assistant illustrations researcher Frances Sundt coauthored one chapter (Lohse and Sundt 1990; see also Lohse 1988; Lohse and Sprague 1998). Other staff members who contributed chapters were Patricia Afable (Afable and Beeler 1996), Cesare Marino (Cook

McGill University Archives (MG4259).

Fig. 9. Bruce Trigger, editor of *Handbook* volume 15, *Northeast*, looking at pottery shards from a dig site at Sheek Island, South Stormont, Ontario, Canada, summer 1957.

and Marino 1988; Marino 1990), Joanna C. Scherer ("Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.), and William Sturtevant (Jackson et al. 2004; Sturtevant 1978; Sturtevant and Cattelino 2004). In addition, in the course of their work on the *Handbook*, many staff members conducted original research and published the results in other venues. These include studies of languages and linguistic research in the Southeast (Goddard 2005a; Sturtevant 2005), Native American ethnonyms (Goddard 1984), the cartography of Native North America (Cole and Sutton 2013, 2014), and the contributions of photography to Native American research (Scherer 1981a, 1981b, 1988, 1990, 1998b, 1999, 2006, 2014).

In the 15 published volumes, about 80 percent of the authors were affiliated with institutions or organizations in the United States (570 of the 715 authors) and another 17 percent (121 of 715) with Canadian institutions or organizations. One Native Greenlander (Kalaalleq) and four Danes contributed chapters on Greenland in *Arctic* (vol. 5; Damas 1984). Even though Siberia and former Russian territories in western North America were included in the geographical coverage of the *Handbook* series, no scholars affiliated with Soviet or Russian institutions or organizations were included among the authors, perhaps because the relevant volumes were prepared before the collapse of the former Soviet Union in 1991. Similarly, although northern Mexico was included in the Southwest culture area (vol. 10; Ortiz 1983), no Mexican scholars authored or coauthored any chapters. This absence reflected in part the limited number of Mexican scholars who were conducting research in the region at the time.

Native American Participation in the Handbook Project

Native American scholars contributed significantly to the *Handbook* as volume editors, members of planning committees, and chapter authors. Alfonso Ortiz (San Juan Pueblo) edited the two *Southwest* volumes (Ortiz 1979, 1983), and two prominent Native American scholar-activists—D'Arcy McNickle (enrolled Salish-Kootenai) and Vine Deloria, Jr. (Standing Rock Sioux)—served successively as editors for *Indians in Contemporary Society* in 1970–1977 and 1978–2005, respectively (Bailey 2008a:xi).

The idea of devoting an entire volume to the role of Native Americans in contemporary society had not been considered before the November 1970 meeting of the *Handbook*'s General Advisory Board, of which McNickle was one of four members (Sturtevant 1970d:1; see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971" and "William Curtis Sturtevant, General Editor," this vol.). McNickle volunteered to edit the volume and quickly assembled a planning committee that included Deloria, Roger Buffalohead (Ponca), and Robert K. Thomas (Cherokee), as well as five non-Native scholars with expertise in contemporary Native affairs. In the summer of 1971, McNickle began inviting scholars to contribute chapters (Bailey 2008a:xi; Stanley 1971a). By August 1977, manuscripts of 17 of the planned 68 chapters had been submitted (Della-Loggia 1977b), but soon after, McNickle died, and Deloria replaced him the following year.

Under Deloria's editorship, the number of chapters planned for the volume expanded to 87, and by 1983, manuscripts of 67 of these were on hand (Della-Loggia 1983), but the *Handbook* editorial office then focused on the production of other volumes. The work did not resume until 2005, at which point Deloria stepped down. Oklahoma-based anthropologist Garrick A. Bailey took the lead on completing the volume with a new planning committee that included three Native scholars—JoAllyn Archambault (Standing Rock Sioux), Eva Marie Garroutte (Cherokee), and Robert Warrior (Osage)—among its nine members. Of the 50 contributors to volume 2, 24 Native, First Nations, or Inuit scholars served as authors or coauthors (Bailey 2008a:xi–xiii, 446–447).

The planning committees of five of the other published volumes included Native American scholars: McNickle for volume 4 (*History of Indian–White Relations*; Washburn 1988a); Edward D. Castillo (Luiseño-Cahuilla) and Jack D. Forbes (Powhatan-Renapé/Delaware-Lenape) for volume 8 (*California*; Heizer 1978b); Edward P. Dozier (Santa Clara Pueblo) and Alfonso Ortiz (San Juan Pueblo) for volume 9 (*Southwest*; Ortiz 1979); and Virginia Beavert (Yakama), Ronald Halfmoon (Umatilla-Nez Perce), and Allen R. Slickpoo, Sr. (Nez Perce) for volume 12 (*Plateau*; Walker 1998). In the latter, volume editor Deward E. Walker, Jr., also acknowledged the assistance provided by 41 Native individuals, affiliated with about a third of the tribes covered in the volume (Sturtevant and Walker 1998:xvi). Native Americans also participated in the original planning committees for two other volumes: Beatrice Medicine (Standing Rock Sioux) for volume 13 (*Plains*) and Robert K. Thomas (Cherokee) for volume 14 (*Southeast*), although the final planning committees for these volumes did not include any Native American members.

Native American authors contributed chapters to 11 of the 15 published volumes (as well as to the present one). The number of Native Americans who authored or coauthored chapters varied considerably among the volumes, from 24 (out of a total of 50) in volume 2 (Bailey 2008a) to none in volumes

6, 15, and 17. In all cases, special efforts were made to recruit as many prospective Native American and First Nations contributors as possible. Ten of the 49 Native authors wrote or cowrote multiple chapters: Robert Petersen (Kalaalleq/West Greenlander) contributed four chapters; JoAllyn Archambault, Clara Sue Kidwell (Choctaw-Chippewa), and Alfonso Ortiz, three chapters each; and Edmund J. Ladd (Zuni), Joe S. Sando (Jemez Pueblo), Russell Thornton (Cherokee), and Rosita Worl (Tlingit), two chapters each. Several chapters written by Native Americans were specifically designed to provide Native perspectives on certain topics: origins (Archambault 2006), Sun Dance (Archambault 2001), governance (Johnson 1986; Pablo 1983), and relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people and traditions (Tome 1983), as well as several topics covered in volume 2 (Bailey 2008a).

Despite the extent of their contributions, Native Americans constituted only a small fraction of the individuals who participated in the *Handbook* project. Altogether, 58 Native American scholars contributed to the *Handbook* series (not counting this volume) representing slightly less than 8 percent of the total of 745 individuals who served as volume editors, chapter authors, or members of planning committees. The 60 chapters authored or coauthored by Native scholars represent less than 7 percent of the total of 863 chapters, not counting the present volume.

The limited number of Native American contributors in certain *Handbook* volumes reflected the status of the field in the 1970s and 1980s. Increasing Native authorship was a persistent goal throughout the production of the *Handbook* series, articulated since its very inception (Sturtevant 1971a, 1971c, 1971f). As the years went on, more Indigenous people pursued higher education, obtained advanced degrees, and served as chapter authors. Native participation was highest in volume 2 (Bailey 2008a), the last volume to be published, reflecting this trend and the subject matter of the volume.

The Time Frame of the *Handbook*'s Production

The intermittent publication of 15 volumes of the *Handbook* series over the course of 30 years (1978–2008) resulted from the interplay of multiple factors, including delays in the submission, review, revision, and approval of chapter manuscripts and the limited number of editorial staff available to prepare the volumes for publication (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.). The original 1971 plan for the *Handbook* envisioned publishing the entire 20-volume series in 1976 as part of the Smithsonian's contribution to the commemoration of the bicentennial of the American Revolution (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol). Yet by the end of 1973, members of the *Handbook*'s production staff realized that this goal would be impossible to achieve and decided to focus on the two volumes—*California* (vol. 8) and *Northeast* (vol. 15)—with the highest number of manuscripts accepted by their editors. This decision laid the foundation for the development of a sequential, volume-by-volume production strategy that was adopted for all subsequent volumes. By 1981, it was clear that the sequential publication strategy was a viable approach, but its adoption had negative consequences on the rate of production of the series as a whole.

Nine *Handbook* volumes were published between 1978 and 1990, an average of one volume every 1.3 years, but then the rate of publication slowed. Although the editors of two culture area volumes, *Plains* (vol. 13) and *Plateau* (vol. 12), had begun preparing them for publication in 1985 (Sturtevant and DeMallie 2001:xiii; Sturtevant and Walker 1998:xiv), these volumes required several years to complete (DeMallie 2001a; Walker 1998). In the interim, another topical volume was published (*Languages*; Goddard 1996c).

The production of two other volumes—*Southeast* (vol. 14; Fogelson 2004) and *Environment, Origins, and Population* (vol. 3; Ubelaker 2006a)—began in 2000 and 2002, respectively. Both volumes required extensive re-planning, as well as the recruitment of new authors and the addition of associate volume editors.

In April 2005, David Evans, the Smithsonian under secretary for science, informed Cristián Samper, director of the National Museum of Natural History, that funding for the *Handbook* would be terminated in 2007 (Evans 2005; see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.). The establishment of a deadline, December 2007, precipitated efforts to finish the two remaining topical volumes: *Indians in Contemporary Society* (vol. 2; Bailey 2008a) and *Technology and Visual Arts* (vol. 16) (Rogers 2005b; Sturtevant and Ubelaker 2006:xi–xii). Work began on both volumes in 2005 (Bailey 2008c:xi–xiii; Feest 2005). Production work on volume 2 was completed by the end of August 2007, but the book was not published until July 2008—some former *Handbook* staff members volunteered their continued assistance to the volume editor to help complete it (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.), while volume 16 was never completed (Anonymous 2016).

Handbook Volumes Not Produced

When the *Handbook* project ended in 2007–2008, 5 of the 20 volumes planned for the series remained to

Photograph by M. Schuyler Litten.

Fig. 10. Igor Krupnik, editor of *Handbook* volume 1, *Introduction*, and chairman of the National Museum of Natural History's Department of Anthropology, 2018–2022.

be produced: *Introduction* (vol. 1), *Technology and Visual Arts* (vol. 16), *Biographical Dictionary* (vols. 18 and 19), and *Index* (vol. 20). The failure to complete these volumes was unfortunate because they formed part of a comprehensive plan for the series and were designed to provide data and perspectives not included in any of the other volumes.

The history of the work on this *Introduction* volume, edited by Igor Krupnik (fig. 10), is presented elsewhere (see "Preface" and "Introduction: A Gateway to the *Handbook* Series," this vol.). The following sections present an overview of the efforts to produce the other unpublished volumes.

Technology and Visual Arts

By the time the *Handbook* was being planned, American anthropology had long moved away from its earlier institutional setting in government agencies and museums and from its focus on material culture (e.g., Bunzel 1929; Ewers 1939; Hinsley 1981; Hodge 1907–1910; Wissler 1914, 1917). The *Handbook*, however, was envisioned to include an entire volume on technology and the visual arts, reflecting the personal scholarly interests of its general editor as well as the institutional sponsorship of the Smithsonian (see "William Curtis Sturtevant, General Editor," this vol.).

This volume was intended to provide a systematic, continent-wide survey of the material culture of Native North America throughout the entire history of its occupation by Indigenous people, as documented in the archaeological, ethnographic, and historical record. The range of categories of material culture to be included was comprehensive, and techniques of manufacture as well as the finished products were to be considered. The volume was expected to be of particular interest to museum-based scholars and archaeologists, Native and non-Native artists and craftspeople, Indian hobbyists (see Powers 1988; Taylor 1988), and collectors. About a third of its pages were to be devoted to illustrations, compared with about a fifth of the other *Handbook* volumes (Sturtevant 1971b:8, 1972a; see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.).

Sturtevant, who was to serve as the volume editor, was an especially appropriate person to organize and lead this important work because he was one the few cultural anthropologists at the time who considered material culture to be an important focus of anthropological inquiry, and he had already published extensively on this subject (Sturtevant 1956a, 1964a, 1965b, 1967b, 1967d, 1968a, 1969b). The planning of the volume was delayed until 1972, when Sturtevant created a planning committee that met in Washington on July 29–30 of that year. In preparation for the meeting, Sturtevant drafted a preliminary outline and compiled "Lists of Material Culture Categories" to help the committee determine the topics to be covered in the volume. He also identified potential authors for many of the chapters that he proposed (Sturtevant 1972a, 1972d, 1972e). A year later, in June 1973, he compiled a revised version of this outline, a list of potential contributors, and invited authors for its 91 planned chapters (Peratino 1975:2–3; Sturtevant 1973b). Yet, ten years later, the Handbook office had received a manuscript for only one chapter: "Musical Instruments" by Richard J. Haeffer (Della-Loggia 1983; Sturtevant 1973b).

In 1975, a Smithsonian audit concluded that the demands of serving as the *Handbook*'s general editor left Sturtevant little time to work on the *Technology and Visual Arts* volume and recommended that a new editor be appointed (Peratino 1975:2; see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.). A replacement was not designated, however, until 1988, when Christian F. Feest from the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna agreed to assume the role (Feest 2005; Sturtevant 1988). Feest was one of the leading North Americanist anthropologists in Europe and a specialist in Native American material culture studies. He also contributed five chapters to other *Handbook* volumes (Feest 1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1988; J.E. Feest and C.F. Feest 1978).

In 2004, Feest agreed to resume work on the volume. In April 2005, when the decision to terminate the

Handbook series was announced, the need to complete *Technology and Visual Arts* became urgent. In July 2005, Feest was contracted by the Smithsonian to coordinate the completion of the volume, overseeing the work of a team of researchers based in Frankfurt and Vienna who, along with him, would prepare chapters for the volume.

Feest created a new outline, which included 111 chapters, and began identifying authors. The volume was scheduled for completion by August 2007, but this deadline was not met. In 2006 and 2007, manuscripts for only 39 chapters were submitted to Feest, who compiled illustrations for 11 of these chapters as well as for 14 other chapters for which manuscripts were not submitted (Feest 2005). No additional work was completed, and the Smithsonian terminated the contract in December 2011 (Anonymous 2016; Arnoldi 2011).

Had it been published, the volume would have had a significant impact. By 2000, the once dominant anthropological focus on material culture had been largely superseded by an aesthetic approach fostered by collectors and art museums (cf. Berlo and Phillips 1998; Feest 1980, 1992; Penney 2004). There is relatively little ongoing research, at least by ethnologists, on functional Native American crafts and technologies. While it would have been complicated and expensive to produce, *Technology and Visual Arts* would likely have been, as its planners envisaged, one of the set's best-selling volumes, given its intrinsic appeal to a large and diverse international audience (Kelley 1999:3).

Biographical Dictionary

The two-volume *Biographical Dictionary* (vols. 18 and 19) was an expression of contemporary disciplinary trends during the time the *Handbook* was planned. During the 1960s and 1970s, following a tradition of Native life histories and autobiographies, cultural anthropologists began to compile longer biographies of Native Americans (see "Writing American Indian Histories in the Twenty-First Century," this vol.). Sturtevant himself played an important role in this trend with his published biography of his Seminole consultant Josie Billie (Sturtevant 1960b) and his collaboration with Margot Liberty in the collection of essays *American Indian Intellectuals* (Liberty 1978).

The two volumes to be devoted to brief biographies of Native American people were initially to contain 1,500 individual sketches; by 1973, the number had increased to 2,000 (Sturtevant 1971c:8, 1973a). The decision to produce this *Biographical Dictionary* was motivated in part by the fact that biographical sketches were included in the original BAE *Handbook* (Hodge 1907–1910), but also by the goal of representing Native Americans as individuals rather than simply as the members of "tribes." The biographies were intended to cover

> an assortment of personalities, Indian people who engaged in a variety of activities, the infamous as well as the famous, both men and women from as many tribes as possible: artists, warriors, craftsmen, statesmen, politicians, actors, priests, curers, writers, travellers, sportsmen, prophets—in short, anyone from the recent or distant past who is likely to be looked up in a reference book in the future. (Sturtevant 1971f:8)

In the mid-1960s, when the *Handbook* project was launched, no comparable compilation of Native American biographies existed, except for a few popular accounts (Gridley 1936; Snodgrass 1968). Work on the *Biographical Dictionary* began in 1966, soon after the *Handbook* project was initiated. An index file of potential Native American individuals to be included was created, and people and organizations active in Indian research, politics, governance, and arts were contacted. In 1971, a preliminary list of names was mailed to about 2,000 people, including to many Native American tribes, requesting their input; contributors to the *Handbook* were also asked to provide suggestions of individuals to be considered (Stanley 1971b; Sturtevant 1967e, 1971a). All names were incorporated into the large index file to be developed into the final list of subjects (Smithsonian Institution 1972b:248).

By 1973, this process had been largely completed (Sturtevant 1973a). Plans were in place to invite authors to write the biographies of the selected Native individuals, but this stage of the project never took place because the *Handbook* staff focused on producing other volumes. Nonetheless, work on the *Biographical Dictionary* continued throughout the remainder of the *Handbook* project. Cesare Marino, who joined the *Handbook* editorial staff in 1983, incorporated the information from the original index file and other sources into a customized electronic database, identifying personal photographs, and compiling a basic bibliography of about 500 citations (Marino, personal communication, May 2017). In 2005, however, when the decision was made to terminate the *Handbook*, the *Biographical Dictionary* was not identified as a priority for completion. Completing it would have been a daunting task. By 2005, the number of Native individuals to be considered had increased to about 5,000, and the consolidated citations for their biographies would number between 20,000 and 24,000 entries, requiring a separate bibliographic volume (Marino, personal communication, April 2017).

The need for the *Biographical Dictionary* had also diminished because several similar compilations had been published since the 1970s (Bataille and Lisa 2001; Champagne 2001; Gridley 1972, 1974; Johansen and Grinde 1998; Lester 1995; Reno 1995; Waldman 1990). Nonetheless, within the framework of the *Handbook* series, the failure to produce the *Biographical Dictionary* was incongruous given the inclusion of biographical sketches of 294 non-Native individuals in volume 4 (Washburn 1988a:617–699).

Another quasi-biographical component proposed in the original plan for the *Handbook* but never realized was a section to be included in each culture area volume titled "The Human Sources of Ethnography." It was to list the principal Native American experts consulted by ethnographers and linguists in research completed in the past, accompanied by basic biographical information about them. These sections were designed

> to give credit to those authorities so often overlooked in the past; to give credit to key informants where the description is based on unpublished fieldwork; to allow the descendants of informants and other modern members of the societies described to identify the individual sources of the (often rather abstract) published data; [and] to give a better indication of the time depth of the first-hand experience recorded in the ethnographic literature (Sturtevant 1971a:14).

In the early 1970s, Robert F. Heizer (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol., fig. 9; *California* [Heizer, 1978b:fig. 1]), the editor of volume 8, *California*, cowrote a simplified version of such a section, based on data compiled in the 1950s to support legal claims of Native people to territory and resources in California (Heizer and Nissen 1973). When published, however, neither volume 8 nor any of the other *Handbook* volumes included such a section.

Index

Sturtevant was also the designated editor for the last of the planned volumes in the set, *Index* (vol. 20). In addition to providing a unified index to the entire series, volume 20 was to include a guide to the use of the *Handbook*, a glossary of technical terms unfamiliar to nonspecialists, and a list of errata that identified and corrected the errors encountered in the other volumes following their publication (Sturtevant 1971f:8; Sturtevant and Ortiz 1979:xiii).

Work on this last volume was anticipated to begin when the full series was completed, but this work evidently never started in earnest. When the termination of *Handbook* production was announced in 2005, no effort was made to plan, much less to complete the *Index* volume.

The Impact and Legacy of the *Handbook*

Distribution

The *Handbook* was intended to reach a large and varied audience. As Sturtevant noted, "It is expected that this will be a Smithsonian publication so that distribution will be broader and prices lower than would be possible with commercial publication" (1971f:6). Although officially published by the Smithsonian Institution, not the Smithsonian Institution Press (succeeded by the Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press), the latter has always distributed it, along with the Government Printing Office (GPO, now the Government Publishing Office), which supervised the actual printing (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.).

Over a thousand copies of the *Handbook* were distributed to libraries, museums, governments, and other entities free of charge, as a government publication. The GPO Depository Library Program distributed a copy of each *Handbook* volume to some 1,190 selected federal depository libraries located throughout the United States. In fact, the GPO made the *Handbook* a "core" holding, recommending it as essential to every library (Kelley 1999). Numerous libraries outside the United States received free copies through the International Exchange Program of the Library of Congress. As of 2018, some or all of the published *Handbook* volumes were included in the collections of more than 2,100 libraries around the world (https://www.worldcat.org/; see "Introduction: A Gateway to the *Handbook* Series," this vol.).

The *Handbook*'s editorial office also kept a stock of individual chapter offprints (up to 1996) for its own distribution to authors, reviewers, partner universities, and colleagues worldwide. For each *Handbook* volume, there was an extensive list of gift copies. Sturtevant was especially committed to sending free copies to Native American contributors, tribal offices, Native American studies programs at tribal colleges, and other institutions. This distribution continued through the Smithsonian Department of Anthropology after the Handbook office was closed.

In addition to serial acquisition by libraries, volumes were purchased separately. The purchase price set by the GPO has always been reasonable for such valuable books. By 1983, the GPO had sold almost 50,000 of the first four series volumes, including

17,665 copies of *California* (Heizer 1978b), 15,166 copies of *Northeast* (Trigger 1978a), and 11,312 copies of the first *Southwest* volume (Della-Loggia 1983). By 1993, the number of copies sold increased to 112,000, not counting those distributed as gifts (see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol.). Although final sales figures are not available, it is reasonable to estimate that some 150,000 copies of the 15 printed volumes were sold or distributed free over the course of the *Handbook* project. Nothing like this would have been possible from commercial publishers. The GPO had committed to keeping all *Handbook* volumes in print (Kelley 1999). As stock was depleted, several volumes were reprinted, though without updates. Today, most of the volumes are still in print and available from either the GPO or the Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press.

The *Handbook* attempted to appeal to a diverse, educated audience. In guidelines to the authors prepared in 1971, Sturtevant described this large and varied audience as follows:

> [The *Handbook*] should become a standard reference encyclopedia, for university teachers and students and for research workers and writers in the social sciences and humanities, but also for the general public, including particularly Indian people and those whose jobs or interests relate them to some phase of Indian life and culture. The *Handbook* articles will be encyclopedic in content and style: concise, exhaustive, accurate, and written for the educated general reader as well as for specialists. (Sturtevant 1971f:5)

The vast majority of the chapters achieve this objective, although a familiarity with the concepts and terminology of anthropology and related disciplines is necessary to understand portions of certain chapters. To address this problem, a glossary of technical terms was to be included in the final volume of the series, the *Index*, which was never published.

Contributions to Scholarship

Like other scholarly publications, copies of the *Handbook* volumes were sent to journals for review. Perhaps the best way to gain an appreciation of the *Handbook*'s achievement and to assess its impact is to review its many reviews. Over the decades, more than 120 reviews of the *Handbook* appeared in print, most in scholarly journals (table 4) but some in library journals and the popular press. These ranged from general and more specialized anthropological journals (e.g., *American Anthropologist*, *Man*, *L'Homme*, *American Antiquity*, *Ethnohistory*, *Anthropological Linguistics*) and from regional publications (e.g., *Journal of California Anthropology*, *BC Studies*, *Études/Inuit/Studies*) to periodicals outside of anthropology (*American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, *Journal of American History*, *Word*). These reviews also reveal the international impact of the *Handbook*, as many came from Austria, Czechoslovakia (now the Czech Republic), France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom, and other countries.

One of the first reviews, of the California volume, was written by French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1979), who had been an inspiration for the entire *Handbook* project (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971" and "Organization and Operation," this vol.; see also "William Curtis Sturtevant, General Editor," this vol., fig. 5). He later reviewed the *Plains* volume (Lévi-Strauss 2002). While most reviews were devoted to single volumes, a few combined reviews (e.g., Renner 1986) and several review essays (e.g., Albers 1988; Clemmer 1981; Krech 1984a; Merrell 1991; Ray and Roberts 1985) also appeared.

As individual volumes appeared, reviewers compared them, often systematically (Désveaux 1983, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1997, 2002, 2005) with those already published. On the whole, the reviews were positive. Even the most critical acknowledged the hard work and valuable information that went into the volumes. With few exceptions, reviews praised the illustrations and bibliographies.

In a publication of this scale, it was inevitable that the chapters would be uneven in coverage and quality (Goodfellow 1991/1992:185; Jennings 1979:492; Ray and Roberts 1985:271). While most reviewers found the *Handbook* style clear and accessible, occasionally they found the prose too esoteric and technical (Goodfellow 1991/1992:185; Levi 2003:84–85; Weslager 1979), particularly in the grammatical sketches included in *Languages* (vol. 17), which require a fairly advanced understanding of descriptive linguistics.

One of the most consistent critiques, especially in the earlier years, was that the scholarship was often out of date (e.g., Krech 1984a). As time went on, however, opportunities arose to update and revise the manuscripts. Volume editors decided not to publish the chapters as originally submitted but either to have them revised or to commission entirely new ones. The net effect was that the volumes gradually became representative of more recent trends in scholarship. If the entire set had been published in 1976, as originally envisioned, it would have remained locked into the anthropology of that moment. The two volumes that benefited the most from such delay were the last two published—*Environment, Origins, and Populations* (Ubelaker 2006a) and *Indians in Contemporary*

Table 4. *Handbook* Reviews per Volume

Volume (publication year)	*Total reviews*	*Citations*
California (1978)	12	Areni 1978; Sanders 1978; Rawls 1978; Costo 1979; Sheehy 1979; Glassow 1979; Lévi-Strauss 1979 (French); Moratto 1979; Phillips 1980; Clemmer 1981; Jackson 1981; Clemmer 1983
Northeast (1978)	10	Jennings 1979; Mathews 1979; Weslager 1979; Hamell 1980; Kawashima 1980; Kent 1980; McNab 1980; Vaughan 1980; Haan 1982; Dickinson 1983 (French)
Southwest (1979)	4	Smith 1980; Aikens 1981; Lister 1981; Hunter-Anderson 1983
Subarctic (1981)	7	Ray 1985; Arnold 1982; Tobias 1983; Krech 1984a; Ray and Roberts 1985; Riley 1985; Schwerin 1985
Southwest (1983)	6	Fontana 1983b; Clemmer 1985; Lindig 1985 (German); Dobyns and Trout 1985; Lockhart 1985
Arctic (1984)	6	Arnold 1984; Brody 1985; Graburn 1986; Krech 1986; Whitaker 1987; Rowley 1985
Great Basin (1986)	7	Cofone 1986; Clemmer 1987; Euler 1987; Evans 1987; Schulze-Tulin 1987 (German); Albers 1988; Lynch 1988
History of Indian–White Relations (1988)	7	Jorgensen 1990; Starna 1990; Wanser 1990; Anderson 1991; Hoxie 1991; Merrell 1991; J.R. Miller 1991
Northwest Coast (1990)	12	Goodfellow 1991/1992; Miller 1991–1992; Bernick 1991; Evans 1991; Lillard 1991; Mason 1991; Wanser 1991; Harkin 1992; Gehlen 1992 (German); Hinckley 1992; Mauzé 1992b; Toepel 1993
Languages (1996)	13	Costa 1997; Goyette 1997; Bereznak 1998; Dorais 1998; Greenfeld 1998; Heath 1998; Hinton 1998; Renner 1998 (German); Whittaker 1998; Brown 1999; Darnell 1999a; Dinwoodie 1999; Grant 1999
Plateau (1998)	9	Hayden 1999; Drueke 1999; Stapp 1999; Wessel 1999; Wickwire 1999; Désveaux 2000 (French); Matsui and Ray 2000; Wagoner 2000; Berezkin 2002a (Russian)
Plains (2001)	10	Berezkin 2002b (Russian); Bolz 2002 (German); Burch 2002; Lévi-Strauss 2002 (French); Wishart 2002; Graczyk 2003; Key 2003; Levi 2003; J.R. Miller 2003; Johnson 2006
Southeast (2004)	4	Watkins 2005b; Woidat 2005; Berezkin 2006 (Russian); Hodge 2008
Environment, Origins, and Population (2006)	3	McNish 2007; Wanser 2007; Bolz 2008 (German)
Indians in Contemporary Society (2008)	3	Fixico 2009; Wanser 2009; Watkins 2009
Multiple volumes	5	Jelínek 1981 (*California* and *Northeast*); Morrison 1984 (*Southwest*, vols. 9–10); New 1986 (*Subarctic*, *Arctic*, and *Northeast*); Renner 1986 (*Subarctic*, *California*, *Southwest* [1983]); Renner 1998 (*Languages* and partial reviews of *History of Indian–White Relations*, *Arctic*, *Subarctic*, *Northwest Coast*, *California*, *Southwest* [1979], *Southwest* [1983], *Great Basin*, and *Northeast*)

Table compiled by William Merrill, Joanna Cohan Scherer, Hannah Toombs, and Emily Solomon with additions by Ira Jacknis, Igor Krupnik, and Cesare Marino.

Society (Bailey 2008a)—perhaps for different reasons. Despite their divergence in temporal focus—the former in the past and the latter in the present—each reflected substantial changes in contemporary scholarship.

As an expression of a social science discipline, the *Handbook* was evaluated by several reviewers for its theoretical approaches. Some reviewers were bothered by what they believed was cultural objectification (Miller 1991–1992; Wishart 2002), while others criticized the lack of cutting-edge anthropological theory (e.g., Clemmer 1981, 1983; Harkin 1992:175; Hunter-Anderson 1983; Wickwire 1999:86). They argued not that there was no theory in the *Handbook* but that the theory was outdated: a generalized descriptive functionalism, suitable to the discipline in the 1940s or 1950s. Yet Sturtevant, as general editor, was adamant that the *Handbook* needed to be somewhat conservative:

> This is to be a reference encyclopedia, not a collection of professional essays. Thus while professional standards of theory and method, and of accuracy, should be maintained, extensive discussions of specialized intradisciplinary issues should be avoided. A particular effort should be made to provide a complete and well-balanced summary of one's topic, suitable for those with little or no prior knowledge of the subject (Sturtevant 1971a:2).

Coverage

The *Handbook* project made a continual effort to cover all of North America. Though some reviewers complained about the relative neglect of Canada in a few volumes that crossed borders, such as *Plateau* (Matsui and Ray 2000:681) and *Plains* (J.R. Miller 2003), or made similar points regarding northern Mexico in the *Southwest* volumes (Riley 1985; Schwerin 1985:605–606), all attempts were made to make the *Handbook* as inclusive and comprehensive as possible. This was particularly the case in the transnational volumes 5 (*Arctic*; Damas 1984), 6 (*Subarctic*; Helm 1981), 7 (*Northwest Coast*; Suttles 1990), and 15 (*Northeast*; Trigger 1978a).

For a publication series organized primarily by culture areas, an anthropological construct of the early twentieth century (see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project," this vol.), it was perhaps not surprising that the culture area concept itself would come under criticism in the reviews (e.g., Albers 1988:281; Matsui and Ray 2000). Culture area definitions were felt to be inevitably arbitrary. Making matters worse, the relations between cultures, languages, and tribal identities change over time, and the documentary material at hand might not always be comparable and up to date. However, as many volume editors pointed out, the culture area boundaries were a kind of classificatory heuristic that, while oversimplifying reality, were readily understandable for a general audience. Moreover, one of the *Handbook's* scholarly innovations was its historical perspective. Sturtevant announced that, in contrast to most Americanist anthropology up to that time, the series would have no fictive "ethnographic present" (1971a:5). This perspective reflected not only a discipline-wide shift (Burton 1988) but also Sturtevant's personal interest in ethnohistory (Sturtevant 1966a). His concern for the new field of the history of anthropology was evident in each volume's overview of previous scholarship (Sturtevant 1982).

An expression of this historicist stance was the series' approach to culture-contact and acculturation. Sturtevant insisted:

> Authors should bear in mind the current tendency . . . to examine Indian societies in the larger context—not to isolate them artificially, for purposes of analysis, from the Euroamerican societies that overwhelmed and surround them. Thus in the culture-historical sections the methods and effects of this domination should be faced directly rather than avoided or skimped. (Sturtevant 1971a:11)

Still, an operational use of the "ethnographic present" was employed for a range of cultural domains. Cultures were commonly described in a firmly dated past, based on the available ethnographic sources. As a consequence, most of these cultural descriptions were still in the past—that is, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Later developments, from the twentieth century, tended to come in a "history" section, and the most recent years got short shrift. Often culture and history were described as if they were two different things (Albers 1988:281), although this differed in different volumes depending on the data available.

Several reviews noted the general lack of a Native perspective, especially in the historical chapters (Harkin 1992; Jorgenson 1990; Merrell 1991). There was clearly an emphasis on the "White" side of Indian-White relations (Washburn 1988b:1). More attempts could have been made to emphasize Native actions and agency, as reflected in what has come to be called the New Indian history (Hoxie 2016; see "Writing American Indian Histories in the Twenty-First Century," this vol). The *Handbook* certainly could have done more to present a Native perspective.

One aim of the *Handbook* was to acknowledge gaps in knowledge and offer suggestions for future

research. As one volume editor wrote: "In some cases the gaps [in our understanding] appear irremediable, but it is hoped that the publication may encourage research along hitherto neglected lines" (Trigger 1978b:3). Lack of data was pointedly highlighted by the blank spaces in the *Handbook* language map (Goddard 1996e) and in several chapter and volume maps. The *Handbook* made the effort to be as comprehensive and definitive as possible, even when it sometimes fell short of its goals.

The Legacy of the Handbook

Although no one could have foreseen it when the *HNAI* series was planned in the 1960s and 1970s, it had the misfortune to appear during the transition between print and digital publication, which began in the mid-1990s. Many readers in the twenty-first century have little interest in making an effort to locate and consult a physically cumbersome set of 16 large-size books of five to six pounds each, invariably located in libraries, rather than access them online. Many reference works conceived at the same time as the *Handbook* are now available both in print and online (*The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, for instance, are online; see Moulton 1983–2001; https://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu, active December 30, 2020).

Although there is no technical reason why the *Handbook* set could not be digitized, the main stumbling block is the lack of permissions to reproduce the thousands of illustrations from myriad repositories worldwide. In addition, digitizing all of this content would be a massive and expensive undertaking. Nevertheless, the *Handbook* volumes are cited in numerous online sources, including, perhaps most notably, Wikipedia, where it appears in more than 100 articles (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Handbook_of_North_American_Indians). The *Handbook* has also found its way, often uncredited, into numerous print and online publications, agency reports, legal and repatriation decisions, and educational materials.

If the *Handbook* were produced in today's publishing world (as is this introductory volume), not only would its text and images be presented online, but it could include all kinds of multimedia files—such as moving images and sound files for language, music, and performance—all of which could be digitized and linked. A digital format would also have eased the process of making revisions and adding supplements. Several reviewers (Mathews 1979:76; Renner 1998:44) suggested the publication of periodic updates, on the model of the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Wauchope 1964–1976), with its several later supplement volumes (e.g., Monaghan 2000; Sabloff 1981; Spores 1986). While creating supplements was clearly beyond the vision of the Smithsonian, the present volume 1, *Introduction*, does serve as a kind of update.

The *Handbook*'s original purpose and goal were to "summarize scholarly knowledge of the history and the cultures of all North American Indians and Eskimos" (Sturtevant 1971f:5), but it is much more than a mere summary. In many cases, it presents the results of original research and analysis never previously published, and it provides new syntheses of data, detailed maps, synonymies of tribal and place names, illustrations, and summaries of research sources not available elsewhere

No study has been done on how the *Handbook* has been and continues to be used. The common impression is that the *Handbook* has become what it set out to be: the principal reference work on Native North America for both specialists and nonspecialists. Anecdotal evidence suggests that scholars, students, educators, tribal and agency researchers, and museum and heritage professionals tend to use the volumes as a first step in familiarizing themselves with aspects of Native American cultures that lie beyond their personal expertise (fig. 11).

Conclusion

From the outset, William Sturtevant was conscious of the *Handbook*'s likely place in history: "This will probably be a standard reference work for many decades, perhaps half a century" (Sturtevant 1971a:2). Fittingly, the *Handbook* has become the culminating monument in the Americanist tradition of anthropology, going back at least to the founding of the Bureau of Ethnology in 1879. This tradition of scholarship privileged survey and mapping, history, language, and the Native point of view (Darnell 1998, 2001; Hinsley 1981; Valentine and Darnell 1998). More specifically, the *Handbook*'s maps can be traced back to John Wesley Powell's famous map of American Indian languages (Powell 1891); the synonymies of tribal names to the efforts of James Mooney and his colleagues, embedded in the original BAE *Handbook* (Hodge 1907–1910); and the listing of sources and bibliographies to the early research of Bureau clerk James C. Pilling (1881, 1895). The emphasis on historical photographs goes back to the original Smithsonian explorations in Native American imagery that started in the mid- to late 1800s (Fleming 2003; Jackson 1877; Shindler 1869).

The *Handbook* was conceived at a time when anthropology and history were building new bridges, and

Photograph by Melanie K. Yazzie.

Fig. 11. Nick Estes (Lower Brule Sioux) using a *Handbook* volume in his research as a doctoral candidate in American Studies, University of New Mexico. He received his PhD in December 2017. Estes writes: "To my research and teaching on the twentieth century American Indian history, the set of the *Handbook of North American Indians* and, particularly, its Volume 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society*, has proven especially salient. It has served as a primer for further lines of inquiry. These volumes cover in detail the dynamic political, social, and cultural transformations that have come to define and redefine the American Indian experience. The volume bibliographies are rich in primary and secondary sources. And, the collection's lengthy publication history documents changes in attitude and thought, making it a historical source in its own right."

most of the set was planned and executed when the study of American Indians was conducted largely by anthropologists, most of them non-Native. By the time the series' last volume, *Indians in Contemporary Society* (Bailey 2008a), was published, the situation had changed dramatically, and the new reality was perhaps symbolized best by the 2004 opening of the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian. As one reviewer characterized these shifts in disciplinary paradigms: "It can even be argued that the Handbook stands as a monument to a bygone anthropology and a summary of the efforts to reconstruct aboriginal culture. In this sense, the Handbook, which perhaps is intended as a starting point for understanding a particular people or issue, is also an ending point" (Miller 1991–1992:174). Another reviewer wondered: "The greatest question that arises in my mind . . . is whether or not anthropology has much to contribute to the discussion of contemporary Native North American issues" (Watkins 2009:679).

While Native American peoples and cultures have survived and thrived in the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries, there have been significant losses and changes. Scholarship itself will inevitably change, and no cultural summary may be free of the shortcomings of the era in which it is produced. Yet future students of Native American cultures and societies will continue to rely on the materials brought together during the production of the *Handbook of North American Indians* series, now in its fifth decade.

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SNOWBALL, TERRY* (Prairie Band Potawatomi/Wisconsin Ho-Chunk), National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, USA. Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact: 11/2/15; 4/10/18; 4/16/18.

SWIFT, JAQUETTA* (Comanche/Fort Sill Apache), National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, USA. Cultural Heritage Laws and Their Impact: 11/2/15; 4/10/18; 4/16/18.

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Tributes

In September 2021, when this volume was already in copy editing, we lost a cherished member of our editorial team, Dr. Ira Jacknis (b. 1952, d. 2021). Remembering Ira's contribution to the inception and preparation of this volume inspired us to add this "Tributes" section to honor him and other partners to the *Handbook of North American Indians* series who passed away between 2018 and 2021.

Contributors: Gwyneira Isaac (GI), Igor Krupnik (IK), Joanna Cohan Scherer (JCS), Joe Watkins (JW), Larry Nesper (LN), Sebastian Braun (SB), and Sergei A. Kan (SK)

Diane Della-Loggia (b. 1946, d. 2020)
Diane was born in West Chester, Pennsylvania. She attended Brown University, where she earned an AB in American history in 1968. In 1972, she received her MA from the College of William and Mary, writing a thesis titled "Baltimore 1783–1797: A Study in Urban Maturity." Hired by William Sturtevant in 1972 as the manuscript and copy editor for the 20-volume *Handbook of North American Indians* series, Diane ushered 15 volumes into print between 1972 and 2008. For more than 35 years, she was responsible for the style, format and English usage for 863 *Handbook* chapters, or 13,527 pages. Her editorial approach was meticulous, and she worked attentively with the authors on recommended revisions.

In 1978, she was made production manager of the Handbook office, responsible for developing production schedules for chapters from submission through publication. She was responsible also for reviewing galleys and page proofs, and for ensuring that the final bound volumes conformed to *Handbook* standards. Diane prepared quarterly reports from 1976 through 1983 on the *Handbook* volumes that are invaluable for following the history of the project during those years. These quarterly reports and her papers are now in the Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archives with the Handbook Papers (Della-Loggia 1976–1983). After the Handbook office was closed in December 2007, Diane was one of two staffers who volunteered their time to finalize volume 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society* (2008). This volume would not have been published in complete *Handbook* style without her dedication and perseverance. She retired from the Smithsonian in 2007, when the Handbook office was closed. *JCS*

Raymond ("Ray") J. DeMallie, Jr. (b. 1946, d. 2021)
Ray was born in Rochester, New York. While in high school, he spent summers in Washington, D.C., at the Smithsonian Bureau of American Ethnology Archive, where Margaret Blaker, William Sturtevant, and John Ewers nurtured his interest in Native American cultures. He graduated with a BA, MA, and PhD in anthropology from the University of Chicago, writing his thesis on Teton Dakota kinship and social organization.

Ray joined the Department of Anthropology at Indiana University in 1973, remaining there until he retired in 2017. In 1984, he cofounded the American Indian Studies Research Institute with linguist Doug Parks and, through their programs, mentored students and consulted with Native communities on language-revival projects. His numerous contributions were in the areas of Plains ethnohistory, folklore studies, cultural history, museums, and material culture, including his seminal *Sioux Indian Religion: Tradition and Innovation* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), coedited with Douglas Parks, and *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt* (University of Nebraska Press, 1984). Together with Vine Deloria, Jr., Ray was instrumental in promoting applied legal history by assisting cases for Sioux treaty rights, helping tribes to reestablish their national sovereignty. He returned to the Smithsonian frequently, and in 1983, he was recruited as editor of the volume 13, *Plains*. Published in 2001, the volume required two bound books because of its size. Besides serving as its editor, Ray authored or coauthored several chapters in the volume: "Introduction," "History of Ethnological and Ethnohistorical Research" (with John Ewers), "Assiniboine" (with David Miller), "Sioux until 1850," "Yankton and Yanktonai," "Teton," and "Tribal Traditions and Records." He also contributed several biographical sketches—on James Owen

Dorsey, Alice C. Fletcher, Alfred L. Riggs, Stephen R. Riggs, and James R. Walker—to the "Non-Indian Biographies" section in volume 4, *History of Indian–White Relations* (1988). *JCS*

Raymond ("Ray") D. Fogelson (b. 1933, d. 2020)
Ray Fogelson was born in Redbank, New Jersey. As an undergraduate at Wesleyan University, he majored in psychology but eventually shifted to anthropology and developed a life-long interest in Native American cultures and history. He maintained a strong interest in psychological anthropology and American Indian ethnology during his graduate work in anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania under the mentorship of A.I. Hallowell and Anthony F.C. Wallace. Fogelson conducted ethnographic field research among the Eastern Cherokee, writing his PhD dissertation (1962) that combined ethnographic and ethnohistorical data with anthropological theory, psychological and symbolic anthropology. In later years, he also conducted field research among the Oklahoma Cherokee and Creek people as well as the Shuswap (Secwépemc) of British Columbia.

After obtaining his PhD, Fogelson taught anthropology at the University of Washington in Seattle, and in 1965, he moved to the University of Chicago, where he remained until his retirement in 2011. He edited several books and published numerous articles on Cherokee culture and history, psychological anthropology, history of anthropology, anthropology of religion, and ethnohistory. His ideas about ethnohistory and "ethnoethnohistory" (an indigenous people's ideas about their own history) have had a particularly strong influence on numerous anthropologists and (ethno)historians. A man of great personal warmth, he mentored several generations of students who specialized in American Indian ethnology and ethnohistory; many of them contributed to the various volumes of the *Handbook of North American Indians* series, including volume 1. Ray served as volume editor for volume 14, *Southeast* (2004), for which he also authored/coauthored three chapters: "Introduction" (with Jason B. Jackson), "History of Ethnological and Linguistic Research," and "Cherokee in the East." *SK*

Jane H. Hill (b. 1939, d. 2018)
Jane Hill (née Hassler) was born in Berkeley, California. She received a BA in anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley (1960) and her PhD in anthropology from the University of California, Los Angeles (1966). She worked closely with linguistic anthropologist William Bright and wrote her dissertation on the grammar of Cupeño. She was on the faculty of the Anthropology Department at the University of Arizona Tucson from 1983 to 2009 and a Regents Professor from 1999 to 2009. She served as the president of the American Anthropological Association (1997–1999), the Society for Linguistic Anthropology (1993–1995), and the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas (2001).

Hill's prime research was on the Uto-Aztecan languages, their grammar and phonology, sociolinguistic status, and history. She conducted fieldwork on three of them: Cupeño, Nahuatl, and Tohono O'odham, and published the reference work *A Grammar of Cupeño* (University of California Press, 2005), as well as numerous contributions on the Uto-Aztecan prehistory and the linguistic prehistory of the Southwest. Her research illustrated how language structures are shaped by economic and ideological processes in multilingual situations. Her study on variation and change in the Nahuatl (Mexicano) language as a consequence of Spanish colonialism culminated in a seminal volume, *Speaking Mexicano: The Dynamics of Syncretic Language in Central Mexico* (University of Arizona Press, 1986), produced jointly with Kenneth C. Hill. Her chapter, "The Voices of Don Gabriel" (Tedlock and Mannheim 1995), which illustrates the "mixing" of Spanish and Nahuatl, was followed by her later analysis of the relation of language and racism, including in the book *The Everyday Language of White Racism* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2008). Hill contributed the section "Language in Southwest" (with Ofelia Zepeda) to the overview chapter "Southwest-1" in this volume. *GI, IK*

Ira Jacknis (b. 1952, d. 2021)
Ira Stuart Jacknis was born in New York City. He received his BA in anthropology and art history at Yale in 1974. While still an undergraduate, he worked as an intern at the Smithsonian Institution under William C. Sturtevant, including on the preparation for the *Handbook of North American Indians* series. It was at the Smithsonian that his interest deepened in Native American ethnology and art history as well as history of anthropology.

He began his graduate studies in anthropology at the University of Chicago in 1976, under the mentorship of Nancy Munn, George W. Stocking, Jr., and Raymond D. Fogelson, and received his PhD in 1989. His thesis, "The Storage Box of Tradition: Museums, Anthropologists, and Kwakiutl Art, 1881–1981," was published as a book by Smithsonian Institution Press in 2002. In the 1980s, he worked at the Brooklyn Museum as an assistant curator for research on African, Oceanic, and New World art. In 1991, he moved to the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology at the Uni-

versity of California, serving as its curator until the time of his death.

Besides his seminal book on the history of Kwakwaka'wakw art, Jacknis published several other books—*Objects of Myth and Memory: American Indian Art at the Brooklyn Museum* (University of Washington Press, 1991), *Carving Traditions of Northwest California* (University of California, Berkeley, 1995), and *Food in California Indian Culture* (University of California, Berkeley, 2004)—and numerous articles on the history of anthropology, museum anthropology, Native American ethnology, and art. He was an outstanding scholar, museum curator, and mentor. He joined the editorial team for volume 1 of the *Handbook* at the very beginning; served on the volume advisory board responsible for the history of the *Handbook* section; and was first author of two chapters, "California" and "Handbook: A Retrospective." *SK*

Frank Raymond LaPena (b. 1937, d. 2019)

Frank LaPeña (Wintu name: Tauhindauli) was a Nomtipom-Wintu American Indian painter, printmaker, ethnographer, professor, ceremonial dancer, poet, and writer. LaPeña helped define a generation of Native artists in a revival movement to share their experiences, traditions, culture, and ancestry. Born in San Francisco, he was sent to federal boarding school at Chemawa Indian School in Salem, Oregon, and later to the Stewart Indian School in Carson City, Nevada. He received a BA in 1965 from California State University, Chico, and his MA in 1978 in anthropology from California State University, Sacramento. He taught at Shasta College at California State University, Sacramento within the Art Department and Ethnic Studies Department from 1969 to 1971 and was director of the Native American Studies Department from 1975 to 2002.

LaPeña was a founding member of the Maidu Dancers and Traditionalists, dedicated to the revival and preservation of California Native arts. He worked in multiple media and began exhibiting artwork in 1960, with his art shown nationally and internationally. In 1999, he was the featured artist at the 48th Venice Biennale in the exhibition *Rendezvoused*; he was part of the seminal art exhibition curated by artist Carlos Villa, *Other Sources: An American Essay* (1976), an alternative celebration of the United States Bicentennial focused on people of color and women. His book *Dream Songs and Ceremony: Reflections on Traditional California Indian Dance* (Heyday, 2004) concentrated on dance traditions of the Upper Sacramento Valley and Sierra foothills. In his writings and talks, he discussed how being an Indian dancer influenced him physically, spiritually, and socially, and he complements his vibrant paintings with an introduction and commentary. He contributed the chapter on Wintu culture for the first published volume of the *Handbook* series, volume 8, *California* (1978). *JW*

Douglas R. Parks (b. 1942, d. 2021)

Douglas ("Doug") Richard Parks was born in Long Beach, California. He earned a BA in anthropology and a PhD in linguistics (1972) at University of California, Berkeley. Doug's dissertation was on Pawnee, under Wallace Chafe, and Mary Haas was an important influence. While teaching at Idaho State University, he was a post-doctoral fellow at the Smithsonian Institution in 1973, where he edited a manuscript by James Murie (or Sa-Ku-Ru-Ta, 1862–1920), a Pawnee who worked for the Bureau of American Ethnology on an account of Pawnee religious ceremonies, published as Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology No. 27, *Ceremonies of the Pawnee Part I: The Skiri* and *Part II: The South Bands* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981).

In 1970, Doug began a lifelong study of Arikara language, culture, and history. He moved to the University of Mary in Bismarck, North Dakota (1974) to direct a program developing education materials for Native languages. He worked with Lakota/Dakota and, in 1978, started his Sioux-Assiniboine-Stoney dialect survey with A. Wesley Jones. With Raymond DeMallie, he published a seminal paper reclassifying the Sioux-Assiniboine-Stoney dialect continuum (in *Anthropological Linguistic*, 1992). In 1983, he moved to Indiana University, where he and DeMallie founded the American Indian Studies Research Institute (AISRI). Through AISRI, they worked together on various Siouan and Caddoan languages and cultures.

Doug produced a trove of publications on Pawnee and Arikara, including *Traditional Narratives of the Arikara Indians*, with Lula Nora Pratt (University of Nebraska Press, 1991), *A Dictionary of Skiri Pawnee* (University of Nebraska Press, 2008), and a coedited book series; developed pedagogical materials for Native languages; and taught Lakota language classes. Before he became too ill, he had hoped to finish a Yanktonai dictionary. Together with Ray DeMallie, he took over volume 13, *Plains*, and served as its associate editor. He also authored/coauthored seven chapters: "Caddoan Languages," "Siouan Languages" (with Robert L. Rankin), "Arikara," "Pawnee," "Kitsai," "Enigmatic Groups," and "Tribal Traditions and Records" (with Raymond J. DeMallie), as well as "Synonymies" sections in all tribal chapters. *SB*

Robert Petersen (b. 1928, d. 2021)

Robert Karl Frederik Petersen—Greenlandic Inuit scholar, dialectologist, anthropologist, and university

professor—was born in Maniitsoq, West Greenland (Kitaa). He received training as a schoolteacher at the Greenland seminary in Nuuk (Ilinniarfissuaq, 1948) and then in Denmark. In 1954–1956, he taught at the same seminary in Nuuk, and in 1967, he received the MA degree at the University of Copenhagen, where he continued teaching Eskimo/Inuit language, history, and literature. In 1975, he became professor of Eskimology at the University of Copenhagen, the first Greenlander to hold a professorship. With the establishment of Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland), originally as the Inuit Institute, Petersen moved to Nuuk to become its first Director (1983) and then its first Rector (1987), until his retirement in 1995.

Petersen published numerous papers and several books, including *Ilisimatusarfik: The University of Greenland* (Nuuk, 1988) and *Settlements, Kinship and Hunting Grounds in Traditional Greenland: A Comparative Study of Local Experiences from Upernavik and Ammassalik* (Danish Polar Center, 2003). He conducted research in many areas across Greenland, also in Arctic Canada and in Denmark, and he was an internationally recognized authority on Greenlandic Inuit (Kalallit) history, literacy, orthography of the Greenlandic language (Kalallisut), cultural development, and Indigenous education. He received numerous awards, including an honorary doctorate from the Université Laval (1992) and the Ilisimatusarfik (2010), the Greenland Culture Award (1993), and the International Arctic Social Science Association award (2008), and was elected to the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture. Petersen was the only Greenlandic Inuit participant of the *Handbook* project. He contributed four chapters to volume 5, *Arctic* (1984): "East Greenland before 1950," "East Greenland after 1950," "Greenlandic Written Literature," and "The Pan-Eskimo Movement." *IK*

Mark Anthony Rolo (b. 1963, d. 2020)

Mark was a Bad River Band of Lake Superior Chippewa tribal member, journalist, playwright, and educator. He grew up in Milwaukee and northern Wisconsin. He received a BA in journalism from the University of Minnesota, and MFA in creative writing from Chatham University. He wrote a column for Native newspaper *The Circle* in Minneapolis as well as the magazine column "Going Native" for *The Progressive*. Active in the Native American Journalists Association, he served as its executive director in 2008–2010. He was also the Washington D.C. bureau chief for *Indian Country Today*. His work appeared in the *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Denver Post*. For an educational film in the Native American Public Telecommunications series *Indian Country Diaries: A Seat at the Drum* (2006), Rolo journeyed to Los Angeles to interview a number of Native people in the largest urban Native American community in the nation. In addition to a play titled "Mother Earth Loves Lace," he is the author of a memoir, *My Mother Is Now Earth*, (Borealis Press, 2012), which earned the 2013 Northeastern Minnesota Book Award. He taught news and creative writing at the University of Wisconsin-Madison School of Human Ecology, at the Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwe Community College, the White Earth Tribal and Community College, and at the University of Minnesota. He cocreated and taught Project Phoenix, a journalism workshop for Native high school students sponsored by the Native American Journalism Association. Rolo contributed the chapter "Film" to volume 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society* (2008). *LN*

Dennis J. Stanford (b. 1943, d. 2019)

Dennis Stanford, Paleo-Indian archaeologist, was born in Cherokee, Iowa, and grew up in New Mexico and Wyoming. He was trained in North American archaeology, earning a BA from the University of Wyoming (1965) and a PhD from the University of New Mexico (1972). He did his PhD study excavating ancient sites at Utqiagvik (then Barrow) in North Alaska. In 1972, he joined the Department of Anthropology at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, launching a 47-year career as museum curator, field archaeologist, and expert in Paleo-Indian ecology, early peopling of the New World, and circumpolar Paleolithic archaeology. He founded and directed the Smithsonian's Paleo-Indian Program, which became one of the world's prime centers in research and collecting on the origins of the first inhabitants of North America. He conducted fieldwork across the Rocky Mountains and the U.S. Southwest, as well as in Alaska, Siberia, northern China, and lately along the U.S. East Coast and in the Chesapeake Bay region, searching for traces of early Paleo-Indian cultures.

Stanford authored and coauthored numerous papers and several books on Paleo-Indian archaeology and early cultural origins in North America. In his later career, he was specially known for his hypothesis, based on his north Alaskan experience, that European Late Paleolithic Solutrean people may have reached North America by moving across the southern edge of the North Atlantic pack ice more than 16,000 years ago. This proposal was introduced in many papers and a book, *Across Atlantic Ice: The Origin of America's Clovis Culture* (University of California Press, 2012), with Bruce A. Bradley. Stanford served as one of three associate editors for volume 3, *Environment, Origins, and Population* (2006), in charge of

its section on Paleo-Indian history of North America, for which he also contributed an introductory chapter, "Paleo-Indian." *IK*

Rennard Strickland (b. 1940, d. 2021)

Rennard Strickland, a pioneer in the movement for Native rights and a legal historian of Indigenous law, was born in Muskogee, Oklahoma, of Osage and Cherokee heritage. He was the Founding Director of the Center for the Study of American Law and Policy at the University of Oklahoma in Norman and the only person to have been a tenured professor of law at all three State of Oklahoma Law Schools (in Norman, Oklahoma City, and Tulsa). He graduated from the Northeastern State College (1962) and received his law degrees (JD, 1965; SJD, 1970) at the University of Virginia School of Law. He was the first and only person to serve as both the president of the Association of American Law Schools and as the chair of the Law School Admissions Council. He was elected to the American Law Institute (1997) and received the American Bar Association's Robert Kutakes' Award (2012). In 1992, he was appointed chair of the Osage Constitutional Commission by Judge James Ellison, the federal district judge for the Northern District of Oklahoma.

Strickland was widely recognized as the primary expert on matters pertaining to Indian Law; he was involved in the resolution of numerous Indian legal cases, including testifying against the State of Oklahoma in the case that established the rights of American Indian tribes to engage in gaming. He was frequently cited by courts and by scholars as revision editor-in-chief of *Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (LexisNexis, 1982). He had authored, coauthored, edited, and coedited 47 books, including *Sam Houston with the Cherokees, 1829–1833* (University of Texas Press, 1967) with Jack Gregory, *Fire and the Spirits: Cherokee Law from Clan to Court* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), and *The Indians in Oklahoma* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1980); and 208 essays, book chapters, and articles. He contributed the chapter "Lawyers and Law Programs" (with M. Sharon Blackwell) to volume 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society* (2008). *JW*

W. Raymond Wood (b. 1931, d. 2020)

W. Raymond Wood was born in Gordon, Nebraska. He earned a BA and an MA from the University of Nebraska, and a PhD from the University of Oregon (1961). By that time, Wood had already worked with the Missouri River Basin Survey and the State Historical Society of North Dakota; he also supervised archaeological fieldwork in Missouri. After two years with the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Arkansas, he joined the University of Missouri's anthropology department, where he taught until 2001.

Wood wrote a seminal study of the Huff Site, *An Interpretation of Mandan Cultural History* (1967), published as the Smithsonian Bureau of American Ethnology's River Basin Surveys Papers No. 39. His research was always embedded in rich historical and cultural studies—*Anthropology on the Great Plains* (University of Nebraska Press, 1980), edited with Margot Liberty, and *Archaeology on the Great Plains* (University Press of Kansas, 1998). His great interest was especially the fur trade on the Missouri River, contributing to *The Fur Trade in North Dakota*, edited by Virginia L. Heidenreich (State Historical Society of North Dakota 1990), and coauthoring *Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains: Canadian Traders among the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, 1738–1818*, with Thomas D. Thiessen (University of Oklahoma Press, 1985). Many of his publications came out after his retirement: *Karl Bodmer's Studio Art*, with Joseph C. Porter and David C. Hunt (University of Illinois Press, 2002); *Prologue to Lewis and Clark: The Mackay and Evans Expedition*, with a foreword by James P. Ronda (University of Oklahoma Press, 2003); and *Karl Bodmer's America Revisited: Landscape Views across Time* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2013). Wood was an exemplary scholar with wide-ranging interests in archaeology, ethnohistory, and ethnology, and a deep knowledge of the Missouri River and its Native peoples. He authored/coauthored three chapters for volume 13, *Plains* (2001): "Plains Village Tradition: Middle Missouri," "Mandan," and "Omaha" (with Margo P. Liberty and Lee Irwin). *SB*

Appendix 1: Smithsonian *Handbook* Project Timeline, 1964–2014

IGOR KRUPNIK AND JOANNA COHAN SCHERER,
WITH ADDITIONS BY JAN DANEK AND WILLIAM L. MERRILL

1964

February 1, 1964: Smithsonian Board of Regents elects S. Dillon Ripley to serve as the eighth secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

1965

February 1, 1965: Ripley abolishes the Smithsonian Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE). The BAE merges with the Department of Anthropology of the Museum of Natural History under one umbrella unit, the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology (SOA).

Spring 1965: Ripley invites Professor Sol Tax, renowned anthropologist from the University of Chicago, to become the first head of the SOA. Tax eventually declines to take the job but agrees to serve as Ripley's special advisor on Anthropology (starting on January 1, 1966).

April–May 1965: Sol Tax solicits short personal statements from the SOA staff members (via SOA chair Richard B. Woodbury) asking SOA curators and researchers to indicate their professional areas and interests.

September 16–18, 1965: Smithsonian organizes a major three-day celebration of James Smithson's birthday (1765–1965) featuring public events, honorary talks, and the unveiling of a new Smithsonian logo. Anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss gives a speech praising the esteemed legacy of Smithsonian American Indian studies.

November 1965: Secretary Ripley, in his talk at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, offers the Smithsonian as prospective institutional base for international programs in contemporary anthropology. (Ripley 1966a)

December 27, 1965: Sol Tax meets with the SOA staff and solicits another set of personal statements on individual research plans. These statements were eventually submitted during January–February 1966.

December 28, 1965: John C. Ewers submits his personal statement, titled "My Research Interests and Program" to Tax, in which he mentions "a complete revision and up-dating of BAE Bulletin 30, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*." It takes just one paragraph of the five-page outline of Ewers' activities, under the heading of "SOA projects I should like to see in the future." (Ewers 1965)

1966

January 4, 1966: (document erroneously dated January 4, 1965) John Ewers produces 16 copies of his memo to Tax from December 28, 1965, for distribution among the SOA staff. Smithsonian anthropologists become aware of the idea of the new "revision" of the *Handbook*. (Ewers 1966a)

January 1966: In response to Ewers' memo, Waldo R. Wedel strongly endorses the idea of "updating and expansion of the Handbook of Indians North of Mexico." While borrowing some of Ewers' wording, he offers a much stronger justification of the new project (Wedel 1966); Margaret Blaker, SOA (former BAE) archivist, supports the idea of the "revision of the 'Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico.'" (Blaker 1966)

January 26, 1966: In a meeting with Sol Tax, SOA staff discuss future SOA activities in the field of American Indian research, including the production of the new *Handbook of North American Indians*. (Smithsonian Office of Anthropology 1966a)

February 14, 1966: John Ewers sends a memo to Richard Woodbury, SOA chair, that significantly expands his vision on the revised *Handbook of Indians North of Mexico* and specifically addresses the issue of the prospective *Handbook* editors, with a few candidates proposed for consideration.

February 24, 1966: William Sturtevant submits his ideas regarding the proposed *Handbook* (1 typed page). (Sturtevant 1966f)

February–March 1966: South American archaeology curator Clifford Evans takes the lead in the SOA planning for the new revision of the *Handbook* by volunteering to prepare and mail a questionnaire and to analyze the results.

March 1966: SOA colleagues send memos to Evans: Waldo Wedel on the "proposed revision of Handbook of North American Indians" (Wedel 1966b); John Ewers: "Some Suggestions Regarding a New Handbook of North American Indians" (Ewers 1966d); William Sturtevant: Suggestions for new Handbook of North American Indians (six pages), with the first outline for the structure of the series (Sturtevant 1966d); Henry Collins, on the new *Handbook* project and its prospective leader (editor). (Collins 1966)

April 1, 1966: Richard Woodbury sends a four-page memo to Clifford Evans with a detailed outline of the prospective tasks associated with the *Handbook*, its budget, and its staffing. The outline of a 12-volume series is presented for the first time. (HNAI Ed. Asst. Series, 9). In his second memo (April 4, 1966), Woodbury suggests names of people to send preliminary plans for the new *Handbook* for comments (one page). (Woodbury 1966)

April 4, 1966: Clifford Evans, on behalf of the "group interested in Handbook of North American Indians" prepares the first draft for "special supplemental appropriation for 1967 budget" for the *Handbook* program in the amount of $23,631. The editor of the future *Handbook* is listed as "not yet chosen."

April 7, 1966: John Ewers sends a memo to Evans regarding the new *Handbook*, with the first outline of potential "groups of users."

April 15, 1966: Clifford Evans circulates some 440+ copies of an eight-page "Questionnaire" on the future structure and focus of the new *Handbook of North American Indians*, with a request to return the questionnaire no later than May 6, 1966. (Evans 1966b)

May 4, 1966: At the SOA staff meeting, the *Handbook* project is discussed among other proposed SOA activities for 1966–1967.

May 5, 1966: First (unsuccessful) effort to solicit $50,000 for the new *Handbook* program through special Congressional Appropriation Memo from Mr. Bradley, SI acting secretary through Woodbury and Cowan (Exploration of possibility of adding $50,000 to the SI appropriation for FY 1967, earmarked for the North American Indian Studies):

> to support during FY 1967 the initiation of two coordinated anthropology programs, (1) a new edition of the Handbook of North American Indians, and (2) a major research project on American Indians in American society, at $25,000 each. (Evans 1966c)

May 17, 1966: At the SOA staff meeting, William Sturtevant is nominated by his colleagues, and he agrees to become the *Handbook* series editor (after several prospective candidates had been discussed in his absence). The leadership of the SOA *Handbook* planning passes from Evans to Sturtevant (SOA 1966c).

May 19, 1966: John Ewers sends a four-page memo to Clifford Evans summarizing 200+ filled questionnaires on the structure and focus of the proposed new *Handbook* series. (Ewers 1966c)

May 23, 1966: Evans sends a letter to his SOA colleagues regarding the tabulation of responses to the Handbook of North American Indians Questionnaire (one page).

May 30–31, 1966: Sturtevant meets with Robert Wauchope, the editor of the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* at Tulane University, New Orleans, to discuss the planning and editorial procedures used by the Middle American handbook. (Sturtevant 1966d)

May 31, 1966: Clifford Evans' report on the 250 questionnaire responses is completed, at which point he relinquishes direct involvement in the project.

May 1966: Sturtevant discusses the production of the *Handbook of South American Indians* with Gordon Willey at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

June 15, 1966: Draft statement for Smithsonian Institution Annual Report: "Towards the end of the fiscal year, the Office of Anthropology decided to begin work towards a new Handbook of North American Indians" to "replace and bring up to date the encyclopedic Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico." It announces that "Dr. Sturtevant agreed to serve as editor of this new Handbook and, planning as to its content and format began." Furthermore, its "aim is to produce a reference work for scholars and the

interested public, which will summarize and systematize anthropological and historical knowledge of the cultures, languages, and physical form of the Indians north of Mexico, and outline the course and results of their relationships with the later European and African settlers of the continent." (Smithsonian 1966)

June 19, 1966: At the SOA staff meeting, Sturtevant suggests convening a planning meeting of six to seven persons and writing about 100 letters "to determine what field studies will be needed for the [new] Handbook."

July 1966: A draft Smithsonian contract sent to Sam Stanley specifies his expected tasks, including "consult and assist on planning Smithsonian Handbook of the Indians of North America (revised edition) [wording of the original]." Stanley is hired to join the SOA staff (on September 1, 1966) as official "coordinator" of the *Handbook* project.

September 1966: Sturtevant drafts a public announcement on the Smithsonian plan for a "thoroughly revised and updated edition of the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*" to be published by Smithsonian Institution Press (SI Press) (Sturtevant 1966g). It states that the proposed *Handbook* might include 15 or more volumes and lists an editorial board consisting of SOA staff with strong research interests in North American Indians (Collins, Ewers, Stanley, Stewart, Sturtevant, Tax, Wedel, and Woodbury) and Sturtevant as general editor.

October 18, 1966: The first meeting of the "Committee for the revised 'Handbook of North American Indians'" is held at the Museum of Natural History (participants: Collins, Ewers, Stanley, T. Dale Stewart, Sturtevant, Tax, Wedel, and Woodbury). Stanley circulates a nine-page "Tentative Contents for new N.A. Indian Handbook" for volumes 1–17 prepared jointly by Sturtevant and Stanley (Anonymous 1966). The structure from the fall of 1966 generally survived for the next 50 years of the *Handbook* history, with some modifications.

November 17, 1966: SOA issues its first public statement on its plans to produce "a thoroughly revised and updated edition of the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*." The statement is aimed at soliciting (recruiting) future authors for the *Handbook* volumes and is to be circulated at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association and other forthcoming professional meetings (Sturtevant 1966e). The same announcement is mailed to about 1,000 specialists on North American Indians, according to a list compiled from various sources.

Late fall 1966: First report on the *Handbook of North American Indians* is circulated by Stanley. It summarizes activities associated with the project, from spring to late fall of 1966, and offers the first outline of the origin of the *Handbook* and the first year of its history.

1967

May 26, 1967: Sturtevant produces the first annual report on the activities related to the planning for the *Handbook* series for 1966–1967. (Sturtevant 1967a)

July 1967: Sturtevant produces the first summary on the origination of the Smithsonian *Handbook* series. (Sturtevant 1967e)

Summer 1967: Sturtevant leaves on a year-long sabbatical as a Fulbright scholar and lecturer at the University of Oxford. Stanley carries out daily activities associated with the *Handbook* project.

July 18, 1967: Tax sends a progress report for SOA activities, including ongoing work on the *Handbook* planning. (Tax 1967a)

Late 1967: Upon Tax's suggestion, Secretary Ripley summons an external advisory committee to review the work of the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology.

December 19, 1967: Tax sends a memo to Secretary Ripley with the first proposal to redivide SOA and establish a new Center for the Study of Man. (Tax 1967b)

December 19, 1967: Stanley sends a one-page memo to Drs. Riesenberg, SOA chair, and Richard C. Cowan, director of Museum of Natural History, about his consultation with Sturtevant on HNAI. (Stanley 1967)

1968

January 1, 1968: Sturtevant submits typewritten notes on the search for illustrations for the *Handbook* series "based largely on Wauchope's experience with Handbook of Middle American Indians" and instructions about how to organize the files for the future production of the *Handbook*. (Sturtevant 1968b)

March 12, 1968: Secretary Ripley argues for congressional appropriation in FY 1969 to start the production of the *Handbook* series. His request is denied.

July 1, 1968: Center for the Study of Man is established with Tax as acting director and Stanley as program coordinator. The new center is put in charge of the Smithsonian *Handbook* project, along with the Smithsonian "Urgent Anthropology" program.

September 1968: Sturtevant returns from his year-long sabbatical; active work on the *Handbook* planning resumes.

September 16, 1968: Center for the Study of Man Budget Justification identifies the CSM as "the only center for the discovery and dispersion of knowledge which can organize and direct the efforts of hundreds of experts in the field of American Indian studies so that a new and long overdue Handbook of North American Indians can be produced."

September 1968: Smithsonian *Torch* (no. 9) article, "Center Formed for Study of Man":

> One of the most tangible of the center's programs is the revision of the Handbook of North American Indians, a major project mobilizing hundreds of anthropologists, historians, etc. It will require years to complete and may run to fifteen volumes.

1969

January 21, 1969: In his report at the Department of Anthropology staff meeting, Sturtevant lists the following accomplishments in the *Handbook* planning: extensive file of suggestions for coverage of topics and table of contents received from 2,000 Americanists; extensive file of potential contributors; analysis of the old *Handbook* (1907–1910) gaps and coverage; the beginning of a file on biographical dictionary. (Sturtevant 1969c)

March 1969: Secretary Ripley once again tries to secure congressional funding for the production of the *Handbook* series; funds ($20,000) granted for one position for the new Center for the Study of Man.

May 1969: Sturtevant gives a 10-minute presentation on the *Handbook* for the SI council meeting at Belmont

June 25, 1969: At the CSM executive meeting, Sturtevant presents a progress report on the *Handbook* with sections: Material presently in the working file, Preliminary Table of Contents, and Immediate Problems and Decisions.

July 30, 1969: Sturtevant sends a letter (and copy to Tax) to Ladd Hamilton (assistant director, Smithsonian Office of Personnel and Management Resources), on the subject proposal for "USA 200" Project: Hastening and Improving Publication of Encyclopedia of North American Cultures and History. It was the first indication of a plan to tie the *Handbook* production to the bicentennial celebration of the United States independence in 1976. (Sturtevant 1969d)

1969: First staff, Marianna Koskouras (secretary) and Carol Blew (editorial assistant), are hired for the *Handbook* production team.

1970

January 27, 1970: Tax sends a memo to Ripley on the status of the Center for the Study of Man for 1969 (*Handbook* mentioned on p. 1). (Tax 1970)

March 13, 1970: Stanley sends a letter to John Slocum, special assistant to the SI Secretary for American Bicentennial Planning, with the subject "CSM Bicentennial contributions":

> More specifically, we would like very much to produce the forthcoming completely revised Handbook of North American Indians in time for the Bi-Centennial. Though we may not be able to produce all 16 or more volumes by that date, we should still be able to get a portion of that number by the target date. (Stanley 1970c)

March 23, 1970: Sturtevant produces a detailed blueprint for the production of the *Handbook* series, including its general outline, search for volume editors, organization of planning meetings for individual volumes, and advertising the date of "summer 1976" for the production of at least some volumes in the series. (Sturtevant 1970b)

March 1970: Smithsonian request for a special appropriation ($45,000 for three positions) for the *Handbook* is approved by the U.S. Congress for Fiscal Year 1971.

May 16–19, 1970: Center for the Study of Man meeting is held in Washington, D.C. (see "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol., fig. 7). From handwritten notes from May 16: at a dinner report presentation, Sturtevant outlines recent progress; there is a new request for $50,000 and 3 positions in the 1971 fiscal year; and search has started for *Handbook* volume editors. Among the documents is a one-page handwritten or-

ganizational chart for the CSM that includes staff of the *Handbook*. (Sturtevant 1970b)

1970 (date unknown): General Advisory Board for the *Handbook* project is established made of five members: Fred Eggan (University of Chicago), Mary R. Haas (University of California Berkeley), D'Arcy McNickle (Salish/Flathead, emeritus at the University of Saskatchewan), T. Dale Stewart (Smithsonian Institution), and Gordon R. Willey (Harvard University).

June 17–18, 1970: *Handbook* Editorial Conference is held at the Smithsonian (Sturtevant, Goddard, Helm, Ortiz, Washburn, Ewers, and Stanley). (Anonymous 1970)

September 1970: Revised outline of the *Handbook* series of 16 volumes is released, with short (one-page) outlines of individual volumes and some names of the prospective volume editors added for the first time. The outline lacks volumes on the contemporary situation (future vol. 2) and "technology and visual arts" (future vol. 16) and features combined volumes for "Biographical dictionary" (later split in vols. 18 and 19) and Basin-Plateau area (later split in vols. 11 and 12). In another shorter outline from that time, Sturtevant is named as lead editor for *four* volumes: Introduction (1), Southeast (12), General Culture (13), and Analytical index (16).

October 1970: Joanna Cohan Scherer is transferred from the SOA Archives to the CSM/Handbook as illustrations researcher. *Handbook* editorial staff occupies its first dedicated space in the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) building.

October 29, 1970: Sturtevant receives a letter from Anders Richter, SI Press, summarizing the promises and problems in publishing the *Handbook*. Richter understands that the series consists of "20 volumes of average 500 printed pages, presumably well illustrated with photographs and diagrams in black and white." He estimates the cost of the production of the series at "half a million dollars, at today's costs for composition, printing, paper and binding." (Richter 1970)

October 16–18, 1970: First *Handbook* planning meeting for vol. 6 (*Subarctic*) is held in Iowa City, Iowa.

November 1970: A two-page "Notes on Editorial Organization and Procedures," an informational document, discusses funding, staff, duties of the general editor (Sturtevant) and the volume editors, and number of volumes along with a schedule for completing the volumes. (Stanley 1970d)

November 5–8, 1970: A new five-member *Handbook* Advisory Board ("panel") meets in Chicago. The meeting organized by Tax and chaired by Sturtevant also includes Stanley and six newly appointed editors of individual volumes: Wilcomb E. Washburn (*History*, vol. 4), David Damas (vol. 5, *Arctic*), June Helm (vol. 6, *Subarctic*), Alfonso Ortiz (vols. 9–10, *Southwest*), Bruce Trigger (vol. 15, *Northeast*), and Ives Goddard (vol. 17, *Languages*). Ray Fogelson joins the meeting as a prospective editor for vol. 14 (*Southeast*). The series' Advisory Board recommends adding a new volume on recent and contemporary Indian affairs (to be edited by D'Arcy McNickle, vol. 2). Names of five more volume editors are suggested at the meeting.

November–December 1970: Planning meetings are held for individual *Handbook* volumes: vol. 17 (*Languages*) in Chicago (November 8); vol. 15 (*Northeast*) in Montreal, Canada (November 13–15); vol. 4 (*History of Indian–White Relations*) in Boston, Massachusetts (December 30–31).

December 16, 1970: Sturtevant sends a memo to Ripley titled "Progress Report on *Handbook of North American Indians*." (Sturtevant 1970d)

1971

January 1971: Planning meetings are held for *Handbook* volumes: vol. 14 (*Southeast*) in Washington, D.C. (January 5–10); vols. 9 and 10 (*Southwest*) in Albuquerque, New Mexico (January 7–9); vol. 5 (*Arctic*) in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada (January 15–16).

Winter 1971: Sturtevant publishes the first (and the only) detailed update on the Smithsonian *Handbook* project (Sturtevant 1971f) with the full list of the prospective *Handbook* volumes and brief description of each individual volume, including a detailed coverage of vol. 1, *Introduction*. The release date for most of the volumes is set for June 25, 1976.

February–March 1971: Planning meetings are held for *Handbook* volumes: vol. 2 (*Indians in Contemporary Society*) in Albuquerque, New Mexico (February 18–22); vol. 7 (*Northwest Coast*) in Portland, Oregon (February 26–29); vol. 8 (*California*) in Berkeley, California (March 4–7); second planning meeting for

vol. 6 (*Subarctic*) in Ottawa, Canada (March 17–21); vol. 11 (*Basin-Plateau*) in Reno, Nevada (March 19–20), with the decision to split it into two separate volumes (vol. 11, *Great Basin* and vol. 12, *Plateau*) approved at the meeting; vol. 13 (*Plains*) in Norman, Oklahoma (March 21–23).

February 1971: Major package of documents for the *Handbook* series is prepared by Sturtevant and the Handbook office for sharing with future authors. It includes: (1) revised outline for the entire series of 18 volumes (with the *Southwest* and *Biographical Dictionary* volumes proposed as two volumes each), with all named volume editors; (2) preliminary note to contributors; and (3) draft table of contents for each of the proposed 18 volumes. An attached table lists 924 chapters planned for the entire series, not counting the *Biographical Dictionary*.

April 1971: Secretary Ripley presents an update on the production of the *Handbook* in his testimony to the congressional Budget Committee and requests new funding for the project in Fiscal Year 1972. The new funds ($48,000) allow for hiring three more staff members.

Spring 1971: Invitation letters are sent from the Handbook office to individual scholars inviting them to serve as contributors to the respective *Handbook* volumes.

May 2–3, 1971: Planning meeting for volume 3 (*Environment, Origins, and Population*) is held in Tucson, Arizona.

June 4, 1971: In a letter to Gordon Hubel, director of the SI Press, Stanley provides the first estimates for future *Handbook* distribution, including "a minimum of 500 sets to Indian tribes, Indian schools, Indian Studies programs and various Indian organizations." The letter also provides the following dates for the *Handbook* production: manuscripts to editorial office, June 1972; manuscripts ready for printer, May 1, 1974; deadline for appearance of all 20 volumes, June 25, 1976. (Stanley 1971b)

June 25–28, 1971: Second planning meeting is held for volume 2 (*Indians in Contemporary Society*), in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

November 1971: Final 17-page *Guide for Contributors to the Handbook of North American Indians* is produced and circulated to specify chapter style requirements and major steps in the *Handbook* writing, editing, and production process. Partial drafts of this documents have been disseminated by Sturtevant as early as February 1971 for criticisms and suggestions.

December 1971: First draft chapters for individual volumes arrive at the Smithsonian Handbook office in Washington, D.C.

1971: Preliminary list of names of prominent Native Americans for the inclusion to volumes 18–19 (Biographical Dictionary) is mailed to over 2,000 people, including many Native American tribal offices and tribal leaders.

1972

New *Handbook* staff members are hired: Lorraine Jacoby, bibliographer (February), Jo Moore, scientific illustrator (August), and Diane Della-Loggia, copy editor (September).

March 4–5, 1972: *Handbook* Editors' meeting is held at the National Museum of Natural History in Washington D.C., to discuss the structure and content of volume 1 (*Introduction*). (Anonymous 1972a)

Spring 1972: Detailed outlines and guidelines to authors (with prospective word count for each individual section) are circulated to contributors of individual *Handbook* volumes.

July 29–30, 1972: Planning meeting is held for volume 16 (*Technology and Visual Arts*) in Washington, D.C.

September 7, 1972: Volume 8 (*California*) is internally selected to be the first volume to be worked on "to set standards for illustrations for the whole Handbook." (Sturtevant 1972f)

September 1972: Smithsonian Institution makes a request for $180,000 for the preparation of the *Handbook* in FY 1974, under its special "Bicentennial" appropriation.

October 13, 1972: Hubel of SI Press writes to Challinor, Stanley, Sturtevant, and Kraft regarding proposed meeting on October 19, to lay out responsibilities and plans for publishing the *Handbook* series.

Fall 1972: Handbook office moves to its permanent headquarters on the ground floor of the Smithsonian Natural History Museum building (where it remained until its closure in December 2007).

1973

June 1973: Sturtevant produces revised version of the outline for volume 16 (*Technology and Visual Arts*) but refrains from soliciting prospective volume contributors.

June 25, 1973: Meeting is held with the SI Press regarding specs for *Handbook* publication.

Summer 1973: U.S. Congress obligates $39,540 in FY 1974 and $300,000 in FY 1975 for the production and printing of the "Encyclopedia of North American Indians." The bulk of the funds were to be transferred to the Government Printing Office for *Handbook* publication by 1976.

Late 1973: The Handbook office staff makes internal decision to concentrate on the production of two volumes, *California* (vol. 8) and *Northeast* (vol. 15), as having the highest chance to be completed and published by 1976.

November 27, 1973: A meeting is held with the representatives of the SI Press and the congressional Joint Committee on Printing to discuss the future production and distribution of the *Handbook* series. Government Printing Office (GPO) is recommended as an "ideal partner" for the *Handbook* venture to meet the U.S. bicentennial production deadline of June 25, 1976. (Hubel 1973)

1974

Spring 1974: Secretary Ripley secures a total of $930,000 in congressional appropriation to support the production of the *Handbook* series and for printing its volumes as a part of the Smithsonian bicentennial program.

May 9, 1974: Stanley requests money from bicentennial funds for *Handbook* production.

May 16, 1974: Stanley requests additional funds from bicentennial budget in support for Handbook office personnel.

December 4, 1974: Memo from T. Ames Wheeler (treasurer of SI) regarding FY 1976 budget recognizes that CSM is overseeing "20 volume Encyclopedia of North American Indians to be published by the Bicentennial. . . . Funds for printing of the Encyclopedia are contained in the Bicentennial budget request."

1975

April 1975: Sturtevant sends an updated outline to the bicentennial office pledging to produce all 20 volumes of the *Handbook* by July 1978, with 7 volumes to be released by June 25, 1976. (Sturtevant 1975b; see "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," this vol., table 2).

June 1975: The first internal Smithsonian audit of the Handbook operations by the SI Office of Audits is requested by David Challinor, under secretary for science, and Charles Blitzer, assistant secretary for history and arts, as a result of the March 12, 1975, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's (EEOC) favorable ruling of Scherer's sex discrimination case. Findings of the audit are released August 22, 1975.

September 23, 1975: In a joint memo to Smithsonian secretary Ripley, Under Secretaries Challinor and Blitzer recommend intensifying the search for full-time *Handbook* project manager, so that "Sturtevant no longer has any managerial responsibility over the staff." (Challinor and Blitzer 1975).

December 1975: Sturtevant compiles two official statements for release at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association on December 2–6, 1975, with an update on the production of the *Handbook*. The first memo provides the names of 10 Handbook office staff members (Betty T. Arens, Diane Della-Loggia, Jo Moore, Brigid Melton, Judy Wojick, Joanna C. Scherer, Lorraine Jacoby, Mark Passen, Lydia Ratliff, and Alice Nance). The second memo provides the schedule for the release of the *Handbook* volumes:

> The first volume to be published will be volume 8, *California*, due to appear on June 25, 1976. Volume 15, *Northeast*, will also be published during 1976. The schedule for the rest is less certain: some additional volumes may be issued in 1976, and several more will appear in 1977. Those most nearly completed are (in approximate order of probable publication): 6, *Subarctic*; 5, *Arctic*; 9–10, *Southwest*; 4, *History of Indian–White Relations*; 17, *Languages*; 13, *Plains*; 7, *Northwest Coast*; 11, *Basin*; 3, *Environment, Origins, and Population*; 12, *Plateau*; 14, *Southeast*; 1, *Introduction*; 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society*. The only volumes that are lagging so far as to make 1977 publication absolutely impossible are 16, *Technology and Visual Arts*; 18–19, *Biographical Dictionary*; and 20, *General Index*. (Sturtevant 1975a)

December 8, 1975: Chris Peratino submits his report on the audit of the "Encyclopedia of North American Indians Project." The report argues for realistic

printing schedule and for the hiring of a Handbook office manager, removing overall managerial responsibility from the general editor. (Peratino 1975)

1976

Winter 1976: Beginning in 1976, programs of the Center for the Study of Man are gradually phased out. Stanley is transferred from the CSM to the staff of the director of the National Museum of Natural History and Tax's service as the center's director is discontinued. Porter M. Kier, director of the National Museum of Natural History and National Museum of Man, becomes CSM administrator (October 1976). The *Handbook* is administratively transferred to NMNH.

April 2, 1976: John F. Jameson, Smithsonian assistant secretary for administration, informs Under Secretaries Blitzer and Challinor that the *Handbook* production is grossly behind the schedule and that a large portion of the funding appropriated for the printing of the *Handbook* ($330,000 in FY 1975, $300,000 in FY 1976, and $300,000 in the postbicentennial transition) should be redirected to other Smithsonian bicentennial programs.

May 1976: Laura Greenberg is contracted as *Handbook* illustrations researcher.

June 25, 1976: By the promised date of the official release of the *Handbook* series, volumes 8, 15, and 9 (*California*, *Northeast*, and *Southwest*) are in active preparation for eventual release in 1978–1979, with additional work on volumes 6 (*Subarctic*) and 10 (*Southwest*).

July 13, 1976: James Mello, assistant director of the NMNH, becomes the first program manager for the production of the *Handbook* series and daily operations of the Handbook office. Diane Della-Loggia is appointed series "production manager," in addition to her other duties.

August 1976: Ives Goddard is hired as assistant curator in the Department of Anthropology and joins the *Handbook* staff as linguistic editor.

December 1976: Diane Della-Loggia produces the first in the series of *Handbook Quarterly Reports* (continued through the spring of 1983), upon suggestion of James Mello, *Handbook* project manager. (Della-Loggia 1976)

1977

May 26, 1977: Sherrill Berger, CSM, sends a memo to Frances Rooney, Office of Programming and Budget, stating that according to current production scheduling *Handbook* volumes will be completed by 1983; the attached budget is to be inserted into Senate Hearings Transcript FY 1978.

July 1977: Nikki Lanza hired as first assistant illustrations researcher

September 1977: Cathe Brock, *Handbook* artifact researcher, is hired.

August–December 1977: Volumes 8 and 15 manuscripts are completely accepted; typesetting, printing, and binding contracts are in progress.

1978

March–April 1978: Vine Deloria, Jr., assumes responsibility for volume 2 (*Indians in Contemporary Society*) after the passing of its former editor, D'Arcy McNickle in October 1977.

April 1978: Volume 8 (*California*), the first volume in the *Handbook* series, is published by the Government Printing Office; a celebration party is held on April 27.

July 1978: Center for the Study of Man is officially eliminated; Handbook office is transferred from CSM to NMNH Department of Anthropology.

November 1978: Volume 15 (*Northeast*) is published; a celebration party is held on November 7. The volume is released in early 1979, with the 1978 publication date.

1979

July 1979: Stanley retires from the CSM, terminating his engagement with the *Handbook* project.

August 1979: Gayle Barsamian, *Handbook* artifacts researcher, is hired.

Dec. 6, 1979: A memo from William Fitzhugh, Anthropology chair, to James Mello, NMNH assistant director, recommends that the Handbook office be transferred to the Department of Anthropology to speed

up production and reduce Sturtevant's responsibilities by bringing in three "sub-editors" from the department for physical anthropology (Douglas Ubelaker), archaeology (Bruce Smith), and ethnology (Ives Goddard).

1980

April 1980: Volume 9 (*Southwest*), the first of the two *Southwest* volumes in the *Handbook* series covering the Pueblo groups is released, with the 1979 publication date.

June 1980: A third printing of 10,000 copies is ordered for both *California* and *Northeast* volumes as almost 15,000 copies of each have sold, in addition to the 1,500 copies distributed to universities, libraries, and other scholarly institutions

June 1980: A new version of the *Guide for Contributors to the Handbook of North American Indians* is produced for the forthcoming *Handbook* series volumes.

September 1980: Vine Deloria, Jr., editor of volume 2, visits Handbook office, revises volume outline, and, together with Sturtevant, decides to postpone production of the volume.

1981

March 17, 1981: Richard Fiske, NMNH director, sends a memo to Ripley about delays in publishing the *Handbook* series and the decision to allow authors to "publish their information in a modified version, different enough in substance and format so as not to undermine the integrity of their Handbook articles" (Fiske 1981)

May 1981: Production of the second *Southwest* volume (vol. 10) begins.

July 27, 1981: A second Smithsonian audit of Handbook office was done earlier in 1981; records and release date are not known. Findings critical to the production rate of the *Handbook* are sent to Richard Fiske, NMNH director, on July 27, 1981 (Peratino 1981a).

August 1981: The recently released first *Southwest* volume (vol. 9) has sold about 7,500 copies.

November 5, 1981: Sturtevant and Della-Loggia produce a revised production schedule for the remaining volumes of the *Handbook* series that extends the completion of the series to 1992 (Mello 1981b).

December 1981: Vol. 6 (*Subarctic*) released; a celebration party is held on January 11, 1982. A revised flyer for promotion of the *Handbook* has been printed in 6,000 copies for booksellers that includes all four published *Handbook* volumes (vols. 6, 8, 9, and 15).

1982

Fall 1982: Colin Busby is hired as full-time managing editor and supervisor of *Handbook* staff.

December 1982: Sturtevant publishes a short update on the *Handbook* production in the *History of Anthropology Newsletter* (Sturtevant 1982) that covers sections on the history of the Americanist studies in the published and forthcoming *Handbook* volumes.

1983

March 1983: Frederick S. Hulse resigns as editor of volume 3 (*Environment, Origins, and Population*), and Richard I. Ford accepts editorship; William E. Bittle resigns as editor of volume 13 (*Plains*), and Raymond J. DeMallie accepts editorship.

May 4, 1983: Sturtevant informs James Mello and the Smithsonian administration that he plans to reduce his role as the general editor of the *Handbook* series (Sturtevant 1983a).

June 1983: The last of the quarterly reports for the *Handbook of North American Indians* (no. 26) is produced (Della-Loggia 1983).

August 15–16, 1983: Meeting of the *Handbook* volume editors to discuss the status of the production process and set the priorities for the series. Sturtevant proposes to step down from the position of the general editor and suggests Raymond DeMallie as his successor. The volume editors agree to leave Sturtevant as the general editor.

Summer 1983: Cesare Marino joins the *Handbook* staff as assistant bibliographer; work begins on volumes 18 and 19 (*Biographical Dictionary*).

September 1983: Vol. 10 (*Southwest*), the second of the *Southwest Handbook* volumes covering the non-Pueblo

groups is released by the Government Printing Office; a celebration party is held on September 6.

October–November 1983: There is a major reorganization of the Handbook office and production process, following the 1981 audit; Colin Busby resigns from the position of *Handbook* managing editor; Handbook office staff join the NMNH Department of Anthropology; the chairman of Anthropology (Ubelaker) becomes the official supervisor of the *Handbook* production.

1984

January 1984: Earnest Lohse, artifacts researcher, is hired.

April 4, 1984: Sturtevant sends letter to editors and contributors to volumes 4 (*History of Indian–White Relations*) and 7 (*Northwest Coast*) outlining the current publication schedule (vols. 5, *Arctic* due in 1984, and 11, *Great Basin* in 1985) and urging them to restart their work on chapters for the next two volumes.

May 1984: Paula Cardwell transfers from the Department of Anthropology to the Handbook office to serve as editorial assistant to the general editor.

December 1984: Volume 5 (*Arctic*) is released.

1985

January 1985: Ives Goddard assumes responsibility of the managing editor of the *Handbook* series and is made supervisor of the *Handbook* staff.

January 24, 1985: Celebration of the recently released *Arctic* volume is held.

June 1985: Intensive work on volume 7 (*Northwest Coast*) begins; a new planning committee for volume 13 (*Plains*) meets in Washington, D.C.

December 1985: *Great Basin* volume is typeset and in final stage of production.

1986

March 1986: Dan Cole is hired part-time as *Handbook* cartographer.

August 1986: Volume 11 (*Great Basin*) is printed; a celebration party is held on October 30.

September 1986: Ives Goddard takes over many of the duties of Sturtevant during the general editor's absence abroad.

1987

March 1987: Richard Ford informs all authors of volume 3 (*Environment, Origins, and Population*) that work on the volume is imminent.

April–May 1987: *Handbook* staff work on volumes 4 (*History of Indian–White Relations*) and 7 (*Northwest Coast*); artifact researcher Skip Lohse is working on volume 13 (*Plains*).

July 1987: Volume 4 (*History of Indian–White Relations*) is sent to GPO for printing.

September 1987: Karen Ackoff, illustrator, is hired.

1988

February 1988: Richard Ford states that 75 percent of volume 3 chapters are completed, and he has given his authors October 1988 as the deadline for final submission.

April 1988: Sturtevant produces a new iteration of the "Guide for Contributors to the Handbook of North American Indians" (Sturtevant 1988).

December 1988: Volume 4 (*History of Indian–White Relations*) is released. Karla Billups arrives to the Handbook office on temporary appointment

1989

January 1989: Karla Billups is hired as the full-time *Handbook* managing editor; Ives Goddard becomes the series technical editor; Sturtevant distances himself from the daily oversight of the project.

February 16, 1989: A celebration party is held on February 16 for Volume 4 (*History of Indian–White Relations*), released in December 1988.

August 1989: Alice Burnette, SI assistant secretary for Institutional Advancement, informs Secretary Adams that effort to secure private funding for the *Handbook*

would conflict with the National Museum of American Indian fundraising.

1990

August 1990: Volume 7 (*Northwest Coast*) is released; a celebration party is held on November 16.

November 1990: Intense work resumes on volume 12 (*Plateau*), under the editorship of Deward Walker.

1991

April 1991: Intense works resumes on the production of volume 17 (*Languages*) under the leadership of Ives Goddard; Marianne Mithun is invited to serve as associate editor.

April 1991: Across the board change in government funding regulations causes *Handbook* to lose $520,000 of federal funds (printing funds and financial obligations to authors and volume editors).

June 1991: Richard Ford resigns from the position of editor of volume 3 (*Environment, Origins, and Population*), due to "low progress" and the need to change the production schedule.

October 1991: Christian Feest visits Handbook office; the contract for Feest as editor of volume 16 (*Technology and Visual Arts*) and outline of contents of volume is given to *Handbook* staff.

1992

February 1992: Budget received for Handbook office is the lowest ever; staff production of volume 13 (*Plains*) continues.

July 1992: $75,000 from Legacy program is given to the Handbook office to aid reduction in budget. The decision to concentrate on volume 17 (*Languages*) production is proposed.

1993

January–August 1993: Christian Carstensen joins the Handbook office as intern for Joanna Cohan Scherer and conducts his research on the *Handbook* production for which he received his PhD in Germany.

May–June 1993: Mary Kaye Hale, member of Colville Confederated Tribes, Arrow Lakes Band, is hired as a contractor with Joanna Cohan Scherer to work on Plateau historical photographs.

September 1993: All federal funds obligated but not used and held over from year to year ("M" funds) are canceled by the federal government. This causes the *Handbook* project to lose much funding the staff counted on for publishing volumes and paying authors.

1994

January–September 1994: Third audit of the *Handbook* office is conducted by the SI Office of Inspector General (report released in January 1995).

November–December 1994: *Handbook* staff concentrates on the production of volume 17 (*Languages*) and volume 12 (*Plateau*) instead of volume 13 (*Plains*).

December 1994: Lorraine Jacoby, bibliographer, retires.

1995

January 1995: Report of the third audit of the *Handbook* is released; the Inspector General recommends terminating the production of the series, after the completion of the three remaining area volumes (vols. 12, 13, and 14, *Plateau*, *Plains*, and *Southeast*).

June 1995: William Merrill, Anthropology acting chair, meets with *Handbook* staff to discuss best strategy for completing remaining *Handbook* volumes.

July 29, 1995: The staff of the Handbook office produces a detailed memorandum on the production schedule for volumes 12 (*Plateau*), 13 (*Plains*), 14 (*Southeast*), and 17 (*Languages*) and requests to self-manage the preparation of the remaining volumes.

September 1995: Smithsonian Department of Anthropology explores the possibilities of outsourcing the production of remaining *Handbook* volumes to private publishers.

September 1995: Carolyn Rose, Anthropology deputy chair, is assigned to work with the *Handbook* staff; Karla Billups, managing editor, resigns.

November 1995: The Inspector General recommends to the Smithsonian Board of Regents that that the *Hand-*

book series be terminated in three or four years for the saving of $500,000 annually. (Inspector General 1995)

1996

May 13, 1996: The *Handbook* staff members make another proposal to self-manage the series by committee with a rotating liaison with the chair of the Department of Anthropology; Carolyn Rose, Department of Anthropology deputy chair, becomes de facto managing editor and program manager.

Spring and Summer 1996: *Handbook* staff works on volume 12 (*Plateau*) as volume 17 (*Languages*) nears completion.

November 1996: Volume 17 (*Languages*) is published. Cartographic work starts on volume 12 (*Plateau*).

December 1996: University of Nebraska Press agrees to distribute Ives Goddard's "Native Languages and Language Families of North America" map prepared for volume 17. NMNH reallocates half of Handbook office space to the museum registrar's office.

1997

Intensive work on Volume 12 (*Plateau*) continues.

March 13, 1997: A celebration party is held for the recently released volume 17 (*Languages*).

1998

June 1998: Volume 12 (*Plateau*) is released; no publication party is scheduled because of pending cuts in the production budget.

1998: A new planning committee for volume 14 (*Southeast*) meets in Washington, D.C.

1998: Work resumes on the production of volume 13 (*Plains*).

October 1998: The Smithsonian announces proposed 66 percent cut in the *Handbook* production budget, incurring pending cuts to the remaining editorial staff.

1999

January 1999: Final version of the "Guide for Contributors" is produced for the *Handbook* series.

January 1999: Ross Simons, NMNH associate director for Research and Collections, contracts Wayne Kelley, Jr., to conduct the fourth audit of the *Handbook* project.

March 1999: Jason B. Jackson assumes the position of associated editor for volume 14 (*Southeast*); new chapters are solicited starting in May 1999.

April 1999: The fourth internal review of the Handbook office recommends downsizing and joint-venture publishing for volumes 2, 3, and 16 (Kelley 1999).

May 1999: Roger Roop is hired as *Handbook* illustrator.

October 1999: The University of Nebraska Press republishes the volume 17 map "Native Languages and Language Families of North America," produced by Ives Goddard.

2000

February 2000: Melvina Jackson, Handbook office administrator, dies suddenly.

April 2000: *Handbook* staff is informed that Douglas Ubelaker and Dennis Stanford will take lead on the production of volume 3 (*Environment, Origins, and Population*).

July 2000: Jason Jackson and Ray Fogelson meet in Oklahoma to work out volume 14 (*Southeast*) editing procedures; work on editing individual chapters starts.

December 2000: GPO sends page proofs for part of volume 13 (*Plains*); staff realizes the volume will be 1,073 pages, too big for one bound book.

2001

June 2001: Volume 13 (*Plains*) is released as a two-volume set.

September 2001: Ruth Trocolli, artifacts researcher for volume 14 (*Southeast*), begins work.

2002

March 2002: A celebration for the newly published volume 13 (*Plains*) is postponed because *Handbook*

supervisor, Carolyn Rose, is very sick; no reception is held.

March 2002: Douglas Ubelaker assumes responsibility as lead editor to resume work on volume 3 (*Environment, Origins, and Population*), since its previous editor, Richard Ford resigned a decade earlier. A new volume planning committee is selected, and the work on the volume starts.

April 2002: Carolyn Rose steps down as Department of Anthropology chair and supervisor of *Handbook* staff; William Fitzhugh becomes chair and supervisor of *Handbook* staff.

2003

Throughout the year, *Handbook* staff works primarily on volume 14 (*Southeast*) and secondarily on volume 3 (*Environment, Origins, and Population*).

January 2003: Jason B. Jackson visits Handbook office to discuss restarting work on volume 14 (*Southeast*) production.

March–April 2003: GPO sells 2,496 copies of volume 13 (*Plains*) in 18 months, sales show decrease in popularity; NMNH bookstore is losing money on the *Handbook* sales and raises price of individual volumes.

December 2003: Most of volume 14 (*Southeast*) is ready for GPO.

2004

April 2004: Cristián Samper, NMNH director, and Hans-Dieter Sues, assistant director for science, tour the Handbook office as the staff struggles to get NMNH support. At the request of William Fitzhugh, chair of Anthropology and *Handbook* supervisor, the staff produces a four-page analysis of "Projected Handbook Production" issues for the museum director.

Summer 2004: Christian Feest, director of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna, confirms his readiness to resume the work on volume 16 (*Technology and Visual Arts*), visits Handbook office (in June and September 2004).

September 2004: Volume 14 (*Southeast*), the last of the regional volumes in the *Handbook* series, is released.

November 2004: Feest submits to Fitzhugh a revised outline for volume 16 and gets positive support for its production from Samper and Sues.

2005

February–March 2005: The option of electronic version of the *Handbook* series is explored in partnership with the Alexander Street Press of Alexandria, Virginia; the proposal receives no support from the Handbook office staff, NMNH, or Smithsonian management. (Fitzhugh 2005)

April 22, 2005: A reception is held for the publication of volume 14 (*Southeast*).

April 2005: The NMNH Department of Anthropology is warned by the office of the SI Undersecretary for Science that the *Handbook* staff will be downsized by the end of FY 2007 and all federal positions in the Handbook office will be terminated. (Evans 2005)

June 2005: Vine Deloria, Jr., resigns as volume editor for volume 2 (*Indians in Contemporary Society*) and dies November 13, 2005; Garrick Bailey becomes volume editor and work resumes on volume 2.

July–November 2005: Christian Feest is contracted to complete the work on volume 16 (*Technology and Visual Arts*), with team in Vienna and Frankfurt and a production (completion) date set by August 2007 (Feest 2005); Feest visits the Handbook office in October and November, to examine volume materials and work with staff.

2006

April 2006: The staff of the Handbook office are awarded NMNH Science Achievement Award for 2005 for publication of volume 14 (*Southeast*).

May 2006: Joanna Cohan Scherer, *Handbook* illustrations researcher, retires after 36 years.

June 2006: Volume 3 (*Environment, Origins, and Population*), the largest in the series, is sent for printing.

2007

January 2007: William Sturtevant, the *Handbook* general editor, retires from his position at the Smithsonian

Department of Anthropology; attrition of the Handbook office staff continues.

March 2007: Ives Goddard, linguistic editor, retires from the Handbook office after 31 years, becomes linguistic curator emeritus in the Department of Anthropology.

March 3, 2007: William Sturtevant, *Handbook* general editor for more than forty years (1966–2007), dies in Washington, D.C.

March–April 2007: Volume 3 (*Environment, Origins, and Population*) is released with 2006 publication date; last celebration party is held on April 17, 2007.

August 2007: Work is completed on volume 2 (*Indians in Contemporary Society*), but the printing and release of the volume is delayed until July 2008. The production deadline for volume 16 (*Technology and Visual Arts*) is not met.

October 4, 2007: Dan Rogers, chair of Anthropology, announces closing of Handbook office on December 8, 2007.

December 8, 2007: The Handbook office officially closes; production of volume 2 continues with staff members Diane Della-Loggia and Cesare Marino working as volunteers. No more work is envisioned on the remaining unpublished volumes of the series (vols. 1, 18, 19, 20) except volume 16 (*Technology and Visual Arts*).

2008

Winter–Spring 2008: After official closure of the Handbook office, all production files are transferred to the Smithsonian National Anthropological Archives (NAA).

July 2008: Volume 2, *Indians in Contemporary Society*, is released as officially the "last" volume of the *Handbook* series; work on volume 16 (*Technology and Visual Arts*) continues under the leadership of Christian Feest in Vienna.

September 2008: 504 linear feet of *Handbook* files are accessioned into the NAA. Some files remain with staff who continue to work at the Smithsonian.

2009

July 2009: Benjamin Brown of the NAA completes a register of the papers of the *Handbook* project. His inventory records 513 linear feet with 11 boxes of oversized material and 4 boxes of rolled maps.

2011

May 2011: Due to limited storage space at the NAA in Suitland, Maryland, a major portion of *Handbook* records (including 91.5 linear feet of unpublished photographs) are sent to offsite storage. Researchers must request ahead to access these materials.

2013

February–March 2013: Mary Jo Arnoldi, Anthropology chair, raises the issue of the "unfinished" *Handbook* series, particularly of the "missing" volume 1 (*Introduction*). Igor Krupnik, Arctic ethnology curator, visits NAA and explores archival files from the early production of volume 1. Following his visit, he submits a memo to Arnoldi (March 7) on the status of volume 1 and the options to revitalize its production. A small group in the Department of Anthropology (Krupnik, Ives Goddard, and William Merrill) starts informal discussion on resuming work on volume 1. In another memo to Arnoldi (March 22), Krupnik outlines steps needed to restart volume 1.

April 2, 2013: In an executive meeting, the Department of Anthropology approves Krupnik's proposal to resume work on volume1 to be supervised by a small "exploratory team" of Krupnik, Goddard, and Merrill. The team's tasks are identified as "exploring various opportunities and reaching out to prospective contributors to whatever version [of the volume] we finally recommend, including a special issue of the *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology* series that would require inviting several external authors."

April–June 2013: The NMNH "exploratory team" continues discussion on the content and structure of volume 1. Several new members join the group: Daniel Rogers (NMNH), Sergei A. Kan (Dartmouth College), and Ira Jacknis (Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, UC-Berkeley). The idea of producing a

regular *Handbook* series volume (other than a separate stand-alone publication) takes shape.

August 2013: The volume 1 "exploratory team" starts reaching out to prospective contributors and prepares the first outline for the new volume 1, then of 31 chapters in 3 large sections.

November 2013: A group led by Krupnik, and including Merrill, Candace Greene (both at the Department of Anthropology, NMNH), Tim Johnson and David Penney (both at National Museum of the American Indian [NMAI]), Gina Rappaport (NAA), and Ginger Strader (Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press), submits a proposal to the Smithsonian "Grand Challenges" Consortia program seeking funds to organize a planning workshop for the new *Handbook* volume and to bring together prospective contributors.

December 2013: The Smithsonian Consortia awards $20,000 to a one-year project aimed at organizing a volume 1 planning workshop, under the title "Emerging Themes in Native North American Research: Planning the Smithsonian Agenda for the 21st Century."

2014

March 2014: William Merrill submits the first draft chapter titled "William Curtis Sturtevant, General Editor" for the new volume 1.

March–June 2014: The planning teams produces several amended versions of the volume 1 outline; prospective chapter contributors are invited to attend a volume planning workshop in Washington, D.C., in December 2014.

Summer 2014: Ann McMullen and Gabi Tayac (both at NMAI) and Joe Watkins (Department of Interior, Office of Tribal Relations and American Cultures) agree to join the volume 1 planning team.

September–October 2014: Krupnik presents the outline of the new volume at open meetings at NMAI (September 11) and NMNH Department of Anthropology (October 7).

December 7–8, 2014: A two-day planning meeting for new volume 1 (*Introduction*), with 30+ prospective contributors, is held successively at NMAI and NMNH in Washington, D.C. More than 30 proposals for individual chapters are presented with prospective chapter titles and short (200-word) chapter abstracts. Authors approve a nine-member planning team to serve as volume editorial board, with Krupnik as volume editor to supervise the production of volume 1.

December 12, 2014: Krupnik submits a proposal to the Smithsonian Scholarly Studies Awards Program in the Arts and Humanities titled "The Smithsonian Handbook Pledge: Producing Volume 1 (Introduction) to the Smithsonian Handbook of North American Indians series." The award of $45,890 is granted in March 2015; work on the new volume chapters starts in earnest.

Appendix 2: *Handbook* Series Production and Editorial Staff, 1969–2022

The purpose of this appendix is to fulfill the promise made in the prefaces to all previously published *Handbook* volumes, from 1978 to 2008, that "a listing of the entire editorial staff involved in the *Handbook* production" would be presented in volume 1 (Bailey 2008c:xi; Sturtevant and Heizer 1978:xii). Compiling the full list of the *Handbook* series team members over almost 40 years was challenged by the absence of organized data, particularly on the precise periods of service for several *Handbook* editorial staff, even more so, for interns and volunteers. We estimate that altogether over 1,500 people took part in the production of the *Handbook* series (including this volume)—as contributors/authors, editors, editorial and support staff, reviewers, administrators, publishers, and so on. Many of them are named in the chapters in this volume (see "Preface," "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," "Production of the *Handbook*, 1970–2008," "Organization and Operation," and "The *Handbook*: A Retrospective," and "Appendix 1"). Listing *all* participants in the *Handbook* series may be a goal for future effort.

The majority of names listed in this appendix were extracted by William L. Merrill from the prefaces to 15 published *Handbook* volumes (1978–2008) and supplemented for the period from 1976 to 1983 by data found in the *Handbook* quarterly reports (Della-Loggia 1976–1983). Several former Handbook office staff, particularly Joanna Cohan Scherer, Ives Goddard, and Cesare Marino, provided additional input. The list is organized by position, with dates of service for each individual, when available. An "ellipsis" (. . .) is applied when the exact date of service remains undefined. Due to gaps in the temporal coverage of available sources, some *Handbook* staff members who served for short periods of time might not appear in the list. All chapter contributors (authors) to the *Handbook* volumes, as well as members of the volume planning committees, are named in the front and back matter of individual volumes.

In addition, many short-term interns and volunteers were involved in the production of the *Handbook* over 50 years. We could not have produced our volumes with such a high degree of detail without the work of these individuals. Our effort to list these individuals was substantially hampered for the last two years of the production of this volume by the closing of Smithsonian offices, including the valuable archival depositories, since March 2020, due to the covid-19 pandemic. We apologize to these volunteers and interns whom we missed acknowledging.

This is only the beginning of paying a full tribute to the many people who worked on the *Handbook* project over the 50+ years since its inception. We express our deepest gratitude to everyone who contributed, in one way or the other, to the realization of this monumental effort.

Igor Krupnik

Handbook Office Editorial and Production Staff

General Editor: William C. Sturtevant (1966–2007)
Linguistic Editor: Ives Goddard (1976–2007)
Technical Editor: Ives Goddard (1989 –2007)
Managing Editor: Colin I. Busby (1982–1983), Ives Goddard (1985–1989), Karla Billups (1989–1995)
Production Manager [*Handbook* Coordinator, 1976–1978]: Diane Della-Loggia (1976–2007)
Staff Coordinator: Paula Cardwell (1996–2007)
Editorial Assistant (to the general editor) [Editorial Liaison, 1990–2007]: Carol H. Blew (1969–1972), Betty T. Arens (1972–1979), Nikki L. Lanza (1980–1984), Paula Cardwell (1984–2007)
Manuscript Editor [also Manuscript and Copy Editor, 1972–1978]: Diane Della-Loggia (1972–2007)
Bibliographer: Lorraine H. Jacoby (1972–1995), Cesare Marino (2001–2007; acting bibliographer, 1995–2000)
Bibliographic Assistant: Mark Passen (1974–1976), Caroline Ladeira (1976–1981), Estella Bryans-Munson . . . , vol. 4; Peter Yiotis . . . vols. 12 and 17; Alexander Young . . . , vol. 12; Patricia O. Afable (1991–1995), vol. 17; Michael McGinnes . . . , vols. 9–10; Douglas Hinkle . . . , vols. 3 and 14
Illustrations Researcher: Joanna Cohan Scherer (1970–2006), Laura J. Greenberg (1976–1982),

Donna Longo DiMichele (1986–1988), Elizabeth M. Hartjens (2006–2007)

Assistant Illustrations Researcher: Nikki L. Lanza (1977–1979), Anne Morgan (1979–1982), Frances Galindo [aka Frances Sundt] (. . . –1988), Rebecca Dobkins (1996), Carin Cobb (1996–1997), Brenda McLain (1998), Vicki Simon (1998–2004), Aleithea Williams (2004–2005), Erica Davis [aka Erica Paige Choucroun] (2005–2006)

Rights and Reproduction Coordinator: Erica Paige Choucroun [aka Erica Davis] (2006–2007)

Artifact Researcher: Cathe Brock (1977–1978), Cathy Wallace (1978–1979), Gayle Barsamian (1979–1985), Ernest S. Lohse (1985–1989), Thomas Kavanagh (1990–1992), Christine A. Jirikowic (1994–1997), Barbara Watanabe (1997), Brenda McLain (1998), Candace Greene (1999–2001), Ruth Trocolli (2001–2004), Dawn Mulhern (2004–2006; called "Specimen Researcher"), Shane Lutz (2004–2006; called "Specimen Researcher")

Scientific Illustrator: Jo Ann Moore (1972–1986), Brigid Melton Sullivan (1975–1976), Karen Ackoff (1987–1997), Catherine Spencer (1998–1999), Roger Thor Roop (1999–2006)

Cartographer [Research Assistant (cartography), 1975–1978]: Judith Crawley Wojcik (1975–1986), Daniel G. Cole (1986—2007), Terence Arundel (1993–1995)

Cartographic Technician: Kimberly Rydel (1988), vol. 4; Amy Ahner . . . , vol. 7.

Graphic Arts Technician: Tuleda Yvonne Poole . . . , vol. 5; Barbara Frey . . . , vol. 5.

Researcher: Cesare Marino (1983–2007)

Administrative Assistant: Melvina Jackson (1980–2000)

Secretary: Marianna Koskouras (1969–1973), Rosemary De Rosa (1973–1974), Gloria Harman (1974–1975), Filomena Chau (1975), Alice N. Boarman (1975–1978), Jacquelyn F. Menefee (1978–1980), Valerie Smith (1981–1982), Nancy Schultz (1982– . . .), Nancy Mottershaw . . . , Justine Ickes . . . , Tujuanna L. Evans . . . , Lorretta Williams . . . , Vivian Cobb . . . , Janna Marchione.

Research Assistant: Patricia O. Afable (1991–1995) to the Linguistic Editor, Christian Carstensen (1993), to illustration researcher Joanna Cohan Scherer

One-Year Research Assistant (to the general editor)**:** William L. Merrill (1972–1973), Susan Golla (1973–1974), Nancy Stasulis (1973–1974), Laura Conkey (1974–1975), Paula Rabkin (1975–1976)

Summer Research Assistant (to the general editor): Ira Jacknis (1973–1975)

Fellows: Jessica Cattelino (2001; Smithsonian Institution predoctoral fellow, worked with the general editor on vol. 14)

Non-*Handbook* Staff

Editorial, production, and logistical functions: Samuel Stanley (Smithsonian Office of Anthropology/Center for the Study of Man, *Handbook* co-lead, 1966–1972); Marcia Bakry (NMNH Department of Anthropology, scientific illustrator); Hazel Bobb (NMNH Department of Anthropology, data entry specialist); Candace Greene (NMNH Department of Anthropology, artifact researcher); Phillip E. Minthorn, Jr. (NMNH Office of Repatriation, documented illustrations, vol. 12); Lydia Ratliff (Center for the Study of Man, devoted considerable time to *Handbook*-related activities, 1969–1972)

Other key functions (non-editorial): James F. Mello (1976–1983, project manager while assistant director of the Museum of Natural History and Museum of Man); Victor Krantz (NMNH, photographed many artifacts included in *Handbook* volumes)

Department of Anthropology chairs, 1983–2008 (*Handbook* project oversight): Douglas H. Ubelaker (1983–1984), Adrienne L. Kaeppler (1985–1988), Donald J. Ortner (1988–1992), Dennis J. Stanford (1992–1999), Carolyn L. Rose (1999–2002), William W. Fitzhugh (2002–2005), J. Daniel Rogers (2005–2008)

Department of Anthropology deputy chairs (involved in *Handbook* activities): Carolyn Rose (1992–1999), Laura Burgess (2005–2008)

Volume 1 Editorial and Production Team

Volume editor: Igor Krupnik (2013–2022)

Volume editorial board ("planning committee" 2013–2015): Ives Goddard (2013–2022), Ira Jacknis (2013–2021), Sergei A. Kan (2013–2022), William L. Merrill (2013–2022), Ann McMullen (2014–2020), J. Daniel Rogers (2013–2022), Gabrielle Tayac (2014–2016), Joe Watkins (2013–2022)

Advisory/production team: JoAllyn Archambault (2014–2018), Joanna Cohan Scherer (2014–2022), Daniel G. Cole (2016–2022), Candace Greene (2014), Cesare Marino (2014–2022), Ginger Strader Minkiewicz (2014–2022), Corey Sattes (Heyward) (2015–2022).

Production manager (assistant to editor, 2015–2017): Corey Sattes (Heyward) (2017–2022).
Copy editor: Heidi Fritschel (2016–2018), Susan G. Harris (2021–2022)
Cartographer: Daniel G. Cole (2016–2022)
Illustration editor: Joanna Cohan Scherer (2015–2022, for the *Handbook* history section)
Graphic editor: Igor Chechushkov (2020–2022)
Permission assistance: Dawn Biddison (2019–2021)
Research/archival assistance: Janet Daneck (2015–2016), Carolyn Smith (2016–2018)
Bibliographic assistance: Kelly Lindberg (2015)
Volume planning assistance: Laura Sharp (Fleming) (2014)
Illustration assistants (interns/volunteers): Kerrie Monahan (2014–2015), Sarah Dressel (2015), Emily Solomon (2016), Hannah Toombs (2016–2017), Elizabeth Gibbons (2017), Meagan Shirley (2017), and Etta Zajic (2018-–2021).

Appendix 3: Conventions on Tribal and Ethnic Names in Volume 1

IGOR KRUPNIK, WITH ADDITIONS BY DANIEL G. COLE, IVES GODDARD, CESARE MARINO, LARRY NESPER, AND JOE WATKINS

After the appearance of the *Handbook* area volumes 5–15, between 1978 and 2004, many conventional names for Indigenous Native American and First Nations groups across North America have been replaced by new ones. The new names are now commonly used as self-designations, in tribal documentation, cultural materials, and websites, in government agency lists, and in general and scholarly contexts (see "Preface," this vol.). It is a rapidly changing political reality, as North American Indigenous groups strive to represent themselves—and to be called by others—using the names of their choice, not by designations bestowed on them by explorers, settlers, government agencies, and outside researchers. Generations of students of Native American cultures and history tried to address this multiplicity in Indigenous naming by compiling lists of "tribal synonymies" (see "Antecedents of the Smithsonian *Handbook* Project" and "The Beginnings, 1965–1971," this vol.), including the "Synonymy" sections added to each tribal/group chapter in the *Handbook* area volumes 5–15, which readers should consult for specific detail.

Yet, unlike in the 1970s and 1980s, when volumes of the *Handbook* series went to print, no single source today may claim to be a decisive authority on Indigenous/Native ethnic naming across the entire North American continent. Each of its three nation states, the United States, Canada, and Mexico, maintains regularly updated lists of their "officially recognized" Indigenous groups, like the list of Federal and State Recognized Tribes in the United States, the First Nations/Inuit/Métis communities in Canada; and the Pueblos Indígenas (Indigenous Peoples) in Mexico (see "Sources," this section). Similar but often quite divergent lists of North American Indigenous nations have been adopted by many international groups, like the Survival International, International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), UNESCO, UN Inter-Agency Support Group for Indigenous Peoples, online encyclopedias, databases, and interactive maps, Indigenous Peoples' organizations and tribal portals, and myriad other web-based sources.

The prime goal of this appendix is to help volume readers navigate through the changes in Native American/First Nations names within the *Handbook* series itself, between 1978 and 2020. It includes about 140 Indigenous groups listed in the chapters and on area maps in this volume that are currently known under different names (or different spellings) than those assigned to them in other *Handbook* volumes. This list is aimed as a guide to the *Handbook* series only; it does not include all of the many hundreds of names currently in use (as of 2020), and the process of Indigenous name replacement is certain to continue. In compiling the list, we based our decisions on various sources, chapter authors' and reviewers' advice, and established practice, to show the ongoing shifts in Native North American political and cultural naming practices during the first decades of the twenty-first century.

Other Sources

Useful sites to access National Lists of Native Tribes/First Nations/Indigenous Communities include:

United States: Federal Register 2021; National Conference of State Legislators 2020

Canada: Government of Canada 2021; Inuit Nunagat 2020; Métis Nation n.d.

Mexico: Instituto Nacional de los Pueblos Indígenas 2020

Name(s) used in Volume 1	*Other optional name(s)*	*Name(s) used in other volumes*
A'aniiih (Gros Ventre)	A'aninin	Gros Ventre
Akimel O'odham	Akimel O'odham (Pima)	Pima
Algonquin (Canadian First Nation only)	Algonquin	
Alutiit	Alutiit (Sugpiat)	Pacific Eskimo
Anishinaabe	Anishinaabe, Anishnabe	Ojibwe, Odawa, Potawatomi

Name(s) used in Volume 1	*Other optional name(s)*	*Name(s) used in other volumes*
Apache (Ndee)	Ndee, Nde	Apache
Assiniboine (Nakoda)	Nakoda (Assiniboine)	Assiniboine
Atakapa-Ishak (Chawasha)	Atakapa-Ishak	Atakapa
Athapaskan	Athabaskan, Athabascan	Athapaskan
Atikamekw	Atikamek	Attikamek
Bannock (Banakwut)	Shoshone-Bannock	Bannock
Blackfeet (Niitsitapi)	Niitsitapi (Blackfoot)	Blackfoot, Blackfoot Confederacy
Chiricahua Apache	Chiricahua (San Carlos) Apache	San Carlos Apache
Cochiti	Cochiti Pueblo	Cochitii, Cochiti Pueblo
Cocopah	Cocopah	Cocopa
Coeur d'Alene (Skitswish)	Coeur d'Alene	Coeur d'Alene
Crow (Apsáalooke)	Crow	Crow
Dakelh	Dakelh (Carrier)	Carrier
Dane-zaa	Beaver (Dane-zaa)	Beaver
Dee-ni'	Dee-ni' (Tolowa)	Smith River Rancheria
Deg Hit'an	Deg Hit'an (Ingalik)	Ingalik
Dena'ina	Dena'ina (Tanaina)	Tanaina
Denaakk'e	Denaakk'e (Koyukon)	Koyukon
Denesuline (Chipewyan)	Chipewyan (Denesuline)	Chipewyan
Dene Tha'	Dene Tha' (Slavey)	Slavey
East Cree (Eeyou Eenou)	East Main Cree	East Main Cree, Eastmain Cree
Gitxsan	Gitxan, Gitxaala	Gitksan
Gwich'in	Gwich'in (Kutchin)	Kutchin
Hän	Han	Han
Heiltsuk	Heiltsuk (Bella Bella)	Bella Bella
Hia C-eḍ O'odham	Hia C-eḍ O'odham (Areneños, Sand Papago)	
Ho-Chunk	Ho-Chunk (Winnebago)	Winnebago
Hualapai	Walapai	
Huichol	Wixarika (Huichol)	Huichol
Iglulingmiut	Iglulingmiut (Iglulik Inuit)	Iglulik Eskimo
Innu	Innu (Naskapi)	Naskapi
Innu-Montagnais	Innu, Montagnais (Innu)	Montaignais-Naskapi
Inughuit	Inughuit (Thule Inuit)	Polar Eskimo
Inuinnait	Inuinnait (Copper Inuit)	Copper Eskimo
Inupiat	Bering Strait Inupiat	Bering Strait Eskimo
Iñupiat	North Alaska Iñupiat	North Alaska Eskimo
Inuvialuit	Mackenzie Inuit	Mackenzie Delta Eskimo
Kalaallit (West Greenlanders)	West Greenlanders	West Greenland Eskimo
Kalinago	Kalinago (Island Carib)	Carib
K'asho Got'ine	K'asho Got'ine (Hare)	Hare
Kawaiisu (Nüwa)	Kawaiisu	Kawaiisu
Kitasoo/Xai'xais	Xai'xais (Haihais)	Haihais
Kivallirmiut	Kivallirmiut (Caribou Inuit)	Caribou Eskimo
K'ómoks (Comox)	K'ómoks	Comox
Kumeyaay (Ti'pai)	Tipai	Kumeyaay
Kwakwaka'awkw	Kwakwaka'wakw	Kwakiutl
Lillooet (St'at'imc)	St'at'imc	Lillooet
Maricopa (Ak-Chin)	Ak-Chin (Maricopa)	Maricopa
Mashpee Wampanoag	Mashpee (Wampanoag)	Mashpee
Mayo (Yoreme)	Yoreme (Mayo)	Mayo
Meherrin (Kauwets'a:ka)	Meherrin	
Menominee	Menomini	Menominee

Name(s) used in Volume 1	*Other optional name(s)*	*Name(s) used in other volumes*
Meskwaki	Meskwaki (Sac and Fox)	Fox, Mesquaki
Miccosukee	Mikasuki	Miccosukee
Miami (Myaamiaki)	Miami	
Mi’kmaq	Mi’kmaq (Mi’gmaq)	Micmac
Mohawk	Mohawk (Kanien’kéha’)	Mohawk
Mojave (‘Aha Makhav)	Mohave (Mojave)	Mohave
Muscogee (Mvskoke)	Mvskoke	Muscogee
Mushkegowuk	Swampy and Moose Cree	West Main Cree
Nakoda	Nakoda (Stoney)	Stoney
Nakawē (Saulteaux)	Saulteaux (Nakawē)	Saulteaux
Natsilingmiut	Netsilik Inuit	Netsilik Eskimo
Navajo (Diné)	Diné (Navajo)	Navajo
Nez Perce (Nimiipuu)	Nimiipuu	Nez Perce
Nisga’a	Nisga’a (Nishga)	Nishga
Northern Paiute (Nuwu)	Nuwu, Northern Paiute	Northern Paiute
Northern Tepehuán (Ódami)	Ódami (Northern Tepehuan)	Northern Tepehuan
Nottoway (Cheroenhaka)	Cheroenhaka (Nottoway)	Nottaway
Nunatsiarmiut	Nunatsiarmiut (Baffinland Inuit)	Baffinland Eskimo
Nunatsiavummiut	Nunatsiavummiut (Labrador Inuit)	Labrador Eskimo
Nunavimmiut	Nunavik Inuit	Inuit of Quebec
Nuu-chah-nulth	Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka)	Nootka
Nuxalk	Nuxalk (Bella Coola)	Bella Coola
Odawa (Ottawa)	Odawa	Ottawa
Ojibwe	Ojibwe (Anishinaabe)	Ojibway, Ojibwa
Okanagan (Syilx)	Syilx (Okanagan)	Okanagan
Pai Pai (Akwa’ala)	Pai Pai	Paipai
Piipash (Maricopa)	Maricopa (Piipash)	Maricopa
P’orhepecha	P’orhepecha (Tarascan)	Tarascan
Pueblo of Zuni (A:shiwi)	Zuni Pueblo	Zuni
Sahtú	Sahtú Dene (North Slavey)	North Slavey
Sakawiyiniwak (Western Woods Cree)	Western Woods Cree	
Sakhtu gotine	Sahtúgotine (Bearlake)	Bear Lake Indians
Sauk	Sauk (Sac and Fox)	Sauk and Fox
Secwépemc	Secwépemc (Shuswap)	Shuswap
Seri (Comcáac)	Comcaac (Seri)	Seri
Shíshálh (Sechelt)	Sechelt (Shíshálh)	Sechelt
Shita Got’ine (Mountain)	Shita Got’ine	Mountain
Shoshone-Bannock Tribes	Northern Shoshone (Newe)	Bannock, Northern Shoshone
S’klallam	S’klallam (Klallam)	Klallam
Skokomish	Twana/Skokomish	Twana
Southern Paiute (Nuwuvi)	Nuwuvi	Southern Paiute
Southern Tepehuan (Dami)	Dami	Southern Tepehuan
Sq’éwlets	Sq’éwlets (Scowlitz)	Scowlitz
Squamish (Suquamish)	Squamish	
St. Lawrence Island Yupik	Yupik (Siberian Yupik)	St. Lawrence Island Eskimo
Stó:lō	Sto:lō Nation	Stolo
Sts’ailes	Sts’ailes (Chehalis)	Chehalis
Swinomish	Swinomish (Coast Salish)	Coast Salish
Syilx (Okanagan)	Okanagan (Syilx)	Okanagan
Tahltan (Nahani)	Tahltan	
Tarahumara (Raramuri)	Raramuri (Tarahumara)	Tarahumara
T’atsaot’ine	T’atsaot’ine (Yellowknife)	Yellowknife
Tlatskanai	Clatskanie (Tlatskanai)	Clatskanie
Tla’amin	Tla’amin (Sliammon)	Sliammon

Name(s) used in Volume 1	*Other optional name(s)*	*Name(s) used in other volumes*
Tlicho	Tlicho (Dogrib)	Dogrib
Tohono O’odham	Tohono O’odham (Papago)	Papago
Tongva	Tongva (Acjachemen)	
Tonto Apache (Dilzhe’e)	Dilzhe’e (Tonto Apache)	Tonto
Tsek’ehne	Tsek’ehne (Sekani)	Sekani
T’set’sa’ut	T’set’sa’ut (Tsetsaut)	Tsetsaut
Tsilhqot’in	Tsilhqot’in (Chilkotin)	Chilkotin
Tsuut’ina	Tsuut’ina (Sarcee)	Sarcee
Tunumiit	Tunumiit (East Greenland Inuit)	East Greenland Eskimo
Unangax̂	Unangax̂ (Aleut)	Aleut
Upper Kuskokwim	Upper Kuskokwim (Kolchan)	Kolchan
Wampanoag	Wôpanâak	Wampanoag, Pokanoket
Wendat	Wendat (in Canada), Huron-Wendat	Huron
Western Shoshone (Newe)	Newe (Western Shoshone)	Western Shoshone
Wet’suwet’en	Wet’suwet’en (Western Carrier)	Western Carrier
Wuikinuxv	Wuikinuxv (Oowekeeno)	Oowekeeno
Wyandot	Wyandot (Wyandotte)	Wyandot, Wyandotte
Xai’xais	Xai’xais (Haihais)	Haihais
Yaqui (Yoeme)	Yoeme (Yaqui)	Yaqui
Yup’ik	Western Alaska Yup’ik	Southwest Alaska Eskimo

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The list includes all references cited in the volume, arranged in alphabetical order according to the names of the authors as they appear in the citations in the text and in the "Additional Readings" sections in some chapters. Multiple works by the same author are arranged chronologically; second and subsequent titles by the same author in the same year are differentiated by letters added to the dates. Where more than one author with the same surname is cited, one has been selected for text citation by surname alone throughout the volume, while the others are cited with added initials; the combination of surname with date in text citations should avoid confusion. Where a publication date is different from the series date (as in some annual reports and the like) the former is used. Dates, authors, and titles that do not appear on the original works are enclosed by brackets. Original publication, reprint, and revision details follow full bibliographic entries where relevant. Web locations for online resources were current at time of submission.

AFN *see* Assembly of First Nations (AFN)

AIC *see* Aboriginal Institutes Consortium (AIC)

AIHEC *see* American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC)

AIPRC *see* American Indians Policy Review Commission (AIPRC)

ARCIA = Commissioner of Indian Affairs
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Indigenous words appearing in the text are indexed using standard orthographies as they are cited in the text, figure captions, and tables.