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## Changing Ideas and Perceptions

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The National Park Service is aware that its relevance and appeal must relate to all people. Monuments that have recently been established do not always commemorate positive aspects of history but are beginning to provide a total picture representative of all cultures and periods in history that make up the United States. Cultural perspectives are adding to the richness of interpretative presentations of newly established parks and parks that were previously established to preserve and interpret the scenic beauty. This change has occurred through active participation of communities whose heritage is being interpreted and preserved by the National Park Service.

Another means of change in the National Park Service occurs through specific laws such as Public Law 101-601, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), which was enacted November 16, 1990. For each federal agency and federally funded museum to be in compliance with the law, NAGPRA required completion dates of activities. One requirement of the law was an item-by-item inventory of human remains and associated funerary objects, which was due November 16, 1995. The inventory list was to be developed by each agency and museum in consultation with lineal descendants and appropriate culturally affiliated Indian tribe officials and traditional religious leaders. Although some National Park Service sites had previously consulted with tribes, the efforts were often dependent on the interest of the park manager and usually occurred infrequently, not in an effort to maintain dialogue.

You may wonder why the law is specific to Native Americans. It is because of a unique legal relationship that exists between the United States and Indian tribal governments, set forth in the Commerce Clause of the Constitution of the United States and carried out through treaties, statutes, executive orders, and court decisions. In some treaties, our nation has guaranteed the right of Indian tribes to self-government. The National Park Service continues to work with Indian tribes on a government-to-government basis to implement NAGPRA and to carry out other responsibilities.

Through tribal consultations, NAGPRA opened the door to begin building relationships of trust and communication between tribes and the National Park Service. Tribes now have a better understanding of responsibilities the National Park Service has to the country as a whole; and, through participating in consultation meetings, the National Park Service has gained new insight into the resources it manages and the cultural concerns of a tribe for its ancestral heritage.

Following are examples of changes that have occurred in parks active in tribal consultation within one region of the National Park Service, supplemented by selected examples from other regions.

The Intermountain Region is composed of eight states: Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Colorado, Oklahoma, Utah, Montana, and Wyoming, and borders the countries of Mexico to the south and Canada to the north. Eighty-six parks are located within this region. These

parks contain approximately one-quarter of the total museum collections holdings of the National Park Service. Approximately 83 Indian nations are potentially culturally affiliated with parks in the Intermountain Region, and it is appropriate for parks to consult with these tribes. In the following examples of the results of tribal consultation from parks and monuments in the Intermountain Region, images are not included because photography of the objects subject to consultation typically is inappropriate.

Aztec Ruin National Monument's tribal consultation efforts have led to the repatriation of all human remains and associated funerary objects and reburial on park lands in a site that was scheduled to be backfilled. Through this process an exhibit that once displayed numerous associated funerary objects was emptied. Aztec staff saw this as an opportunity to inform park visitors about NAGPRA and placed text within the empty exhibit case to describe the law and explain the concerns voiced by the tribes about displaying burial objects. This led to a positive educational experience about NAGPRA for park visitors and provided an opportunity for in-depth discussion with interpretation staff and more respect for the site they were about to visit. In addition, through continued consultation, the park contracted with a tribal member from the consultation group to produce a trail guide that interprets the site from a tribal perspective.

Bandelier National Monument has an active tribal consultation committee. The park meets regularly with the consultation committee to discuss all aspects of park management. Some examples of cultural sensitivity resulting from the consultation include the removal of "loaded" terms from exhibit text and interpretive information, such as "ruins" or "abandoned." It was explained that these words bring to mind something without value or discarded, yet these ancestral places are still mentioned in tribal prayers, oral tradition, and songs. These culturally significant places are now referred to as "ancestral sites." There are other examples of change in terminology resulting from tribal consultation. In addition, an understanding exists between the park management and one of the culturally affiliated tribes that its religious leader will "maintain" a hunting shrine on park lands that is being affected by New Age worshippers and other backcountry visitors leaving inappropriate offerings at the shrine. The shrine is still in active use by tribal members and they can best judge which objects are appropriate for the site.

Carlsbad Caverns National Park and Guadalupe Mountains National Park set national precedents in two ways with one NAGPRA case: the first repatriation of human remains to a tribal consortium. Because of the antiquity of the human remains, it would have been impossible to clearly identify the specific cultural group. In addition, this was the first repatriation of human remains determined to be culturally unidentifiable due to their antiquity. The tribal consultation committee composed of representatives from ten Indian nations submitted a repatriation request to the park for the human remains in an effort to show respect and to honor their ancestors. The parks were in agreement with the tribes because analysis on the human remains had previously been conducted and the parks felt that they had retrieved all scientific data that could be beneficial to the government and the American public from this research. The NAGPRA Review Committee heard the case and, given the findings, the Review Committee recommended to the secretary of the interior that the human remains be repatriated to the consortium of tribes. The park superintendents have agreed to

reburial on National Park Service land.

Chaco Culture National Historical Park is a site known worldwide for the architectural mastery and the concentration of ancestral sites. Objects excavated at this site have been the source of numerous exhibits and research efforts. Exhibits developed for the visitor center were installed without tribal consultation in the early 1980s. In 1990, a water leak in the pipes above the exhibit area damaged an exhibit that held painted wooden objects. The painted wooden objects were part of a religious altar used by ancestral people. Prior to reinstalling the wooden objects on exhibit, the park consulted with the tribes who shared information about their original use and asked that the painted wooden objects be permanently removed from exhibit and that viewing of the objects be limited. Chaco honored the request of the tribes, removed the painted objects from exhibit, and provides limited access only through consultation with the tribes.

El Morro National Monument was set aside to preserve the inscriptions of early Spanish conquistadors and Spanish settlers and early U.S. military soldiers who utilized a pool at the base of the cliff. This source of water was important to all people in the area and was originally used by ancestral people and their descendants as well as the newcomers. Efforts at preserving the cliff face with its historic inscriptions have revealed that the inscriptions are often placed over petroglyphs. The park is including tribes in discussing treatment proposals to preserve the rock surface since preservation efforts will also affect the underlying petroglyphs.

El Malpais National Monument is the first monument in New Mexico with enabling legislation that recognizes the past use of portions of the monument by Indian people for traditional cultural and religious purposes. The legislation states that the park will develop plans in coordination with the Pueblo of Acoma to assure access to the land for traditional, cultural, and religious use and provide for privacy during such activities. Legislation also advises the park to seek recommendations from the Pueblo for protecting traditional cultural and religious sites in the nationally significant Grants Lava Flow.

The Gila Cliff Dwellings, contained in the national monument of the same name, were built by the people who archaeologists have named the "Mimbres culture." Mimbres ceramics are known worldwide and are highly sought after, leading to extensive pot hunting and looting of Mimbres sites throughout southern New Mexico. The National Park Service and the U.S. Forest Service, which jointly administer the monument, are exploring ways to accomplish repatriation of human remains and associated funerary objects and reburial on federal lands. This effort between agencies is unique because they are cooperating to provide the best security of the reburial site in consultation with culturally affiliated tribes.

Pecos National Historical Park worked with the Peabody Museum of Archaeology in Andover, Massachusetts, to consult with the culturally affiliated tribe of Jemez Pueblo to repatriate and rebury over 1,000 human remains and funerary objects. The excavations occurred at Pecos Pueblo long before it was in the national park system. The Pueblo of Jemez and other tribes participated in consultation meetings with the Peabody for many years before the human remains and funerary objects could be repatriated. Pecos staff served as facilitators of the efforts and made the necessary arrangements to enable reburial on park lands. It is the largest repatriation and reburial effort to date.

Petroglyph National Monument continues close tribal consultation with culturally affiliated tribes to determine which of the petroglyphs, inscribed on the volcanic cliffs in the park, are appropriate for use in interpretive programs and publications. This relationship is closely linked with an effort to prevent additional urban sprawl of nearby Albuquerque that would occur by way of a proposal to develop a road through the middle of the park, thus destroying not only the context for the petroglyphs but also leading to the destruction of many petroglyphs in the process.

Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument has successfully repatriated and reburied all human remains and associated funerary objects formerly held in its collections. The park has made great efforts to consult with the tribes, and they frequently refer to Salinas as the example of the way in which tribal consultation should occur. Consultation has led to an awareness of the differences of each sovereign nation of tribes, and to mutual respect and a genuine effort to understand one another and work together on all matters that affect the park. The park, along with the consultation committee, is working on a memorandum of understanding for inadvertent discovery of human remains. This agreement will result in minimal disturbance to the human remains and prevent ground-disturbing projects from having to stop for consultation with tribes, as directed by NAGPRA.

White Sands National Monument is known as a natural site; however, there are numerous cultural sites throughout the park. In one instance, after consulting with culturally affiliated tribes White Sands decided to provide limited application of reburial with no significant alteration to the site. The burial site is being affected by sheet erosion of the soil, causing the exposure of numerous human remains. Through review of the location it was determined that removal of a road and additional extensive groundwork would have to occur to redirect water runoff from nearby hills. The tribes feel that the runoff is part of a natural process which includes the human remains. This specific location is in an area that has very controlled access, which aids in preventing vandalism to the site and looting, as the site continues to erode. In doing minimal intervention the park is keeping its preservation mandate but also considering the cultural concerns voiced by the culturally affiliated tribes.

Beyond the Southwest, other parks in the Intermountain Region have active consultation programs. For example, Yellowstone National Park is known primarily for its natural, scenic wonders; it also includes many important cultural sites for a variety of tribes. The park attempts to keep the tribal consultation committee informed of issues before they hear them reported in the news. Resolution of issues does not always follow the preferred recommendation of the tribe, such as the park's decision to reduce the numbers of buffalo due to pressures from neighboring communities. Nevertheless, Yellowstone consulted with the tribes in preparation for the move of collections to its newly constructed curatorial facility. The tribes wanted the park to ensure that the human remains and associated funerary objects were provided appropriate cultural sensitivity during the move and relocation in the new facility. The tribes requested a place where ceremonies can be carried out for some of the sacred objects in collections. The new facility has a fume hood installed in the collection receiving room that will double as a place where the tribes can hold ceremonies with the objects when the use of smoke is required.

Additional examples of changes resulting from tribal consultation come from park areas in other regions of the National Park Service.

A project that Olympic National Park staff is excited about is the identification of the makers of baskets in the park's collection. Learning the names of the weavers gives relatives of the makers a connection to the park's collections, and they come to study the techniques their relatives used in making the baskets. The park also hears the oral tradition about where basket materials were traditionally gathered and the uses of the various styles of baskets.

Sitka National Historical Park in Alaska is a park that incorporates consultation with every aspect of park management. Many of the objects that make up the exhibits at the park visitor center, such as the carved house posts, painted house screens, Chilkat robes, and clan crest hats are on loan to the park from individual clan leaders who wish their property to remain in Sitka, in protective care.

Sitka's incoming loan agreements recognize clan jurisdiction over these objects. The park consults with the traditional owners on the care and interpretation of these collections on an ongoing basis. The park has agreed to store objects that have been repatriated from other museums to the Tlingit traditional owners. These objects are used in ceremonies at appropriate times during the year and then returned to the park. Sitka Tlingit clan leaders danced in a recent rededication ceremony of the visitor center. This consultation process and relationship has truly benefited both the National Park Service and the Tlingit people.

These are but a few examples that illustrate various changes that have occurred through the consultation process. Mutual benefit for National Park Service interpretation, exhibit development, and collection management and respect for tribal sensitivity has occurred. This awareness has made National Park Service sites more welcoming to tribes and to the continuation of cultural traditions, and has added new depth to park visitors' understanding of different cultures.