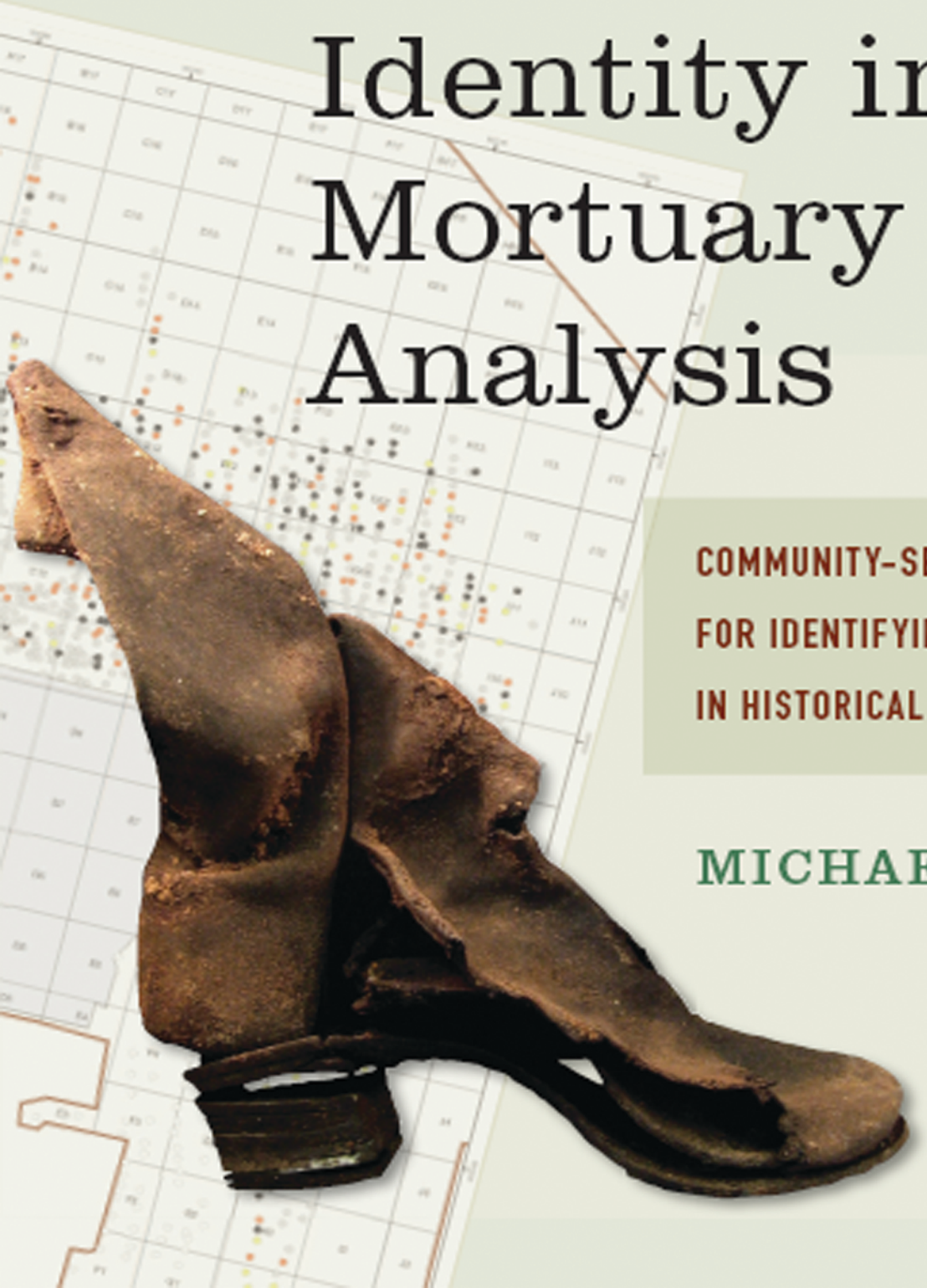
Uncovering Identity in Mortuary Analysis



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MICHAEL P. HEILEN

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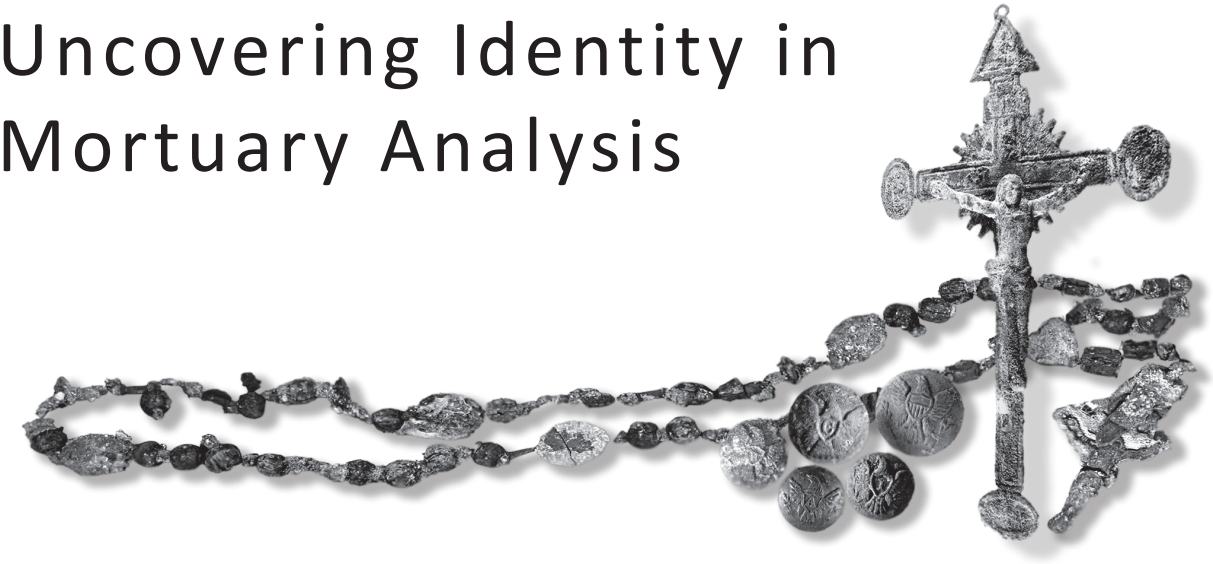

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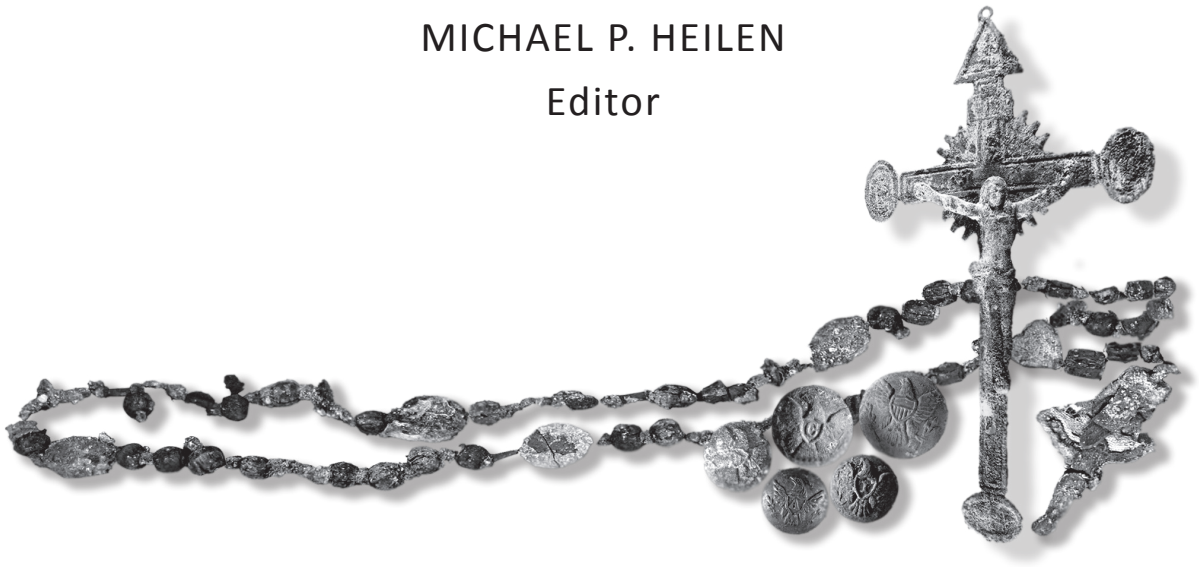
Uncovering Identity in Mortuary Analysis

Community-Sensitive Methods for Identifying Group Affiliation in Historical Cemeteries

MICHAEL P. HEILEN
Editor



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FOREWORD

When, in 2004, the voters of Pima County approved funding to construct a new courthouse in downtown Tucson, Arizona, no one could foresee that the project would result in one of the largest historical-period cemetery excavations ever conducted in the United States. The Joint Courts Complex Archaeological Project undertaken at the nineteenth-century Alameda-Stone Cemetery is an excellent example of success built upon the development of exemplary relationships with descendant groups combined with the application of innovative technological advances in both the field and laboratory.

Because the project had local County funding, was situated on land owned by local government, and required no federal permits, all of the consultations, repatriations, and reburials were conducted under Arizona State law. Fortunately, this provided substantially greater flexibility in relationship building and working with descendant groups than under federal law, which tends to give greater import to the rights and concerns of Indian tribes. For the Joint Courts Complex Archaeological Project, all descendant groups, Indian and non-Indian, had an equal stake in the process.

Far too often, the removal of a historical-period cemetery becomes a vortex of disputes. Developers routinely start construction, encounter burials, exclaim that they had no idea the cemetery was there, and then demand that the cemetery be removed as quickly as possible to avoid construction delays. Descendant groups fight back, citing disrespect for their ancestors. Archaeologists get caught in the middle and try to satisfy all parties involved in the disputes. Media attention focuses on the acrimony, further stoking the seething resentment.

From the outset, Pima County wished to avoid the pitfalls of many previous projects involving the removal of historical-period cemeteries and insisted on doing the right thing. Prior to the excavation of the first shovelful of dirt, the County conducted 2 full years of background studies and consultations with descendant groups. Throughout, one principle was paramount: the process was to be transparent, open, and inclusive. Consultations, coordinated through Arizona State Museum as required under state law, were not always amicable. They were, however, honest. The tribes made it clear that they wanted the cemetery left in place, to be disturbed no further. Los Descendientes del Presidio de Tucsón, on the other hand, made clear that they preferred their ancestors finally be removed from beneath the streets, offices, parking lots, and other urban amenities after more than a century of residential and commercial urban development atop the abandoned cemetery. Los Descendientes also wanted their ancestors to be given the dignity of reburial in a modern cemetery where they would remain undisturbed in the future. The chasm between these positions was not trivial. The planning team from the County met with the descendant groups to discuss the logistics of the courts system in downtown Tucson, the requirements of the courts, and the need for this location as the new courts building. Descendant groups' concerns caused the County to fully reassess its need for this particular 4-acre project area. Even so, it became clear that this was the only viable location for the new building. Not all descendant groups were satisfied with this outcome, but they knew their concerns had been heard and had been seriously considered through an open and transparent process in which they had a meaningful role. The burial agreements that resulted from this process included statements about cultural affinity and the conditions for the repatriation and reburial of all those who would be disinterred during archaeological excavations. In essence, the agreements provided the basic rules and procedures regarding the Alameda-Stone Cemetery excavations and the final disposition of the deceased.

With the burial agreements in place, the County then approached the media. Meetings were held with the editorial boards of local newspapers. Television and radio reporters were contacted. All available information about the cemetery, the burial agreements, and the plans for excavation were provided, again in the interest of transparency and openness. Questions were asked, and questions were answered. By the time excavations began, everyone with an interest knew

what was happening and why it was happening; a common understanding of how the project would be conducted and what the possible outcomes would be for the stakeholders had been achieved.

Participation by the descendant groups, the media, the County, the Arizona State Museum, and others in an open and transparent consultation process resulted in a smooth and dispute-free project. The successful excavation of the Alameda-Stone Cemetery, the innovative assessment of the cultural affinity of each disinterred individual, and the fulfillment of respectful repatriation and reburial provide an excellent example of the power of collaborative planning and consultation resulting in a positive and successful community-based project.

Roger Anyon
Pima County Office of Conservation and Sustainability

Acknowledgments

The magnitude of the Joint Courts Complex Archaeological Project demanded the participation and support of scores of people and institutions, without whose involvement this project would never have been successfully completed. The Pima County Cultural Resources and Historic Preservation Office, most notably Roger Anyon and Linda Mayro, provided support, advice, and constructive criticism. Roger, in particular, was involved in the project on a daily basis, providing sage advice and clear direction throughout the project as well as contributing to the project report. As Arizona State Repatriation Coordinator, John Madsen of the Arizona State Museum was responsible for preparing the burial agreements under which the project operated and for ensuring that the project was in compliance with those agreements. John was assisted in these efforts by Todd Pitezel, who helped to arrange many of the meetings held with project stakeholders. Descendant groups and other project stakeholders were identified, notified in advance of the project's goals, and allowed to express their concerns as a result of the careful preparations of Roger Anyon, Linda Mayro, and John Madsen. As a result of these efforts, the project was completed without incident or controversy.

For their support we are indebted as well to Presiding Judge Jan E. Kearney and Judge John S. Leonardo of the Arizona Superior Court in Pima County, Presiding Judge Maria Felix of the Pima County Consolidated Justice Court, and Presiding Magistrate Antonio Riojas and Court Administrator Joan Harphant of the Tucson City Court. Legal advice and court orders were provided by Jacob Lines, Hal Gilbreath, and Neil Konigsberg of the Pima County Attorney's Office. Public relations assistance was provided by Annabelle Valenzuela and Carol Brichta of the Pima County Department of Transportation's Community Relations Office. Thanks are gratefully extended to Douglas Leach of the Arizona Department of Health Services, Office of Vital Records, who expedited the disinterment/reinterment permit. The Pima County Board of Supervisors—including Ann Day, Ramón Valadez, Sharon Bronson, Raymond J. Carroll, and Richard Elías—provided necessary support to the project as did Pima County Administrator Chuck Huckelberry provided important directives to all county personnel that took into account the sensitivity of such a large, public cemetery excavation project. Debra Rodriguez attended to the financial aspects of the contract and Terri Spencer, Pima County Contracts Officer, handled the contract and its various modifications. Staff from Pima County's Facilities Management Department overcame difficult logistical challenges that arose during fieldwork. Thanks especially to Mike Tuinstra, Reid Spaulding, Carter Volle, Gary Campbell, Lisa Josker, Dan Meinke, and Chuck Haak. Support and assistance were also provided by John Bernal and Nanette Slusser of Pima County Public Works. Jim Glock, City of Tucson Department of Transportation, disabled the city webcams that covered the project area during the sensitive excavations.

Numerous stakeholder representatives participated in the project, providing crucial information and perspectives, asking tough questions, and weighing in on how they felt the project should be conducted. Stakeholder representatives included: Fred McAninch, Arnold Smith, and Hector Soza from Los Descendientes del Presidio de Tucsón; Joe Joaquin and Peter Steere from the Tohono O'odham Nation; Tony Burrell from the San Xavier District of the Tohono O'odham Nation; Rolando Flores, Amalia Reyes, Veronica LaMotte Darnell, and Marcelino Flores from the Pascua Yaqui Tribe; Vernelda Grant from the San Carlos Apache Indian Tribe; Bishop Gerald Kicanas, Jim DeCastro, Fred Allison, and Kay Mullenax from the Diocese of Tucson; Joe Larson and Crickette King from the Southern Arizona Veterans' Memorial Cemetery; Joan Way from the Southwest Association of Buffalo Soldiers; Barnaby Lewis from the Gila River Indian Community; and from the Jewish community, Eileen Warshaw and the Jewish History Museum.

More than 180 employees of Statistical Research, Inc, participated in the Joint Courts Complex Archaeological Project during its 4-year contract period. Although all of them cannot be named here, the contributions of some of these individuals can be highlighted. Marlesa Gray managed this highly complex project for Statistical Research, Inc., making certain that the project was on track, that all milestones were met, and that staff had the support they needed

to successfully complete project tasks. Scott O'Mack provided the groundwork for the project through completion of two background and archival reports prior to fieldwork and served as archaeological principal investigator during the fieldwork phase of the project. Scott was succeeded by Michael Heilen, who oversaw the analysis and reporting of the cemetery component. Joe Hefner served the project as principal investigator for bioarchaeology, and Karen Swope managed the analysis and reporting of the postcemetery component.

Archaeological fieldwork direction was provided first by David Palmer, followed by John Hall. John was responsible for preparation of the end-of-fieldwork report; the burial descriptions; and the analysis and reporting of the prehistoric component. Mitch Keur supervised the burial excavations and much of the bioarchaeological analysis and reporting. Kristin Sewell oversaw analysis and reporting of the mortuary analysis. Scott Plumlee oversaw the field operations for the postcemetery component and provided much of the archival research and reporting for the same. The bulk of the bioarchaeological excavations, analysis, and reporting were conducted by Patrick Stanton, Amber Harrison, Willa Trask, Bob Dayhuff, Tamara Leher, Tracie Diaz, and Shannon Black.

The mapping of all excavated features was conducted by Stephen McElroy and Nahide Aydin, who were assisted in the field and office by a number of staff members, notably Rita Sulkosky and Tim Gibbs. Matt Lewis and Malcolm (Skip) Hooe conducted the three-dimensional scanning of the burials. John Pope supervised the field sorting crew and kept the mechanical sorter in good working condition. Dorothy Ohman headed the field laboratory, assisted by Erica Young. Jody Holmes managed the Tucson laboratory and the curation efforts. The staggering amount of data collected during the project could not have been managed effectively without the efforts of a number of programmers and analysts, including Jim LoFaro, Andy Bean, James Harvey, Carey Tilden, and Ivan Davis. Robert Heckman provided crucial direction to the database management staff to ensure that the project database met the archaeological and management needs of the project. Computer servers, workstations, and communication networks were built, maintained, upgraded, and backed up by IT staff, including Mitch Eichenseer, Dale Tersey, Josh Johnson, Ken Ramey, William Hayden, Paul Burns, and Mark Woodson. Data entry was conducted by Lexi O'Donnell and George Vanovich. John Pope supervised the field sorting crew and kept the mechanical sorter in good working condition. Many other staff members contributed to the project as crew chiefs, analysts, and/or writers, including Karry Blake, Amanda Cannon, Cannon Daughtrey, Carrie Gregory, Janet Griffitts, Kelly Jenks, Stacey Lengyel, Justin Lev-Tov, Kandus Linde, Kate McMahon, Ashley Morton, Amelia Natoli, Jeremy Pye, Kerry Sagebiel, Resha Shenandoah, Shari Tiedens, Callie Unverzagt, William G. White, and Jason Windingstad.

The publications department transformed written drafts into coherent, professional-quality reports. María Molina and Mary Robertson provided leadership, support, and assistance with the many written report products generated during the course of the project. Report layouts were designed by Jason Pitts, Linda Wooden, and KeAndra Begay. Beth Bishop, John Cafiero, Diane Holliday, Grant Klein, Jennifer Shopland, Niamh Wallace, and Julie Wilson served as technical editors. Report figures were produced by Peg Robbins and her staff of graphic artists: William Olguin, Andrew Saiz, Jackie Dominguez, and Wallace Begay. April Moles provided assistance to production staff, including compiling copies of project reports for distribution.

Project leadership was amply supplied by the owners and executive committee of Statistical Research, Inc.: Jeff and Debbie Altschul, Donn Grenda, Terry Majewski, Peter Fox, Richard Ciolek-Torello, Stephanie Whittlesey, Chris Dore, Bob Grenda, and Clay Mathers. Terry Majewski provided overall project management, as well as lent her expertise in historical period ceramics analysis when needed. Both Richard and Stephanie contributed to written products, and their thoughtful reviews of the research were always appreciated.

Numerous subconsultants performed a wide variety of tasks for the project. Lynne Goldstein, Michigan State University, served as mortuary advisor for the project. Lynne did more than advise; she encouraged and guided staff, reviewed large portions of the text, and wrote a significant section of the synthetic report. Additional bioarchaeological expertise was provided during the fieldwork by John McClelland and Lane Beck from the Arizona State Museum. John spearheaded the dental analysis and wrote significant portions of the report. Bioarchaeological excavation, analysis, and reporting were also provided by Lorrie Lincoln-Babb, Bioarch LLC, and Kimberly Spurr, Past Peoples Consulting LLC. Jan Gordley and Marsha Baker of Gordle Design Group oversaw the public relations efforts for the project. Carol Ellick and Joe Watkins of the SRI Foundation designed and implemented a sensitivity training workshop for all project personnel. Database design was conducted by John Donoghue of Donoghue and Associates. Stephen Ousley from Mercyhurst College provided advice on refinements to the bioarchaeological database.

Additional analytical expertise and advice was provided by a number of professional during the course of the project. The project staff was greatly appreciative of the help from the following individuals: James Ayres for his advice on historical-period excavation, research into Tucson newspapers, and artifact analyses; Karen Adams for macrobotanical analysis and reporting; Owen Davis for pollen analysis; Karl Reinhard, PathoEcology Services LLC, for parasitological and pollen analysis; Heather Edgar, University of New Mexico, for dental analysis; Ken Gobalet, California State University, for the analysis of fish remains; Laurie Webster for textile analysis; Nicholas Herrmann, University of

Tennessee, for bioarchaeological and demographic analysis; Homer Thiel, Desert Archaeology, Inc., for historical-period artifact analysis and research into Tucson newspapers; James Davidson, University of Florida, for mortuary analysis advice; Gregory L. Fox, Joint POW-MIA Accounting Command (JPAC), Department of the Navy, for advice on cultural affinity determinations; Árpád Somogyi, University of Arizona, for mass spectrometry analysis of medicinal remains; Bill Lockhart and Carol Serr for assistance in bottle analysis; Nancy Odegaard, Arizona State Museum, for X-ray fluorescence analysis; Mark Candee, University of Arizona, for analysis of a garnet recovered from the postcemetery component; and Bruce Anderson, Pima County Medical Examiner, for bioarchaeological analysis advice.

Initial mapping of the project area and setup of the datums was accomplished by Darling Environmental and Surveying Ltd. The mechanical excavations were conducted by Dan Arnit from Innovative Excavating, Inc, assisted by Steve Ditschler. Demolition of existing buildings and debris removal was conducted by staff from Barnett & Shore Contractors LLC, who were directed by Ed Barnett and Frank Shore. Cheryl Cooper from Barnett & Shore provided administrative assistance. The following individuals and companies should also be thanked for their logistical assistance on the project: Christine Reks from The Riverpark Inn; Scott Eisenfeld from Castro Engineering; Kevin Josker from Vanir Construction; Gregg Williams from DMJM; Debbie Stratton from Pima County Wastewater Management; and the staff of Orta Fence Company. Off-hours security of the project area was provided by staff from Securitas, managed by Gwen Parker. Thanks is also due to the staff of Chicanos por la Causa, especially the late Lorraine Lee, who put up with the noise and dust from our extended field season.

Reburial efforts were assisted by the following staff from the All Faiths Cemeteries, Evergreen Cemetery, and Holy Hope Cemetery: Kenny Larson, Cameron Nerison, Chris Evans, Cruz Cota, Enrique Martinez, and Able Santiago. Dolan Ellis, Arizona State Balladeer, deserves gratitude for granting permission to use his ballad dedicated to the military soldiers who were buried in the Alameda-Stone cemetery. Representative Steve Farley designed the artwork for the memorial at All Faiths Cemeteries dedicated to memory of the persons who were interred at the Alameda-Stone cemetery. Rabbi Thomas Louchheim and Reverend John Lille officiated at the reburial service and the memorial dedication at All Faiths Cemetery.

In addition to all the people and organizations who contributed to the successful completion of the project, thanks must also be extended to Mitch Allen and his staff at Left Coast Press, Inc. Mitch saw the need for publishing the context and synthesis volume from the project report series as a standalone book that could be used by investigators as an example of how a large, cemetery excavation project can be run in today's legal and political environment to not only meet the needs of archaeological research, but meet the needs of the community affected by that research. Without his vision and support, this book would not have been published.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Michael P. Heilen

Around the world, people identify closely with the remains of their ancestors. Descendants can be strongly motivated to ensure that the sanctity of those remains is preserved and protected. Whether the remains are left in place or disinterred within a few generations and moved to make way for new burials depends on the historical circumstances and context. In some times and places, it has been expected that a person's remains will be disinterred and moved to a storage facility or other locale within a generation or two of their burial, in order to make way for new burials. In other times and places, such as in parts of North America during the historical period and in recent times, it is often hoped that burials will remain undisturbed in perpetuity. Despite this, cemeteries are routinely abandoned and the land containing them repurposed. Such changes can result in the disturbance or destruction of a cemetery, impacting the burials contained within its bounds and hiding its remains from public view and consciousness. This is, in fact, what happened to the Alameda-Stone cemetery in the heart of downtown Tucson, Arizona, the cemetery excavated during the Joint Courts Complex Archaeological Project (Figure 1).

The Alameda-Stone cemetery was used for burial by the community of Tucson for approximately two decades during the nineteenth century before it was closed to further use. Most of the burials within the abandoned cemetery were left in place while the city of Tucson grew around it. Residential and commercial buildings and city infrastructure were built over the cemetery, periodically disturbing or destroying the burials left hidden below ground, occasionally in large numbers. By the twenty-first century, the land containing the former cemetery had become an urban environment consisting of buildings, sidewalks, streets, and landscaping features, with not a trace of the former cemetery to be seen from the surface. When this land was recently needed for a new city/county joint courts facility and no alternative locations were deemed viable, the cemetery was excavated and the burials placed in new locations according to the wishes of descendant groups who could claim remains from the cemetery.

Archival information obtained prior to excavations revealed that the cemetery was a public one, used for a relatively brief period by the entire Tucson community. The cemetery was divided into a military section and a civilian section, which themselves were further subdivided into areas used at different times or by different groups. The military section was used from 1862 until January 1881, and the civilian section was used from sometime in the late 1850s or early 1860s until it was closed to further burial in 1875. Because the cemetery was used by the entire, multiethnic community of Tucson, the approximately 1,800–2,100 individuals originally buried in the cemetery were expected to be of diverse cultural and biological backgrounds (O'Mack 2005, 2006). Based on the demography of Tucson at the time, burials would have included Hispanic individuals from Mexico, the southwestern United States, Spain, and South America; non-Hispanic Euroamericans from many parts of the United States, Canada, Europe, the Caribbean, and the Middle East; Native Americans, including Tohono O'odham, Akimel O'odham, Yaqui, and Apache; and a small number of African Americans. Religious affiliations varied among the populace as well. Many of the Hispanics using the cemetery would have likely been buried according to Catholic traditions, whereas non-Hispanic Euroamericans would likely have been buried according to Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish traditions. Native Americans and African Americans buried in the cemetery may also have been buried according to a variety of traditions, including Christian or syncretic Christian traditions, given the public nature of the cemetery within a largely Christian cultural context. Burials of individuals associated with the U.S. military also occurred in the cemetery. The diverse cultural and religious backgrounds of individuals buried in the cemetery and the requirement to

Uncovering Identity in Mortuary Analysis: Community-Sensitive Methods for Identifying Group Affiliation in Historical Cemeteries, edited by Michael P. Heilen, 23–52. Tucson, AZ: SRI Press.

Figure 1. Modern downtown Tucson, with the cleared Joint Courts Complex Archaeological Project area in the foreground (Henry Wallace, courtesy Center for Desert Archaeology).

determine the cultural affinity of burials (discussed below) meant that archaeologists had to be prepared to differentiate burials associated with a wide array of burial practices and cultural and biological backgrounds.

Burial agreements between Pima County (which funded the entire project) and potential descendant groups required that all human remains within the project area be recovered during excavations, including fragmentary remains in secondary deposits. This was to satisfy the concerns of descendants that no osteological materials or funerary remains be left behind during excavations. As a result, the entire 4.3-acre parcel containing the cemetery was excavated to culturally sterile soil, and all excavated sediments, including vast quantities of overburden, were screened for artifacts and osteological materials, resulting in exceptionally thorough and complete excavations. It was also required that the cultural affinity of burials be determined with the greatest degree of certainty possible according to a transparent and agreed-upon framework. This was so that remains from the cemetery could be repatriated to the appropriate groups without unnecessary ambiguity, dispute, or controversy. Thus, identity assessments served both to guide the study of the cemetery and the burial population and to fulfill the individual needs of descendant groups. Restrictions were also placed by some descendant groups on the kinds of analyses that could be performed and the kinds of information that could be reported, requiring an additional level of sensitivity to be exercised during on the excavation, analysis, and reporting of some burials in the cemetery.

The Joint Courts Complex Archaeological Project intensively investigated one of the largest and most unique cemetery components ever investigated in North America.[1] Excavations conducted from 2006 through 2008 resulted in the discovery, documentation, and interpretation of 1,083 grave-pit features and osteological materials from more than 1,300 individuals buried in the cemetery (Figure 2). As the only cemetery for a growing and urbanizing frontier community of the expanding American West, the cemetery contained multiple discrete cemetery areas associated with different groups and grave-pit and burial features associated with individuals of diverse cultural affinities, religious backgrounds, and life histories. The cemetery thus afforded a unique opportunity to investigate variation in social identity, life experience, and burial practice among individuals, burial features, and cemetery areas according to a wide variety of biological, cultural, and behavioral dimensions.

Successful completion of the project required thorough archival research; the implementation and integration of advanced database, cartography, and geographic information systems technologies; a broad array of methodological advances; and unusually large staffing. Just as important, an intensive level of planning, coordination, and communication was required to ensure that accurate information was distributed to project stakeholders in a timely and community-sensitive fashion and that project participants were in agreement as to how the project was to be conducted. The consultation efforts and identity assessments undertaken for this project were innovative, forward-thinking, and culturally sensitive approaches that could serve as models for future cemetery investigations.[2] Undertaken in the midst of a thriving city, the Joint Courts Complex Archaeological project was conducted with the utmost respect not for only the individuals interred in the Alameda-Stone cemetery, but also for those individuals' possible descendants.

The Joint Courts Complex Archaeological Project represents a unique contribution to mortuary studies, bioarchaeology, historical archaeology, and project planning and administration. The investigation of as large a cemetery with a majority Hispanic component has never been undertaken in the United States. The vast majority of previous projects in the United States have investigated the cemeteries of non-Hispanic Euroamericans or African Americans. The diverse nature of the cemetery—with multiple demographic groups—is also unique to cemetery investigations, as nearly all other cemeteries have been far less diverse and have not represented the burial population of an entire multiethnic community. The brief use of the cemetery, along with the large sample size, is unusual as well, allowing the researchers to amass a substantial amount of information about the burial practices, health status, organization, and life experience of a community during a brief span of time. In doing so, the project was able to provide details about the use of a historical-period cemetery and the lives and deaths of the people buried there, about what happened to the cemetery after it was abandoned, about the lives of the people who lived atop the cemetery, and about how the land containing the former cemetery was urbanized during the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The findings presented in this book and in the project report series (Gray and Swope 2012; Hall et al. 2012; Heilen and Gray, eds. 2012; Heilen, et al., eds. 2012) represent a tremendous amount of work performed by many

[1] A large residential and commercial urban component postdating the cemetery and a small but informative prehistoric component dating to the Middle Archaic, Late Archaic/Early Agricultural, and Middle Formative periods were also investigated as part of the project (see Gray and Swope, eds. 2012; Gray et al. 2012; Hall et al. 2012).

[2] It was especially fortunate that the technical representative for SRI's contract with the County, Roger Anyon, and a peer reviewer for the project, Lynne Goldstein, together have an extraordinary depth of experience and knowledge about repatriation and reburial efforts. Their expert insight and tireless efforts were of primary importance in ensuring the success of these aspects of the project.

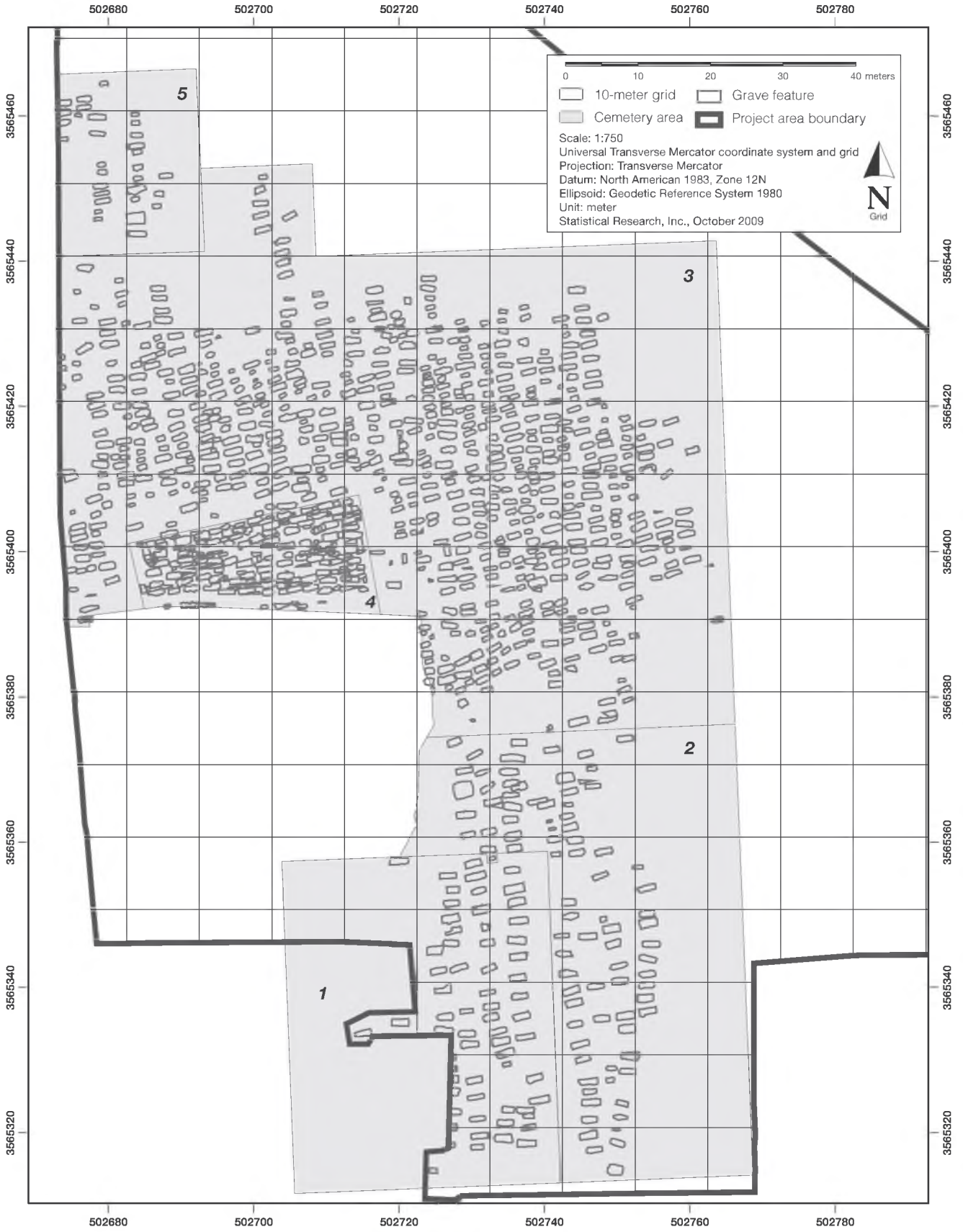

Figure 2. Map of the Joint Courts Complex project area, showing grave features.

dedicated professionals over the course of several years, as well as an unprecedented level of project planning and coordination. A project of this size requires a substantial commitment by personnel to see it through to the end. Large projects such as this are also subject to the frequent turnover of staff, which happened multiple times during the course of the project, requiring that management focus on project structure and redundancy of staff positions to make sure that the project moved forward without problems and according to schedule. Many people participated in the project, including researchers, descendant groups, and government officials, and many steps were taken to ensure the success of the project from beginning to end. Efforts encompassed not only the investigation of the archaeology and history of the project area, but, importantly, the repatriation of individuals to descendant groups and the reburial of individuals in new burial spaces where they can now be honored and memorialized and protected from further disturbance. Given the success of the project along these lines, planning organizations might use the project as a model for how to conduct similar excavations in the future. Furthermore, methods developed for the project should contribute to the advancement of methods for excavating, documenting, and analyzing historical-period cemeteries and urban contexts.

The methods and findings presented in this book underscore some of the differences between academic and cultural resource management (CRM) approaches to conducting big projects (see, for example, Altschul 1998). Large academic projects are often funded by grant organizations and are conducted over long periods of time by faculty and students who generally can devote only a portion of their time toward a particular project. Research goals and corresponding investigative methods and contexts are selectively identified in academic projects in order to address the particular interests of researchers and to pursue issues considered most salient in current discussions of theory and method. Reporting for academic projects is often achieved through the publication of articles in peer-reviewed journals, as well as in theses and dissertations by students working with project materials. The results of such projects can be distributed widely but not always comprehensively or at the same time.

CRM projects are dictated more than academic projects by development and legal requirements and, increasingly, by the interests of identity groups with a stake in a project's outcome. Large CRM projects tend to involve the mitigation of resources that will be impacted by development and thus place a heavy emphasis on thoroughly documenting and interpreting resources that will be destroyed rather than tailoring a project to address the goals of a specific research program. The resources to be investigated, as well as some of the issues considered most salient to documentation and interpretation, are typically not chosen by investigators but are chosen for them by factors outside of their control. Large CRM projects enjoy a much greater level of funding than most academic projects, but also must be accomplished faster and under contract by professionals paid a wage to work on CRM projects full-time. Completing final reports is generally not an option but rather a contractual requirement on which the future of the contracting organization depends. Unfortunately, CRM reports often have limited distribution and are not widely accessible, being confined to the "gray literature." Thus, the relevance of a CRM project's findings to larger research issues can be difficult to assess without combing through the large body of gray literature developed over many decades of CRM research (Altschul 1998).

Development interests and legal requirements, of course, played a major role in determining the course of the Joint Courts Archaeological Project, but the project also had to be sensitive to a wide range of topics having to do with the interests of planning organizations, the community, and descendant groups. Furthermore, the large scale of the project and time constraints placed upon it necessitated a project structure and methods that could accomplish the project objectives within a short period of time. The project was a success on multiple levels but also resulted in a variety of lessons learned about how to conduct large projects, including managing project tasks and personnel, implementing and integrating diverse technologies, preparing materials for curation and repatriation, and organizing, analyzing, and curating the large volume of data developed during the investigation. At the same time, the project was able to conduct research within a CRM context that is of broad methodological and theoretical interest.

Volume Organization: A Road Map

This book is based on the first volume of a four-volume report series completed for the Joint Courts Complex Archaeological Project (Heilen and Gray, eds. 2012; Heilen. Hefner, and Keur 2012; Gray and Swope 2012; Hall et al. 2012). The book focuses on the cemetery component of the project, but it should be noted that substantial efforts were also made in documenting and interpreting prehistoric finds within the project area and a large urban component that postdated the use of the cemetery (Gray and Swope 2012). This book deals only with a portion of the finds resulting from the project and restricts discussions mostly to those issues considered most relevant to understanding the cemetery component and how it was investigated.

This chapter introduces the cemetery and the project in terms of their unique significance, presenting information on the growth and abandonment of the cemetery, project

planning, the study of identity in archaeology and in mortuary contexts, and project methods. The chapter also places the project findings within a broad theoretical and comparative context. Chapter 2 provides a historic context for Tucson prior to and during the establishment, use, and abandonment of the cemetery and an overview of the archaeology and history of the cemetery. The design and results of identity assessments conducted for the project are presented in Chapter 3. These assessments not only facilitated analysis of excavation results but also greatly facilitated repatriation and reburial, serving as a model for future cemetery investigations. Historical, contextual, and osteological evidence for diet, nutrition, disease, trauma, medical intervention, and demography are considered in Chapter 4, revealing a burial population that was relatively healthy in terms of diet and nutrition but heavily affected by disease and trauma, with little consistent access to healthcare and high mortality rates for some segments of the community.

In light of the multiethnic and diverse use of the cemetery, Chapter 5 provides a context for understanding the deathways practiced by different segments of the community in Tucson. Emphasis is placed on Hispanic Catholic deathways and Euroamerican deathways, with a focus on the effects of cemetery reform and the Civil War on mortuary behavior in Tucson. Information on military and fraternal funerals, as well as the deathways of O'odham, Yaqui, and Apache groups, is also discussed, including discussion of aboriginal practices not observed in the cemetery. Chapter 6 synthesizes the mortuary data developed for the project, integrating historical, contextual, and osteological findings.

In Chapter 7, all the findings from the cemetery context are summarized and compared to the results of investigations of other, contemporaneous cemeteries, exploring the ways in which the cemetery investigation, and the cemetery itself, are unique. In Chapter 8, the final chapter, the repatriation and reburial of remains is discussed. Like the identity assessments, these efforts represent a new approach that could serve as a model for other projects. In addition, the chapter highlights the contrasting ways in which different groups from the cemetery were memorialized and reburied.

The Growth and Abandonment of an Urban Cemetery

In order to understand how the cemetery was investigated and why, it is worth discussing how and when the cemetery was used and by whom. At the time that the Alameda-Stone cemetery was in use, Tucson had evolved into a growing multicultural community in the midst of the Sonoran desert. Although once isolated and sparsely inhabited, Tucson had become home to Hispanic settlers; native Yaqui, O'odham, and Apache individuals; U.S. military personnel; and Euroamerican migrants. The town prospered despite resistance by native peoples, a reputation for lawlessness, and a rugged environment that presents many challenges to human occupants even today (see Chapter Two). Burials in the cemetery testify to the multiethnic nature of the cemetery as well as the complex makeup of a community that grew as a result of economic opportunity, military action, and missionary efforts (the enduring influence of these efforts is evident in various artifacts found in the Alameda-Stone cemetery; Figures 3–5).

As noted previously, the remains of perhaps two thousand people of all ages from a wide variety of cultural and

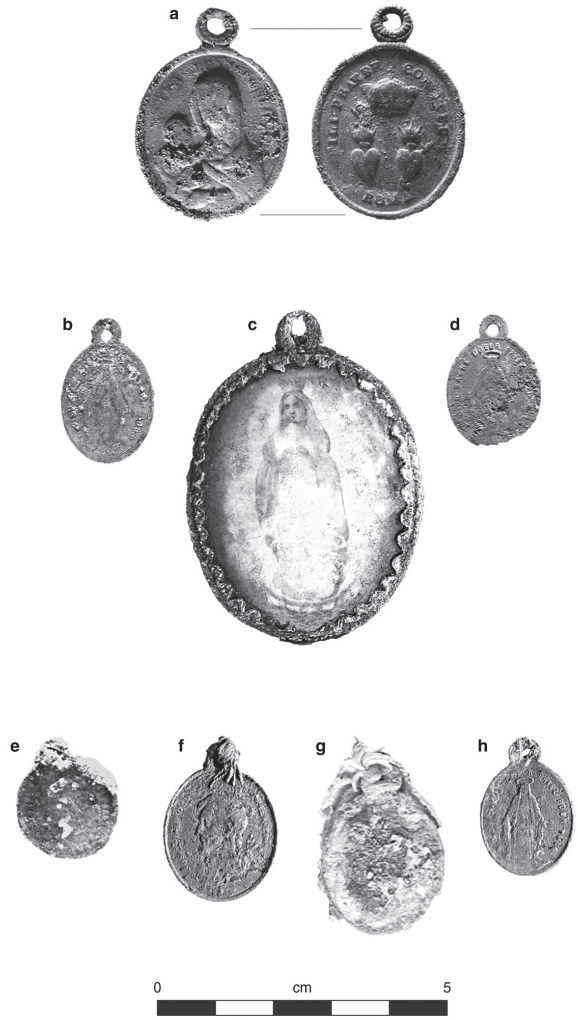

Figure 3. Examples of medallions and religious pendants from the Alameda-Stone cemetery.

Figure 4. Rosary from the grave of an older adult male of Hispanic cultural affinity.

economic backgrounds were buried in the cemetery, which was used by the entire community of Tucson. The cemetery was established near the edge of town so that people could bury their dead at a distance that kept them relatively safe from Apache raids, which represented a major threat to the town's inhabitants while the cemetery was in use. The cemetery was divided into a large civilian section and a smaller military section, which were further subdivided into sections likely representing different social groups. The first burials placed in the military section of the Alameda-Stone cemetery were placed shortly after the arrival of the U.S. military in 1862. Whether civilian burials had already been placed in the cemetery by this point is not clear, but it is suspected that the civilian section was first used around this time or perhaps several years earlier. With the arrival of the U.S. military and the influx of immigrants from many parts of the United States, Mexico, and diverse other countries, Tucson was transformed culturally and economically into an American settlement on the southwestern frontier of the American West. By 1870, at a time when the Alameda-Stone cemetery had become the resting place of hundreds of the town's former inhabitants, Tucson's population stood at over 3,000 people (Mabry et al. 1994), many of them recent arrivals to the town.

During the brief period of its use, the cemetery came to be surrounded by development as Tucson grew from a remote Mexican village to a modernizing American city. As a result of this growth, the cemetery came to be located in the bustling center of town and eventually came to be viewed as a danger and a nuisance. Criminal activities taking place within and around the cemetery and the cemetery's dilapidated and deteriorated condition were seen as disrespectful to the dead. The solution adopted at the time was to close the cemetery, advise citizens and the U.S. military to remove burials from it, open a new cemetery outside of the city center, and transfer ownership of the former cemetery land to those who would develop it.

Figure 5. Example of a crucifix from the Alameda-Stone cemetery.

The civilian section of the Alameda-Stone cemetery was officially closed by the Village Council on May 31, 1875, and the Court Street Cemetery was opened the following day on the far northern edge of town (*Arizona Citizen* 1875). Just 5 years later, the Southern Pacific Railroad completed its connection to Tucson, bringing to the city new immigrants, easy and inexpensive access to mass-produced commodities and world markets, and, perhaps most importantly, a changing political economy. The railroad began to transform a small hinterland community into one of the hubs of commerce and culture in the Southwest (Luckingham 1982; Mabry et al. 1994). The military section of the Alameda-Stone cemetery continued to be used until 1881, when the commanding officer of Fort Lowell was notified by the City Council that the military cemetery was not available for further burials (*Arizona Weekly Citizen* 20 February 1881:4) and was to be closed by the City (Callender 1998; Faust and Randall 2002; O'Mack 2005, 2006).

The last known burial—that of Corporal John Lyons—was placed in the military section of the Alameda-Stone cemetery on January 23, 1881 (*Arizona Weekly Star* 1881). A month later, the southwestern corner of the Alameda-Stone cemetery was deeded to the school trustees, with the stipulation that they would be responsible for removing all bodies from that parcel. Some burials were removed from the cemetery in 1882 in response to a notification from the City Council that burials in the cemetery must be exhumed within 60 days and reburied in the new Court Street cemetery (*Arizona Daily Star* 1882). In local newspapers, undertaker E. J. Smith advertised his services—in Spanish and English—to assist with the removal of burials from the nonmilitary portion of the cemetery (O'Mack 2006:44). By January 1883, a wall demarcating the cemetery had been demolished (*Arizona Weekly Citizen* 1883; *Arizona Weekly Star* 1883).

In June, 1884, the burials from the military section of the Alameda-Stone cemetery were moved to a new cemetery associated with Fort Lowell, 7 miles away (*Arizona Weekly Citizen* 1884). These exhumations, however, were incomplete, missing some burials and leaving behind burial-associated objects as well as skeletal material (Figures 6 and 7). With the closing of the civilian and military sections, the dismantling of the cemetery was soon underway. In a special session in April of 1884, the City Council began discussions concerning the selling of lots in the former cemetery (*Arizona Daily Citizen* 1884), and by April 1889, the old cemetery grounds were divided into lots and sold at auction (*Arizona Daily Citizen* 15 April 1889:4) (Figure 8). Shortly after their sale, lots were graded, removing all surface evidence of the former cemetery.

The next few decades witnessed developments that threatened the existence of the cemetery as increasingly urbanized Tucson grew over the project area. Homes were built on the lots in the project area, with many of them used as rental properties; privies, trash pits, utility trenches, and landscaping features were dug into the former cemetery, often impacting the graves below. After a few decades of residential use, the land containing the former cemetery was again transformed, now transitioning into a commercial district. With the establishment of the Baum and Adamson Tire and Automotive Company in 1925, the land containing the former cemetery had been gradually transformed into a commercial district in the heart of downtown Tucson. Construction of commercial buildings and urban facilities continued to disturb the former cemetery. The largest of these, the construction of the Tucson Newspapers Building basement within the cemetery in 1940 and construction of an addition in the 1950s (*Arizona Daily Star* 1940, 1955) (Figure 9), resulted in the displacement or destruction of burials. Archaeologically, the total number of burials destroyed by the construction of the Tucson Newspapers Building appears to number at least several hundred (see Heilen and Hall 2012).

Historical knowledge of the cemetery persisted, but it had become hidden from view, and the city's demographic makeup had become increasingly dominated by residents unaffiliated with Tucson's former inhabitants. As a result, the cemetery had for the most part receded from public memory until the voters of Pima County approved $76 million to construct a city/county courts complex in 2004 (Figure 10). The archaeologists contracted to excavate

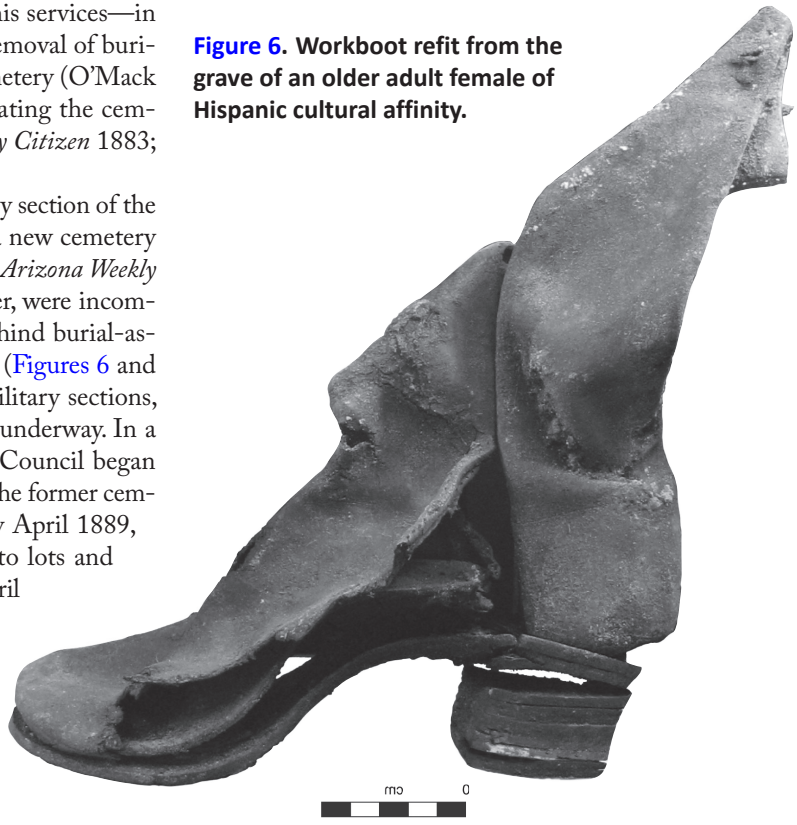

Figure 6. Workboot refit from the grave of an older adult female of Hispanic cultural affinity.

Figure 7. Military uniform buttons from the Alameda-Stone cemetery.

the 4.3 acres of land containing the cemetery faced several challenges, not the least of which was how to best approach the excavation of a cemetery in a very public downtown setting.

Project Planning

Pima County was aware that the excavation of a historical-period cemetery had the potential to draw intense public controversy and conflict. For instance, excavation of the African Burial Ground in lower Manhattan during the 1990s—a site where thousands of enslaved Africans and African Americans had been buried in colonial New York during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—resulted in intense public outcry and scrutiny. In this earlier landmark project, important stakeholders, including the African American descendant community and the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, had not been adequately consulted, and an appropriate level of project planning and support had not been developed. No research design or burial agreements had been emplaced even when the excavation commenced, and sufficient information about the nature and extent of potential remains within the New York African Burial Ground had not been developed. Construction accidents resulting in destruction of burials occurred during excavation as did vandalism and theft of remains. Prominent public officials, community leaders, celebrities, and concerned citizens spoke out vehemently against the African Burial Ground Project while excavation was underway and demanded a voice in how the project was to be conducted. Public concern with the project prompted two Congressional subcommittee hearings, protests, and numerous scathing commentaries in local and national news media. In short, the project erupted into a public relations nightmare that required numerous interventions and redirections to get back on course, resulting in a much greater expenditure of time and money than was originally planned.[3]

Given the potential for what could happen with a cemetery excavation project, Pima County was determined that, if excavation of the Alameda-Stone cemetery was to be conducted, all the appropriate steps had been taken to ensure a culturally sensitive project approach that took into account the needs of the community and was in full compliance with all applicable laws. Problems experienced in the past with other historical-period cemetery excavations were to be anticipated and minimized. The County's answer to problems that emerged in the past with other historical-period cemetery excavations was to do exactly what had not been done for those projects: careful and comprehensive planning, intensive and transparent information gathering and disclosure, and the full involvement of descendant groups and other stakeholders throughout the project. Central to the County's approach was the overriding concern that the planning and consultation process be open, inclusive, and transparent. There were to be no surprises (Gray and Anyon 2012).

As the Joint Courts Complex Archaeological Project was funded by the County and would take place on lands owned by the County, the project would not be conducted under federal law. The County, as a political subdivision of the state of Arizona, instead had to comply with several Arizona historic preservation statutes, including the Arizona Antiquities Act and the Arizona Historic

[3] Struggles over the course of the project ultimately resulted in the halting of excavations, scaling down of original building plans, transfer of scientific control of the postexcavation phases of the project to a new research team with experience in the archaeology and history of the African diaspora, construction of an onsite memorial and visitors center, and the development of plans for the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, D.C. (Blakey and Rankin-Hill 2009).