

LOST AND FOUND: NAGPRA, Scattered Relics, and Restorative Methodologies

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the disarticulation of Native American funerary assemblages in museum collections and highlights the challenges of identifying them for inventories mandated by the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990. Indigenous objects and human remains from burial sites were routinely subjected to collecting and sorting procedures that stripped them of meaning and context. NAGPRA does not, however, require museums to reassemble sites or locate related materials housed in other institutions. As a result, associated funerary objects and human remains can easily be “lost” in collections and tribal representatives may be unable to find them. This paper samples the evidence from the Middle Connecticut River Valley to illustrate how items were routinely excavated and categorized and proposes a few restorative methodologies for their recovery. [Keywords: NAGPRA, Native American, funerary objects, museum collections, human remains]

THE STATE OF NATIVE AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

We have a great deal of archaeological material on hand, but it is in a more or less chaotic condition. —Warren K. Moorehead 1917:426

Virtually every American museum with an interest in natural history, from the small-town historical society to the large institution, has a few Native American objects in their collections: pottery sherds, baskets, arrowheads, bones, and the like.¹ Museums situated in the U.S. Northeast house thousands of objects, the vast majority of which are stone projectile points and tools (Krech and Hail 1999). Surveys of these materials suggest that “more of these objects are in the hands of private collectors than in public museums” (Moorehead 1917:22). These relics of the native past, exotic and prized as they may have been at the time of discovery, are often regarded today as inert specimens, their perceived value diminished by lack of proven-

ience. Collectors have long been free to impose their own interpretations onto these broken remnants of the indigenous past, in the absence of any meaningful communications with Native American people. If these stones and bones could speak, what secrets might they reveal?

Collection histories vary, but many archaeological objects surfaced through various processes—scientific excavation, salvage archaeology, farming, pothunting, etc.—that altered indigenous burial contexts. In college and museum collections, they became imbued with new significances and meanings and assigned new identifying markers (Ames 1992; Stocking 1985), as each collector imposed their own (sometimes unique) sense of proper order. Some sought curiosities for aesthetic display; others separated items into universalizing temporal and stylistic categories for scientific comparison and analysis (Hart 2004; Hodder 1999). Objects were sorted, labeled, and stored following the logic of idiosyncratic and antiquated cataloguing systems that emerged to suit the needs of the moment (e.g., Isaac 2002; Krech and Hail 1999). Each step of handling moved these finds further from their original context. Institutional memories were inevitably shaped by the handling patterns and hypotheses that surrounded these objects. Museum audiences, in turn, drew their understandings of native collections not from the aboriginal context but from the theories in effect at the moment of discovery, the opinions of scientific experts and curators, the text on the display card, or what they guessed (or wished) to be true. Some artifacts (often the best provenienced) were singled out for display or pressed into service as ideal types, but many were buried in storage, shifted into study collections, loaned to other institutions, or spirited away by private collectors; some items simply vanished (Bruchac 2009; Bruchac and Hart 2006).

Then came the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). With the passage of NAGPRA in 1990, new protocols complicated ownership and changed the curatorial landscape. Museums were compelled to assess their collections of Native American human remains and cultural objects, but few (if any) were prepared to address the problems posed by antiquated and poorly provenienced collections. How many Native American

human remains and objects are lost in these collections? And how do we find them?

The NAGPRA statute, under Federal Historic Preservation law 25 U.S.C. 3003, directed all museums and institutions receiving federal funding to compile summaries and inventories of their Native American collections (25 U.S.C. 3003(a)). Museums were required to provide documentation, “including inventories or catalogues, relevant studies, or other pertinent data for the limited purpose of determining the geographical origin, cultural affiliation, and basic facts surrounding acquisition and accession of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects subject to this section” (25 U.S.C. 3003(b)(2)). The legislation appears to have been founded on the premise that Native American grave lots had somehow remained intact (or at least are easily identifiable today) in collections and could thus be repatriated together; hence, the NAGPRA directive to jointly report on human remains and associated funerary objects (McKeown 2002; McKeown and Hutt 2003). In many cases, however, skeletal elements and funerary objects went to different storage areas, if not to different museums (Brown and Bruchac 2006; Bruchac and Hart 2006). Museums were nonetheless expected to know, with a fair degree of certainty (or with assistance from tribal consultation), who and what they had in their collections at the moment the law passed. A few museums were able to report readily, but for many, the process of capturing an accurate accounting of materials that had been circulating in random (if not chaotic) ways for more than a century proved to be so challenging that 20 years later, the process is not yet done (e.g., Isaac 2002).

A glance at the list of human remains and objects that have been “found” and reported to National NAGPRA shows that American museums have repatriated more than 38 thousand sets of human remains; 998 thousand associated funerary objects; 144 thousand unassociated funerary objects; and 6 thousand objects identified as sacred or patrimonial.² The database of “culturally unidentifiable” collections includes more than 124 thousand individuals, along with more than 916 thousand associated funerary objects.³ The term “identification” in these inventories has a bit of a political twist, because NAGPRA locates only the remains of federally recognized tribes in the category of “culturally

identifiable” (Bruchac 2010; Fine-Dare 2002). The published NAGPRA inventories are only the tip of the iceberg, because thousands of objects in museums have not yet been identified or reported. One museum alone—Harvard University’s Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology—is still working through a list of more than 12 thousand sets of individual human remains and more than 8 million archaeological items, many of which may never be fully provenienced (Isaac 2002:161). In addition, NAGPRA applies only to collections that happen to have landed in museums that receive federal funding; materials housed in private collections are not subject to the law.

One might imagine that consultation with Native American tribes could improve understandings of collections, but tribal representatives rarely have access to archaeological field notes or inside knowledge of collecting practices. Nor do they have access to the secret files of looters, amateur collectors, or antiquities dealers who might shed some bits of light. Museums are discouraged from conducting research under the law to answer lingering questions; NAGPRA expressly forbids “the initiation of new scientific studies of such remains and associated funerary objects or other means of acquiring or preserving additional scientific information from such remains and objects” (25 U.S.C. 3003(b)(2)). With so many potential roadblocks, it can be difficult to reassociate the indigenous dead with their lost possessions. Restorative methodologies are called for, and the first step should be a reexamination of the practices that shaped these collections.

COLLECTING BEHAVIORS

If you want to understand what a science is, you should look in the first instance not at its theories or its findings, and certainly not at what its apologists say about it; you should look at what the practitioners of it do. —Clifford Geertz 1973:5

Scientific practices and knowledges, despite claims of upholding an emotionally detached empiricism, are inevitably situated within the modes and thought-worlds of their times (Haraway 1988). During the 19th century, Native American burial sites were seen as repositories of evidence of the indigenous

Americans' precolonial histories, storehouses of interesting artifacts, and sources of skeletal material for racialized osteological study (Bieder 2000; Gould 1996; Hinsley 2000). In America, the 1906 Antiquities Act (16 U.S.C. 431-433) officially classified Native American remains and artifacts among the important "objects of historic or scientific interest" regarded to be the property, not of their indigenous owners, but of the United States government (National Park Service 1906). As the field of professional archaeology grew, state offices, educational institutions, federal agencies, and even public libraries became repositories for found Native American remains (Trope and Echo-Hawk 2000).

Amateurs and professionals excavated native sites in ways that were imprecise at best, scattered at worst. Test pits, trenches, potholes, and other routine digging patterns obscured patterns of deposition. Sifting completely disordered the soil matrix and the evidence of small details (red ochre, ash, floral material, etc.) was lost. Skeletal remains were disarticulated, individuals buried together were separated, and funerary objects were taken from their owners. Artifacts and offerings that appeared (to non-native collectors) to have no significance were left in the dust, or misinterpreted altogether (Figure 1).

The assumptions and desires of collectors, rooted in Euro-American notions of value, power, and authority, have long guided habits of identification

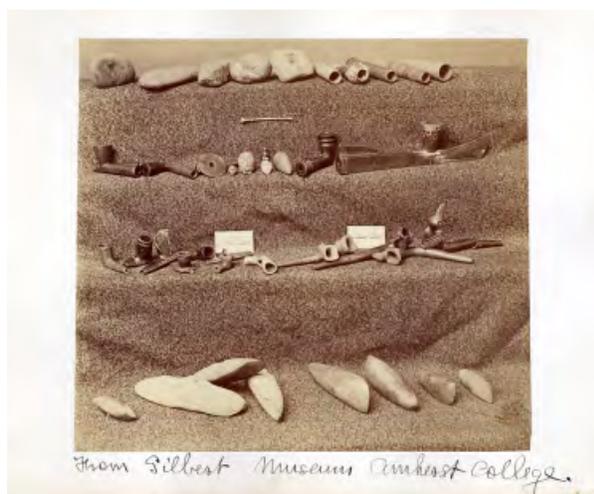


Figure 1. An assortment of pipes and stone tools from the Gilbert Museum of Indian Relics at Amherst College, ca. 1869. (Photograph by Edward Hitchcock Jr. in Amherst College Pratt Museum Papers, Section 4: Box 6, Folder 10. Amherst College Archives and Special Collections, by permission of the Trustees of Amherst College.)

and curation (e.g., Moorehead 1900). Intact or impressive-looking native objects—pipes, weapons, pestles, and the like—were very likely to have been collected and preserved, especially if they were ornamented or carved in some notable way (e.g., see objects in Figure 1, "An assortment of pipes and stone tools collected from various locations"), but these objects by no means represent the full range of native materiality. Hard, inorganic objects (lithics, pottery shards, pipes, glass beads) frequently survive deposition, while organic materials (leather, cordage, bark, floral material), which were once far more numerous, are more elusive. Lithic objects are widely assumed to be non-funerary, perhaps due to the sheer volume of their presence in collections, or their lack of provenience.

In the lab and in the museum, objects were (and still are) grouped for comparative study; labeled and dated according to geographical locales, modes of construction, and physical similarities to artifacts found in other sites; and assigned a tribal identity based on what archaeologists believed to be true (Fowler 1963; Moorehead 1900, 1917; Willoughby 1935). Stylistic comparisons are deeply meaningful to scholarly observers (e.g., Chilton 1999), but they do not automatically signal indigenous meanings, nor do they reveal the mindset of the original artisan or owner. Some objects do not match the style that archaeologists have assigned to that tribe or site (Moorehead 1917). Indigenous possessions that appear to be of European origin may be overlooked during the routine sorting and separating of native artifacts into "historic" and "prehistoric" groupings (Hart 2004; Silliman 2005). In general, the emphasis on an object's geographical location and appearance after excavation can obscure the origins and meanings these objects carried when they were in circulation among the living.

How can Native American funerary objects be identified in collections? It may be necessary to deconstruct curatorial assumptions and institutional memory. Relative levels of identifiability appear to be largely based upon awareness of the position of an object relative to an indigenous body, as observed at the moment of excavation. In my archival research on older collections, I concluded that native objects tended to be identified as "funerary" *only* if they fit comfortably into one or more of these possible

categories: their provenance is well known and well documented; they were collected *and* curated with human remains from the same site; they were identified as funerary objects; they resemble known funerary objects found in other indigenous gravesites; and prevailing scholarship agrees that they constitute possessions of the indigenous dead. Items in these categories, for the purposes of my argument, are “found,” meaning, their burial location is known and they are believed to be indigenous property. Identifiable funerary objects are likely candidates for repatriation (e.g., Cassman et al. 2007). Unidentifiable funerary items are easily “lost,” regardless of their otherwise unambiguous association with their original owners. Lost objects are particularly challenging to locate, identify, affiliate, and repatriate under NAGPRA.

DISPOSSESSING THE INDIGENOUS DEAD

Digging up relics of Indian craftsmanship . . . is a favorite pastime of outdoor collectors. . . . Sometimes a trophy worth hours of work turns up—a war or hunting arrow, a wampum bead, and for the very lucky, a pipe bowl. —Smith C. McGregor 1938:1

From the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, despite a general interest in salvaging useful information about the indigenous past, collectors circulated Native American skeletal remains and objects along some rather dizzying paths. To illustrate the kinds of handling processes that complicate the process of compiling NAGPRA inventories, I present a few details from my research on collecting patterns in the Middle Connecticut River Valley of Massachusetts. At the center of this research are two prominent collectors and educators: Professors Edward Hitchcock Jr. of Amherst College and Harris Hawthorne Wilder of Smith College.

Hitchcock’s Gilbert Museum of Indian Relics, founded in the 1860s, grew to include more than 35 thousand Native American objects (Hitchcock 1904)—as Frederic Loomis (1915:278) later recalled, “these were bargain days in Indian relics.” It was touted by Amherst historians as “one of the richest and choicest museums” of Native American materials (Tyler 1873:425), even though it was a relatively random assortment (Bruchac 2009). Professor

Hitchcock claimed his curation practices to be state-of-the-art: his catalogue “recorded the locality and often the shape, structure and composition of the specimen, and an exact outline and other descriptions” (Hitchcock 1904:1). Yet, these data are full of holes, because objects had so little contextual or archaeological information (Figure 2). Items identified as funerary typically had measurements such as length, breadth, thickness, and capacity but no location details. Catalogue entry 2779, for example, is a “Soapstone Bowl, circular, 5 1/2×2, elaborately finished, Canterbury, Conn., from grave” (Hitchcock 1904:5), but there is no mention of the precise location of said grave, an omission that makes it difficult, if not impossible, to return this bowl to the grave or to identify the proper NAGPRA claimants. Information on native skeletal remains housed at Amherst College was similarly fragmentary, a situation that was not improved when these remains were summarily disarticulated, reassembled according to skeletal elements, and renumbered and recatalogued in 1910 (Bruchac 2009).

Harris Hawthorne Wilder and his wife, Inez Whipple Wilder, Professors of Zoology, founded the Smith Anthropological and Zoological Museum, which held a smaller catalogued of roughly one thousand specimens (including roughly forty sets of human remains) from various locales around the country (Bruchac 2009; Erikson 1999). Wilder’s local

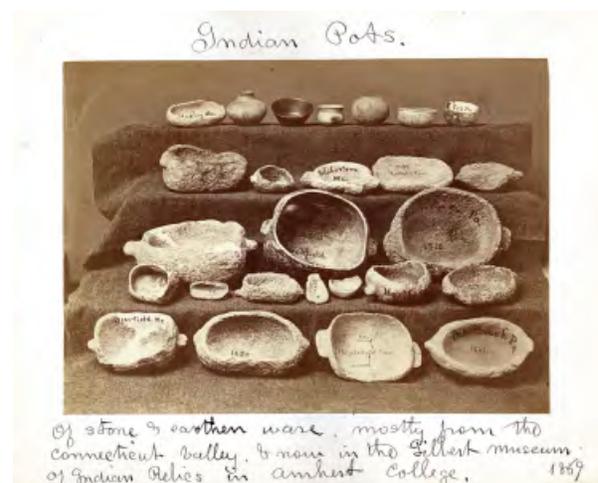


Figure 2. Steatite (soapstone) pottery from the Gilbert Museum of Indian Relics at Amherst College, ca. 1869. (Photograph by Edward Hitchcock Jr. in Amherst College Pratt Museum Papers, Section 4: Box 6, Folder 10. Amherst College Archives and Special Collections, by permission of the Trustees of Amherst College.)

excavations were relatively well documented: he drew detailed maps, recorded stratigraphy, measured elements, and photographed interments in situ, sometimes placing large plates of glass over the grave to sketch fleshed-out, lifelike versions of buried individuals (Wilder and Whipple 1917). His articles for *American Anthropologist* on forensic reconstruction, anthropometry, and excavation were widely read (Wilder 1905, 1912, 1923; Wilder and Whipple 1917), and he was quite influential in the developing practice of physical anthropology (Buikstra et al. 2003). Curiously, his dense field notes and working papers make little mention of funerary objects, even though he worked in sites where other collectors found them in association with graves. His preferential treatment of intact bones may have made it difficult (if not illogical) for him to perceive, record, or collect such objects.

At the height of the collecting frenzy, from about 1860 through the 1930s, more than 40 thousand Native American objects and hundreds of human remains were unearthed from a 50 mile stretch of the Connecticut River Valley between Northfield and Springfield, MA (Young 1969; see Figure 3). Multiple collectors visited (and destroyed) sites (Dincauze 1993; Nassaney 1999), and finds were scattered into multiple public and private collections.⁴ Walter S. Rodiman salvaged hundreds of “finished, unbroken

specimens such as projectile points and ground stone adzes,” from more than seventy sites (including gravesites, washouts, and farm fields) between South Hadley and Gill; most of these are now at the Springfield Science Museum (Johnson 1985:2–3). Gardner Sherman of South Hadley amassed between 12 thousand and 16 thousand Indian relics⁵; many of these were purchased by the Holyoke Scientific Society (Young 1969), and later transferred to the Wistariahurst Museum in Holyoke, before being sold at auction in 2005.⁶ Hitchcock accepted whatever Indian relics faculty and alumni and colleagues were willing to send him (Loomis 1915), and collaborated with Wilder on digs in North and South Hadley. Dozens of other local collections are not yet fully documented.

Some gravesite finds were “chance encounters” that would be “perceived as partial and scattered phenomena” (Rubertone 2001:177), but many were not accidental discoveries. The physical evidence of earlier Native American presence was still very much visible in the local landscape, and the locations of Indian trails, fortifications, fishing weirs, corn planting mounds, village sites, and burial locations were common knowledge (Sheldon 1895). Native American settlements in the valley commonly had “three associated sites, the village, the corn planting grounds, and the burying grounds” (Delabarre and



Figure 3. The Connecticut River Valley of Western Massachusetts, an area dense with the evidence of indigenous occupation alongside the river, with many sites situated beneath present-day farm fields. (Photograph by Margaret Bruchac.)

Wilder 1920:218), and Wilder's checklist of diagnostic evidence included the following:

1. large quantities of stone implements;
2. heaps of cooking stones;
3. remains of underground granaries or barns;
4. a burial place;
5. pile of stone chips, where arrows were made;
6. places for planting field and fort.⁷

Indigenous sites could also be identified by the presence of pipes, tools, and personal adornments, and it was common knowledge that Native American burials in the region were typically accompanied by such artifacts (Nassaney 1999; Young 1969). As one writer summarized it, "the habit of the aborigines is to bury with their dead all their personal effects, in order that they may have them in the spirit-land and thus it happens that these various articles are found with their bones" (Young 1969:55). An 1869 issue of *Historical Magazine* describes a burial site in Holyoke as a "mine" of remains and funerary possessions:

The workmen of Bowers and Washer opened an Indian burying ground, on Friday; and since that time skeletons and relics have been found more or less every day and the mine shows as yet no signs of exhaustion. . . . Buried with these skeletons were found a great many Indian utensils, ornaments and weapons. The most noticeable of these were the flint arrowheads, copper spear points, copper heads made in the form of triangular prisms, a large dish hollowed out of soapstone, with handles at the sides, and much blackened on the bottom by use in the fire, pipes of the same stone, skillfully and curiously wrought, tomahawks of flint, vermilion war-paint, and generous strings of wampum. [Reprinted in Young 1969:52]

Other sites were similarly dense. In Deerfield, George Sheldon excavated roughly twenty sets of Pocumtuck remains from a single site that included stone figures, clay vessels, shell pendants, wampum beads, and about five hundred small glass trade beads of various colors (Sheldon 1895:79). An assemblage found by Edward H. Rogers in the town of Gill included "47 arrowheads, 12 spear heads, 8 celts, 1 axe" along with about three hundred beads, and a "brace-

let, of copper, pewter and shell."⁸ At a South Hadley site, Wilder found five individuals interred "together with a number of stone implements . . . hoes, hatchets, and gouges" (Wilder 1905:299).⁹

During the early part of the 20th century, a surprising number of relatively undisturbed sites were discovered beneath fields that had long been used for farming. For example, in 1928, Theodore Russell, a farmer in North Hadley, found "the largest collection of Indian flint spearheads ever" in the Valley, when he discovered a single spearhead atop a heap of charcoal, beside a cache of "300 additional spearheads . . . from two to six inches in length."¹⁰ One archaeologist theorized that items like these "were not considered of sufficient value or importance to be taken along as an extra burden" (Howes 1945:68). Weight and transport may well be practical concerns, but deposition does not automatically equate with devaluing. Caches of leaf blades or other tools were highly significant to Native Americans; they were "exchanged among kin, clan leaders, or elders to create or strengthen political alliances and social solidarity" and stored underground in configurations like the one now exhibited at the Institute for American Indian Studies (Figure 4).¹¹ The cache from Hadley is no longer available for Native American purposes or for scientific study, having been randomly dispersed to unknown non-native collectors.

Interestingly, Native American sites in the region often contained assemblages of materials—soapstone and clay pots, flint and copper projectiles, wampum and glass beads—that are typically assumed to represent discrete temporal stages (e.g., Fowler 1963; Moorehead 1900). The discoveries of such items together suggest an obvious continuity between pre-contact and contact-era native communities (Chilton 1999; Hart 2004). It would be difficult, however, to revisit the evidence in a comprehensive manner, because none of these assemblages are intact, each having been scattered into different collections. Multiple collectors inevitably shaped multiple forms of dispossession; the farther an object drifted away from its original context, the harder it can be to call it back.

The conventions for exhibiting these collections were almost absurdly creative. Indigenous configurations of deposition were assumed to have been devoid of order, and so tool caches were rarely displayed as they were found. Instead, these items were arrayed in



Figure 4. A cache of leaf blades arrayed as they are typically found in Algonkian Indian sites in New England, in an exhibit case at the Institute for American Indian Studies in Washington, CT. (Photograph by Margaret Bruchac.)

Euro-American geometrical patterns (rows, circles, fans, etc.) that signaled European aesthetics and notions of order. In 1869, Edward Hitchcock Jr. of Amherst College wrote, with considerable pride, that he had “rearranged the whole collection . . . mounted the arrowheads in a fantastic manner, arranging them on the sides of the museum, placing some in groups shaped like large arrows” (Figure 5).¹² This curatorial art form was also encouraged by Warren K. Moorehead of the Robert S. Peabody Museum at Andover Academy, who dictated that projectile points must always be reconfigured into “artistic” shapes for display, arrayed in “rows, circles, or other artistic groups according to the fancy of the collector” (Moorehead 1900:26), to facilitate better study of their forms (Figure 6). Funerary items are quite difficult to locate and identify (let alone detach) out of collections that have been commingled for display.

DISARTICULATING THE INDIGENOUS DEAD

The Smithsonian Institution’s *Study of Mortuary Customs among the North American Indians* (Yarrow 1880) guided scientists to “interrogate the Indians themselves” to obtain accurate information about indigenous mortuary practices and “gifts offered to the dead,” but cautioned: “This is not an easy task, for the Indians do not talk with freedom about their dead. . . . The stories of ignorant white men . . . should be wholly discarded, and all accounts should be com-

posed of things actually observed, and of relations made by Indians of probity” (Yarrow 1880:iv–v). Despite this advice, few Northeastern collectors made any effort to talk to native informants. Virtually all of their knowledge was produced from the material remains of the dead, with no recourse to the living.

In their personal papers, catalogues, publications, and correspondence, Hitchcock and Wilder evinced no interest in the emerging field of ethnography, although they were aware of the discourse surrounding supposedly “vanishing Indians.” In October 1904, Hitchcock wrote to Wilder to decline an invitation to an excavation, because a “big missionary person” was coming to the college, and academic duties compelled him to be “looking after the work of the perishing living savages, rather than to look after the crania [*sic*] of the dead ones.”¹³

The practice of physical anthropology was primarily mechanistic, requiring the disarticulation of physical bodies into discrete parts and the handling of parts from multiple individuals to develop and test emerging theories about the correlations among bodily shape, race, intelligence, and social fitness (Gould 1996; Morton 1840). Harvard University, one of the first New England colleges to engage in comparative osteological studies, collected indigenous crania and skeletal elements from collections at the Boston Athenaeum, Massachusetts Historical Society, American Antiquarian Society, Warren Anatomical

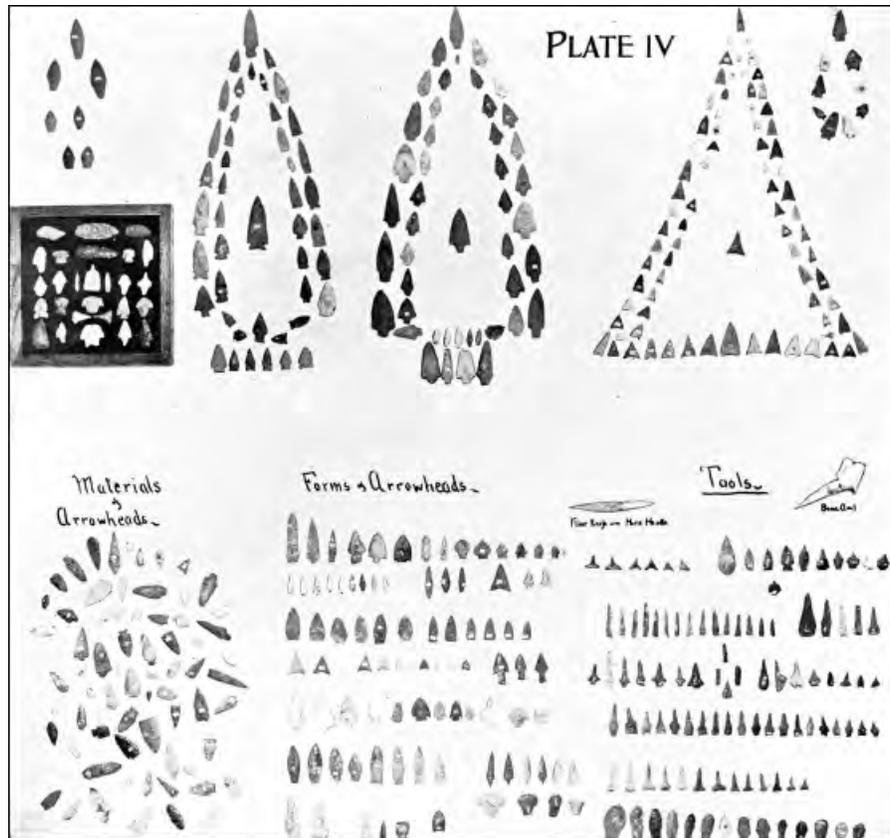


Figure 5. An assortment of arrowheads collected from various locations, organized in a “fantastic manner” for display at the Gilbert Museum of Indian Relics at Amherst College, ca. 1869. (Photograph by Edward Hitchcock Jr. in Amherst College Pratt Museum Papers, Section 4: Box 6, Folder 7. Amherst College Archives and Special Collections, by permission of the Trustees of Amherst College.)

Museum, Smithsonian Institution, and the Pilgrim Society in Plymouth, and from locales as far afield as Peru and the Sandwich Islands (Quigley 2001:148). Hitchcock’s studies of physiognomy required opening Indian graves to recover evidence “of the early Indians of the region” (Loomis 1915:279), and he solicited “skull and haunch bones” from other local collectors.”¹⁴ Wilder’s craniometric studies included collecting measurements from skulls in the Amherst, Smith, Harvard, and other regional collections (Knight 1915).

Wilder and other collectors used the evidence in colonial-era deeds and papers to seek out specific known sites and individuals (Figure 7). In 1905, Wilder and his brother-in-law, Ralph Wheaton Whipple, discovered an historic site in the midst of L. P. Bullard’s tobacco field in North Hadley:

The traditional site of the Nonotuck chief, Quonquont, whose name appeared on several of the deeds for the meadow land, sold to that

shrewd English trader from Springfield, John Pynchon. Quonquont was dead by October, 1672, but a deed of that date mentions his widow, Sarah Quonquont; a son, Pocumohouse, and a daughter, Majessit, together with two others, one being a squaw. These seem to have lived together at the time at the site, and undoubtedly the village had numerous inhabitants. [Wilder and Whipple 1917:374]

Wilder excavated a number of graves, and he and Whipple boxed up the remains of one individual using the new “intact excavation” method they had devised for transport to the zoological laboratory at Smith College (Wilder and Whipple 1917). Although this site “yielded an abundance of arrow points for many years,” Wilder (1905:299) claimed that “no implements or utensils of any kind were found in connection with these skeletons.” Subsequent archaeologists who cited Wilder assumed that Native American burials in the Middle Connecticut River



Figure 6. Warren K. Moorehead praised this as a “splendid” arrangement composed from a cache of flint leaf blades. “He has grouped them simply but effectively. Any class of flint objects in a collection of average size might be displayed in this manner” (Moorehead 1900:26). (Photograph from Moorehead 1900:23.)

Valley were largely unaccompanied by funerary objects (e.g., Johnson 1985; Mills 1991), but clearly, they have not examined the full record.

Wilder’s own field notes and other evidence suggest the presence of numerous funerary objects and remains at the Bullard site that had already been disturbed by other collectors. During the spring of 1904, Frederic Ward Putnam, of Harvard’s Peabody Museum and the American Museum of Natural History, had sent A. L. Dakin out to do test excavations on the same area of the Bullard farm property. Dakin located “a burial place where a necklace of copper beads, two stone tubes and a number of other small things were found. I have seen the beads and tubes and they are genuine.”¹⁵ Digging continued until L. P. Bullard called a halt to the work, because there was “more money in raising tobacco than in raising Indians, so further excavation on this plot will be deferred until the crop is off.”¹⁶

When Wilder arrived just a few months later, he uncovered the remains of a child missing a skull, and noted that this was “undoubtedly the same one found the previous spring” by Harvard.¹⁷ The publicity surrounding this and other local digs suggests a sort

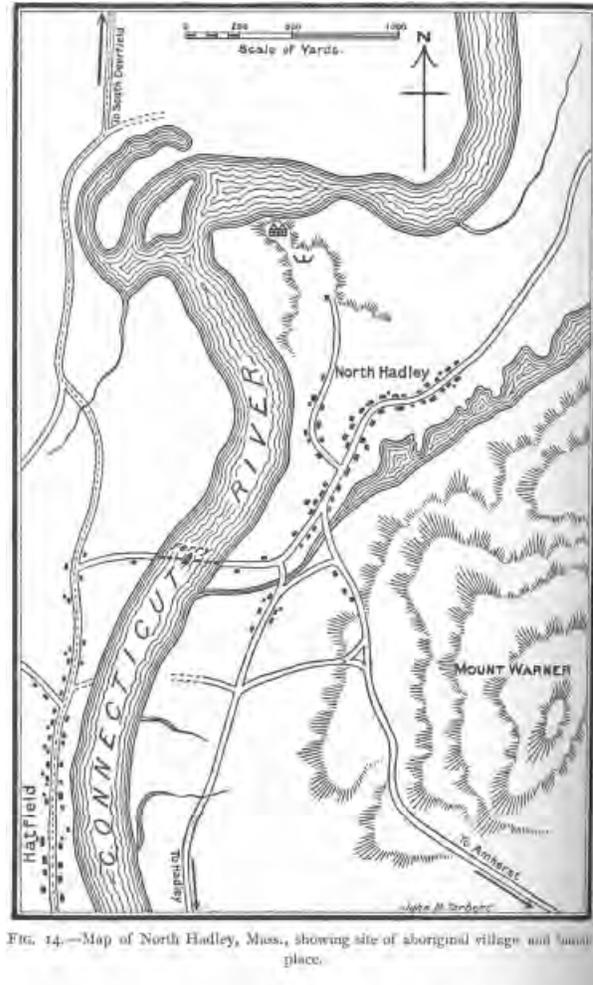


Fig. 14.—Map of North Hadley, Mass., showing site of aboriginal village and burial place.

Figure 7. Harris Hawthorne Wilder charted the information in Indian deeds and colonial papers to locate Native American sites, like this one in North Hadley, Massachusetts. (Map from Wilder 1905:296.)

of good-natured competition among academic collectors. In 1916, when Wilder unearthed another burying ground at the Cheapside site near the Green River, the *Springfield Union News* announced: “It is expected Harvard College professors will come here soon to excavate for specimens.”¹⁸ Public notices also inspired some amateur collectors to share what they had: in 1924, George Salvo gave Wilder two pestles, several axes, and other stone objects found “on the site of Quonquont’s village from which have come several Indian skeletons and many other Indian artifacts.”¹⁹

Indigenous burial sites sometimes included non-human interments, most notably canines. Although dogs have long been significant companions to Northeastern native peoples (Butler and Hadlock

1949), they are not always recognized by archaeologists as such, even when buried in a manner that bespeaks temporal and familial relations. In 1904, for example, Hitchcock discovered the intertwined skeletal remains of two Nonotuck Indians alongside “2 dogs skeletons” at Hockanum, a South Hadley site. He carefully excavated and mounted the two humans, and discarded the canines, before inviting his colleague Wilder to take over “the exhuming privileges I now hold.”²⁰

Wilder regarded all of his excavations as face-to-face encounters, going so far as to list his skeletal collections as “Dead Indians I have known.”²¹ In 1917, he wrote to Clark Wissler at the American Museum of Natural History: “I have just finished the preparation of a beautiful aboriginal skeleton of local origin, a young woman of the Pocumtucks, between Deerfield and Greenfield, MA. I removed the entire grave, earth and all, and no bone has been disturbed from its original position. . . . The earth was replaced over the entire skeleton before it was transported.”²² The assertion that “no bone had been disturbed” was false because every bone of that young Pocumtuck woman was removed from her grave and boxed up for transport to Smith College. Wilder was considered a “pioneer” in developing forensic reconstruction and “intact excavation” (Stewart 1982), but his techniques were not precise, and he often focused on aesthetics more than scientific accuracy. When attempting to reconstruct the facial features of the Niantic sunksqua (female chief) Weunquash, for example, he was missing a jawbone; he substituted a “fairly well-fitting piece from a female white skull,” and the *Providence Sunday Journal* proudly announced the result as, “Indian Princess Restored.”²³

At Amherst and Smith, as in so many other natural history museums, native skeletal remains were cleaned, wired, and reconstructed for study and display (e.g., Wilder and Whipple 1917). Scientists and curators worked these displays into very compelling (if erroneous) texts for consumption by college audiences and the general public (Erikson 1999). In one display at the Memorial Hall Museum in Deerfield, a Pocumtuck woman was accompanied by funerary possessions (a steatite pipe, bear tooth ornament, and beaver tooth) found with her, but curators identified her as male, because it was assumed that smoking pipes were the exclusive property of men.²⁴ During

the 1950s, the *Daily Hampshire Gazette* newspaper identified the skulls at Smith—“a small tribe of Indian heads”—as “all that remains of the peaceful, agriculturally inclined Nonotuck Indians who have long since been replaced by the citizens of Hampshire County.”²⁵ In a 1985 memo, Smith College Biology Professor B. Elizabeth Horner still referred to the display as a “trophy cabinet,” conveying, even if only ironically, the legacy of white conquest.²⁶

These are not merely presentist critiques of antiquated notions. The “museum process” in America has long been implicated in dehumanizing indigenous subjects (Ames 1992; Hill 2000), and the educated elite have long viewed indigenous peoples as tangential to the production of scientific knowledge (Apffel-Marglin and Bruchac 2004; Wobst 2004). Native bodies on display in museums were conceptually separated from notions of living society and personhood, and situated inescapably in the past (Erikson 1999). The magical effects of this human taxidermy made the skeletal dead seem tangibly present, as if testifying to their own extinction (Haraway 1988; Hill 2000). The exhibits also promoted the belief (as encoded in the Antiquities Act of 1906) that the indigenous dead were part of the common archaeological heritage, scientific specimens that did not warrant the same protection as white burials. By the late 20th century, the outrage sparked by exhibitions of disinterred native remains in museums across the continent helped to inspire the passage of NAGPRA (Fine-Dare 2002; Mihesuah 2000).

NAGPRA AND THE FAILURE TO ADDRESS SCATTERED COLLECTIONS

Has NAGPRA helped? The federal passage of NAGPRA forced museums across the country to reassess their Native American collections (Fine-Dare 2002; Mihesuah 2000). NAGPRA extended some of the principals of common law to the indigenous dead, codifying that, “human remains do not belong to individuals or to governmental or institutional organizations and that artifacts placed in human graves as funerary offerings belong to the deceased” (Rose et al. 1996:89). “Funerary objects,” as defined by the NAGPRA statute and regulations, are “items that, as part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, are reasonably believed to have been placed intentionally at the time of death or later” (43 CFR

10.2(d)(2)). The caveat, of course, is that such objects must be identifiable and documented in collections.

NAGPRA defines “control” as “having a sufficient legal interest,” with or without physical custody, “to lawfully permit the museum or Federal agency to treat the objects as part of its collection.” Control is not as simple as it might seem in circumstances where multiple collectors accumulated items from the same site. NAGPRA considers funerary objects to be “associated” with a Native American burial “if the human remains are in the possession or control of *any* museum or Federal agency, not necessarily the same museum or agency that has possession or control of the funerary object.”²⁷ Museums do not, however, routinely share information about their NAGPRA-sensitive collections or their institutional histories with one another. As a result, multiple museums holding items from the same gravesite will likely fail to identify (or properly repatriate) these objects if they rely only on their own institutional memories.

The inventories and summaries published by NAGPRA create the illusion that reporting is a fairly straightforward capturing of empirical data about tangible collections. Yet, so much of the data that were produced from the circulation of indigenous collections are subjective and otherwise flawed. The level of disconnection (and, sometimes, outright chaos) that I encountered in local collections is more common than most curators might wish to admit. Literally thousands of items were circulated (shared, sold, lost, stolen, broken, repaired, misfiled, recombined, reconstructed, or deaccessioned) in anything but an orderly fashion. Funerary possessions may now, quite literally, be hiding in plain sight, if they are trapped in a case or frozen into an artistic display. In older museums, objects periodically resurface (sometimes rather mysteriously) even after inventories seem to be complete (Bruchac and Hart 2006).

Institutions are required to assign a tribal identity, couched as “cultural affiliation,” to the materials in their collections. Cultural affiliation is expected to be determined by weighing a *preponderance* of the evidence—“geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, linguistic, folklore, oral tradition, historical evidence, or other information or expert opinion”—to establish a “relationship of shared group identity” with a present-day federally recog-

nized Indian tribe.²⁸ This appears logical, but the limited construction of tribal identity as *federal* identity, under NAGPRA, erases some evidence of *factual* identity, because the remains of non-federally recognized tribal peoples must be enumerated in the oxymoronic category of “unidentifiable” and “culturally unaffiliated,” even if they are otherwise historically known and documented (Bruchac 2010; Hart 2003). As some scholars have observed, “It is ironic that, just when anthropological theory and Native peoples themselves are seeing cultural identity as fluid and contextually constructed, NAGPRA potentially insists that it be determined and fixed in time and space” (Nafziger and Dobkins 1999:87). The recently promulgated final rule on the disposition of culturally unidentifiable human remains under NAGPRA (43 CFR Part 10) should encourage broader consultation on affiliation, increasing the likelihood of more repatriations to non-federally recognized tribes, but the problematic identifying terms will remain in effect (e.g., USDI, NPS 2010).

Private collectors, antiquarian societies, and small-town museums have been slow to respond to calls for repatriation, likely due to the lack of the NAGPRA whip and the prevailing notion that unprovenienced Indian artifacts are meaningless. It is also not clear whether NAGPRA has inspired lasting changes in the curation of lithic collections, given the persistence of old habits of display in some very public locales. The National Museum of the American Indian displays its projectile points in a way that, although it is more impressionistic and less geometric, nonetheless harkens back to Hitchcock’s “fantastic manner.” The use of these items as artistic resources tosses together so many different tribes and locales that the original indigenous associations are difficult to determine. The designs have changed, but the antiquated aesthetic remains (Figure 8).

The NAGPRA reporting process has, in sum, imposed new forms of sorting, organized according to federal protocols, on top of the old, problematic archaeological sorting behaviors. Under NAGPRA, indigenous peoples and objects must now be sorted according to binary categories (i.e., associated–unassociated, federally recognized–non-federally recognized, federal museum–private museum, and identifiable–unidentifiable) that imply simple choices, despite the on-the-ground political



Figure 8. An assortment of arrowheads collected from various locations, as they are presently displayed at the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, DC, 2007. (Photograph by Margaret Bruchac.)

realities of complex tribal and collection histories (Bruchac 2010; Nafziger and Dobkins 1999). The NAGPRA enterprise itself has also become remarkably complex; many museums and tribes have created new offices and staff to facilitate processes of consultation, research, repatriation, reburial, and curation (Cash Cash 2001; National Museum of the American Indian 2004). NAGPRA has also led to a number of disputes among tribes and museums (McKeown and Hutt 2003), and the threat of a dispute may cause antiquated collections to remain unexamined in a search for expedient solutions.

This is not to suggest that NAGPRA is a failure. The legislation has dramatically increased public awareness and facilitated the repatriation of large numbers of indigenous human remains in collections (McKeown and Hutt 2003; Mihesuah 2000). Access to data has increased, because all NAGPRA notices are published in the *Federal Register*, and the National NAGPRA office maintains online, keyword-searchable databases that are continually updated. Archaeologists can no longer conceal locations of older dig sites, because the information contained in NAGPRA notices is now available to virtually anyone with access to a computer or a government archive. Although some secrecy has been sacrificed, the sharing of NAGPRA data has increased the potential for better-informed collaborations among tribes and museums.

NAGPRA has not yet effectively addressed the complex entanglements of indigenous property and

institutional memories. Even the most conscientious NAGPRA reporting may introduce layers of unintended concealment when objects are overlooked or left behind in collections, when there is insufficient information, or when erroneous identifications are assigned. There is no NAGPRA mandate to account for materials that are now missing, even though they may well resurface for sale in private markets. Museums are not required to consult with other institutions that house finds from the same region or sites. Although multiple tribal claimants are allowed, NAGPRA discourages joint repatriation efforts by museums. Each institution is compelled to report separately. In the end, NAGPRA allows museums to reach their own conclusions about the tribal identity and cultural affiliation of materials in their collections. The National Park Service explicitly absolves itself of responsibility by inserting a disqualifier in every notice: “The determinations in this notice are the sole responsibility of the museum, institution, or Federal agency that has control.”²⁹

NAGPRA’s greatest flaw may be that it places the ultimate responsibility for accurate reporting in the hands of the very institutions that desecrated and disconnected native gravesites, with a mandate to report on the present, but not the past, state of their collections. In that sense, the law remains (as it was at the outset) an imperfect compromise (McKeown and Hutt 2003) with at least three competing groups of claimants: museums (who hold the collections and documentation), physical anthropologists (who wish to retain native remains for study), and Native American tribes (who wish to repatriate native remains). Calls for any changes in repatriation legislation are likely to inspire reactions from all sides. The discourse over who owns native remains is not yet resolved, if the recent protest against 43CFR Part 10 is any indication; the American Association of Physical Anthropologists continues to argue that archaeologists will be disenfranchised and scientific evidence will be lost for all time.³⁰

RESTORATIVE METHODOLOGIES

The compelling issue indigenous communities are most often confronted with is the problem of “how” to repatriate an ancestor . . . the repatriation process is largely reconstitutive whereby

indigenous communities are *reconstituting a potential life world* for ancestral human remains.
—Alice Sadongei and Philip Cash Cash
2007:99

The removal of Native American remains and artifacts from their places of interment created disconnections that may now be difficult, if not impossible, to repair. Acts of repatriation constitute the return of something that has been, perhaps irreparably, broken. These disturbances pose spiritual risks not only for the wandering spirits of the ancestors, but for their descendants (Riding In 2000:109). “Restorative methodologies” in matters of repatriation, therefore, require more than merely recombining bones to achieve some semblance of the original context in which they were interred. The networks of social relations, political ideologies, and epistemologies that categorized some as “collectors” and some as “collected,” some as specimens and others as humans, must be untangled before relations among dead and living indigenous populations can be effectively rearticulated and humanely restored.

In the Connecticut River Valley, I found that the Hitchcock and Wilder collections had followed a confusing trail. Native remains from the colleges’ collections had been displayed at locales as varied as the Northampton Historical Society, the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, and the Arcadia Wildlife Sanctuary. Some had shifted among different departments (anthropology, biology, geology, and zoology), and several burials that had endured intensive study and handling (including the young Pocumtuck woman excavated by Wilder) were gone altogether, their whereabouts now unknown. Starting around 1965, the physical anthropology lab in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst (UMass) became a repository for the skeletal remains of Native American individuals. The remains of approximately 45 individuals from the Gilbert Collection of Indian Relics and 35 from the Smith Anthropological and Zoological Museum were transferred to UMass, where they were mixed into the Native American study collection (Bruchac 2009).

One regional example of restorative methodologies is the work of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography at Harvard, which has

been engaged in in-depth analysis, consultation, and repatriation of their collections for several decades (Isaac 2002). For an example in the Valley, we can look to the efforts of UMass where, since 1992, a succession of faculty and graduate students have labored to re-identify and re-articulate collections of native remains that had been extensively handled by physical anthropology students (e.g., Goode-Null et al. 2001).³¹ In 1997, the Department of Anthropology formally constituted a Repatriation Committee to oversee all aspects of NAGPRA compliance, but it was still relatively slow going with limited funding. In 2003, faculty and administrators at Amherst College, Smith College, and Mount Holyoke College agreed to cooperate in the formation of a Five College Repatriation Committee to support joint consultation and research toward NAGPRA compliance. From 2003 to 2006, two colleagues, Sibohan Hart and Alexis Dolphin, and I reviewed the existing summaries and osteological descriptions of NAGPRA-sensitive collections in the colleges, working painstakingly forward in time from the first moments of excavation to the present location of remains in the collections. In my close analysis of the Hitchcock and Wilder collections, I methodically retraced the evidence in field notes, catalogues, and correspondence (housed in various regional museums) to compose new inventory forms that detailed handling practices over time. This work evolved into a compilation of site reports for specific locales that multiple collectors had excavated.³² In some cases, we were able to restore connections and locate missing items; in others, connecting threads were discovered that reached into the collections at Yale, Harvard, and other institutions.

In September of 2003, the Five College Repatriation Committee hosted a regional meeting on the Connecticut River Valley collections in consultation with Abenaki, Nipmuc, and Wampanoag Tribal Repatriation Representatives and members of the Massachusetts Commission on Indian Affairs. Although this group reached agreement on some aspects of regional repatriation, subsequent tribal consultations have taken some unexpected twists and turns. At present, the limitations of the NAGPRA definitions are such that *most* of the Native American human remains collected by Hitchcock and Wilder must be listed as “culturally unidentifiable,” because

the lineal and cultural descendants of the Middle Connecticut River Valley's historic tribal residents are non-federally recognized (Paynter et al. 2007).³³

How have these efforts shaped my understandings of repatriation? I believe that archaeologists and museum professionals have a responsibility, not only to comply with NAGPRA but also to address past damages. They inherited that responsibility from predecessors who designated themselves and their students as "Indian experts" who created the foundational knowledges and theories that shaped habits of excavation and display. If we are truly interested in repatriation as a form of restorative justice, if we want to actually return these ancestors and objects to their appropriate places of origin, then we need to reexamine the people, processes, social relations, and knowledges that shaped these collections. Museums have an ethical responsibility to make an honest attempt to fix what was broken by their own actions, irrespective of legal obligations (Erikson 1999, 2001). This effort will require considerably more intercultural and interinstitutional cooperation, collaboration, and archival research than most institutions are prepared to undertake (Brown and Bruchac 2006; Bruchac 2007).

So what happens next? Although some museums, at this stage, surely wish that they could just dig a big hole and put it all back, or just lock the doors and keep it all in storage, those are easy ways out. Museums will need to open some dark closets, figuratively and literally. Before we can possibly reconstitute a life world for the Native American ancestral remains and objects that were scattered, we must peel back the layers of flawed meanings attached to them. At the risk of sounding overly hopeful, I propose a regional implementation of restorative methodologies that would revisit the moments of disturbance, in each site, and in each museum, to compile a life history of collections in order to trace our way back to something resembling the original indigenous intentions. This is not a call for more scientific research on indigenous remains; it is a call for forensic, archival research on the collectors themselves, to discover new insights and new evidence of where their hands have been. Then, we must insist that all indigenous descendants (not just those who are federally recognized) be active participants in determining what happens next.

We need to shift the public paradigm, because there is no evidence that the dead, any more than the living, chose to eternally alienate themselves from ownership and control of their bodies and their possessions (Fforde et al. 2002). The discipline's terminology deserves reconsideration, because power-laden sorting categories, terms, and methods can so easily be used to disconnect present-day Native American people from their ancestors (Chilton 1999; Hart 2003; Silliman 2005). Archaeological practices may need retooling to shift the perception that indigenous burial sites are public resources and to end the habits of separating human remains from their companions and their funerary possessions.³⁴ The federal government retains a sense of ownership and control of native sites through legislation like the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979, which effectively replaced the Antiquities Act (Fine-Dare 2002:83). Rebecca Tsosie (1997:68) contends that there is still "no real argument between the amateur pothunter and the professional archaeologist as to the underlying values at stake; both agree that Indian remains are objects for non-Indian study and excavation."

To change this paradigm, archaeologists must relinquish their assumed intellectual ownership of sites. Worldwide trends in the practice of indigenous archaeologies suggest that archaeologists will increasingly be compelled to negotiate with indigenous people as active partners in the identification and curation of both older collections and newly discovered sites (Bruchac et al. 2010; Nicholas 2010; Wobst 2004). Regional cooperation among museums, Native American tribes (both federally recognized and non-federally recognized), and collectors (both professional and amateur) is essential, because so many parties hold different pieces of the puzzle. As we strive to untangle the social relations of the collecting process, we will need more "straight talk and trust" (Carter 1997) and less political maneuvering. NAGPRA could assist in this process by encouraging the sharing of archival information and by compelling all parties to consider and document, honestly, what they know and precisely how they know it. If all of the necessary knowledge-bearers can find ways to work together in good faith, perhaps we can begin to reframe the indigenous past in a more sensitive and accurate manner. Perhaps, then, we can all find what we are looking for.

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Patricia Pierce Erikson first introduced me to the Wilder collection when I was a student in her Museum Anthropology class at Smith College. As a graduate student at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, I followed the trail of the Wilder collection to that institution and joined the University of Massachusetts Repatriation Committee. While investigating the movements of local collections over time, I encouraged the colleges to form the Five College Repatriation Committee to facilitate collaborative NAGPRA compliance. Presidents Carol Christ of Smith College and Anthony Marx of Amherst College, along with Five College Repatriation Committee members (Robert Paynter of the University of Massachusetts, Frederick Griffiths and Tekla Harms of Amherst College, Donald Joralemon and Neal Salisbury of Smith College, and Sally Sutherland of Mount Holyoke College), supported the archival research and tribal consultations necessary to restoring context. Three members of the Massachusetts Commission on Indian Affairs (Maurice Foxx, Jim Peters, and Troy Phillips) have also provided guidance and inspiration. I am indebted to so many other tribal officers, archivists, and colleagues that it is impossible to list all of their names, and so I offer thanks to all who encourage restorative approaches to heal the scatterings of our indigenous past.

NOTES

- For the purposes of this paper, the generic terms “Native American,” “indigenous,” and “native” will be used to refer to both the present-day indigenous peoples of the Americas and their ancestral predecessors.
- These statistics, which are updated periodically, come from the National NAGPRA website. http://www.nps.gov/history/nagpra/FAQ/INDEX.HTM#How_many, accessed June 5, 2010. Also see USDI, NPS 1999.
- National NAGPRA, Culturally Unidentifiable Native American Inventories Database. <http://grants.cr.nps.gov/CUI/index.cfm>, accessed June 5, 2010.
- Through personal interviews with archaeologists Peter Thomas and Dena Dincauze, and with John Peters and Troy Phillips from the Massachusetts Commission on Indian Affairs, among others, I have learned that some local families still retain small personal collections of Indian bones and artifacts, salvaged from washouts, farm fields, and sites where the colleges did their collecting.
- Indian Relics in Massachusetts. *New York Times*, July 16, 1895.
- On August 18, 2005, Wistariahurst Museum sold the Sherman collection at an auction in Boston. Skinner Auction, Skinner to Host its Finest American Indian Auction to Date. http://www.skinnerinc.com/press/2291_Am_Ind_Sept_2005_Pre.asp, accessed March 30, 2007.
- Citations from Wilder Papers, vol. VI: Professional Activities, Box 29, Northampton, Indian Hill & Hadley 1904–20, and Field Notebook #3—Hadley & Cheapside/Greenfield, MA. Smith College Archives.
- Letter from Edward Rogers to William Young at the Springfield Science Museum, December 6, 1962. Copy in the University of Massachusetts Amherst, Department of Anthropology, Amherst, MA.
- Notes by Elizabeth L. McGrew (Kimball), November 19, 1904. In Wilder Papers, vol. VI: Professional Activities, Box 29, Folder 5, Northampton, Indian Hill & Hadley 1904–20. Smith College Archives.
- Unearths Indian Relics in Bay State. *New York Times*, April 28, 1928.
- Text from caption on the exhibition case at the Institute for American Indian Studies in Washington, CT.
- Letter from Edward Hitchcock to Horatio T. Rust. In Amherst College Pratt Museum Papers, Section 4: Materials Concerning Pratt Museum Collections, Box 6, Folder 3A, Correspondence from Edward Hitchcock to Horatio N. Rust, originals at the Huntington Library. Amherst College Archives and Special Collections.
- Letter from Edward Hitchcock Jr. to Harris Hawthorne Wilder October 5, 1904. In Wilder Papers, vol. VI: Professional Activities, Box 29, Folder 12. Smith College Archives.
- Letter from Edward Hitchcock Jr. to George Sheldon, January 29, 1867. In Sheldon Papers, Correspondence Box 9, Folder 6. Deerfield, MA: Memorial Libraries.
- Letter from A. L. Dakin to Frederick Ward Putnam, 1904. In Putnam Papers. UAV 677.38, Box 21. Cambridge, MA: Robert S. Peabody Museum, Harvard University.
- Springfield Republican, 1904. Reprint from the *Evening Sun*, June 8, 1904.
- Vol. II:79 of Accession Book (1911–14), Smith Anthropological and Zoological Museum, Zoology Department Records, Smith College Archives.
- Springfield Union*, November 30, 1916.
- In 2003, when Archaeology Lab Coordinator Siobhan Hart attempted to locate the pestles that Wilder had reported from the Bullard farm site in the University of Massachusetts

- Amherst collections, she found 21 pestles of ambiguous provenience with little to no site identification. In one tray, however, there was a label dated 1924 that clearly identified the contents as “stone artifacts” from the “L. P. Bullard farm in Hadley.” Without this label, the items in the tray would have been unidentifiable.
20. Letter from Edward Hitchcock to Harris Hawthorne Wilder, November 19, 1904. In *Wilder Papers*, vol. VI: Professional Activities, Box 29, Folder 12. Smith College Archives.
 21. Wilder Field Notebook #3—“Hadley & Cheapside/Greenfield, Massachusetts 1915–1917.” Smith College Archives.
 22. Letter from Harris Hawthorne Wilder to Clark Wissler, 1917. In *Wissler Papers T-55*. New York, NY: Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History.
 23. Indian Princess Restored. *Providence Sunday Journal*, March 16, 1913.
 24. This association was described in Peter Mills’ 1990 “Report of Archaeological Investigations of an Indian Burial Near Steam Mill Road, Deerfield, Massachusetts,” prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Commission.
 25. Eudene, Betty. ca. 1950. Burton Contains Oddities. Undated clipping from the *Daily Hampshire Gazette* in Wilder Papers. Smith College Archives.
 26. See B. Elizabeth Horner to Elliot Offner, July 24, 1985, in Biological Sciences Department records, Files on the H. H. Wilder Collection, Box 10. Smith College Archives.
 27. National NAGPRA. Frequently Asked Questions. http://www.nps.gov/history/nagpra/FAQ/INDEX.HTM#How_many, accessed June 5, 2010; emphasis added.
 28. National Park Service. National NAGPRA. Determining Cultural Affiliation Within NAGPRA. http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/TRAINING/Cultural_Affiliation.pdf, accessed June 15, 2010.
 29. National NAGPRA. Notice templates. http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/NOTICES/INDEX.HTM#Notice_Templates, accessed June 5, 2010.
 30. See AAPA letter to National NAGPRA May 10, 2010. <http://physanth.org/news/aapa-comment-on-nagpra-change>, accessed June 7, 2010.
 31. Skulls had been separated from postcranial remains, and some lots had been sorted into discrete elements and rearranged to compare relative size and shape. Students had also been encouraged to clean bones, removing the layers of dirt, shellac, and water glass that have proven to be crucial identifying characteristics for the native remains excavated by Wilder and Whipple.
 32. These reports to the Five College Repatriation Committee include: Bullard’s Farm in North Hadley; Cheapside in Greenfield; Hockanum/Indian Hill in South Hadley; Stoughton Lot/Fort Hill in Gill; and the Sheldon Lot in Deerfield.
 33. The Native American human remains from all of the Connecticut River Valley collections housed at the University of Massachusetts Amherst are posted in National NAGPRA’s Culturally Unidentifiable Database, <http://64.241.25.6/CUI/index.cfm>, accessed June 30, 2007.
 34. In the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, for example, newly discovered native remains are typically excavated and transported to Boston for analysis before they can be reinterred; any associated funerary artifacts are kept by the Massachusetts Historical Commission. See the General Laws of Massachusetts, ch. 7, Section 38A: Guidelines re: Skeletal Remains, Preservation, Excavation, Analysis; ch. 9, Section 26A: State Archaeologist: Duties, etc.

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