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Cover: Jefferson Medal discovered in 1899 during railroad construction at the mouth of the Potlatch River, the Colter's Creek of Lewis and Clark, and currently in (or held by) the American Museum of Natural History, N.Y.

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# ARTICLES AND REPORTS

## *AMERICAN INDIAN BURIAL AND REPATRIATION IN THE SOUTHERN PLATEAU WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NORTHERN IDAHO*

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### INTRODUCTION

The reasons for conflict between American Indians protecting their ancestors' graves and anthropologists, specifically archaeologists and physical anthropologists wanting to study ancestral remains, should be explored. The Plateau Culture Area has benefited from over twenty years of good relations between American Indians and anthropologists because of a mutual understanding of the religious and research needs of the other group. The long cooperation in the area has not been without its problems but is far ahead of most, if not all, other culture areas in North America.

To state my position simply and succinctly, I believe that if an American Indian burial has likely modern day descendents, then the governing body of those descendents should make the determination of what is done with the remains and associated artifacts. Further, I believe that no human remains with clear historic associations should be excavated except when that is the only logical alternative to destruction of the remains. Land clearly containing the bones of ancestors belongs to those ancestors, not the state highway department, mall developer, or federal agency.

Clearly the anthropologist finds cemeteries as a valuable part of the total analysis of a village complex. The burials tell us much about religion, belief in an afterlife, funeral ceremonies, rank and status, demography, physical type, etc. All of this is grist for the mill of the ethnologist or archaeologist as well as the physical anthropologist who usually works hand-in-hand with the burial excavator. The physical anthropologist, as well as taking innumerable measurements, can tell us about life expectancy, age at death, sex, stature, pathologies and anomalies, perhaps the cause of death, genetic relationships of individuals and populations, and a whole host of medical facts. Careful excavation can tell if the grave pit was dug with a shovel or a digging stick, what time of year the interment took place, or if a cremation or a burial was secondary to exposure of the body. The archaeologist may call upon soil scientists, entomologists, chemists, botanists, and many other specialists to help in the analysis.

As an archaeologist I enjoy working with human remains; interestingly, I have helped the Corps of Engineers move more white graves than American Indian graves. Any work with human remains must be done with dignity and respect for the deceased as well as the concerned living.

The real satisfaction comes from doing the job well and sharing the mutual satisfaction with the descendents. Again this is an element of all burial work, not just American Indians as the following demonstrates. A bridge construction project near Pasco, Washington uncovered two white graves, those of a middle-aged mother and her teenaged son (Wegars, Sprague, and Mulinski 1983). After doing some archival research and with help from a local amateur archaeologist, we discovered who they were. They had been lost by the family for many years and the reaction of the three, by then elderly, sisters to the discovery of their mother and brother was one of joy, relief, and deep appreciation for the scientific way in which we determined the identity of the remains. The thanks given at the reburial were very little different from those given at the many American Indian reburials with which I have assisted.

### REBURIAL ATTITUDES

Any discussion of the repatriation vs. retention of American Indian skeletal material must begin with a review of the historical facts involved in the attitudes of the dominant white population toward the Native American or American Indian population in the United States and to a lesser degree in Canada and Mexico. For a study of the southern Plateau in relation to other areas of North America, see Sprague (1987); for a broader view and a very scholarly analysis, see the thesis by Dana A. Isham (1974). Also of interest are several articles in a work on ethics in archaeology by Green (1984) including Adams (1984), Cheek and Keel (1984), Ferguson (1984), and Meighan (1984). Meighan (1984) is especially important because he is known for his extreme anti-repatriation stand in California, a state noted for extreme positions on the subject of repatriation. He has also recently stepped

out of his state and questioned the system established in Idaho (Lewiston Morning Tribune 1992). For two recent views of the reburial issue in a broader context see Zimmerman (1992) and especially McGuire (1992).

The historical position is well known to anyone who has seen a Hollywood movie of the Old West. American Indians were sub-humans who failed to fully utilize the natural resources of the area and thus the Europeans had a "God given right" or "manifest destiny" to take and use these resources. Not only did the national government conduct an overt program of genocide but the archaeologically as well as occasional medically and ethnographically recovered skeletal materials were not considered human remains but simply scientific specimens.

For those who might think that this characterization is harsh or think it could never happen any other place, I strongly recommend an article by Jared Diamond (1988). The parallels between the treatment of the last Tasmainian's remains by the Tasmainian Museum and the treatment of American Indian remains by U. S. Army surgeons is striking. It is these remains collected by army surgeons that make up a portion of the Smithsonian Institution collections of today.

More recently there has been an expression of racial discrimination and prejudice in the application of various reburial regulations by federal agencies. In my own experience as a consultant to the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, I know that the normal contract costs for removing and reburying a white grave prior to flooding, in the 1970s, was about $3,000. This was for undertaker, excavation, transportation, box, liner, plot, reburial, and brass plaque. This of course did not include the in-house expenses of surveying the site; drafting, developing, and printing a design memorandum; locating next-of-kin; and all of the usual overhead costs. When all of these costs were included, the average grave in a large cemetery would cost no less than $10,000 to relocate. In a small cemetery or with a single grave, the cost per grave would be several times this figure.

During the same time period it took strong tribal pressure, threats of action for apparent racial discrimination, and hard work by a few dedicated workers within the Corps before the colonel would allocate $300 per Indian grave for relocation. This work was done, including analysis by a physical anthropologist, with tribal cooperation and to the benefit of all.

Even in recent years, during a burial relocation of white pioneers in Texas, the Bureau of Reclamation required that all skeletal material be reburied the same day it was removed from the ground (Fox 1984:15). I challenge the Bureau of Reclamation to produce one example from Texas or any other state where they require the reburial of an American Indian body the same day it is excavated. I have suggested (Sprague 1989) that if this particular situation is as it appears, "then the legal, moral, and ethical implications of this overt racial discrimination are obvious."

For the most part, anthropology in the United States is a more united discipline than in other countries. Because originally they were all based on the study of American Indians, the ethnographer/ethnologist or social anthropologist, the anthropological linguist, the archaeologist, and the physical or biological anthropologist all have a common interest. In spite of claims to the contrary, even the ethnologists in the past, including Franz Boas (Cole 1988), have failed to respect the sacred nature of American Indian skeletal materials. However, through time it has been the social anthropologist who first came to recognize the professional, ethical, and moral obligation to respect American Indian culture as equal in value to our own culture. This failure to apply to their own field work that which was taught everyday in the classroom has been a major ethical dilemma for American anthropology. This general evolution of thought on reburial by anthropologists in the United States has also been typical of the changes in reburial policy in the southern Plateau.

Following slowly but irreversibly behind the social anthropologist, the archaeologists have begun to accept the fact that repatriation is the only moral course of action. The degree to which this position is accepted varies, as pointed out by Meighan (1984), but at least some progress is being made among archaeologists. Those geographical areas with large reservation populations in the western states seem to have progressed the most toward the repatriation position. Idaho and many of the other western states have state laws that are more favorable to repatriation and often in the past, these laws were more strict and in conflict with the federal laws or regulations.

Another tendency toward differences in attitude is found at the personal level. Again, the greater the contact with American Indians, the greater the respect for their wishes. As one anonymous Forest Archaeologist for the U. S. Forest Service, formerly in a western state, expressed it in July 1988: "The archaeologists who want to keep the bones are the ones who have never worked with burials or Indians."

As we move down the scale of cross cultural understanding, we come to the physical anthropologists who see repatriation as the loss of their research information. If we as anthropologists do not cooperate with the American Indians then we will find ourselves left out of the process altogether with a total loss of any data pertaining to archaeological burial or skeletal analysis (Sprague 1974, 1987). It is my long-stated contention that a one-time analysis, if done well and complete, is better than no analysis at all, which is clearly the alternative. This position includes the fact that not only is it usually necessary to rebury all newly-found individuals as soon after analysis as is possible (in my experience about six months) but that any curated collections should be repatriated as quickly as time and money permit. Programs such as this have been carried out with the complete cooperation of all public institutions (but not necessarily all staff members) within the Plateau culture area with a dramatic *increase* in the collection, analysis, and reporting of osteometric and non-metric data.

## TRIBAL REACTION AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL ETHICS

When working with American Indian burials the investigator is expected to be fully familiar with the archaeological burial literature as well as the ethnographic literature of the area. Oftentimes, ethnohistorical sources such as fur trade journals will give insights into what to expect. Burial practices were changing very rapidly all

over North America at the time of contact due to the European introduced epidemics and general destruction of the culture. The death cults of the southeast and the exposed rib motif of the Columbia River are but two examples of this concern with death prior to and at the time of contact.

If the tribal members want it, there can also be various scientific measurements made on the bone or from the soil in the central cavity area of the body. The Colville Tribe, for example, wants radiocarbon age determinations made on any prehistoric burials. Other groups, such as the Yakima, absolutely abhor such practices. The same can be said of burial goods. The Yakima Tribe takes the position that the spirit of the ancestor will not rest until the bones and all of the burial goods are back in the soil. "The people put those things there for a reason so we must put them back" (Watson Totus 1965, personal communication). The Colville Tribe keeps all artifacts for later display in a museum after they undergo specific purification ceremonies. The Nez Perce Tribe takes a middle position; the historic or known burials must have the burial goods replaced while prehistoric burial treatment varies according to the religion of the dominant group on the Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee.

Those who oppose reburial claim that reburying human remains and grave goods is like burning rare books. I would only counter that no book was ever anyone's ancestor. We are dealing with human remains that have a profound relationship to the descendents. Also, common law is very clear on the fact that burial goods belong to the deceased. As a practicing archaeologist, I can say that because of sensitive cooperation with the American Indians of this area, far more burial records have been accumulated at the University of Idaho than all of the rest of the institutions in the Pacific Northwest combined.

Long after reburial, new studies have been done based on the original data sheets (Carino 1987), yet one of the oft-stated reasons for opposing repatriation is that the skeletal material is needed for restudies of this kind. With this claim in mind, a review was made of the literature in American physical anthropology to determine how many restudies of American Indian skeletal material could be identified by title. While it is likely that some such studies could not be identified by title, a majority should be so described. This study (Sprague 1988) was done for the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) as part of their efforts to obtain legislative relief in Nebraska for the Pawnee Tribe in their fight to repatriate burials held by the Nebraska State Historical Society. A review of four bibliographic studies in physical anthropology (Armelagos, Mielke, and Winter 1971; Crain 1971; Finnegan and Faust 1974; White, Harrison, and Hall 1977), encompassing over 5000 titles (with some obvious duplication), revealed no restudies of American Indian skeletal material. In an article written for the expressed purpose of stating the conservative view of physical anthropology toward repatriation (Owsley 1983) only lip-service is given to the restudy position and no examples are listed. It is granted that science may develop new techniques for analysis, but the point is how often are these done on old specimens and is this "scientific need" greater than the "tribal need" to put the spirits to rest and provide for the concerns of the living.

The relative positions of the several subfields of American anthropology on reburial should be clear from the formal ethical statements of these subfields. For the sake of ease of reference, when possible, the work by Green (1984) will be used as a source for these several statements.

There is nothing that speaks to the issue of repatriation in the "Ethics for Archaeology" of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) (Green 1984:28), or the "Code of Ethics" or the "Standards of Research Performance" of the Society of Professional Archaeologists (SOPA) (Green 1984:22-27).

Article VII - Ethical Positions of the Constitution of The Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) (1991:36) does not contain a specific statement on other cultural groups; however, in 1990 the full membership was asked for comments on a Statement on Burials. This statement was not as strong as initially written by me but it is still the strongest and most positive statement in the national archaeological community on the subject. It is no accident that the statement was passed while I was serving as president of SHA. The final and most important paragraph reads:

> As students of humanistic, social, and behavioral sciences, the Society membership will consult with and to the extent possible, respect the wishes of those peoples with a manifest relationship to the deceased in the conduct of any excavations, analysis, or final disposition of human remains and associated materials [Society for Historical Archaeology Burial Committee 1990:2].

The words "to the extent possible" were added by the committee to create a loophole if caught between obligations to the people and government regulations. I contended that a no-exception position would be stronger and would give Society backing to the morally defensible position, but I lost. While not perfect, this brief statement of less than 150 words, is much more balanced than the over 600 words of the SAA position (Society for American Archaeology Executive Committee 1986:7-8) and it is not filled with numerous scientific justifications for burial excavation, analysis, and retention. The SHA statement was on the first two pages while the SAA statement was on the last two pages of their respective newsletters.

The statement by the American Anthropological Association (AAA) entitled "Principles of Professional Responsibility" was adopted in May of 1971. The first paragraph reads:

> In research, an anthropologist's paramount responsibility is to those he studies. When there is conflict of interest, these individuals must come first. The anthropologist must do everything within his power to protect their physical, social and psychological welfare and to honor their dignity and privacy [Green 1984:30].

Some archaeologists have argued, with a strange twist of logic, that their responsibility is to the skeletal people they are studying (Meighan 1985), not the living decedents. By the same process of logic, Davidson Black

would have had a responsibility to Beijing Man, not to the Chinese people.

As anthropologists, it is clear what the AAA statement should mean to archaeologists and physical anthropologists. Also one other section of the statement is important. It states: "Every effort should be exerted to cooperate with members of the host society in the planning and execution of research projects." How often is this done in the case of skeletal population studies?

The stated position of the physical anthropologists is expressed in a resolution unanimously passed at the 1982 meeting of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists (AAPA) (*American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 1982). In essence it states that no remains should be reburied except "where specific descendants can be traced" and it is the wish of the living that they be reburied. What this resolution ignores, and as anyone claiming to be an anthropologist should recognize is that different cultures have different ways of defining traceable descendants. The Euroamerican definition of a traceable descendant may not be the same as that of an American Indian. More admirable is the paragraph that resolves:

> ...that the American Association of Physical Anthropologists encourages close and effective communication with appropriate ethnic groups by individual scholars who study human remains that may have biological or cultural affinity to those groups....

No one can disagree with this.

One of the questions often asked by physical anthropologists is how the concerned tribe knows that the individuals are their ancestors. I can only agree with the statement by Pat Lefthand (1988) when testifying for the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA). Lefthand stated: "Tribes should not have to prove the bones are those of their ancestors. Tribes occupying an area where the remains were found should be presumed to have the right to repatriate them." This has been the underlying philosophy of the successful program in the Plateau area during the past twenty-five years. If the burden of proof should be on anyone, it should be on the anthropologist who claims that any known burial is not an ancestor of the contact-period tribal group.

If the American Anthropological Association statement on ethics is to be followed, then it becomes important to determine the attitude of the American Indians toward the removal of ancestral burials. It is a universal sense of sadness and concern that is expressed by informants. At a reburial ceremony recently, I observed an elderly woman trying to speak about ancestral remains over three-hundred years old. She spoke in her native Nez Perce but broke down before she was able to complete her comments. This is not an unusual situation. The religious leader at this ceremony spoke about not being angry at the weekend gold miners who dug up his ancestors but rather about his sadness that it had happened and that the ancestral bones had been removed from the earth. Unfortunately, codes of ethics do not necessarily take care of the American Indian concerns.

Within the Plateau there is an almost universal concern that the ancestral bones be returned to the earth. If the bones or the burial goods are removed from the earth then the ancestral spirit does not rest. I am aware of a case on the Colville Reservation of a man suffering from serious spirit illness. He explained that it was because some of his ancestors bones were out of the ground. It was impossible for him to have known that bones had been recently removed for study. As soon as the reburial ceremony took place, again without his knowledge, he recovered from the spirit sickness.

This is not an isolated case. I am personally familiar with manifestations of this kind on several different reservations. On a number of occasions people helping with reburials have had to undergo ceremonial purification to relieve ailments. These have not been limited to American Indians. The point is that the beliefs concerning the need to return skeletal material to the ground are not just minor beliefs in conflict with the loss of scientific information; they are a major and vital part of the native belief system over much of North America and serious physical and psychological damage may result to many people because of these beliefs. The need for repatriation and reburial is far greater than any supposed loss of scientific information that might be gained through restudy by physical anthropologists. As Deward Walker (1993, personal communication) has expressed it: "the white population does not realize that to an American Indian, death is just another stage in an ongoing spirit journey. The physical remains and grave goods continue to be an essential part of that journey. Death is not the end of the physical body even though it results in their transformation. Not only are the parts of the individual but also the grave goods are inexplicably linked to the individual's survival in their life after death." A Yakima explained that "if a digger removed a leg bone then that person spent the rest of eternity walking around without one leg."

One popular misconception that has been perpetuated by those opposing repatriation is the belief that the reburial of disturbed burials and especially of museum collections is a new concept and practice. Reburial has been practiced in the eastern United States and especially Canada for many years. Not only has this been a regular practice but wide publicity has been given to the practice, as attested to by an article in Life (1956) magazine of an Iroquois reburial near Toronto.

## HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF PLATEAU REBURIAL

The study of American Indian and white relations in the Southern Plateau area, when limited to the field of archaeology, is largely the work of the dominant population removing the graves and artifacts of the minority aboriginal population. Following this more general discussion of the problem of repatriation of burials, we can now look at the situation in the Interior Plateau culture area of the western United States (Sprague 1967). The most logical approach is through a chronological review of major events among the several tribes involved. The periods of archaeological research as previously suggested (Sprague 1973a) will be used here.

The period of European Exploration from 1885 through the Early Pioneer period at the turn of the century involved no recorded discussion between American Indians and archaeologists or even pothunters. It is obvious from the description of a burial potted in 1887 in

Nez Perce and Palus territory that the local Indian inhabitants were not being consulted (*American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 1889; Sprague 1979). While her employer, Alice Fletcher, was busy allotting the Nez Perce Reservation, cook and photographer Jane Gay (1981:137-142) went out on 13 August 1891 to dig a burial that fortunately turned out to be a camas roasting oven. Merton Miller went through the Nez Perce Reservation in 1901 for the Field Museum in Chicago and, while he did get involved in archaeological work on other Northwest reservations, he did not seem to do so while at Lapwai (Sprague 1971). Herbert Joseph Spinden (1908:171) represented the Peabody Museum of Harvard University in 1907 and the American Museum of Natural History in 1908. Spinden gives lengthy descriptions of the archaeology of the reservation where he apparently did no archaeological work himself but instead depended upon several pothunters of the day. Spinden also gives no hint as to whether he had the approval of the Nez Perce Tribe or federal officials for this research. He does make an interesting observation concerning the protection of graves:

> Cemeteries are readily located by the heaps of river worn or rock-slide bowlders piled over the graves. But so completely have most of the cemeteries been rifled by relic-hunters that it is now difficult to find any undisturbed graves except in the regions at present occupied by the Indians [Spinden 1908:181].

Spinden (1908:181; Wheeler 1904[2]:122) also mentions the Lewis and Clark medal found at the mouth of Potlatch Creek during railroad construction in 1891 and which is still in the American Museum of Natural History in spite of a reputed request from the Nez Perce Tribe for its return. The results of the accidental uncovering of Indian skeletal material by a corporate entity apparently were no different from those of the intentional pothunter. The construction in 1906 of the Texas City (Riparia) to Lewiston section of what is today the Camas Prairie Railroad accidentally uncovered a Nez Perce burial site. It was reported in a local newspaper (*Spokesman-Review* 1906) but there is no official record of any action by the railroad, the Tribe, or federal officials except for a local history that reports that "the trouble was adjusted by the company" (Kincaid 1934). A similar event near Stites by a highway road crew about 1912 mentioned that the finders reported talking to local Indians about the possibility of a local battle (Remsburg 1912:89). It is not recorded just how the Nez Perce reacted to white laborers removing their ancestors.

In the Coeur d'Alene, Pend O'reille, and Kootenai territory the offending disturbance that is recorded most often was ditch digging as a result of city development, especially in Coeur d'Alene, Sandpoint, and Bonners Ferry. The news items again treated these discoveries as novelties rather than suggesting that these were peoples' ancestors deserving of respect and reburial. Three quotes from the Coeur d'Alene area will suffice to demonstrate the then-current attitude. "About 20 skulls have thus far been resurrected and have been carried away by eager relic hunters" (*Rathdrum Tribune* 1904). "Many of the curios found are now at the Lewis Lumber company's office and are attracting a good deal of attention" (*Coeur d'Alene Journal* 1907). "The bones are in the office of Simms & Co., and may be carefully preserved for future study" (*Coeur d'Alene Journal* 1910).

The first real archaeology done in northern Idaho was a survey of Lake Coeur d'Alene (Rust 1912) in which no mention is made of the Tribe as a modern political unit. A typical example of the contemporary attitude toward the Coeur d'Alene Indians is found in a *Spokesman-Review* article from 1917 which reads: "Four skulls of Indians, hanged at Smythe's ford on Hangman Creek in 1885 by order of Colonel Wright [an incredible story of injustice in itself], will be given to the new Spokane museum, according to H. W. Collins." Just for the record, there is no present-day evidence of these skulls in any Spokane museum.

The Late Pioneer period in Plateau archaeology is characterized in other parts of the region by the beginnings of scientific excavation such as at The Dalles (Strong, Schenck, and Steward 1936) and Upper Columbia (Collier, Hudson, and Ford 1942). There are no corresponding excavations in the Idaho portion of the Plateau area. The brief description of a few burials by Turney-High (1937:18) from the Flathead Lake region of Montana is not enough to save the region from obscurity nor does it appear that Turney-High was any more concerned about pothunters than was Spinden thirty years earlier.

In the next period, the River Basin Survey (RBS) period, there is again less to report in northern Idaho than for other parts of the Pacific Northwest. River Basin Surveys conducted in northern Idaho and western Montana involved all of the Indian tribes residing on reservations in those two areas, yet there is no correspondence between any of these tribes and the Eugene office of the RBS contained in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, where the River Basin Survey files are preserved. The only correspondence with any Indian tribe by the Eugene office is with the Umatilla Confederated Tribes concerning burial excavations, the first to my knowledge of any recognition by a federal agency within the Plateau of the long-standing concern of the American Indians for their ancestral graves. That early correspondence, currently under study, is of little credit to the field of anthropology or the Corps of Engineers.

The River Basin Survey period blended into the Problem Oriented period in the early 1950s as the emphasis moved from a single office in Eugene under the Smithsonian Institution to contracting the work out to regional universities through the National Park Service. Richard D. Daugherty from Washington State University began to develop strong ties with the Nez Perce Tribe during the period. However, some burials were still being excavated without tribal approval including those opposite Steptoe Canyon (Daugherty and Dammel 1952) excavated by an archaeology class in 1949. An amateur group from Pullman also conducted burial excavations in 1959 at Nisqually John Canyon (Sprague 1967:112-113), again without the knowledge or approval of the Tribe. In 1955 a class under Daugherty's direction began excavation of a burial site in the town of Asotin where I served as the site assistant (Sprague 1959).

Tom O. Miller, in the 1950s while situated at North Idaho College, was involved in the recovery of burials (Miller 1954:390), also without the knowledge or approval of the involved tribe. In 1954 Don Tuohy (1958) surveyed a gas pipeline near the Mission of the Sacred Heart of Jesus to the Coeur d'Alene Indians, popularly called Cataldo Mission. This was not only the first historic archaeology in Idaho but more importantly it represented interest in an historic site that existed for American Indians.

The work of Carling Malouf in Montana began in the 1950s and has continued almost to the present with a close contact between Malouf and numerous individual Indians from both the Kootenai and Flathead tribes. A series of field notes by Malouf indicate, to his credit, that his concern with burials seems to be limited to those found by accident rather than intentional excavation. These included burials recovered around Flathead Lake during the 1950s and 1960s as well as a site in Missoula (Malouf 1956:193-197, 216). Malouf (1982:5-7) also recorded some past accidental excavations along the lower Clark Fork River.

The above mentioned Asotin site, excavated by an archaeology class under the direction of Daugherty, was analyzed by me (Sprague 1959) in 1958. Daugherty and I went to the Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee (NPTEC) in 1958 to request permission for me to conduct related ethnographic field work on the reservation. This was granted; however, the council, in the person of Richard Halfmoon, asked why the burials were being dug. The explanation that they were on private land where the owner wanted to put in a swimming pool was taken as sufficient reason for their removal. The important thing is that archaeologists were appearing before an Indian governing body telling them about (but not asking permission for) the excavation of ancestral remains.

During the decade of the 1960s, little work was going on in the region until Idaho State University (ISU) began excavations, including burials, on the Clearwater River for the Dworshak Dam Reservoir (Lynch, Wilkinson, and Warren 1965) and at the Arrow Beach and Lenore sites (Toups 1969:69-70, 96). Once again there was little or no consultation with the appropriate tribe even when the work was within the boundary of the reservation and included graves. This action has had an adverse affect on future researchers such as the denial of a request by Kenneth Ames to excavate at Lenore in 1980 (Scott 1980). Burial work was also done as part of the highway salvage program on White Bird Hill (Warren and Fitzwater 1963). It is not known if any contact was made with the Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee prior to this work, but there is no positive evidence on file and the quality of the field notes would indicate a general lack of preparation. It has been suggested by one reviewer that my evaluation of this work is harsh based on the time elapsed. During the same summer, thirty years ago, I directed the excavation of 260 burials at Palouse, an excavation that has resulted in an agency report, a dissertation, three theses, a booklet, three reference articles, and the research continues.

## TRIBAL AGREEMENTS

In September and October 1967, immediately after our move from Washington State University to the University of Idaho, Deward E. Walker, Jr. and I were called upon to recover ancestral remains from two different sites in Nez Perce territory (Sprague and Birkby 1970). Walker approached then-Chairman of NPTEC, Richard Halfmoon, concerning the need for some formal agreement in the treatment of ancestral remains. The University of Idaho asked the Tribe for 1) the setting aside of a section of a tribal cemetery for reburials, and 2) assistance with travel expenses and, when needed, labor. In return the Laboratory of Anthropology would:

1) return all artifactual materials contained in the graves in a cleaned and adequately prepared condition for display in your museum or for reburial with the body as the Tribe so chooses;

2) return all human bones recovered and in a suitable condition for reburial; and

3) provide a scientific description and interpretation of the artifactual and bone materials obtained [Walker 1967].

The Council passed resolution NP68-69 on 18 December 1967 accepting Walker's position as stated. This was to signal a new era in American Indian-archaeologist relations in the area.

By taking the position that collections of Indian skeletal material would not be maintained at the University of Idaho, we assumed that the University would no longer be involved in the time-consuming task of burial relocation. The opposite proved true. Because of the stated policy, the Indian tribes of the area began to come to the University of Idaho for recovery work when it became necessary because they knew that there would be no problem concerning reburial. Formal and informal agreements have since been made with tribes within the Columbia Plateau and with the Lummi Tribe from the coast of Washington. Plateau tribal governing bodies served have included the Coeur d'Alene, Colville, Kalispel, Kootenai of Idaho, Nez Perce, Spokane, Umatilla, and Yakima.

Two ethnographic studies of importance to archaeology were produced about this time by Walker and by one of his students, Madge Schwede. Under Walker's supervision Schwede (1966, 1970) compiled a detailed listing of place names in aboriginal Nez Perce territory with information on each that included settlement size and economic use. The obvious utility of such information to a prehistoric survey has made this an important archaeological reference. Walker (1966) published an article in *American Antiquity* about stone piling entitled "A Nez Perce Ethnographic Observation of Archaeological Significance." An important thing about both of these studies was that Walker had requested and received tribal permission to conduct and publish the research and the informants were paid for their services.

In 1968 Deward Walker (1968) sent a resolution to Marie Wormington, President of the Society for American Archaeology, requesting that it be presented at the next meeting of the society. The resolution stated simply that archaeologists should contact the tribe concerned with that area when doing archaeology and that graves of known individuals should not be excavated without the consent of the tribe concerned. By the next year D. W. Lathrop, President of the Society, presented the resolution

to the 1969 executive committee but apparently it did not make it to the floor for discussion.

In 1970 Maurice Slickpoo, member of NPTEC, Robert Strom, tribal attorney, and I met with the Corps of Engineers in Walla Walla concerning the fact that white cemeteries are removed with full concern for finding the next-of-kin, reburied with markers, etc., but American Indian burials with known living relatives are bull-dozed into the river and that such an attitude smacks of racial discrimination. Up to this point District Engineer, Colonel Robert J. Giesen, had been less than cooperative with archaeologists concerning the excavation of ancestral remains. However, at this meeting his attitude became one of deep concern and he was willing to invest any reasonable amount of money in burial relocation. This was the beginning of the major relocation project by the University of Idaho of Nez Perce ancestral graves on the Snake River using Nez Perce labor (Rodeffer, Rodeffer, and Sprague 1972; Rodeffer 1973; Iverson 1977; Sprague 1978; Wegars, Sprague, and Mulinski 1983; Sprague and Tyler 1992).

It is now policy in the Walla Walla District for all Indian graves, even when totally disturbed, to be recovered by archaeologists. This program was begun by LeRoy V. Allen and is being continued by John Leier with the full participation of the military commanders in the reburial ceremonies. The program is a model for all agencies and has served as such for other U. S. Army Corps of Engineer districts in the country.

Ironically, this exemplary program and the wishes of the tribes are being thwarted by the blind and easy adherence to federal procurement regulations specifying "small business set-asides." The use of "profit motive archaeology" is not necessary or desirable and represents a contrived and convenient way of contracting for archaeological work. This method is not only being used by several districts of the Corps of Engineers but also by some of the national forests. Perhaps a congressional inquiry initiated by several of the tribes would help to bring these agencies into clear compliance with tribal wishes.

The 1970 resolution by NPTEC, directed to the Corps of Engineers following the Walla Walla meeting, is one of the more assertive resolutions to come out of the 1970s. The resolution (NP 71-82) reads in part:

> 1. That the Nez Perce Tribe affirms its authority and jurisdiction over the ancestral burials in the Lower Granite Reservoir.
>
> . . .
>
> 7. That the Corps of Engineers shall solely be responsible for all expenses in the location and reburial of Nez Perce ancestral burials within the Lower Granite Reservoir.

It was during the excavation of one site near Lewiston that Richard Halfmoon, NPTEC Chairman, was able to gain widespread publicity of the fact that many of the graves had been desecrated only a few years before (Harrop 1971). The reaction of the Indian community was generally favorable toward the archaeological work because it was bringing the fact of grave desecration before the public and the crew was largely made up of young Nez Perce men. However, the positive attitude toward archaeology in this area had some adverse effect on areas to the south as confrontations developed at Colorado State University in 1971 between the university archaeologists and members of the local American Indian Movement (AIM) (*Fort Collins Coloradoan* 1971). A similar problem developed later at Boise State University with the American Indian Club in 1974 (*Idahonian* 1974).

The Kootenai Tribe of Idaho made its first contact with area archaeologists in 1973 when they requested help in the recovery of skeletal material surfacing in the tribal cemetery at St. Michael's Mission (Sprague 1973b). Later in the year after the cemetery was burned in a forest fire, the Tribe requested help in mapping the remains. The University of Idaho crew excavating at Cataldo Mission spent a volunteer weekend mapping the location of the nails left from the burned crosses as well as the mounds and depressions of the cemetery (Sprague 1973b). Copies of this map have been called for by the Tribe on several occasions since then.

In 1974 I published a requested editorial (Sprague 1974) in *American Antiquity* entitled "American Indians and American Archaeology." This was a distillation of the efforts of the University of Idaho to work with local Indians when conducting local archaeology. It was not well received at the time by many in the archaeological community but almost two decades later it seems rather mild and common sense. One feature mentioned in the editorial that was innovative for the Northwest was the use of Nez Perce labor in the excavation of the Spalding Mission site, or the use of American Indians to dig a white occupation site (Iverson 1975). This procedure is now common practice by the University of Idaho and has been used frequently on the Nez Perce Reservation and on occasion on other reservations, especially the Colville Reservation.

## THE CHANGE IN TRIBAL-ARCHAEOLOGIST RELATIONSHIPS

The relationship of the archaeologist to American Indians began to shift from one of exploitation by the archaeologist to one of exploitation by the Tribe in the late 1970s as evidenced in the following item in the NPTEC minutes of 26 April 1977:

> Moved by Allen Slickpoo and seconded by Clifford Allen, to adopt resolution NP 77-236 protesting the disturbance of any ancient graves located on the Hatwai Creek area, by means of any construction, including roads, and that the tribal legal counsel and the University of Idaho (through Dr. Roderick Sprague) be urged to intervene on behalf of the tribe. Motion carried.

It should be noted that the motion did not provide any funds to accomplish the stated task, nor were any funds ever forthcoming; however, the work was done.

The skulls of the individuals recovered in 1954 by Tom Miller were transferred from the North Idaho College campus to the University of Idaho in the spring of 1979 in preparation for reburial according to the wishes of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe. A new and younger council at Plummer was beginning to set up better lines of communication with the area archaeologists. When the remains were removed in 1992 they were not placed in a wooden

box but in a parefleche with the burning of sweet grass and singing of songs in the Laboratory of Anthropology prior to the removal of the burials. This was a much more moving ceremony than the normal procedure of the archaeologist carrying the bones to the burial site in a wooden box and one that should be emulated by other groups. The Lummi Tribe did just that in 1992 with a ceremony involving the use of cedar boughs brought from the coast for that purpose. More recently the Lower Snake River Palus used Pendelton blankets instead of wooden boxes. All of these recent reburials were made with the blessing of the United States Solicitors Office because preparations had begun prior to the enactment of NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act).

The start of construction for the new Nez Perce National Historical Park interpretive center at Spalding, Idaho, in 1981 created an embarrassment for the Park Service that will not soon be forgotten by the Tribe. In spite of notification by two different archaeologists, including one in writing, of the need to watch for burials, construction was begun for a new road that exposed and scattered many burials. Tribal resentment was so strong that the archaeologists were not even permitted to remove those still in place but rather NPTEC demanded that the site be returned to its original condition. To the credit of the agency, the Park Service paid for the screening of tons of backdirt to recover small bone fragments and artifacts (Gurcke and others 1981). The current park staff has done an excellent job of erasing much of this past image. Other work in connection with the construction work was done by archaeologists with Nez Perce crews (Carley, Wegars, and Longenecker 1981).

The Forest Service took an unprecedented action in a land exchange in 1981 and kept a portion of the land so that a series of cairn burials would be protected from violation (Reagan, Womack, and Nisbet 1981). In a different district there were efforts to protect a burial site where burials had been previously moved without archaeological help in 1963 (Roenke 1982).

The Idaho Highway salvage program under Jeanette Gaston in 1982 contacted the Coeur d'Alene Tribe concerning burials to be disturbed in a proposed project. An earlier attempt was made by the Idaho Highway Department to locate and move several Nez Perce historic graves that had apparently been plowed under by a Culdesac area farmer. This was unsuccessful because the offending party had simply moved the stone markers to the edge of his field which then placed them in the line of a highway widening project.

A burial site at the mouth of Cottonwood Creek in Hells Canyon in Nez Perce territory was vandalized in January and April 1985, both times by the same individual, a river guide. Archaeological work conducted by Sprague (1985) and later by Leonhardy and others (1986) laid the ground work for prosecution of the vandal in federal court under the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA). The trial was moved from Moscow to Boise apparently because the judge was intimidated by a large show of force by the Nez Perce Tribe outside of the Federal Courthouse in Moscow prior to the initial hearing. At the trial the individual bargained for a guilty plea to a lesser offense which was accepted but the message sent by the Forest Service was clear.

The Forty-Seventh Legislature of the State of Idaho passed legislation (Idaho Code, Chap. 5, Sec. 27-501/27-503) in 1984 affecting all graves and places of interment. The legislation was based on the Oregon law and was brought by the Nez Perce Tribe to the Joint Legislative Indian Affairs Committee in November 1983. The bill became broader than originally presented and covers not just Indian graves but all graves. It places the responsibility on the disturber to contact the proper authorities. In conjunction with the federal Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) (Public Law 101-601—Nov. 16, 1990), the archaeologists and American Indians in Idaho now have a mechanism for solving reburial questions under almost any circumstance. The Idaho law has helped to protect some burials and it has helped the tribes to achieve reburial; however, it has some specific flaws that need to be addressed.

## CONCLUSIONS

This overview of Plateau burial recovery in northern Idaho supports the fact that there is still much to be done in the area of American Indian-archaeologist relations, including some current problems created by those not familiar with the history of the Plateau reburial policy (Sprague 1991). However, when compared to the rest of the country, we are well ahead of our colleagues in other regions. With each passing year the number of burials being discovered in the field and the number of ancestors to be repatriated from collections is growing smaller. Perhaps it is time to begin the analysis of the evidence we have tried so hard to preserve on paper. As anthropologists, we need to make a strong effort to recover those ancestors still in the hands of private collectors and to insure that the ancestors still in the ground remain there undisturbed forever.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Many people have helped in the formation of my views on reburial. Many tribal speakers and fellow anthropologists have had a profound influence of which they are probably not aware. Because of the controversial nature of these views, I will refrain from naming the vast majority. However, their comments, both positive and negative, are truly appreciated. The views of the most important contributors to my thinking are already well known; these are LeRoy V. Allen, Richard Halfmoon, Andy Joseph, and especially Deward E. Walker, Jr. Appreciation is also expressed for editorial comments from Louise Barber, Mark Plew, Linda Ferguson Sprague, Deward Walker, and two anonymous reviewers.

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# SHORT CONTRIBUTIONS

## *A CLOVIS POINT FROM COYOTE WELLS, MALHEUR COUNTY, EASTERN OREGON*

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*and James Uren*

### INTRODUCTION

In the early 1980s, a complete Clovis point was collected from the surface of an archaeological site approximately 20 miles south of the city of Harper in Malheur County, eastern Oregon by the junior author. The specimen was associated with a large prehistoric site exhibiting a wide array of abundant archaeological materials, including dense lithic detritus and numerous dart points of the Elko and Little Lake/Windust types located in the vicinity of Coyote Wells, Oregon (Fig. 1). Given the unusually complete nature of this specimen and the relatively rare occurrence of early Paleoindian projectile points from the northwestern Great Basin, it was the opinion of the senior author that the Coyote Wells point merited descriptive analysis and publication of the findings.


Figure 1. General location of site where the Clovis point described in the text was collected.

### THE ARTIFACT

The specimen is a finely pressure-flaked biface of opaque microcrystalline stone (chert) that is light grey mottled/white in color (Fig. 2). The luster of the point is slightly waxy, possibly suggesting heat treatment of the chert prior to the production of the point blank. The point is large, measuring nearly 9 mm. in length weighing more than 20 g. (the specific measurements of this artifact are listed in Table 1). The point contracts markedly towards the proximal end, then flares out again slightly at the base. The specimen is nearly perfectly lenticular in cross section and exhibits collateral flaking. It has a channel flake removed from one side only that travelled slightly more than 1/5 the length of the point. The opposite face has two parallel flake removals initiated from the base of the point that are less then half the length of the channel flake. There is no evidence of basal grinding along the margins of the artifact macroscopically or under 30 power magnification (proximal margin dulling has been commonly observed on Paleoindian and early Archaic points in North America [Titmus and Woods 1991]). This feature combined with the lack of evidence for reworking and the absence of protein residues (see below) suggests that the point may have never been hafted for use.

To determine the possible presence of blood residues or trace animal proteins on the artifact, the specimen was subjected to cross-over immunoelectrophoresis (CIEP) analysis. This type of analysis, based on the presence of immunoproteins found in all of the bodily fluids of animals, has been used successfully on stone artifacts from numerous archaeological sites world-wide to determine the types of animals that may have been processed by the implement (for a full discussion of this technique, see Newman and Julig 1989). Clovis points from the East Wenatchee (Richey Roberts) site in Washington were analyzed recently using CIEP and tested positive for bison, bovine, deer, rabbit and human protein residues (Gramly 1991). A 5% reagent quality ammonium hydroxide wash of the Coyote Wells specimen was taken and submitted for animal protein residue analysis to the Laboratory of Biological Sciences at the University of Calgary, Alberta.

The sample was run against a suite of specific animal anti-sera including elephant, camel, deer, sheep, pronghorn, rabbit, dog, bear, and cat. The results of this analysis were negative.

## DISCUSSION

Fluted points are commonly attributed to early foraging and hunting societies that were present in the Americas at least 12,000 years ago. Clovis-type points are known from several localities in the northern Great Basin (Pettigrew 1984; Fagan 1988; Titmus and Woods 1988, 1991; Willig 1988, 1991). What is unusual about the Coyote Wells point is the fact that its contracting base is dissimilar to other points described from most Great Basin sites and unlike the majority in the published literature from Oregon and Idaho. The one exception might be the slightly contracting Alkali Springs Clovis point from southwestern Idaho described by Huntley (1985). Interestingly, more similar are contracting stem fluted points from Tulare Lake in the southern San Joaquin Valley of California (Hopkins 1991; Wilke 1991), or, at a much greater distance, the Simposon fluted points common to the area that is modern-day Florida (Dunbar 1991). This apparent aberrant form for the northern Great Basin may be more the result of the tool maker's individual idiosyncrasies rather than a heretofore unrecognized stylistic varient of Clovis. An error in an earlier stage of the point production such as the inadvertent removal of too much of the preform's margin on one side could have resulted in the narrowing of the base in an effort to regain overall biface symmetry.

Although this represents only one projectile point from the surface of an apparent multicomponent site, the rarity of Clovis points, especially from this part of the Great Basin, merits its description herein. Perhaps further research in this area will yield additional information about the people who were the original owners of these points and America's earliest occupants.

**Table 1.**
**Coyote Wells Clovis Point Attributes**

| | |
|---|---|
| Length | 89.6 mm. |
| Basal Indentation | 1.9 mm. |
| Width (maximum) | 28.3 mm. |
| Channel Flake Length | 19.0 mm. |
| Width (minimum) | 20.4 mm. |
| Channel Flake Width | 10.5 mm. |
| Width (base) | 22.5 mm. |
| Weight | 20.1 g. |
| Thickness | 7.0 mm. |

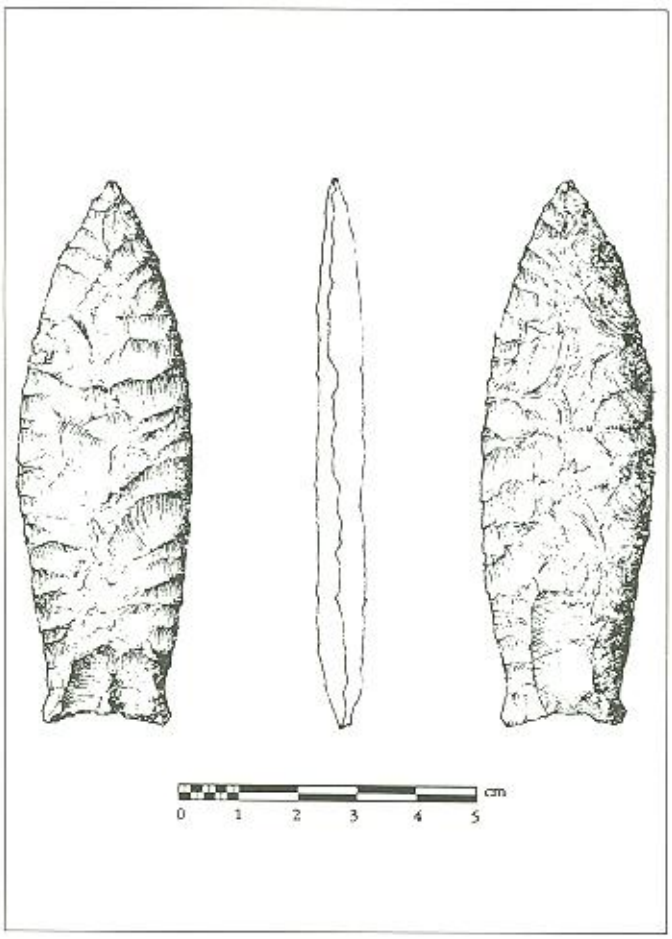


Figure 2. Coyote Wells Clovis point.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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# *A BIFACE CACHE NEAR GIVENS HOT SPRINGS, SOUTHWESTERN IDAHO*

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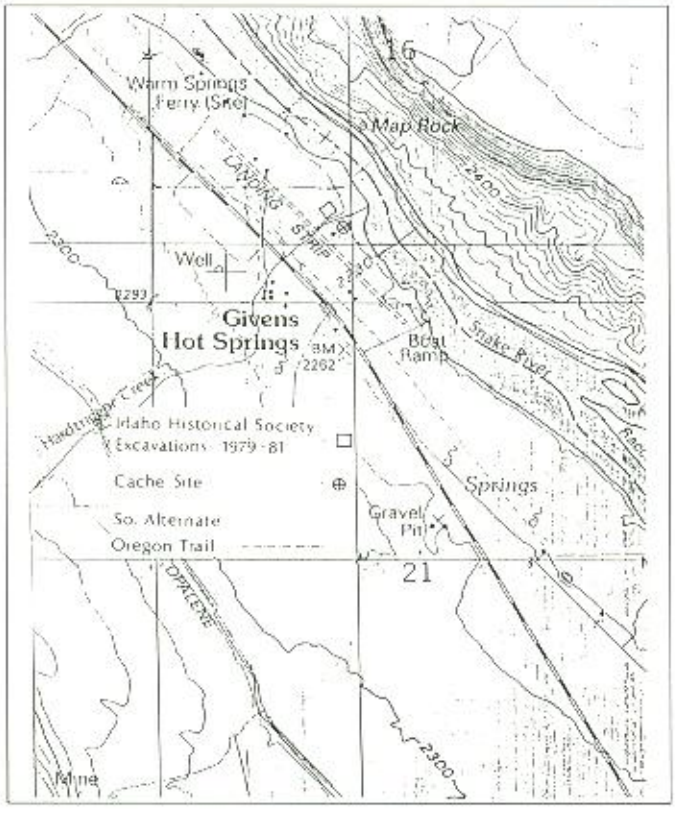
This paper describes a biface cache found by Mr. George Scott opposite Givens Hot Springs near Marsing, Idaho. The bifaces were discovered in 1960 as exposed in a small wash formed by wastewater flowing into the Snake River from a farmer's field next to Highway 25. A cache of 14 bifaces were concentrated within a twenty centimeter area. These occurred approximately 20 cm. below the surface and appeared to have been disturbed by agricultural activity. The cache is of interest as Thomas Green (personal communication) discovered a cache of eight items from a large trash feature associated with House No. 2 dating around 4200 B.P. at site 10-OE-16 (see Green 1982). All items were found in contact, suggesting they were in a small pouch. The cache includes what appear to be both blanks and preforms made from green siltstone and a charcoal colored chert. These items measure approximately 8-5.5 cm in length while two smaller obsidian items may represent completed artifacts.

The fourteen cache items reported here are relatively similar in form ranging from 7.3-5.1L X 3.6-2.4W X 0.5-0.8T cm (see Table 1). The materials, which were earlier examined by Mr. Bill Stroud, consist of cherts common throughout the Owyhee area of southwestern Idaho. It appears that the items are produced from three distinctive sources or locations within a source area which are tan, grey and black in color. The form of the bifaces is generally triangular with slightly rounded and convex bases. One specimen (#11) is relatively more elongated than the other objects, while an additional specimen has a slightly expanding left lateral margin. The cross-sections are extremely thin and uniform as are margins quite straight when viewed laterally. Six of the specimens retain evidence of flake scars from the original macroflake, suggesting a core flake technology. It is unclear as to whether the items represent blades or preforms.




Biface caches are relatively rare in many areas, though they have been reported in regions in California (Gary and McLear-Gary 1990), Nevada (Ragir and Lancaster 1966), and Oregon (Weide and Weide 1969; Scott, Davis and Flenniken 1986). Biface caches occur throughout the Archaic and are also clearly associated with Paleoindian contexts (Lahren and Bonnichsen 1974; Woods and Titmus 1985). In Idaho the best known cache is the Simon Clovis site (Butler 1965; Butler and Fitzwater 1965; Woods and Titmus 1985). Caches presumably dating to later Archaic time frames include Muto's (1971) description of the Spring Creek Cache near American Falls and Pavesic's (1966) identification of a projectile point "blank" cache from near Sterling, Idaho. The latter cache consists of items produced from welded tuff considered to be of Early Archaic age (4,000-6,000 B.C.). In addition, Butler (1969) has reported collections of "thin" bifaces from Little Camas Creek near Kilgore, American Falls Reservoir, and the vicinity of Lava Hot Springs. The materials from American Falls Reservoir and Lava Hot Springs are quartzite, while the Little Camas Creek items were manufactured from obsidian. More recently, Plew and Woods (1985) have reported a cache of 32 highly uniform, ovate blades from Lower Rock Creek near Twin Falls, Idaho. Based upon a single source affinity test the specimens appear to have been produced from materials from the Hudson Ridge Ignimbrite source (see MOLAB *Technical Report* No. 17). In addition, a hydration date of 872 ±181 B.C. (2.94u + 0.97u) was determined. This correlates temporally with the association of the cache with Elko series points. Lastly, caches have been reported in Archaic burial contexts such as those described by Pavesic (1985) for the Weiser locality and Green, Pavesic, Woods and Titmus (1986) at the DeMoss site near New Meadows, Idaho (see also Pavesic, Miller, Gamel and Green 1993). These sites are dated at 4,500-4,000 B.P.

In recent years archaeologists have begun to examine the underlying function of biface caches which, as noted, occur throughout much of the prehistory of the northern Great Basin (e.g. Aikens 1970). Presently, three working hypotheses relate to the function of biface caches. The

Table 1
Biface Cache Metric and Material Data

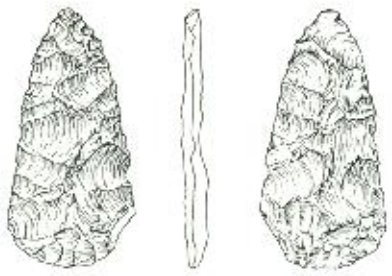
| Specimen Number | Length | Width | Thickness | Material |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 7.3 | 3.6 | 0.5 | Chert |
| 2 | 6.4 | 3.2 | 0.6 | " |
| 3 | 6.9 | 2.9 | 0.5 | " |
| 4 | 6.8 | 3.1 | 0.5 | " |
| 5 | 7.3 | 3.0 | 0.5 | " |
| 6 | 7.1 | 2.8 | 0.6 | " |
| 7 | 5.5 | 3.2 | 0.5 | " |
| 8 | 6.6 | 3.2 | 0.6 | " |
| 9 | 6.2 | 3.4 | 0.6 | " |
| 10 | 5.9 | 2.8 | 0.5 | " |
| 11 | 6.7 | 2.4 | 0.8 | " |
| 12 | 5.1 | 2.9 | 0.5 | " |
| 13 | 5.4 | 2.9 | 0.5 | " |
| 14 | 6.9 | 3.0 | 0.7 | " |

first hypothesis views lithic caches as related to logistical mobility and resource scheduling (cf. Binford 1980:12; Thomas 1983:81). This hypothesis, while no doubt characterizing many logistical regimes, may not apply in all materially rich environments. A second hypothesis has been proposed by Scott, Davis and Flenniken (1986:20) in which they suggest that biface caches are assemblages of trade objects used in a prehistoric exchange system. A final hypothesis emerges from the recovery of bifacial blade and point caches in burial contexts. The Weiser burial localities which form the basis for Pavesic's (1985) description of the Western Idaho Archaic Burial Complex and the recently discovered DeMoss Burial site (Green et al. 1986) exemplify the possible non-utilitarian use of such caches.

The further explanation of the function of biface caches must consider the integration of these and perhaps other hypotheses within regional contexts. This will require more sophisticated technological and use-wear analyses to distinguish ranges of variability within assemblages that appear to be functionally discreet. Only in this way can we move beyond assertions about function to defining the ways in which bifacial caches having unique functions are interrelated in regional systems. For example, how do we define the relationship between exchange systems and local production of burial blades and demonstrate that blades found in burial contexts were produced as burial furniture? The answer no doubt lies in a more processual approach to the function of caches. Thinking more about the dynamic variability of hunter-gatherer systems should help to operationalize our understanding of this enticing aspect of the archaeological record in Idaho.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank George Scott for allowing us to examine the cache. Bill Stroud made initial identification of the material type. Amy Whitlock provided the illustrations.



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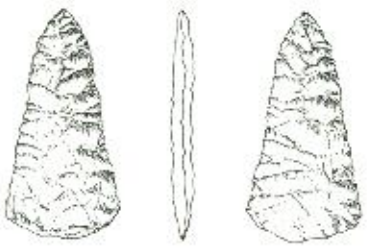

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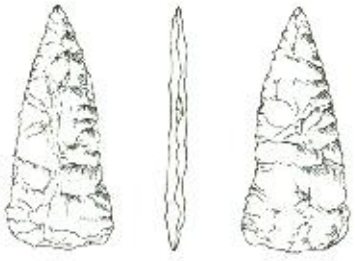

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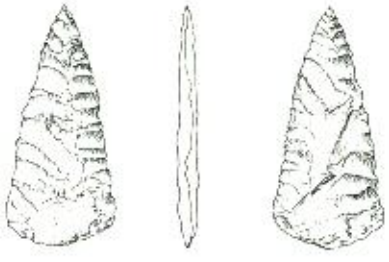

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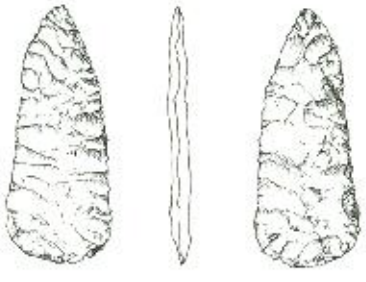

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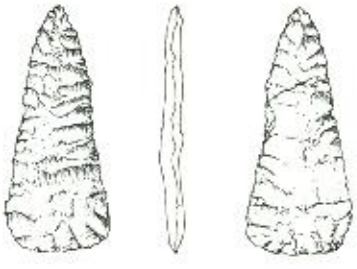

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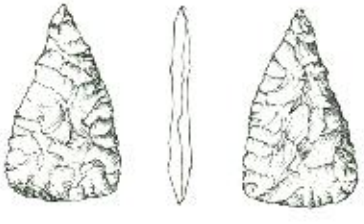

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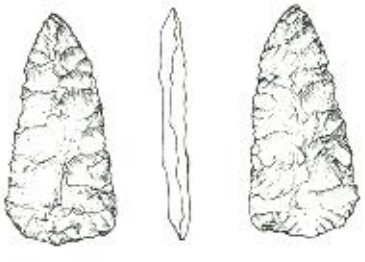

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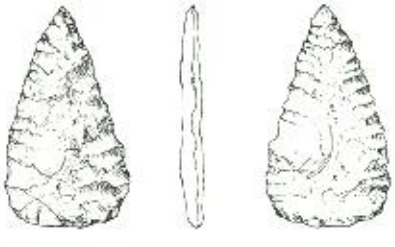

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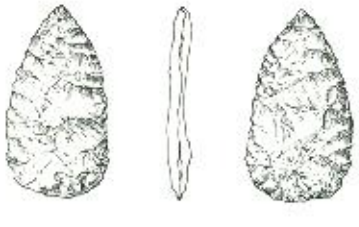

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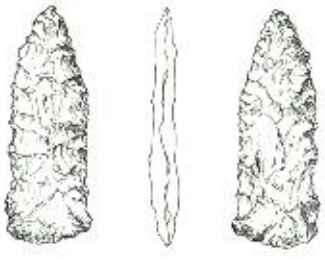

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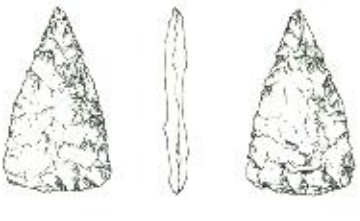

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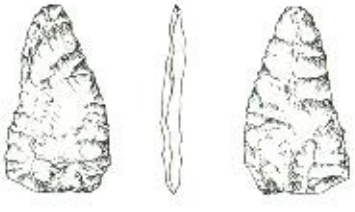

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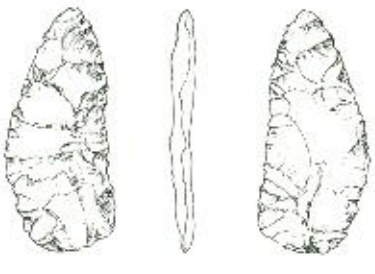

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# *AN ATLATL WEIGHT FROM SOUTHEASTERN OREGON*

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*Boise State University*

This paper describes an atlatl weight recovered in the 1960s by Mr. Roy Robinson of Boise, Idaho. The specimen was discovered in Harney County, Oregon in the Steens range near Mann Lake, a sagebrush and grass environ. (see Figure 1).

The specimen falls within the range of the typology developed for the Northwest (Butler and Osborne 1959) and applied to Great Basin finds (Butler 1965, 1979; Mildner 1974; Tuohy 1982). The typology includes three categories within which some variation has been observed. Type I includes circular specimens which are flat on one margin and having a central perforation. Type II weights, which Clark and Huntley (1977) report as more common in the Great Basin, are elongated semi-spherical with a flat distal surface and tapered at the ends. A small notch or groove is incised around each end of the weight. Type III weights are elliptically or oblately shaped with a central or transverse lashing groove. The classification of weights in the Great Basin (Mildner 1974) and Northwest (Butler and Osborne 1959) resemble those for the Great Plains (Neuman 1967).

The specimen from Harney County is manufactured from a hornblende gneiss containing small particles of quartz or feldspar measuring 1-2 mm in diameter. The specimen measures 7.1 cm in length with a maximum width of 2.9 cm. The average thickness of the specimen measures 0.7 cm. The object weighs 3.6 grams. A proximal end lashing groove measuring 0.2 cm. in diameter is inscribed 0.7 cm from the proximal end of the specimen. The distal lashing groove measures 0.2 cm in diameter and is located 0.5 cm from the distal tip. The grooves extend to within 1-2 mm from the ventral surface. The object is well smoothed with a slight and rounded triangular form. The ventral surface is flat and smoothed.

The distribution of atlatl weights in southern Idaho and Eastern Oregon is somewhat limited (see Table 1). In southeastern Oregon several Type I and II weights have been recorded. These include Butler's (1961) recovery of a Type II weight along the west shore of Summer Lake and Clark and Huntley's (1977:7) report of a Type I weight from near Harney Lake and a Type II specimen from Coyote Flat. They also report a Type II specimen near Haystack Rock reported as a jasper quarry (1977:9). In southern Idaho, Butler has recovered a Type II specimen north of the Snake River near an "Early Man" site (Butler 1961) and a Type III specimen in a sand blowout near American Falls (1965:44). Butler also reports the discovery of Type I and III weights near Soda Springs (1965:44) and a Type II specimen along the shore of Blackfoot Reservoir. In Owyhee County in southwestern Idaho, Clark and Huntley (1977:8-9) report Type II specimens near the head of Succor Creek and in the vicinity of Big and Little Squaw Creeks. Gould (1987) has reported a generalized Type II weight from Shares Basin in northwestern Owyhee County which is notable for a bulbous protrusion on its distal end. Unfortunately, none of the specimens discussed, including the Mann Lake specimen, have been found in association with other cultural remains. Further, it is assumed that such weights were used for a considerable period of time equivalent to the Early and Middle Archaic periods in southern Idaho (Butler 1986), though the contexts in which they were used remains little understood.

While the discovery and description of additional specimens will further delineate the morphological variability of weights, studies of the type reported in Hester, Mildner and Spencer (1974), Peets (1960), and Titmus and Woods (1986) will serve to better inform us of the processes underlying atlatl technology.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author would like to thank Kathy Robinson for allowing us to examine the specimen and Amy Whitlock for the illustration.

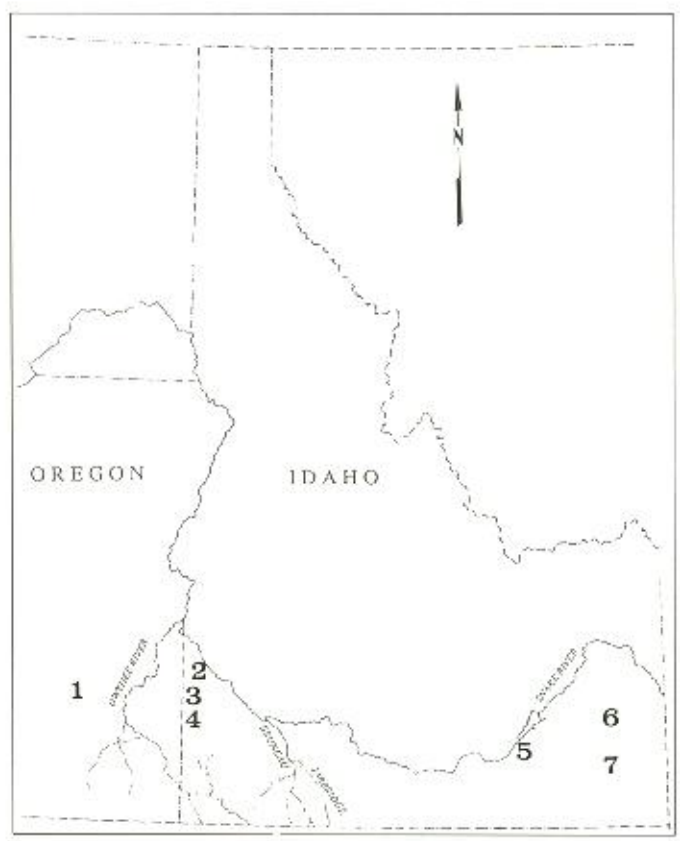
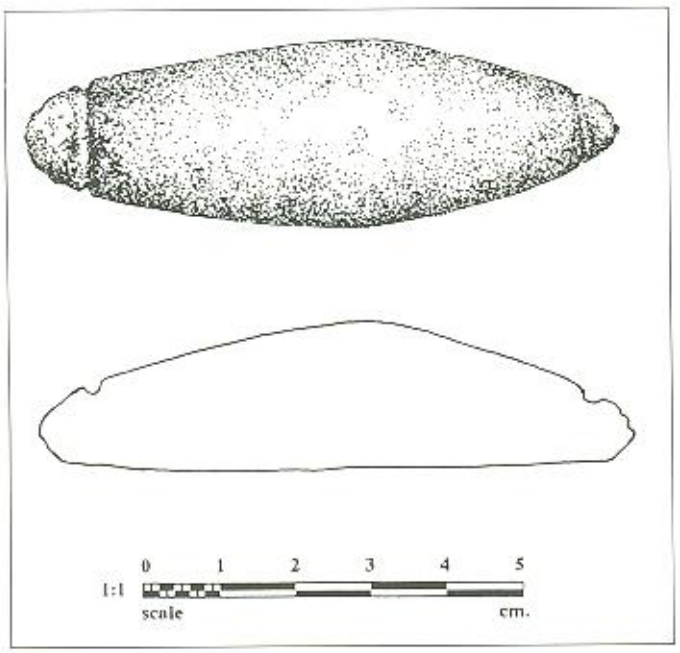



**Figure 1. Map showing Mann Lake and other Southern Idaho locations: 1. Mann Lake; 2. Shares Basin; 3. 10-OE-903; 4. 10-OE-888; 5. American Falls; 6. Blackfoot Reservoir; 7. Soda Springs.**

Table 1

Atlatl Weights in Southern Idaho and Southeastern Oregon

| Location | Type | Reference |
|---|---|---|
| North of Snake River-Southeast Idaho | II | Butler 1961 |
| South Bank of the Snake River near American Falls | IIIa | Butler 1965 |
| Soda Springs, Southeast Idaho | I | Butler 1965 |
| Soda Springs, Southeast Idaho | IIIc | Butler 1965 |
| Shore of Blackfoot Reservoir Southeast Idaho | II | Butler 1979 |
| Harney Lake, Southeast Oregon | I | Clark and Huntley 1977 |
| Coyote Flat, Southeast Oregon | II | Clark and Huntley 1977 |
| West Shore, Summer Lake, Southeast Oregon | II | Butler 1961 |
| Haystack Rock, Malheur County Oregon | II | Clark and Huntley 1977 |
| Succor Creek, Owyhee County Idaho | II | Clark and Huntley 1977 |
| Confluence of Big and Little Squaw Creek, Owyhee County Idaho | II | Clark and Huntley 1977 |
| Shares Basin, Owyhee County Idaho | ? | Gould 1987 |



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