

*Tribal Cultural Resource
Management: The Full Circle to
Stewardship*

by

Darby C. Stapp
and
Michael S. Burney

A Joint Review

***Tribal Cultural Resource Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship*¹**
By Darby C. Stapp² and Michael S. Burney³

Introduced by Deward E. Walker, Jr.⁴

The *High Plains Applied Anthropologist* is pleased to publish this in-depth, joint review of *Tribal Cultural Resource Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship* by Darby Stapp and Michael Burney. Stapp and Burney are seasoned veterans of the cultural resource management wars between the tribes and archaeologists and are very capable of providing this impressive assemblage of the many of issues in contention during the past several decades and especially since 1990 with the passage of NAGPRA. They have pioneered novel approaches to resolving such issues in which tribes and archaeologists struggle to find common ground as they confront the questions of what are cultural resources, who owns them, and who has jurisdiction over them. On page ix, Jeff Van Pelt sets the tone for this important work when he describes how the tribes made Stapp and Burney “realize that there is another way of doing things, that there is a purpose beyond research.” For Van Pelt, a major purpose of tribal cultural resource management is to reconnect with and reassert stewardship over the ancestors who were here before. It is also about building bridges of better understanding between archaeologists and tribes.

This book joins several other books and articles that are helping anthropologists find their way into this new domain, including *Repatriation Reader: Who Owns American Indian Remains?*, edited by Devon A. Miheusah; *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground*, edited by Nina Swidler et al.; *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, Archaeology, and the Battle for Native American Identity*, by David Hurst Thomas; “Other Perspectives on the Kennewick Man Controversy: A Few Observations” (*American Anthropologist* December 2000), and “Anthropology, Tribes, and The Transformation of American Anthropology: A Few Observations” (*High Plains Applied Anthropologist* 20[1]), by Deward E. Walker, Jr., and Peter N. Jones. The reader may wish to review other descriptions of tribal cultural resource management programs now in operation. Many have easily accessed program descriptions to share. (See Navajo Nation Archaeology Department Standards and Methods for Fieldwork and Report Preparation, January 1988 and later; see

especially the description of the CTUIR program in Chapter 5 of Stapp and Burney.)

A related tribal view of cultural resource management the reader should also review is *Indigenous Archaeology* by Joe Watkins (2000, Alta Mira Press), who mirrors much of what we see in Stapp and Burney. Watkins offers further amplification on several issues raised by Stapp and Burney such as the extremely volatile issues of who should own American Indian cultural resources and who should control them. It is clear from Stapp, Burney, and Watkins that the tribes have little doubt as to how these questions are to be ultimately answered. By my count there are already more than 50 tribal cultural resource programs in operation and many more planned. In effect, this is a movement barely begun, one that will grow rapidly over the next several decades. It is essential that all anthropologists support this movement in order to build the bridges of cooperation the tribes are calling for. We must not refuse the olive branch being presented to us by Jeff Van Pelt, Joe Watkins, and other tribal leaders in the emerging field of tribal cultural resource management.

Notes

1. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, A Division of Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers, 2002. Heritage Resources Management Series, Number 4. Series edited by Don Fowler and sponsored by the University of Nevada at Reno. 260 pages; illustrations including maps, photographs as figures, and tables; foreword by Jeff Van Pelt; preface; three parts; ten chapters; afterword by Robert Whitlam; bibliography; index, about the authors. Cloth, \$70.00 U.S. Paperback, \$24.95 U.S.

2. Darby C. Stapp obtained his Ph.D. from the American Civilization Department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1990. He directs the Hanford Cultural Resources Laboratory for the Battelle Memorial Institute on contract with the U.S. Department of Energy at the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory in Richland, WA. He can be reached at dstapp@charter.net, at 509-373-2894, and at 278

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Reviewed by Lawrence F. Van Horn⁴

This is a fun book to me because I experienced great pleasure of recognition identifying with the problems, opportunities, and strategies presented, especially since the authors share their expectation that no two situations will ever be exactly alike (p. 67). I can identify with the human relations and historic preservation aspects as a cultural anthropologist and cultural resource specialist, respectively, in the National Park Service (NPS). The tendency to stimulate psychological identification among the authors' fellow anthropologists in cultural resource management is one of the book's strengths. Examine the index and find another strong point of this aspiring tome. As a useful tool on both mechanical and intellectual levels, the index is excellent. Its completeness is noteworthy, and it cross-references many topics quite handily.

The book starts with a promising and inviting title, which unfortunately could be misleading. "Tribal" could refer to indigenous peoples around the world. The book, it turns out, is more narrowly directed. It concentrates on American Indians and their relationships with non-Indian archaeologists. As a matter of fact, archaeology is stressed so much that the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology is mistakenly referred to as a professional archaeological organization (p. 111). In fairness, however, the authors do try to go beyond archaeology. They journey into the realm of cultural relativity and the "diversity of ideas" (p. 190), for which they are to be commended. Certain natural resources are included, for example, as cultural resources (p. 121). A heretofore narrow focus of archaeologists is also pointed out:

At some point archaeologists forgot that sites and places were still important to living peoples. Archaeological sites were the remains of people long gone, and it was the professional's job to bring the lost cultures back to life. Today, we have come to realize that many of the places and resources are ancestral to peoples living today and important for their cultural continuity (pp. 9-10).

Unfortunately nonetheless, the overemphasis on archaeology means that the cultural-relativity quest is not explored to the extent that it might have been within the holism implied by the title.

It was gratifying to see an entry for the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology in the index (p. 230) but disconcerting to see its context in the text. The authors suggest that "joining professional archaeological organizations" can be a source of training relevant to cultural resource management. They cite "the Society for Applied Anthropology, the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology, and the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology" as examples (p. 111). All of these of course are not archaeological but rather cultural anthropological in focus. This is but one example of how the book stresses archaeology over other pertinent cultural-resource disciplines such as architectural history, cultural anthropology, history, historical architecture, and museology. The authors may disagree, but presumably, cultural resource management should not primarily be equated with archaeology at the exclusion of other applicable disciplines, which is what this book pretty much does. For example, Jeff Van Pelt, in his foreword, says "This book will surely be a guide for cultural resource managers and the future of archaeology" (p. xii). Robert Whitlam, in his afterword, cites the need for more culturally sensitive cultural resource management but refers to "the way archaeology and cultural resource management are currently done" (p. 200). Both statements are written as if archaeology were the only cultural-resource discipline germane to accepting the goal of greater American Indian involvement in the protection, preservation, and cultural use of various types of cultural and natural resources under the rubric of cultural resource management. To underscore the point, why is it that only archaeologists are mentioned as part of the non-Indian side of "consultation . . . [as] the cornerstone of tribal cultural resource management" (p. 119)?

Another example of the authors' bias toward archaeology as *the* cultural-resource-management discipline is found under their heading "Cultural Resource Contractors," when they state, "Unless an agency or company can do the work in-house, it will need to contract out the work to some type of archaeological contracting firm" (p. 70). Contractors are being engaged by agencies to research and write general management plans (or similar land management plans), environmental assessments, and

environmental impact statements. Certainly, professional archaeologists will need to be involved if an archaeological survey is needed, whether performed in-house or out-house. However, the array of cultural resources to be considered in an affected environment, as well as contractors' or agencies' analysis of the impacts of these documents must be broader than the single topic of archaeological resources. Consultations with American Indians could be material to all of the additional cultural-resource topics offered below.

The authors may well think that I am putting forth ethnocentric National Park Service values and that I view the world as a national park (King 2004:212), but are there not five types of cultural resources? The first would be archaeological resources consisting of artifacts, objects, or other material remains found in the ground as evidence of past human occupation or habitation over time. The second would be cultural landscapes that are historic from past use and/or ethnographic from contemporary use with links to the past in terms of distinctive, character-defining features of the human-built environment, or natural environment as culturally used, or a combination of both, representing aspects of a way of life of a people, tribe, community, group, or family. The third would be ethnographic resources consisting of particular places with natural and/or human-built features that contemporary peoples, tribes, communities, groups, or families link to their traditional way of life, cultural heritage, and social identity. The fourth would be historic structures that are important to local, tribal, regional, or national history. The fifth would be museum collections and archives that relate to the physical environment per natural history specimens from biology, botany, geology, and/or paleontology as well as relating to cultural, economic, political, and social history, the sequence of events, and important persons and their settings concerning what happened in what is now a national park, other type of unit of the national park system, or other federal, state, county, municipal, corporate, or tribal land-managing unit. Ethnographic resources eligible for the National Register of Historic Places are called traditional cultural properties. Archaeological resources, cultural landscapes, ethnographic resources as traditional cultural properties, and historic structures, but not museum collections and archives, are eligible cultural-resource types to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

How comprehensively does the book cover these five cultural-resource types? As its predominant subject-matter domain associated with cultural resource

management previously noted, the book considers archaeological resources by way of many references to archaeologists and archaeology plus notable instances in the history and practice of archaeology and that anthropological subfield's relationship to American Indians. That approach is fine in and of itself, but it becomes awkward when the title implies a broader approach than the book delivers overall. It would be less awkward if the title more accurately prompted the reader as to what the book is all about.

To their credit, the authors devote Chapter Eight to cultural landscapes. They discuss definitions of different landscape types as well as how to identify and protect them (pp. 152-165). They include cultural landscape as a topic for Native American consultations because:

A cultural landscape supports the cultural (e.g., fishing, gathering, habitation, ceremonial, and other sites) and physical remains (burials and associated goods) of past and present Indian societies (p.126), [and because] . . . cultural resources are not just stones and bones; they are cultural landscapes of the earth – home to traditional use areas and the plant and animal resources themselves . . . (p. 185).

The authors refer to ethnographic resources as “those resources associated with traditional subsistence or with sacred, ceremonial, religious, or other cultural meaning for native peoples” (p. 85) in the context of “places where traditional resources such as foods and medicine were, and are, gathered” and of other places considered to be “traditional use areas” (pp. 5, 6). A related term is also used – ethnographic landscape (pp. 152, 165). From my cultural anthropological perspective, I applaud the authors' employment of these terms and their reference to an NPS article entitled “Ethnographic Landscapes” that illustrates the term in practice as a type of cultural landscape (Evans, Roberts, and Nelson 2001). Laudably and in sum, the authors also refer to ethnography, ethnographic work, ethnographic studies, and ethnographic contract archaeology (pp. 25, 44-46, 48, 95), to help identify “places important to specific ethnic groups” (p. 48). Hurray for what I interpret to be an ethnographic context – the third item among the authors' “four key goals we need to achieve, to meet the needs of American Indians relative to cultural resource preservation, protection, and access” not only lists archaeologists but also anthropologists. This goal is to “foster the relationship among American Indians, archaeologists, anthropologists, and others . . .” (p. 189).

Historic sites as a term appears to be mentioned twice (pp. 37, 38) but in the context of archaeology, not history. Except for saying that “old buildings” can be included (p. 5) as “historic buildings on the reservation” (p. 84), the book is virtually silent on historic structures in their own right as a cultural-resource category and on how American Indians might be managing historic structures as cultural resources. This is seemingly so even though the authors state two important truths of the past and present: namely, “that while tribes were [and are] certainly concerned about preserving historic properties and other cultural resources on reservation lands, they were [and are] often equally or more concerned about preserving ancestral sites and traditional use areas on lands they no longer controlled [or control], whether those lands were [or are] now under local, state, or federal control or private ownership” (p. 48).

In terms of museum collections and archives, aspects of tribal collections or archives are mentioned in several places (pp. 40, 77, 90, 96, 103, 104, 105, 137, 140, 148, 173) in such contexts as a non-Indian agency representative visiting a tribe’s museum to learn more about the history and culture of that tribe as well as the need especially for tribal curation of artifacts in their “archaeological and ethnographic collections” (p. 105), photographs, and documents and audio and video tapes documenting oral history as a tribe becomes more desirous of and knowledgeable about cultural resource management. This is more than cursory coverage.

How comprehensive is the book otherwise? Out of more than five hundred federally recognized American Indian tribes (pp. 8, 62) more than one hundred different tribes are mentioned. That one-fifth percentage would seem to be a fair representation in a book that is not an encyclopedia. Yet geographically, Alaska and Hawaii are overlooked as parts of the United States that are rich in tribal cultural resource management. Alaska is only cursorily mentioned and Hawaii not at all. The emphasis is on the continental United States as underscored in the index where “indigenous peoples” are equated with “American Indians” (p. 231). This juxtaposition is not a problem as far as it goes, but again, the title could have been more reflective of the contents, especially since the book’s purpose is not exactly clear.

Concerning purpose, at times the book seems to be a history of American anthropology, with much emphasis on archaeology with various schools of practice delineated in relationship to American

Indians. At other times, the book seems to be a handbook for federal agencies on conducting effective Native American consultations about cultural resources on federal lands, not Indian lands. Indian lands come into play when corporations or companies propose projects crossing Indian lands or entering Indian lands, and when Indians actively manage their own lands. At still other times, the handbook aspect points toward American Indians themselves to be proactive. Rather than an “agency, corporation, or government . . . initiating consultation with a tribe” (p. 144), this proactive approach calls for American Indians to initiate consultations with agencies that control resources of a particular tribe’s cultural heritage. Tribes of course have a goal of proactively managing cultural resources on their own lands (p. 163), often with some technical help initially from non-Indians training Indians in the nuances and practicalities of cultural resource management and historic preservation. A tribe can in turn come to offer cultural resource training, say “to various local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies” (p. 164). In sum, the book is highly eclectic. Some will see this as a strength of the text because of its wealth of information, others a weakness because of the lack of a well-defined focus.

The book contains 25 sidebars that, like the text, are eclectic. They range in topic from citation and commentary on the late A. Irving Hallowell’s classic article “The Backwash of the Frontier” (Hallowell 1957), which is about the impact of the American Indian not only on American culture but also on American anthropology (p. 26, first sidebar), to a sample letter for a tribe to initiate government-to-government consultations (pp. 110-111, 15th sidebar), which would appear to be an important notion because, as the authors point out, an agency or company usually initiates the consultations; to Indian appreciation of effective consultations by way of thanks and a value judgment, “It is good that you are listening” (Minthorn 1998) (pp. 196-197, 25th sidebar). Although the sidebars are hard to read because of their gray background, on the whole I think the sidebars are strengths. They provide interesting, colorful vignettes that generally serve as little morality plays to educate the reader about American Indian values and variables in cultural resource management.

A sidebar that I find particularly valuable and enjoyable is the 19th (p. 139), which is entitled “Well-Done, Please!” Written by Michael Burney, it concerns Cemex, Inc., hosting a “juicy red roast beef” dinner for Northern Cheyenne and Lakota representatives who

did not appreciate the fact that the meat was rare and thus not cooked until it was well-done. The point is to ask, not to assume, and thus hopefully to overcome situational ethnocentrism. The second dinner Cemex provided was much better received because the meat was bison instead of beef, and the bison was “cooked to everyone’s liking: well-done!” (p. 139). Since Michael Burney, this book’s co-author, was the anthropological consultant on the project, one wonders why he was not asked in advance. I suspect corporate ethnocentrism is the answer as to why Burney was not consulted on food ways, even though he was consulted on other matters. Burney’s story rings true. In a similar situation, however, inquiry was made ahead of time among certain Lakota in South Dakota. The result was that the National Park Service planning team caused bison stew to be served with *wojapi* (a pudding that can be made from various kinds of berries including blueberries) as dessert. Indians themselves prepared this combination at school cafeterias for luncheon consultation meetings at different schools within different Lakota reservations in South Dakota. We purchased the bison meat and other fixings and funded the preparation of each meal through the relevant tribal government and school administration per meeting (Hagood, Van Horn, and Sorensen 1992; Van Horn, Hagood, and Sorensen 1996). It worked well, was culturally sensitive, and was appreciated. By the way, bison stew with *wojapi* is delicious.

The following are minor editorial matters. Our editor-in-chief, “Dr. Deward Walker, Jr., an anthropologist from the University of Colorado at Boulder,” is identified by discipline and university later in the book (pp. 74, 84), yet earlier (pp. 47, 59) he is mentioned without identifying his discipline and affiliation. Would not careful editing have given these identities at first mention so that later the reader knows a little about him?

In the first sidebar (p. 26), A. Irving Hallowell (1892-1974) is referred to as “a noted social scientist of his day.” However, why not refer to him as the great cultural anthropologist that he was? This is so especially when another well known cultural anthropologist, Robert K. Thomas (1925-1991), is granted triple status as “. . . American Indian . . .” (p. 30) and “. . . social scientist, anthropologist . . .” (p. 45, fourth sidebar).

The so-called Children’s Health Initiative Program is quoted by way of offering a model definition of consultation (p. 119) and mentioned further in that regard (p. 120), but not only is no complete source

citation given in the text, but also no reference is given in the bibliography. What is the reference, and where can it be found?

This book’s style is to split infinitives. The English language is probably changing in this regard. It seems to be returning to the pre-19th century acceptability of splitting infinitives, so enjoy the splits.

The book enumerates 18 tips aimed at “the agency, corporation, or government proposing an action” (p. 144) to keep in mind when arranging and conducting successful Native American consultations (pp. 144-151). An addendum to suggestion 18 would be for the federal or other land-managing unit in a long-term relationship with a tribe or tribes to negotiate as part of the ongoing agency-tribal dialogue an inadvertent discovery plan dealing with Native American human remains. The goal of such a plan is to have in place precise consultation procedures that have been agreed upon in advance in the event that “human remains . . . [are] accidentally discovered during the project” (p. 150).

Is this then a good book from which to gain knowledge about how American Indians and perhaps other Native Americans are managing cultural resources over which they have physical control or cultural influence? Given its keen coverage of American Indians, if not other Native Americans – including effective case studies on Umatilla cultural resource management (pp. 72-90), on federal Native American consultations for the Hanford Site, Washington (pp. 125-133), and on corporate Native American consultations for the Dowe Valley, Colorado (pp. 133-144) – the book is excitingly worthwhile for what I take to be its main purpose. That is as an agency-tribal dialectic. This is a beneficial dialectic in which an agency can find and learn to apply much eminently useful cultural and legal information toward conducting meaningful consultations with American Indians and other Native Americans that would contribute to the betterment of all concerned with cultural resource stewardship (p. 169), *nee* cultural resource management, for “preservation, protection, and access for future generations” (p. 199).

Notes

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maps, photographs as figures, and tables; foreword by Jeff Van Pelt; preface; three parts; ten chapters; afterword by Robert Whitlam; bibliography; index, about the authors. Cloth, \$70.00 U.S. Paperback, \$24.95 U.S.

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***Tribal Cultural Resource Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship*¹**
By Darby C. Stapp² and Michael S. Burney³

Reviewed by Thomas F. King⁴

This book is a puzzlement. It treats an important subject, and I have the greatest respect for both its authors, so I wish I could simply extol its virtues. However, it puzzles me, and I am puzzled about how to review it.

A threshold source of puzzlement is that its authors are two non-Indians. Surely a book on tribal cultural resource management (CRM) should reflect the views and experiences of American Indian tribal people, should it not? This one has a foreword by Jeff Van Pelt, an enrolled member of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation and that tribe's talented and accomplished cultural resource management head, but only there and in a few shaded sidebars are actual tribal perspectives presented. Here I am, as well, another non-Indian asked to review it. While I can deplore the thin representation of tribal perspectives, I certainly cannot provide them.

Related to this problem of perspective is one of audience. It is not clear to whom this book is trying to speak. Is it addressed to tribes and tribal members setting up CRM programs, or considering doing so? To government agencies that interact with tribal programs? To other non-Indians who might work for, with, or in some relationship to, such programs? The intended audience seems to shift from page to page, even paragraph to paragraph. This makes the book rather a betwixt-and-between kind of thing, seriously limiting its usefulness. By now my own audience may be confused. What am I talking about?

Many American Indian tribes – by which this book means tribes formally recognized as such by the United States government – maintain what may be called “cultural resource management” programs. Such programs (which operate under various names) deal in various ways with those “resources” – places, objects, plants, animals, lifeways, language – that the tribe thinks are important in maintaining its cultural identity. They may operate cultural centers and museums, sponsor workshops and other events, seek and administer grants, identify and document historic places, record oral history, and – of central importance from the perspective of this book's authors – consult with change agents and land managers both inside and outside tribal government about protecting cultural resources in the face of change.

In the 1980s, tribes and intertribal organizations began lobbying Congress and certain federal agencies to improve the way tribal cultural resources are dealt with under U.S. environmental and historic preservation law – notably the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA). A key result of this lobbying was an amendment to the NHPA in 1992 that provided for “Tribal Historic Preservation Officers” with structured roles in NHPA implementation and access to grants from the National Park Service (U.S. Department of the Interior). Another result was extensive provision for tribal participation in the review of federal agency actions under Section 106 of NHPA, embodied in the regulations of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (36 CFR 800).

This book is essentially about the practice of CRM by tribal programs under NHPA, and its authors are two archaeologists deeply experienced in NHPA practice. A reader interested in how tribes handle language preservation, artistic traditions, or oral history – all important aspects of most tribes' cultural environments – will find little enlightenment in this book's pages, and those interested in culturally important plants, animals, water, or air will find little more. The authors struggle for a broader perspective and frequently allude to tribal interests in cultural resources beyond those to which an archaeologist can relate. When it comes right down to it, however, their emphasis is overwhelmingly on how tribes, using the services of archaeologists, can operate programs to manage impacts on historic properties – that is, districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects listed in or eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. There is nothing wrong with this emphasis; I simply wish that the authors had been clearer about it and had not implied that their book was, in fact, about tribal cultural resource management.

For example, on page 9, in outlining the themes that will run through the book, the authors rightly insist that “cultural resource management is more about people than about places and artifacts.” They go on to suggest that “as the profession developed, this concept got lost.” To this non-Indian CRM professional, it is clear that they mean my profession, and in this context I think they are right, but a reader who is not part of the in-group that Stapp, Burney, and I share might be forgiven for wondering what profession they are

talking about. They then say, "At some point, archaeologists forgot that sites and places were still important to living people" (p. 9).

True enough, to the extent that archaeologists knew about such importance in the first place, but note the embedded assumptions. It is "sites and places" that CRM is concerned with, and it is archaeologists whose perceptions structure how "the profession" views things.

Within the field of archaeology-dominated CRM, Stapp and Burney are certainly correct in their belief that "site" and "artifact" – not human values – are perceived to be the focus of concern. I believe they are correct in deploring this perception. I only wish that they did not simultaneously reflect it and allow it to color what they say.

The book begins with a historical synopsis, first defining tribal CRM (here suggesting a broad scope that unfortunately is not reflected in the pages that follow) and then discussing the relationships among archaeology, anthropology, and American Indians from 1492 into the 1990s. This is a workmanlike and often interesting discussion, but it seems to reflect the unquestioned assumption that archaeology – with occasional bows to cultural anthropology – is what CRM is all about. The authors do not allow that this may irritate the historians, architectural historians, historical architects, landscape architects, cultural anthropologists, and others who feel that they have some role in CRM. What is unfortunate about this focus on archaeology is that it fails to examine the historical development of some institutions and procedures that tend to complicate practice in Indian country, but which archaeologists tend to take for granted because they were developed by non-archaeologists in a non-archaeological milieu. Why, for example, do we have a National Register of Historic Places as the centerpiece of the national historic preservation program? Why doesn't the law simply provide for fair attention to be paid to places and things that people – like tribes – find important? Why is CRM regarded as something that only professionals can do? Why is it not a more community-based process? Why did practice, under NHPA, for so long focus only on places somehow modified by human hands, effectively ignoring the culturally charged natural environment? There are historical reasons for all these troublesome features of NHPA practice, but they are not to be found in the histories of archaeology and anthropology; they are to be found in the history of historic preservation – which is, after all, what NHPA is all about.

This section (Part One) ends with a case study in Chapter Five that describes the excellent CRM program of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR) in Oregon. This is a very useful chapter, and I wish that more had been made of it. I think this would have been a stronger book if it had subjected a program like the CTUIR's to close analysis, identifying in detail what has made it work and what has troubled its operation, and deriving lessons for those considering development of a similar program.

The authors do undertake, in the next chapter (Chapter Six in Part Two) to establish some guidelines for establishing a tribal CRM program. This is a useful chapter, but I found it rather unfocused, and altogether too accepting of National Park Service (NPS) expectations. NPS provides grants to Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (THPOs) and must approve THPO programs in order for them to receive such grants. Early in its administration of this grants program, NPS made the decision that to be acceptable, a THPO had to more or less mimic the operations of a State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), notably in its possession of "qualified" staff, which has come to mean professional archaeologists. This decision was not the foregone conclusion that the authors would have us believe; NPS could have established a different standard, one that would have been more sensitive to tribal values and expertise. This would not have created as many jobs for non-Indian archaeologists to run tribal CRM programs, but it might have allowed tribes to create programs more appropriate to their own needs and values. There are arguable pros and cons to the NPS approach, which a tribe needs to consider in deciding whether to seek THPO status, but aside from a few passing allusions to the fact that some tribes do not find THPO status worth pursuing, these pros and cons are not addressed in this book. The need to staff one's program with archaeologists is assumed, and a good deal of discussion is given as to how the newly hired archaeologist can train tribal members in archaeological concepts and practice (pp. 98-101). Similarly, the NPS preoccupation with the completion of historic property inventories is accepted as a given (pp. 103-105), with only a passing allusion to the difficulties elders may have revealing the locations of "traditional cultural properties." It would be nice to see some thoughtful discussion of this problem, and some ideas about how to deal with it – including, perhaps, recognition of the fact that there are lots of ways to manage things without knowing precisely what and where they are.

In Chapter Seven, Stapp and Burney turn to the subject of consultation, which they identify as “the cornerstone of tribal cultural resource management” (p. 119). In their context – that of how tribes relate to federal agencies in managing impacts on historic properties – this is certainly true. They offer a very nice definition of consultation – “an open and free exchange of information and opinion among parties which leads to a mutual understanding and comprehension” – which they attribute to the “Children’s Health Initiative Program.” Unfortunately I cannot find this program in either the bibliography or the index, so I am at a loss to know how relevant or authoritative the definition may be.

Chapter Seven presents a case study, a consultation on the Cemex Corporation’s Dowe Valley project in Colorado, which seems to be an excellent model. However, one wonders how applicable it might be to the vast range of projects carried out by federal agencies as well as those they assist and permit. Where the preceding chapter seemed to have tribes and their hired archaeologists as its audience, this chapter seems to speak primarily to federal agencies and other outside parties. It offers a series of very useful recommendations for consultation that are worth careful attention (pp. 144-150). A good deal of emphasis is given to the need to provide funding to tribes to allow them to participate in consultation. This is an important issue, and I think Stapp and Burney are right to be unequivocal about it. Tribes do not have much money, and the U.S. government’s trust responsibility arguably obligates it to help them participate in project reviews. However, this principle does conflict with policy in some agencies and may be complicated by the fiscal procedures of others, and to some people it smacks of extortion. Perhaps it is unrealistic to expect Stapp and Burney to consider such problems, but they do exist. Nevertheless, it would have been nice to see them addressed, with some suggestions about how to overcome them.

Chapter Eight is about cultural landscapes, and it provides some interesting and useful examples. Considering this book’s emphasis on NHPA-based CRM, it would have been useful to have provided a bit more discussion of how to relate landscapes to the National Register of Historic Places and how to manage impacts on them under NHPA’s Section 106 and under the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. Simply insisting that these laws be complied with (p. 164, first recommendation) is not very helpful, and the recommendation that “sites” be monitored at regular intervals (p. 164, second recommendation) seems entirely wide of the mark. I suspect that the

culprit here is the authors’ archaeological baggage, because it is difficult for them to relate practically to things beyond the “site,” however much they may want to address the broader landscape.

Chapter Nine is about “stewardship.” It seems to address an audience of federal facility managers, as it is apparently derived largely from Stapp’s experience at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation, where he manages a very effective stewardship program. It presents some useful concepts and guidelines, but it is not entirely clear to me why this chapter is in a book about tribal programs.

Chapter Ten (consisting of Part Three) promotes the synergistic value of interactions among tribes, archaeologists, and anthropologists in CRM. It promotes coordination, cooperation, mutual respect, and public outreach. One can only applaud the authors’ call, at the end of the chapter, for a philosophy of open, sincere, and honest consultation (p. 199). The book ends with an Afterword by Washington State Archaeologist Robert Whitlam.

To summarize, this is a book that makes many good points. It espouses a philosophy that should be widely considered by cultural resource managers. I fear, however, that the good observations will be hard for users to tease out. This is so particularly because of the book’s unclear focus and uncertain audience. I also fear that the following may make it difficult for many readers to tease the wisdom out of this book’s 200 plus pages: the authors’ explicitly denied but implicitly affirmed assumptions about the primacy of archaeology; their acceptance of more-or-less arbitrary NPS policies, and their use of terms meaningful to CRM practitioners but not to anyone else.

Notes

1. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, A Division of Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers, 2002. Heritage Resources Management Series, Number 4. Series edited by Don Fowler and sponsored by the University of Nevada at Reno. 260 pages; illustrations including maps, photographs as figures, and tables; foreword by Jeff Van Pelt; preface; three parts; ten chapters; afterword by Robert Whitlam; bibliography; index, about the authors. Cloth, \$70.00 U.S. Paperback, \$24.95 U.S.

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3. Michael S. Burney received his M.A. from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Colorado at Boulder in 1991 with an emphasis on western American prehistory. He heads his own cultural resource management consulting firm and can be reached at michaelburney@hotmail.com, at 505-

737-9497, and at Burney and Associates, P.O. Box 2329, Taos, NM 87571-2329.

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Tribal Cultural Resource Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship¹

By Darby C. Stapp² and Michael S. Burney³

Reviewed by Rhonda Foster⁴ and Larry Ross⁵

Even though we have taken many anthropology and archaeology courses, and are people who work in the cultural-resource-management (CRM) field in Indian Country, we have found it very difficult to locate information about CRM that is practical and can be used daily in the workplace. *Tribal Cultural Resource Management* is a true workbook that is easy to read and understand, whether one is a professional with no experience working with tribes or is someone from a tribe trying to understand what CRM is all about.

Many university professors and teachers, when teaching archaeology and talking about an ancient culture, never leave the classroom and go out into the field with their students. Most students are taught about Native American cultures, but very few colleges have any ongoing connection with tribes. Very few students are taught about the makeup of tribal governments and how to work with them, to understand the various cultural resource laws and regulations, and to understand how tribes interpret these laws and regulations. Native American tribes have their own sovereign governments that are usually different from the governments of the states they are in.

This book hammers home the idea that traditional archaeology by itself cannot and will not protect the full array of cultural resources that are part of tribal culture. Non-tribal professionals in the field of CRM must gain experience by working on an everyday basis with those whose cultures they investigate. They must learn that the tribal cultures are living entities, not frozen in time in the past. The book emphasizes that protection and conservation are more important from the tribal perspective than is data recovery. However, most of the professionals working in CRM are primarily trained as archaeologists. This will continue to be problematic unless the archaeologists are trained through interaction with tribes to broaden their viewpoints to include the living communities that are often directly related to the cultures they study.

Dividing *Tribal Cultural Resource Management* into three parts ("Tracing the Roots of Cultural Resource Management," "Implementing a Tribal Cultural Resource Management Agenda," and "The Future of Cultural Resource Management") is a very helpful way for the reader to understand true CRM. The book

begins with a history of archaeology, explaining how archaeology came to be, and describes the evolution of tribal CRM. We emphasize that we learned more from this chapter than we did from taking several archaeology courses. Understanding that there are two different management styles (Indian and non-Indian) also helps people realize that explaining one's own beliefs or training will not solve any problems in the field, but will only continue the cycle of discontentment for both sides.

The book explains the development of tribal CRM, how it came to be, and provides examples of projects, frustrations, and the beginning of CRM maturity. Identifying the laws and regulations, and what they are about, gives the reader a foundation to build on. For many tribes who have only heard about the laws, this book explains that the laws will help do CRM.

In Chapter Five, in Part One, entitled "Case Study: The Cultural Resource Protection Program of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation," the reader is now deep in Indian Country. Until now one has been getting the history of CRM – now one is told that one can do it! The dominant society has never said this before. Now we realize we are not alone, and that CRM can be done. Seeing one tribe succeed and showing how they did it helps one understand that not all non-Indians are out to destroy one's culture. That "sets the hook" for a tribal person who knows that CRM is what he or she has been destined for. Native American tribes must take over the management of their own cultures for preservation of these resources to be effective.

Chapter Six, in Part Two, entitled "Developing a Tribal Cultural Resource Protection Program," lays out for the reader all the steps needed to start a CRM program, and it provides the basic nuts and bolts about how to do it. It also helps one understand a number of other things:

- that one needs recognition as professionals oneself;
- the importance of gathering and documenting oral history;
- the pros and cons of gaining tribal historic preservation officer (THPO) status;

- the importance of doing cultural resource contracting oneself;
- and the vital need to employ and train tribal members to do the CRM work so that tribes become able to manage their own resources.

We have used this blueprint successfully as the model for our Cultural Resources Department. Whether one likes it or not, anyone doing CRM needs to accept the scientific approach of archaeology as a useful tool. We have learned to embrace archaeology while reserving judgment on individual archaeologists. This book provides the understanding that archaeology is not bad.

Continuing in Part Two, Chapter Seven, entitled “Consultation: The Cornerstone of Tribal Cultural Management,” is all about consultation. It was important to devote a whole chapter to consultation because, in the real world, if one has a CRM program, one is going to be doing a lot of it. Understanding that consultation is a cornerstone, that there are many levels of it, and that this tool will provide one with what we like to call “comprehensive CRM” is what it’s all about. Tribes that have carried anger and distrust for a long time will find that meaningful consultation is the way that their voice can be effectively heard.

Chapter Eight, “Cultural Landscapes and the Challenge of Protection,” gives the reader the knowledge that cultural landscapes, or what are also called Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs), are important. In Indian Country almost every tribe has special places to protect, and this chapter helps toward an understanding that these resources have cultural value and that they can be protected. This book should be read by non-Indians who work with tribes, especially this chapter, because it addresses cultural values and brings out the words and beliefs we use to express ourselves and how they are important to us.

Chapter Nine, “Promoting a Cultural Resource Stewardship Agenda to Address Tribal Interests and Expectations,” uses the concept of stewardship as a bridge to help CRM managers find a common goal. Understanding the differences helps all parties work harder to commit to real CRM. For tribal representatives, the book definitely advances an understanding of the other side. This book is a realization of what we have been looking for. The authors clearly express what we have been going through as tribal members. Promoting stewardship helps the non-Indian and Indian alike comprehend how extremely important it is. If both camps read this chapter, they would understand that we all have an

obligation in CRM, and in turn that it is our tribal responsibility to educate and bring in the outside people such as agencies, the public, and everyday people.

The only chapter in Part Three, Chapter Ten, “The Fruits of Synergy,” demonstrates a “Coming in Full Circle” by describing how it used to be, expressing the need to work together, and articulating a vision of what CRM can be in the future. It identifies what our office calls “comprehensive cultural resource management,” where archaeology has a place but is only one of the tools needed as part of comprehensive CRM. The Squaxin Island Tribes Cultural Resources Department highly recommends this book to everyone who is serious about taking on the rewarding practice of Cultural Resources Management.

Notes

1. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, A Division of Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers, 2002. Heritage Resources Management Series, Number 4. Series edited by Don Fowler and sponsored by the University of Nevada at Reno. 260 pages; illustrations including maps, photographs as figures, and tables; foreword by Jeff Van Pelt; preface; three parts; ten chapters; afterword by Robert Whitlam; bibliography; index, about the authors. Cloth, \$70.00 U.S. Paperback, \$24.95 U.S.
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***Tribal Cultural Resource Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship*¹**
By Darby C. Stapp² and Michael S. Burney³

Reviewed by Alexa Roberts⁴

Tribal Cultural Resources Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship is ambitious in scope and message. In the book's afterword, Robert Whitlam states:

The concepts that are addressed in this book span the spectrum from consultation, co-management, tribal cultural resource management programs, tribal curation of collections, treatment of human remains, and approaches to excavation, to examining the fundamental goals of archaeology as a scientific discipline in generating knowledge about the past (p. 200).

Reflected in the book's title and explained in the first chapter, the focus is the tribal role in cultural resources management (CRM) on and off reservation lands. The authors concentrate on archeological places, traditional use areas, and cultural landscapes, and how land managers identify, monitor, and make the places accessible to the people culturally connected to them. However, Stapp and Burney clearly address issues of tribal involvement in decision making for land and resources management beyond the traditional concept of CRM, and more broadly on the tribal role in heritage preservation in general.

The foreword and afterword provide relevant context to the book, which is divided into three parts: "Tracing the Roots of Tribal Cultural Resources Management," "Implementing a Tribal Cultural Resource Management Agenda," and "The Future of Cultural Resource Management." In the first part the authors explain that the book is geared primarily toward those involved in applied and academic CRM or anyone working with tribes. The goal is to help non-Indians and Indians understand each other's perspectives on cultural places and remains. Stapp and Burney set forth the book's purpose, that is, it is not intended to be either a cookbook for tribal relations or a history source book on tribal CRM. Instead, it is intended as a broad overview "in an easy-to-read format" (p. 4), which they deliver. The authors tell the reader, up front, that this book is based on their experiences in the development of a CRM program for the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation and is intended as food for thought for others involved in CRM or related fields.

There is no "Tribal Cultural Resource Management" per se. Every situation differs. You need to adapt to your situation. For example, in Part I, we trace the development of ideas and events in the history of cultural resources stewardship as we have seen it develop; you may view the development in your area similarly, or it might have been quite different. We will have been successful if this book causes you to think about such matters in a new light. We also provide examples of how tribes, archeologists, and agencies have interacted in the past and provide suggestions for working together in the future. We will have been successful if the book gives you either models to follow or ideas on how to improve your own interactions (p. 4).

The authors' explication of their intentions in the first chapter is a necessary preface to the following three chapters. These chapters cover Archeology/Anthropology and American Indians, 1492 to 1960; 1960 to 1980; and the 1980s and 1990s, providing an extremely broad overview of the history of tribal/anthropological relations in general. It becomes important, as the authors note in Chapter One, that this historical discussion is based on the significant events affecting the development of their own management program and not necessarily on the development of the discipline as a whole. This is especially relevant as the reader delves into the fourth chapter, the 1980s and 1990s, and their discussion of "The Emergence of Tribal Cultural Resources Management."

Chapter Four, in general and accurate terms, describes some landmark events that directly affected the evolution of a tribal role in CRM. These notably include significant amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act, the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, the publication of National Register Bulletin 38, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* (Parker and King 1998), and other legislative and policy watersheds. However, without a fuller discussion and reference to the array of tribal initiatives during this critical period, the reader is left with the impression that legislative changes somehow evolved of their own accord and provided the impetus for tribal response, and in turn, growth and change in tribal CRM programs. While the tribal role did grow in

response to new legislative initiatives, it is important to note that these legislative and policy changes did not arise in a vacuum. Tribal initiatives also provided the catalyst for federal response in adoption of new policies, statutory and regulatory changes.

For example, while the Navajo Nation already had its own CRM program for many years, in 1986 it created the country's first tribal historic preservation program. One of the first objectives of the program was to use the authority of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (Public Law 93-638) to contract from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) the operation of its program for carrying out federal historic preservation responsibilities on tribal lands. The tribe assumed direct control of the BIA's "lead agency" responsibility under the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), so that the tribe directly oversaw compliance with the NHPA on its own lands and interacted directly with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP), the State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPO), and the National Park Service (NPS). This was an important and far-reaching effort that made a strong statement of the seriousness with which tribes in the late 1980s regarded their role in the national historic preservation arena. In 1988, the Navajo Nation hosted the quarterly meeting of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP). It was the first meeting of the full ACHP ever held outside of Washington, D.C. This meeting contributed to the ACHP's adoption of new policies on the treatment of human remains and grave goods in archeological contexts, to the condemnation of pot-hunting, and to the support for an increased role of tribes in the NHPA Section 106 review process and ability to replace SHPOs with THPOs.

The Navajo Nation's – as well as other tribes' – goals were to integrate the tribal role into the full spectrum of the national historic preservation agenda, to have tribal cultural heritage recognized as an integral part of the nation's cultural heritage worthy of preservation, and to exercise control over how decisions affecting tribal cultural heritage preservation are made. The vision of full tribal participation in the federal historic preservation arena included the management of cultural resources, but extended beyond the tangible to the integration of tribal history and cultural identity into concepts of American history and cultural identity by the national preservation community.

The late 1980s and 1990s were a dynamic and pivotal time in these efforts, along with other events.

This includes the tremendous impact of the 1990 passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) on consultations between federal and private institutions and Indian tribes and the subsequent development of tribal programs to deal with the increased need, the legacy created by the 1990 NPS publication of its report to Congress entitled *Keepers of the Treasures: Protecting Historic Properties and Cultural Traditions on Indian Lands*, and other noteworthy events that affected the emergence of tribal CRM and historic preservation more generally. Yet they are largely omitted from Stapp and Burney's discussion. While the authors clearly remind the reader in Chapter One that they are presenting the history of tribal/anthropological relations as they have seen it develop, the broad scope of the book's section titles, chapter titles, and subheadings suggest a more general, if not acute, treatment of the subject.

However in Chapter Five, the authors bring the discussion back to a Case Study: The Cultural Resource Protection Program of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR), which then sets the stage for the remaining two sections of the book. They begin to illustrate how "cultural resources" in the tribal view of CRM encompass more than the traditional CRM discipline has addressed in a land-management context:

Resources significant to the CTUIR include such things as the Indian people themselves, their communities, and their way of life; and Indian elders, with their unique information regarding their personal histories as well as tribal histories (p. 84).

The authors describe the development of tribal programs to protect the resources important to the tribes' history, cultural identity, and continued way of life, which presents specific kinds of requirements as well as development of new kinds of relationships with the larger cultural resources management or historic preservation community.

The presentation of the cultural resources values of the CTUIR provides the foundation for Section II, "Implementing a Tribal Cultural Resource Management Agenda." In Chapter Six, "Developing a Tribal Cultural Resource Protection Program," Stapp and Burney turn their years of experience into a practical presentation of thoughts, suggestions, and recommendations – from the need for fax machines, computers, and answering machines, to a sample letter to neighboring agencies, to options in applying for THPO status – that tribes may consider in the development of their own programs.

Chapter Seven builds on “the cornerstone of tribal cultural resource management” consultation. The authors explain that in the process of consultation between an outside entity and a tribe,

tribes should be approached as sovereign nations on a government-to-government basis at the earliest possible time. The U.S. government has a unique and special trust responsibility to federally recognized Indian tribes as established by treaties, statutes, court decisions, and the U.S. Constitution (p. 122).

This is the only discussion of the special relationship between the U.S. and Indian tribes. For the benefit of land managers, or others who may not fully understand why they have so many more requirements to consult with tribes than they do for other segments of the public, the subject probably bears more discussion, or at least reference to a basic guide to the subject, such as The American Indian Resources Institute’s *Indian Tribes as Sovereign Governments* (Wilkinson 1988). This minor point aside, the chapter concludes with two instructive examples of successful consultations and practical recommendations for approaching consultation in the future.

Chapters Eight and Nine, “Cultural Landscapes and the Challenge of Protection” and “Promoting a Cultural Resource Stewardship Agenda to Address Tribal Interests and Expectations” respectively, articulate the authors’ thinking as it has developed from their many years of experience in tribal CRM. They present a succinct discussion of the cultural landscape concept as it has been developed by the National Park Service with respect to the National Register of Historic Places and how tribal “cultural resources” concepts have always been landscape-based. With the use of examples and recommendations for the identification and protection of cultural landscapes, the authors expand the CRM concept beyond its conventional envelope to include relationships among the historical, natural, geographic, and contemporary cultural attributes of the Earth.

How land and resource managers can begin embracing this more holistic concept is presented in Chapter Nine, “Promoting a Cultural Resource Stewardship Agenda to Address Tribal Interests and Expectations.” The authors outline their vision of what true CRM means, beyond the requirements for compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act:

- Listen to those who have attachment to the cultural landscapes and balance their interests

with the interests of people who desire lands for uses that may impact the landscape;

- Accommodate the rights, religions, traditions, and interests of those living cultures that have connections to the resources, whenever possible;
- Avoid disturbing objects, locations, and sites of cultural significance, unless these face unavoidable destruction or harm;
- Mitigate all avoidable damage and threats to important cultural and historic resources;
- Adhere to all applicable cultural and historic resources laws; and regulations—both in the absence and in the presence of external enforcement (p. 170).

Stapp and Burney present organizational models for achieving these goals through the operation of an effective CRM program, or more appropriately, a “land stewardship” program.

In Part III, “The Future of Cultural Resource Management,” and the final chapter, “The Fruits of Synergy,” the authors conclude with a forward-looking philosophy that CRM is really a set of relationships. With their thoughts and the relevant use of quotes from others, they clearly articulate that the future of CRM must be a willing, collective responsibility to maintain a physical environment in which diverse cultures may maintain their sense of connectedness to the past and identity in the future. As stated in a sidebar by Robert Winthrop:

Where American Indian communities (or any other communities) are concerned, the objective of cultural resource management policy should not be to ensure the strict perpetuation of earlier practices, or to demand an unbroken continuity of ritual practice. Rather, to the extent feasible federal policy should be directed toward protecting and extending access to those resources and landscapes through which traditions can be adapted and renewed (Winthrop 1998 cited on page 161).

While Stapp and Burney experienced the evolution of a tribal CRM program in a Section 106 compliance-based context, readers of their book will clearly see that their thinking about CRM has also evolved to include the spectrum of heritage preservation issues. This philosophy is especially germane in a tribal preservation context, but as they point out at the end of the book, cultural resources protection is important to the future of all of us. The authors’ thinking about these issues seems to be the heart of the book, and I found myself wishing that they had spent more time at the

beginning explaining how their concept of CRM as stewardship expands the boundaries of the conventional, narrowly defined concept. I also wish that the historical background presented in Part I had been more explicitly framed as the history of events particularly relevant to the development of the CTUIR. Otherwise, the historical discussion begs for more. Nonetheless, these minor criticisms aside, I found myself doing exactly what the authors called for at the beginning: thinking about my experiences and situations in a new light, and evaluating my interactions with the tribes with whom I work, set against the background, ideas, experiences, and recommendations the authors have provided. In this outcome, the book accomplished exactly the purpose the authors intended.

Notes

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***Tribal Cultural Resource Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship*¹**
By Darby C. Stapp² and Michael S. Burney³

Reviews Counterpointed by Darby C. Stapp and Michael S. Burney

Introduction

We appreciate all of the reviewers for taking the time to read and comment on our book, *Tribal Cultural Resource Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship*. We are also grateful to the *High Plains Applied Anthropologist* for allowing us the opportunity to acknowledge and answer the reviewers' comments. The efforts of indigenous peoples to take a more active leadership role in the preservation and protection of the cultural resources associated with their past, present, and future is an important worldwide phenomenon. As action anthropologists following in the tradition of Sol Tax, we have worked not only to assist American Indians in developing self-sustaining cultural resource programs, but also to share what we have learned with our anthropological and archaeological colleagues. By providing a forum for the review of our book and for our responses, the *High Plains Applied Anthropologist* is contributing to the ongoing colloquy of the anthropology of the contemporary American Indian in particular and of indigenous peoples in general.

We will begin with a brief response to each review, then present a series of discussions designed to acknowledge our oversights or explain our position, and close with some comments on the state of tribal cultural resource management (CRM) today.

The Reviews

The review by Rhonda Foster and Larry Ross of the Squaxin Tribe in Washington State was rewarding because they clearly are using the book as the tool it was intended to be. In contrast to well-known tribal programs such as the Navajo Nation's, which started in the 1970s, or the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, which started in 1987, the Squaxin Island Tribe began its program only a few years ago. Yet today, one will find Rhonda Foster, Squaxin Island tribal member and cultural-resource program manager, and Larry Ross, her archaeologist colleague, attending meetings throughout Puget Sound concerning topics of relevance to Squaxin Island cultural heritage. That they enjoyed the book and endorse it for other tribes indicates that we have been effective in communicating the issues of importance to them. We look forward to

watching the Squaxin program – as well as the many other tribal programs, small and large – develop and grow in the years to come.

Alexa Roberts' review was gratifying because she also understood the book and its intended purpose. Roberts serves as the National Park Service park superintendent at a place with historic importance and great reverence to the Cheyenne and Arapahoe tribes: the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site in Colorado. As a cultural anthropologist who previously worked with various Southwestern tribes, Roberts brings that perspective to her review. We are honored that she enjoyed the book and that it stimulated her to think differently about her experiences in light of issues we discussed. We also appreciate her suggestions on how our historical overview can be strengthened; tracing the growth of a tribal program in the context of legislative and political developments would indeed be helpful.

Lawrence Van Horn provides yet another perspective on our work. From his vantage point as a cultural anthropologist assigned to the Denver Service Center of the National Park Service, a nationwide park planning, design, and construction office, Van Horn took both a broad and detailed approach to his review. He clearly grasped one of the intended purposes of our book, as evidenced by this statement: "The tendency to stimulate psychological identification among the authors' fellow anthropologists in cultural resource management is one of the book's strengths." His detailed look spotted several minor and not so minor editorial errors, which will certainly be corrected in the upcoming edition. Particularly disturbing (and embarrassing) was our reference to applied anthropological associations as archaeological associations – precisely the message we do not wish to convey, that archaeology takes prominence over anthropology. We also value his substantive comments, some of which we will address below. We appreciate his positive comments regarding the book as well as the story he shared regarding his own work with American Indians.

Few can match Tom King's contribution to cultural resource management and to the protection of places important to American Indians, and few can match his

animadversion. So we were eager, as well as anxious, to read his review. King's critical thinking on CRM can be found in several of his most recent publications regarding cultural-resource laws and practices (see *High Plains Applied Anthropologist* 24(2), Fall 2004). Having read his review, however, we are somewhat bewildered by his confusion and negativity toward our work. Whether King was simply expecting a different book or whether we have a fundamental disagreement about cultural resource management and its relationship to indigenous peoples will be part of this ongoing discussion. We hope that our further comments on the various issues raised by him as well as by the other reviewers will clarify our perspectives and contribute to that dialogue.

Indian versus Non-Indian Authors

King is puzzled about why two non-Indians should publish a book about tribal CRM. We are equally as puzzled as to why two non-Indians with more than 25 years' combined experience working daily with tribes to protect cultural resources should not write a book. For King to suggest that only Indians should write a book on tribal CRM indicates that his understanding of the concept, as an instructor and consultant, differs substantially from ours as practitioners.

Since 1987 we have witnessed the CRM process first-hand in Indian Country. We know it to involve considerable interaction among tribal councils, policymakers, legal and technical staff, federal and state agencies, private corporations and landowners, various special-interest groups, the general public, archaeologists, anthropologists, and many other CRM professionals. Any of these individuals may or may not be Indian, but all are allowed to offer input regarding systems and processes. Indeed, if we are to improve and obtain the levels of protection for which we all strive, all involved parties must share and debate their experiences and perspectives.

We disagree with King's bias that two "non-Indian" archaeologists are incapable of reflecting "the views and experiences of American Indian tribal people." The tribal voices throughout our book give credence to the fact that, as a result of those years spent listening and communicating with tribal political leaders, policy people, cultural commission members, elders, military society members, youth, and tribal attorneys, our perspective today is inevitably different from that of other non-Indians who have not had similar exposure. Granted, non-Indians' appreciation of American Indian desires to protect their languages, sites, and

cultures is still in its infancy, but each empathic attempt made is a positive step taken.

We strongly encourage tribal members to publish their personal and professional experiences and ideas regarding historic preservation and tribal CRM. The more diverse the voices are of those who speak and publish on tribal CRM, the more fully articulated these issues will be.

The Book's Title

Both Van Horn and King comment on what they perceive to be a misleading title. By using "Tribal" in the title, it gave them the impression that the book would focus more on tribal settings from around the world. Both reviewers felt that it would have been better if the title had reflected the content of the book, which they see as concentrating on American Indians and archaeologists. We understand their point, and in some respects it might have been better to do as they suggest.

We chose our title, *Tribal Resource Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship*, to highlight the distinction between the stewardship-based approach to protecting cultural resources, which many tribes tend to espouse, and the National Historic Preservation Act's Section 106-based approach that prevails within mainstream CRM. Let us explain our concept of this distinction. Beginning in the latter quarter of the 20th century, tribes and others became increasingly aware that, despite its good intentions, the institutionalized CRM of the day was neither soliciting nor responding to tribal concerns and needs regarding their cultural resources. Although its origins were in identifying, preserving, or salvaging irreplaceable information potentially lost to development, CRM evolved over decades to become, essentially, a dispute-resolution process. Routinely, adverse impacts would be addressed through some form of data recovery to "mitigate" the damage, and then the project would be completed. As a result, the resource itself would survive only on paper as archaeological reports and articles, engineered drawings, poster sessions, or some other media.

For Indian people, it became clear that if something did not change, within decades archaeological sites, traditional-use areas, human remains, historical structures, and landscapes would vanish. As with all of Earth's natural and cultural resources, the resources of indigenous peoples appeared destined to be "managed" and studied to extinction. As this realization evolved, American Indians – and other

ethnic/cultural/minority groups – began to assert their right to provide input to federal agencies and develop the capability of managing resources for themselves. We call what evolved “tribal CRM,” but it has also been called “cultural resource protection” or “cultural resource stewardship.”

We chose our title because we believe the American Indian experience may be useful to other indigenous peoples – such as those in Australia, Brazil, Guatemala, Hawaii, Mexico, and New Zealand – who are exerting their influence in various ways to protect their significant places, resources, and remains. Therefore, we chose a title that would reflect a central theme of the book. While the title does not indicate at first glance that the book highlights the Native American experience, the publisher categorizes it as such on the back cover, where it is identified as “Anthropology • Native American Studies,” and includes a brief descriptive paragraph further describing the content of the book.

The Book’s Audience

King expresses his concern regarding our book’s audience. “It is not clear to whom this book is trying to speak.” He asks if the book was intended for

tribes and tribal members setting up CRM programs, or considering doing so? To government agencies that interact with tribal programs? To other non-Indians who might work for, with, or in some relationship to, such programs?

The answer is “yes” to each question. As we stated in the book’s preface,

We’ve written this book to help in the struggle to protect, preserve, and make accessible the cultural resources that are important – no, essential – to native peoples and their ancestral way of life. Really, we’ve written it for those *in* the struggle – the current and future cultural resource management professionals working for agencies and tribes, tribal members, and others who value the preservation of the resources enough to fight for their conservation and future availability (pp. xiii-xiv).

It is true that our audience is necessarily diverse. Readers will find some sections more relevant than others, but given the paucity of published tribally oriented CRM materials, and given the limited market for each component of tribal CRM, we were compelled to design a book that would reach as wide an audience

as possible to meet the publisher’s demands. We attempted a casual and easily readable presentation that might appeal to such a diverse audience.

National Park Service Policies and CRM Language

King’s claim that our work espouses an “acceptance of more-or-less arbitrary NPS policies” is actually counter to our argument that, in order to achieve true tribal-originated CRM, we must go beyond the agency-focused management of the National Park Service and Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Consider our discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of the National Park Service – the Tribal Historic Preservation Office program and the National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Offices (THPO and NATHPO, respectively). We do not endorse this option over any others. Many tribes already have their own system for addressing cultural/historical-preservation concerns and needs through tribal councils and societies.

Tribal CRM is not limited by the boundaries of agency-based CRM. However, in many situations, tribes must work within the existing system. In order to work effectively, participants must know and understand the language of CRM. While King may think that we use “terms meaningful to CRM practitioners but not to anyone else,” we have found that those involved in the cultural resource-clearance process defined by Section 106 – whether concerned tribal members, responsible agency personnel, or developers – wish to understand the system and its nuances.

Archaeology to the Exclusion of Anthropology and Its Various Sub-disciplines

King and Van Horn both comment on what they believe is an overemphasis on archaeology and archaeologists in the book to the exclusion of other types of cultural resources and other disciplines often involved in CRM, such as historians, architectural historians, historical architects, landscape architects, and cultural anthropologists. While we disagree that there is an overemphasis, we do acknowledge that the emphasis of the book is archaeological. The reason for this is that most of the work in tribal CRM is driven by impacts to archaeological and other cultural remains. And as Rhonda Foster and Larry Ross stated in their review,

Whether you like it or not, anyone doing CRM needs to accept the scientific approach of archaeology as a useful tool. We have learned to

embrace archaeology. . . . This book provides understanding that archaeology is not bad.

Still, we could have more adequately emphasized the important services provided by the other disciplines and technical experts frequently employed on many CRM endeavors. However, with the possible exception of an attorney, these specialties – at least in our experience – are less evident in tribal CRM programs.

King also expresses that, for him, a tribal CRM encompasses language, artistic traditions, and oral history. For us, these areas, along with cultural resource protection, are part of a broader effort by tribes to which some refer as cultural revival, cultural survival, or cultural identity. Certain tribes maintain these activities as part of their “cultural preservation” strategy, but often they are separate programs operating under their own grants, rules, funding, personnel, etc. Political, economic, and social competition also can occur between the various tribal cultural programs, impeding any concerted efforts addressing the tribe’s cultural needs under the authority of a single office that is answerable to tribal government. The amalgamation of these programs must be considered the future goal of cultural-resource managers.

We consider that we have represented anthropology fairly. More individual anthropologists are mentioned than archaeologists; the historic overview includes anthropology, archaeology, and CRM; there are more than 90 cultural anthropological references (out of about 180 total) and 60 that are archaeological in nature. We included what we feared was almost an overabundance of anthropology because we firmly believe that archaeologists need to draw more on their anthropological roots if they are to be effective in Indian Country. Archaeologists new to tribal CRM are seldom prepared to deal with the many issues that fall under their job description.

Historic Structures

Van Horn felt we gave insufficient attention to historic structures, commenting:

the book is virtually silent on historic structures in their own right as a cultural resource category and on how American Indians might be managing historic structures as cultural resources.

Although we provided little substantive discussion regarding historic structures, per se, we certainly recognize them as important cultural resources. Perhaps

we gave short shrift to this discussion since it is not our area of expertise, and we are grateful to Van Horn for reminding us that, in the next edition, the mention of historic structures could be better researched and expanded. Perhaps it is not enough to say that:

This aspect of cultural resource management can, and often does, have relevance to American Indians, but we do not focus on these topics. Our focus is more on archaeological places, traditional-use areas, and cultural landscapes (p. 6).

Why is the Stewardship Chapter Included in a Book on Tribal CRM?

When King states that, “. . . it is not entirely clear to me why this chapter [Promoting a Cultural Resource Stewardship Agenda] is in a book on tribal programs,” we may be getting a glimpse at the reason for his confusion. Our book is not about tribal programs, but rather about the management of tribal resources. Chapter 9 is our vision of how tribal resources can be better conserved for future generations. The concepts and principles included in this chapter are important for tribes protecting resources that are under their control, as well as resources that are important to them but are under the control of others (e.g., federal agencies). The intent was to identify the types of activities that need to be conducted within the stewardship paradigm, so that tribes can hold themselves and others accountable. This is one model, but there are other ways to protect resources. We acknowledge that there are opportunities to improve this chapter, perhaps incorporating much of the information in Chapter 6 (Developing a Tribal Cultural Resource Program).

Justifying and/or Apologizing for a Few Editorial Gaffes and Omissions

A couple of the reviewers were kind enough to point out our errors and omissions. We are, of course, aware that the Society for Applied Anthropology and the Society for High Plains Applied Anthropology are not “archaeological societies,” so we are mystified as to how we allowed that one to escape us.

The Children’s Health Initiative reference was missing because when we went back to the website from which we originally retrieved it, the link was no longer available.

Regarding split infinitives, we refer the reader to *Woe Is I* by Patricia T. O’Conner:

Writers of English have been merrily “splitting” infinitives since the 1300s, and it was considered acceptable until the mid-nineteenth century, when grammar books – notably Henry Alford’s *Plea for the Queen’s English* – started calling it a crime. (Some linguists trace the taboo to the Victorians’ slavish fondness for Latin, a language in which you can’t divide an infinitive.) This “rule” was popular for half a century, until leading grammarians debunked it. But its ghost has proved more durable than Freddy Krueger [who was the leading character in the 1984 slasher-genre horror movie, *A Nightmare on Elm Street*, which spurred several sequels en route to becoming an icon in American popular culture] (O’Conner 1996:182).

Where is Tribal CRM Today?

We would like to close with some observations on the state of CRM since we published *Tribal Cultural Resource Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship* in 2002. By all accounts, tribal CRM in the United States continues to advance. Since publication, several more tribes have received certification as THPOs, including (but we hope not limited to) the Bad River Band of Lake Superior Chippewa (Wisconsin), the Blackfeet Nation (Montana), the Nez Perce Tribe (Idaho), and Stewart’s Point Rancheria Kashia Band of Pomo (California). In addition, many tribes have started programs of their own design.

One critical element to developing a self-sustaining program is the inclusion of tribal members as managers and staff, a trend that is also on the rise. However, we have noticed that many tribal members who begin working with a cultural resource program move on to other pursuits within a few years. It is not clear why this is occurring or if, in fact, it is even a problem. Such fluidity may reflect the United States population in general.

While we have seen a steady increase in the acceptance and involvement of tribal CRM by the anthropological, archaeological, and CRM communities, we still encounter ambivalence and some downright resistance. Our book is being used at several universities in their CRM curriculum, indicating that the next generation of academically trained professionals will be better prepared to work with indigenous peoples than we were. Tribal CRM is here to stay, and as tribes continue to make inroads into local, state, and federal agencies, their influence should grow.

Conclusion

From the beginning of this book project, we were aware of the intricacy of sharing our perspectives on the emotional, complex, and dynamic field of tribal CRM. As daunting as the task appeared, we were compelled to offer our experiences with the hope that others might be willing to pick up the gauntlet of tribal CRM. We appreciate the reviewers’ comments where we succeeded, and we commit to substantially improving our discussion and the accuracy of our presentation. We will incorporate these useful observations and other helpful comments in the next edition.

Notes

1. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, A Division of Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers, 2002. Heritage Resources Management Series, Number 4. Series edited by Don Fowler and sponsored by the University of Nevada at Reno. 260 pages; illustrations including maps, photographs as figures, and tables; foreword by Jeff Van Pelt; preface; three parts; ten chapters; afterword by Robert Whitlam; bibliography; index, about the authors. Cloth, \$70.00 U.S. Paperback, \$24.95 U.S.
2. Darby C. Stapp obtained his Ph.D. from the American Civilization Department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1990. He directs the Hanford Cultural Resources Laboratory for the Battelle Memorial Institute on contract with the U.S. Department of Energy at the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory in Richland, WA. He can be reached at dstapp@charter.net, at 509-373-2894, and at 278 Adair Drive, Richland WA 99352-9453.
3. Michael S. Burney received his M.A. from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Colorado at Boulder in 1991 with an emphasis on western American prehistory. He heads his own cultural resource management consulting firm and can be reached at michaelburney@hotmail.com, at 505-737-9497, and at Burney and Associates, P.O. Box 2329, Taos, NM 87571-2329.

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- O’ Conner, Patricia T.
1996 *Woe Is I: The Grammarphobe’s Guide to Better English in Plain English*. New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons. A Grosset/Putnam Book.