PRIVATE COLLECTIONS IN PUBLIC SPACES:

IDENTIFYING AND ADDRESSING DISPLAY AND TREATMENT CONCERNS FOR CULTURALLY-SENSITIVE OBJECTS IN FORMERLY PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

A Case Study of NAGPRA-Applicable Objects in the Chappell Collection, Bureau of Land

Management Anasazi Heritage Center

By

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Private Collections in Public Spaces:

Identifying and Addressing Display and Treatment Concerns for Culturally-sensitive Objects in Formerly Private Collections

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For many indigenous groups, sensitive materials including human remains, funerary objects and sacred objects retain a profound importance to living communities. In part due to private collection practices of the twentieth century, many culturally-sensitive objects—sometimes unknowingly—have become part of museum collections worldwide. While many descendent communities have or will seek repatriation of such materials, the display and care of sensitive objects while in custody of museums is a major concern. This thesis seeks to provide curatorial and collections management recommendations that address both traditional indigenous beliefs and modern curation standards as they pertain to the identification, display, storage and handling of culturally-sensitive objects found in privately-amassed collections.

The research conducted for this study involved an inventory review of the Chappell Collection located at the BLM Anasazi Heritage Center in Dolores, Colorado. As a collection receiving federal funding from the United States, culturally-sensitive funerary objects applicable under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) comprise approximately one-third of the entire Chappell Collection. Although the curation management guidelines provided within this thesis are specific to the Chappell Collection, this case study seeks to provide a framework for other institutions to not only identify sensitive objects within

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formerly private collections, but also work with indigenous groups to develop new curation standards and exhibit content with respect to extant cultures.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

2015 marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the implementation of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA).¹ Over the years, this cultural resource legislation (and some also say, human rights legislation) has had many successes. One of these successes is the public publication of human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony that were eligible for repatriation in Federal Register notices. To date, this has included the remains of 50,518 individuals and 1,420,560 funerary objects, sacred objects or objects of cultural patrimony.² Arguably, the largest success of NAGPRA is that the law has encouraged the creation of collaborative programs between institutions and Native American descendant groups with the aim of reconciling past collection practices and presenting the history and cultural lifeways of the ancestors from Native perspectives. Despite these successes in repatriation and collaboration, many federally-funded institutions nationwide still retain culturally-sensitive Native American objects and human remains within their collections.³

Adding to curation challenges, and Native frustrations, many institutions also have acquired private collections with little to no information concerning provenience. Generally, private collectors do not often keep detailed excavation or provenience notes. Because of this, the existence of possible funerary, sacred, or ceremonial objects increases with collections that have been loaned or donated to institutions from private collections. Although NAGPRA pertains only to cultural material within the United States, concerns over indigenous and culturally-sensitive objects are not just limited to museum collections within the United States.

¹ NAGPRA, 1990

² NPS, National NAGPRA FAQs, updated Sept. 2014

³ Examples of museums retaining Culturally-sensitive remains at the request of descendant groups are provided in Chapter 3.

Many museums including the Australian Museum in Sydney, the British Museum in London and the Ethnological Museum in Berlin all feature indigenous collections from the Americas, Asia, Africa and Oceania. Many native groups have asked for the repatriation of items from these collections, including human remains, and have also protested the continued use of sacred, ceremonial and esoteric artifacts in museum exhibitions. One prominent case is that of a number of Maori *mokomokai* or *Toi moko*, preserved heads of decorated by *tā moko* tattoos. The *mokomokai* (*Toi moko*) are commonly the heads of important tribal members or heads of family which retain sacred qualities.⁴ The Maori people have requested the repatriation of the *mokomokai* found in museums and private collections worldwide; upon return the heads will be returned to family member or held in trust at the Museum of New Zealand.⁵

The purpose of this thesis is to discuss difficulties associated with the identification of Culturally-sensitive objects from privately-amassed collections. This thesis also seeks to demonstrate how through the better understanding of collection histories and consultation with descendant groups, curatorial caretakers can identify and develop procedures and best practices for the management of formerly private collections. Management guidelines included within this thesis are proposed for not only objects applicable to NAGPRA, but also objects with additional sensitivity concerns deriving from Native traditions and beliefs.

Trends in the private collection of Native American artifacts, which began in the nineteenth century and continued through much of the twentieth, were widespread in the United States. Assemblages of ceramics and stone tools were as likely to be displayed in socialite homes of big cities as well as the living rooms of farmers in rural communities. Although no precise statistic can be quoted here, it can be inferred that most publically-accessible collections within

⁴ MacRae, 2014.

⁵ Yates, 2013; Holloway, 2013; MacRae, 2014.

the United States are likely to possess individual objects or entire collections which have been donated or sold by private collectors. The issues associated with identifying culturally-sensitive Native American objects within collections which have been donated or loaned to museums is not an unknown issue within museology, archaeology and anthropology. For example, the George Gustav Heye Collection, now part of the National Museum of the Native American in New York City and the Dr. Edgar L. Hewett Collection, amassed by R. A. Bennett, now at the San Diego Museum of Man in California are both without reliable provenience information for the majority of the artifacts within them.⁶ In an effort to concisely illustrate the difficulties with identifying culturally-sensitive objects in formerly-private collections, this thesis will be using the Chappell Collection as a focal case study. This collection today is owned by the Anasazi Heritage Society (the AHS) and is currently on permanent loan to the Bureau of Land Management Anasazi Heritage Center (the AHC) in Dolores, Colorado.

The Chappell Collection (the Collection) presents a unique case study as a privately-accumulated collection with a large number of "exhibit quality" Ancestral Puebloan artifacts.⁷ The Collection also has the added benefit of associated historic archival records including an inventory kept by Clifford (Cliff) Chappell and a series of filmed interviews with his wife, Ruth Chappell. The inventory kept by Cliff from 1929 to circa 1970 provides detailed sketches and vague to meticulous provenience notes for many of the whole and partial vessels found in the Collection. The Ruth Chappell interviews, which were conducted in 1983 shortly after the transfer of the Collection to the Anasazi Historical Society (the AHS), provide further insight

⁶ Gulliford, 2000, p. 41-2.; Balboa Park Online Collaborative, n. d.; Akin, 1996, 125-126.

⁷ "Exhibit quality" is a flagging term that has been previously used by the AHC within their electronic database system; it refers to the idea that some pieces are of a higher artistic quality than others and was often applied to whole ceramic vessels within the Chappell Collection. Today, the AHC does not apply this flag to objects as it promotes a perceived value to some objects over others.

into what drove the creation of the Collection and how it was gathered.⁸ The provenience of over half of the Collection's artifacts, however, are completely missing despite the presence of the historic inventory and film interviews.

While the presence of unassociated funerary objects within the Collection is acknowledged, few efforts were made by the AHS or staff of the AHC to identify these culturally-sensitive objects or to address treatment concerns beyond those required by NAGPRA. This author in 2015 completed an inventory review of the Collection in order to verify that sensitive object information provided in the Chappell Archives was accurately reflected in the AHC database. Through the course of the 2015 inventory review, many culturally-sensitive items were identified, the majority being unassociated funerary objects, using the Chappell Archives. Several were not identified in the AHC as funerary objects. Some of these unassociated funerary objects remain on display in the permanent galleries of the AHC despite descendant groups requests that no funerary objects be on display.

At this early point, it should be clarified that the intent of this thesis is not to show a lack of compliance under NAGPRA by either the AHC or the AHS, but to illustrate the curatorial and ethical complications that can arise with a Privately-accumulated collection and how these complications might be mitigated while discussions with descendant groups are still ongoing. Given the nature of the discussion, it should also be noted that no photographs or illustrations of burials or funerary objects will be included within this paper out of respect to the beliefs of affiliated cultural groups who view the display of these objects as taboo. Culturally-affiliated groups who participate in NAGPRA consultation with the AHC and affiliated BLM Canyons of the Ancients National Monument (CANM) include the twenty-one modern Pueblo groups, the

⁸ Ruth Chappell Interviews, Tapes 1-7, 1983.

⁹ Tribal Consultation Meeting Notes, 9 Sept. 2014

Hopi Tribe, Jicarilla Apache Nation, Navajo Nation, the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe and the Southern Ute Tribe. A complete list of tribal consulting groups is included in APPENDIX B: List of Consulting Tribal Groups with Indigenous Tribes to the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument

In order to fully understand the current status of the Chappell Collection, this thesis begins with an outline of the Collection's history from the Chappell's excavations to initial accessions at the AHC. Also included is a brief discussion on initial artefactual studies using artifacts from the Collection; the majority of studies were conducted following the purchase of the Collection by the AHS in December of 1982. Following the implementation of federal and state laws created to protect Native American grave sites in the 1990s, the Collection was inventoried for possible human remains, all of which were repatriated to claimant descendant groups in 2004. Inconsistencies between the historic inventories and the documentation of identified human remains within the Collection were observed during the 2015 inventory review completed by this author. These inconsistencies within the previous NAGPRA inventory as well as the results of the 2015 inventory review are discussed in history of the Collection between 1990 and 2015. Finally, this thesis concludes with an analysis of contemporary ethical issues for the treatment and display of culturally-sensitive objects. Recommendations for the creation of policies that will address both legal and ethical concerns are provided in the conclusion.

A Brief History of Archaeological Collecting in the Four Corners Region

The Chappell Collection, while being the focal case study of this thesis, is not the only private archaeological collection in the Southwest. In order to better evaluate the collection

¹⁰ List provided by the BLM Anasazi Heritage Center; NPS, Federal Register, 2006; McPherson, 2014; Nickens and Hull, 1982.

¹¹ Pino, 2015; Chappell Collection NAGPRA Notes

methods and priorities of the Chappells, a basic understanding of collection practices in the region where the couple collected is needed. Not only does this brief history provide insight how the couple were influenced by regional collection trends, it also indicates other private collections of Southwestern artifacts likely have similar provenience concerns. While some of these private collections have already entered museums nationwide, many more are likely still retained by private individuals and families.

Provenience information provided in the Chappell Collection Archives shows that the Collection was amassed primarily through excavations in the Four Corners region. This region received its name from the geographic point where the contemporary state boundaries of Utah, Arizona, Colorado and New Mexico meet. This point was identified following several United States government-sponsored surveys. The first Four Corners Monument was erected in the precise location in 1912. The modern monument remains a popular roadside tourist stop. ¹² Apart from this modern monument, the area also represents one of the densest regions for archaeological resources within the United States. Some areas of southwestern Colorado alone have between up to 100 sites per square mile. ¹³ Artifacts within the Chappell Collection are affiliated with the Ancestral Puebloans, also known as the Anasazi, who prospered throughout the region between 750 and 1300 CE. The archaeological record of the Ancestral Pueblo culture is marked by distinctive village settlements and large populations until circa 1300 AD when populations began to rapidly decrease and many Puebloan villages began to be abandoned. ¹⁴ Peripheral cultural groups such as the Mogollon, Hohokam and Patayan as well as influences

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¹² Utah Office of Tourism, n. d.

¹³ Cassells, 1983; BLM, n. d.

¹⁴ Cassells, 1983; Atkins, 1993; Kohler et. al., 2010; Benson et al., 2007; Andregg, 2013, p. 19; Nordenskiöld, 1893.

from Mesoamerica must also be mentioned as vibrant trade between these groups and the Ancestral Puebloans has left its own mark on the archeological record.¹⁵

Although many Native American sites in this region were likely known by the Spanish, and certainly by post-contact tribal groups, Euro-American interest in the Ancestral Puebloans did not begin until the late nineteenth century when the Wetherill brothers "discovered" what is today known as Cliff Palace. Having received some training in scientific recordation from Swedish scientist Gustaf Nordenskiöld, the Wetherills can also be credited as the first amateur archaeologists as well as private collectors of the region. A selection of the family's early collection of artifacts removed from the cliff dwellings of Mesa Verde including ceramics, stone tools and human remains were displayed at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Interest in the Ancestral Puebloan culture and its artifacts continued to grow in the twentieth century as museums and universities sought to expand their own collections. At the same time, tourists helped by expansion of the railroad began flocking to the Southwest in order to see impressive pueblo dwellings for themselves.

The rise in travelers to the area of Mesa Verde inspired the Wetherill family to open a small museum at their ranch home in Mancos, Colorado. Al, John and Richard Wetherill also went on to explore, survey, and excavate the sites and canyons of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah on both private and government expeditions. Many of the private expeditions were funded

¹⁵ Colton, 1941; Washburn et. al., 2011; Brand, 1938.; Minnis et. al. 1993; McGuire, 1980; Ericson and Baugh, 2013; Charles, 2014.

¹⁶ Smith, 2002 Sanchez, 2012. The Wetherills are credited with being the first Euro-Americans to have documented Cliff Palace in 1888. They also assisted Nordenskiöld with his excavations of the site in 1891.

¹⁷ Nordenskiöld, 1893

¹⁸ NPS, 2010; Pinkly, [1960s?]. Three of nine collections made by the Wetherill and Mason families were displayed at the fair; the noted pieces from the Collection are the human remains (mummified and skeletal) and associated grave goods.

by enthusiasts living on the East Coast like the Hyde brothers. ¹⁹ All five of the Wetherill brothers later operated trading posts throughout the Four Corners region.

The completion of major railroad lines also influenced the rise in travel though the region at the end of the nineteenth century. This new mode of transportation through the inhospitable desert landscapes of the Southwest allowed easier access for tourists, settlers, and supplies. Railroad also allowed for larger numbers of leisure travelers to access previously remote areas. A demand for souvenirs in the form of Indian goods led to the rise of the Native American curio trade.²⁰ Many trading posts such as those at Two Grey Hills in New Mexico and Kayenta in Arizona began to buy and sell prehistoric artifacts and modern Native crafts. Numerous replicas, like those created by Hopi-Tewa artist Nampeyo, as well as numerous fakes also began to be developed.²¹ The curio trade continued to flourish with the rise of automobile tourism in the 1920s.²²

The number of excavations of prehistoric sites and burials for Native American artifacts rose rapidly in the early twentieth century to meet the demands of universities, museums and the general public. An abundance of archaeological sites made the rapid collection of artifacts easy for both archaeologists and local residents—and neither the professional archaeologists nor the locals were squeamish about disturbing Native graves. In the Mimbres and Animas River Valleys of New Mexico, for instance, "skeleton picnics" were a popular weekend trend for families searching for valuable Mimbres-culture bowls; lunch breaks were taken among the

Sanchez, 2012.
 Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 2008-2009.

²¹ Frisbie, 2014.

²² Murphey, 2008.

scattered bones of disturbed graves within which intact black-on-white bowls and sherds could be found.²³

Despite the passage of the 1906 Antiquities Act (AA), which made excavation without a permit on public land illegal, looting of sites continued as both a family pastime and as a way to make extra cash. ²⁴ In a 1983 series of filmed interviews, Ruth Chappell recalled that around the time the Great Depression and the Dust Bowl were taking place, "there got to be a market for this stuff—for the pieces of pottery. Money talks and if they could get a few pieces and sell it, then that they would…"²⁵ Other locals also took part in the popularity of the artifact market by creating forgeries of popular artifact types. One of the more well-known forgers in the southwest was Marvin McCormick. As an adept flintknapper, McCormick made a living creating and selling fluted Folsom points between 1929 and the early 1970s. ²⁶ Interestingly enough, several of these McCormick fakes have been identified within the Chappell Collection.

Today, collection of objects and looting of archaeological sites within the Southwest still occurs despite the passage of various legislation, among them the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA), which establishes penalties for illegal removal of artifacts and damage to sites on federal or tribal lands.²⁷ In June of 2009, more than twenty-four suspects were arrested in Blanding, Utah after a sting operation revealed they had conducted illegally excavated and traded prehistoric objects found on land under federal jurisdiction.²⁸ These arrests are still a contested part of artifact law history in the Southwest. Recent years have also seen a rise in

²³ Gulliford, 2000, p. 45-47; Gulliford, 2012.

²⁴ Antiquities Act, 1906

²⁵ Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 3, 1983.

²⁶ Bostrom, 2012.

²⁷ NPS, n.d.

²⁸ Gulliford, 2012; Goddard, 2011; Childs, 2013.

looting of sites by methamphetamine addicts who are able to trade valuable artifacts for money or drugs.²⁹

Unfortunately, federal legislation does not protect cultural resources from non-burial contexts on privately-owned land, a fact well-known by collectors in the Southwest. Many looters will say and even create provenience false paperwork indicating artifacts came from legal excavations on private land in order to evade penalties.³⁰ Still other collectors with a passion for the archaeological history of the region try to operate within the law. Indian Camp Ranch located outside of Cortez, Colorado is advertised as "America's First Archaeological Subdivision." Here, the home owners' association encourages excavation of resources on the land but only under the supervision of a professional archaeologist. Residents within the division seem to take personal pride in their finds, many displaying the artifacts in their homes.³¹ Whether private excavations on private land should be encouraged, however, raises ethical questions concerning the destruction of archaeological sites and the potentially conflicting aims of "professional" and "amateur" archaeologists.

Though it has been over forty years since the Chappells sold their collection to the AHS, evidence points that the tradition of amassing private archaeological collections still exists in the Four Corners region. Artifacts within these collections may be illegally excavated from federal or tribal land, legally excavated from a property owner's backyard, or even inherited from an older family member. A good portion of these artifacts in the future will likely be offered to museums without the meticulous documentation encouraged in professional archaeological excavations. If some of the history of a collection can be assessed in conjunction with regional

²⁹ Patel, 2009.

³⁰ Wagner, 2006.

³¹ Romeo, 2015. *Indian Camp Ranch has a close relationship with Crow Canyon Archaeological Center* (http://www.crowcanyon.org/index.php/mission).

trends, museums should be able to develop, with tribal consultation, management guidelines for the care, display and storage of potential culturally-sensitive objects within these private collections.

Chapter 2: Case Study: The Chappell Collection 1929-1989

Few academic publications have been produced that detail how Cliff and Ruth Chappell amassed such a large collection of Ancestral Puebloan artifacts. To the knowledge of the author, only one brochure on the topic of the Collection ceramics, produced by the AHS in 1988, provides a Collection background longer than a few sentences. However, this account is sparse as it condenses nearly forty years into a single biographic page on the Chappells.³² A series of inventory records (ca. 1932-1960) created by Cliff and filmed interviews with Ruth conducted in 1983 now within the Chappell Collection Archives provide the best indications of the motivations and methods the Chappells used to amass the Collection. These documents, along with several newspapers and scholarly publications, have been carefully reviewed to create the following historical summary of how the Collection was formed.

When the Collection was purchased by the AHS in 1982, stipulations included within the legal documents provided for both the title transfer from the Chappell family and for the permanent loan of the Collection to the Heritage Center. The agreement was signed by Ruth Chappell and J. Wayne Schwindt as president of the AHS.³³ From the time of the title transfer to the opening of the Anasazi Heritage Center museum, a large inventory of ceramics in the Collection was undertaken under the direction of Nancy Olsen for the AHC as well as attempts to evaluate and preserve the Collection. Efforts were also made to relocate and record all the sites which the Chappells had excavated. The account of this transfer and the initial academic research can be accessed from the cataloguing notes and status records found in the Collections archives and accession records at the Heritage Center.

³² Olsen, 1983. A similar historical account in a 1991 NSF Grant Proposal is known to the author. This NSF Grant Proposal has never been published to the author's knowledge.

³³ Title Transfer Agreement, 1982

Cliff and Ruth Chappell: Creation of a Private Collection

Born into a Kansas farming family, Cliff Chappell was raised in Montezuma County, Colorado.³⁴ His interest in prehistoric artifacts began when a human skull was uncovered in his father's fields during plowing.³⁵ While attending high school in Mancos, Colorado—the "gateway" to Mesa Verde and home to the Wetherill family ranch—Cliff further developed his interest in prehistoric sites by digging south of the town.³⁶ By 1932, Cliff was a recent college graduate and was offered employment as a forest ranger in Dolores, Colorado. Cliff's new bride Ruth also traveled with him to this new post. Cliff very quickly introduced her to his hobby during their honeymoon. Ruth recalls,

We came down through here on our honeymoon in 1932 and he stopped and visited his folks right out of Cortez. And the first thing he wanted to do was to go out digging. And we did...and we found a real nice pot....I thought it was absolutely silly to dig on your honeymoon but it only took one pot 'til I had the bug too.³⁷

This short account demonstrates the voracious appetite Cliff had for creating his collection. It also implies that the Chappells began collecting artifacts not for monetary value, but instead to satiate their shared curiosity in regional prehistory.

The majority of the Collection was collected by the Chappells from several large prehistoric sites in southwestern Colorado. From the Chappell records it can be determined that the couple primarily excavated in Montezuma and Dolores Counties (Figure 2.1). For reasons of confidentiality, only sites located on public lands or which allow public access appear on this map. For the same reason, sites on public land are herein named for the landowner identified in the Chappell notebooks. The couple also returned several times to a site in the Bug Point area of

³⁴1910 U.S. Census; 1920 U.S. Census.

³⁵ Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 1, 1983.

³⁶ Town of Mancos, 2015; Lilley, 2011-2013; Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 1, 1983.

³⁷ Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 1, 1983.

Utah, west of Dove Creek, Colorado (APPENDIX C: **List of Sites Named and Excavated by Cliff Chappell**. Other pieces within the Collection came from New Mexico, Arizona and areas of Colorado further east but these were either gifted to or purchased by the couple.³⁸ Several other diggers also aided the Chappells in excavation including Cliff's brother, Paul. At times, other couples such as Catherine and Dean Stanley or Ed and Stella Wright also joined the Chappells. Possession of any found object belonged to the person who found it, but occasionally agreements were made between excavators to exchange or gift several specific artifacts.³⁹

While neither Cliff nor Ruth extensively discussed their methodology for excavating and collecting, an idea of how the pieces were located and exhumed can be inferred from the historic records now a part of the Chappell Archives. The bulk of these sites were located on farm fields and the Chappells were frequently alerted about new sites by the farmers who plowed them. Cliff's interest in Ancestral Puebloan artifacts seems to have been well-known within the local agricultural community. Building from Ruth's recollections, a majority of the sites faced destruction through additional use of plows and sometimes bulldozers. When discussing a St. John's red-on-black bowl taken from the Oscar Martin property near Bug Point, Ruth indicates that it would have been destroyed the next time the field was plowed as it was no more than eight inches below the surface. The Chappells, therefore, viewed their collection from these sites as a type of salvage archaeology. Ruth states in her interviews, "Me and Cliff had saved an awful lot which maybe compensates for what archaeological know-how we destroyed by digging it."

³⁸ Only one artifact is identified as being purchased by the couple (Chappell Number 378). A number of other artifacts were given to the couple from friends and family members. For the most part, these objects are still associated with known proveniences.

³⁹ Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, 1983, Tape 6; Chappell Notebook Volume 2, ca. 1940-1949.

⁴⁰ Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 6, 1983.

⁴¹ Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 3, 1983.

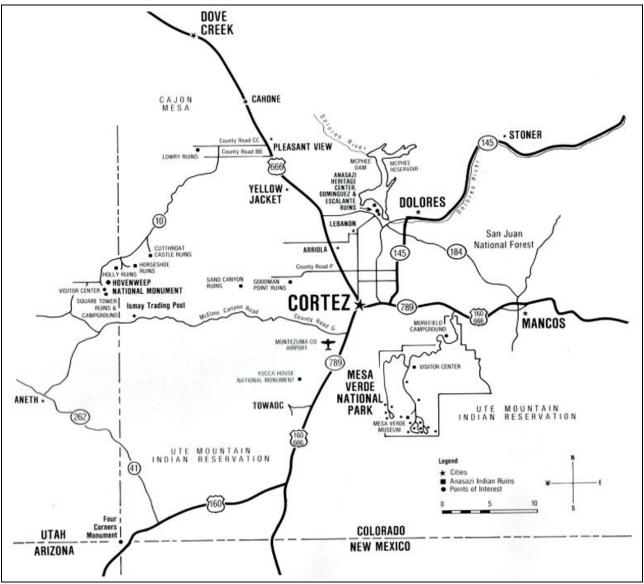


Figure 2.1: Map of Southwest Colorado. Image taken from The Chappell Collection (Olsen 1988: 2).

According to Ruth, Cliff always received permission before digging on private land and they never dug anywhere that was federally-owned. 42 Cliff also emphasizes this point in his notebooks. For example, when digging at Goodman Point he very clearly indicates that the federal property, identified as the "Reserve," is always on the opposite side of the road. Both accounts by Ruth and Cliff indicate the couple was aware of the existing laws which prohibited excavation of sites on federal property. At the time the Chappells were active, this was limited to the Antiquities Act of 1906. This law prohibited excavation on federal land without a permit.⁴³ Cliff, working as a ranger for the Forest Service, and Ruth, who worked as a laboratory technician in the archaeology department at Mesa Verde National Park during the Wetherill Mesa Archaeological Project (1958-1965), presumably would have learned of the legal restriction through their employment.⁴⁴ Though several Chappell sites, including some on Goodman Point and in Yellow Jacket Canyon, were incorporated into CANM, the majority are still located on private land. 45 Locations of the majority of these sites were verified between 1983 and 1985 by BLM archaeologist Nancy Olsen and AHC interns.

The frequency and procedures of the Chappell's collection activities are also inferred through review of their records. Excavation of sites occurred almost every weekend while the couple lived in Dolores. 46 When Cliff was transferred to Crested Butte, they would dig during vacations while also taking time to visit his parents down in Cortez. For excavation technique, Cliff dug holes using a shovel until an object or remains were revealed. If a grave or large

⁴² Ibid. According to Ruth, Cliff was only ever chased off of private property once during World War II when the owner had been away at war and the brother who was taking care of the property was unaware of who Cliff was.

⁴³ Antiquities Act of 1906, 16 U.S.C. 431-433.

⁴⁴ Olsen, Nancy, 1983, p. 3.; Osborne, 1965.

⁴⁵ Ibid. For a map of Canyon of the Ancients National Monument visit http://www.blm.gov/style/medialib/blm/co/nm/canm/CANM Documents.Par.55459.File.dat/Canyons of the Ancien ts Transportation.pdf.

Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 1, 1983.

artifact was encountered, Cliff would attempt to complete the excavation with a pocket-knife or by hand. Holes were always backfilled to rebury anything the couple did not want to keep and as a courtesy to the landowners. Ruth, when on site, was responsible for scanning dirt spoil piles for missed artifacts by sight or by screening. Ruth was also responsible for cleaning all artifacts once they arrived home, sometimes completing a finer screening with cheese cloth over the kitchen sink.⁴⁷ Objects that were impressive and eye-catching, chiefly ceramics, appear to have been desired the most by the Chappells. ⁴⁸ Despite this, there is no indication in the historic records which suggests that certain artifact types were bypassed or thrown out during excavation.

During the winters, when snow would prohibit travel and digging, Cliff completed his inventory records within these notebooks. The Chappell notebooks contain information for 2,250 artifacts. This information is split between two notebooks: Chappell Notebook Volume 1 and Chappell Notebook Volume 2. The majority of the artifacts described in this historic inventory consist of whole and partial ceramic vessels. Several entries also describe stone tools (e.g. projectile points, metates, hammerstones, etc.), shell beads, and minerals likely used for creation of pigments. Volume 2 additionally includes several lists of perishable artifacts found in cave deposits. These lists, however, provide neither quantity nor detailed information about any of the artifacts. Objects found in the Chappell notebooks represent over a third of the Collection as it exists at the AHC today. The provenience information, or lack thereof, for the other two-thirds of the Collection is discussed in Chapter 4.

In addition to descriptions of each artifact, Volumes 1 and 2 of the Chappell notebooks each provide a numerical catalog number, or Chappell Number. Every entry is typed, though

⁴⁷ Ibid. While discussing a strand of over 600 beads (78.2.4273), Ruth indicates that no dirt was removed from the inside of vessels until they were brought to the Chappell house in order to preserve any artifacts within. The beads of this strand are so small, that Ruth remembers using four or five thicknesses of cloth so that no beads were lost.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

some of Cliff's hand-written pen and pencil additions and corrections do appear. Several entries within notebook Volume 1 do not have much information provided beyond the assigned Chappell Number and a brief description of the vessel type. For example, Chappell Number 57 reads, "Mug, medium." Many of these artifacts are also accompanied by a quarter-sized illustration of the artifact (Figure 2.2). Each illustration is extremely detailed, drawn by Cliff in pen with no preliminary pencil sketches visible.

Nearly eighty-percent of these objects are assigned a provenience associated with at least a known local landmark, frequently the nearest city, creek or canyon. Most descriptions, however, go into further detail giving not only a site name but also location of the object in relation to other features of the site, who dug it up, the name of the property owner, and a list of any other artifacts directly associated with it. The provenience for Chappell Number 602, shown in Figure 2.2, for example, is given as "Ruin on S place of Eddie Goodall's. S of Peels Hall ½ mile & west of rd. Paul & Tommy Hover. Dug by Paul Chappell spring of 1951." This description gives not only the property owner's name, but also directions to reach the site and the names of who was present at the excavation.

⁴⁹ Chappell Notebook Volume 1, circa 1939-1949.

⁵⁰ Chappell Notebook Volume 2, circa 1949-1962.



Figure 2.2: Example of Chappell Notebook Detail. Photograph of artifact, a Mesa Verde Black-on-White Bowl (78.2.1301) depicted on the left, is listed as Chappell Number 602 Volume 2, depicted at right.

Several sites which had especially dense artifact concentrations or notable features (e.g. kivas, room blocks, burials, etc.) were further described using small and simple sketch maps (Figure 2.3). Although neither of the Chappells were professional archaeologists, the amount of record keeping associated with these notebooks goes above and beyond what the majority of private collectors were recording at the time. In addition to proveniences listed in the notebooks, some of the several hundred ceramic sherd and other loose artifacts have a letter-number code written on one. Each letter-number code refers to a specific site and is hereafter identified as the Chappell Site Code. A list of the sites and the corresponding codes is included by Cliff Chappell at the end of Volume 2.⁵¹

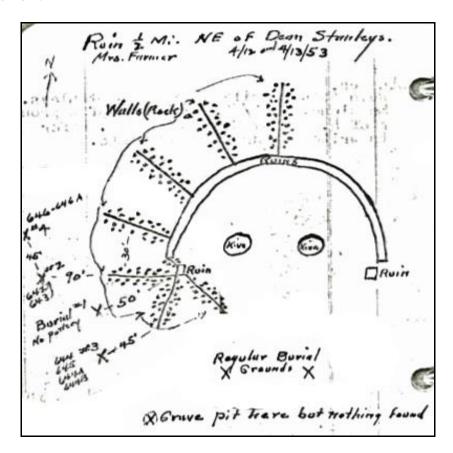


Figure 2.3. Example of Chappell Notebook Site Map from Chappell Notebook, Volume 2.

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⁵¹ Chappell Notebook Volume 2, circa 1949-1962.

The Chappells stopped their personal excavations by 1959 or 1960 though neither date should be considered a point in which they ceased collecting southwestern prehistoric ceramics and other objects.⁵² The last entry in the Chappell notebooks with an excavation date was completed by Paul Chappell, in 1962.⁵³ Several entries at the end of the Volume 2 also consist of artifacts that were donated to the couple.

The Collection as whole was displayed as early as 1951 when the Chappells were still living in Crested Butte, Colorado. The Collection was exhibited in a similar fashion to a small household museum. Ceramic vessels and large stone tools filled the shelves. Projectile points, textiles, beads and pendants were artistically arranged in frames lining the walls. After moving to Mancos, the Collection remained on display in the couple's basement until it was purchased by the AHS in 1982. The couple allowed anyone with an interest to view these objects in their home at no charge. All guests, including a class of fourth graders on a field trip, were asked to sign the couple's guestbook. To this author's knowledge, this guestbook is not included among the historic records found in the Chappell Archives.

One issue that has not been broached is how the Chappells approached the excavation of graves and whether they kept the human remains from discovered burials. By the time Ruth was interviewed in 1983, the issue of excavating and collecting Native American remains and grave goods was a nationally-debated topic. As an outcome of the Civil Rights movements of the 1960s, many tribal groups were seeking the return of indigenous human remains and grave goods for reburial. With rising protests against the treatment human remains, it is no wonder then that

⁵² Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 1, 1983.

⁵³ Chappell Notebook Volume 2, circa 1949-1962. *Chappell Number 867, 78.2.1904 was excavated by Paul Chappell from Yellow Jacket Ruins.*

⁵⁴ Holston, 1968.

⁵⁵ Zimmerman, 2012.

Ruth states in the filmed interviews, "another thing we *always* did was put our human bones right back in where they came out. They were *always* covered up."⁵⁶ This, however, presents a huge discrepancy with the information presented in the Chappell Archives.

Approximately half of the 2,250 objects listed in the Chappell notebooks have a provenience description indicating direct association with a grave (refer to Chapter 5). Despite Ruth's insistence that human remains were always reburied, thirty-three of the assigned Chappell Numbers are in fact skulls or portions of skulls.⁵⁷ Ruth even implies in later portions of her interviews that the couple actively sought out these graves. The words of her confession are jumbled, seeming to indicate she had difficulty in phrasing how exactly the Chappells knew where to look without saying they collected human remains. She states,

And the burial grounds. If the ruin ... hasn't been plowed, isn't in a field—and is covered with cedar or pinyon or sagebrush—sagebrush always grows higher on the burial. And you could uh, if there's evidence in there, you could figure out that was a pretty good place to start.⁵⁸

Ruth's hesitancy in this statement and the contradicting statements made elsewhere in her interviews show that the Chappells were likely familiar with the evolving ethical concerns of the treatment of Native American human remains. Certainly, the collection and display of human remains by the Chappells in the mid-twentieth century was similar to the attitudes of non-Native collectors nationwide.

The popularity of the "skeleton picnics" of New Mexico demonstrates that private collectors in the Southwest generally had no qualms about disturbing graves. Amateur and professional archaeologists alike knew that burials throughout the region were likely to contain

⁵⁷ Chappell Notebook Volume 1, circa 1940-1949. Refer to Chapter 4 for a discussion of human remains in the Collection.

⁵⁶ Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 3, 1983.

⁵⁸ Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 3, 1983.

desirable artifacts in the form of grave goods. Artifacts deemed desirable were perceived to have a higher artistic or monetary value. Often the more complete or exotic object would result in a higher value.⁵⁹ In the Mesa Verde region, more highly-prized artifacts often consisted of Blackon-white Ancestral Puebloan including bowls, dippers, and mugs dating to the later Pueblo occupational periods. The Chappells, similar to the families participating in "skeleton picnics," likely saw the excavation of burials as an expedited way of recovering objects that elevated the value of the Collection.⁶⁰

Furthermore, the exhumation and display of Native American human remains was widely practiced throughout the twentieth century in both museums and private trade shows. Basket Maker period mummies including "Esther" remained on display at the Chapin Museum at Mesa Verde National until the early 1990s. 61 Private establishments like the Catalina Museum of Island Indians established by Ralph Glidden off the coast of California in Avalon became undeniably macabre when he used Native American skeletal remains as architectural features of the museum similar to the style of European catacombs. Between 1924 and 1950, Glidden's museum remained a popular stop for tourists as did many other ghoulish roadside attractions nationwide.⁶² In the Chappell's Mancos basement, Native skulls were displayed through 1968 and possibly remained on display until the Collection was sold in 1982.⁶³

For the Chappells, unlike many collectors, the value of their pieces appears not to have been measured on the monetary value of the artifacts, but from the academic information that

⁵⁹ Gulliford, 2012; Childs, 2013.

⁶⁰ While the Chappells were interested collecting Ancestral Puebloan ceramics, the desired objects of "skeleton picnics" in New Mexico were Mongollon Black-on-white ceramics of the Miembres tradition.

⁶¹ Pino, 2015; Watson, 1940. ⁶² Gilio-Whitaker, 2013; Channel Island Museum, 2011. The remains displayed were excavated from burials in the Chanel Islands by Ralph Glidden. He also supplemented the collection with purchased skeletal remains and falsely *presented them as Native American.* ⁶³ Holston, 1968.

could be gleaned from them. Both Cliff and Ruth extensively expanded their personal knowledge of Ancestral Puebloan through study of their Collection. Ruth in particular loved to muse on the individuals behind the artifacts and what their daily life was like. Her filmed interview on Tape 2 consists of the "human interest stories" she thought up over the years about the potters who created and painted the vessels within the Collection. Even though fanciful, these stories exhibit the concise knowledge Ruth had of prehistoric ceramic technology as well as her extensive familiarity with the smallest nuances of many of the pieces.

Although never extensively published in scholarly papers, the Collection was at least regionally-known while Cliff Chappell was still alive. Several of the ceramic vessels were utilized as examples of regional typology by Alden C. Hayes in *The Archaeological Survey of Wetherill Mesa* (1964) produced for Mesa Verde National Park. Hayes and Cliff Chappell had also co-authored a short article about a Mexican copper bell Cliff excavated from Goodman Point northwest of Cortez. This regional knowledge of the Collection aided in the desire to keep it within Montezuma County following the death of Cliff in 1982.

Purchase by the Anasazi Historical Society

Remarkably, the Chappell Collection seems to have remained intact until 1982. This does not mean that there were not attempts made by private individuals to purchase pieces from the Chappells over the years. The couple always hoped that the Collection would remain together and, preferably, somewhere where the entire community of Montezuma county could enjoy it.⁶⁷ Ruth found a group of like-minded individuals in the newly formed AHS who were willing to

⁶⁴ Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 2, 1983.

⁶⁵ Hayes, 1964.

⁶⁶ Hayes and Chappell, 1962.

⁶⁷ Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 3, 1983.

take responsibility for the continued preservation of the Collection in December of 1982.⁶⁸ Two legal documents, here referred to as the Title Transfer Agreement and Permanent Loan Agreement, would legally transfer ownership of the Collection to the AHS and allow for its housing at the AHC. Also outlined within these documents are provisions meant to ensure the Chappell's preferences were followed long after their deaths.

The Title Transfer Agreement contains five provisions in total. The first two of these provisions allowed for the AHS to purchase one-half of the Collection for a price that reflected the fair market value of the artifacts. Upon completion of the transaction, the Chappell family was to transfer the second half of the Collection as a donation to the AHS.⁶⁹ As the AHS qualified a tax-exempt organization under the Internal Revenue Code [§501 (c) (3)], the Chappells would be able to use the donation as a deductible on their income taxes.⁷⁰ Provisions three and four contain further details on how the payment and donation transactions were to be handled.

The fifth and last of the provisions is the most relevant to the management of the Collection as it specifically outlines the stipulations of the Chappells for the display and loan of the artifacts. These stipulations include that the Collection:

- (5a) is to be displayed as "The Chappell Collection;"
- (5b) must remain together and intact;
- (5c) cannot be used to make a profit;
- (5d) must remain in Montezuma County except for temporary loans to other museums or educational organizations;

⁶⁸ NSF Funding Grant Proposal, [1991-1992], p. 3. The Anasazi Historical Society was founded primarily to ensure that the Chappell Collection remained in Montezuma County, Colorado.

⁶⁹ Title Transfer Agreement, 1982. Terms of payment are outlined in Provision 1 of the Agreement where fair market value is agreed to be \$47,711.50. Provision 2 agrees to the donation transfer of the second half of the Collection by 19 December 1982.

 $^{^{70}}$ Ethical concerns associated with this agreement are discussed in Chapter 4.

- (5e) should have as many of the artifacts as possible on display;
- (5f) should be made available for research to AHS members and other educational organizations;
- (5g) will be permanently loaned to the Heritage Center in an agreement between the AHS and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM); and
- (5h) will be transferred to another tax exempt organization(s) that will agree to and can reasonable accomplish the above stated goals and objectives if the AHS is unable to meet them.⁷¹

All of these stipulations found in the fifth provision are repeated again in the Permanent Loan Agreement.

Unlike the Title Transfer Agreement, which acted as a legally-binding contract between the AHS and the Chappell family, the Permanent Loan Agreement acts as a contract between the AHS and the BLM. Primarily, the Permanent Loan Agreement established the terms for a loan period of fifty-years. During the period of this loan, the Collection is to be stored and displayed at the AHC in a way which meets the stipulations outlined by the Chappell family in the Title Transfer Agreement. If the stipulations outlined by the Chappell family are unable to be met, the agreement also allows for either the AHS or the Heritage Center to terminate the contract prematurely. ⁷²

The provisions of the loan agreement further recognize that although curation and researcher access is to be conducted in the same manner as other government collections, ⁷³ the legal ownership and responsibility of the Collection falls to the AHS. ⁷⁴ Because of this, conservation costs beyond preventative care are not provided by the BLM. The AHS has supplemented these costs with funding from membership dues and small fundraising projects.

⁷² Permanent Loan Agreement, 1982; Provisions 10, 12 and 13.

⁷¹ Title Transfer Agreement, 1982, Provision 5

⁷³ Permanent Loan Agreement, 1982, Provision 2 and 5.

⁷⁴ Permanent Loan Agreement, 1982, Provision 10.

Larger donations including those from the Shell Foundation and Andy Senti have been used in the development of exhibits and in the long-term care and interpretation of the Collection.

Additional conservation treatments were funded through an NSF award in 1991.⁷⁵

The provisions of the Title Transfer Agreement and Permanent Loan Agreement were created specifically with the intent for the Collection to be housed at the AHC. In 1982, the AHC was built as a repository for the artifacts recovered during the Dolores Archaeological Program (1978-1984). The artifacts within the repository heavily represent the Basketmaker III and Pueblo I periods. Artifacts from this period are typically not as visually-elaborate as objects from the Pueblo III period. Many of the Chappell artifacts, unlike the Dolores Archaeological Program artifacts, belong to this later Pueblo III period. Even though not stated in any written documents that discuss why the BLM sought to gain the Chappell Collection, it is possible the Collection was accepted with the hope that its later period ceramics, with more intricate vessel forms and painted motifs, would entice more visitors to the museum.

Studying the Chappell Collection, 1982-1989

A major research project led by Nancy Olsen, a BLM archaeological technician, was started in 1983 which sought to preserve not only the physical objects within the Collection, but also any associated knowledge that could be provided by the Chappell family. A high emphasis was placed on recording provenience information. The filmed interviews of Ruth Chappell likely directed by Nancy Olsen referenced throughout this history were completed in 1983 before any of the Collection was removed from the Chappell family home in Mancos. This allowed for

⁷⁵ NSF Funding Grant Proposal, [1991-1992]. The NSF grant is discussed in Chapter 5.

⁷⁶ Breternitz, 1986, p. 3-50.

⁷⁷ Crow Canyon Archaeological Center, 2014.

⁷⁸ Olsen, 1991.

researchers to discuss specific objects with Ruth, who had been present for the excavation of most of the Collection. An intensive effort was also made beginning the summer of 1983 to locate and record sites for inclusion into the state of Colorado archaeological databases. Olsen, accompanied by Ruth Chappell, was able to revisit ninety percent of all the Chappell sites. These site visits resulted in significant information added to the records of several well-known site complexes as well as the identification of forty-two sites previously not identified in state records. A controlled sampling method was used by professional archaeologists during this site inventory to gather ceramic and lithic artifacts. It was hoped these artifact types could be used to determine the Chappell's sampling methods used to gather artifacts now numbered with Chappell Site Codes. It was later determined that objects with Chappell site codes were kept because of aesthetic interest in or exotic nature of the pieces, not through a defined scientific sampling. These artifacts are still included in the Chappell accession, but are not considered relevant to the collection methods or history of the Collection by AHC staff and researchers.

During the transition of the Collection to the AHS, other regional private collections were also identified for possible ties to the Chappell Collection. These connections between other regional private collections and that of the Chappell's were identified because all were amassed from the same archaeological sites or were dug at the same time as the Chappell Collection. Each also belonged to an individual known within the local community. Included are the personal collections of Paul Chappell, John Ritter, Beatrice "Betty" Gilmore, Theron Olney Story, Jack

⁷⁹ Olsen, 1985, p. 1; Olsen 1991.

⁸⁰ NSF Funding Grant Proposal, 1991-1992, p. 6.

⁸¹ Olsen, 1985, p. 2-3.

⁸² Olsen, 1985, p. 10.

Hampton, and Joseph "Joe" Fulk. ⁸³ Much of the early provenience research sought to include interviews with these private collectors and other private property owners who lived in the area and worked with the Chappells. According to Olsen, many of those interviewed, including Paul Chappell, were hesitant to talk with researchers because of an inherent mistrust in government bureaucracy among the farming community. ⁸⁴ These individuals were not pressed for interviews if they seemed hesitant to talk with the researchers; because of this, little information exists in the Chappell Archives concerning the other local collections.

Due to the hesitancy of the community to talk with the AHS, importance was placed on inventorying and cataloguing the Collection to federal museum curation standards. This inventory began in 1984 although cataloguing would not be complete until the early 1990s. According to BLM archaeologist Nancy Olsen, "a coding format was developed specifically to deal with the ceramic portion of the collection. So, This coding for ceramics was meant to organize the collection though categorical analysis. Ceramic categories were broken down into general archaeological information (e.g. provenience, form, temper, etc.), information pertinent to collection management, and exhibit potential. Cataloging of ceramics with this coding appears to have been rushed; Olsen indicates staff was only given two-and-a-half months to complete the work. Much like the Chappell notebooks, this inventory seems to have placed greater emphasis on the evaluation of whole and partial ceramic vessels rather than lithic, bone, or perishable artifacts.

⁸³ Betty Gilmore purportedly gifted her collection to the University of Texas, Austin. The Joe Fulk collection was obtained the Cortez Cultural Center and pieces of the Collection are currently on display to the public. It is unknown if the other collections were also donated to museums or remain in private collections.

⁸⁴ Olsen, 1985, p. 1.

⁸⁵ Olsen, 1985, p. 4.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Around the time of the Collection transfer to the AHS, at least two researchers had analyzed vegetal remains within the Collection. These perishable objects were also associated with burials. Linda Scott completed a palynological analysis of an organic paste residue on a Mesa Verde black-on-white bowl which had been found with another upside down bowl protecting the paste. The analyzed paste was found not to be food as was expected, but a composition of Rocky Mountain Bee Plant—a base component in organic paint. Several fibers of yucca were also found within and were identified as possible fragments of a paintbrush. Elizabeth Griffiths, who also worked on the Dolores Archaeological Program, was responsible for identifying many of the charred vegetal remains that had also been found in ceramic vessels. No conclusion was reached on why the material was charred, but various vegetal types were identified. Although the study of mortuary customs was suggested as a potential future research theme, no osteological analysis of the skeletal remains in the Collection or analysis of grave good assemblages seem to have been undertaken at this time.

By 1985, several potential exhibition topics were identified. Of interesting note is that, once again, mortuary customs or ceremonies are included in the list of potential exhibits although Olsen felt it prudent to add that in such an exhibit "actual burials do not have to be included." Other possible exhibit themes included topics such as tool and/or basket production, farming and hunting practices, or social relations between regional sites and larger known complexes such as Mesa Verde and Hovenweep. As the AHC was not completed until 1988, it is

⁸⁷ Olsen, 1985, p. 9; Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 3, 1983. *Bowl with residue is a Mesa Verde black-on-white bowl 78.2.344*, *Chappell Number 800*.

⁸⁸ Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 3; Olsen, 1985, p. 9. *This information is purported from an unpublished report by Linda J. Scott and Lester A. Wheeler, however, location of the original manuscript is currently unknown to the author.*

⁸⁹ Olsen, 1985, p. 9-10.

⁹⁰ Olsen, 1985, p. 11.

assumed that the Collection was not displayed between 1983 and 1987. It also remains unclear what parts of the Collection were on display at the opening of the museum to the general public.

What is clear, however, is that increasing contention concerning the display of Native American human remains and grave goods was a nationwide issue when AHC gallery exhibits were designed. The issue was specifically brought to the attention of the AHC by Cynthia Kent of the Colorado Commission of Indian Affairs. In a letter dated June 22, 1987, she writes, "I strongly protest the exhibition of human remains as well as that of any funerary items that may have been found with remains. All of these items should be reinterred immediately!"92 Ms. Kent wrote as a concerned member of the Southern Ute tribe and resident of southwestern Colorado. Although Ms. Kent does not seem to protest the exhibition of archaeological collections, she concisely points out that some portions of indigenous collections, specifically human remains and grave goods, should be considered culturally-sensitive and that the opinions of living descendants should be taken into account in the development of exhibitions. This letter reflects the same concerns as many Native Americans—concerns that influenced the creation of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990.

⁹² Kent, 1987.

⁹¹ BLM, 2014; Olsen, 1988, p. 4.; "Wirth Seeks cash for Anasazi Center," 1987.

Chapter 3: Federal and State Laws

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the Chappells were aware of existing laws within the United States that prohibited the collection of archaeological artifacts. The Antiquities Act of 1906 (AA) and the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) of 1979 were both passed with the aim of managing archaeological resources on federally-managed and tribal land. Both laws were passed in response to increased looting and vandalism of archaeological sites including Native graves, particularly those resources found within the American Southwest. 93 These Southwestern sites existed within vast stretches of land that, to this day, are not easily accessible and, therefore, are not easy to police regularly. 94 Looters in this region have located and continue to find archaeological sites, excavate anything worth value and then leave without ever being detected. Both the AA and the ARPA established legal penalties intending to discourage the illegal excavation and collection of Native American artifacts through the use of administrative permitting. 95 Neither of these laws, however, affected the Chappells. While Cliff was actively excavating, he made sure to only dig on private land. It was not until the passage of NAGPRA in 1990 that actively affected management of the Chappell Collection. This is because NAGPRA pertains to the treatment and display of Native American human remains and funerary objects in museum collections. This law, apart from creating pathways for repatriation, has also led museum professional to assess how human remains and culturally-sensitive objects should be handled, displayed and conserved.⁹⁶

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⁹³ Davis, 2001, p. 236-239; Walbauer and Hutt, 2006, p. 40-41.

⁹⁴ Hester, 2001, p. 236.

Antiquities Act (1906), 16 USC 431-33; Archaeological Resources Protection Act (1979), 16 USC 470aa-470mm
 Fage, 1997; Bernstein, 1992; McKneown, 2013; p 78.

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)

The implementation of NAGPRA was prompted by increasing protests from indigenous groups over the removal and display of human remains and culturally-sensitive objects. As well as a Senate report of sets of human remains held by the Smithsonian Institution⁹⁷ NAGPRA seeks to protect Native American burial sites and regulate the removal of human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony from public and tribal lands through an administrative permitting process, much like the AA and ARPA.⁹⁸ Conversely, burials found on privately-owned land are not subject to NAGPRA unless they are uncovered or disturbed by projects which have received federal funding or permitting. At the same time, NAGPRA establishes a process for Native Americans to request the repatriation of ancestral remains and artifacts from federal agencies and federally-funded museums. Overall, the law is considered human and civil rights legislation as much as it is cultural resource legislation because NAGPRA defines the rights of modern Native American, Native Hawaiian and Alaskan Native Village descendants with respect to the treatment, disposition and repatriation of human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony.⁹⁹

NAGPRA mandates that all museums which have received federal funding create inventories and summaries of all Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony within their collections. Summaries, once completed, are published within the *Federal Register*. Museums are defined as "any institution or State or local government agency... that receives federal funds and has possession of, or control over,

⁹⁷ Zimmerman, 2012; NAGPRA, 25 USC 3002; Riding In, 1996; Mithlo, 2012, p. 113; Pensly, 2005, p. 37; Echo-Hawk and Hawk, 1991.

⁹⁸ NAGPRA, 25 USC 3002.

⁹⁹ NAGPRRA, 25 USC 3002; McKneown2013, p 78.

¹⁰⁰ NAGPRA, 25 USC 3003.

Native American cultural items."¹⁰¹ Using this definition, any person or group holding archaeological resources that has received federal funding can be considered an institution even if not a museum in the traditional sense. For example, the Anthropology Department of Fort Lewis College in Durango, Colorado is considered a museum because the department had been awarded a grant through the NSF. ¹⁰² A similar NSF grant was awarded the AHS for the Chappell Collection.

NAGPRA further requires federal agencies and museums to consult with stake holders to discuss issues of curation and repatriation of any remains or objects applicable to NAGPRA. ¹⁰³ Consultations between institutions and tribal groups have inadvertently promoted the development of collaborative programs with Native Americans endorsing the study, conservation, and presentation of museum collections. ¹⁰⁴ However, to be taken seriously in these discussions, indigenous groups must, first, be federally recognized and, second, prove through a preponderance of evidence that lineal descent or cultural affiliation can be claimed. This has proven to be difficult.

The historic practice of Native removal by the United States government meant many tribes became far removed from their traditional homelands. Under the Indian Removal Act of 1830, tribes in the Southeastern United states (e.g., Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole nations) were required to give up traditional tribal territories located east of the Mississippi River. In return, they were promised land farther west, never mind that those western territories were already occupied by other Native groups. Tribes that did not voluntarily relocate

¹⁰¹ NAGPRA, 25 USC 3001; NPS, 2015, "NAGPRA Glossary."

¹⁰² Harms, n. d., p. 612-613.

¹⁰³ NAGPRA, 25 USC 3003(b).

¹⁰⁴ Bernstein, 1992; Chari and Lavall, 2013, p. 11.

were forcibly removed between 1830 and 1850.¹⁰⁵ In the Southwest, the United States government sought to forcibly relocate the Navajo between 1863 and 1864. This removal became known as the Long Walk, in which more than 8,000 Navajo tribal members were forced walk from their territory in eastern Arizona and western New Mexico to Bosque Redondo in south-central New Mexico.¹⁰⁶ In the Navajo language of Diné, the fort is called *Hwéeldi* or "the place of extreme hardship where the Diné nearly took their last breath." Unlike other tribes within the United States, the Navajo held at *Hwéeldi* were allowed to return to their traditional territory circa 1868.

Other indigenous groups such as the Lumbee in North Carolina and the Juaneño Band of Mission Indians, Acjachemen Nation were able to stay in their traditional homelands because they had at least partially assimilated to Western culture prior to the Indian Removal Act. These groups now have the arduous task of proving that their cultural identity was in existence prior to the arrival of European colonists. Currently, neither tribe has received federal recognition, in part, because of the historic adoption of some Euro-American cultural traditions including religion. Proving long-standing cultural affiliation is also difficult with human remains of an extreme age as many non-Native people do not see traditional knowledge (e.g. folklore, oral traditions) as having the same significance as Western scientific knowledge. Scholar and Pawnee activist Walter Echo-Hawk states, "It is hard to present ironclad evidence in court of a relationship to remains that are ancient." Nowhere is this clearer than in the case of Kennewick Man, a set of 9,000-year-old human remains known to the Native tribes of the

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¹⁰⁵ PBS, n. d.; Davis, 2010; Legends of America, 2003; Weik, 2012; Minges, 1998. *Tied to the history of the Indian Removal Act is the Choctaw Trail of Tears (1831), Cherokee Trail of Tears (1838), the Second Seminole War (1835-1842) and the Third Seminole War (1855-1858).*

¹⁰⁶ Tohe, 2007; Teller, n.d.; McPherson, 2013.

¹⁰⁷ Tohe, 2007, p. 79.

¹⁰⁸ Blu, 2001; Lowery, 2010; McClatchy, 2013; Giese, 1997; Hall, 1993; Interior Board of Indian Appeals, 2013;

Walter Echo-Hawk in Riding In, et. al, 2004.

Pacific Northwest as "The Ancient One." In a 2004 court opinion, Judge John Jelderks decided that longstanding oral traditions did not represent irrefutable proof of continuity between the remains and present day tribes. ¹¹⁰ This decision directly contradicts NAGPRA which lists oral tradition as suitable evidence for proving cultural affiliation. In addition to oral traditions, NAGPRA states cultural affiliation can be determined through geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, linguistic, folklore and historical evidence. ¹¹¹

Although the initial legislation required museums to complete inventory summaries and transfers by 1995, NAGPRA inventories and repatriations continue to be updated, corrected and consulted upon nationwide. This has met numerous critiques citing lack of staff or funding and, concerning several federal agencies, a lack of priority. For example, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) reported that by 2001, only 315 sets of human remains out of 4,815 in the agency's possession had been evaluated. That the BIA would deprioritize compliance is worrying because NAGPRA seems so in line with the agency's own mission, to enhance the quality of life, to promote economic opportunity, and to carry out the responsibility to protect and improve the trust assets of American Indians, Indian tribes and Alaska Natives.

The need for continued application of the NAGPRA legislation within museums is understood when dealing with the sheer volume of Native American remains and NAGPRA applicable objects that exist in various repositories—a large number of which are labeled as "culturally unidentifiable." Native commentators including James Riding In, Susan Harjo and

¹¹⁰ Bonnichsen, et al., v. United States, et al., 2004; Thomas, 2000, 2006 and 2014; Weaver, 1997; W. Echo-Hawk in Riding In, et al., 2004); Pensly, 2005; Cryne, 2009-2010.

¹¹¹ NAGPRA, 43 CFR 10.2 (e).

¹¹² Chari and Lavall, 2013, p. 11.

¹¹³ Riding In et al., 2004; Pensly, 2005; Weaver, 1997; Riding In, 1996; Colwell, 2015; Durmont Jr., 2011; Cryne, 2009-2010.

¹¹⁴ Cryne, 2009-2010, p. 119-120; McLaughlin, 2004, p. 192.

¹¹⁵ BIA, 2016.

Walter Echo-Hawk are skeptical about the presence of these remains. These critics see the label of "culturally unidentifiable" as a way for scientists to avoid repatriation and continue study of the ancestors uninhibited. 116 Usually, larger museums (e.g. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Philadelphia, the Field Museum in Chicago, the American Museum of Natural History in New York, etc.) retain a dedicated repatriation staff allowing for year-long efforts to complete NAGPRA-related inventories and address accompanying concerns. Conversely, smaller institutions are typically unable to place sole focus on NAGPRA compliance and rely on grants to complete them. Within these smaller institutions, completion of NAGPRA tasks is frequently sporadic because of this reliance on irregular funding. 117 The short time frame provided by the 1995 deadline also affected many Native American groups. Many tribal descendants found themselves suddenly having to create new cultural protocols that would allow the return of human remains. 118 It should be noted that by 2014, only 150 Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (THPO) within the United States had received approval of the National Park Service (NPS). 119 Sangita Chari, former grants coordinator for the National NAGPRA program (2008-2012), has estimated that all of the human remains still being cared for by institutions will not be eligible for repatriation until 2070. 120

Repatriation Processes

While repatriation is a key objective of NAGPRA, the law does not mandate the return of all Native American objects to tribal groups. Native American, Native Hawaiian or Native Alaskan Village groups must specifically request the repatriation of remains and objects after

¹¹⁶ Riding In et al. 2004; Cryne, 2009-2010, p. 106-117.

¹¹⁷ Hemenway, 2013, p 91.

¹¹⁸ Capone, 2013, p 124; Hemenway, 2013, p. 91.

¹¹⁹ ACHP Policy Statement Regarding Federal Relationships with THPOs, 2014. It should be noted that having a THPO is not a requirement of NAGPRA consultation procedures. ¹²⁰ Chari, 2013, p 13.

cultural affiliation or lineal descent is identified and verified.¹²¹ The burden of identifying cultural affiliation falls to each Native American, Native Hawaiian or Native Alaskan Village. For some tribal groups, repatriation of human remains or funerary objects is not permitted. Eric Hemenway, a member of Anishnaabe/Odawa, explains that "Some tribes do not take back remains that have been unearthed and that is each tribes [sic.] prerogative, according to their cultural beliefs." Among the Pueblo groups of the Southwest, the Pueblo of Zuni are one such group that has not requested for the reburial of Zuni human remains.

Zuni religious leaders have participated in discussions with museums in efforts to return the *Ahayu:da*, or Zuni war gods, since 1978.¹²³ The removal of these Zuni fetishes are believed to release the gods' powers and causes war, violence and natural disasters. Therefore, restoration of the *Ahayu:da* to their shrines is viewed by Zuni leaders as vitally important. On the contrary, the repatriation of human remains has over the last twenty-five years not been as important to the Zuni leaders. Prior to the passage of NAGPRA, the Zuni Tribal Council created Resolution No. M70-90-L017 which explains that ancestral remains and their associated funerary objects have become desecrated through excavation and subsequent curation in museums. This resolution further states that these remains cannot be reinterred on Zuni land as "there are no adequate means to reverse or mitigate this desecration." Subsequent Zuni Tribal Council Resolutions as well agreements with other Pueblo groups have established protocols for the disturbance of burials and the repatriation of Zuni remains to other Pueblo groups. ¹²⁵

For some tribal groups, contamination of sacred objects or objects of cultural patrimony has prohibited the repatriation of certain artifacts. Often these types of items are made of

¹²¹ NAGPRA, 25 USC 3005.

Hemenway, 2013, p. 98, footnotes.

¹²³ Merrill, et al., p. 525.

¹²⁴ Ladd et al., 2000, p. 257-259; Merril, William L. et al., 1993

¹²⁵ Ladd et al., 2000, p 257-259; Pino, 2015; Bernstein, "The Impact of NAGPRA on Communities," 2010, p. 267.

biodegradable materials such as wood or animal hides and were historically treated with pesticides including arsenic. The Hopi, for example, have attributed the illness and death of several elders in the 1990s to chemicals that had been used on several repatriated masks. 126 Chemical contamination of objects has sometimes led to the request for museums to retain artifacts temporarily until a method for the removal of contaminants can be decided upon. 127 Although museums have been tasked with the interim storage of NAGPRA-applicable objects, lineal descendants and culturally-affiliated groups typically retain legal custody of human remains and objects. Discussions of repatriation of these objects should be approached on a case-by-case basis.

39 CFR Part 79: Curation of Federal-Owned and Administered Archaeological Collections

In addition to NAGPRA, federally-owned and administered collections must also meet compliance with 36 CFP 79. Created in 1989, 36 CFR 79 regulates the use, access, management and preservation of federal collections. Unlike NAGPRA, which only pertains to archaeological collections of indigenous origins, 36 CFR 79 pertains to any prehistoric or historic material remains excavated or removed during archaeological undertakings. This also includes any documentation created during archaeological survey, excavation, or other study. The regulation additionally provides a set of curation standards institutions must meet in order to demonstrate their ability to properly curate and maintain archaeological collections. The standards for curation collections require that an institution:

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¹²⁶ Bernstein, "The Impact of NAGPRA on Communities," 2010, p. 278.

¹²⁷ Sadongei et al., 2005; Fausset, 2002; Sadongei, et al., 2005; Odegaard, 1999; Hawks and Makos, 1999; Odegaard and Sadongei, 2001; Rossol, 2001; Ogden, 2004; Goldberg, 1996; NMNH, Dept. of Anthropology, n. d., "Pesticide Contamination." *The Hopi are working with curator Nancy Odegaard on ways to remove pesticide contaminants used in historic museum practices*.

¹²⁸ NMAI, 2016; Bernstein, 1992; Rosoff, 2003, p. 72; Kreps, 2009, p. 196 and 204.

¹²⁹ 39 CFR 79.

- (a) Accession, label, catalog, store, maintain, inventory and conserve the particular collection on a long-term basis using professional museum and archival practices; and
- (b) Comply with the following as appropriate to the nature and consent of the collection:
 - 1. Maintain complete and accurate records of the collection, [...]
 - 2. Dedicate the requisite facilities, equipment and space in the physical plant to properly store, study and conserve the collection Space used for storage, study, conservation and, if exhibited, any exhibition must not be used for noncuratorial purposes that would endanger or damage the collection;
 - 3. Keep the collection under physically secure conditions within storage, laboratory, study and any exhibition areas [...];
 - 4. Require staff and any consultants who are responsible for managing and preserving the collection to be qualified museum professionals;
 - 5. Handle, store, clean, conserve and, if exhibited, exhibit the collection in a manner that:
 - i. Is appropriate to the nature of the material remains and associated records;
 - ii. Protects them from breakage and possible deterioration [...]; and
 - iii. Preserves data that may be studied in future laboratory analyses. [...]
 - 6. Store site forms, field notes, artifacts inventory lists, computer disks and tapes, catalog forms and a cop of the final report in a manner that will protect them from theft and fire [...];
 - 7. Inspect the collection [...] to verify the location of the material remains, associated records and any other federal personal property that is furnished to the repository; and
 - 8. Provide access to the collection [...]. 130

Under 36 CFR 79, human remains and culturally-sensitive objects excavated or removed from federal or tribal lands after November 16, 1990 are not considered collections. These objects are considered NAGPRA cultural items, however, federal agencies are encouraged to follow the curation standards of 36 CFR 79 for NAGPRA cultural items. 131 As with NAGPRA requirements, smaller museums often face challenges in training, staffing and funding programs to ensure these curation standards are met.

An interesting distinction between 36 CFR 79 and NAGPRA is found in the definitions of "religious remains" in comparison to "sacred objects." Under NAGPRA, sacred objects are

¹³⁰ 39 CFR 79, §79.9. ¹³¹ NPS, "36 CFR 79."

"specific ceremonial objects which are needed by traditional Native American religious leaders for the practice of traditional Native American religions by their present day adherents." This definition relies on the ability of Native American leaders to provide evidence that use of a specific ceremonial object is vital to the continued observance or renewal of tribal ceremony. Although museum staff may be capable of identifying items that might meet the criteria of this definition, final identification as a sacred object should be left to traditional religious leaders. Objects believed to be sacred by museum staff should be discussed during tribal consultation proceedings.

Conversely, the definition for religious remains under 36 CFR 79 allows for Federal Agency officials to determine if an object has religious or ceremonial importance. This determination is made in consultation with appropriate Indian tribes or other groups. Additionally, religious remains under 36 CFR 79 "must be made available...for use in religious rituals or spiritual activities," and "religious leaders, tribal officials, and official representatives of other groups for which the remains have religious or sacred importance have the right to periodically inspect the religious remains." Unlike sacred objects under NAGPRA, designation of religious remains does not necessitate repatriation; however, this legislation does allow for the use of objects that otherwise may not be applicable under NAGPRA.

State Burial Laws: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and Utah

Collection of archaeological material, whether by professionals or amateur practitioners, is not only regulated at a federal level, but also at the state level. Since the implementation of

¹³² NAGPRA, 25 USC 3001 (3)(c).

¹³³ NAGPRA, §10.2 (d)(3); Echo-Hawk, 2002, p. 104-106.

¹³⁴ Echo-Hawk, 2002, 104-106.

¹³⁵ 39 CFR 79, §79.4 (i).

¹³⁶ 39 CFR 79, §79.10; 39 CFR 79, §79.11; NPS, n.d., "36 CFR 79."

NAGPRA, many states have enacted or amended their laws in response to the national legislation. All of the Four Corner states had pre-existing legislation with the aim of protecting archaeological resources, however, amendments have been made to these laws which reflect the federal NAGPRA requirements. These state laws, briefly summarized here, include the Arizona Antiquities Act of 1927, the Colorado Historical, Prehistorical and Archaeological Resources Act of 1973, the New Mexico Cultural Properties Act of 1969, and the Utah State Antiquities Act of 1973. The legislation of all four states prohibits excavation without permit, identifies procedures for inadvertent discoveries, and outlines penalties for those caught illegally excavating or vandalizing archaeological sites.

In addition to the protection of known sites, each state has established protocols for the inadvertent discovery of unmarked human burials on privately-owned properties as well as statemanaged lands. Overall, these laws express that human remains and any associated funerary objects are not to be removed without the authorization of the land owner and appropriate state officials. Arizona, Utah and Colorado laws explicitly encourage that burials remain in situ if possible. Reburial of any individual and associated funerary objects is required in all states; remains and associated artifacts are stored by state agencies until reburial arrangements can be completed.

¹³⁷ Seidemann, 2010, p. 199.

Arizona Revised Statues, Title 41, §841-§844 and §865; Colorado Statutes, Title 24, Article 80, §1301-§1305; New Mexico Cultural Properties Act, Title 18 Chapter 6 §1-§23; Utah State Antiquities Act, Utah Code Annotated, Title 9 Chapter 8 §301-§309; and Utah Administrative Code, R455-4.

¹³⁹ NAPTHO, 2005; Arizona Revised Statues, Title 41, §865; Colorado Statutes, Title 24, Article 80, §401-§411; New Mexico Cultural Properties Act, Title 18 Chapter 6 §11.2; and Utah Administrative Code, R455-4.

¹⁴⁰ Arizona Revised Statues, Title 41, §865; Colorado Statutes, Title 24, Article 80, §401-§411; and Utah Administrative Code, R455-4.

Legal Implications for the Chappell Collection

At first glance, it appears that many of the above-described federal and state laws do not apply to the Chappell Collection. Ruth and Cliff were especially careful in making sure that they did not complete any excavations on federal or state lands. The majority of the Collection was removed from sites on private properties with permission from the property owners. Between 1939 and 1960, when the Chappells were most active, no laws existed which prohibited the removal of human remains or funerary objects from Native American burials on private land. Artifacts from states other than Colorado and Utah were gifted to or, in one case, bought by the Chappells. This includes, among other artifacts, a shell bracelet bought by the Chappells in Arizona, a projectile point from Mexico gifted by Harry Ender, and a small group of historic trade beads from Oregon gifted by Mr. and Mrs. Bill Bennett. While extremely generalized site descriptions exist for these gifted artifacts, there is not enough information available to conclusively state if they were removed from federal, state or private lands.

Only sixteen artifacts of the Collection, from two distinct site locations, have proveniences which indicate they may have been excavated from a tribal reservation. As excavation of both sites was completed before the passage of ARPA, only the AA would have made collection from these sites illegal without proper permits. Of these two sites, only one was identified by Cliff Chappell as a tribal land site. Described in Chappell notebook Volume 2, the first site was found along Mancos Creek on the "Navajo Reservation." This site has not been confirmed partly due to a possible misidentification by Cliff. Mancos Creek is north of the

¹⁴¹ Chappell Notebook, Volume 1, circa 1932-1940; Chappell Notebook, Volume 2, circa 1949-1962. *The shell bracelet is recorded as Chappell Number 378 (78.2.4573), the Mexican projectile point as Chappell Number 665B (78.2.2577) and the trade beads as Chappell Number 868. The trade beads never appeared in the AHC catalog; they were likely kept by the family.*

¹⁴² Chappell Notebook Volume 2, circa 1949-1962, 78.2.2141.B.O, Chappell Collection, BLM Anasazi Heritage Center, Dolores, CO.

Colorado-New Mexico border, meaning the purported site is on the Ute Mountain Ute Reservation and not on the Navajo Nation land.

The second site possibly on tribal land was identified during the Chappell site investigations between 1983 and 1985. AHC written records for this relocated site do not indicate that it is on reservation lands, however, the assigned site trinomial does. A "UR" code within the trinomial number indicates this second site is also on the Ute Mountain Ute Reservation. On the other hand, this same trinomial without the "UR" code was published in the 2004 "Notice of Inventory Completion" as a site on private land. Further verification of these two sites needs to be completed before it can be determined if these objects were excavated illicitly by the Chappells. Currently, AHC records of site trinomials and descriptions within the Chappell Notebook are not accurately reflected. This concern has been raised in discussion between the AHS and AHC staff. Future work with the Collection should include an analysis of site identification.

Even with the possibility that some of the Collection may have been excavated from tribal land, the Chappells legally obtained the majority of their artifacts. Legal restrictions on the Collection, therefore, did not begin until after 1990 when the AHS was awarded an NSF grant in 1992 for the continued care of the Collection. As the NSF is an agency of the United States government, the 1992 grant signifies that the AHS has received federal funding. By accepting this award, the AHS can be identified as an institution as is responsible for compliance with NAGPRA. The initial NAGPRA inventory, completed between 1994 and 1996, along with initial repatriations of items from the Collection are discussed in Chapter 5.

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¹⁴³ Chappell Notebook Xeroxed Catalog Notes, 78.2.D.4.0. *ARGUS database information and original cataloger notes for these artifacts shows site number as 5MTUR2343*.

¹⁴⁵ AHS, 2011; Crosmer, 2015.

¹⁴⁶ AHS Financial Records, 1983-2015; NSF Funding Grant Proposal, [1991-1992]; NAGPRA §25 USC 3001 (8).

Chapter 4: Applying Ethical Codes for Museum Practices to Native American Collections

In an article addressing conservation trends, Dr. Nancy Odegaard, Conservator and head of the Preservation Division at the Arizona State Museum, states:

Conservators charged with preservation of indigenous collections must gain a knowledge of the legal requirements regarding the repatriation of claimed collections, uphold a moral responsibility to professional ethical standards, and adopt greater sensitivity to ethnic concerns that relate to particular collections. 147

NAGPRA, for all its accomplishments, has been criticized for its bias to scientists, museums, and other federal agencies. ¹⁴⁸ By applying ethical codes to the management of Native American collections, museum professionals can address this observed bias as well as areas not covered in extant legislation—namely, caring for culturally-sensitive objects which are not repatriated.

Numerous ethical codes have been developed which identify the moral accountabilities of museums when meeting the five core museum functions: "to collect, to conserve, to study, to interpret, and to exhibit." These ethical codes also aim to address weaknesses in federal and state regulations. The American Alliance of Museums (AAM), formerly the American Association of Museums, for instance urges that museums must go beyond legal responsibilities to maintain integrity and warrant public confidence. However, as there are no real enforcement mechanisms within these codices, institutions are responsible for maintaining their own ethical standards.

One of the primary ethical concerns in museum practice for institutions belonging to a larger museum association is the required due diligence of museum staff in ascertaining

¹⁴⁸ *Science*: Riding in and Paxa, 2015; Pensly, 2005, p. 39; Riding In et al, 2004, p. 174 and 181; Riding In, 1996; Echo-Hawk and Echo-Hawk, 1991. *Museums and other federal agencies*: Riding In et al., 2004, p. p. 170, 174 and 181; Pensly, 2005, p. 40; Colwell, 2015; Durmont Jr., 2011; Cryne, 2009-2010.

¹⁴⁹ Barker, 2003, p. 72.

¹⁴⁷ Odegaard, 2000, p. 39.

¹⁵⁰ AAM, Code of Ethics for Museums,1991, amended 2000.

provenience before a loaned, donated or purchased collection can be accessioned. The need for extensive research into the provenience of artifacts protects museums from the negative consequences of dealing with looted material. These consequences can include legal suits in federal and international courts, forfeiture of artifacts, and possible loss of accreditation. In addition, use of a collection with dubious or unknown provenience in scholarly and published research can raise questions of the authenticity of the source. Perhaps the largest concern for the use of artifacts with no provenience is the connotation that these items have likely been looted. Display or acknowledgement of these artifacts has been shown to have a direct impact on targeted looting across the globe. 151 Following the passage of ARPA and NAGPRA within the United States, it is likely that artifacts coming from well-known sites are now being sold without any provenience information due to the illegality of their collection. ¹⁵² This allows for buyers to claim deniability and pass blame to people to the seller or digger. Every time an artifact trades hands, it becomes harder to accurately identify provenience history. This will cause problems in the future as donations from private collectors are a primary way museums grow their collections.

The Code of Ethics adopted by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) in 1986 is one of many ethical codes with devices for establishing accurate provenience records before acquiring an artifact or object. According to the ICOM code a "full history of the item since discovery or production" should be produced during investigation of offered pieces. The rigorous development of a full history of individual pieces assures not only that the owner retains good title for it, but also allows provides information beneficial for future use in the exhibition of

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¹⁵¹ Davis, 2001; Brodie and Renfrew, 2005, 348 and 354; Kersel, 2008a; Kersel 2008b; Patel, 2009; Phillips, 2010.

¹⁵² Davis, 2001, p. 238-239.

¹⁵³ ICOM, Code of Ethics for Museums, 2013

¹⁵⁴ ICOM, 2013, p. 3.

the object or in the production of scholarly literature. Conversely, AAM's statement on the ethics of acquisition is far less specific with no direct recommendations for verification of title or provenience records. Museums are left to assess for themselves whether provenience information and title has been sufficiently verified. Again, there are no enforcement mechanisms for either the ICOM or AAM Code of Ethics.

Purchase or donation of a collection can also present an ethical dilemma in the commercialization of archaeological material. In cases where donations of a collection would benefit in a significant tax break, ethical codes suggest the collection be assessed by a licensed third-party appraiser. 156 By requiring this outside appraisal, a risk is run that the private owner may decide to sell the collection in antiquities markets rather than donate. The out-right purchasing of archaeological collections as well as the acceptance of large donations for tax credits represent a way in which museums directly place a monetary value on artifacts. Acknowledgement of monetary value of privately collected artifacts by museum, archaeology and anthropology professionals through display or publication also directly correlates to increases in the value of similar objects in antiquities markets. 157 This issue becomes a larger concern when un-provenienced objects are used, as professionals are perceived to advocate the illegal looting of certain artifact types by creating a market demand. This has led to the widespread looting of archaeological sites. The Listing of Outlaw Treachery (LOOT) Clearinghouse maintained by the NPS shows how market demand has directly affected the more archaeologically dense regions of the United States. LOOT reports indicate approximately 700 cases of archaeological resource law violations (e.g., theft, trafficking, destruction, or

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¹⁵⁵ American Alliance of Museums, 1991, amended 2000.

¹⁵⁶ Barker, 2003, p. 76.

¹⁵⁷ Brodie, 2006; Brodie and Tubb, 2001.; Barker, 2003.

defacement of resources) have been resolved between 1967 and 2009. Seventy-percent of those cases came out of eleven states in the southwestern and southeastern United States. Although not included in LOOT, both regions also saw a large increase in the looting of Native American graves during the Great Depression and the Dust Bowl. This history of archaeological collection in these regions has created an environment where looting of sites is identified as an easy way to make some money.

More recently, law enforcement officers in the Southwest have noted a rise in looting directly tied to methamphetamine use. Nicknamed "twiggers," a merging of "tweaker" and "digger," many meth users are turning to illegal excavation in order to fund their addiction. In the Southwest, where the value of Ancestral Puebloan artifacts—especially ceramics—has been known for generations, the statistics for drug abuse are unfortunately high. As many of these archaeological resources are located in backcountry areas and not always monitored or patrolled regularly, looters are able to find, excavate and leave sites without ever being detected.

The dilemma of commercialization can be applied directly to the Chappell Collection as the 1982 Title Transfer Agreement contains provisions for the dual sale and donation of its artifacts. ¹⁶¹ Joe Craighead and Robert Ashton, both recognized specialists and certified appraisers in Southwestern artifacts, completed appraisals of the Collection prior to its transfer in 1982. ¹⁶² Craighead provided appraisal for the Collection as a whole on its "museum value." This value used by Craighead is read as a combination of the Collection's aesthetic valuation as art objects in addition to the scholarly potential derived from each object's history, function, or significance. Conversely, Ashton's appraisal was based on the fair market value of each

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¹⁵⁸ Dohner and Mudar, n.d.

¹⁵⁹ Gulliford, 2000; Davis; 2001, p. 236; Ruth Chappell Interview Tapes; Labelle, 2003, p. 118-119.

¹⁶⁰ Gulliford, 2012; Patel, 2009; Phillips, 2010; Merkelson, 2010.

¹⁶¹ Title Transfer Agreement, 1982.

¹⁶² Keller, 2015; other letter of appraisals

AHC takes the ethical position of not assigning value to its collection, the exact monetary value of the Collection agreed upon by Ruth Chappell and the AHS is not mentioned here. However, it should be noted that the tax deduction available to Ruth Chappell from her charitable donation of half of the Collection was significant. This transfer could have incited a renewed interest in regional private collecting trends as the transfer was published in several local newspapers including the Durango Herald, the Montezuma Valley Journal and the Dolores Star in 1983. 164

A rising concern of museum ethics revolves around the relationships between institutions and the general public. Tristram Besterman, former director of the Manchester Museum in the United Kingdom, states in *A Companion to Museum Studies* that modern ethical codes have come to "define the relationship of the museum with people, not with things." In addition to the collection, preservation and exhibition of collections, museums are expected to provide educational opportunities that advance "an understanding and appreciation of the natural and cultural common wealth." These educational opportunities deal largely with the accessibility of a collection by the public.

Arguably, the most easily accessible objects are those on display in galleries. Exhibitions of archaeological collections frequently represent only a small fraction of a collection. Most museums in the United States exhibit less than five percent of their entire holdings. Researchers are typically granted access to stored artifacts through contact with museum staff. However, special attention to culturally-sensitive objects, such as those used for ceremonial

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¹⁶³ Ruth Chappell Filmed Interviews, Tape 3. Ruth implied that she though the sale the Collection could put her grandsons through college; the cost of tuition at Harvard and MIT was jokingly discussed with the interviewer. ¹⁶⁴ Newspaper Articles, 1983, 78.2.D.12.O. All articles in the archive file are photocopies of the originals and several do not have page or publication information easily gleaned.

¹⁶⁵ Besterman, 2006, p. 431.

American Alliance of Museums, 1991, amended 2000.

¹⁶⁷ Fabrikant, 2009.

purposes or associated with human remains, may need additional parameters to determine if all requests should be granted. These additional parameters are not required under NAGPRA but are often recommended by indigenous elders and religious leaders or by collection curators. Additional parameters may include: a request for further information on the nature of the research, approval from an authorized tribal representative, or limitations on what information can be published. In addition to researcher access, behind-the-scenes tours offered to the general public at the AHC may allow access to sensitive or NAGPRA-applicable objects within the Chappell Collection. Several artifacts including a McElmo black-on-white ceramic bowl with sunflower motif and a Mesa Verde Black-on-white ceramic rattle mug currently are shown on every tour. If it is appropriate for these objects to be highlighted during these tours needs to be addressed through further consultation with tribal representatives.

NAGPRA-applicable collections require more rigorous applications for access than other collection types due to the sensitive nature of the artifacts. Although NAGPRA legislation "makes no specific mention of archival records" as items to be included on inventory summaries or as items available for repatriation, limitations on access need to also be considered for images, recordings or documentation associated with NAGPRA-applicable objects. A number of documents and photographs within the Chappell Archives would fit this definition. Several of the historic photographs in the Chappell Collection, for instance, show excavated burials in situ. Limited access to the Chappell Notebooks should also be considered. This is not only an issue of cultural sensitivity, but also in order to protect the location of sites.

¹⁶⁸ Sunflower bowl, 78.2.1579 (Chappell Number 779).

¹⁶⁹ Rattle Mug, 78.2.1192 (Chappell Number 4).

¹⁷⁰ Underhill, 2006, p. 142-143.

¹⁷¹ Underhill, 2006, p. 142-143; First Archival Circle, 2007; Fitch, 2013, p. 51; Holman, n. d.

Currently at the AHC, requests for access to collections containing NAGPRA materials must be approved by both the AHC Research Committee and the group that retains legal control of the collection. Therefore, legal title for the majority of AHC collections is held, for the most part, by the Bureau of Land Management, the Forest Service and the National Park Service. For the Chappell Collection, the AHS executive board as well at the AHC Research Committee must be contacted for researcher access.

The relationship between institutions and the public has in recent years extended beyond visitors and researchers to include the people of the cultures represented in collections. 173 Working partnerships in the form of exhibit development and public education programs between descendant communities and museums are greatly encouraged. Many institutions have reported that their relationships with tribal groups have transcended NAGPRA, fostering an increased knowledge of collections, enhancing interpretation in exhibits and education programs, and changing the ability to convey Native American histories and cultures from indigenous, nonwestern perspectives. 174 For example, History Colorado collaborated with a Native American Advisory Council to create the exhibit Tribal Paths: Colorado's American Indians 1500 to Today (2006-2009) at the Colorado History Museum in Denver; the exhibit presented important events in American Indian history from different perspectives and demonstrated the cultural continuity of Colorado's Native people in the present. 175 At Sitka National Historical Park in Alaska, the NPS has partnered with Native artists to conserve and develop long-term preservation plans for totem poles located both inside and outside of the park's museum. ¹⁷⁶ The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) consulted with numerous tribes on how to

¹⁷² BLM, n. d., "Access to Collections."

¹⁷³ Kreps, 2003, p. 316.

¹⁷⁴ Ambler and Goff, 2013, p. 198.; Bernstein, 1992.; Gulliford, 2000, p. 31-385 and 53-66; West, 1996.

¹⁷⁵ History Colorado, 2010.

¹⁷⁶ Levitan, 1999.

store sensitive cultural materials; the NMAI Cultural Resources Center in Suitland, Maryland was designed with the direct involvement of Native communities to reflect respect not only for museum collections, but also the cultures they represent. And finally, Bishop Museum archaeologists working on the islands of Maui and Moloka'i have partnered with Native Hawaiians on excavation projects, allowing both Native and non-native local volunteers to assist on site in the hopes of expanding "archaeology awareness."

Under new ethical codes and management guidelines, museums can also begin to approach treatment and display of objects with the adoption of Traditional Care ideals. Traditional Care is defined by the Anthropology Department of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) as the traditional perspectives of indigenous groups which dictate specific care, handling and storage parameters of culturally-sensitive objects. Several museums including the Arizona State Museum in Tucson, the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe, the Louisiana State Museum in New Orleans, the Alutiiq Museum in Alaska and the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia have made their implemented ethical management guidelines for the care of culturally-sensitive material available online. Sensitive material

At times, Traditional Care ideals can go against conventional curation procedures. For example, in some cases the ceremonial treatment by smoking of objects or ritual offerings of perishable materials can leave residues or bring in pests—both issues that curators try to avoid.

36 CFR 79, the federal curation law, specifically requires that museums care for collections in a

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¹⁷⁷ Rossoff, 2003, p. 78; Smithsonian Institute, 2016.

¹⁷⁸ Major, 1996, 29-30.

¹⁷⁹ NMNH, Anthropology Department. "Traditional Care."

Arizona State Museum, n.d. the Museum of New Mexico Rule No. 11, 2001; the Louisiana State Museum, n.d.; Haakanson Jr. and Steffian, 2004; Museum of Anthropology at UBC, n. d. *Museum of Anthropology at UBC is included as a reference even though it is not applicable to NAGPRA as a Canadian institution.*

way that "protects them from breakage and possible deterioration from ... dust, soot, gases, mold, fungus, insects, rodents and general neglect." 181 Other Traditional Care practices go against modern ethical workplace standards. For instance, some objects are traditionally cared for by men and tribal groups would prefer that women staff not handle them. Enforcement of such a policy would not only be difficult (women typically outnumber men on museums staffs), but would directly contradict the ethics of workplace gender equality. Numerous institutions have reached agreements that successfully merge both standards. 182 The Denver Museum of Anthropology isolates human remains and funerary objects into a NAGPRA vault to limit dayto-day contact between the remains and museum staff. Ceremonial objects are also stored within their own vault. Access to these vaults is limited to tribal visits and integrated pest control monitoring, however, women are prohibited from entering when menstruating. 183 Similarly, the NMAI, in its New York facility, has a vault for the storage of human remains which is smoked every week. Also at this facility, sacred Crow objects in the Plains vault are smudged during the full moon. 184 At the NMAI Cultural Resources Center in Maryland, Native recommendations before and during construction of building led to storage facilities being placed on the top floor rather than in a basement as is typical. This recommendation was made by Native consultants because certain cultural objects should not be walked over. 185 The museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe allows for kachinas to "breathe" through specially designed storage cases. 186 Those these are only a few brief examples; other institutions nationwide also report successful adoption of Traditional Care practices.

¹⁸¹ 36 CFR 79, §79.9 (5)(ii)

¹⁸² NMNH, Anthropology Department, n.d, "Traditional Care;"; Barker, 2003, p. 77.

¹⁸³ Marstine, 2006, p. 20.

¹⁸⁴ Rossoff, 2003, p. 75; Barker, 2003, p. 77.

¹⁸⁵ Rossoff, 2003, p. 78.

¹⁸⁶ Bernstein, 1992.

Addressing Tribal Taboos: Concerns of Collection Displays and Handling

The consensus reached by tribal representatives at the AHC 2014 Tribal Consultation meeting stated that all unassociated funerary objects need to be removed from display. This request is not surprising, as many tribes throughout the United States have expressed discomfort with ancestral remains and funerary objects. This discomfort extends to both display and handing of human remains and funerary objects. Taboos against contact with the dead and burial sites are a common beliefs shared among the indigenous groups living in the Four Corners region including the modern Pueblo groups, the Navajo, and the Ute. For many of these groups, the spirits of the ancestors remain attached to the objects and places that they knew in life. 189

Antonio Chavarria, Curator of Ethnology at the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe, New Mexico, believes that "even before NAGPRA, there was this Pueblo sensitivity with local burial." A common belief among the Hopi is that these spirits act as guardians over the archaeological sites in which they were laid to rest. ¹⁹¹ The Navajo similarly hold the belief that many of the Ancestral Pueblo sites are home the *dahodiyini*, or holy people, as well as the ghosts of their former inhabitants. ¹⁹² Both the Hopi and Navajo believe that the disturbance of burials at these sites interrupts the perceived journey of the spirit after death. ¹⁹³ Taboos on burial disruption also extends to the removal grave goods. In the *Navajo Nation Policy for the Protection of Jishchaa'*, it is advised that "funerary items must be treated with respect. They have been placed with the human remains for essential reasons and should not be handled

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¹⁸⁷ 2014 Tribal Consultation Notes, NAGPRA Files, BLM Anasazi Heritage Center, Dolores, CO.

¹⁸⁸ Chavarria et al., 2012, p. 402-403; Pino, 2015; Rosen, 1980; Kluth and Munnell, 1997; Fowler, 2004; Gulliford 2002; Navajo Nation, n. d.

¹⁸⁹ Petuuchee, 2000, p. 32-33.

¹⁹⁰ Chavarria et al., 2012, p. 402-403.

¹⁹¹ McPherson, 2014, p. 67, 126; Ferguson et al., 2001; San Juan Mountains Association, 2007.

¹⁹² McPherson, 2014, p. 64, 126.

¹⁹³ Dongoske, 1996, p. 290-293.

casually, collected, removed, or separated from the human remains."¹⁹⁴ Chavarria indicates that beliefs surrounding the removal of a funerary object from a burial may even be more significant among Pueblo descendants. The Hopi, for example, believe that funerary objects were placed in burials to assist an ancestor's journey to *Maski* or the "home of the dead people" and that there is not possible further use of such objects. As such, to remove any grave goods from the burial is "abhorrent to Hopi people."¹⁹⁶

Handling or even viewing of funerary objects and remains can invite illness or bad luck to whomever comes into contact. The Ute, Navajo, and modern Pueblos all have a respectful hesitance around the dead for this reason.¹⁹⁷ Many of these tribes have cultural practices "to reduce the risk and even negate the effects of contact with human remains, funerary objects... and other objects imbued with religious and...spiritual significance."¹⁹⁸ In the Navajo tradition, the Enemy Way ceremony exists to remove afflicting ghosts.¹⁹⁹ The Enemy Way has historically been used for men returning from war, but has been adapted to the multiple ways a person can contract "ghost sickness.²⁰⁰" For this ceremony, an object (e.g., scalp, bone, clothing, etc.) of the enemy must be procured. This object is then "worked against, and eventually shot," while a group of participants, usually friends and family of the patient, exchange prayers and dances.²⁰¹ Specific information about this and other ceremonies can be difficult to obtain as many are esoteric subjects for the religious groups which practice them. Not all groups, however, have the ability or the desire to repatriate remains let alone funerary or sacred objects.

¹⁹⁴ Navajo Nation, n. d.

¹⁹⁵ Chavarria et al., 2003, p. 402-403.

¹⁹⁶ Ferguson et al., 2003, p. 14-16

¹⁹⁷ Hulktsnyz, 1992; McPherson, 2014, p. 129; Dongoske, 1996.

¹⁹⁸ Odegaard and Sadongei, 2005, p. xx.

¹⁹⁹McPherson, 2014, p. 166.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

²⁰¹ McPherson, 2014, p. 166-169; NMAI, Education Office, n.d.

Historically, the Pueblo of Zuni has declined or deferred the repatriation of human remains and grave goods due to the belief that these items have been desecrated. More recently, Zuni has partnered with other Pueblo descendant groups on reburials. The Hopi similarly have placed a moratorium on repatriation of sacred objects which have historically been treated with pesticides. Unlike with the Zuni reasons for declining repatriation, Hopi defers repatriation of these object for potential physical harm these objects could cause to living tribal members who intend to use reintroduce them to religious ceremonies. ²⁰³

Many of the Native groups continue to work with institutions when culturally-sensitive objects are to remain in the care of museums. ²⁰⁴ Some tribes, like the Zuni, have partnered with museum professionals to establish curation management guidelines that address Traditional Care Practices of those objects. ²⁰⁵ These management guidelines include statements on: the reunification of objects and remains from the same burial, the removal of sensitive objects to less trafficked areas of storage and the introduction of additional labels for sensitive objects with special handling concerns. ²⁰⁶ For example, bright yellow placards were introduced in storage areas of History Colorado to indicate objects that should not be handled by women while menstruating. ²⁰⁷ The presence of culturally-sensitive objects still at the AHC, discussed fully in the next chapter, and how these artifacts should be handled needs be discussed with the museum's consulting Native groups. The AHC and AHS could easily implement new management practices for the Collection that address some of the regional cultural taboos.

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²⁰²Ferguson et al., 2000; Merrill et al., 2003.

²⁰³ Bernstein, 2013, p. 278.

²⁰⁴Ambler and Goff, 2010.; AMNH, n.d.; Capone, 2010, p. 127.; Martinez and Teeter, 2015. Examples include the Digital Collection created between the American Museum of Natural History and the Zuni, the Historic Alaska Kayaks projects between the Alutiiq Museum and Peabody Museum, and the Pimu Catalina Island Archaeology Project between the Tongva/Gabrielino and University of California, Los Angeles.

²⁰⁵ Pino, 2015; Ferguson et al., 2000, p. 260-261; Bernstein, 2013, p. 277.

²⁰⁶ Cassman et al., 2007, p. 100.; Kreps, 2011, p. 76-79; Flynn and Hull-Walski, 2001; Rossoff, 1988.; Ogden, 2004. Ambler and Goff, 2013.

Continued collaboration with Native groups can also lead to enhanced interpretation within the AHC exhibits and an increased knowledge of the Collection.

Chapter 5: Case Study: The Chappell Collection, 1990-2015

Following the implementation of NAGPRA, scholarly focus shifted from an emphasis on scholarly analysis of the Chappell Collection to the identification of human remains, associated and unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony. As a national trend, early NAGPRA inventories prioritized the identification and repatriation of human remains.²⁰⁸ While this decision allowed for more effort to be placed on the proper identification of human remains for repatriation, it has opened up the possibility that numerous unassociated funerary objects or sacred objects within collections have not yet been brought up in NAGPRA discussions. Initial repatriation efforts by the AHC certainly placed precedence on the identification and data entry of human remains and the associated funerary objects within the museum's numerous accessions.²⁰⁹ Unassociated funerary objects have, until recently, not been the primary subject of discussion. Due to this situation, several unassociated funerary objects have remained on display in the public galleries, been loaned to other institutions, and have been used in educational programs. The continued presence of unassociated funerary objects, however, does not indicate that the AHS or AHC are not attempting to meet compliance under NAGPRA.

Initial NAGPRA Repatriations

Following the NSF grant award for continued care of the Chappell Collection in 1992, all human remains and objects applicable to NAGPRA needed to be inventoried.²¹⁰ Under the 1982 Permanent Loan Agreement, the AHC staff, volunteers and interns were able to assist in the

²⁰⁸ Capone, 2013.

²⁰⁹ For the Chappell Collection, human remains and funerary objects were inventoried into computerized database first; a staff member was contracted in 1998 to finalize data entry of the Collection.; Thomas, 2000.

AHS Financial Records, 1983-2015; NSF Funding Grant Proposal, [1991-1992]; NAGPRA §25 USC 3001 (8).

identification of which items in the Collection would be affected.²¹¹ Analysis of human remains was completed by a contracted physical anthropologist, Sali Underwood, while AHC staff and interns were responsible for the inventory of funerary objects. In addition, all remains and NAGPRA-applicable objects were photographed to document their condition. ²¹² Inventory of the Chappell Collection was completed between 1994 and 1996 at the same time as the rest of the museum's accessions. The published NAGPRA inventories, therefore, include information pertaining to all accessions held at the AHC, not just the Chappell Collection. Although the inventory was finished in 1996, the notice for inventory completion was not published in the Federal Register until October of 2004.²¹³

During the NAGPRA inventory, the remains of eighteen individuals and sixteen associated funerary objects were identified as being part of the Chappell Collection. Information pertaining to these remains and objects were presented to the AHS board members in November of 1997.²¹⁴ The board agreed to permanently transfer ownership of all human remains and associated funerary objects to the AHC. This decision was reached in order to expedite the repatriation process. The remains and associated funerary objects transferred were then included with other federally-owned AHC holdings. This allowed the AHC staff to discuss all NAGPRA remains and associate funerary objects held at the AHC as a whole rather than each accession individually at consultation meetings.²¹⁵ While this expedited the process, it unfortunately created some confusion in the NAGPRA files concerning the Collection and caused several associated funerary objects to be overlooked.

²¹¹ Permanent Loan Agreement, 1982.

²¹² NAGPRA Inventory Completion and Budget Notes, ca. 1997; NPS 2004.

Meeting minutes indicate that only 10 associated funerary objects were presented to the board on the Deed of Gift agreement. This may be a typo or more artifacts may have been added to the Deed of Gift prior to its signing in January of 1998.; AHS Board Meeting Minutes, 22 Jan. 1997.
²¹⁵ AHS Board Meeting Minutes, 1997; NPS, 2004; Thomas, 2000; Keller, 2015.

Careful review of the NAGPRA files pertaining to the Collection indicate that the remains of four individuals and one human tooth that were not reported in the Chappell notebooks or in the Ruth Chappell interviews. At this time, no notes or accession records are known that would indicate how these remains came to be at the AHC. Neither is there any information that would suggest provenience. Due to the lack of documentation, there is the possibility that these objects do not belong to the Collection. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this paper they have been tallied with the rest of the Collection holdings.

During the 2015 inventory discussed below, twenty-three additional artifacts were identified to have direct association with human remains collected by the Chappells. These were not repatriated in 2004 and are still found in the Collection. Eighteen of these artifacts including ceramic bowls, a miniature ceramic olla and several turquoise and shell charms may not have been considered associated funerary objects during the NAGPRA inventory. According to Cliff's records, no skeletal remains were kept from the burial where these eighteen objects were collected. However, three artifacts identified by Cliff as "bone implements" were identified as fetal or infant bones by Sali Underwood during the NAGPRA inventory. These fetal or infant bones were excavated next to female skeletal remains, making the grave a double burial of a mother and her young child. The other five funerary objects not identified in the initial NAGPRA review were associated with human remains listed in the Chappell notebooks. Through careful review of cataloguing notes and the NAGPRA files for the Chappell Collection, it would seem that this issue had not been identified until the 2015 Inventory. As all human

²¹⁶ These four individuals were not identified. They were referred to in documents as Individuals 1, 10, 11 and 17. NAGPRA Inventory for Human Remains.

²¹⁷ These infant/fetal bones were assigned Chappell Numbers 521R (78.2.4808), 521S (78.2.4809) and 521T (78.2.4810).; Chappell Notebook, Volume 2; NAGPRA Inventory for Human Remains.

²¹⁸ Chappell Notebook, Volume 2.

remains have already been repatriated, these must now be considered unassociated funerary objects.

Currently, no comments or requests have been made by Native groups concerning what should have been identified as associated funerary objects in the initial NAGPRA reviews. The re-discovery of these artifacts should be brought to the attention of the consulting tribal representatives so that discussions on the issue of previously misidentified objects can begin.

Current Status of the Chappell Collection

Current NAGPRA concerns at the AHC are about the display of unassociated funerary objects within the permanent galleries. All tribal representatives present at the 2014 consultation meeting agreed that these objects should not be on display. The desire to remove funerary objects from view is tied to the local tribal beliefs and religious practices discussed in the previous chapter. At the heart of this discussion is the Chappell Collection permanent exhibit case. The current exhibition *Small Pots, Big Questions* (2007 to present) displays a large number of miniature ceramics and explores the different contexts in which miniatures may have been used (e.g. children's toys, ceremonial objects, containers, etc.). In order to address concerns of unassociated funerary objects, and the possibility that consulting Native groups may in the future request repatriation, the complete number of these objects still present within the Collection needed to be verified.

Although no specific funerary object type was used by Ancestral Puebloans, several objects within the *Small Pots, Big Questions* case, on sight, suggest use in funerary rites. The

²¹⁹ 2014 Tribal Consultation Notes.

²²⁰ Dongoske, 1996; Chavarria and Mendoza, 2012; Gulliford, 2000; McPherson, 2014; Navajo Nation, n. d.

²²¹ AHS, "Small Pots, Big Questions," Exhibition Brochure.

most obvious is a *puki* containing the remnants of red ochre.²²² A Puki is the base of a ceramic vessel which has broken with the broken edges ground down for reuse. Puki were frequently used to hold material or to aid in the formation of new ceramic vessel bases. Red ochre, created from hematite, was a pigment used by many prehistoric people in burial ceremonies worldwide.²²³ It was also used by Ancestral Puebloans to create red pigment and ceramic wash.²²⁴ Only provenience information for this object can provide further clues to how the ochre on display was used.²²⁵

Not yet addressed by tribal representatives is the use of unassociated funerary objects in behind-the-scenes tours which are offered annually to the general public between May and October. On these tours, it is possible visitors are shown these unassociated funerary objects. Neither have tribal consultants specified any requests for special handling of these objects other than their removal from public display.

Prior to 2015, efforts were made by AHC staff and volunteers to identify the unassociated funerary objects both in the museum's ARGUS database and within storage. Currently, artifacts in storage areas of the museum are identified with computer generated artifact tags; "UFO" is handwritten on the artifact tags of identified unassociated funerary objects. This "UFO" designation is most prevalent among the whole and partial vessel storage shelves. Some funerary objects found in bulk storage also have this handwritten flag, but it is unlikely that all of the tags of these boxed objects have been edited. The drawback of these handwritten identifications is that an unassociated funerary object is not easily recognized unless looking at each tag individually. An identification system that allows curation staff and volunteers to easily identify

²²² The puki on display with Ochre is listed in the AHC catalog as 78.2.986 (Chappell Number 433) and has been identified as an unassociated funerary object.

²²³ Cavalcante et al., 2011; Dickson, 1990; Tankersley et al., 1995.

²²⁴ Erlandson et al., 1999.

²²⁵ The puki on display with Ochre is listed in the AHC catalog as 78.2.986 (Chappell Number 433) and has been identified as an unassociated funerary object.; Chappell Notebook, Volume 1.

the presence of culturally sensitive objects at a glance down the row would ultimately more beneficial.

In addition, the Chappell artifacts were cataloged by object type and are arranged in storage areas by ARGUS catalog numbers. This means stored funerary objects are intermixed with less-sensitive objects. This also means that objects removed from a single grave could be kept in different locations. For example, a mug, seed jar rim and projectile point excavated from a burial at Buster Ruin were assigned the catalog numbers 78.2.1667, 78.2.1050 and 78.2.4427 respectively. The mug can be found on row five in the whole vessel ceramic room while the fragment of the seed jar is on row three; the associated projectile point is stored in a box of lithic tools in another room. The arrangement of the Collection by these catalog numbers, therefore, breaks association between artifacts from the same provenience. The only way to identify association is through searching the ARGUS database or the Chappell Notebooks. Currently, only three *tiponi*, or stone fetishes, have been separated from the non-sensitive objects of the Collection. These *tiponi* are kept in an area of storage where several unassociated funerary objects and sacred objects from other AHC collections are stored until NAGPRA consultation is completed.

In January of 2015, Larry Keller, retired attorney, an AHC volunteer, and AHS member, completed a quick review of the Chappell Notebooks and AHC accession files to scope any provenience issues with Collection artifacts.²²⁷ In addition, this author was permitted to perform a complete inventory of the Collection, the 2015 Inventory, with the specific purpose of identifying culturally sensitive artifacts. This inventory was completed between the months of

²²⁶ Tiponi are stone artifacts associated with Corn Goddess worship and individual households. Two of the tiponi from the Chappell Collection have also been identified as unassociated funerary objects. Lange, 1944.
²²⁷ Keller, 2015.

March and June of 2015. During the 2015 Inventory, descriptive proveniences were verified or updated in the ARGUS database. Artifact flags in the database used, in part, to identify artifacts as a sacred or unassociated funerary object, were also updated. Incorrect information was moved to the description remarks tab and a brief explanation was provided as to why it was changed. This cataloging was developed by this author with input from AHC staff members; it was approved by Supervisory Museum Curator Bridget Ambler.

Identifying Culturally-Sensitive Objects

The first challenge of performing a complete inventory was deciding if provenience as described in the notebooks indicated an unassociated funerary object. Some entries depicted obvious association with burials. This is especially true in Volume 2 where Cliff Chappell included the position of artifacts in relationship to human remains. For example, the entry for Chappell Number 657 reads:

Dipper, medium (Broken handle)
Ruin on Squaw Point-4.3 miles below the corner turnoff to Hamptons (West) where Paul & Jim Hindman dug fall 1950 & got 595, 596 & 606.
Me alone. 4/25/53. Dug by Cliff Chappell. Burial 1' deep, no rocks, 4' W of where Paul dug. Couldn't [tell] if man or woman. E & W hd. [sic, head] to E. Pottery E of hd. 657A Bowl, 1st, then saucer & Dipper all inside each other upright. ... Refer to drawing after 657. 228

Drawings of graves as well as site sketch maps are also more numerous in Volume 2 of the Chappell Notebooks. Several artifacts were described as excavated from previously disturbed graves. These disturbed contexts seem well-known to Cliff. The Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC), which operated out of Cortez between 1933 and the onset of World War II, is referenced

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 $^{^{228}}$ Chappell Number 657 (78.2.1065); Chappell Notebook, Volume 2.

in several entries where previous disturbances are noted.²²⁹ Some of these disturbed burials were also noted as missing human remains.²³⁰ As Cliff knew of previous digging activities by other amateur archaeologists and civilian conservation workers as well as college or university excavations at several sites, it is presumed that remains had at one point been in the grave even if they were not encountered by the Chappells. Any time the notebooks indicate the presence of a burial, all objects collected from that location are considered to be funerary objects.

A large number of artifacts in the Notebooks are also described as being found loose within burial grounds.²³¹ Cliff used this phrase throughout both notebooks. Due to the fact that many of the sites excavated by the Chappells were plowed fields, it can be assumed that some grave goods may have been removed from immediate context with human remains. Several of the sites may have also been looted prior to the Chappells arrival. Therefore, any artifacts removed from or within burial grounds are considered unassociated funerary objects despite lack of association with an individual grave.

One provenience issue observed during the 2015 Inventory was the identification of whole properties as burial grounds. Two sites excavated by the Chappells were identified as such. The first is indicated in a handwritten legend for Chappell Site Codes in Volume 2. Cliff notes that Site Code PC-1, referring to the Paul Chappell property, is identified as a burial ground.²³² None of the artifacts with this Site Code, however, were flagged as unassociated funerary objects in ARGUS. Similarly, in Tape 4, Ruth identifies that the Pharo property is the

²²⁹ Chappell Number 669 (78.2.1213), grave noted as previously dug by CCC.; Chappell Notebook, Volume 2; Davidson, 2015.

²³⁰ Chappell Number 454 (78.2.858) a miniature pitcher found in "burial or over" with no human remains observed.; Chappell Notebook, Volume 2.

²³¹ Chappell Notebook, Volumes 1 and 2

²³² Chappell Notebook, Volume 2.

burial ground of a larger site split between two farms.²³³ Unlike with the Paul Chappell property, several of the artifacts from the Pharo property were flagged in ARGUS as funerary objects. These flags were added despite the notebook entries for the objects lacking description of a burial.²³⁴ If already flagged in ARGUS as an unassociated funerary object, they are kept flagged. These flagged artifacts from the Pharo property were the only objects where flagging was not edited.

Importantly, any object without provenience or without direct mention of a grave or burial ground should not be considered an unassociated funerary object. Although many artifacts are without provenience, unreported funerary artifacts may still exist in the Collection. Again, given Ruth Chappell's advice that burials are "a good place to start" looking for artifacts, the likelihood of additional funerary objects should be noted. There is currently no known documentation that would confirm or deny the presence of additional unassociated funerary objects.

Additionally, no object should be identified in ARGUS as a sacred object unless a preponderance of evidence has been provided that identifies the continued need for said object in traditional Native American religious practices by present day members. Burden of proof falls to the tribal consultants to identify prehistoric ceremonial artifacts as objects still needed for modern use.²³⁶ Five artifacts had previously been identified as sacred objects in ARGUS. Three of these objects were identified by Cliff as wooden prayer sticks (Figures 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3).²³⁷

²³³ Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 4, 1983.

²³⁴ Chappell Notebook, Volumes 1 and 2.

²³⁵ Ruth Chappell Filmed Interview, Tape 4, 1983.

²³⁶ NAGPRA 25 USC 3001 (3)(C).

²³⁷ Photographs by author and on file at the AHC.

These sticks were gifted to the Chappells by Ray May of New Mexico. They were purportedly found within a cache of 200 prayer sticks left in a cave on May's mining claim. The remaining 197 prayer sticks were purportedly donated by May to the University of New Mexico. ²³⁸ Although similar artifacts have been repatriated from the Maxwell Museum of University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, the May prayer sticks do not appear in the published NAGPRA



Figure 5.1. Prayer Stick Chappell Number 556 (78.2.1045)



Figure 5.2. Prayer Stick, Chappell Number 557 (78.2.2855)



Figure 5.3. *Prayer Stick, Chappell Number 558 (78.2.2850)*

inventories.²³⁹ To date, no documentation has been found in either the Collection accession records or AHC NAGPRA files that show a tribal request to identify these sticks as sacred objects. However, as similar objects from the University of New Mexico have been repatriated as sacred objects,²⁴⁰ these artifacts have been left flagged in the database until further information can be gathered.

²³⁸ Chappell Numbers 556 (78.2.1045), 557 (78.2.2855) and 558 (78.2.2850); Chappell Notebook, Volume 2.

²³⁹ NPS, 2002 and 2012; NAGPRA §25 USC 3001 (3)(C).

²⁴⁰ NPS, 2002 and 2012.

The remaining two artifacts identified as sacred objects in ARGUS were two of the Collection's *tiponi*. *Tiponi* are generally considered to be fetishes representing deities, such as the Corn mother. The *tiponi* found at the AHC are all ground stone artifacts, with flat bases and a rounded, conical top. Other sources indicate *tiponi* can also be made of cotton or grass bundles. Although consultation and scholarly research shows that these artifacts had ceremonial purpose, they have been un-flagged as sacred objects. As both of these *tiponi* were found within a burial context, it can be assumed that further use in religious practices was not intended beyond the death of the individual they were found with.

The second challenge of the 2015 Inventory was tallying how many artifacts had a known provenience. The best method for determining this was to go through each entry of the Chappell notebooks individually. All seven tapes of the 1983 Ruth Chappell filmed interviews were also consulted for additional information concerning both objects and sites. The provenience in the Notebook was then compared to the information contained in the AHC cataloged ARGUS database. Through this side-by-side analysis, it was observed that the database contains 5,117 total artifacts while the Chappell Notebooks only have 2,229 entries. Furthermore, only 2,171 artifacts in the database have associated Chappell Numbers (Illustrated in Table 1). At least nineteen of the artifacts missing from the AHC catalog were gifted to friends of the Chappells before 1982 or were kept by the Chappell family. An additional fifty-seven artifacts were never entered into the ARGUS database and therefore were not assigned AHC catalog numbers.

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²⁴¹ Lange, 1944; Jeancon, 1923; Roberts Jr., 1932.

²⁴² Odegaard, 1996, p. 6-8; Voth, 1912, p. 111, 113, and 115-119.

²⁴³ Although 5,117 artifacts are listed in ARGUS, more than this exist. The majority of the Collection were assigned ARGUS numbers for individual artifacts, however, several ARGUS numbers represent more than one artifact such as bead strands or pigment minerals.

Table 1. Comparison of Objects Listed in the Chappell Notebooks and the AHC ARGUS Database Catalog

Object Type	Listed in Notebooks	Listed in Notebook & Cataloged at the AHC
Human Remains & Associated Funerary Objects	30	30 ²⁴⁴
Unassociated Funerary Objects	1217	1196
Sacred Objects	3	3
No Provenience or Not NAGPRA Applicable	979	938
Total Number:	2,229	2,171

While exact provenience is not known, a large number of objects have a general site association attached. The majority of these were never mentioned in either of the notebooks. 247 of these objects were arranged in frames formerly displayed in the Chappell basement. Photographs of each frame were taken before they were disassembled for storage at the AHC. These photographs are now stored with the Chappell Collection Archives at the AHC. Proveniences for several frames were identified by Ruth Chappell in 1988. A list of the provenience information for these framed artifacts was created and is kept with the Chappell Collection Archives. ²⁴⁵ The identified frames consisted of artifacts found in Beaver Creek Cave, Horse Thief Cave, House Creek Cave and arrowheads from the Mud Springs Site. These artifacts seem to be surface collections and were not recovered through excavation. Chappell Site Codes are written on 935 individual artifacts, consisting primarily of ceramic sherds. Twenty-four

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²⁴⁴ Three bones were identified by Cliff Chappell as "bone implements" but are in fact infant or fetal bones. (Chappell Numbers 521R, 521S and 521T). Although 34 Human Remains and Associated Funerary Objects were assigned catalog numbers, only 16 currently appear in the ARGUS database. All entries of human remains have been removed from the database.

²⁴⁵ Provenience Information from Dismantled Frames, 1988; Keller, 2015; Baugh, 1988. The provenience information for framed objects was, according to the Second Annual Report (1988) gathered by Mischa Myers, a Chappell Collection Intern sponsored by the AHS, in 1988. Ms. Meyers purportedly conducted an several interviews with Ruth Chappell as well as consulted the site information collected by Nancy Olsen and Doug Bowman between 1983-85.

additional ceramic sherds included in the ARGUS totals represent artifacts collected by the 1983 controlled site sampling conducted by Nancy Olsen. 246

The remaining 1,773 objects listed in the ARGUS database have no known provenience information. One, a tiponi, was added to the database by this author when it was discovered to have never been cataloged. No reference to this tiponi has been found in either the Chappell Archives, Accession Files, or in the AHS files. The only indication that it belonged in the Collection was the handwritten accession number on its storage box. ²⁴⁷

The 2015 Inventory of culturally-sensitive objects indicates that only twenty-three percent of the artifacts can be proven to have come from a burial context and are, therefore, applicable under NAGPRA (Table 2). This is far less than the almost eighty percent that had been estimated by Larry Keller.²⁴⁸

Table 2. Inventory of Culturally-Sensitive Objects Applicable to NAGPRA

Туре	Total Number Currently in ARGUS Database	
Associated Funerary Object (Already Repatriated)	16	0.31%
Unassociated Funerary Object	1189	23.24%
Sacred Object*	3	0.06%
Not Identified as NAGPRA Applicable	3909	76.39%

Once all culturally-sensitive objects were identified through the available provenience data, the total number of funerary objects are on display in the AHC permanent galleries was able to be accurately identified. This number does not include artifacts used in the behind-thescenes tours as these objects are considered to be in storage. Within Small Pots, Big Questions are a total of 112 whole and partial ceramic vessels. Eight of those are borrowed from other

²⁴⁶ Olsen, 1985, p. 2-3.

²⁴⁷ Included in ARGUS database under the direction of Bridget Ambler, Supervisory Museum Curator: 78.2.4849. ²⁴⁸ Keller, 2015.

collections owned by the BLM and have well-documented proveniences.²⁴⁹ These eight artifacts are not funerary objects. Of the remaining 102 artifacts collected by the Chappells, sixty-six are unassociated funerary objects with several removed from children's graves. That leaves eleven pieces found in non-burial contexts and twenty-seven with no known provenience (Error! **Reference source not found.**).

Unassociated funerary objects were also identified in other exhibit cases. Many of these, such as the Mexican copper bell discussed by the Hayes and Chappell in 1962, and several shell beads were found in the *Trade and Exchange* case. ²⁵⁰ These objects are spread throughout various other cases in the permanent gallery. Additionally, several artifacts used in the behind-the-scenes tours were also identified as funerary objects. These included a repaired ceramic bowl with painted sunflowers and four of the Collection's five rattle mugs. 251 Additionally, five funeral objects were also discovered to be on temporary loan to the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center (CCAC). ²⁵² This renewable loan began in July of 2013, however, the CCAC decided to return these artifacts in July of 2015, shortly after they were identified as unassociated funerary objects.²⁵³ For the remaining culturally-sensitive objects still held at the AHC, management of the Collection needs to be reviewed by the AHS and AHC. Several recommendations for management are provided in the next chapter. These recommendations seek to allow for incorporation of Native voice while still satisfying the stipulations of the 1983 Permanent Loan Agreement.

(78.2.1506), 594 (78.2.1662), 460 (78.2.1782) and 818B (78.2.1813). Ongoing Loan, OL2013.5.

²⁴⁹ Both collections were created during construction mitigation projects in Southwestern Colorado by professionally trained archaeologists. ²⁵⁰ Hayes, 1962.

²⁵¹ Mended Sunflower Bowl, Chappell Number 722 (78.2.1579); Rattle Mugs, Chappell Number 4 (78.2.1192), Chappell Number 676 (78.2.1189), Chappell Number 690 (78.2.1584) and Chappell Number 778B (78.2.1194). Ongoing Loan, OL2013.5. Artifacts on loan to Crow Canyon included Chappell Numbers 791 (78.2.1432), 475

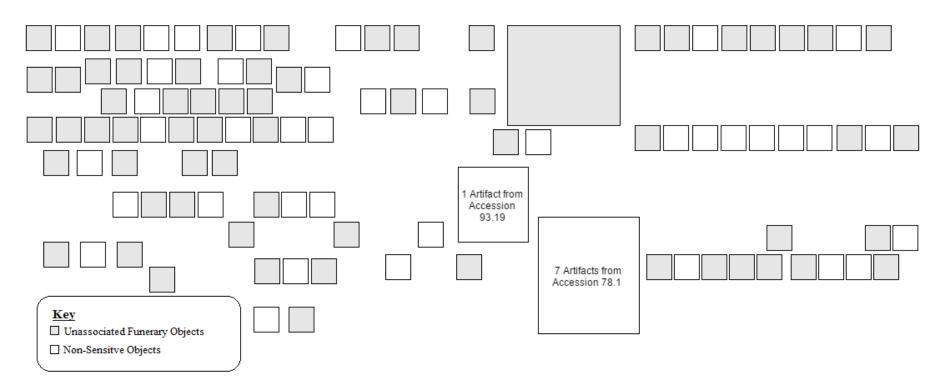


Figure 4.4 Diagram Identifying Culturally Sensitive Object on Display in Small Pots, Big Questions

<u>Chapter 6: Recommendations for the Management of Collections with Culturally-Sensitive</u> <u>Objects</u>

Although the presence of culturally-sensitive objects in international collections is known and debated, there is no agreed-upon process to address how such objects should be treated. While the recommendations below are specific to the present case study of the Chappell Collection, they will hopefully stimulate dialogue on how to approach the identification, display and care of culturally-sensitive artifacts held by other institutions both within the United States and internationally. Many museums worldwide currently face the task of managing collections containing culturally-sensitive material. These collections have been amassed over a large number of years by private individuals as well as museum or state funded expeditions. The British Museum in London and the Ethnological Museum of Berlin, for instance, feature archaeological and anthropological artifacts including tools, clothing, ceremonial objects and human remains not only from North America, but also from Asia, Oceania, Africa and South America. 254 Modern indigenous communities have been lobbying for the repatriation of some of these objects. Recently this was seen in the aboriginal protests of the British Museum exhibition Indigenous Australia: Enduring Civilisation as well as the request of the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians for the return of scalps currently housed at the Karl Kay Museum in Radebuel or the Zuni Tribe request for the return of an *Ahayu:da* at the Musée de Quai Branley in Paris, France.²⁵⁵

The results of the Chappell Collection 2015 Inventory show that roughly one-third of the Collection is comprised of unassociated funerary objects; the majority of those objects remain on display in the main gallery of the AHC. As stated in earlier chapters of this thesis, tribal representatives asked that all unassociated funerary objects be removed from public display in

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (The Ethnographical Museum of Berlin), 2016; Trustees of the British Museum, n.d.
 Nuwer. 2014: Donadio, 2014; Farago, 2015.

2014. Additional items in the Collection such as ceramic sherds, stone tools or charms may also be culturally-sensitive, however, it would be difficult—if not impossible—to prove this with the existing evidence found in the Chappell Archives due to a lack of information concerning not only provenience but also collection methods. Although Cliff Chappell did keep detailed records of artifacts in the Chappell Notebooks, approximately forty-two percent of the Collection is not listed in the historic inventory. For thirty-five percent of the Collection, there is no provenience information at all.

Moving forward with the Chappell Collection, certain steps can be taken to ensure the current concern of unassociated funerary objects on display is addressed and that future considerations of Native consultants as well as the parameters of the 1982 Permanent Loan Agreement are both easily met. To accomplish this, the following recommendations have been made to not only resolve the issue of funerary objects on display, but to also investigate storage and handling solutions that respect Traditional Care Practices used with other collections around the United States and, in particular, emphasize ways in which the Collection can be used for educational purposes.

Recommendation I: Legal and ethical considerations need to be applied when determining an appropriate display of materials from the Chappell Collection.

As a show of good faith towards the AHC's tribal partners, unassociated funerary objects on display should be removed from the permanent galleries as soon as possible. This can be done while new artifacts and or exhibits are selected. Labels that simply state, "The artifact was removed for curatorial purposes," should be placed where objects are removed. Labels identifying the artifacts removed as funerary objects should not be displayed unless agreed upon by AHC staff and tribal representatives.

Having become intimately familiar with the Chappell Collection during the 2015 Inventory described above, it is of the opinion of this author that the *Small Pots, Big Questions* should be replaced with an entirely new exhibit. It would be difficult, though not impossible, to replace the funerary objects in the display with other miniature ceramic vessels. There are simply not enough of these artifacts in the Chappell Collection to ensure that compliance with both the 1982 Permanent Loan Agreement and NAGPRA are met. Although a decision could be made to temporarily place non-miniatures from the Collection into the display, this would require new text to be developed that may not fit well with the *Small Pots, Big Questions* story. It would also negate the visual impact created by exhibiting a large number of a similar miniature vessel forms with a variety of potential uses (e.g., toys, talismans, grave goods, etc.). ²⁵⁶

The design of a new exhibit could easily be approached as an opportunity to showcase artifacts of the Collection which have previously been overlooked (e.g. lithic tools, perishable objects) or to expand on the Collection's own fascinating history and the relationships between amateur and professional archaeology in regional history. The design of a new exhibit could also seek to incorporate indigenous voices. Such instillations have been successfully exhibited, sometimes with culturally-sensitive materials, at larger institutions like the NMAI (*Our Peoples: Giving Voices to Our Histories*, 2004-2014), the Burke Museum (*This Place Called Home*, 2008), the Alutiiq Museum (*Looking Both Ways: Heritage and Identity of the Alutiiq People*, exhibition and online interactive content, 2001) and the Royal British Columbia Museum (*Down from the Shimmering Sky: Masks of the Northwest Coast*, 1998-2000).²⁵⁷

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²⁵⁶ AHS, Small Pots, Big Questions Brochure, n.d.; Carey, 2006.

²⁵⁷ de la Vega, 2005; Miller, 2012; Stewart and Joseph, 2000; NMAI, n.d., "Our peoples."; NMAI and Alutiiq Museum. 2001.

Recommendation II: Curatorial Guidelines should be adopted for care and handling procedures of funerary and other culturally-sensitive objects within the Collection.

As demonstrated above, the adoption of management guidelines for the care and handling of culturally-sensitive objects can assist in efforts to ensure that both legal and ethical standards for curation care are achieved. Management guidelines can also be used to integrate Traditional Care and modern curatorial practices. Creation of a management guideline for the Chappell Collection would help to guarantee the AHC continues to meet the stipulations defined in the 1982 Permanent Loan Agreements. In addition, the development of specific curatorial guidelines would demonstrate an acknowledgment of the presence of NAGPRA-applicable objects within the Collection and a desire to address concerns through on-going discussions with tribal representatives.

Ethical statement examples from other U.S. museums (e.g. the Arizona State Museum, the Museum of New Mexico, the Alutiiq Museum, etc.) can act as an appropriate starting point for the development of more concise management guidelines by the AHS. 258 Any proposed management guidelines should be approved by the AHS executive board and through consultation with AHC curation staff and appointed tribal representatives. Management guidelines specific to the Chappell Collection should include sections pertaining to display, storage, handling, and access to Collection artifacts. Access to the Collection's archival material should also be considered. The storage and handling section of management guidelines needs to emphasize Native recommendations that have been made during consultations to apply Traditional Care Practices to specific objects.

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²⁵⁸Arizona State Museum, n.d. the Museum of New Mexico Rule No. 11, 2001; the Louisiana State Museum, n.d.; Haakanson Jr. and Steffian, 2004; and the Museum of Anthropology at UBC, n. d., can serve as examples for development of Management Guidelines to be used by the AHS and AHC staff.

To date, the AHC consulting groups have only requested the implementation of new storage and handling procedures based on Traditional Care for *tiponis*. Female AHC staff had previously been hesitant to handle the *tiponis* under the assumption that men were responsible for the care of the stone deities. During various consultations and emails, it was revealed that *tiponi*, when not used in ritual, reside inside the house and are cared for by women. It was also suggested that all *tiponi*, including the three in the Chappell Collection, should be removed from their boxes and placed directly on the shelves. This would allow each fetish the opportunity to breathe. This recommendation was noted during the 2014 Tribal Consultation Meeting. Other suggestions may have previously been provided, however, no records in either the accession files and NAGPRA consultation notes exist that would demonstrate this. While the AHC staff has begun to investigate ways to implement new storage of the *tiponi*, a small staff and larger curatorial storage projects have delayed actual implementation of this request.

The current arrangement of the Chappell Collection has funerary objects from the same burial placed in separate locations and intermixed among non-funerary objects throughout the storage areas of the AHC. Though the placement of funerary objects within storage has not yet been a concern of Native representatives, the current arrangement of funerary objects alongside non-sensitive objects may be considered a tribal taboo. For example, members of the Pueblo of Jemez and Pueblo of Zuni shared during a 1999 workshop on Culturally Appropriate Treatments that certain types of artifacts cannot come into contact with one another. Included in their recommendations was the idea that human remains and their associated funerary objects needed to be stored together in an area separate from all other artifacts. ²⁶² Therefore, storage of funerary

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²⁵⁹ 2014 Tribal Consultation Notes; Email from Stewart Koyiyumtewa to Bridget Ambler, 2015.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*.

²⁶¹ Ibid

²⁶² Bohnert, 1999, p. 48-19; Salazar et al., 2001, p. 30-31.

objects should be discussed with descendant communities and be considered while drafting management guidelines. Traditional Care Practice will likely encourage the separation of these funerary objects from the rest of the Collection. Even if not requested, it is recommended that the AHC and AHS more clearly define funerary objects by changing artifact information tags to a bright visible color. Any special handling considerations for specific objects should also be written on brightly colored plaques and placed on the same shelf as the artifact. Brighter label colors allow staff and volunteers to identify all funerary objects or special handling considerations at a glance where currently this information is hidden or not available in the same location as the physical object. In addition, all funerary objects from the same burial should be stored in the same location if at all possible. This will visibly illustrate the direct association between artifacts from the same burial and, hopefully, minimize the possibility of misidentifying or misplacing artifacts if repatriation is requested at a later date.

Recommendation III: Establish an Open Dialogue with Descendant Communities.

Mentioned briefly within both of the above recommendations is the recommendation for continued, open dialogue with descendent communities. ²⁶⁵ Currently, communication with Tribal representatives appears limited to the annual NAGPRA consultation meetings. In the past, these meetings have been poorly documented. Only minutes for NAGPRA meetings in 2004, 2013 and 2014 were fully documented to the knowledge of this author. Additional information is sporadic and spread throughout the AHC NAGPRA files. While documentation of consultations is improving, emphasis needs to be placed on tracking the information provided and connecting it

²⁶³ Ambler and Goff, 2013.

²⁶⁴ Bernstein, 1992; Museum of New Mexico, Rule No. 11, 2001; Minnesota Historical Society, 2013.

²⁶⁵ Ambler and Goff, 2013; Barker, 2003; Bernstein, 2013; Besterman, 2006; Durmont Jr., 2011; Echo-Hawk, 2002; Ferguson et al., n. d.; Gulliford, 2013; Kreps, 2003, 2009; Pensly, 2005; Rosoff, 2003; Thomas, 2003; Zimmerman, 2012.

to museum collections. For the *tiponi* and several other objects specific to the Chappell Collection (e.g. animal fetishes, small ceramic pots), this information has been added to object remarks in the ARGUS database.

It is also encouraged for the AHS and AHC staff to look for ways to open dialogue beyond annual consultation with tribally designated representatives. An easy way to initiate conversation to Native descendants would be to establish an official reporting procedure. The Museum of Anthropology at University of British Columbia, for example, has created a query form which allows visitors to direct their concerns of care, display and storage of specific objects directly to the museum's collections and curation staff.²⁶⁶ Important to note about this form is that it specifically asks for the commenter to identify their relationship to the object, presumably tribal descendant affiliation, but also allows for confidentiality if requested. Another way is to invite collaboration in the development of new exhibits—especially if Small Pots, Big Ouestions is going to be replaced. This approach has been utilized by the NMAI since its establishment in 2001. 267 Inviting descendant communities to become involved in the process would ensure that a Native voice is present in the presentation of indigenous history and culture. Outreach programs could also be introduced to provide training in curatorial and conservation skills to those interested. The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa has established the National Services Te Paerangi to work with the nation's iwi (tribal groups); this program provides resources, training, funding grants and collaborative opportunities. 268 The Sitka National Historic Park, similarly, was able to work with modern Native artists to conserve totem poles in a way that satisfied both modern curatorial practice and Native traditional care beliefs. ²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ the Museum of Anthropology at UBC, n. d.

²⁶⁷ NMAI, n. d., "Coming Home" and n. d., "Our Peoples."

²⁶⁸ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa, n. d.

²⁶⁹ Levitan, 1999, p 28-29.

Descendant communities should also be consulted on allowing access to culturallysensitive materials including funerary objects during behind-the-scenes tours. As stated early in this study, several funerary objects from the Collection are currently shown on tours including a bowl with sunflower motif and a rattle mug. Tribal members may want these items removed from public tours or could agree for them to be shown if visitors are made aware that they will be coming into contact with funerary objects. Photographs taken of these sensitive objects during tours may also present concerns for Native communities as these pictures may become available online, particularly through social media websites. As a side note, several Chappell Collection funerary objects already have images online having been displayed in the public galleries, used in historic publications, or printed in local newspaper articles. The bowl with the painted sunflower motif, for instance, has appeared in the Cortez Journal and Alden C. Hayes' The Archaeological Survey of Wetherill Mesa (1962), showing numerous ceramic funerary vessels from the Collection, is now available online. ²⁷⁰ Although these photographs were not put online by the AHS or the AHC, their availability online should be brought to the attention of the tribal consultants.

Recommendation V: Emphasis should be placed on increasing public education regarding ethical issues with privately amassed collections.

The Chappell Collection presents an opportunity to bring ethical issues in archaeology to public attention in a region where looting and private collecting is still a large concern. A contextual history of the Collection could be used to open dialogue about the differences between amateur archaeology as practiced by the Chappells and the professional archaeology advocated today; the significance of provenience information and how Cliff Chappell, unlike

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²⁷⁰ Green, 2013; Hayes, 1964.

many other private collectors, kept detailed information; or the nature of archaeological materials as non-renewable resources and the importance of documenting all forms of archaeological research. Other topics such as the evolution of cultural resource laws in the United States would also pair well with the Collection's history. Information should be presented through exhibition labels and pamphlets, educational tours and programs or, potentially, in online content such as a webpage accessible through Quick Response (QR) codes in the gallery. By presenting this information to museum visitors, the public can become engaged in the discussion of ethical issues within private collecting.

Many museums nationwide such as the Burke, NMAI and National Museum of the American Indian among others face similar difficulties in identifying culturally-sensitive objects, within privately-amassed collections, including those applicable to NAGPRA. Many university museums such as the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, the Peabody Museum at Harvard and the Hearst Museum at the University of California at Berkeley also have collections amassed through private funding that face the same issue. Although NAGPRA has created a system which allows for Native Americans, archaeologists and museum professionals to discuss culturally-sensitive objects, sensitive objects are not always readily apparent within these formerly private collections due to a general lack of provenience information as well as issues of communication between curators and Native Americans. Although other international museums have begun to also converse with indigenous groups on the topic of repatriation—specifically repatriation of human remains—little discussion seems to focus on the identification, display and treatment of indigenous objects. Over the last twenty-five years in the United States, NAGPRA has established procedures that encourage collaboration and discussion between museum professionals and Native American groups.

However, to successfully address the continued presence of culturally-sensitive items within museums, all involved in the process must strive to work beyond the constraints of the law. As seen in this case study of the Chappell Collection, the inventory of these collections needs to look beyond available provenience information to analyze historic and regional collection practices as well as traditional indigenous knowledge to identify culturally-sensitive objects. Only then can display and care procedures be agreed upon for private collections in public spaces.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA The Antiquities Act (1906)

AAM Association of American Museums

ACHP Advisory Council on Historic Preservation

AHC BLM Anasazi Heritage Center, Dolores, Colorado

AHS Anasazi Historical Society, Inc.

AMNH American Museum of Natural History, New York

ARPA Archaeological Resources Protection Act (1979)

BIA Bureau of Indian Affairs

BLM Bureau of Land Management

CANM Canyons of the Ancients National Monument, Colorado

ICOM International Council of Museums

LOOT Listing of Outlaw Treachery

NAGPRA Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990)

NHPA National Historic Protection Act (1966)

NMAI National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C.

NMNH National Museum of Natural History, Washington, D.C.

NSF National Science Foundation

NPS National Park Services

THPO Tribal Historic Preservation Officers

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Katherine M. Crosmer

12141 Le Ann Drive Garden Grove, CA 92840 Cell: 714.267.4471 kmcrosmer@gmail.com

Education:

Rutgers University New Brunswick, NJ

M.A. in Cultural Heritage and Preservation Studies

Anticipated Graduation: May 2016

Lycoming College Williamsport, PA

B.A. cum laude in Archaeology and Culture of the Ancient Near East

B.A. cum laude in Art History

Graduation: January 2011

Honors Scholar

• Dean's List: Fall 2007 through Fall 2010

• Honors Societies: Sigma Tau Delta, Kappa Pi, Theta Alpha Kappa, Alpha Gamma Sigma

Experience:

Archaeological Field Technician, On-Call

ICF International, San Diego, CA

Aug 2015-date

- Participated in Phase I and Phase II field surveys and testing in Orange County, CA
- Participated in Phase I field surveys for Southern California Edison projects in Los Angeles County, CA
- Completed record searches at the California Historic Information Center (CHRIS) for a segment of the California High Speed Rail in Los Angeles County, California.

Archaeological Field Technician, On-Call

SWCA Corp., Pasadena, CA

July 2015-date

- Participated in Phase I and Phase II field surveys and testing in Orange County, CA
- Completed Construction Monitoring in Los Angeles and Riverside Counties, CA
- Completed Drought Tree Removal Monitoring in Sequoia National Forest, Tulare County, CA

Assistant Cultural Resources Specialist, On-Call

Chambers Group, Inc., Santa Ana, CA

May 2011-Dec 2016

- Participated in Phase I and Phase II field surveys and testing in the Mojave and Great Basin Regions as crew member and crew chief
- Initiated archaeological record searches and contact with the Native American Heritage Commission and Tribal group representatives.
- Assisted with the creation and QAQC edit process for California Department of Parks and Recreation and Nevada IMACs site forms as well as technical reports

NCPE Curation Intern

BLM Anasazi Heritage Center, Dolores, CO

Feb-June 2015

- Assisted with cataloging backlogged archaeological collections and associated archives, collection reviews for NAGPRA compliance tasks and integrated pest management (IPM)
- Assisted with research requests, on-property documentary filming and curation tours
- Completed annual Controlled Property Inventory
- Created a research finding aid for the Wetherill Family Archives

Related Experience:

Field Technician I, On-Call

Louis Berger Group, Morristown, NJ

Oct 2014-Jan 2015

Archaeologist, On-Call

Arch², Metuchen, NJ

Feb 2014-Oct 2014

Visitor Services Associate and Kidseum Facilitator

Bowers Museum, Santa Ana, CA

Oct 2011-Dec 2013

Archaeological Volunteer

Russian Geographical Society, Arzahn, Tuva, Russia

Aug 2013

Volunteer Archaeological Intern

ARCOM, Beaver Creek, Yukon Territory, Canada

Aug 2009

Student Field School Participant

Rio Bravo Archaeological Field School, Orange Walk District, Belize

June 2007-July 2007

Languages:

English (Native)

Spanish (Moderate proficiency—reading, writing and speaking)

APPENDIX A: Permissions to the Access and Use the Collection



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT CANYONS OF THE ANCIENTS NATIONAL MONUMENT ANASAZI HERITAGE CENTER

27501 IIwy 184 Dolores, Colorado 81323 (970) 882-5600



Use of Collections Request Form

Log # 2015 . 30 Date 10/1/2015

ame of User Katherine (Kate) Crosmer	
Address 12141 Le Ann Drive	
Garden Grove, CA 92840	<u>-</u>
Phone/E-mail (714) 267-4471/ kmcrosmer@g	mail.com
Institutional Affiliation Rutgers University, Cu	altural Heritage and Preservation Studies MA
References: Names and Phone/E-mail Dr. Katharine Woodhouse-Beyer kwoodhouse	ebeyer@gmail.com
Dr. Archer St. Clair Harvey astch@rci.rutgers	org
Purpose of Research/Use: See Attached	
Research Proposal attached: Yes X No_	
Specific collections requested: _Chappell Collec	ction (78.2)
Estimated Project Dates: _5/15/2015-5/13/2106	
Title and authors of Document resulting from Re	esearch/Use See attached; Katherine Crosmer will be
the only author of the thesis; this thesis will be	published for access through the Rutgers University Library
I agree to comply with all instructions pertain supply the AHC Curation Program, at no cos	ting to collections use and handling. Furthermore, I agree to t, two copies of any publication resulting from the use of these ata, photographs and collections to the BLM – Anasazi Heritage
Signature	Bridget m - Ambles Curator Approval
	Assisting Staff Member





27501 Hwy 184 Dolores, CO 81323

November 5, 2015

Dear Kate,

On behalf of the members of the Anasazi Historical Society, I wanted to let you know that we are pleased to support your Master's thesis research. You have our permission to use the Chappell Collection and look forward to receiving updates on your work. Hopefully, you'll be able to travel to Dolores some time soon so we can meet with you. I'm sure the members would enjoy the opportunity to discuss your work in person. Keep in touch.

Cordially,

Sandy Tradlener

President

Anasazi Historical Society

APPENDIX B: List of Consulting Tribal Groups with Indigenous Tribes to the Canyons of the Ancients National Monument

Arizona

Hopi Tribe Navajo Nation

Colorado

Southern Ute Indian Tribe Ute Mountain Ute Tribe

New Mexico

Jicarilla Apache Nation Kewa Pueblo Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo de Cochiti Pueblo de San Ildefonso Pueblo of Acoma Pueblo of Isleta Pueblo of Jemez
Pueblo of Laguna
Pueblo of Nambe
Pueblo of Picuris
Pueblo of Pojoaque
Pueblo of San Felipe
Pueblo of Sandia

Pueblo of Santa Ana
Pueblo of Santa Clara
Pueblo of Taos
Pueblo of Tesuque
Pueblo of Zia
Zuni Tribe of the Zuni
Reservation

Texas

Ysleta del Sur Pueblo

Utah

Ute Indian Tribe (Uintah & Ouray Reservation)

APPENDIX C: List of Sites Named and Excavated by Cliff Chappell

Bob Hampton Ruins

(Across lake)

Colorado

Grass Mesa ½ mi. West of Dean (Across "Reserve Area") Stanley's Roy Rutherford Ruin Bob Shield's Ruins, Not 1st Ruin off road to Burro Schoolhouse Hod Stevenson's Ruins Park Joe Fulk's Burial Ground and Mrs. Lewis' Ruins 2nd Ruin off road to Burro Little Ruin Park Charles Porter's Ruins Hopper Boys'/Don Johnson 3rd Ruin off road to Burro Ruin Homer Hughes's Ruins Park* Terrance Gai's Ruins Ruin 1 mi. West of Hopper 4th Ruin off road to Burro Boys', 1 mi. S. of Hopper Blue Robinson Ruin Park* (Rented J. Ritter) Bob Shield's Ruin, West of Martin Mokey Lake Area Omar Hall Ruins (Rented J. Ritter) Little Ruin below 1st Ruin Oscar Martin's Ruins off road to Burro Park+ Oscar Martin's Father's Ruin Omar Hall Ruin Buster Veach/Mud Springs (Rented J. Ritter) Mrs. Martin's Ruin Coppinger Ruin⁺ Charles Torres' Ruins* Bill Flanningan's Ruin (Rented from O. Martin) Lonnie Aulston's Ruin Charles Torres' Ruins* Lonnie Aulston's Easter Ruin Charles Torres' Boys' Ruin Oscar Martin Ruin (Bean field) Robert Garner's Ruin⁺ **School Section** (J. Ritter Land) Oscar Martin's Ruin #2 Horse Thief Cave Reese's Place Wallace/Carpenter Ruin House Creek Cave (Singing Shelter) Ida Jean Ferguson Ruins Earl Hart Ruins+ Beaver Creek Cave North of Finley's House Bradshaw Ruin/Arrowhead Lonnie Moore's Ruin South of Finley's House Hill+ Eddie Goodall Ruin #1 Harold Jordan's Ruins Paul/Steve Chappell Eddie Goodall Ruin #2 Theron/Olney Story's Ruins (Burial ground) Eddie Goodall Ruin #3 Jim Hindman's Field North of Folk's Place Ernest Plemon's Ruin #1 Ruin ½ mi. South of North of Folk's Place Schoolhouse, Goodman Point Ernest Plemon's Ruin #2 (Lithic Scatter) Frank Pharo Ruin and Luke Lancaster's Ruin ½ mi. South of Dean Roy Randol Ruin Stanley's Milhouan Ruins (Adjoining properties) Berry Ruin Grant and Gary's Ruin, 1/4 mi. **Bob Shield Ruin** South of Dean Stanley's **Bob Hampton Ruins** Joe Fulk's Ruin

Goodman Point Ruins and

Burial Grounds

½ mi. North of Dean

Stanley's

^{*}Nothing collected from the site.

⁺Site not relocated during 1985 Investigation.

Ruin at end of Road (Squaw Point)

<u>Utah</u>

Harry Roger's Ruin (Bug Point)

^{*}Nothing collected from the site.

⁺Site not relocated during 1985 Investigation.