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Reviews

Archaeologies of Placemaking: Monuments, Memories, and Engagement in Native North America. Edited by Patricia E. Rubertone. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008. 256 pages. \$79.00 cloth; \$34.95 paper.

Archaeologies of Placemaking: Monuments, Memories, and Engagement in Native North America originated in a session about indigenous archaeologies that volume editor Patricia Rubertone organized for the Fifth World Archaeological Congress in Washington, D.C., in 2003. The resulting essays brought together in this volume examine relationships between landscape and memory that explore connections among archaeology, local histories, and processes of commemoration.

Archaeologies of Placemaking expands upon the existing literature on placemaking and the power of place to evoke memory, presenting the work of those who actively explore the historical narratives linked to place that are so important in the formation and maintenance of individual and collective identities. Contributors to the volume include Native cultural consultants as well as non-Native anthropologists and archaeologists who are actively engaged in partnerships with North American indigenous communities. Although these studies will be of interest to others engaged in similar North American projects, they will also be of value to those working in similar contexts worldwide.

This volume builds on the work of major scholars such as historian Richard White whose concept of the “middle ground” in indigenous/Euro-American relations, which was originally formulated in relation to contested terrain, is applied here to contested meaning-making (*The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, 1991). Rubertone maintains that bridging the middle ground that monuments construct offers an effective means to break down borders and binaries. Monuments can bring groups together to form new collaborations and new, shared constructions of meaning, and archaeologists can contribute to this process of counter-meaning production by uncovering sites of meaning-making that have been obscured through colonialism. Contributors to the volume also build on anthropologist Keith Basso’s groundbreaking work on place-based memory among the Western Apache, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (1996).

In her excellent introductory essay, Rubertone argues that stakeholders in the placemaking process must engage radically different conceptions of space and memory than those commonly employed. Along with several contributors

to the volume, she offers Michel Foucault's conception of heterotopic space as a potentially productive alternative model. Foucault defined *heterotopia* as a place where "all other real sites that can be found within the culture are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" ("Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics*, 1986, 24). Analysis of heterotopic spaces and heterochronologies (the temporal counterparts of heterotopias) can, Foucault maintained, yield a heightened understanding of the relations of power and demonstrate how spatial configurations, which necessarily involve conceptions of time, produce and reinforce such relations.

Rubertone points out that, because they possess the power to construct memory, archaeological sites and built monuments can introduce viewers to alternative memories and counterhistories. She notes that because archaeological sites risk placing people in the past, thus denying them a present and a future, indigenous people are often ill-served by public monuments and historic preservation. But, as Rubertone argues and as the case studies in this volume attest, a global movement to rectify this exists.

A common concern regarding archaeological sites and monuments is how and in whose interest they construct memory. Maintaining that place-makers define for others what should be remembered and how it should be remembered, the contributors to *Archaeologies of Placemaking* go beyond these common concerns to ask how counterhegemonic forces can introduce alternative memories and construct counterhistories. As practicing archaeologists, they demonstrate a skill in which Rubertone believes their profession makes them especially adept. In the case of literal multiple layering, such as that found at excavation sites, archaeologists must learn to make decisions regarding which layers to privilege while not completely destroying other layers in the process. Rubertone maintains that this skill is transferable to figurative cases of multiple layering—to layered meanings—thus making archaeologists particularly well suited to the task of working with indigenous communities.

Colonialism has caused Native groups to develop innovative forms of memory keeping. Various indigenous strategies for memory keeping are explored in the essays presented here. Dialogic processes wherein the diverse voices constituting local communities are recognized and incorporated are stressed, and case studies that are intended to further a crucial dialogue, offering potential strategies for countering colonialism, are offered.

Robert W. Preucel and Frank G. Matero's contribution to the volume, "Placemaking on the Northern Rio Grande: A View from Kuaua Pueblo," deals with Edgar Lee Hewett's efforts to position Kuaua Pueblo (Coronado State Monument) as a site for construction of New Mexican identity through archaeological restoration and historic preservation. Dealing with placemaking as an inescapably political process, the authors bring to light the contesting narratives that have formed the history and identity of Kuaua, maintaining that it serves as a particularly cogent example of a heterotopic space.

Hewett's aim in excavating Kuaua, a project initiated in 1934, was to confirm the location as the site of Coronado's 1598 encampment and to effect a restoration of the pueblo in time for the 1940 observance of the

Coronado Cuarto Centennial. Hewett hoped that the monument would serve as an important site for the construction of a New Mexican identity similar to Santa Fe and other sites central to the New Mexican historic-preservation movement that he had helped to initiate. Hewett wanted to effect a full reconstruction of the pueblo, providing visitors with a glimpse of indigenous life as it existed at the time of Coronado's entry into the American Southwest. However, the project fell behind schedule and over budget, and Hewett was forced to settle for a partial reconstruction. Although the scaled-down project was completed on time for the centennial celebration, the public response proved disappointing. As Preucel and Matero explain, the Anglo population of the time showed little interest in celebrating the Spanish heritage of their region. Preucel and Matero discuss Hewett's reconstruction as "a powerful reminder of how place is constructed through the selective presentation of history to justify the cultural and political hegemonies of the emerging Anglo culture of New Mexico." Kuaua, they maintain, "is thus a heterotopia, a place where New Mexico's history is simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" (97).

In their contribution, "Always Multivocal and Multivalent: Conceptualizing Archaeological Landscapes in Arizona's San Pedro Valley," Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, T. J. Ferguson, and Roger Anyon draw on conversations with Southwest Native peoples, maintaining that the stories told to them "suggest how place and landscape sustain multiple meanings" (18). The authors tell of their work with cultural advisers from the Hopi tribe, the Pueblo of Zuni, the San Carlos Apache tribe, and the Tohono O'odham Nation at various southwestern sites, especially Reeve Ruin and the Davis Site in southeastern Arizona. These sites serve as the basis of their discussion of the multivalent and multivocal nature of archaeological sites in general and their exploration of how, for a number of the individuals consulted, Reeve Ruin in particular serves as a "monument, a corporeal symbol that memorializes the lives of their cherished ancestors" (62). They discuss how the products of archaeology do not simply reflect power but also construct it. Further, the varying interpretations of archaeological sites are not only political, but also the products of differing perceptions of time and space. An alternate interpretive model of archaeological sites gives credence to multiple and seemingly incommensurate viewpoints and does not insist upon one overarching version of "truth."

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Ferguson, and Anyon contrast Euro-American conceptions of cultural landscapes that, they claim, "symbolize memory in the form of historical landmarks that encapsulate an idealized past," with American Indians' predominant view of such sites. They assert that, in the view of Native North Americans, cultural landscapes "do not *represent* memory, they *are* memory, and their apprehension provides a means to unite the past and the present in a personal experience" (66). As Basso has so eloquently conveyed, the meanings that landscapes have accumulated through time inform the present. Embedded in the landscape, traditional histories are inseparable from the place that engendered them. Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Ferguson, and Anyon succinctly express this relationship to place: "Because

the landscape has many stories that can be continuously reexperienced in new ways, the land is a palimpsest of people and places” (67).

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Ferguson, and Anyon express the aim implicit in the work of those gathered in this volume: “The anthropological challenge for archaeology is to simultaneously embrace the scientific values and beliefs that underlie our discipline and take into account Native epistemologies derived from different philosophical foundations. When we accomplish this, we attain a multivocal, multivalent study of the past meaningful to both archaeologists and Indigenous peoples” (77).

Archaeologies of Placemaking builds on the work of many who have engaged in close collaborations with indigenous North American communities, adding significantly to the field of serious scholarship. These are careful, nuanced, and thought-provoking studies. Foucault’s conception of heterotopias may offer a useful model for conceptualizing archaeological monuments and indigenous commemorative sites and how they may function as important middle grounds. These essays provide a promising basis for such exploration.

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Aurora Crossing: A Novel of the Nez Percés. By Karl H. Schlesier. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2008. 392 pages. \$27.95 cloth.

Aurora Crossing: A Novel of the Nez Percés by Karl H. Schlesier is a coming-of-age novel and a fictional account of the arduous journey of the Nez Percés to Canada as they fled the cruel dictates of the federal government in the 1870s. Readers knowledgeable about the Cherokee Trail of Tears, the Navajo Long Walk, the Cheyenne struggle to regain their Montana homeland, the Sioux War, or the Battle of Little Bighorn will recognize similar suffering and betrayal as that endured by the Nez Percés in their flight to their homeland. In retelling actual events in a fictional narrative, Schlesier focuses the storyline on real-life issues that affect Native communities: relocation, assimilation, the search for identity, culture clash, tribal customs in a state of flux, and broken treaties. The events surrounding the war are framed by the trickster tale of Old Man Coyote and the creation myth well-known to the Nez Percé. The narrative proceeds with convincing topographical detail and factual realism concerning the Nez Percé War. The tribal and military leaders are real players in one of the nation’s most tragic clashes with American Indians, while the supporting characters are invented to flesh out the fictional story. Leaders of the nontreaty Nez Percé bands—chiefs Joseph, Ollokot, Looking Glass, Toohoolhoolzote, White Goose, Naked Head, and Hahtalekin—and the government’s emissaries—General Howard and Indian agent Monteith—all play vital roles in the narration. Schlesier effectively turns history into living drama.

The protagonist, John Seton, is a mixed-blood eighteen-year-old who is an outsider among his mother’s tribe, the Nez Percés, and among his Anglo