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Professor Paul Fine, Chair
Building Name Review Committee
University of California, Berkeley

July 22, 2020

RE: Comments on Proposal to Un-Name Kroeber Hall

Dear Professor Fine and Committee Members:

I recognize that the names of buildings, facilities, and research units on the Berkeley campus are subject to change at any time for a plethora of reasons. I think Kroeber Hall has had a long, eventful run that spans sixty years since its dedication in 1960. I suspect that the name of the building will change sometime soon. My comments concern the **process** in which the name change may take place. My basic point is that it can and should be done in a more constructive fashion without the rather uncompromising condemnation of Alfred Louis Kroeber and his legacy at UC Berkeley. The proposal to un-name Kroeber Hall does not call into question the significant role that Kroeber played in the development of anthropology as a field of study in North America, his plethora of publications on the method and theory of anthropology, or his contributions to UC Berkeley as a dedicated and hardworking faculty member from 1901 to 1946 when he retired, and his later years when he served as an active Emeritus Professor at Berkeley until his death in 1960. The proposal focuses entirely on his work with Native Americans, more specifically the indigenous people of California, stating that he “engaged in research practices that are reprehensible.” While there are important issues to consider concerning his research practices as perceived in 2020, I think the tone and content of the proposal are overly harsh. Furthermore, there are statements made in the proposal that are overstated and inaccurate, which should be corrected before proceeding further.

To fully understand Kroeber’s research practices, I think it is important to consider the historical context of Kroeber’s career at UC Berkeley, particularly the early years when the Anthropology Department and Museum¹ were founded. The Department and Museum were established in 1901 and administered by an Advisory Committee of six people, which in 1902 was converted to a smaller Executive Committee of three people. The key people in the administration and creation of the Anthropology program were Frederic Ward Putnam, who continued to serve as a distinguished professor at Harvard University, Benjamin Wheeler, president of the University of California, and John C. Merriam, an Assistant Professor in

¹ Now known as the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology (PAHMA)

Paleontology at UC Berkeley (see Jacknis 2000). Putnam served as Chair of both committees and became the first Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Museum at UC Berkeley until he retired in 1909. The other key person was Phoebe A. Hearst who funded the Anthropology and Museum for its first five years with an annual investment of \$50,000. She then provided reduced funding in 1906-1907 and 1907-1908 with the university picking up the support of both enterprises in 1908-1909 (Thoresen 1975:266-274). The study of the indigenous people of California became a major focus of the fledgling Anthropology Department. As Thoresen (1975:263) notes for the turn of the century, “precious little except prejudice was known about the California Indians” (see also Heizer and Almquist 1971; Rawls 1984) A significant goal of the early anthropologists at Berkeley was to develop a better understanding of the lifeways, social organizations, languages, and history of the Golden State’s first people through archaeological and ethnological studies. It was the Advisory Committee in 1901 that hired Alfred Kroeber to be an instructor in the new Department and to establish a program in California ethnology (see Jacknis 2000; Heizer 1978:8; Thoresen 1975:265-66).

With this brief historical overview, I will now respond to the three specific points made in the proposal to un-name Kroeber Hall that are marshalled to support the “reprehensible” research practices of Kroeber, as well as discussing a relevant fourth point overlooked in the un-naming proposal.

1. Collecting the Remains of Native American Ancestors

The proposal claims that **“Kroeber personally engaged in excavating grave sites, directed the work of others in this regard, and built a repository for human remains exhumed by academic researchers and government agencies (2017 UC Berkeley Tribal Forum Report).”** I believe the situation was more complex and nuanced than this statement suggests and deserves to be considered in more detail.

The collection of the remains of Native American ancestors began before Kroeber was hired at UC Berkeley. This early archaeological work in California was directed by Putnam and Merriam rather than Kroeber. The excavation, study, and curation of ancestral remains was a standard protocol throughout the field of American archaeology when Kroeber was on the faculty at UC Berkeley.

While much of Phoebe Hearst’s research funds were expended in sending expeditions to the classical world, Peru, Egypt, and elsewhere to undertake archaeology and to purchase collections for the museum, she also funded research on the archaeology and ethnology of the indigenous people of California. Hearst began funding California archaeological studies in 1899 and 1900 before the formal founding of the anthropology program at UC Berkeley. Dr. Philip Mills Jones was dispatched into the field to collect materials in Kern County and the San Joaquin River delta around Stockton (see Jacknis 2000). With the establishment of the Anthropology Department and Museum in September 1901, it appears that Putnam was critical in convincing Hearst to continue to fund archaeological (as well as ethnological) research in California. The first Chair of UC Berkeley Anthropology was a major figure in the field of archaeology and is referred to by some as the “father of American archaeology” (Dexter 1966). He had gained considerable archaeological experience excavating ancient mounds in Ohio Valley (including the

Great Serpent Mound) and Late Pleistocene sites (Willey and Sabloff 1993:49-53). Putnam had also excavated in California in 1876 and 1878 as part of a federal geographical survey directed by Lieutenant George M. Wheeler (Jacknis 2000: 61). Putnam had also worked with John Merriam in excavating cave sites allegedly containing ancient archaeological remains in Calaveras County in the summer of 1901 before the Department and Museum were formally established (Merriam 1906; Putnam 1906). With Phoebe Hearst's continued backing, Putnam and Merriam initiated three major goals for archaeological fieldwork in the early years of the anthropology program: continue the work on supposed Pliocene and Pleistocene aged archaeological sites in California; undertake reconnaissance work in various areas of California (such as Jones investigation of the Channel Islands), and study the imposing shell mounds of the greater San Francisco Bay that were rapidly disappearing with the urbanization of the bay area (Jacknis 2000; Heizer 1978:12).

There was much urgency to study the shell mounds that were being bulldozed to make room for factories, residential complexes, and retail buildings, as well as being commercially mined for their rich organic soils. The work was initiated before the official founding of the Anthropology Department and Museum and continued at a rapid rate for the next few years. It included Philip Mills Jones early investigations in 1900; Max Uhle and John Merriam's 1902 excavation at Emeryville, and Nels Nelson's reconnaissance and excavations of various mound sites from 1906-1908. Nelson was an undergraduate and later graduate student recruited into the Anthropology Department by Merriam. Thus, the early archaeology at UC Berkeley was undertaken under the guidance and direction of Putnam and Merriam (Heizer 1978:12), and under Putnam's direction the Museum curated the archaeological materials from these excavations, including the remains of Native American ancestors. In addition, ethnographic and archaeological materials that had been collected by or donated to the university in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s were accessioned into the new Anthropology Museum (see Jacknis 2000:54-66). Some of these materials included ancestors of Native Americans.

Kroeber, as an instructor and later Assistant Professor (1906), had little to do with the archaeological fieldwork and was not the key decision maker in the Department or Museum until 1909, when Professor Putnam retired from UC Berkeley. During what should be called the "Putnam years" (1901-1909), Kroeber dedicated his research efforts to working with the tribes of California. He undertook considerable fieldwork among the Mojave and Yurok people, and to a lesser extent the Wiyot, Hupa, Karuk, Yuki, Pomo, Yokuts, and Cahuilla (Jacknis 1993:27, 2002:6). This ethnological work involved the collection of representative samples of material culture, interviews with elders, ethnographic observations, sound recordings of Native Californian languages, photographs, and the transcription of native texts. These materials were all catalogued and curated into the Anthropology Museum.

When Putnam retired in 1909, Kroeber assumed the administration of the Anthropology Department and Museum until his retirement in 1946. He was officially appointed Curator in the Museum in 1908, became the Director of the Museum in 1925, Associate Professor in 1911, and Full Professor in 1919 (Heizer et al. 1962; Jacknis 1993:27). When he took over the anthropology program at UC Berkeley in 1909, he faced a tough dilemma: the salad days of Phoebe Hearst's generous patronage had ended and with the paltry budget provided by the university he no longer had the finances to support all the previous research projects. Kroeber

decided to emphasize the ethnology program and essentially limit archaeological fieldwork undertaken by UC Berkeley anthropologists.

There were two reasons why Kroeber made this decision. First, Kroeber, particularly in the early years of his leadership, felt the research potential for undertaking California archaeology was minimal. He was concerned that a chronology for the state's archaeological sites could not be worked out in any detail and that a clear understanding of the archaeological remains was "resistive to interpretation" (see Kroeber 1908, 1936). Second, Kroeber felt there was much more potential to understand the life ways, social organization, subsistence practices, and religious institutions of Native Californians by interviewing the elders of extant tribes. As Heizer (1978:12) notes, "Kroeber decided that the archaeology could safely wait in the ground and that the task of recording the ethnology before the last survivors died was more urgent." Therefore, during the Kroeber years (1909-1946), ethnological research became the highest priority of research undertaken by UC Berkeley anthropologists.

Kroeber's decision to emphasize ethnological research and to leave the archaeology alone is evident in the records of the Department and Museum. Most of the papers in the two premier publications of the Department and Museum (*University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* and *University of California Anthropological Records*) were written about California ethnology (Steward 1962). Only one of the 34 Ph.D. degrees granted in the Anthropology Department before Kroeber's retirement was on an archaeological subject (Rowe 1962:409)². And much of the archaeological fieldwork by UC Berkeley anthropologists was undertaken by three people over short periods of time. Heizer (1978:12) summarizes the work done during the Kroeber years:

"While a bit of archaeology continued to be done by the Department of Anthropology at Berkeley, mainly by Llewellyn L. Loud who was occasionally given a few dollars and a few weeks off of his museum duties (Loud 1918; Heizer 1970), by W. Egbert Schenck who held a nonsalaried research appointment in the Museum of Anthropology (Gifford and Schenck 1926; Schenk and Dawson 1929), or by Ronald L. Olson (1930) who was a regular faculty member, it is surely true that the main research interest lay in ethnography."³

In sum, there are three points to consider about Kroeber and the collection of Native American ancestors. First, there is no evidence that Kroeber ever participated in the excavation of a California site or ever excavated human remains in California. It appears he only conducted ethnological work in California. Later in his career he did undertake archaeological work in other regions of the world that showed potential for chronological seriations based on painted ceramics. He did some surface collections of ceramics in New Mexico and undertook excavations in Peru and Mexico (Rowe 1962). Second, Kroeber shut down the major emphasis in California archaeology that had been established by Putnam and Merriam. A relatively limited amount of archaeology took place under his leadership of the Anthropology Department. Third, he inherited the Museum from Putnam who had already established it as a repository for

² Waldo Wedel in 1936

³ In conducting work in Humboldt County, Loud observed the requests of Wiyot informants about not undertaking excavations on sensitive places shown to him.

various archaeological materials, including ancestral remains collected by the university during the 1870s-1890s and during the Putnam years (1901-1909). It is true that under Kroeber's leadership, the Museum continued to serve as a repository for ancestral remains exhumed by the Berkeley researchers discussed above, as well as by other academic researchers and government agencies. But to be fair to Kroeber, it was standard practice in North American anthropology museums to curate indigenous people in museum facilities throughout Kroeber's career. It is sad to say that the ethics of excavating indigenous cemeteries without the consent of tribal descendants did not become a significant issue in California archaeology until somewhat later. In 1987 when I came to UC Berkeley, the archaeology faculty in the Anthropology Department at UC Berkeley established a moratorium concerning the excavation of indigenous people in California unless explicitly directed by tribal partners.

2. Salvage Anthropology, Salvage Ethnography, and the Myth of the Vanishing Indians

The un-naming proposal states that **“It should be noted that much of Kroeber’s work centered around “salvage anthropology” and “salvage ethnography” that advanced the myth of the “vanishing Indian.”** There is certainly some truth in this statement. But again, I think the situation is more complex and nuanced than presented in the proposal.

In taking up this issue, we need to consider the historical context of the ethnological work undertaken by Kroeber and colleagues. Kroeber began his work with California tribes who had been subjected to a genocide supported and funded by federal, state, and local governments, along with the vast majority of citizenry and press. Our American populace initiated a litany of brutal and violent acts aimed at exterminating the tribes of California in order to take their lands and resources (Castillo 1978; Heizer and Almquist 1971; Lindsay 2012; Madley 2016). While the darkest period of this American genocide took place in the 1850s-1870s, it continued through the turn of the century. The outcome of these extermination policies resulted in a devastating decline in the population of our first people: in 1769 when the first Franciscan missions were founded there were an estimated 310,000 indigenous people. At the end of the Spanish/Mexican periods in 1846 there were only an estimated 150,000 people. When the anthropology program at Cal was established in 1900 only about 15,000 Native Californians were left. Thus, during the half-century of American rule, 90% of a population already decimated from Spanish, Russian, and Mexican colonialism were murdered or annihilated by the ravages of disease and poverty (Lindsay 2012:336, Madley 2016:2).

This was the situation facing Kroeber when he initiated his ethnological program. The settler colonial policies unleashed by our American predecessors had impacted all of California's tribes and it was not clear to anyone in the early 1900s how many of the small tribal nations would survive the ferocious onslaught. Given the dire circumstances, Kroeber implemented a program of study that we would today call salvage ethnography. This program was devised to facilitate the primary goal of the anthropology program at Cal under Kroeber's leadership -- to develop a better understanding of the lifeways, social organizations, languages, and history of our first people that could be used to challenge the racism and widespread prejudices that existed among our citizenry throughout the state. Thus, the ethnological program at Cal eventually involved an element of public outreach about Native Californians through an amazing number of publications, a schedule of public lectures, and museum exhibits open to the public beginning in

1911 (Jacknis 1993:30; Heizer 1978:8).

Kroeber devised an ethnographic methodology that focused on reconstructing aboriginal lifeways before the American genocide with its significant impact on the indigenous people and cultures of California. He was interested in understanding the “pristine” indigenous past before tribal entanglements with foreign colonists. Today this is known as the “ethnographic present” (Heizer 1975). Kroeber employed what is known as the memory culture methodology that involved interviewing tribal elders (mostly men) born in the mid-1800s before the intrusion of Americans and others during the Gold Rush (Simmons 1997). Interviews with elders were undertaken in an attempt to reconstruct what tribal life was like in their youth and also to collect stories and recollections as told to them by their parents, grandparents, and great grandparents who lived in the late 1700s and early 1800s. He also implemented a program of collecting tribal material culture that he and his colleagues thought was still relatively pristine (old pieces that had seen use; Jacknis 1993:28) for the Museum, as well as recording their languages in the field on early phonographs (wax cylinder machines) and documenting their tribal visits with notes and photographs that were also curated in the Museum (Jacknis 2008).

There were three major outcomes of this culture memory methodology:

First, Kroeber felt that he did not really need to implement the rather crude study of California archaeology as practiced in the early 1900s to understand the lifeways of Native Californians. By interviewing tribal elders he and his colleagues felt they could breathe life into the past and reconstruct past social organizations, political dramas, ceremonial cycles, cosmology and world views, kinship systems, and oral traditions that could not be accomplished by archaeological research at this time. Thus, the primary emphasis throughout Kroeber’s tenure was on ethnological research with an emphasis on interviewing tribal elders before they passed.

Second, in retrospect we now recognize the problems of employing the memory culture methodology that concerned minimizing the effects of early European encounters, the perception of a timeless ethnographic present that minimized ancient cultural change and tribal history, and the tendency to exclude women and younger tribal members from interviews (see Lightfoot and Parrish 2009: 77-84). Sampling bias was also a significant issue. It is important to note that Kroeber and his colleagues did not treat all Native Californians alike. They recognized that the memory culture methodology worked best for tribes whose contact with colonists had been relatively recent (during or after the Gold Rush) and where elders could still describe “pristine” cultural lifeways before the genocide. Consequently, they devoted considerable time and effort in working with tribal people in northern California, in some areas of the Central Valley, the foothills and mountains of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, and some groups in the state’s southern deserts.

Kroeber and his colleagues largely ignored most of the tribes who had been directly colonized by the Spanish and later Mexican colonists in central and southern coastal California, making some exceptions for tribes in San Diego County and the southern deserts. Kroeber initially worked with Ohlone and Chumash elders in 1901 and 1902 and visited the Ohlone community of Alisal near Pleasanton that was located on lands owned by Phoebe Hearst and her family. Kroeber observed a vibrant rancheria, but the Ohlone families had intermarried and lived

with other Yokuts, Patwin, Miwok, and Esselen people (see Field et al. 1992; Leventhal et al. 1994). The inter-mixture of indigenous people and cultural practices, as well as the paucity of fluent speakers of the Costanoan language, did not fit Kroeber's expectations for reconstructing a "pristine" indigenous history. Consequently, Kroeber did little work with the Ohlone after this initial fieldwork in his own backyard. As noted in the un-naming petition, Kroeber (1925) famously wrote that many of the mission Indians had become culturally extinct – that is he mistakenly felt that these groups did not retain enough of their aboriginal culture to undertake a thorough study. He later elaborated that they could be considered "ethnographically extinct" because you could "no longer learn from living informants the speech and modes of life of the ancestors of these informants" (Kroeber and Heizer 1970:3). Elsewhere I have written in some detail about the devastating consequences that this misguided perspective had for the Ohlone and other northern mission tribes with respect to federal recognition (Lightfoot 2005:222-239). I will return to this later.

Third, a wealth of ethnographic information was collected and published by Kroeber and colleagues. These publications along with the language recordings, field notes, photographs, and material culture comprise the foundation for the academic study of Native Californian societies. Today in using these materials it is critical to understand the historical context and methodological issues concerning their collection. Today there are also issues about who has access to sensitive information and how to incorporate tribal concerns and collaboration in the use of these materials. Yet it is important to emphasize the wealth and significance of the information that was collected about the tribes of California. These materials are actively being used by tribes today in various ways: the language recordings are used as part of the Breath of Life workshop, an innovative program directed by UC Berkeley linguists that provides in-depth training to Indian scholars who are studying and, in some cases, relearning their languages. Native scholars can access field notes of ethnographers and linguists from 1901 onward, as well as recordings of songs, stories and vocabularies (see Lightfoot and Parrish 2009:214-215). These materials are housed in the Bancroft Library, the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, and the Department of Linguistics. The materials collected by Kroeber and colleagues are also used by tribal artists who come to the PAHMA to view examples of baskets, wooden artifacts, and other objects to obtain insights from past master craftspeople. The field notes, photographs, and publications provide additional information to tribal groups about their elders and cultural practices. Furthermore, academic researchers at UC Berkeley and elsewhere are now working collaboratively with tribal partners in carefully using this information in combination with tribal oral traditions and histories to provide additional insights about foodways, material culture, indigenous stewardship of the landscape and resources, and the management of important cultural places (e.g., Lightfoot and Parrish 2009; Stewart 2002).

3. Mistreatment of Ishi

Ishi is a sad and ugly chapter in the history of California. He epitomizes the genocide unleashed by our citizenry on California Indians as his family and tribe were hunted down and murdered. When Ishi "emerged" in 1911, there were relatively few options for him. Placement with a local government, state or federal agency would have been highly suspicious given their participation in the recent genocide. And apparently no one else stepped forward to offer him a place to live. So as the un-naming petition outlines, he was given a home in the Museum, which

raises many red flags today. My points here are twofold.

First, the story of Ishi is a complex one and it has been told from the vantage of many people. The perspective offered by Starn (2004) as emphasized in the un-naming petition is one such perspective. But to obtain other perspectives about Ishi's life under the care of the anthropologists at Berkeley you really need to consult these other sources (Bower 2000; Heizer and Kroeber 1979; Hinton 1999; Jacknis 2003, 2008; Kroeber 1961; Shackley 2001; Shea 2000). All accounts indicate that Kroeber and Ishi had a close relationship and that Kroeber was devastated by his death. As Shackley (2001:694) elaborates, it appears that Ishi considered the Kroeber and Waterman (a UC Berkeley anthropologist) families his new family and "when a Bureau of Indian Affairs agent came to San Francisco, he offered Ishi a chance to move to a Midwestern Indian reservation, but Ishi refused, preferring to live out his days among the anthropologists and die in his new home (Thomas 2000:87)". Kroeber strenuously demanded in advance that no autopsy be done on Ishi if he died while he was gone from campus on travel. Yet when faced with the decision of what to do with Ishi's brain when he returned from travel, Kroeber should not have sent his friend's brain to the Smithsonian Institution.

Second, there is rightly much consternation today that Ishi performed public demonstrations of lithic knapping and other cultural practices in the museum while under the care of anthropologists. Yet Ishi proved to be a major catalyst in countering the public's negative image of California's first people and providing an authentic voice about the sophisticated lifeways of its tribes. In my view, Ishi played a crucial role in helping to create a positive image for Native Californians who continued to face much prejudice and discrimination in the state. His appearances resulted in large crowds and much enthusiasm. To this day there is much interest among the lay public in Ishi and his life. When I served as the Acting Director of PAHMA, the most common topic that school kids and adult visitors alike wanted to talk about in visiting the museum was Ishi. And they were sorely disappointed when the material objects he produced were not available to be seen publicly.

4. Indian Claims Commission Cases

The un-naming petition argues that Kroeber engaged in research practices that are reprehensible and always objectionable to many Native Americans. I have serious problems with this rather blunt statement. If this was the case, then why did tribal leaders, elders and their lawyers turn to Kroeber to represent them in their lawsuit against the federal government for reparations for land stolen from them? The 1946 Indian Claims Commission Act allowed the tribes of California to present such claims against the United States. The various petitions filed by the California tribes were eventually consolidated into Dockets 31 and 37 as representing the Indians of California with Kroeber serving as their key expert witness (Ray 2006; Rigsby 1997). He put together a team of UC Berkeley anthropologists (Robert Heizer, Edward Gifford, Samuel Barrett, S.F. Cook and Donald Cutter) to argue on behalf of the Indians of California. UC Berkeley became the research hub for representing the California tribes and it was here that Kroeber, his faculty associates, and a number of our graduate students marshalled the available evidence that demonstrated the long-term occupation of tribal territories across the state (Stewart 1961:184-186). Interestingly, the expert witnesses arguing for the Department of Justice against the Indians of California were some of Kroeber's former students. Not only that, but the UCLA

campus served as their center of research for the Department of Justice (Stewart 1961:186). By all accounts, the testimonies presented by Kroeber and the UC Berkeley team in 1954 and 1955 were “masterful” and “Kroeber was an exceptionally impressive witness” (Stewart 1961:185). Consequently, the Indian Claims Commission accepted “Kroeber’s interpretation of complete aboriginal land use in the California” and rejected the Government’s case (Stewart 1961:187). This eventually resulted in a settlement in which the United States Congress allocated \$37,630,781.74 for distribution to the Indians of California (Stewart 1978:708). While this represents a mere pittance for what was taken from the tribes, there is no question that Kroeber and his team of UC Berkeley anthropologists played a key role in making the case for the Indians of California.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the petition for un-naming Kroeber Hall raises important issues about Alfred Kroeber’s research methods and, quite frankly, the practice of anthropology in the early 1900s. These are important concerns that should be discussed. However, I feel the petition as written presents a rather one-dimensional, harsh, and uncompromising perspective on Kroeber’s work with the tribes of California. It is devoid of historical context and presents inaccuracies in depicting Kroeber’s program in California anthropology. I feel that the petition debases Kroeber’s legacy in a way that is unfair to him and his family. Kroeber was obviously not perfect, and he made mistakes in his lifetime that had unintended consequences, but his work with Native Californians was not “reprehensible”.

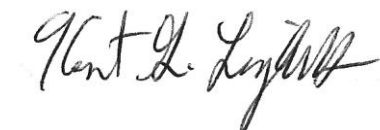
The petition advocates that Kroeber was a major player in the excavation of the ancestors of Native Americans. This was not his bailiwick; he had little interest in California archaeology and largely shut down most of this work while directing the Berkeley anthropology program. What he did do is enable some excavations in California by some Berkeley anthropologists and continued the practice of using the Museum as a repository for archaeological materials and the ancestors of Native Americans. He did do excavations in Mexico and Peru. Kroeber did undertake salvage ethnography, but this program took place at the end of a killing spree of Native Californians enacted by our American predecessors. In the early 1900s it was unclear how many of the state’s small tribal nations would survive the genocide. Kroeber created a method for interviewing tribal elders that made sense for this historical context. He and his colleagues collected a wealth of information about some tribes while ignoring others. The petition argues that Kroeber mistreated Ishi. This is a sad and complex situation with many different perspectives. What is clear is that Ishi developed a strong and positive attachment with some of the anthropologists caring for him.

My personal perspective about Kroeber Hall is that I support keeping the current name but understand that the names of buildings on the Berkeley campus do not last forever. If the decision is made to rename the building, then I think it can be done in a more constructive and positive manner. The current process of “un-naming” the building suggests that Kroeber and his legacy will be unceremoniously discarded in the dumpster that sits next to Kroeber Hall in the dark of night. If the renaming of the building takes place, then I strongly urge that we consider the work of Kroeber and others in the renaming process and recognize the good, bad, and ugly of this period of anthropology. And we should not forget that the Department of Art Practice has

been in Kroeber Hall since it was dedicated in 1960.

My final statement concerns the Ohlone people who I believe suffered considerably after Kroeber's mistaken pronouncement about their cultural extinction that had unintended consequences. I think it is a great first step that we acknowledge that the campus sits on their land. But I think the Berkeley campus can and should do more in a direct and tangible way for the people on whose land the campus was built. We should endorse and support the Covid-19 Relief Fund for Muwkema Ohlone families. We should support the Sogorea Te Land Trust that is bringing indigenous stewardship back to the lands and culturally significant plants of the East Bay. We should also find a home on the UC Berkeley campus for the Cafe Ohlone (Mak'amham) that has offered tantalizing indigenous foods and expertise on the foodways and cultural practices of local native people to the broader Berkeley community. Cafe Ohlone recently lost their space on Bancroft Way with the tragic closing of University Press Books. I think we should find space in one of our eating spaces on campus for the Cafe Ohlone, or better yet, consider the possibility of converting part of the patio of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology into a space dedicated to the Cafe Ohlone and the Ohlone people. Here students, staff, faculty, and the broader community of Berkeley could consume delectable, home-grown foods, hear from native experts about Ohlone foodways, and learn about the past, present and future of the Ohlone people. I think these are the kind of constructive efforts that we should be focused on at this time.

Sincerely,



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 Curator of North American Archaeology, PAHMA
 Faculty Associate, Archaeological Research Facility

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