

ABSTRACT

Scientific Racism, Mass Collecting, and NAGPRA: A Study of the Transformation of Relationships between Museums, Anthropology and the Public from the Late 19th Century to the 21st Century

Krista M. Barnum, M.A.

Mentor: Julie Holcomb, Ph.D.

Humankind has collected materials and remains for centuries as a way to depict social status, educate, and fascinate. The relationships between anthropologists and museums in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries set the foundation for both disciplines to make their mark in academic and public discourse. As public fascination with the “other” and racial differences took center stage in the minds of many Americans, museum exhibitions highlighting Native American and other cultures that anthropologists deemed “savage” or “less civilized” became a normalized practice. Numerous museums around the country amassed large collections of human remains to study using methods such as craniometrics and cranial morphology to compare. This thesis highlights the history of American anthropology, museums, and scientific racism and seeks to understand how the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) affected the relationships between museums, anthropologists, the public, and Native Americans from 1990 to the present.

Scientific Racism, Mass Collecting, and NAGPRA: A Study of the Transformation of
Relationships between Museums, Anthropology, and the Public
from the Late 19th Century to the 21st Century

by

Krista M. Barnum, B.A.

A Thesis

Approved by the Department of Museum Studies

Kenneth Hafertepe, Ph.D., Chairperson

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Baylor University in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
of
Master of Arts

Approved by the Thesis Committee

Julie Holcomb, Ph.D., Chairperson

Kimberly McCray, Ph.D.

Katie Binetti, Ph.D.

Accepted by the Graduate School

May 2019

J. Larry Lyon, Ph.D., Dean

Copyright © 2019 by Krista M. Barnum

All rights reserved

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Defining Terminology.....	6
Research Questions and Focus.....	7
CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND.....	11
Introduction.....	11
The Development of American Anthropology and Scientific Racism.....	12
<i>Early Anthropological Theory</i>	12
<i>Professionalization of American Anthropology</i>	15
<i>Anthropometry and Craniometrics</i>	17
<i>Anthroscopy and Morphological Features</i>	21
The Rise of Museums and their Role in Dispersing Anthropology	
Research to the American Public.....	25
<i>From the Elite to the Commoner</i>	25
<i>American Museums and Mass Collecting</i>	26
<i>The Role of World's Fairs and Expositions</i>	29
<i>Museum Exhibitions and the Public</i>	30
The Influence of Laws and Regulations on Anthropology and	
Museums in the United States.....	33
<i>The American Antiquities Act</i>	33
<i>The Native American Graves Protection</i>	
<i>and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)</i>	36
Conclusion.....	43
CHAPTER THREE: A CASE STUDY –	
ROBERT S. PEABODY INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY.....	44
Institutional History.....	44
Survey Results.....	47
NAGPRA and Repatriation.....	50
<i>Collections Involving Native American Remains and Objects</i>	50
<i>NAGPRA within the Institute</i>	50
<i>Challenges of Repatriation</i>	52
Education and Mission.....	52
<i>Acting as a Learning Lab</i>	52
<i>Outreach Programing</i>	55

Conclusion.....	56
CHAPTER FOUR: A CASE STUDY –	
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.....	58
Institutional History.....	58
Survey Results.....	60
NAGPRA and Repatriation.....	60
<i>Collections Involving Native American Remains and Objects</i>	60
<i>NAGPRA within the Museum</i>	61
<i>Challenges of Repatriation</i>	64
Education and Mission.....	65
<i>University Connections</i>	65
<i>Community Engagement and Outreach</i>	66
Conclusion.....	69
CHAPTER FIVE: COMPLICATIONS AND CONFLICTING INTERESTS:	
NAGPRA IN PRACTICE.....	71
Introduction: Conflicting Interests.....	71
The Effects and Limitations of NAGPRA.....	73
<i>For Native Americans</i>	73
<i>For Anthropologists in the United States</i>	76
<i>For Museums and Collections Staff</i>	81
<i>For the Public</i>	84
Conclusion: Decolonizing Museums and Anthropology.....	86
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION:	
LOOKING TOWARD THE FUTURE.....	88
Building Relationships.....	88
Repatriation and Reburial.....	89
Holistic Storytelling.....	90
Redefining Race in American Anthropology.....	90
Looking Toward the Future.....	91
APPENDICES.....	
Appendix A - Survey Questions.....	93
Appendix B - Survey Data.....	96
Appendix C - Interview Questions.....	132
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	
	133

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.0. Illustration of Osage.....	19
Figure 1.1. Illustration of Cinook of Columbia River.....	19
Figure 1.2. Craniometric Landmarks Side View.....	23
Figure 1.3. Craniometric Landmarks Front View.....	23
Figure 1.4. Craniometric Landmarks within the Eye Orbit.....	23
Figure 1.5. Geographic Clinal Patterns of Skin Color Variation.....	25
Figure 1.6. <i>The Story of Man through the Ages</i> Exhibition.....	34
Figure 1.7. <i>The Hall of Races of Mankind</i> Exhibition.....	35
Figure 1.8. Hyrtl Collection at the Mütter Museum.....	35

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.0. Morton's Five Races of Humankind.....	22
Table 1.1. Common Morphological Traits	24
Table 1.2. Unassociated Object Repatriation Steps.....	41
Table 1.3. Robert S. Peabody Survey Results.....	48
Table 1.4. University of Colorado Survey Results.....	62
Table 1.5. Visitor Data for University of Colorado.....	67

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to thank my thesis committee chair, Dr. Julie Holcomb, for encouraging me to pursue my topic and guiding me the entire process that has been the last year and a half. Thank you for all of your academic insight, keeping me on track, and being a great source for advice. I would also like to thank Dr. Katie Binetti and Dr. Kim McCray for being on my committee, helping me through the editing process, and being a place I could come to for guidance in your respective academic fields.

Second, I would like to thank Marla Taylor and Christina Cain for allowing me the opportunity to interview them and use their institutions as case studies in my thesis. It was such a wonderful opportunity to speak with experienced professionals that have been actively involved in the NAGPRA process.

Lastly, I would like to thank my parents, brother, and best friends Shelby, Jerret, Harley, and Uriel for being my support system the last year and a half as I worked through this entire process. I could not have made it through without your encouragement, not just throughout my master's program but my entire academic career thus far.

Without the wonderful people in my life, both professionally and personally, this thesis could not have been a reality. Truly, thank you for all of the support and guidance as I worked through and finished this project.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

“We owe it to the dead to carry on the conversation, as difficult as it may be, in an effort to better understand their legacy and contribution to our living world.”

- Samuel J. Redman, *Bone Rooms: From Scientific Racism to Human Prehistory in Museums*

The history between museums, anthropologists, and Native Americans is complex and often emotional. With colonization of the Americas, Europeans encountered an already inhabited land filled with people very different from themselves. Conflicts between Native Americans and Europeans began and continued for many centuries resulting in the death of thousands of Natives and the displacement of an entire group of people. Their culture and religion was disregarded as primitive and “lesser” than European (and later American) culture and religion.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Native Americans saw their property and their ancestors amassed by museums and anthropologists into collections around the United States. The passage of laws like the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and the Antiquities Act in the twentieth century, protecting Native American property, burial grounds, and ancestors, marked a significant step in beginning to mend relationships with Native American peoples. However, interpretations of NAGPRA sometimes lead to conflicts between museums, anthropologists, and Native Americans. The question becomes: Who owns the past and how far into the past does that entitle them to make claims?

Cases like Kennewick Man and the La Jolla Bones sparked legal battles between scientists and Native Americans regarding who owns the rights to the history of the Americas. In the case of the La Jolla Bones, scientists argued against the Kumeyaay tribe over the question of whether the repatriation of a pair of human remains dating back to 9,500 years ago was appropriate given the age of the remains. The anthropologists argued the remains were simply too old to be traced back to the Kumeyaay tribe. The tribe claimed ownership of the remains because they were found on Kumeyaay land in 1976. The courts awarded the Kumeyaay tribe the right to repatriate the remains and the anthropologists ceased all further testing. “To have them slip through our fingers this way is a tremendous loss for science,” said Robert L. Bettinger, one of the plaintiffs and a professor at the University of California, Davis.¹

The case of Kennewick Man took much longer to resolve. Like the La Jolla remains, Kennewick Man was very old dating to between 8,400 and 8,690 years old.² Discovered by two college students in Kennewick, Washington, Kennewick Man was the oldest individual ever discovered in North America. The Benton County coroner believed the remains to be ancient, so he called in a local archaeologist, James Chatters, to examine the individual. Chatters claimed the remains did not appear Native American. However, he did note that the teeth were heavily worn and a spear point was found

¹ Carl Zimmer, “Tribes’ Win Fight for La Jolla Bones Clouds Hope for DNA Studies,” *The New York Times*, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/02/science/tribes-win-in-fight-for-la-jolla-bones-clouds-hope-for-dna-studies.html> (accessed December 17, 2018).

² “Kennewick Man, The Ancient One,” Burke Museum Blog, entry posted February 20, 2017. <https://www.burkemuseum.org/blog/kennewick-man-ancient-one> (accessed March 8, 2019).

embedded in the pelvis of the individual (characteristic of prehistoric remains).³ Word of the discovery of Kennewick Man made its way to members of the Army Corps of Engineers and because the Army Corps of Engineers managed the land where the remains were found, they claimed authority for the remains. They demanded scientists cease their studies of the remains. The remains were locked away in a local police station. Douglas Owsley, a curator at the National Museum of Natural History in New York, and Dennis Stanford, the chairman of the Smithsonian's anthropology department, put together a team to further study the bones. However, the corps seized the bones before the analysis could occur. While all of this conflict was taking place, a coalition of Columbia River Basin Indian tribes made a claim to the remains under NAGPRA and requested the individual be repatriated for reburial. The Army Corps of Engineers agreed to repatriate the remains to the coalition of tribes, but the scientists intervened and blocked the action claiming that cultural affiliation had to be determined before repatriation could occur. To determine cultural affiliation, further osteological examination of the individual was required. In court, the scientists challenged Native claims to the Kennewick Man arguing that he was too old⁴ to be affiliated with any living tribes (a requirement of NAGPRA).⁵

³ Douglas Preston, "The Kennewick Man Finally Freed to Share His Secrets," *Smithsonian Magazine*, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/kennewick-man-finally-freed-share-his-secrets-180952462/?page=2> (accessed December 18, 2018).

⁴ The term "old" here refers to the amount of time that has passed since Kennewick Man was alive, not his individual age.

⁵ Preston, "The Kennewick Man Finally Freed to Share His Secrets."

The scientists prevailed in 2002, when the court ruled that Kennewick Man was too ancient to be affiliated with any living tribe and, as a result, NAGPRA did not apply. In July 2005 and February 2006, anthropologists from the Smithsonian studied his remains to discover as much as they could about who he was, how he lived, and where he came from. The results of this study provided new insight into how the peopling of the Americas occurred.⁶ In 2015, a geneticist performed a genome test using DNA extracted from the bones of Kennewick Man and determined that his closest living relative was in fact modern Native Americans. The remains remained at Burke Museum until 2017 when he was repatriated back to the coalition of five tribes, the Yakama, Wanapum, Umatilla, Nez Perce, and Colville nations.⁷ Kennewick Man was reburied in a private ceremony by the tribes.⁸

These cases demonstrate the complexity of NAGPRA. To understand why a law like NAGPRA was necessary, a better understanding of the history of early anthropology in the nineteenth and twentieth century and the role of museums in providing research to the public is necessary. Prior to the Civil War, American anthropology was not a recognized discipline in the same way it is today. Many “anthropologists” were actually well-respected professionals of other fields who were interested in understanding why

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Erin Blakemore, “Over 9,000 Years Later, Kennewick Man Will Be Given a Native American Burial,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/over-9000-years-later-kennewick-man-will-be-given-native-american-burial-180958947/> (accessed April 2, 2019).

⁸ “Kennewick Man, The Ancient One.”

humans from different areas appear different and whether some groups of people are “inherently better suited to thrive in the natural and modern world.”⁹

American Anthropologists in the nineteenth century looked to the human skeleton for answers. Questions about race and typologies became a central focus in the discipline of anthropology reflecting the social atmosphere of nineteenth century America (i.e. African slavery and the assimilation/removal of Native Americans from tribal lands to reservations). Seeking a scientific basis for race, anthropologists sought human remains for osteological analysis. The desire for human remains led to widespread grave-robbing and the desecration of many Native American burial grounds. In some instances, after a battle, the corpses of Native Americans were decapitated and the skulls sent back to museums to be added into the collection.¹⁰ Other times, the corpses of Native Americans who passed away after falling ill from disease were also sent to museums to be added into the collection.¹¹

In this same period, museum exhibitions of human remains became popular spreading anthropological research beyond the scholarly study. Exhibits like *The Story of Man through the Ages* at the San Diego Museum of Man in the early twentieth century displayed human skulls and provided visitors with a racial hierarchical view of humankind.¹² World Fairs and museums also exhibited living Natives to the public.

⁹ Samuel J. Redman. *Bone Rooms: From Scientific Racism to Human Prehistory in Museums* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 7.

¹⁰ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 32.

¹¹ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 64-65.

¹² Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 234-240.

These exhibits interpreted indigenous peoples as lesser humans. Natives were made to live in terrible conditions where they were exposed to illnesses that sometimes led to death.¹³

Shifting beliefs and focus eventually led to the decline of museum exhibitions displaying human remains and projecting scientific racism. After the events of World War II (i.e. Hitler's "Final Solution"), the United States began to see a change in the way the public viewed race and tolerated racism. The Civil Rights Movement further changed public ideology and brought racism to the forefront of society's minds as African Americans pushed for their rights and racial equality. This movement to be a more racially inclusive society by African Americans spurred greater activism by Native American groups as well. Because of Native American activism and protest, NAGPRA passed into federal legislature in 1990 and Native Americans finally had a more prominent voice in telling their own history and gained the rights to their property and ancestors back from museums and federally funded institutions that looted and stole many Native American remains and materials in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Defining Terminology

In my thesis, I use "human remains" to describe deceased individuals who were collected during the nineteenth and twentieth century.

The term race is used frequently in this thesis. Race can be defined as a societal construct often based on a set of phenotypic characteristics for groups of individuals. For

¹³ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 44-45.

example, skin color, hair type and texture, and eye color are phenotypic characteristics we often associate with different “races.” Scientific racism, for the purpose of this thesis, can be described as biological race constructed by scientists (i.e. anthropologists and biologists) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries based on craniometric and morphologic analyses of human skeletal remains. I will use the term ancestral origin when discussing current anthropological discourse concerning “race.” Ancestral origin can be defined as the geographic area in which an individual’s ancestry can be traced to. An individual’s ancestral origin is a determinant of many phenotypic traits often associated with race.¹⁴ Race and ancestral origin will be discussed in detail in the second chapter of this thesis.

Research Questions and Focus

My undergraduate academic background in anthropology and my professional experience and training in museum studies as a graduate student has given me a unique perspective regarding anthropology, museums, and the way race is characterized in each field. My interest in NAGPRA and biological anthropology as an undergraduate student inspired my choice in research for my master’s thesis. As I reflected on my time working as an intern in an osteology lab on the University of Texas Pickle Research Campus, I found myself developing a research topic that encompassed my interest in biological anthropology, race, NAGPRA, and museum collections. In the initial stages of my thesis, my research focused on how the relationship between anthropology, museums, and the

¹⁴ Kenneth Kennedy, “But Professor, Why Teach Race Identification if Races Don’t Exist?” *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 40 (1995): 797-800.

public has changed since the passage of NAGPRA in 1990. My research questions included:

- 1.) What was the relationship between anthropologists and museums in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century?
- 2.) How did anthropologists use human skeletal remains to create large museum collections and exposition exhibits that reinforced scientific racism?
- 3.) How did these exhibitions shape public perception of race and anthropology?
- 4.) How has the passage of NAGPRA in 1990 and the public and academic discourse on scientific racism changed the relationship between anthropologists, museums, and the public?
- 5.) Do museums still actively use human skeletal remains in exhibits or educational programming in the United States?

To begin the process of addressing these research questions, I developed a survey for museums containing human remains in their collections (both human remains in their collections in the past and currently in their collections).

My survey asked questions about the background of the participating museum professional, the type and content of the museum's collection, the educational programming provided by the museum for the public, and the museum's status with NAGPRA compliance. From this survey, I identified three museums for follow up interviews. Two of the three consented to participate in these interviews. A copy of the survey questions and tables containing the responses from each survey participant can be found in the appendices (Appendix A and B). A collections staff member from each case study museum was contacted and interviewed by me over the phone. A copy of my interview questions can also be found in the appendices (Appendix C).

In addition to reviewing articles, books, and newspapers, I reviewed NAGPRA committee meeting transcripts to gain a better holistic understanding of how NAGPRA

works in practice and what types of trials and tribulations professionals and tribes experience when working through the process of NAGPRA compliance and repatriation. The law provides a framework for repatriating and returning Native American remains, objects, and items but the logistics of inventorying collections and consulting with tribes to come to mutual agreements among all parties involved can be a more challenging and intricate task than the law depicts.

The second chapter of this thesis will discuss the history and background of anthropology, museums, and the laws and regulations that affected anthropological collecting in the United States. The third and fourth chapters will provide two case studies from museums in the United States that I selected after reviewing the results of my survey and comparing institutions. The fifth chapter will discuss the complications and tribulations of NAGPRA law in practice for museums, anthropologists, and tribes.

This thesis has four main topics of focus throughout the paper:

- 1.) The history of early biological anthropology and the scientific racism that developed in the 19th century
- 2.) The role museums played in disseminating anthropological research and legitimizing scientific racism
- 3.) The effect of the passage of NAGPRA on both anthropology and museums
- 4.) The effect this history has had on the relationships between Native Americans, anthropology, museums, and the public.

In order to understand how NAGPRA currently affects institutions, it is essential to have an understanding of the history between anthropologists, museums, and Native American tribes in the United States. The history can be complex and often filled with questionable practices by both anthropology and museum professionals. This thesis seeks to highlight a dark period in the history of anthropology and museums to provide context for a

holistic understanding, while also emphasizing the transformation of both disciplines after the passage of NAGPRA and the challenges still affecting anthropology, museums, and Native Americans as a result of this history.

CHAPTER TWO

Background

“We are not makers of history. We are made by history.”

- Martin Luther King Jr.

Introduction

The history of the professionalization of American anthropology and the rise of museums in the late nineteenth century was an entwined path that paved the way for both fields to become widely recognized in the minds of twentieth-century Americans. As Americans pushed west across North America and encountered Native American structures and burial grounds, mass looting took place and human remains and materials long-entombed and resting were unearthed. Emerging anthropologists saw the campaign to preserve and collect “as a race against time.”¹ Salvage anthropology became a sensation and anthropologists and museums rushed to amass large collections of Native American remains, objects, and items to help preserve the culture and history of this “disappearing” group of people.²

As anthropologists studied human remains, ideas regarding race and the differences in human appearance became a central focus for research. Comparative anatomy was widely practiced by physical anthropologists studying human remains collected by museums around the United States. During this time, anthropologists and

¹ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 72.

² Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 72-73.

museums influenced how race was viewed by the American public through displays and exhibitions highlighting a hierarchical view of humanity based on biased research and misinterpreted data. This became what has been termed as “scientific racism.”³

The Development of American Anthropology and Scientific Racism

Early Anthropological Theory

The term “anthropology” was not widely used in the mid-nineteenth century. The preferred term was “ethnology.”⁴ An ethnologist studies the characteristics of diverse groups of people and the relationships and differences between various groups of people. Ethnology and anthropology in definition are similar in terms of studying groups of people but ethnology does not encompass the biological or medical side of anthropology that develops out of nineteenth- and twentieth-century scientific study and research. Many of the scientists we would consider to be practicing anthropologists during the nineteenth century were professionals in other fields like medicine, zoology, and biology.⁵ These scientists used their professional expertise to craft and implement research that is considered by many scholars today as early American anthropology.

Three theories dominated the thoughts of nineteenth and twentieth century American anthropologists: essentialism, evolutionary essentialism, and biological

³ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 13-14.

⁴ Adam Dewbury. “The American School and Scientific Racism in Early American Anthropology,” *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 3 (2007): 121-147.

⁵ Dewbury, “The American School and Scientific Racism,” 121.

determinism.⁶ Essentialism is “the idea that everything in nature was a derivation of an ideal form or essence, that existed outside of and unaffected by the material world.”⁷ In 1758, Linneaus described five subspecies of humans in *Systemae Naturae*. He included listings for each racial type with morphological and behavioral characteristics.

“Essentialism (and the natural history context to which it applied) rendered thinking about race very similar to thinking about biological species.”⁸ Based on this rationale, every organism in nature could be distinguished by distinct characters that deviate from an essential, unchanging type.⁹ From these ideas, polygenism became a prevalent idea in American and French anthropologist thought.

Polygenism is “the idea that human racial variation could be explained as the result of separate creation.”¹⁰ Many proponents of this theory believed in a separation of species. The human species, according to this theory, could be divided into distinct types based along racial lines using features of the human body and characteristics of the mind.¹¹ The idea that the races had separate origins was not a new idea in the nineteenth century. Thomas Jefferson noted believed Africans and Native Americans were of a separate origin than Europeans because each group was so different in physical

⁶ Rachel Caspiri, “A Century of Race, Physical Anthropology, and the American Anthropological Association,” *American Anthropologist* 105:1 (2003): 65.

⁷ Dewbury, “The American School and Scientific Racism,”123.

⁸ Caspari, “A Century of Race,” 67.

⁹ Dewbury, “The American School and Scientific Racism,”123.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

appearance, civilization, and intelligence.¹² Several polygenist theorists in the nineteenth century formed the American School which believed in biologically-determined inferiority. Samuel George Morton, Louis Agassiz, and Josiah Nott were European-trained physicians who played key roles in the American School and the scientific community. The work of the American School and these three scholars supported the institution of slavery and the racism of nineteenth-century America. Well-respected professionals in the field of medicine, these three men used their position within the scientific communities to instill their own subjective bias into science and provide a scientific rationale for the enslavement of Africans.¹³

Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, published in *The Origin of Species*, changed the way scientists viewed the origins of the human species but a form of polygenism still remained in American anthropological thought. Evolutionary scientists still maintained an essentialist perspective and continued to conceptualize racial types as discrete groups deriving from separate evolutionary histories, occurring at different rates. Tree models were used to diagram the relationships between species. Relationships between human races were also expressed as "branches" from a tree, each with a separate essence. These tree branches represented clades, or monophyletic groups.¹⁴ "A monophyletic group includes an ancestral taxon and all its descendants."¹⁵ However,

¹² Thomas Gossett. *Race: The History of an Idea in America*. (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963), 42-45.

¹³ Dewbury, "The American School and Scientific Racism," 121.

¹⁴ Caspiri, "A Century of Race," 67.

¹⁵ Ibid.

racess are not actually monophyletic groups so it is not appropriate to classify races as clades by today's understanding of the term.¹⁶

Professionalization of American Anthropology

By the early twentieth century, relationships between museums and anthropologists strengthened as paths interlaid and crossed between the two professionalizing fields. Many practicing anthropologists were also museum curators and considered professionals in Native American culture and skeletal studies involving race. Anthropologists used their positions in museums to increase public knowledge of anthropologic research and influenced public opinion on ideas like scientific racism.

Franz Boas, often considered the father of American anthropology, sold human skeletons for "five dollars a skull and twenty dollars for each complete skeleton."¹⁷ Though Boas participated in racial comparative anatomy studies, his position regarding racial typologies was different than many of his peers. Boas believed that race was malleable and no one individual could fit perfectly into a racial type because of the factors that affect race. Biology, culture, and the environment all play a part in determining an individual's "race."¹⁸ Boas contributed to the metric analysis of humans and noted that there was variation among racial types and between racial types.¹⁹ Boas noted that cranial capacity and overall cranial structure varied within the "races" in his

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 46.

¹⁸ Gossett, *Race*, 418-423.

¹⁹ Caspari, "A Century of Race," 69.

studies so using a set cranial capacity or set features would not necessarily accurately classify individuals into racial types.²⁰ By the turn of the twentieth century, Boas was more interested in the environmental (and cultural) effects on biology than the effects of biology on culture.²¹

Before 1925, only six Ph.D.'s had been awarded in physical anthropology in the United States. Many "anthropologists" of the early twentieth century were still practicing professionals from other fields, such as eugenics. Eugenicists believed that Darwin's concept of natural selection (selectively breeding to make sure the best genes are passed to future generations while eliminating the reproduction of genetic diseases or other traits that were deemed "lesser" to pass on) could be applied "to achieve a biological improvement of man."²² Eugenicists, like the Galton Society which focused on the study of race in anthropology, were a threat to the discipline of anthropology in the eyes of the American Anthropological Society (AAA). There was a need for physical anthropology to be a trained subdiscipline within the field of anthropology to help professionalize the field. However, the pressure to include eugenicists and racialize anthropology was immense from the government and major funding sources. Some of the members of the eugenics groups were heads of institutions that provided major funding sources.

²⁰ Jackson and Depew, *Darwinism, Democracy, and Race*, 49-50.

²¹ Caspari, "A Century of Race," 69.

²² Ernst Mayr, *The Growth of Biological Thought: Diversity, Evolution, and Inheritance*. (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press: 1982), 623.

Anthropologists responded by focusing their research and studies on physical anthropology, placing the race concept at the focus point.²³

Earnest Hooton, a professor at Harvard, led the professionalization of physical anthropology. He was responsible for “training virtually an entire academic field.”²⁴ Hooton was an essentialist and polygenist but he believed that the complexity of human variation was a result of pure racial groups interbreeding to form hybrid groups that continued to interbreed and form additional hybrid groups from the preexisting ones. Hooton was a paradox because even though his racial studies reflected essentialism he partnered with Boas later in his career and worked toward an antiracist anthropology. Hooton and Boas worked together to push an antiracist campaign but recognized the difficulty to organize anthropology against racism.²⁵ By the 1960’s, anthropologists had largely rejected the race concept. This evolution of the race concept and its diminishment in anthropology research can be attributed to advancements in biology, such as a better understanding of population genetics.²⁶

Anthropometry and Craniometrics

In the mid-nineteenth century, Samuel Morton introduced a method of metrically analyzing the cranium called craniometrics. Though he was not the first to take measurements of the skull, he was the first to meticulously record and thoroughly analyze

²³ Caspari, “A Century of Race,” 69-70.

²⁴ Caspari, “A Century of Race,” 70.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Caspari, “A Century of Race,” 71.

his data to better understand human racial anatomy. By 1849 Morton had amassed a private collection of skulls from eight hundred individuals, which he used in his metric studies. His collection varied in age, completeness, origin, and taphonomic characteristics. Some of the skulls in Morton's collection had experienced prolonged elemental exposure, weathering, or were stained in color from soils from the Earth. Each skull was carefully measured and placed on a shelf for preservation. Morton believed that intelligence was dependent on the size and shape of the skull. Therefore, each race could be ranked into a hierarchy based on intelligence because each race demonstrated different cranial measurements.²⁷

After taking cranial measurements and measuring the cranial capacities of the crania collection, Morton published his data and conclusions in *Crania Americana* in 1839. This widely read book contained detailed illustrations of the crania and a detailed discussion on the implications of his data for racial comparative anatomy studies. Morton divided humankind into twenty-two families and five races. Each race shared traits that are listed in the table below. Morton used the differences in physical traits to organize the races into a hierarchy. He took detailed measurements and was meticulous in his documentation. He described the Caucasian race as distinguishable “for the facility with which it attains the highest intellectual endowments” while he described the Negro race with intellectual character “of which the far extreme is the lowest grade of humanity.”²⁸ Table 1.0 provides a summary of Morton's five races, twenty-two families

²⁷ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 24.

²⁸ Samuel G Morton, *Crania Americana, or, A comparative view of the skulls of various aboriginal nations of North and South America: to which is prefixed an essay on the variety of the human species...*, 5 (Philadelphia: John Pennington, 1839).

and the distinguishing morphological characteristics among each race. Morton described in extensive detail the distinctions between each family within the five races. His work is accompanied by illustrations of different crania used in his studies. Figure 1.0 and Figure 1.1 are a few examples of the illustrations found in *Crania Americana*. His illustrations and meticulous measurements provided a sort of reference material for practicing anthropologists, medical professionals, and museum professionals and laid the foundations for comparative skeletal anatomy. Many anthropologists would use his measurements to perform their own studies on crania from around the world and further the field of biological anthropology.

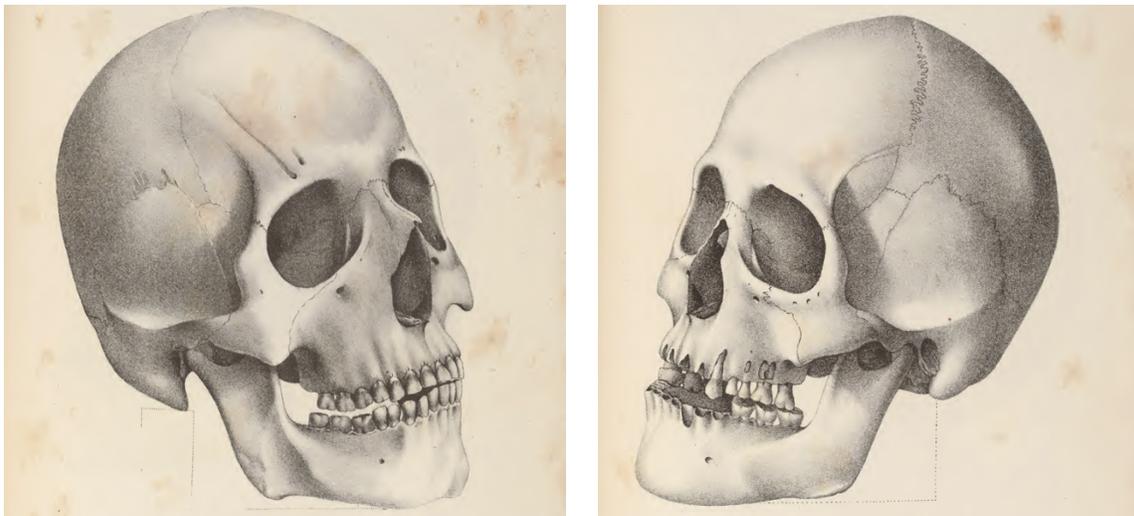


Figure 1.0 and Figure 1.1: (Top) Drawn illustration of Osage. (Bottom) Drawn illustration of Chinook of Columbia River.

Source: Images adapted from Samuel G Morton, *Crania Americana, or, A comparative view of the skulls of various aboriginal nations of North and South America: to which is prefixed an essay on the variety of the human species*. (Philadelphia: John Pennington, 1839), 409 & 411.

Morton laid the foundation for biological anthropologists to further study the implications of craniometrics in comparative racial anatomy. It is important to understand the history behind craniometrics to understand how current anthropologists use these

methods to distinguish ancestral origin in current populations of people. Though Morton used the term “race,” anthropologists now acknowledge that “race” used as a term in this way is not an accurate description of what they really mean. Race, in biological terms, simply defined means subspecies. Scientists have found that *Homo sapiens* do not share enough genetic differences between populations to be broken into subspecies or “races.” We are more genetically different among people of our own “race” than we are from people outside of our “race.”²⁹ Based on previous anthropological studies, the variation between different racial groups is 6%, while the variation within racial groups is 94%.³⁰

Anthropologists now use craniometrics and morphological traits in estimating ancestral origin (i.e. race) of individuals using statistical analyses and the results of existing studies and literature. With existing technology, anthropologists use the measurements entering them into a statistical analysis program to estimate an individual’s ancestral origin. For example, FORDISC interprets data using a multivariate discriminant function analysis. A discriminant function analysis uses the measurement data in discriminant function equations and assesses where that data falls in relation to data contained within the reference samples.³¹ FORDISC uses a reference sample of information from the Forensic Anthropology Data Bank (FDB), which is a collection of data on individuals from both sexes and a diverse range of age and ancestral groups that

²⁹ Kennedy, “But Professor, Why Teach Race,” 797-800.

³⁰ John Relethford. “Cranio-metric Variation Among Modern Human Populations,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 95 (1994): 53-62.

³¹ Stephen Ousley, Richard Jantz, and Donna Freid. “Understanding Race and Human Variation: Why Forensic Anthropologists are Good at Identifying Race,” *American Journal of Forensic Anthropology* 139 (2009): 68-79.

is input by practicing anthropologists around the country.³² Typically, anthropologists use craniometrics landmarks to take measurements precisely and accurately. These landmarks are illustrated in Figures 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4. The landmarks are used as a guide.

Anthropologists take measurements between certain landmarks to gather data on feature lengths and breadths including orbit length, and cranial breadth.

Anthroscopy and Morphological Features

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, many of the traits used to categorize individuals into racial groups were based on phenotypic traits like skin color, hair color and texture, or eye color. These traits are a result of selective force pressures and clinal patterns that can be mapped out geographically, like in Figure 1.5. Populations with ancestral origins near the equator tend to have a darker skin tone because these populations needed more melanin production to protect them against the more direct exposure to the sun.³³ Because the traditional phenotypic traits used in racial separation are a result of environmental factors and not biological variation, anthropologists do not use these traits as indicators of race. Instead, anthropologists rely on a combination of the metric analysis discussed above and the morphological features of different ancestral groups.

³² Stephen Ousley and Richard Jantz. “The Forensic Data Bank: Documenting Skeletal Trends in the United States,” *Forensic Osteology: Advances in the Identification of Human Remains* 2 (1998).
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/290792290_The_forensic_data_bank_Documenting_skeletal_trends_in_the_United_States (accessed October 27, 2018).

³³ Charles Brace. “Region Does Not Mean ‘Race’ – Reality Versus Convention in Forensic Anthropology,” *Journal of Forensic Science* 40 (1995): 171-175.

Table 1.0: Table of Morton's five races of humankind with corresponding characteristics and family name

Race and Family	Characteristics
The Caucasian Race	
<i>The Caucasian family</i>	- Naturally fair skin
<i>The Germanic family</i>	- Fine hair
<i>The Celtic family</i>	- Large and oval skull with anterior portion full and elevated
<i>The Arabian family</i>	- Small, oval face with well-proportional features
<i>The Libyan family</i>	- Arched nasal bones
<i>The Nilotic family</i>	- Full chin and vertical teeth
<i>The Indostanic family</i>	
The Mongolian Race	
	- Sallow or olive colored skin
	- Skin drawn rightly over the bones of the face
<i>The Mongol-Tartar family</i>	- Long, black, straight hair and thin beard
<i>The Turkish family</i>	- Broad and short nose
<i>The Chinese family</i>	- Small, black and obliquely placed eyes
<i>The Indo-Chinese family</i>	- Arched and linear eye-brows with turned lips
<i>The Polar family</i>	- Broad and flat cheek bones and silent zygomatic arches
	- Oblong-oval skull that is somewhat flattened on the sides
The Malay Race	
	- Dark complexion with black, coarse and lank hair
	- Obliquely upwards at outer angles eye-lids
	- Large mouth and lips
<i>The Malay family</i>	- Short broad nose with flat and expanded face
<i>The Polynesian family</i>	- Projecting upper jaw and salient teeth
	- High-square or rounded skull
The American Race	
	- Brown complexion
	- Long, black, lank hair and deficient beard
	- Black and deep set eyes
<i>The American family</i>	- Low brown and high cheek bones
<i>The Toltec family</i>	- Large and aquiline nose with tumid and compressed lips
	- Large mouth and small skull
The Ethiopian Race	
	- Black complexion
<i>The Negro family</i>	- Black, wooly hair
<i>The Caffarian family</i>	- Large and prominent eyes
<i>The Hottentot family</i>	- Broad and flat nose with prominent cheek bones
<i>The Oceanic-Negro family</i>	- Thick lips and wide mouth
<i>The Australian family</i>	- Long and narrow head with a low forehead
<i>The Alforian family</i>	- Projecting jaw and small chin

Source: Information adapted from Samuel G Morton, *Crania Americana*.

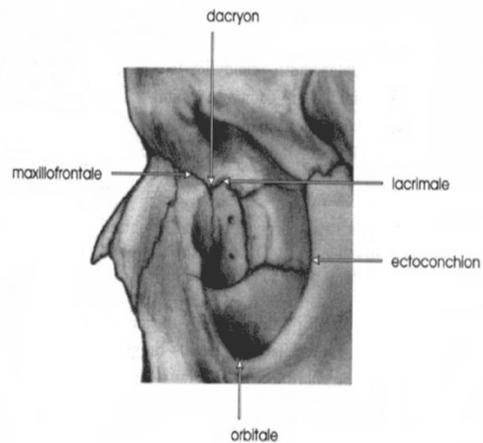
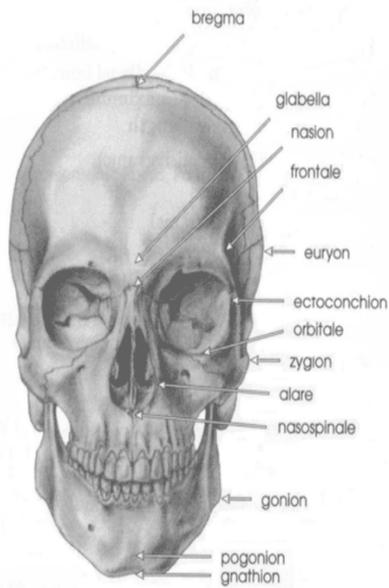
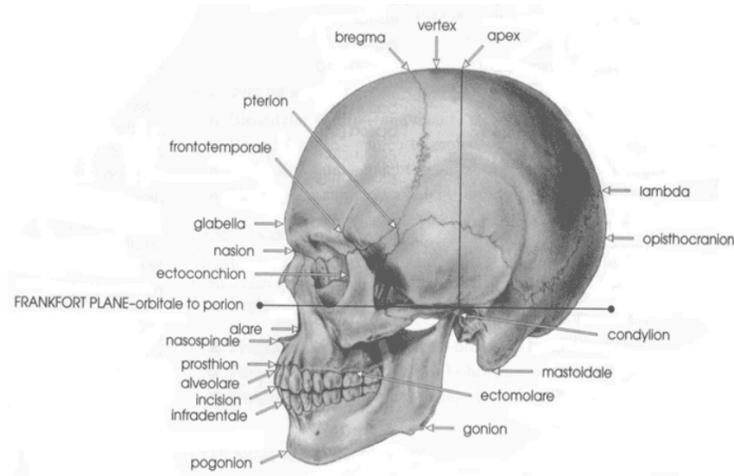


Figure 1.2 (top), Figure 1.3 (bottom left) and Figure 1.4 (bottom right): Craniometric landmarks of the cranium and mandible used by anthropologists to reference in making measurements that can then be statistically analyzed to determine ancestry of unknown individuals.

Source: Forensic MD, "Anthropologic Landmarks of the Skull Measurements and Indices," <https://forensicmd.files.wordpress.com/2010/05/anthropologic-landmarks-skull.pdf> (accessed February 17, 2019).

Morphological features used by anthropologists to estimate ancestral origin can vary based on the preference of the anthropologist and the condition of the individual's skeleton. Common features used to distinguish between ancestral groups are summarized in Table 1.1. There is no known trait “found exclusively in one population.”³⁴ Anthropologists can study the frequency in the expression of single traits and analyze them within a statistical framework to identify patterns, if any, emerge to make an accurate and valid assessment.³⁵ There are more ancestral groups not represented or underrepresented in the anthropology literature because of the limited skeletal remains to study and compile precise and accurate data. For example, Hispanic populations can be more difficult to distinguish because of the admixture of traits. Many Hispanic groups may trace their ancestral origins to Europeans, Africans, or Native Americans. This makes it difficult to use the same morphological traits and craniometric distinctions to estimate the ancestry of an unknown individual who is Hispanic.

Table 1.1: Common Morphological Traits associated with Determining Ancestral Origin. (Note that this table does not represent all morphological traits associated with determining ancestry. It provides examples of some common traits used by some anthropologists)

Morphological Traits	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anterior nasal spine • Inferior nasal aperture • Malar tubercle • Interorbital breadth • Nasal aperture width 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nasal overgrowth • Supranasal suture • Postbregmatic depression • Transverse palatine suture • Zygomaticomaxillary suture • Nasal bone contour

Source: Table adapted from Hefner and Ousley, “Morphoscopic Traits,” 296.

³⁴ Joseph Hefner and Stephen Ousley, “Morphoscopic Traits and the Assessment of Ancestry,” in *A companion to Forensic Anthropology*, edited by Dennis Dirkmaat (Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2012), 297.

³⁵ Ibid.

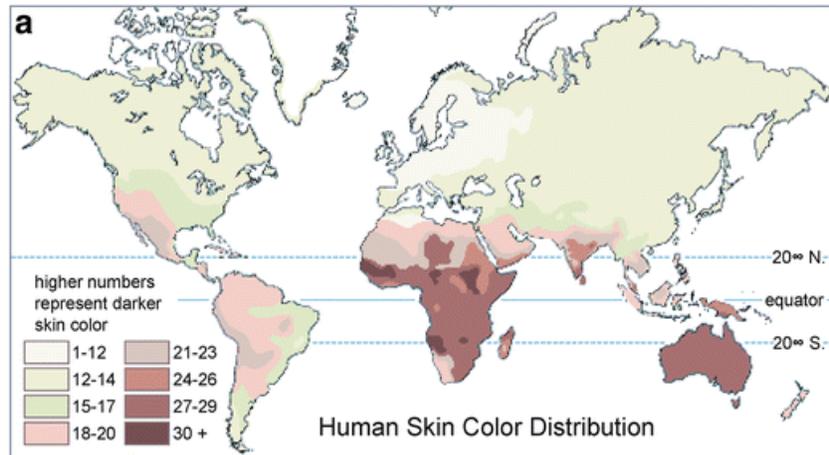


Figure 1.5: Skin color variations from clinal patterns mapped out geographically across the world. This image demonstrates that skin color reflects how closely an individual’s ancestor lived near the equator. *Source:* Image adapted from: Lian Deng and Shuhua Xu. “Adaptation of human skin color in various populations,” *Hereditas* 155 (2018).

The Rise of Museums and their Role in Dispersing Anthropology Research to the American Public

From the Elite to the Commoner

Humans have collected items and objects throughout history. Cabinets of curiosity were common in Europe by the eighteenth century. The elite collected objects from their travels or purchased exotic items and displayed them within their homes in large cabinets for visitors. The cabinets of curiosity were the first “museums.” Though cabinets of curiosity were private and not open to the public in the same way museums are today, the structure of display and interest in seeing the “unique and different” laid the foundations for museums in the future.

In the United States, museums rose in the nineteenth century as public places to see the strange and exotic. Visitors were attracted to museums to see displays filled with

taxidermy exotic animals, objects and items of “savages”³⁶, mummies from the Southwest, and human remains exhibiting pathologies and anomalies. While visitors roamed the exhibitions, and learned about the latest scientific research, anthropologists and other scientists worked behind the scenes conducting studies that would have a significant impact on race relations in the United States. The relationships that developed between museums and anthropologists in the nineteenth and twentieth century would significantly affect the way the public viewed museums and anthropology as professional fields and specialists in history.

American Museums and Mass Collecting

Initially started in 1862 to collect examples of battlefield wounds and pathology, the Army Medical Museum (AMM) began a long campaign for collecting human remains that would incite a frenzy in the American museum world for the next century. The AMM museum was divided into sections one of which included an anatomical section. The anatomical section focused on “normal” human skeletal material. After the Civil War, the anatomical section mainly focused on human crania and comparative racial anatomy. Skeletal remains from Native Americans, Europeans, Africans, Oceanic peoples, and Asians could be found within this collection. Most the collection emphasized Native Americans. The white individuals in the collections were often acquired from populations of criminals, the destitute, and the unclaimed.

³⁶ Referencing the derogatory terminology used in the 19th century to describe Native Americans.

Most of the collection of Native American individuals and Civil War casualties were collected by medical officers in the United States Army. During the Civil War, the surgeon general instructed the medical officers “to collect materials of ‘morbidity anatomy, surgical and foreign bodies removed, and such other matters as may prove interest in the study of military medicine and surgery.’”³⁷ The surgeon general then asked the medical officers to make sure to include an explanatory note with the individuals. By 1867, the surgeon general further instructed the medical officers to begin collecting Native American crania, weapons, implements, dress, diet and medicines. The collection was to be used to further anthropological science through cranial measurements so the more crania, the more accurate the average of the measurements. Soon military personnel from within the United States and stationed around the world began sending crania from different populations encountered in their travels.³⁸ Some of the documentation accompanying the crania contained descriptive and disturbing details. Many stories contained details of the person feeling excitement or danger at the thought of grave robbing. “Gathering bones, as some people described it, was a nearly unparalleled adrenaline rush.”³⁹ One medical officer recounts stealing the skull of a young Native girl whose teeth he found remarkably beautiful. In his account, he details stealing the skull in front of the Natives and describes that he “had a lively adventure with it” and “perhaps partly on that account” he held on to it “as a trophy.”⁴⁰

³⁷ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 28.

³⁸ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 28-29.

³⁹ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 29.

⁴⁰ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 33.

Medical officers took advantage of any opportunity they could to collect human remains even to go so far as to take the remains of an African American infant that “the American Medical Museums considered especially important.”⁴¹ In a memoir of William Henry Corbusier, an army surgeon, he describes an account where he supervised the displacement of fourteen hundred Native Americans from the Rio-Verde Agency over one hundred and fifty miles of rough terrain. A group of the Native Americans turned on the military officers and were fired upon. Of the Native Americans involved, four were killed and Corbusier accounts that before burying the individuals he “disinterred the heads and sent the skulls to the Army Medical Museum.”⁴²

Soon other museums began participating in the collecting of human remains. Museum professionals and anthropologists competed to gather large collections. At the Smithsonian, William Henry Holmes took over the newly formed Department of Anthropology and amassing a collection for the Smithsonian. He visited the Army Medical Museum and noticed that much of the large collection of human remains sat untouched and unstudied in storage rooms. He put forth a proposal to acquire the museum’s collection of human remains. By acquiring this extensive collection, the Smithsonian could establish a Division of Physical Anthropology. Approximately 3,761 human remains were transferred to the Smithsonian from the AMM. Many of these individuals were only represented by a cranium (80% of the total).⁴³

⁴¹ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 30.

⁴² Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 32.

⁴³ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 34-35.

Museums concerned with anthropology and racial anatomy made it a priority to collect human skeletal remains and mummies to build massive collections. The AMM began a craze that lasted into the twentieth century and transformed the way we view racism in the United States. Collections of human remains were found in museums, universities, and private collections throughout the United States in museums. The research and exhibitions that developed from analyzing human remains transformed both academic and public discourse on scientific racism and the variation of *Homo sapiens*.

The Role of World's Fairs and Expositions

Displays at world fairs and expositions included both human remains and live humans. Anthropologists and museums enticed natives to participate in these displays and cast them as savage and primitive for other visitors to see. Often, the natives would get sick from European diseases. Their living conditions were poor. The World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 saw one hundred collections from around the world on display. The anthropological exhibits were mainly from the director of the Peabody Museum at Harvard, Frederic Putnam, and Franz Boas. Many of the anthropological exhibits were focused on "race as the central lens for understanding humanity."⁴⁴

At the fairs, anthropologists also took measurements of live people to contribute to their racial studies. For example, Boas was hired for the Columbian Exposition to take anthropometric data while attending to the exhibitions. Boas was dissatisfied with the variation in existing collections of human remains so he sought opportunities to study living people. At the exposition, Boas took measurements of living Native Americans of

⁴⁴ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 45.

full-blood and half-blood. Boas was interested in studying mixed races.⁴⁵ Mummies on display were also a popular commodity. Exhibitors even pulled away the cloth covering the mummies' flesh to expose the remains to visitors. Additionally, models of the cliff dwellings where the mummies were excavated were displayed alongside the mummies providing a truly remarkable experience for people who had never been to the American Southwest.⁴⁶ Many people visiting the world's fairs were exposed to anthropologic research and displays of scientific racism that strengthened the influence of anthropologists and museums on public discourse and knowledge.

Museum Exhibitions and the Public

The public was enthralled by the mystery, dramatics, uniqueness, and violence of American history. Museums used displays of human remains, both skeletal and mummified, to lure visitors to come into their doors. People were fascinated with the human body. More than pure fascination, the public was engrossed with the history of the Americas and the strange Natives of the lands. The public wanted to see Native American culture on display. They wanted to witness mummies in the flesh and see exhibitions that highlighted the different racial groups around the world.

The mummies of the American Southwest were a sensation. Americans were familiar with the mummies of Egypt, so discovering mummies on American soil generated intense interest. Many people fantasized about unknown civilizations in the American West that ended up mummified in the cliff dwellings. The grand structures of

⁴⁵ Tracy Teslow. *Constructing Race: The Science of Bodies and Cultures in American Anthropology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 49.

⁴⁶ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 46-50.

the cliff dwellings were credited to exotic unknown groups of people from the past instead of Native Americans. Many scientists believed that Native Americans incapable of constructing the cliff dwellings because of their racial inferiority. Anthropologists and the public wanted to know more about these strange mummified people. Who were they? How did they get here? Where do they fit in American history?⁴⁷

The media began reporting on these archaeological discoveries and publicizing them. The publicity inadvertently increased the amount of looting taking place by amateurs and tourists. The public was hooked. However, it museums were not alone in displaying mummified remains. Places like stores and private residences also displayed remains when they were discovered by locals. For example, a Forest Service employee discovered a mummified body in Arizona, which was then sent to a nearby town where it was displayed in drug store window so the public could see it before being shipped to a museum.⁴⁸

Museums and anthropologists took advantage of this public fascination using it to drive their collecting and displaying of human remains in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Exhibitions in museums like the San Diego Museum of Man, the Field Museum, and the Mütter Museum provided visitors an opportunity to see human remains on display and learn about the current anthropologic research regarding race.

The Story of Man through the Ages originally exhibited at the Panama-California World Exposition in 1915 (later displayed at San Diego's Museum of Man) was an exhibit hall that included human remains and artistic works portraying racial

⁴⁷ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 38-39.

⁴⁸ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 42-43.

classifications to complement the science (see Figure 1. 6 for image of exhibition). This exhibit brought together ideas on race, prehistory, and evolution in the display. Starting with a “primitive” version of humankind and progressing to the “civilized” white man, the artistic representation of the different types of humans as well as their ancestors were dramatic and eye-catching to the public. It emphasized the racial differences between humans based on cranial features and phenotypic characteristics. “Visitors learned that racial types had evolved over time from distant common ancestors.”⁴⁹

The Hall of Races of Mankind at Chicago’s Field Museum was arranged by race and geography (see Figure 1. 7 for image of exhibition). This exhibition along with *The Hall of Prehistoric Man* opened in 1933 for the Century of Progress Fair. The evidence provided to support the separation of humankind into races came from the measurements done on living humans and the study of human remains. This exhibit displayed bronze sculptures featuring different racial groups. Malvina Hoffman, the artist, was instructed to travel around the world and create life-like busts of various “racial groups” to be represented in the exhibit. It had beautiful aesthetics that attracted visitors from all over and was a largely successful exhibit with a clear message that made it easy for visitors to understand.⁵⁰ In the first year, the exhibition had over three million visitors. The exhibition highlighted one hundred types of humans and was structured so that visitors walked through the story of mankind. Each bust had a label that indicated the race or mix of races (Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid were considered the three pure races that

⁴⁹ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 172-173.

⁵⁰ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 239-240.

made up in some combination the one hundred types of groups represented in the exhibit).⁵¹

The Mütter Museum opened just after the AMM in 1863 as a fellow medical museum. The museum displays featured pathological specimens with the intention of being an institution for medical education. An infamous collection at the museum, the Hyrtl Collection, contained one hundred and thirty-nine complete skulls with detailed information about race and provenance (See Figure 1.8 for image of collection). Hyrtl was unique in that he aimed to show the variation of cranial features within racial groups instead of between racial groups. Though the museum was not as actively involved in displaying large exhibits intent on emphasizing scientific racism, the museum did display skulls of various “racial groups” labeled for visitors to see the racial differences between crania. Interestingly, the Hyrtl Collection is still on display today to show visitors that human variation within “racial groups” is significant, disproving racial theories of the nineteenth and twentieth century.⁵²

The Influence of Laws and Regulations on Anthropology and Museums in the United States

The American Antiquities Act

The American Antiquities Act was passed in 1906 in an effort to protect American history being destroyed by looters. By the early twentieth century, many scientists recognized the importance of burial grounds and archaeological sites as places

⁵¹ Teslow, *Constructing Race*, 50-51.

⁵² Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 138-149.

to gather more knowledge for science. Scientists wanted to protect the sites from looting so that professionals could properly document and preserve our history. Archaeological sites in the American West were particularly vulnerable to looting. Many anthropologists noted the destruction of sites and the haphazard disarray of burial grounds. Human remains were sprawled out on the surface and exposed to the elements. Some remains were extremely fragile and crumbled to dust upon investigation.⁵³ According to one account, “the bones, mummified flesh, and burial goods, naturally preserved over many centuries, now faced haphazard theft and abusive destruction.”⁵⁴



Figure 1.6: *The Story of Man through the Ages* Exhibition.

Source: Image adapted from Redman, *Bone Rooms*. Copyright ©San Diego Museum of Man.

⁵³ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 83-84.

⁵⁴ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 22.



Figure 1.7: *The Hall of Races of Mankind* Exhibition at the Chicago Field Museum
Source: “Looking at Ourselves: Rethinking the Sculpture of Malvina Hoffman,” *The Field*, <https://www.fieldmuseum.org/at-the-field/exhibitions/looking-ourselves-rethinking-sculptures-malvina-hoffman> (accessed January 11, 2019).



Figure 1.8: Hyrtl Collection Exhibition at the Mütter Museum
Source: “Exhibitions: Hyrtl Skull Collection,” *The Mütter Museum*, <http://muttermuseum.org/exhibitions/hyrtl-skull-collection/> (accessed January 11, 2019).

The Act had a significant impact on both anthropologists and museums around the United States. Museums became repositories for human remains and their collections began to grow at exponential rates. By the time the Antiquities Act was signed into

legislation by President Theodore Roosevelt, many archaeological sites in the American Southwest had already been looted by relic hunters, amateur archaeologists, and tourists. With the illicit looting of antiquities and human remains came a market for trading. Museums, private collectors, anthropologists, educators, and medical professionals participated in the trading and selling of Native American objects and human remains.⁵⁵

The Antiquities Act “obligates federal agencies that manage the public lands to preserve for present and future generations the historic, scientific, commemorative, and cultural values of the archaeological and historical sites and structures on these lands.”⁵⁶ This law also allows the president to protect certain landmarks, structures, and objects by designating them as National Monuments. The Antiquities Act provided a means to protect and preserve sites of national importance and scientific significance so that archaeological sites would be safe from the massive looting of the nineteenth and twentieth century.⁵⁷ It marked an important step in acknowledging the importance of anthropology and the role museums would play in preserving, educating, and displaying American history.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)

In November of 1990, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed into legislation by the federal government. This law marked

⁵⁵ Redman, *Bone Rooms*, 84-87.

⁵⁶ “American Antiquities Act of 1906,” National Park Service. <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/legal/american-antiquities-act-of-1906.htm> (accessed on January 8, 2019).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

great change for American anthropology and museums. NAGPRA provides protection for Native American sacred objects, human remains, funerary items, and items of cultural patrimony held by federal institutions or institutions receiving federal funding and protection to all potential excavation sites on public or federal land containing Native American materials. Federally recognized Native American tribes, Native Hawaiian organizations, and lineal descendants are provided a right to request the return (or repatriation) of human remains and objects protected under the law. If the tribe or organization has a cultural affiliation to the remains or object(s) then the tribe or organization can make a claim to have the remains or object(s) returned to them.⁵⁸ Native American tribes, Native Hawaiian organizations, and lineal descendants form the “who” that are provided repatriation, control, and ownership rights under this law. A Native American tribe is defined as “any tribe, band, nation, or other organized group or community of Indians...which is recognized as eligible for the special programs and services provided by the United States...because of their status as Indians.”⁵⁹ A lineal descendant is an individual or family of a deceased Native individual who can trace a direct line of descent. Lastly, a Native Hawaiian organization can be defined as an organization that serves and represents the interests of Native Hawaiians, has expertise in Native Hawaiian affairs, and has a primary purpose of providing services to Native Hawaiians.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Jack Trope. “The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act” in *Mending the Circle: A Native American Repatriation Guide*, ed. Barbara Meister (New York, New York: American Indian Ritual Object Repatriation Foundation, 1996), 9-44.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

The “what” protected under the law includes human remains, sacred objects, funerary objects, and objects of cultural patrimony. Sacred objects include objects that are ceremonial in nature and are needed in present day Native American religious practices. The ceremonial need for the objects is determined by practicing Native American religious leadership. Funerary objects can be divided into two groups: associated and unassociated. An associated funerary object is an object with a direct association to an individual burial, family, or burial site that is believed to have been placed within the burial at time of death or later as part of the ceremony. A funerary object can only be associated if a federal institution also has possession of the human remains with which the object was buried. This means that an object at one museum can still be associated with human remains contained within the collection of a different museum. An unassociated funerary object is also an object with direct association to a burial or burial site but the associated human remains are no longer in possession of the institution. Objects of cultural patrimony are not as specifically defined. These objects can include anything with ongoing historical, cultural, or traditional importance to a Native American group or culture. An object of cultural patrimony *cannot* be claimed by a lineal descendant because the object is considered to hold significant importance only when related to a group.⁶¹

Understanding who and what are covered by NAGPRA law is essential in understanding the law. Additionally, understanding how the law works in practice is key in understanding the ongoing challenges of repatriation and the tension in relationships

⁶¹ Ibid.

between museums, anthropologists, and Native Americans that have developed as a result. Museums must be in compliance with NAGPRA or face the possibility of civil penalties from the Secretary of Interior. A museum may also have a law suit filed against the institution by a tribe, Native Hawaiian organization or individual with protected rights under NAGPRA to force compliance if a violation of the law has taken place.⁶² To be in compliance, a museum must complete an inventory of human remains and associated funerary objects, and a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and items of cultural patrimony.

The inventory of human remains and associated funerary objects is an item-by-item and must “identify the geographical origin and cultural affiliation of each item; it must also provide information about how and when the item was acquired by the museum.”⁶³ Throughout the inventory process, the museum must provide notice of the culturally affiliated objects identified to the culturally affiliated tribes. Once the entire inventory is complete, the museum must file a final notice of completion within six months. The notice does four important things: identifies each human remains and the associated funerary object (if available), lists how, where and when the human remains and object were acquired, provides a list of the remains and objects that can be clearly affiliated with a particular tribe and provides a list of the remains and objects that cannot be clearly affiliated but have been affiliated by the museum professional because of other information available with the accession record. In addition to a notice of human remains

⁶² “NAGPRA Compliance,” Association of American Indian Affairs, <https://www.indian-affairs.org/nagpra-compliance.html> (accessed December 18-19, 2018).

⁶³ Trope, “The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act,” 11.

and associated funerary objects, a museum must also complete a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and items of cultural patrimony. The summary describes the collection, the kind of objects included, the geographical association, and the means and time of acquisition and cultural affiliation.⁶⁴

Repatriation of Native American remains, objects and items is divided into two categories: 1.) human remains and associated funerary objects and 2.) unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and items of cultural patrimony. Museums must return human remains and associated funerary objects as quickly as possible if a request is made from a direct descendent of the deceased or if a request is made from a tribe or Native Hawaiian organization that shares cultural affiliation with the remains and objects. Cultural affiliation can be determined by both a museum and a tribe or Native Hawaiian organization. The types of evidence that may be used to prove affiliation can include: kinship, geographical, biological, archaeological, linguistic, anthropological, folkloric, oral tradition, or historical. There are two exceptions when human remains and associated funerary objects can be delayed in return. The two exceptions include 1.) when the remains or objects are critical to the completion of specific scientific study (in this case the items museum be returned within 90 days of the completion of the study) and 2.) when more than one tribe, Native Hawaiian organization or descendent makes a claim for the remains and objects.⁶⁵ For the unassociated objects, sacred objects, and items of cultural patrimony, the repatriation process is divided into four steps listed in Table 1.2.

⁶⁴ Trope, “The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act,” 11 - 12.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Anthropologists and archaeologists are most affected by the procedures required under NAGPRA to excavate potential Native American archaeological sites containing human remains that reside on federal land or tribal land. Archaeologists seeking to excavate a burial site intentionally must obtain an Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) permit. The archaeologist may request the permit through their agency of employment. To qualify for the permit, the archaeologist must be qualified, the excavation must be designed to advance archaeological knowledge, and the resources found will remain property of the United States and receive proper preservation in an appropriate institution (i.e. museum). If the excavation site is on tribal land, the archaeologists must seek approval from the tribe to excavate on their land. On federal land, remains, objects or items discovered can only be removed after the appropriate tribe or Native Hawaiian organization has been notified and consulted.⁶⁶

Table 1.2: The steps involved in the repatriation process for unassociated objects, sacred objects, and items of cultural patrimony.

Step One	The item or object must be shown to be unassociated, sacred, or an item of cultural patrimony
Step Two	The item or object must be shown to be culturally affiliated or prior ownership and control must be established
Step Three	The tribe, organization, or descendent must show that the museum does not have right of possession over the item or object
Step Four	The museum may show that it does in fact have right of possession in this step. If it does not, the item or object must be returned

Source: Trope, “The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act,” 13-14.

⁶⁶ Trope, “The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act,” 15.

When an archaeological site is discovered inadvertently by activities like construction, mining, or agricultural work, the person who discovers the site must cease all activity and consult with the responsible federal agency or the appropriate tribe or Native Hawaiian organization. Activity at the site may continue thirty days after the appropriate group has received notice. For example, on federal land the Secretary of the appropriate federal department will be notified, while on tribal land the appropriate tribe will be notified.⁶⁷

To monitor and review the implementation of NAGPRA, a Review Committee is appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. The committee consists of seven members: three Native Americans appointed by the Secretary from nominations by the tribes, organizations, and religious leaders, three appointed from national museum and scientific organization nominations, and one person chosen from a list compiled by the other six members. The review committee monitors the inventory and identification process, assists in the cultural affiliation process and in resolving disputes, compiles an inventory of culturally unidentifiable human remains and makes recommendations of how to move forward in their disposition, consults with the Secretary of the Interior in regulation development, makes recommendations to future care of repatriated items, and provides an annual report to Congress.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Trope, “The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act,” 17.

Conclusion

Reviewing the history of mass collecting and the roles that anthropologists and museum professionals played in it is important in understanding why a law like NAGPRA was implemented to protect the cultural property and ancestors of Native Americans. NAGPRA and the Antiquities Act changed the way Native American culture was protected, collected, and exhibited to the public. The Antiquities Act protected sites and NAGPRA gave natives back the right to their property and ancestors.

Anthropologists and museum professionals moved away from typing individuals into strict racial categories by the end of World War I and beginning of World War II. This shift was a result of changing ideas in anthropology regarding human origins and environmental determinism that led to the disproof of strict racial typologies. By the late twentieth century, anthropologists, museum professionals, and Native Americans worked to pass NAGPRA and begin the long and challenging road of mending relationships through repatriation.

CHAPTER THREE

A Case Study - Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology

“The Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology is a new kind of museum that engages students, educators, scientists, and Native Americans in collaborative learning; actively cares for and makes accessible its significant collections; embraces Native American voices in all aspects of the museum’s operation; and cultivates a community of supporters from Andover and beyond.”

- Mission Statement for Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology

Institutional History

The Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology (RSPIA) was founded in 1901 by Robert Peabody, nephew to George Peabody (the founder of Harvard’s Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology). The institute has been involved in North American archaeology since its foundation and continues to be a great resource for education. The Peabody Institute acts as a learning lab for Phillips Academy, which is a private high school in Andover, Massachusetts.

During his lifetime, Robert Peabody amassed a collection of over 38,000 Native American artifacts. His vision for the RSPIA was “to foster an interest in archaeology and American Indians among the boys of his alma mater, to encourage research on his collections, and to provide social spaces for the academy’s students.”¹ He donated

¹ Nathan Hamilton and Eugene Winter Jr. “A Biographical History of the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology,” in *Glory, Trouble, and Renaissance at the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology*, ed. Malinda Blustain and Ryan Wheeler (Nebraska: University Nebraska Press: 2018), 4.

approximately \$440,000, an amount that would equal thirteen million dollars today, to have the museum built.

Robert Peabody's son, Charles Peabody, became the first director of the museum in 1901. Charles, like his father, engaged in field research and excavation work in the southeastern United States. Charles was active in the anthropology field and helped establish the American School in France for Prehistoric Studies.² He resigned as director in 1923 and retired to France but still maintained a relationship with the museum. His close friend and the first curator of the museum's collection, Warren Moorehead became the second director of the museum in 1924. Moorehead actively engaged in expeditions in the eastern United States and wrote numerous articles and books. He provided several collections of Native American artifacts to Robert S. Peabody in 1896 and assisted in teaching courses to Phillips Academy students until 1919. Moorehead's relationships with Native Americans is most notable. He was appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt to the Board of Indian Commissioners. While serving on the board, Moorehead acted as an advocate for Native Americans. His relationships with natives led to new acquisitions for the museum and a positive relationship between the museum and Native Americans that continues today.³

Though not the next director of the Robert S. Peabody, Alfred Kidder was one of the most well-known archaeologists associated with Robert S. Peabody and contributed to the expanding collection of the museum. Kidder is well-known by anthropologists for his work in Pecos, New Mexico and his contributions to the field and excavation

² Hamilton and Winter Jr., "A Biographical History," 5-16.

³ Ibid.

techniques that emphasized the importance of stratigraphy. He excavated at Pecos with funding and support from the RSPIA.⁴ The next two museum directors, Douglas Byers and Frederick Johnson, aided in asserting the museum's role as an educator to the public on archaeology. Byers was a strong supporter for the development of archaeological societies, which led to the museum hosting the first meeting for the Society for American Archaeology in 1935. Johnson continued this support and actively participated in archaeology societies and networks. Both Byers and Johnson felt it was essential to communicate with both professional archaeologists and amateur archaeologists alike. They advocated teaching amateur archaeologists proper methodologies for excavation and documentation.⁵

By 1929, the RSPIA had amassed over 78,000 specimens. With limited storage space, Moorehead received permission to deaccession items he deemed duplicates. Many of these objects were either sold, gifted, or traded to other institutions and collectors. The collection continued to grow, however, under Byers and Johnson. The scope of the collection continued to expand as well, encompassing archaeology of the Southwest, New England, and even Mesoamerica. In addition to expanding the collection, the Peabody spent the end of the twentieth century expanding their educational focus and connecting themselves more closely to Phillips Academy.⁶

With the passage of NAGPRA in 1990, RSPIA faced new challenges. James Bradley, the sixth director of the museum, was tasked with bringing the museum into

⁴ Hamilton and Winter Jr., "A Biographical History," 16-18.

⁵ Hamilton and Winters Jr., "A Biographical History," 18-22.

⁶ Hamilton and Winters Jr., "A Biographical History," 24-25.

compliance with NAGPRA. Bradley's approach to accomplishing this task is notable because he was able to form lasting relationships with many of the tribes he worked with. He consulted with over two hundred tribes in his repatriation efforts. Bradley was a part of the largest repatriation effort under NAGPRA returning human remains and objects to the people of the Pueblo of Jemez in New Mexico. Both the RSPIA and Harvard's Peabody were involved in this repatriation of remains and objects from Kidder's excavations of Pecos.⁷

In addition to bringing the RSPIA into NAGPRA compliance, Bradley sought to refocus the institute toward a new mission to educate the students of Phillips Academy by starting Pecos Pathways, a program focused on building relationships between Phillips Academy students and Native American youth in Jemez and Pecos Pueblo. Because of the extensive and detailed nature of the inventories that NAGPRA requires, the RSPIA's collection also went through a massive research and assessment process. The curator was tasked with bringing the collection up to proper curation standards and creating better access and management to the collection. The collection had grown to more than 500,000 objects.⁸

Survey Results

Table 1.3 contains the results of my initial survey to museum professionals in the United States. Marla Taylor, the Curator of Collections at the Robert S. Peabody Institute

⁷ Hamilton and Winters Jr., "A Biographical History," 30-32.

⁸ Hamilton and Winters Jr., "A Biographical History," 33.

of Archaeology completed the survey online. The results were gathered through Qualtrics, an online survey creator and data collector.

Table 1. 3: Survey Results for Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology as answered by Marla Taylor, Curator of Collections

Question:	Response:
How many years of experience do you have working in the museum profession?	10-20 years
What is your highest level of education?	Master's Degree
What is your academic area of study? Select all that apply.	Anthropology/Archaeology History Museum Studies
What department do you work in within your museum?	Collections
What is your job title?	Curator of Collections
What is the name of the museum you are employed at?	Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology
What type of focus does your museum have? Select all that apply.	Anthropology
What is the predominant race or ethnicity of the visitor audience at your museum? Please select only up to two answers.	American Indian or Alaska Native White
What is the predominant age range of the visitor audience at your museum? Select up to three answers.	Adolescents 13-17
Based on the following budget sizes, select the most appropriate for your museum.	\$100,000 - \$500,000
Based on the following criteria, select the most appropriate for your museum.	Museum that is governed by a college or university.
As part of a college or university, does your museum have a relationship with any departments on campus?	No, the museum does not have a relationship with any departments on campus.
Does your museum have human skeletal remains in its collection?	Yes
Does your museum's collection contain human remains that were accessioned between the years 1865 and 1990?	Yes
Does your museum contain human skeletal remains that are Native American or African American in ancestry?	Yes, Native American only.
Does your museum's collection contain human skeletal remains with an unclear provenance?	Yes

Question:	Response:
Are there any human skeletal remains in your museum's collection that are only represented by the skull of the individual?	Yes
Has your museum used human skeletal remains in an exhibition since 1990?	No
Has your museum ever received negative feedback about exhibitions involving the display of human skeletal remains?	N/A
Does your museum have a staff member in collections that has an academic background in anthropology?	Yes
What area of anthropology does the staff member(s) specialize in? You may select more than one answer.	Archaeology Bioarchaeology
Does your museum have educational programming relating to any of the subjects listed below? Select all that apply.	Anthropology/Archaeology Native American Culture/History
Does your museum participate in outreach programming in your community?	Yes
Does your museum contain materials or human skeletal remains that are governed by the Native American Graves Protection Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)?	Yes
Does your museum designate funding to work on NAGPRA cases in your collection?	Yes
Does your museum have a staff member in collections that works as a NAGPRA specialist?	No
Has your museum ever been involved in the repatriation of human skeletal remains under NAGPRA compliance?	Yes
Identify which steps your museum has completed in the Native American Graves Repatriation Act process.	Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
	Your museum has distributed the above summary to all potentially culturally affiliated Indian Tribes or Native Hawaiian Organizations.
	Your museum has created an inventory for human remains and associated funerary objects.
	Your museum has published a Notice of Inventory Completion.

*NAGPRA and Repatriation*⁹

Collections Involving Native American Remains & Objects

The RSPIA holds 600,000 artifacts, primarily Native American materials and remains. As noted earlier, the museum began collecting long before the passage of NAGPRA. After the passage of NAGPRA, the museum was faced with a new challenge: to be compliant with the law. The human remains contained in the collection are all of Native American descent. The museum collection also contains a large amount of other materials covered by NAGPRA. Many of the human remains lack proper documentation and provenience because of early archaeological excavation methods and the massive amount of grave robbing that took place in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Under NAGPRA, the museum must determine cultural affiliation if possible. However, the museum holds one hundred and twenty-four culturally unidentifiable human remains.¹⁰

NAGPRA within the Institute

The RSPIA has what Bradley describes as an “aggressive” approach to repatriation that has allowed them to be involved in the repatriation of many human remains and materials and to form meaningful relationships with tribes in the area. It is important to note that not all experiences have been positive ones and sometimes the relationships between the museum and a tribe are strained and filled with tension. The institution is committed to the repatriation of Native American materials, objects, and

⁹ The following sections are based on my phone interview with Marla Taylor and my research into the institution.

¹⁰ Marla Taylor, interview by author, October 8, 2018.

human remains. The museum has an annual five-thousand-dollar budget allotted to NAGPRA-related activities.¹¹ The consultation process can typically be divided into four stages. The first stage is usually difficult. Sometimes the tribe may demand everything be returned. It is up to RSPIA to explain how NAGPRA compliance works under federal law. Although the second stage may still be filled with frustration, greater understanding usually develops between RSPIA and the tribe. By the third stage, relationships form and a true understanding begins. The fourth stage focuses on the process of repatriation and finding the best solution for both parties involved.¹²

The RSPIA was involved in the largest single repatriation of materials and human remains since the implementation of NAGPRA in 1990. The museum has also been involved in other repatriation efforts. For example, the museum repatriated a mummified baby from Mesa Verde, New Mexico. The RSPIA collection's staff constructed a special case made that met TSA standards, allowing the baby to travel as a carry-on with the tribal representatives from the Pueblo of Acoma back to New Mexico. The RSPIA paid for the costs of the representative to visit the baby and consult as well as the cost for the baby and representatives to travel back home on the day of repatriation. Another example, a birch scroll from White Earth, Minnesota was returned to the White Earth Nation tribe in Minnesota by car. A tribal representative drove 24 hours after picking the scroll up from RSPIA. The scroll had been gifted to Warren Moorehead in the 1890s as a

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² James Bradley, "Negotiating NAGPRA: Rediscovering the Human Side of Science," in *Glory, Trouble, and Renaissance at the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology*, ed. Malinda Blustain and Ryan Wheeler (Nebraska: University Nebraska Press, 2018), 161-162.

thank you piece. During consultation, it was revealed that the scroll contained special information on an induction ceremony for the tribe, making it a sacred object. For this reason, the RSPIA returned the scroll to the tribe.¹³

Challenges of Repatriation

According to Taylor, the biggest challenge of repatriation process and NAGPRA compliance is that many of the human remains and materials lack proper documentation: where they came from, when, and how they were obtained by the collector. The collection at RSPIA also lacks collection inventories from the past making it difficult to identify NAGPRA-related materials. Additionally, meeting tribal requests regarding human remains and materials can be difficult. For example, some tribes may request the drawer that held the human remains be destroyed after the remains are returned to the tribe. This is difficult when the museum does not have enough funding to replace something the tribe requests be destroyed.¹⁴ However, the RSPIA strives to maintain good relationships with tribes, so meeting the requests of tribes helps build relationships between Native Americans and museums.

Education and Mission

Acting as a Learning Lab

The RSPIA acts as a learning lab for the private high school, Phillips Academy. It is the only active archaeology museum that is contained on the campus of a secondary

¹³ Marla Taylor, interview by author, October 8, 2018.

¹⁴ Marla Taylor, interview by author, October 8, 2018.

school, so it provides a unique opportunity for secondary students.¹⁵ The museum also serves teachers, scientists, and Native Americans in the community. The museum “employs collaborative learning to actively engage” its visitors and students.¹⁶ The faculty at Phillips Academy are not required to bring their students to RSPIA. However, many classes do use the museum as a learning lab and students are able to perform work duty at the museum as well. Work duty is a requirement that all students on campus (with the exception of ninth graders) to work for 45 minutes (a single class period) somewhere on campus once a week. This serves as their community service.¹⁷ Work duty allows 25 students each term to fulfill their requirement by working with the Peabody collections staff doing inventory, rehousing, preparing objects, and assisting with archival management.

Students at Phillips Academy participate in different classes and programs related to the archaeology and anthropology collections housed at the institute. In the 2013-2014 school year, the Peabody hosted 1,700 students for classes.¹⁸ Students learn to throw spears with an atlatl, analyze pottery sherds, make pottery with Pueblo artists, and take courses on Native American culture. The museum encourages discourse on the complex

¹⁵ Jeremiah Hagler, “Teaching Science at the Peabody Museum,” in *Glory, Trouble, and Renaissance at the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology*, ed. Malinda Blustain and Ryan Wheeler (Nebraska: University Nebraska Press, 2018), 185.

¹⁶ Andover, “Learning: Peabody Institute of Archaeology.” Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology. <https://www.andover.edu/learning/peabody> (accessed February 9, 2019).

¹⁷ Marla Taylor, email message to author, February 20, 2019.

¹⁸ Andover, “Learning: Peabody Institute of Archaeology.” Peabody Institute of Archaeology. https://www.andover.edu/files/PeabodyPlan2015_2020.pdf (accessed February 8, 2018).

history between Native Americans and Europeans, race, colonialism, and cultural diversity.¹⁹ Programs such as “It’s Corny,” where students examine corn specimens or “Cultures in Contact,” where students examine the relationships between economics and cultural contact, utilize the museum’s collections. Students may also choose to work on a collaborative project with the museum where they have an opportunity to conduct research under the supervision of a faculty member and use the museum’s resources in their endeavors.²⁰

The museum has five core values that define the institution. First, their programming reflects a student-centered focus. Second, the museum values innovation in collaborative learning. This approach encompasses hands-on learning, project-based learning, experiential learning, and discourse. Third, the museum calls for decolonizing museum practices. This practice emphasizes the importance of forming better relationships with Native Americans and acknowledging the difficult past that Native Americans have with anthropologists and archaeologists. Fourth, the museum emphasizes active care and management of collections. The institution focuses on both the physical and intellectual control that the museum has over its collections. Lastly, the museum values the anthropological perspective. The institution believes that anthropology offers a unique perspective when looking at the world and the cultures around us.²¹ Each of these core values is reflected in the way the museum operates and moves toward its missions and goals through programming and outreach.

¹⁹ Andover, “Learning: Peabody Institute of Archaeology.”

²⁰ Hagler, “Teaching Science at the Peabody Museum,” 186-187.

²¹ Andover, “Learning: Peabody Institute of Archaeology.”

Outreach Programming

RSPIA has done many outreach programs throughout the history of the museum to reach out to the community both inside the academy and outside the academy. The institution works with professional organizations, provides online resources, and employs interns and volunteers from anthropology and museum studies. For example, the museum was involved with an outreach program called Pecos Pathways that connected the Phillips Academy student audience with a community audience that the students may not have regular contact with in daily life.

The Pecos Pathways program ran for fifteen years at the museum (from 2000-2015). The program acted as a kind of exchange program between Phillips Academy students, the Pueblo of Jemez in New Mexico, and descendants of the people of Pecos Pueblo. The program originated out of the repatriation of human remains and objects excavated by Alfred Kidder at Pecos Pueblo. The Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard, Jemez Pueblo, and the RSPIA worked together and in 1999 repatriated the remains and objects. After the repatriation took place, the parties involved continued their relationship through the Pecos Pathways program for their youth. The program's goals were to connect youth from each of the three places; give youth an opportunity to explore diversity; use traditional Native voices to tell the story of Native peoples; use the story of Pecos Pueblo to educate high school students; and empower Pueblo youth and provide them an opportunity to become advocates for their culture.²²

²² Lindsay Randall and Christopher Toya, "Pecos Pathways: A Model for Lasting Partnerships," in *Glory, Trouble, and Renaissance at the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology*, ed. Malinda Blustain and Ryan Wheeler, 174-175. Nebraska: University Nebraska Press, 2018), 174-175.

For three weeks in June, students from each of these places came together and changed lives. The first week of the program took place in the Jemez community, which is traditionally closed to the public. The students stayed with families in Jemez. Each day students were exposed to the culture, traditions, and history of the Jemez people. Students were taken to ancestral sites and engaged in storytelling. In the second week students traveled to Pecos and continued to learn more about culture, history, traditions, and the excavations that took place at the site. Lastly, students spent a week in New England exploring the Native American tribes there and the relationships between tribes and archaeologists. At the end of the program, students wrote an essay to describe their experience and what they learned while participating in the program.²⁴

This program provided students with a unique opportunity to see another culture and experience its traditions and culture firsthand. Students from both sides interacted and formed meaningful relationships with each other and with tribal members. Discussions during the program could foster dialogue that made students think about the history and diverse cultural experiences that Native Americans experience relative to United States citizens.²⁵

Conclusion

The RSPIA has been actively involved in the repatriation process since the passage of NAGPRA. Even before the law went into effect, the museum worked with Native American tribes and formed lasting relationships. Having good relationships with

²⁴ Randall and Toya, "Pecos Pathways," 176-179.

²⁵ Randall and Toya, "Pecos Pathways," 182-183.

tribes can make the repatriation process more efficient and easier for all parties involved. The relationships the museum has with the pueblo native people in New Mexico has allowed them to work closely with the tribe and immerse Philips Academy students in a culture different from their own.

The RSPIA helps build cultural sensitivity and understanding through programs like Pecos Pathways. By encouraging American students to interact with students from Native American tribes, the museum is fostering acceptance of cultural diversity and exposing students to the beauty of other cultures that makes them unique.

The museum continues to work with tribes to repatriate materials and remains from their collections. The RSPIA is an example of an institution that has embraced NAGPRA and worked very hard to form good relationships with tribes to make a difference in relations between museums, Native Americans, and anthropologists. The museum has taken NAGPRA compliance to the next level and worked to educate youth and foster an environment of cultural tolerance.

CHAPTER FOUR

A Case Study – University of Colorado’s Museum of Natural History

“The University of Colorado Museum fosters exploration and appreciation of the natural environment and human cultures through research, teaching, and community outreach. We provide academic training for graduate students in Museum and Field Studies; build, conserve, and interpret research collections; and offer exhibits and educational programs for the University and the public.”

- Mission Statement from University of Colorado Museum of Natural History Bylaws

Institutional History

The Museum of Natural History at the University of Colorado started in 1902 as a project to bring unrelated collections contained at the university together to form a museum. Junius Henderson was appointed to undertake this project by the university without pay. Henderson followed his family to the Boulder area where he initially began a career as a lawyer and then a county judge before becoming the first curator of the museum in 1903.¹ He received help from other professors like T.D.A. Cockerell and Francis Ramaley. Together, they started the museum with a little collection of rocks and minerals, a few mounted mammals and birds, and several mollusk shells and fossils. By

¹ “CU Museum of Natural History to highlight Junius Henderson,” CU Boulder Today. <https://www.colorado.edu/today/2017/04/10/cu-museum-natural-history-highlight-junius-henderson> (accessed April 2, 2019).

1910, the university declared the museum a separate department within the University of Colorado and allotted the museum a 500\$ annual budget.²

In 1913, the Department of Anthropology at the university began collecting archaeological materials from the Earl Morris excavations. Earl Morris earned both his Bachelor and Master's degree from the University of Colorado in 1914 and 1915. He participated in excavations at Aztec Ruins (where he aided in reconstructing Great Kiva), de Chelle, del Muerto, and the La Plata region.³

Most of the materials found in the anthropology collection at the University of Colorado Museum of Natural History were collected by Earl Morris until Joe Ben Wheat became curator some time later. Morris added to the collection until 1956. Wheat took over as curator in 1952 and continued to build the collection.⁵ He focused on building ethnographic collections for the museum. For example, the museum's world-class Navajo textile collection was built by Wheat during this time. He also built the museum's Yellow Jacket collections from 1954 through 1991 with field school excavation work. Wheat continued as curator at the museums for forty years. In 2009, the museum added a second curator to handle just the ethnographic collections at the museum.⁶

² University of Colorado Boulder, "About the Museum: History." Museum of Natural History. <https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/about/history> (accessed March 5, 2019).

³ National Park Service, "Earl Morris." <https://www.nps.gov/people/earl-morris.htm> (accessed March 6, 2019).

⁵ University of Colorado Boulder, "Research and Collections: Anthropology." Museum of Natural History. <https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/research-collections/anthropology> (accessed March 5, 2019).

⁶ Christina Cain, email message to author, February 21, 2019 and April 9, 2019.

Today, the museum houses more than 1.5 million archaeological and ethnographic objects. The collection is mostly focused on collections from the North American Southwest and Rocky Mountain-Plains. However, the collection does contain materials from other parts of the world as well. The museum has been accredited by the American Association of Museums and is currently under review for re-accreditation. The staff is composed of thirty members that work in various positions such as curation, collections, design, instruction, education, and management/administration (this number includes student positions).⁷

Survey Results

Table 1.4 contains the results of my initial survey to museum professionals in the United States. Christina Cain, the Anthropology Collections Manager at the University of Colorado's Museum of Natural History completed the survey online. The results were gathered through Qualtrics.

NAGPRA and Repatriation

Collections Involving Native American Remains and Objects

The collections involving Native American remains and objects began in 1913. The human remains once held at the museum were mostly of Native American descent. However, the museum also held remains from the Philippines, France, and a few scientific cadavers. I use the term "once" because (at the time of this interview) the museum has repatriated all of the Native American human remains formerly within its

⁷ University of Colorado Boulder, "Research and Collections: Anthropology."

legal control.⁸ There were over six hundred sets of human remains in the collection. Roughly half of the remains were obtained from the Yellow Jacket archaeological site, which was excavated during numerous field schools.⁹ The Yellow Jacket archaeological site is the largest prehistoric site in the Mesa Verde region. The site complex consists of three smaller sites. Archaeologists estimate that the construction of the earliest pueblo site occupation was around A.D. 600 and the latest occupation of the pueblo sites were around A.D. 1300.¹⁰ Of the six hundred remains, one hundred and fifty-seven remains had no clear provenance. About 25% of the remains had no information available on who collected the remains.¹¹

NAGPRA within the Institute

The University of Colorado Museum of Natural History has four staff members that deal with NAGPRA related concerns. The Collections Manager, Christina Cain, deals with grant administration, logistics for pulling items from the collections, and preparation of the human remains for return to Native American tribes. She has ten years of experience handling NAGPRA related concerns and twenty years of experience in the museum field. The Curator of Archaeology handled compliance and tribe consultation

⁸ I use “at the time of this interview” because human remains were found recently in another department at the university that appear to have been once a part of the museum’s collection. These remains are currently under investigation to determine where they are from and what connection the museum has to them.

⁹ Christina Cain, interview by author, October 16, 2018.

¹⁰ The Yellow Jacket Project, “Site Reports.” The University of Colorado Museum of Natural History. <http://yellowjacket.colorado.edu/5MT1.html> (accessed April 11, 2019).

¹¹ Christina Cain, interview by author, October 16, 2018.

and has been involved in NAGPRA related activities under his current position since 1999. He has a PhD in Archaeology. Additionally, the Curator of Anthropology handles the summary side of the consultation and deals with items of cultural patrimony and sacred objects. The curator has a PhD in Cultural Anthropology and has worked for the National Museum of the American Indian. Lastly, the museum reaches out to a NAGPRA consultant. The consultant has a Master’s Degree in Museum Studies. She facilitates the logistics of travel and tribe relations and communications. She has been a part of the repatriation process and an advocate for Native Americans even before NAGPRA was passed into law.¹²

Table 1.4: Survey Results for University of Colorado’s Museum of Natural History as answered by Christina Cain, Anthropology Collections Manager

Question:	Response:
How many years of experience do you have working in the museum profession?	20+ years
What is your highest level of education?	Master’s Degree
What is your academic area of study? Select all that apply.	Anthropology/Archaeology, Museum Studies
What department do you work in within your museum?	Anthropology Collection
What is your job title?	Anthropology Collections Manager
What is the name of the museum you are employed at?	University of Colorado Museum of Natural History
What type of focus does your museum have? Select all that apply.	Natural History, Anthropology
What is the predominant race or ethnicity of the visitor audience at your museum? Please select only up to two answers.	White
What is the predominant age range of the visitor audience at your museum? Select up to three answers.	Children 0-12, Young Adults 18-25, Adults 26-64
Based on the following budget sizes, select the most appropriate for your museum.	\$1,000,000 - \$5,000,000
Based on the following criteria, select the most appropriate for your museum.	Museum that is governed by a college or university.
As part of a college or university, does your museum have a relationship with any departments on campus? Which ones?	Yes, Anthropology, Evolutionary Biology, Geology, Art and Art History

¹² Christina Cain, interview by author, October 16, 2018.

Question:	Response:
Does your museum have human skeletal remains in its collection?	Yes
Does your museum's collection contain human remains that were accessioned between the years 1865 and 1990?	Yes
Does your museum's collection contain human skeletal remains with an unclear provenance?	Yes
Does your museum contain human skeletal remains that are Native American or African American in ancestry?	Yes, Native American only.
Are there any human skeletal remains in your museum's collection that are only represented by the skull of the individual?	Yes
Has your museum used human skeletal remains in an exhibition since 1990?	No
Has your museum ever received negative feedback about exhibitions involving the display of human skeletal remains?	N/A
Does your museum have a staff member in collections that has an academic background in anthropology?	Yes
What area of anthropology does the staff member(s) specialize in? You may select more than one answer.	Archaeology, Cultural Anthropology
Does your museum have educational programming relating to any of the subjects listed below?	Anthropology/Archaeology
Does your museum participate in outreach programming in your community?	Yes
Does your museum contain materials or human skeletal remains that are governed by the Native American Graves Protection Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)?	Yes
Does your museum designate funding to work on NAGPRA cases in your collection?	Yes
Does your museum have a staff member in collections that works as a NAGPRA specialist?	Yes
Has your museum ever been involved in the repatriation of human skeletal remains under NAGPRA compliance?	Yes
Identify which steps your museum has completed in the Native American Graves Repatriation Act process.	Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
	Your museum has distributed the above summary to all potentially culturally affiliated Indian Tribes or Native Hawaiian Organizations.
	Your museum has created an inventory for human remains and associated funerary objects.
	Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally affiliated inventory.
	Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally unidentifiable inventory.
	Your museum has published a Notice of Inventory Completion.

Initially when NAGPRA was passed, the museum set aside ten thousand dollars for NAGPRA efforts which was enough to perform an inventory of the NAGPRA related materials and remains in the collection. Currently, the museum receives grant funding from the National Park Service for NAGPRA activities. In all, the museum has received and contributed roughly one million dollars to aid in repatriation and NAGPRA compliance. As discussed earlier, the museum has been involved with many different repatriation efforts. A notable example occurred when the museum was tasked with repatriating a set of ear bones. Though small, the ear bones are still a part of a human being and have just as much right to be reburied as any other human being in the collection. The ear bones were originally taken from Wisconsin so the museum reached out to tribes in that area. Museum staff flew to Wisconsin for consultation with the tribe. In the end, the ear bones were repatriated and reburied by the tribe.¹³

Challenges of Repatriation

Based on my interview with Christina, the biggest challenge of repatriation under NAGPRA in her experience has been the reburial process. In order to rebury human remains, the area must be secluded, confidential, and allow protection of the remains in perpetuity. In addition to this, many government land managing agencies have a policy that does not allow for remains to be buried on land that the remains did not originate from within the boundaries of. For example, the museum's collection contained remains that were excavated from New Mexico, Texas, and part of Colorado. The museum put forth a proposal to the Land Managing and Working Group to set aside land for reburial

¹³ Christina Cain, interview by author, October 16, 2018.

of these human remains on Colorado land. However, their request was denied because the remains were not all from Colorado. Even for the remains from Colorado, land was not available because the remains did not originate from within the boundary of any of the land managing agencies who were a part of the group. Eventually, the remains were reburied on land from another tribe. The tribes came together and worked out a solution so that all of the remains could be reburied, even though the remains would not be reburied as close to the exhumation site as they would have liked.¹⁴

Education and Mission

University Connections

As a result of the museum being a part of a larger university, the museum has a close relationship with many departments on the University of Colorado campus. The museum works closely with anthropology, art, museum studies, and most recently a new Center for Native and Indigenous Studies. The new Center will allow students to receive a certificate in Native and Indigenous Studies. Courses taught at the center are taught by a groups of faculty including museum, anthropology, linguistics, ethnography, and art professionals. Many of the curators are also faculty in anthropology and museums and field study. The museum is fully integrated with the Museum and Field Studies program at the University of Colorado and offers the museum as a space for emerging museum professionals to build their experience and skills needs to be competitive candidates in

¹⁴ Ibid.

the field. Students have the opportunity to gain hands-on experience within many areas of the museum.¹⁵

The museum studies program gives students the ability to select from current cognate specialties. This means students can focus in other areas of study like anthropology, botany, education, art, history, etc. The program uses the museum (and other museums in the community) to teach cultural care practice (balancing research with the needs of the community), collections management (students receive two years practical experience), and tribe relations (how to consult with tribes and meet the needs of tribes for care of Native American collections). The museum also works with departments on campus to create collaborative exhibitions and strives to be interdisciplinary.¹⁶

Community Engagement and Outreach

The museum reaches more than just a university community. For example, the museum saw 2,542 students in K-12 and 2,024 Seniors. For visitor age data from 2014-2018 (see Table 1.5). For schools, the museum offers field trip opportunities, classroom materials that incorporate museum objects, and teachers' resources. The classroom materials include Discovery Kits that cover a range of topics such as bats, insects, owls, raptors, dinosaurs, plants and animals of Colorado, and Native American cultures.¹⁷

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ University of Colorado Boulder, "School and Group Programs: Outreach Materials." Museum of Natural History. <https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/programs/schools-and-groups/outreach-materials> (accessed February 16, 2019).

Guided programs and hands-on workshops are also offered for school groups to spend time exploring and interacting with the exhibits. The guided programs are built around the museum’s exhibits and the hands-on workshops are a sit-down more in depth experience. School groups are able to pair both the guided programs and hands-on workshops together for an enriching education experience. A few examples of guided programs related to anthropology include Native Americans and Early Native Peoples of Colorado. Both programs explore Native American history and culture.¹⁸

Table 1.5: Visitor age data for the University of Colorado Museum of Natural History for 2014-2018.

Type	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Adults	8,097	8,446	9,442	9,597	11,716
Seniors	704	1,415	1,961	2,120	2,024
College	15,157	16,241	13,992	13,517	12,433
K-12	2,182	1,992	2,194	2,348	2,542
Under 5	793	1,678	1,752	1,622	2,053
Total	26,933	29,772	29,341	29,204	30,768

Source: Visitor Services Manager at the University of Colorado Museum of Natural History

In addition to resources at the museum for schools and teachers, the museum offers two unique programs related to archaeology and paleontology. The Colorado Archaeology in the Classroom program is a project designed “to enhance and expand the Museum’s and University’s outreach efforts across the state by providing much needed

¹⁸ University of Colorado Boulder, “School and School Group Programs: Guided Programs and Workshops.” Museum of Natural History. <https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/programs/schools-and-groups/guided-programs-and-workshops> (accessed February 16, 2019).

hands-on resources on archaeology to teachers and students.”¹⁹ The program includes kits that contain artifacts and casts, curriculum relating to state standards, professional development for teachers, and a presentation for the classroom. The program has many different partners that help in providing materials, teacher training, and logistics.²⁰

For adults, children and families, the museum offers a variety of programs. Family Days provide families and children an opportunity to explore science and history “through hands-on activities including creative take-home crafts, up-close observations, play-based activities, and experiments.”²¹ Adults can attend lectures, experience guided tours, and participate in tree walks. The Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) Lecture Series is the most popular series at the museum. Archaeologists and anthropologists speak on their research and findings on a diverse range of topics. The lectures are free and open to the public.²² A tree walk is a guided tour through the

¹⁹ University of Colorado Boulder, “School and Group Programs: Colorado Archaeology in the Classroom.” Museum of Natural History. <https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/programs/schools-and-groups/colorado-archaeology-classroom> (accessed February 16, 2019).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ University of Colorado Boulder, “Children and Families: Family Days.” Museum of Natural History. <https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/programs/children-and-families/family-days> (accessed February 16, 2019).

²² University of Colorado Boulder, “Adults: AIA Lecture Series.” Museum of Natural History. <https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/programs/adults/aia-lecture-series> (accessed February 16, 2019).

University of Colorado where a tour guide discusses the majestic trees on campus, their history and significance to the university.²³

Conclusion

The University of Colorado Museum of Natural History in Boulder is very active in education and providing practical space for emerging museum professionals to develop and work. In addition to their work with the university, the museum has played an active role in repatriating Native American materials and remains. The museum has already repatriated all of the Native American human remains within its collection formerly within its legal control (as of this interview). This is a huge accomplishment that many museums have not been able to reach yet in the NAGPRA process because of limited resources and the large amounts of human remains within their collections.

The education programming and university department collaborations relating to Native American cultures and history aid in educating adolescents and young adults in the diversity of Native cultures. Like the Peabody Institute of Archaeology, the programming work that the museum does fosters an environment for cultural tolerance and understanding. The relationships that the museum has with Native American tribes helps in mending the rifts and tension between museums, Native Americans, and anthropologists that has resulted from the collecting and displaying that took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Both museums have made huge strides in

²³ University of Colorado Boulder, “Adults: Tree Walk.” Museum of Natural History. <https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/programs/adults/tree-walk> (accessed February 16, 2019).

being NAGPRA compliant and furthering their role in being Native American advocates and partners in repatriating and mending past wrongs.

CHAPTER FIVE

Complications and Conflicting Interests: NAGPRA in Practice

“Control of the historical record is an important component of the political process and though hard to understand at first glance, the dead can be used to harm the living.”

- Rose et al., NAGPRA is Forever: Osteology and the Repatriation of Skeletons

Introduction: Conflicting Interests

The interests of anthropologists and museum professionals often do not correlate to the interests of Native Americans regarding materials, remains, and objects. The mass collecting that took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries occurred because anthropologists and museums professionals tried to preserve a culture that they considered a piece of American history that could not be allowed to disappear from the record. The means by which anthropologists and museum professionals collected materials and remains was unethical by today's standards and practices. Both disciplines have become more professionalized during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. This professionalization can be attributed to a more standardized curriculum in universities and an overall move in the field to be more ethical in practice and to set standards for procedures and management. Anthropologists and museum professionals are now held accountable by their peers and the public in a way that was not seen in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

There are many cases like Kennewick Man and the La Jolla remains that cause conflicts between anthropologists, museum professionals, and Native American tribes. The conflicts can be a result of many different factors such as conflicting interests, issues

in determining cultural affiliation, and differing interpretations of the logistics of NAGPRA law. NAGPRA was designed to give Native American tribes a means to take back their cultural heritage and ancestors from museums and institutions receiving federal funding. However, determining the cultural affiliation of remains and materials that have little to no paperwork associated with their accession can be very problematic. Without the determination of cultural affiliation, museums do not have a way to repatriate remains and materials of Native American descent. In many cases, remains and materials were looted from burial sites and sent to museums as donations without proper documentation of the archaeological provenience of what the archaeological context is for the remains and materials.

The age of human remains can also give rise to conflicts between Native Americans, museums, and anthropologists. NAGPRA does not specify whether age affects the ability of Native American tribes to lay claim to human remains. In the case of Kennewick Man, the supreme court ruled in favor of the anthropologists but in the case of the La Jolla remains the supreme court ruled in favor of the Native American tribes. Human remains that predate written records can be difficult to associate with present tribes. Additionally, tribes as they are today may have looked very different in the past. For example, some tribes have banded together or migrated to different regions in the past so human remains found in particular regions cannot always be affiliated with the tribe occupying the land currently. NAGPRA states that cultural affiliation can be determined based on “geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, anthropological, linguistic, folklore, oral tradition, historical evidence, or other information or expert

opinion.”¹ However, many courts or museums are skeptical of lines of evidence like oral traditions and folklore as a method for affiliating remains, especially remains that are deemed important to science. The law provides the framework for museums, anthropologists, and Native Americans to work within to repatriate materials, remains, and objects but there are many loopholes and unclear language that can create conflicts and end up being detrimental to the mending of relationships between the parties involved.

The Effects and Limitations of NAGPRA

For Native Americans

Even though NAGPRA was designed to aid Native Americans, the law can be problematic because the process for affiliating materials and remains is challenging if documentation is lacking and funerary objects were separated from the remains. As stated earlier, cultural affiliation is a large part of the law and the part of the law that allows museums and Native Americans to move forward in the repatriation process. Interpreting the meaning of “cultural affiliation” can vary depending on the area of anthropology the staff member’s background is related to. Sociocultural anthropologists, archaeologists, biological anthropologists, and linguistic anthropologists may assign their own meaning to the term. Cultural affiliation is the most common means by which materials and remains are repatriated because tracing materials and remains to a lineal descendant is

¹ Penelope Kelsey and Cari Carpenter, “‘In the End, Our Message Weighs’: Blood Run, NAGPRA, and American Indian Identity,” *American Indian Quarterly* (2011): 56-74.

more challenging especially if the remains and materials are older.² As a result, determining cultural affiliation is essential in the process.

For the purpose of this thesis, cultural affiliation can be defined as “a relationship of shared group identity which can be reasonably traced through time between members of a present-day, federally recognized, tribe and an identifiable earlier group.”³ In addition to cultural affiliation being difficult to determine, NAGPRA is divided by pre and post NAGPRA guidelines. For example, remains found before the passage of NAGPRA must be clearly culturally affiliated with a tribe or reasonably believed to be affiliated based on the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of the remains. However, remains found after the passage of NAGPRA through inadvertent discovery by construction, mining, agriculture or logging are determined to be affiliated with the closest tribe to be dispositioned.⁴ The distinction between remains pre-NAGPRA and post-NAGPRA presents a challenge for tribes because the meaning of cultural affiliation changes depending on the time the remains are uncovered.

The method that museums use to determine cultural affiliation can vary from institution to institution. NAGPRA law only requires museums to use the information at hand to determine cultural affiliation. Because of this, museums can choose to simply identify remains as culturally unidentifiable if the information in their records is lacking

² Michael Schillaci and Wendy Bustard, “Controversy and Conflict: NAGPRA and the Role of Biological Anthropology in Determining Cultural Affiliation,” *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* (2010): 352-373.

³ Schillaci and Bustard, “Controversy and Conflict,” 353.

⁴ Schillaci and Bustard, “Controversy and Conflict,” 354.

enough to reasonably culturally affiliate the remains.⁵ Culturally unidentifiable remains typically remain in storage because there is no one to claim the remains and the museum has no means to rebury the remains. Recently, Native American organizations and museums have been working together to obtain land where these culturally unidentifiable remains can be reburied. Tribes occupying the land that culturally unidentifiable remains were taken from at the time of unearthing can request that the remains be returned to them after the consultation process.⁶

The way that tribes and anthropologists trace affiliation can also present challenges in the repatriation process. Tribes usually trace their ancestry from the present to the past, while anthropologists usually trace ancestry from the past to the present. Present day tribes may have descended from multiple Native American groups in the past. Native American groups that migrated in the past could have settled in different areas resulting in a split of the group into several tribes of people that are recognized today as distinct federal tribes.⁷ The same thing can happen if tribes that were once separate distinct groups in the past have joined together in the present. This raises issues when Native Americans rebury remains. How can we be sure that we are not reburying an ancestor of an enemy tribe within tribal land?

Another challenge for Native Americans in implementing NAGPRA is that the law states that federally recognized tribes can request to have remains and materials returned to them by museums. However, not all existing tribes are federally recognized

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Kelsey and Carpenter, “In the End, Our Message Weighs,” 70.

⁷ Schillaci and Bustard, “Controversy and Conflict,” 355.

by the United States government. This can present problems for tribes who would like to have objects and remains returned to them but do not have any legal ground to make the request. Some museums do work with tribes who are not federally recognized and continue through with repatriation but they are not required to under the law so it is at the discretion of each institution.

Lack of resources is also a huge challenge for Native American tribes in implementing NAGPRA. Many tribes do not have a functioning NAGPRA program within their governments that can work to consult with museums and reach out to institutions to request repatriation. When NAGPRA was passed into legislation in 1990, funding was set aside for grants to be awarded to museums, institutions, and tribes to aid in the inventory process required by NAGPRA. However, the amount of funding and the availability of grants to be awarded has lessened in the years since the law was passed.⁸

For Anthropologists in the United States

There are two aspects of NAGPRA that affect anthropologists in the United States. When NAGPRA law was passed in 1990, many anthropologists believed that it would be very detrimental to archaeology and osteology in the United States. In addition to requiring museums to inventory and begin the repatriation process for tribes who requested the return of remains and materials, the law also extends protection to sites found inadvertently and requires permits to excavate intentionally. Requiring permits to excavate prevents looters and amateur diggers from excavating sites and lands. It aids in

⁸ Eric Hemenway, "Trials and Tribulations in a Tribal NAGPRA Program," *Museum Anthropology* (2010): 172-179.

the professionalization of the field of anthropology and archaeology by requiring an additional level of documentation before excavation can occur.

Anthropologists in the late 1990s found themselves no longer able to excavate freely in the United States without a permit. If Native American remains and materials are unearthed unintentionally, tribes must still be consulted and the remains are repatriated to the tribe(s) with closest cultural affiliation. Because materials and remains can be uncovered unintentionally, logging, agricultural, construction, and other companies that frequently disturb the ground hire archaeologists to survey, test dig, and consult with them during their process. This is a benefit of NAGPRA that anthropologists may not have foreseen when the law was first passed. The law inadvertently provided more jobs for anthropologists in the United States to consult as professionals in the field for large companies that may run into NAGPRA related challenges while conducting business.

Additionally, anthropologists found themselves working with museums more in the late 1990s to aid in the inventory process required under NAGPRA law. The number of human remains in collections that remained unstudied before NAGPRA was astounding. Many archaeological field excavation boxes remained untouched in storage at museums. Human remains once collected in mass quantities sat in rooms within boxes. Many of the individuals had not been thoroughly studied and lacked elements of a biological profile like sex and age. The race of the individuals was often identified above

all other information because of the interest in racial anatomy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁹

By 1996, many of the remains contained in storage had begun to undergo the inventory process in museums. Anthropologists with a background in archaeology and osteology were a large part of this process. To understand the quantity of human remains excavated before the passage of NAGPRA, an overview conducted by the Southwestern Division of the US Army Corps of Engineers reported 142,202 archaeological sites in the Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and parts of Kansas, Colorado, and Missouri area. The data collection for this report was obtained in 1988. Of the 142,202 archaeological sites, 26,823 human remains were uncovered from 2205 sites. Another overview conducted by the Arkansas Archaeological Survey collected data from Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, south Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Wyoming, and the other part of Colorado. In this area of the United States, 25,717 human remains were obtained from 2919 sites. In total, 52, 540 individuals were taken from funerary sites and burial grounds. These overviews and surveys only collected data from 65% of the United States so the remaining 45% of the United States is not accounted for in the final number.¹⁰ Not all of the human remains unearthed from archaeological sites were sent to museums, universities, and federal institutions. Some individuals are in the hands of private collectors.

⁹ Jerome Rose, Thomas Green and Victoria Green, “Nagpra is Forever: Osteology and the Repatriation of Skeletons,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* (1996): 81-103.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Today, the NAGPRA database provides a clearer picture on the amount of human remains reported to be held within museums in the United States. The database has the remains and materials divided by those that have been culturally affiliated and culturally unidentifiable. There are 18,270 records within the culturally unidentifiable database. Of the 18,720 records, 141,415 Native American remains and 1,199,875 associated funerary objects are reported. Since inventories were first published online, 9,289 human remains and 171,686 objects have been culturally affiliated. In the Culturally Affiliated database, 6,893 records are listed. Of the records, 63,148 human remains and 1,462,746 associated funerary objects are reported.¹¹ This information is current as of March 2019 so it provides the most accurate information on the quantity of human remains still within museum collections in the United States.¹²

NAGPRA requires the inventory of collections containing human remains and associated funerary objects. This requirement means that anthropologists who specialize in osteology and archaeology may be asked to consult with museums to complete this process or to move forward in trying to culturally affiliate remains and objects that were declared culturally unidentifiable in the late 1990s. NAGPRA law provided a means and funding to begin extensive osteological studies on human remains uncovered in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. NAGPRA does not prevent the study of human

¹¹ “National NAGPRA Online Databases: About NAGPRA Databases,” National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior. <https://www.nps.gov/nagpra/onlinedb/index.htm> (accessed March 19, 2019).

¹² Note that these numbers do not reflect the amount of human remains contained within the Smithsonian Institution’s collections. This is because the Smithsonian does not comply with NAGPRA law. The Smithsonian must comply with a separate law the National Museum of the American Indian Act.

remains or the archaeological excavation.¹³ The law dictates more ethical and professionalized methods in the process of excavation, study, treatment, and representation of Native American culture and materials. Not all tribes request repatriation of materials and remains. Some tribes allow museums to continue to care for their ancestors and materials because museums provide a safe space for them to rest and be taken care of.

Many anthropologists in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century felt that NAGPRA would cause a loss to science that would further result in a loss for North American history. However, inventories led to a more standardized method of recording osteological data by anthropologists so that the remains would be properly documented for science before being repatriated and reburied by tribes. Even with proper documentation, reburying the remains does limit the potential to study the remains in the future using new technologies. Future anthropologists will have to rely on the data collected by current anthropologists as more remains are repatriated and reburied.¹⁴ NAGPRA does hinder the scientific study of osteology and archaeology in the United States because it prevents future study of remains repatriated and reburied by Native American tribes and it limits the analysis of future discoveries of remains and materials potentially related to Native American tribes recognized under federal law. However, NAGPRA acknowledges the unethical methods¹⁵ used by anthropologists and museums

¹³ Rose et al, “Nagpra is Forever,” 89-90.

¹⁴ Ann Kakaliouras, “When Remains are ‘Lost’: Thoughts on Collections, Repatriation, and Research in American Physical Anthropology,” *Curator: The Museum Journal* (2014): 213-223.

¹⁵ Unethical by today’s standards.

to amass large collections of Native American materials and remains. The law also acknowledges that Native Americans have a right to their cultural property and ancestors and can use that right to request materials and remains be returned to them.

For Museums and Collections Staff

After 1990, many museums were tasked with creating mass inventories of the human remains in their collections and summaries of the Native American materials and objects within their collections. The resources needed to complete these tasks presented a challenge for museums because time, staff, funding, and information are critical in the ability of museums to complete this sometimes monumental task. Section 10 of NAGPRA law authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to create grants to be awarded to museums, tribes, and Native Hawaiian Organizations. These grants help support the costs of consultation, documentation, repatriation. The National NAGPRA grant program has awarded millions of dollars to this cause. For example, between 1994 and 2008, the program awarded over 31 million dollars to tribes, museums, and Native Hawaiian Organizations.¹⁶

There are two types of grants awarded by the National NAGPRA grant program: Consultation/Documentation grants and Repatriation grants. Annually, the program awards grants that range from five thousand dollars to seventy-five thousand dollars. Consultation/Documentation grants are typically used by tribes for things like training, data collection, consultants, and database development. For museums, this grant can be

¹⁶ Sangita Chari, "Journeys to Repatriation: 15 Years of NAGPRA Grants, 1994-2008," *Museum Anthropology* (2010): 210-217.

used to publish NAGPRA collections online, coordinate consultations with Native American tribes, conduct further research, and test for contaminants.¹⁷

Consultation/Documentation grants are competitive so it can be challenging to obtain one by tribes and museums. Repatriation grants are noncompetitive grants that are awarded on a rolling basis to museums, tribes, and Native Hawaiian Organizations. These grants are awarded up to fifteen thousand dollars and are typically used to cover the costs associated with packaging, transportation, travel, and coordination.¹⁸

Because funding is competitive, many museums do not receive funding to aid in NAGPRA processes. Some museums have money allocated in their collections budget toward NAGPRA related activities or a NAGPRA specialist on staff. Smaller museums do not typically have the same resources available to them as larger institutions so repatriation can be a challenge especially if the Native American tribe does not have adequate resources as well. Additionally, lack of documentation plagues many museums regarding Native American collections acquisitioned in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As discussed in chapter two, the history of mass collecting resulted in the acquisition of many human remains and materials without provenience or cultural information other than “Indian.”

The NAGPRA Committee is responsible for aiding museums and tribes in complications or challenges that arise during the process. Many museums work with tribes to repatriate and form lasting relationships with Native Americans as advocates for

¹⁷ Contaminants can include things like arsenic that was a popular preservation tool used by museum professionals in the early twentieth century. Arsenic is toxic and should be handled carefully to prevent poisoning.

¹⁸ Chari, “Journeys to Repatriation,” 211.

repatriation. However, some museums and anthropologists continue to push for change in the law and do not believe that repatriation should be done because of reasons like it is a hindrance to science. For example, NAGPRA Committee transcripts can be a good source in identifying existing problems that museums and tribes face in the NAGPRA process. I reviewed two transcripts, one from April-May 1992 and one from March 2017 to study how the structure of the committee meeting has changed and the kind of issues still prevalent in the process or the issues that have arisen as the law ages.

In the transcript from 1992, the Review Committee identifies its purpose as “advising the Secretary on the development of regulations needed to implement the statute and in assisting in the resolution of disputed.”¹⁹ The meeting in 1992 discussed the logistics of the law, the terminology, and potential issues and challenges that they had encountered or foreseen such as private collectors looking to museums to help them in the process of repatriation and the pre and post NAGPRA law issue of cultural affiliation that was discussed earlier in this chapter.²⁰ During the 2017 committee meeting, several institutions brought issues to the meeting for recommendations and review from the committee. For example, Texas State University presented a case involving multiple claims over six sets of human remains and the challenge in identifying cultural affiliation to one group to continue the repatriation process. Another example, the Tennessee Valley Authority presented an update on their NAGPRA implementation. TVA is a federal corporation that helped develop the Tennessee Valley region. In the process, the

¹⁹ 1992. NAGPRA Review Committee Meeting 01, April 29-May 1, 1992, Washington, D.C. <https://irma.nps.gov/DataStore/Reference/Profile/2254453> (accessed April 2, 2019).

²⁰ Ibid.

corporation unearthed Native American remains and materials. The committee wanted an update on TVA's implementation because the corporation had done the least repatriation under NAGPRA as of 2010.²¹ These examples illustrate that institutions still run into challenges during the NAGPRA process but the committee is designed to aid in the process and help resolve disputes. The committee holds institutions accountable like in the case of TVA as well.

For the Public

Though NAGPRA directly affects anthropology, Native Americans, and museums, it also affects the public and public perception of Native American culture. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, museums created exhibitions that highlighted Native Americans, both culturally and biologically. The way in which museums highlighted Native American culture was largely prejudiced and could be filled with inaccuracies and misrepresentations. Anthropologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century recorded Native American culture and worked to preserve this group of people because the United States felt that natives were disappearing. This was an inaccurate assumption but the result of this idea was to mass collect anything related to Native Americans.

As discussed in chapter two, anthropologists and museums worked together to form exhibitions that highlighted racial comparative anatomy in the early twentieth century in museums like The Field Museum in Chicago and the Museum of Man in San

²¹ 2017. NAGPRA Review Committee Meeting 62, March 15-16, 2017, Denver, CO. <https://irma.nps.gov/DataStore/Reference/Profile/2258855> (accessed April 2, 2019).

Diego. In addition, museums and anthropologists put together exhibitions for World's Fairs located all over the United States that also showcased Native American culture, live displays of natives, mummified individuals, and skeletal remains of Native Americans, African Americans, Asians, etc. These exhibitions greatly changed the way that the public perceived Native Americans and their culture but also the way the public thought about museums and anthropology as a discipline. The human body was a public fascination, particularly mummies because Americans compared the mummies of the Southwest to the mummies of Egypt. Native Americans were seen as "other" and "savage" by many Americans so materials, remains, and living native became a commodity for display.

Even before the passage of NAGPRA, exhibitions highlighting racial comparative anatomy were less prominent in the museum world. Emerging materials and remains from Africa and overseas related to human origins became a focus for anthropological research in the later twentieth century. World War II also caused Americans to look at the way American society viewed race and treated different racial groups. The aftermath of the war, Hitler's genocide, and the experimentations carried out by the Hitler regime in concentration camps shocked the world including the United States. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement swept through the United States and further changed the way race was viewed by society as African Americans pushed for equal rights and racial tolerance. During this same time, Native Americans and advocates for Native Americans saw an opportunity to push for their right to take their culture and history back that had been stolen during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This advocacy

led to the passage of NAGPRA in 1990 and changed the way that museums exhibited Native American material and educated the public on Native American culture.

Today, many museums are more aware of the influence they can have over public perception of cultures around the world. Some museums work with Native American groups in designing exhibitions to be more accurate and culturally sensitive. Museums are pushing for social advocacy and cultural awareness with their exhibitions. The more active role that museums have today in educating the public using more ethical means about Native American cultures helps in mending the damage done by late nineteenth and early twentieth century museum professionals and anthropologists. The public can see more accurate exhibitions and participate in educational programming that emphasizes the importance of cultural sensitivity, awareness, and tolerance.

Conclusion: Decolonizing Museums and Anthropology

NAGPRA provides a means for Native Americans to reclaim their cultural history and ancestors. However, the law has many loopholes that create challenges for Native Americans and museums. Resources are limited and many institutions and tribes do not have adequate people, money, and time to devote to NAGPRA. Determining cultural affiliation is a challenge for both Native Americans and museums. The definition of cultural affiliation under the law encompasses a range of evidence that professionals can use to determine it. The challenge is tracing the materials and remains back into the past when proper documentation is lacking or the materials and remains predate written documents and colonialization. Overall, NAGPRA law greatly affects museums, Native Americans, anthropologists, and the public. NAGPRA has not only provided guidelines

for repatriation but also pushed museums and anthropologists to move toward more culturally aware and sensitive research and education.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion: Looking Toward the Future

“However, righting wrongs is only the beginning of decolonizing. The possibility of decolonizing and indigenizing museums lies in transforming these sites of colonial harm into sites of healing, and restoring community well-being.”

- Amy Lonetree, *decolonizing museums: Representing Native American in National and Tribal Museums*

Building Relationships

Museums and Native Americans continue to build relationships that work toward mending the past injustices committed by anthropologists and museum professionals. Institutions like the Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology and the University of Colorado’s Museum of Natural History provide examples of the efforts aimed at working toward a more culturally sensitive future in anthropology and museum education. The University of Colorado is involved in educating emerging museum professionals to enter the museum field and preparing students to enter the workforce. The university influences museum professionals and students so the way in which the museum interacts and forms relationships with Native Americans can largely affect students and emerging professionals. Peabody’s Institute of Archaeology also works to educate adolescents associated with Philips Academy on Native American culture and emphasizes the uniqueness of cultural diversity through emersion programs like Pecos Pathways.

It is essential to build relationships with Native American tribes and work toward a more diverse and sensitive interpretation of Native American culture. Museums educate the public and the communities they serve. Museums have a level of authority that gives them the authenticity to be centers of knowledge respected by the public. As evident in

the past, museums have the power to transform public perception of history, culture, and science. Museums have a responsibility as curators of history to not misinterpret or misrepresent information and cultures. This means museums should seek out representatives and advice from the groups in which they are trying to represent in their exhibitions. Some museums have consulted with Native American groups in creating exhibitions and educational programming relating to their culture and history. Museums are moving in a positive direction by building relationships with Native Americans but transforming and mending the past will be a long road of resolving grief and being sensitive and open to Native American views and input in designing exhibitions, education programs, and preserving collections.

Repatriation and Reburial

Repatriation and reburial still presents a challenge for many museums and tribes in the United States. Even with NAGPRA, the law has many loopholes and unresolved logistical problems that arise during the implementation process. The law will be celebrating three decades in 2020. Efforts to repatriate materials and remains since its passage in 1990 have been significant and have led to the return of many significant objects and ancestors to Native Americans. Nothing will ever fully mend the unethical and often horrendous acts of the past but many museums and anthropologists have made an active effort to start. Lack of resources for NAGPRA related expenses also creates challenges for both museums and tribes working toward repatriation and compliance. Funding is overall an issue in the museum field. Museums and tribes have to work within their means and be diligent where possible in repatriating and returning remains and materials.

Holistic Storytelling

A positive change from early twentieth century is the push for holistic storytelling in museums and anthropological research. Museums have actively worked to include multiple perspectives and tell the whole story when interpreting collections. For example, historic sites in the US with a history of slavery museums work to provide interpretation of slave quarters and life so visitors have a more holistic understanding of the site and slavery. Providing the whole story gives visitors an opportunity to form their own opinions and see an unbiased interpretation of history. Exhibitions in the past like *The Races of Mankind* exhibition at the San Diego Museum of Man did not provide a holistic view of race in the world because it only presented one idea that races were distinct and could be separated into typologies.

Redefining Race in American Anthropology

The way anthropologists interpret race today is very different from late nineteenth and early twentieth century anthropologists. Today, anthropological research supports the idea that race is not a scientific concept but rather a social construct that society uses to type people into groups based on phenotypic characteristics generally accepted as determinant factors. However, since society distinguishes people along racial lines race is still seen as a socially expected way to describe people. In the case of forensic anthropology, biological profiles of unknown individuals indicate “race” to help in identification though anthropologists are actually identifying ancestral origin. Craniometrics is still a method used and considered more accurate than comparing morphological features to determine ancestry because it is quantitative in nature instead of qualitative. The challenge for anthropologists who are pushing to change the

terminology to a more accurate term like ancestry is that as a society we place a lot of value on racial identity. To push real change, anthropologists need to work toward educating the public on the distinctions between ancestry and race as terms and the lack of scientific data to support race as a biological concept.

Looking Toward the Future

In conclusion, the relationships between museums, anthropologists, Native Americans and the public have changed since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The change in relationships is a result of many factors including laws like NAGPRA, emerging anthropological data and research regarding race and human origins, and societal and museum shifts in ideology toward a more culturally sensitive and inclusive view of the world and humanity. The work that museums and anthropologists continue to do to better represent Native American culture helps in correcting public perception of native culture and history. Additionally, repatriation and reburial continues to prove challenging for museums, anthropologists, and Native Americans but the guidelines that the law outlines provide a starting point for conversations to occur and relationships to form to begin mending the past and working toward a better, more inclusive future.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Survey Questions

Survey was created using Qualtrics and distributed as an email link

Q1: How many years of experience do you have working in the museum profession?

- 0-5 years
- 5-10 years
- 10-20 years
- 20+ years

Q2: What is your highest level of education?

- Bachelors Degree
- Masters Degree
- Doctorate Degree

Q3: What is your academic area of study? Select all that apply.

- Biology
- Anthropology/Archaeology
- History
- Art/Art History
- Geology
- Business/Administration
- Education
- Design/Technology
- Museum Studies
- Other

Q4: What department do you work in within your museum?

Q5: What is your job title?

Q6: What is the name of the museum you are employed at?

Q7: What type of focus does your museum have? Select all that apply.

- Children/Education
- Art
- Natural History
- History
- Anthropology
- Historic Homes
- Science/Technology
- Other

Q8: What is the predominant race or ethnicity of the visitor audience at your museum? Select only up to two answers.

- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian
- African American
- Hispanic or Latino
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- White

Q9: What is the predominant age range of the visitor audience at your museum? Select up to three answers.

- Children 0-12
- Adolescents 13-17
- Young Adults 18-25
- Adults 26-64
- Senior Citizens 65+

Q10: Based on the following budget sizes, select the most appropriate for your museum.

- \$100,000 or less
- \$100,000 - \$500,000
- \$500,000 - \$1,000,000
- \$1,000,000 - \$5,000,000
- Over \$5,000,000

Q11: Based on the following criteria, select the most appropriate for your museum.

- Museum that is governed by a college or university
- Museum that is private, 501(c)
- Museum that is private trust, 501(a)
- Museum that is governed by state/local governance
- Museum that is governed by federal governance

Q12: As part of a college or university, does your museum have a relationship with any departments on campus?

Q13: Does your museum have human skeletal remains in its collection?

Q14: Does your museum's collection contain human remains that were accessioned between the years 1865 and 1990?

Q15: Does your museum contain human skeletal remains that are Native American or African American in ancestry?

- Yes, Native American only
- Yes, African American only
- Yes, both Native American and African American
- No

Q16: Does your museum's collection contain human skeletal remains with an unclear provenance?

Q17: Are there any human skeletal remains in your museum's collection that are only represented by the skull of the individual?

Q18: Has your museum used human skeletal remains in an exhibition since 1990?

Q19: Has your museum ever received negative feedback about exhibitions involving the display of human skeletal remains?

Q20: Does your museum have a staff member in collections that has an academic background in anthropology?

Q21: What area of anthropology does the staff member(s) specialize in? You may select more than one answer.

- Physical anthropology
- Archaeology
- Forensic anthropology
- Biological anthropology
- Bioarchaeology
- Medical anthropology
- Cultural anthropology
- Other

Q23: Does your museum participate in outreach programming in your community?

Q25: Does your museum designate funding to work on NAGPRA cases in your collection?

Q27: Has your museum ever been involved in the repatriation of human skeletal remains under NAGPRA compliance?

Q22: Does your museum have educational programming relating to any of the subjects listed below? Select all that apply.

- Anthropology/Archaeology
- Osteology
- Medicine
- Native American Culture/History
- African American Culture/History
- None of the above

Q24: Does your museum contain materials or human skeletal remains that are governed by the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)?

Q26: Does your museum have a staff member in collections that works as a NAGPRA specialist?

Q28: Identify which steps your museum has completed in the NAGPRA process.

- Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
- Your museum has distributed the above summary to all potentially culturally affiliated Indian Tribes or Native Hawaiian Organizations.
- Your museum has created an inventory for human remains and associated funerary objects.
- Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally affiliated inventory.
- Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally unidentifiable inventory.
- Your museum has published a Notice of Inventory Completion.

APPENDIX B

Survey Data Tables

Survey Response #1					
Duration 188 seconds					
Q 1	5-10 years	Q 11	Museum that is governed by state/local governance.	Q 21	Other
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	None of the above
Q 3	History, Museum Studies	Q 13	No	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	City Museum	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No
Q 5	Museum Specialist	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	City of Las Vegas Museum	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	History	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	Hispanic or Latino, White	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	Adults 26-64	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	\$100,000 or less.	Q 20	No		

Survey Response #2

Duration
190 seconds

Q 1	0-5 years	Q 11	Museum that is private, 501(c).	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	No Response	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	Anthropology/Archaeology, Native American Culture/History
Q 3	Religious Studies	Q 13	No	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	N/A	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No
Q 5	Bonner Scholar In-Residence	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	Putnam County Museum	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	Children/Education, History, Anthropology	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	African American, White	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	Children 0-12, Adults 26-64, Senior Citizens 65+	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	\$100,000 - \$500,000	Q 20	No		

Survey Response #3

Duration
198 seconds

Q 1	10-20 years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	Anthropology/ Archaeology	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	Anthropology collections	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	Collections Manager	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	No Response	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	No Response	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

Duration 316 seconds		Survey Response #4			
Q 1	0-5 years	Q 11	Museum that is private, 501(c).	Q 21	Archaeology
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	Anthropology/Archaeology, Native American Culture/History
Q 3	History, Museum Studies	Q 13	Yes	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Curatorial	Q 14	No	Q 24	Yes
Q 5	Collections & Exhibits Manager	Q 15	Yes, Native American only	Q 25	Yes
Q 6	Alutiiq Museum & Archeological Repository	Q 16	Yes	Q 26	Yes
Q 7	History, Anthropology, Other.	Q 17	Yes	Q 27	Yes
Q 8	American Indian or Alaska Native, White	Q 18	No		Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
					Your museum has distributed the above summary to all potentially culturally affiliated Indian Tribes or Native Hawaiian Organizations
Q 9	Children 0-12, Adolescents 13-17, Adults 26-64	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	Your museum has created an inventory for human remains and associated funerary objects
					Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally affiliated inventory
Q 10	\$1,000,000 - \$5,000,000	Q 20	Yes		Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally unidentifiable inventory
					Your museum has published a Notice of Inventory Completion.

Survey Response #5

Duration
338 seconds

Q 1	10-20 years	Q 11	Museum that is governed by a college or university.	Q 21	Archaeology, Bioarchaeology
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No, the museum does not have a relationship with any departments on campus.	Q 22	Anthropology/Archaeology, Native American Culture/History
Q 3	Anthropology/Archaeology, History, Museum Studies	Q 13	Yes	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Collections	Q 14	Yes	Q 24	Yes
Q 5	Curator of Collections	Q 15	Yes, Native American only.	Q 25	Yes
Q 6	Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology	Q 16	Yes	Q 26	No
Q 7	Anthropology	Q 17	Yes	Q 27	Yes
Q 8	American Indian or Alaska Native, White	Q 18	No	Q 28	Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
Q 9	Adolescents 13-17	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	Your museum has distributed the above summary to all potentially culturally affiliated Indian Tribes or Native Hawaiian Organizations.
Q 10	\$100,000 - \$500,000	Q 20	Yes	Q 28	Your museum has created an inventory for human remains and associated funerary objects.
				Q 28	Your museum has published a Notice of Inventory Completion.

Survey Response #6

Duration
192 seconds

Q 1	20+ years	Q 11	Museum that is governed by a college or university.	Q 21	None of the above.
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	Yes	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	History, Museum Studies	Q 13	Yes	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Collections	Q 14	Yes	Q 24	Yes
Q 5	Collections Manager	Q 15	Yes, Native American only.	Q 25	Yes
Q 6	Reece Museum	Q 16	Yes	Q 26	No
Q 7	Art, History	Q 17	No	Q 27	Yes
Q 8	White	Q 18	No		Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
Q 9	Young Adults 18-25, Adults 26-64, Senior Citizens 65+	Q 19	No Response		Your museum has distributed the above summary to all potentially culturally affiliated Indian Tribes or Native Hawaiian Organizations.
				Q 28	Your museum has created an inventory for human remains and associated funerary objects.
					Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally affiliated inventory.
Q 10	\$100,000 - \$500,000	Q 20	No		Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally unidentifiable inventory.
					Your museum has published a Notice of Inventory Completion.

Survey Response #7

Duration
224 seconds

Q 1	5-10 years	Q 11	Museum that is governed by a college or university.	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Bachelors Degree	Q 12	No, the museum does not have a relationship with any departments on campus.	Q 22	Native American Culture/History
Q 3	History	Q 13	No	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Not large enough to actually have departments, but I guess mine would be "Collections."	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No
Q 5	Collections Assistant	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	Center for Western Studies (at Augustana University)	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	Art, History	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	American Indian or Alaska Native, White	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	Young Adults 18-25, Adults 26-64, Senior Citizens 65+	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	\$100,000 - \$500,000	Q 20	No		

Survey Response #8

Duration
352 seconds

Q 1	5-10 years	Q 11	Museum that is governed by a college or university.	Q 21	Cultural Anthropology
Q 2	Doctorate Degree	Q 12	No, the museum does not have a relationship with any departments on campus.	Q 22	Anthropology/Archaeology, Medicine, Native American Culture/History
Q 3	Anthropology/ Archaeology, Museum Studies	Q 13	Yes	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Education	Q 14	Yes	Q 24	Yes
Q 5	Director of Education	Q 15	No	Q 25	No
Q 6	Spurlock Museum of World Cultures	Q 16	Yes	Q 26	No
Q 7	Anthropology	Q 17	No	Q 27	Yes
Q 8	White	Q 18	Yes		Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
Q 9	Young Adults 18-25, Adults 26-64, Senior Citizens 65+	Q 19	No		Your museum has distributed the above summary to all potentially culturally affiliated Indian Tribes or Native Hawaiian Organizations.
Q 10	\$1,000,000 - \$5,000,000	Q 20	Yes	Q 28	Your museum has created an inventory for human remains and associated funerary objects.
					Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally affiliated inventory.
					Your museum has published a Notice of Inventory Completion.

Survey Response #9

Duration
178 seconds

Q 1	5-10 years	Q 11	Museum that is private, 501(c).	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	Native American Culture/History
Q 3	History, Other.	Q 13	No	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Historic Preservation	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	Yes
Q 5	Curator	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No
Q 6	Historic Crab Orchard Museum	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No
Q 7	Natural History, History, Historic Houses	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	Yes
Q 8	White	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	Children 0-12, Adults 26-64, Senior Citizens 65+	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
Q 10	\$100,000 - \$500,000	Q 20	No		

Survey Response #10

Duration
292 seconds

Q 1	5-10 years	Q 11	Museum that is governed by federal governance.	Q 21	Archaeology
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	None of the above.
Q 3	Anthropology/ Archaeology	Q 13	No	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	No Response	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	Yes
Q 5	Museum Curator	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	Yes
Q 6	High Plains Group Collections Repository	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No
Q 7	Art, Natural History, History, Anthropology, Historic Houses, Other.	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	Yes
Q 8	White	Q 18	No Response		Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
Q 9	Senior Citizens 65+	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally unidentifiable inventory.
Q 10	\$100,000 - \$500,000	Q 20	Yes		

Survey Response #11

Duration
359 seconds

Q 1	20+ years	Q 11	Museum that is private, 501(c).	Q 21	Archaeology, Cultural Anthropology
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12		Q 22	Anthropology/Archaeology, Native American Culture/History
Q 3	Biology, Geology, Museum Studies, Paleontology	Q 13	Yes	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Curatorial/Collections (no differentiation made)	Q 14	Yes	Q 24	Yes
Q 5	Curator of Natural Science	Q 15	Yes, Native American only.	Q 25	No
Q 6	Putnam Museum and Science Center	Q 16	Yes	Q 26	Yes
Q 7	Children/Education, Natural History, History, Anthropology, Science/Technology	Q 17	No	Q 27	Yes
Q 8	White	Q 18	No		
Q 9	Children 0-12, Adolescents 13-17, Adults 26-64	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	\$1,000,000 - \$5,000,000	Q 20	Yes		

Survey Response #12

Duration
192 seconds

Q 1	10-20 years	Q 11	Museum that is governed by state/local governance.	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	Anthropology/Archaeology, Native American Culture/History
Q 3	History, Museum Studies, Native American Studies	Q 13	Yes	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Curator of Collections	Q 14	Yes	Q 24	Yes
Q 5	Wyoming State Museum	Q 15	No.	Q 25	No
Q 6	Art, Natural History, History, Anthropology, Native American Studies	Q 16	No	Q 26	No
Q 7	White	Q 17	No	Q 27	No
Q 8	Curator of Collections	Q 18	No	Q 28	Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No		Your museum has distributed the above summary to all potentially culturally affiliated Indian Tribes or Native Hawaiian Organizations.
Q 10	\$1,000,000 - \$5,000,000	Q 20	No		Your museum has created an inventory for human remains and associated funerary objects.
					Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally affiliated inventory.
					Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally unidentifiable inventory.
					Your museum has published a Notice of Inventory Completion.

Survey Response #13

Duration
784 seconds

Q 1	5-10 years	Q 11	Museum that is governed by a college or university.	Q 21	Physical Anthropology, Archaeology, Biological Anthropology, Cultural Anthropology
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	Yes.	Q 22	Anthropology/Archaeology, Osteology, Native American Culture/History
Q 3	Anthropology/ Archaeology	Q 13	Yes	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Human Osteology	Q 14	Yes	Q 24	Yes
Q 5	Collections and Lab Manager	Q 15	Yes, both Native American and African American.	Q 25	Yes
Q 6	Maxwell Museum of Anthropology	Q 16	Yes	Q 26	No
Q 7	Children/Education, Anthropology	Q 17	Yes	Q 27	Yes
Q 8	White	Q 18	No		
Q 9	Adolescents 13-17, Young Adults 18-25, Senior Citizens 65+	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	Your museum has created an inventory for human remains and associated funerary objects. Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally affiliated inventory.
Q 10	\$100,000 - \$500,000	Q 20	Yes		Your museum has published a Notice of Inventory Completion.

Survey Response #14

Duration
435 seconds

Q 1	10-20 years	Q 11	Museum that is private, 501(c).	Q 21	Other
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	Anthropology/Archaeology
Q 3	History, Business/ Administration, Education, Museum Studies	Q 13	No	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Collections	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No
Q 5	Director of Collections	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	York County History Center	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	Children/Education, Art, Natural History, History, Anthropology, Historic Houses, Science/Technology	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	African American, White	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	Children 0-12, Adults 26-64, Senior Citizens 65+	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	\$1,000,000 - \$5,000,000	Q 20	No		

Survey Response #15

Duration
228 seconds

Q 1	10-20 years	Q 11	Museum that is governed by a college or university.	Q 21	Archaeology, Bioarchaeology, Cultural Anthropology, Other
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	Yes.	Q 22	Anthropology/Archaeology, Native American Culture/History
Q 3	History, Art/Art History, Education, Museum Studies	Q 13	No	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Public events, programming, volunteer coordinator	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No
Q 5	Director of Heritage Education	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	Lubbock Lake Landmark	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	Children/Education, Natural History, History, Anthropology	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	Hispanic or Latino, White	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	Children 0-12, Adolescents 13-17, Adults 26-64	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	\$100,000 - \$500,000	Q 20	Yes		

Survey Response #16

Duration
901 seconds

Q 1	20+ years	Q 11	Museum that is governed by state/local governance.	Q 21	Archaeology, Cultural Anthropology
Q 2	Bachelors Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	Native American Culture/History
Q 3	Anthropology/ Archaeology	Q 13	Yes	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Curatorial- Archaeology	Q 14	Yes	Q 24	Yes
Q 5	Curator	Q 15	Yes, Native American only.	Q 25	No
Q 6	The State Museum of Pennsylvania	Q 16	Yes	Q 26	No
Q 7	Natural History, History	Q 17	Yes	Q 27	Yes
Q 8	African American, White	Q 18	No		Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
Q 9	Children 0-12, Adolescents 13-17, Adults 26-64	Q 19	No Response		Your museum has distributed the above summary to all potentially culturally affiliated Indian Tribes or Native Hawaiian Organizations.
Q 10	\$1,000,000 - \$5,000,000	Q 20	Yes	Q 28	Your museum has created an inventory for human remains and associated funerary objects. Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally affiliated inventory. Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally unidentifiable inventory. Your museum has published a Notice of Inventory Completion.

Survey Response #17

Duration
312 seconds

Q 1	20+ years	Q 11	Museum that is governed by state/local governance.	Q 21	Archaeology
Q 2	Doctorate Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	Anthropology/Archaeology, Native American Culture/History, African American Culture/History
Q 3	History	Q 13	No	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	I worked for 30 years as a curator. I now teach at the University level	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	Yes
Q 5	Adjunct Professor	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No
Q 6	New York State Bureau of Historic Sites	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	Yes
Q 7	History, Historic Houses	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No
Q 8	White	Q 18	No Response		Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
Q 9	Children 0-12, Senior Citizens 65+	Q 19	No Response		Your museum has distributed the above summary to all potentially culturally affiliated Indian Tribes or Native Hawaiian Organizations.
Q 10	\$1,000,000 - \$5,000,000	Q 20	Yes	Q 28	Your museum has created an inventory for human remains and associated funerary objects.
					Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally affiliated inventory.
					Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally unidentifiable inventory.
					Your museum has published a Notice of Inventory Completion.

Survey Response #18

Duration
858 seconds

Q 1	5-10 years	Q 11	Museum that is private, 501(c).	Q 21	Cultural Anthropology
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	Native American Culture/History, African American Culture/History
Q 3	Anthropology/ Archaeology, Art/Art History, Museum Studies	Q 13	No	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Collections	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	Yes
Q 5	Assistant Collections Manager	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	Yes
Q 6	Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	Yes
Q 7	Art, History, Anthropology	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No
Q 8	White	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	Children 0-12, Adults 26-64, Senior Citizens 65+	Q 19	No Response		Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
Q 10	Over \$5,000,000	Q 20	Yes	Q 28	Your museum has distributed the above summary to all potentially culturally affiliated Indian Tribes or Native Hawaiian Organizations.

Survey Response #19

Duration
311 seconds

Q 1	20+ years	Q 11	Museum that is governed by state/local governance.	Q 21	Archaeology, Cultural Anthropology
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	Anthropology/ Archaeology, Native American Culture/History, African American Culture/History
Q 3	Anthropology/ Archaeology, Museum Studies	Q 13	Yes	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Anthropology	Q 14	Yes	Q 24	Yes
Q 5	Curator of Anthropology Collections	Q 15	Yes, Native American only.	Q 25	No
Q 6	Milwaukee Public Museum	Q 16	Yes	Q 26	Yes
Q 7	Natural History, History, Anthropology	Q 17	Yes	Q 27	Yes
Q 8	African American, White	Q 18	No		Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
Q 9	Children 0-12, Adolescents 13-17, Adults 26-64	Q 19	No Response		Your museum has distributed the above summary to all potentially culturally affiliated Indian Tribes or Native Hawaiian Organizations.
				Q 28	Your museum has created an inventory for human remains and associated funerary objects.
Q 10	Over \$5,000,000	Q 20	Yes		Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally affiliated inventory.
					Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally unidentifiable inventory.
					Your museum has published a Notice of Inventory Completion.

Survey Response #20

Duration
26 seconds

Q 1	5-10 years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	Museum Studies	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	No Response	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	No Response	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	No Response	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	No Response	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

Survey Response #21

Duration
29 seconds

Q 1	5-10 years	Q 11	Museum that is governed by state/local governance.	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	Anthropology/Archaeology, Museum Studies, Other.	Q 13	Yes	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	Registration	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	Database Administrator	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	Art	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	Asian, White	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	Young Adults 18-25, Adults 26-64, Senior Citizens 65+	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	Over \$5,000,000	Q 20	No Response		

Survey Response #22

Duration
93 seconds

Q 1	0-5 years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	Museum Studies	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	Photographs	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	Curatorial Assistant	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	No Response	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	No Response	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

Survey Response #23

Duration
188 seconds

Q 1	20+ years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Doctorate Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	History, Other.	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	Maritime	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	No Response	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	No Response	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	No Response	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

Survey Response #24

Duration
66 seconds

Q 1	5-10 years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	History, Art/Art History, Education, Museum Studies	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	Education/Programs	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	Programs Coordinator	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	No Response	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	No Response	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

Survey Response #25

Duration
57 seconds

Q 1	20+ years	Q 11	Museum that is governed by a college or university.	Q 21	Archaeology, Cultural Anthropology
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	Yes.	Q 22	Anthropology/ Archaeology
Q 3	Anthropology/ Archaeology, Museum Studies	Q 13	Yes	Q 23	Yes
Q 4	Anthropology Collection	Q 14	Yes	Q 24	Yes
Q 5	Anthropology Collections Manager	Q 15	Yes, Native American only.	Q 25	Yes
Q 6	University of Colorado Museum of Natural History	Q 16	Yes	Q 26	Yes
Q 7	Natural History, Anthropology	Q 17	Yes	Q 27	Yes
Q 8	Hispanic or Latino, White	Q 18	No		Your museum has completed a summary of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.
Q 9	Children 0-12, Young Adults 18- 25, Adults 26-64	Q 19	No Response		Your museum has distributed the above summary to all potentially culturally affiliated Indian Tribes or Native Hawaiian Organizations.
Q 10	\$1,000,000 - \$5,000,000	Q 20	Yes	Q 28	Your museum has created an inventory for human remains and associated funerary objects. Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally affiliated inventory. Your museum has completed an item-by-item inventory of all culturally unidentifiable inventory. Your museum has published a Notice of Inventory Completion.

Survey Response #26

Duration
486 seconds

Q 1	0-5 years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Bachelors Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	Anthropology/ Archaeology	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	Events	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	Events and Groups Coordinator	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	No Response	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	No Response	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

Survey Response #27

Duration
86 seconds

Q 1	0-5 years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	Art/Art History, Museum Studies	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	Photography	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	Assistant Photographer	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	No Response	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	No Response	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

Survey Response #28

Duration
41 seconds

Q 1	10-20 years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	History, Museum Studies	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	No Response	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	No Response	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	No Response	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	No Response	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

Survey Response #29

Duration
64 seconds

Q 1	5-10 years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	Anthropology/ Archaeology	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	World cultures	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	Researcher	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	No Response	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	No Response	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

Survey Response #30

Duration
64 seconds

Q 1	10-20 years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	History, Library Science.	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	Curatorial	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	Special Collections Librarian	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	No Response	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	No Response	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

Survey Response #31

Duration
93 seconds

Q 1	10-20 years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Bachelors Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	Biology	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	No Response	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	No Response	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	No Response	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	No Response	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

Survey Response #32

Duration
148 seconds

Q 1	0-5 years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	Anthropology/Archaeology	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	NAGPRA Lab	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	Volunteer	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	No Response	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	No Response	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

Survey Response #33

Duration
55 seconds

Q 1	20+ years	Q 11	Museum that is private trust, 501(a).	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Doctorate Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	Art/Art History	Q 13	Yes	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	No Response	Q 14	Yes	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	No Response	Q 15	Yes, both Native American and African American.	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	Yes	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	Children/Education	Q 17	Yes	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	Hispanic or Latino	Q 18	Yes		
Q 9	Adults 26-64	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	Over \$5,000,000	Q 20	No		

Survey Response #34

Duration
84 seconds

Q 1	0-5 years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Bachelors Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	Anthropology/Archaeology	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	Zoology	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	Research Assistant	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	No Response	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	No Response	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

Survey Response #35

Duration
82 seconds

Q 1	5-10 years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Masters Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	Art/Art History	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	Education	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	Manager of Gallery Interpretation	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	New Museum	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	Art	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	White	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

Survey Response #36

Duration
38 seconds

Q 1	5-10 years	Q 11	No Response	Q 21	No Response
Q 2	Bachelors Degree	Q 12	No Response	Q 22	No Response
Q 3	Museum Studies	Q 13	No Response	Q 23	No Response
Q 4	No Response	Q 14	No Response	Q 24	No Response
Q 5	No Response	Q 15	No Response	Q 25	No Response
Q 6	No Response	Q 16	No Response	Q 26	No Response
Q 7	No Response	Q 17	No Response	Q 27	No Response
Q 8	No Response	Q 18	No Response		
Q 9	No Response	Q 19	No Response	Q 28	No Response
Q 10	No Response	Q 20	No Response		

APPENDIX C

Case Study Interview Questions

Museum: Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology

Question One: For the human remains accessioned between 1865 and 1990, are the records clear on the following:

- a. Provenance?
- b. Who collected?

Questions Two: How much would you estimate of your collection has the following:

- a. Unclear provenance?
- b. Native American ancestry?

Question Three: What kind of anthropology programming does your museum do? Can you give a few examples?

Question Four: What percentage of your funding is designated to NAGPRA?

Question Five: Can you describe two cases where your museum was involved in repatriation?

- a. What were the challenges?
- b. How long did it take?
- c. How was your relationship with the tribes?
- d. Background on the remains/items repatriated?
- e. Did it take additional funding?

Museum: University of Colorado's Museum of Natural History

Question One: Can you provide data regarding your museum's visitor audience race and age?

Question Two: How would you describe the relationship your museum has with departments on campus?

Question Three: For the human remains accessioned between 1865 and 1990, are the records clear on the following:

- a. Provenance?
- b. Who collected?

Question Four: How much would you estimate of your collection has the following:

- a. Unclear provenance?
- b. Native American ancestry?

Question Five: What kind of anthropology programming does your museum do? Can you give a few examples?

Question Six: What percentage of your funding is designated to NAGPRA?

Question Seven: What kind of experience does your staff member (NAGPRA) specialist have?

Question Eight: Can you describe two cases where your museum was involved in repatriation?

- a. What were the challenges?
- b. How long did it take?
- c. How was your relationship with the tribes?
- d. Did it take additional funding?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “American Antiquities Act of 1906,” National Park Service.
<http://www.nps.gov/subjects/legal/american-antiquities-act-of-1906.htm>
(accessed on January 8, 2019).
- Andover, “Learning: Peabody Institute of Archaeology.” Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology. <https://www.andover.edu/learning/peabody> (accessed February 9, 2019).
- Andover, “Learning: Peabody Institute of Archaeology.” Peabody Institute of Archaeology.
https://www.andover.edu/files/PeabodyPlan2015_2020.pdf (accessed February 9, 2018).
- Brace, Charles, “Region Does Not Mean ‘Race’ – Reality Versus Convention in Forensic Anthropology,” *Journal of Forensic Science* 40 (1995): 171-175.
- Bradley, James. “Negotiating NAGPRA: Rediscovering the Human Side of Science.” In *Glory, Trouble, and Renaissance at the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology*, edited by Malinda Blustain and Ryan Wheeler. Nebraska: University Nebraska Press, 2018).
- Caspiri, Rachel, “A Century of Race, Physical Anthropology, and the American Anthropological Association,” *American Anthropologist* 105:1 (2003).
- Chari, Sangita, “Journeys to Repatriation: 15 Years of NAGPRA Grants, 1994-2008,” *Museum Anthropology* (2010): 210-217.
- Christina Cain, Anthropology Collections Manager at University of Colorado Boulder Museum of Natural History, interview by author, October 16, 2018.
- Deng, Lian, and Shuhua Xu, “Adaptation of human skin color in various populations,” *Hereditas* 155 (2018).
- Dewbury, Adam, “The American School and Scientific Racism in Early American Anthropology,” *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 3 (2007): 121-147.
- “Exhibitions: Hyrtl Skull Collection,” The Mütter Museum,
<http://muttermuseum.org/exhibitions/hyrtl-skull-collection/> (accessed January 11, 2019).

- Forensic MD, "Anthropologic Landmarks of the Skull Measurements and Indices," <https://forensicmd.files.wordpress.com/2010/05/anthropologic-landmarks-skull.pdf> (accessed February 17, 2019).
- Hagler, Jeremiah. "Teaching Science at the Peabody Museum." In *Glory, Trouble, and Renaissance at the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology*, edited by Malinda Blustain and Ryan Wheeler. Nebraska: University Nebraska Press, 2018.
- Hamilton, Nathan and Eugene Winter Jr. "A Biographical History of the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology." In *Glory, Trouble, and Renaissance at the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology*, edited by Malinda Blustain and Ryan Wheeler. Nebraska: University Nebraska Press, 2018.
- Hefner, Joseph and Stephen Ousley. "Morphoscopic Traits and the Assessment of Ancestry." In *A companion to Forensic Anthropology*, edited by Dennis Dirkmaat. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2012.
- Hemenway, Eric, "Trials and Tribulations in a Tribal NAGPRA Program," *Museum Anthropology* (2010): 172-179.
- Kakaliouras, Ann, "When Remains are 'Lost': Thoughts on Collections, Repatriation, and Research in American Physical Anthropology," *Curator: The Museum Journal* (2014): 213-223.
- Kelsey, Penelope and Cari Carpenter, "'In the End, Our Message Weighs': Blood Run, NAGPRA, and American Indian Identity," *American Indian Quarterly* (2011): 56-74.
- Kennedy, Kenneth, "But Professor, Why Teach Race Identification if Races Don't Exist?" *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 40 (1995): 797-800.
- "Looking at Ourselves: Rethinking the Sculpture of Malvina Hoffman," The Field Museum. <https://www.fieldmuseum.org/at-the-field/exhibitions/looking-ourselves-rethinking-sculptures-malvina-hoffman> (accessed January 11, 2019).
- Marla Taylor, Curator of Collections at the Robert S. Peabody Institute of Archaeology, interview by author, October 8, 2018.
- Mayr, Ernst. *The Growth of Biological Thought: Diversity, Evolution, and Inheritance*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press: 1982.
- Morton, Samuel G. *Crania Americana, or, A comparative view of the skulls of various aboriginal nations of North and South America: to which is prefixed an essay on the variety of the human species...* Philadelphia: John Pennington, 1839.

- NAGPRA. 1992. Review Committee Meeting 01, April 29-May 1, 1992, Washington, D.C. <https://irma.nps.gov/DataStore/Reference/Profile/2254453> (accessed April 2, 2019).
- NAGPRA. 2017. Review Committee Meeting 62, March 15-16, 2017, Denver, CO. <https://irma.nps.gov/DataStore/Reference/Profile/2258855> (accessed April 2, 2019).
- “NAGPRA Compliance,” Association of American Indian Affairs. <http://www.indian-affairs.org/nagpra-compliance.html> (accessed December 18-19, 2018).
- “National NAGPRA Online Databases: About NAGPRA Databases,” National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior. <https://www.nps.gov/nagpra/onlinedb/index.htm> (accessed March 19, 2019).
- National Park Service, “Earl Morris.” <https://www.nps.gov/people/earl-morris.htm> (accessed March 6, 2019).
- Ousely, Stephen, and Richard Jantz, “The Forensic Data Bank: Documenting Skeletal Trends in the United States,” *Forensic Osteology: Advances in the Identification of Human Remains 2* (1998). https://www.researchgate.net/publication/290792290_The_forensic_data_bank_Documenting_skeletal_trends_in_the_United_States (accessed October 27, 2018).
- Ousley, Stephen, Richard Jantz, and Donna Freid, “Understanding Race and Human Variation: Why Forensic Anthropologists are Good at Identifying Race,” *American Journal of Forensic Anthropology* 129 (2009): 68-79.
- Randall, Lindsay and Christopher Toya. “Pecos Pathways: A Model for Lasting Partnerships.” In *Glory, Trouble, and Renaissance at the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology*, edited by Malinda Blustain and Ryan Wheeler. Nebraska: University Nebraska Press, 2018.
- Redman, Samuel J. *Bone Rooms: From Scientific Racism to Human Prehistory in Museums*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016.
- Relethford, John, “Cranio-metric Variation Among Modern Human Populations,” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 95 (1994): 53-62.
- Rose, Jerome, Thomas Green and Victoria Green, “Nagpra is Forever: Osteology and the Repatriation of Skeletons,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* (1996): 81-103.

- Schillaci, Michael and Wendy Bustard, "Controversy and Conflict: NAGPRA and the Role of Biological Anthropology in Determining Cultural Affiliation," *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* (2010): 352-373.
- Teslow, Tracy. *Constructing Race: The Science of Bodies and Cultures in American Anthropology*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- The Yellow Jacket Project, "Site Reports." The University of Colorado Museum of Natural History. <http://yellowjacket.colorado.edu/5MT1.html> (accessed April 11, 2019).
- Trope, Jack. "The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act." In *Mending the Circle: A Native American Repatriation Guide*, edited by Barbara Meister, 9-44. New York, New York: American Indian Ritual Object Repatriation Foundation, 1996.
- University of Colorado Boulder, "About the Museum: History." Museum of Natural History. <https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/about/history> (accessed March 5, 2019).
- University of Colorado Boulder, "Adults: AIA Lecture Series." Museum of Natural History. <https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/programs/adults/aia-lecture-series> (accessed February 16, 2019).
- University of Colorado Boulder, "Adults: Tree Walk." Museum of Natural History. <http://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/programs/adults/tree-walk> (accessed February 16, 2018).
- University of Colorado Boulder, "Children and Families: Family Days." Museum of Natural History. <https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/programs/children-and-families/family-days> (accessed February 16, 2019).
- University of Colorado Boulder, "Research and Collections: Anthropology." Museum of Natural History. <https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/research-collections/anthropology> (accessed March 5, 2019).
- University of Colorado Boulder, "School and Group Programs: Colorado Archaeology in the Classroom." Museum of Natural History. <https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/programs/schools-and-groups/colorado-archaeology-classroom> (accessed February 16, 2019).
- University of Colorado Boulder, "School and School Group Programs: Guided Programs and Workshops." Museum of Natural History. <https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/programs/schools-and-groups/guided-programs-and-workshops> (accessed February 16, 2019)

University of Colorado Boulder, “School and School Group Programs: Outreach Materials.” Museum of Natural History.
<https://www.colorado.edu/cumuseum/programs/schools-and-groups/outreach-materials> (accessed February 16, 2019)