Accessioning Visions of the People

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY

Susan Ann Goette

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Advisors: Timothy Dunnigan and Kathleen Barlow

December 2009

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following people for their unwavering support and acknowledge the pivotal role each has played in the production of this work.

Dr. Timothy Dunnigan

Dr. Kathleen Barlow

Dr. Ron Libertus

Dr. Peter Wells

Dr. Cindy Rudolph

Dr. Eric Buffalohead

Dr. Mary Hedburg

Terri Valois

Kathleen Saunders

Ganesh Babulal

Waldemar Edward Goette

Dennis Randall Christensen

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to (An)other Telling of the Story.

Frybread Story

Coyote was making frybread dough
when young Magpie stopped in
to offer his own recipe.

An extra handful of flour and
another dash of salt, he said
would assure very fine results.

Coyote chased him away, shouting,
"I'm not making very fine results,
    you asshole,
I'm making frybread!"

By Peter Blue Cloud/Aroniawenrate (Mohawk)

Elderberry Flute Song: Contemporary Coyote Tales, 1982.

Abstract

Accessioning Visions of the People
Museum Case Study at the Minneapolis Institute of Art

Visions of the People was a complex and influential exhibit focusing on American Indians peoples. This study examines the role of museums as cultural interpreters, explores the social nature of objects as markers of cultural ideas and values, analyzes the ways in which particular representations achieve their authority, assesses object selection processes with attention to patterns of inclusion as well as exclusion, and investigates the cultural narratives employed by museum workers as they conceptualized and created the exhibit. This work explores the understanding, meaning, and representation of American Indian art, history, and culture that was fashioned by the museum (MIA).

The import of this case study rests on the assertion that images are powerful. Museums display objects and images in an attempt to convey particular ideas and interpretations to an audience. This study has the potential to serve as a primer for those interested in museums as historically situated institutions that possess the cultural authority to reproduce and interpret the stories we tell about ourselves to ourselves, as well as the stories we tell about others (C.Geertz). Each section of this study addresses a different topic, and brings together the perspectives of those people most concerned with or most impacted by each topic. Contributors to each section include: scholars, museum professionals, artists, and members of the audience. Each of these roles included both American Indian and non-Indian contributors.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

PROLOGUE

> What artists do is to reveal the underlying social, psychological, and spiritual conditions of their relationship to the world; thus in the works of artists we have a reflection of the emotional and spiritual condition of human beings in that period of history. If you want to understand the temper of an historical period, you can do no better than to look long and searchingly at its art . . . because the essence of art is the powerful and alive encounter between the artist and his or her world.
>
> Rollo May, *The Courage to Create* 1975:53

In 1992 the world observed the Columbian Quincentennial, an event that provoked significant public debate.[1] This debate focused on and challenged, once again, mainstream historical interpretations of Columbus, European exploration, colonialism, and the history of indigenous peoples in the Americas. Among historians, educators, and artists reinterpreting these issues were descendants of the colonized peoples of the Americas who defined their experience and their history in opposition to dominant interpretations. These reinterpretations and alternative visions were actively pursued and vividly articulated through the medium of art. The visual and performing arts served as a major forum for reactions and counter-reactions to the ideas and events that surrounded the Quincentennial - ideas and events that have impacted the lives and shaped the history of both indigenous and immigrant peoples for 500 years.

[1]A detailed description and assessment of the scholarship surrounding the Quincentenary in both North America and Latin America, (including articles, books, exhibits, as well as television presentations), can be found in James Axtell (1992) "Columbian Encounters: Beyond 1992."

Chapter 1

THE OBJECT, THE SUBJECT, AND THE SELF

Predicting that the public debate over cultural representation and historic interpretation would impact museum display during the Quincentennial year, I attended every prominent art event held in the Twin Cities (Minneapolis and St. Paul) that advertised itself as representing an indigenous peoples' point of view. In each case, American Indian people either directly produced and developed the event or acted as consultants.[2] For this study I chose to examine *Visions of the People: a Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life*, an ambitious and well attended art exhibit sponsored by the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (hereafter the MIA), curated by Evan M. Maurer, Director and CEO.[3] While objects are routinely exhibited by museums for the purpose of educating the general public,[4] focusing on this exhibit produced by the MIA allowed me to assess the role of a major institution as an interpreter of the artistic productions of a particular group of people. By orchestrating an exhibit that brought together historically, culturally, and functionally diverse objects from a number of American Indian groups, the MIA both *presented* and *generated* a picture of American Indian peoples and by extension, their history and culture.

---

[2]See Appendix A for a detailed description of these events.

[3]Attendance figures make *Visions* the second largest show, thus far, produced by the MIA.

[4]For an in-depth discussion of museums and the construction of knowledge see art historian Svetlana Alpers (1991) "The Museum as a Way of Seeing," anthropologist and folklorist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1991) "Objects of Ethnography," archaeologist Susan M. Pearce (1992) *Museums, Objects and Collections*, and art historian Susan Vogel (1991) "Always True To the Object in Our Fashion."

Naming and Representation

Much of this study is about representational practices. How people are identified and named therefore requires some explanation. "Names and labels are at once the most private and most public words in the life of an individual or group . . . and are susceptible to both personal and political change" (Lippard 1990:19). Indigenous persons have been called Native Peoples, First Peoples, First Americans, Native American, American Indian, First Nations but they are Oneida and Kiowa and Tewa and Modoc and Standing Rock Lakota and Ojibwa and Cherokee and Lumbee and Mashpee and about 500 other Tribes (Mihesuah 1997). Other complications arise. "Tribal members refer to themselves by their tribal names. Navajos call themselves Dinee, the Choctaws - Chatas, the Ojibwa - Anishinabeg, the Creeks - Muscogees and so fourth " (Mihesuah 1997:16).[5] While there exists no consensus among indigenous peoples, the phrases American Indian and Native American tend to be designations in the United States, where First Nations and First Peoples are preferred terms in Canada (Ames 1992).

The linguistic, tribal, and historic diversity among indigenous peoples of the Americas is recognized and respected through the practice of artists and scholars identifying themselves by their tribal affiliation(s) and sometimes by a particular community name if people from the same tribe live in several locales. This practice will be followed in this paper. Non-Indian artists and scholars are not ethnically identified

[5]For a detailed treatment of naming and its historical dimensions, including debates over the historical and philosophical use of the terms 'savage,' 'primitive,' and 'redskin,' see Berkhofer (1978), Cornell (1988), Jennings (1975), Mihesuah (1997), Miller (1998), Littlefield and Underhill (1971), and R. Pearce (1965).

herein. In general, they have not named themselves thusly in their writing although the visual work of some artists may reflect such self-naming.

Generating an Analysis

My work explores the understanding, meaning, and representation of American Indian art and culture that was fashioned by the MIA. The analysis set forth centers on four inter-related concerns: 1) the role of the MIA as a prominent institution in a major urban center; 2) the cultural and aesthetic ideas that informed the exhibit; 3) the selection of objects that constituted the exhibit; 4) what objects are absent from the exhibit; and 5) the response of various audiences to the exhibit and the institution.

This study draws on of a substantial body of literature that examines the role of museums as cultural interpreters, explores the social nature of objects as markers of cultural ideas and values, and investigates the cultural narratives employed by museum workers as they conceptualized and created the exhibit. Further, this study addresses the issue of selection by considering what objects were included and what objects were absent from the exhibit due to choices made by the curators, past choices made by the original collectors, and current requests made by American Indian people, choices which affected the representation and interpretation of American Indian peoples' culture and history. This show had an intense emotional impact on both American Indian and non-Indian people therefore I discuss who came to see the show and how they were affected. Some American Indian people left the show in tears. Others spoke to me about a "profound sadness," while still others were so deeply moved by the experience they could

not speak.[6] This study culminates in an evaluation of the historic, artistic, and cultural ideas conveyed by the exhibit and considers those images and stories that were amplified by the show.

The Audience and the Necessity of Case Studies

Exhibits represent an attempt to convey a particular narrative and worldview to an audience.[7] The import of my case study rests on the assertion that images are powerful.[8] They possess an ideological content capable of conveying sets of ideas and in the process elicit a response (S. Pearce 1992, Perin 1992, and S. Price 1989). It is this process that informs the worldview of the viewer (Berger 1972, Collier and Collier (1967 [1992]), hooks 1995). Hence, the importance of developing strong case studies lies in their ability to illuminate these processes.

The communication process taking place between the viewer and the object is most often conceptualized by museum workers as a perception-emotional experience and/or a

---

[6]See the section titled "Imprint of an Image" later in this chapter for information on Exit Interviews.

[7]On the role of exhibits and the construction of meaning see Ames (1986) *Museums the Public and Anthropology*, (1992) *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*; Boylan (1990) "Museums and Cultural Identity;" Duncan (1991) "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," (1995) *Civilizing Rituals*; Karp and Levine, (eds. 1991) *Exhibiting Cultures;* Karp, Kramer, and Levine, (eds. 1992) Museums and Communities; S. Pearce (1992) *Museums, Objects and Collections*; and Vogel (1991) "Always True to the Object in Our Fashion."

[8]Basic work in this regard includes Benjamin (1970) on the ability of images to provide a subjective rendering of objective events; Tagg (1988) on the authority of images to stand as evidence or register truth; and Sontag (1978), and Collier and Collier (1967 [1992]) on the visual as mediated and manipulated. See also Lippard (ed. 1992) on the role of images in the formation of American Indian identity. A more detailed accounting of other relevant literature is incorporated into specific discussions addressed in subsequent chapters.

cognitive-educational experience (Perin 1992, and S. Price 1989).[9] Moreover, museum professionals assume one-way communication and an unmediated relationship between an exhibit and the viewer(s) "where the audience-exhibit relationship is currently understood as a teacher-student relationship" (Perin 1992:184). Stated another way, museums produce cultural and historical interpretations through exhibits that generate and/or elicit emotional and cognitive responses from viewers, who, in turn, ignore, reject and/or accept these interpretations. Anthropologist Constance Perin proposes possible ways in which audience response, experience, and interpretations might be utilized "to impact the exhibition development process itself" (1992:184). Her work highlights the dilemma of a one-way communication model:

> Currently, museum professionals, drawing on their collections initiate conversations with audiences. Exhibition makers structure their turn in the conversation with a syntax of objects. Audiences "hear" the messages exhibitions convey, but what audiences say during their turn can today only be assumed. Talking only to and among themselves, audiences find that their turn in the museum's communicative circle rarely if ever comes up. [1992:183]

Museum workers have other concerns. Curators of fine arts museums are art historians trained in Western art history and aesthetics, not ethnography. Their concern is with the gate, visitor attendance, and increasing membership.[10] Museum anthropologists have produced the literature on "the ways in which museums are embedded in the social,

---

[9]For an extremely detailed, theoretical, and practical discussion of the process a viewer carries out in relation to an object, see S. Pearce (1992:210-227).

[10]In a contracting economy of reduced revenues, museum directors are more likely to utilize surveys than ethnographic techniques. Ethnography is labor-intensive; therefore it is expensive.

economic, and political complexities of contemporary society" (Ames 1992:139). As professionals in the field they have had to concern themselves with "the museum's problem of having multiple responsibilities to diverse audiences" Welsh 1988). Much of the recent literature has focused on questions concerning what or who exhibits should represent, how they should be represented, and to whom exhibits should be directed. There are moments when authors describe aspects of the process by which exhibits are received and interpreted by an audience but then the discussion is primarily anecdotal.[11]

Little work has been done in the area of audience response (Hooper-Greenhill 1988, Perin 1992, and Merriman 1989). There are, however, three solid studies in this area. Fronville and Doering (1988) assessed visitor familiarity with the exhibition subject and the frames of reference that filter visitors' viewing experience. This study used a series of structured questions and compared visitor responses from two groups - those who had and those who had not been reading or hearing about the subject of the exhibit before they came to the museum. Perin (1992) investigated audience reception processes and evaluated the interpretive resources visitors' bring to an exhibit that inform their understanding. This study used direct questions within the format of group discussions led by a facilitator. The work (1991) of the Getty Museum and the Getty Center for

[11]See Clifford's account of Tlingit elders brought in as consultants to the Portland (Oregon) Museum of Art, described in an interview with Brian Wallace in *The Global Issue: a Symposium* (1989). Discussing the reinstallation of a major collection of Northwest Coast art the elders focused on songs and stories in connection with the objects rather than specific data about specific objects. By the end of the discussion the elders had used the old songs to talk about current disputes over resources.

Education in the Arts is considered a pioneering study of the perceptions of visitors and non-visitors. The study was conducted over two years using focus-group methodology.

Based on their content and applicability, two other studies need mentioning. Both Kavanagh (1991) and Vogel (1991) focus on the centrality of the object. By changing the lighting, background and display techniques, Vogel (1991) created three entirely different displays using the exact same objects in each display. She found that viewers interpreted each display differently. Kavanagh (1991) reports on studies that created displays made up of seemingly incongruent sets of objects; objects that viewers do not normally associate together. In one example, the objects included an axe, cooking pot, rifle, loom, Wedgewood platter, and lace tablecloth. "Objects like the pot and axe generated responses based in myths about 'the pioneer days' while objects that failed to conform to the myth, a Wedgewood platter or tablecloth, were ignored or seen as not relevant" (1991:132). As interesting and useful as these studies may be, there remains a gap in the literature - ethnographic studies that examine differing aspects of the process by which exhibits are received and interpreted by an audience. My case study fits into this gap.

Scope of the Project

Visions of the People was a large-scale cultural event consisting of a blessing ceremony and a series of cultural programs as well as the installation itself. I attempted to view the event from as many perspectives as possible. Data for this study are drawn

from informal and semi-structured interviews with exhibit planners and participants,[12] the exhibit catalog, articles printed in the mass media, student essays and the exhibit itself.

This study acknowledges the political purposes and social roles played by museums (Ames 1992, Kaplan 1994a, Karp and Levine 1991, Oxendine 1992, S. Pearce 1992, and Vergo 1989). Art historian Peter Vergo (1989) develops a model of museums as institutions whose role is to Preserve, Protect, and Present Art. Although this is not a predictive model, it does define some key relationships and potential sites of conflict. This model suggests that, as a museum, the MIA may have conflicting responsibilities to its board of directors, its membership, and its audience. In this case, the audience consisted of separate but sometimes overlapping sections of the community. This was a diverse audience with multiple expectations of the institution. Some came to be educated, others to be entertained. There were those who sought an aesthetic experience, others, a personal one. Some were delighted with the show, others, disappointed.[13] Anthropologist Michael Ames (1992) suggests that when an institution displays the art objects of a particular culture the audience consists of those who come to view and those whose culture is being viewed (see also Welsh 1988). I chose as a standard, by which to evaluate the exhibit, the MIA's self-defined purpose, reflected in the title of the show - *Visions of the People: a Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life.* The question I propose to answer in terms of (re)presentation and audience response is: What vision of American Indian peoples was generated by the MIA exhibit?

---

[12]Interviews were conducted with curators, museum staff, Advisory Board members and visitors.

[13]Information is from Exit Interviews and Exhibit Comment Books

Field Work Model: Weaving Method and Theory

Anthropologist Renato Rosaldo (1989) in *Culture and Truth* recounts his experience in the field and concludes that there are limits to what researchers can understand based on their ideological point of view and their personal experiences. With this in mind, I began to reflect upon my own ideological orientations and to understand explicitly how they have unavoidably informed my methodology. Foremost is my graduate training, which has provided me with a basic foundation in the intellectual tradition and ethnographic history of the discipline.[14]

Major discussions in the field of anthropology have centered on redefining the concept of culture and consider the implications of employing such a concept. Viewpoints range from seeing culture as a bounded whole seeking equilibrium, to analyzing culture as contending ideas and practices in flux. Intersecting and influencing this debate is a discussion of culture change and the historical context in which change occurs. While seemingly straightforward, there exist a number of differing approaches, which describe the relationship between social structure and individual agency in order to explain how change occurs. Finally, there has been a renewed discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of both the "outsider" and "native" anthropologist. These sometimes opposed, and sometimes complimentary viewpoints, highlighted here briefly, have important implications for the sociocultural study described in this paper.

[14]This section is intended as a brief overview only. The theoretical dialogue surrounding these issues is addressed more fully in Chapter 2.

I then considered just what skills and talents I could bring to this endeavor. I am a studio artist with a background in both Western and non-western art aesthetics. Based on my experience as an artist, I believe that there is a reciprocal process, akin to dialogue, that takes place between the maker and the object that together frames the creative experience.[15] This experience is a difficult one to articulate for myself as well as other artists I have worked with. Psychologist Rollo May describes one aspect of this process:

> [A]ll these and many more characteristics of the [object] are absorbed into the [artist's] perception and are felt throughout the nervous structure. These are part of the vision, the artistic experiences . . . This vision involves an omission of some aspects of the (idealized) object and a greater emphasis on other aspects with the ensuing rearrangement of the whole. [1975:87-88]

An anthropological approach that recognizes the creative relationship between the artist and the object has its roots in the work of North American ethnographers. Most notable is the work of Ruth Bunzel with Zuni, Acoma, and Hopi potters, Lila O'Neale's work with Yurok-Karok weavers, Gladys Reichard's work with Navajo weavers and sand painters, and Herman Haberlin's work on Salish basketry.[16]

Their work highlights the artistic process by focusing on the artist as an individual and stresses the importance of the individual in affecting stylistic and technological

---

[15]In *Primitive Art* (1927), Franz Boas centers his discussion on the artist as the creator, and proceeds to investigate the processes that result in a finished product. In "Experimenting With Style In Archaeology" (1990), archaeologist Margaret Conkey argues for a return to investigating production processes and suggests that this may help to get at relevant cultural categories.

[16]Their approach is illustrated in the following monographs: Bunzel (1929) *The Pueblo Potter*, Haberlin (1928) "Coiled Basketry in British Columbia and Surrounding Regions," O'Neale (1932) "Yurok-Karok Basket Weavers," and Reichard (1934) *Spider Woman*. For further discussion of Haberlin see Ira Jacknis (1992). See also Schevill (1992) on O'Neale; Frazier (1993) on Reichard; and Babcock and Parezo (1988) *Daughters of the Desert*. For recent work utilizing this approach, see Lackey (1982) *The Pottery of Acatlán*.

changes (Schevill 1992). Bunzel learned to make pots and Reichard learned to weave in order to better understand the aesthetic principles utilized by the artists. The writing style of these anthropologists is also instructive. Reichard, for example, is not the omniscient narrator in her monograph; she is the apprentice-artist learning from master weavers (Richard 1934). Changing her position and point of view relative to the objects being studied changed the way Reichard understood and interpreted the process. Her work is not only more interesting but more productive because of her apprentice-artist/ anthropologist position. Bill Holm, Curator Emeritus of the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, discusses artistic involvement (1993:8):

> My own experience over the years as a researcher, teacher and craftsman has led me to believe that there is no better way to acquire understanding of an art tradition than to have hands-on experience with the reproduction of the products of that tradition.

As an artist, I am intrigued by the possibility of recognition and translation at the level of artistic involvement. This recognition is precluded if one is concerned only with the object as a finished product (Townsend-Gault 1997, Miller (1998). I approached my fieldwork as both studio artist and anthropologist. My goal, like other anthropologists, was to move between the roles of observing analyst and reflexive participant as both a member of the audience and as an artist.

I have entered the realm of the autobiographical primarily in hopes of indicating why I made certain decisions during the course of my work. An understanding of this decision-making process will help the reader assess the direction of the work, the questions asked and, ultimately, the conclusions I draw. Process although significant unto itself also influences the outcome, whether building the sides of a pot, weaving a

rug, or creating an analysis. Discussing the meaningfulness of process in "Imperfect Translations" (1995), anthropologist Julie Cruikshank documents the life history of Tlingit and Tagish storyteller, grandmother, and artist Mrs. Kitty Smith. Mrs. Smith referred to her work as a creative act. For her, it was the production of the object not the end product that had meaning in her daily life. "Her carvings are not discrete 'things' but one part of a tradition she used to engage with the world around her" (Cruikshank 1995:35).[17] It is the idea of engagement that reoccurs throughout this analysis.

Intellectual and ethnographic work are creative processes. As students, we assume that because we are armed with a scientific method, the theories of our disciplinary forefathers[18] and the counsels of our academic mentors we will become successful, contributing members of the community. We are reminded by philosopher Cornell West (1993:88) in *Poetic Thought in Postmodern Times* that:

> [W]hat Foucault and Said do speak to directly is the possibility of doing intellectual work in a world full of so much social misery and loss of social hope that we can justify ourselves as making significant contributions. Because none of us can actually justify our pursuit of the life of the mind on sheer hedonistic grounds . . . there's got to be some moral and political grounds to this vocation.

---

[17]Historian Charlotte Townsend-Gault (1988:33) in "Kwakiutl Ready-mades?" argues that food vessels, for example "shift back and forth between functional object and spiritual representations, culturally meaningful as both. They are physically, and conceptually ambiguous." See R. Anderson (1993) "Art That Really Matters" for a discussion of the use of Inuit songs to settle disputes. Review Clifford's (1989) account of Tlingit elders using old songs to talk about current disputes over resources.

[18]In academia, it is men who are most often the quoted experts. For a discussion of the citation process as a gendered social practice see Behar (1993) "Women Writing Culture: Another Telling of the Story of American Anthropology," Lutz (1990) "The Erasure of Women's Writing in Sociocultural Anthropology," and Visweswaren (1988) "Defining Feminist Ethnography."

Having said this, I found myself fearful of standing "out there" all alone. Could I do justice to the endeavor, make a meaningful contribution? The questions I would pose while critiquing the MIA must be asked of my work. The questions must be the same; we are engaged in similar intellectual projects, albeit at very different levels of magnitude. What I offer is an analysis informed by the critical social theories of Max Weber (1949 [1904]), in particular his position that all knowledge of cultural reality is knowledge from a particular point of view which is limited, partial, and selected by the observer based on the values the observer has about what is a culturally significant action and/or event. Museums perform significant services for the community and provide unique experiences for the individual. For some the experience is "full of awe and wonder," for others "moving and emotional" and still others "hard to take it all in" (Visitor Interviews). Collectively, museums have come to represent heritage, history, and the arts. In a secular world, they care for and make meaningful those things that many believe make us human.

The Imprint of an Image - Overview of the Data

The aim of this study is to examine how cultural representations are constructed by bringing together data from the institution and the audience paying particular attention to those viewers whose history and culture was on display. Institutional data includes the exhibit catalog, a plan view map of the exhibit provided by the MIA (Figure 1.1 and end of this Chapter), didactic information and interviews with the curators. Audience data includes exhibit comment books, student interviews and essays, classroom discussions,

and exit interviews with visitors. Finally, my own viewing experience as a member of the audience is also addressed. Acknowledgment must be given Evan M. Maurer, Director and CEO of the MIA, who provided me complete access to the institution for the express purpose of doing this study.

Institutional Data: The Exhibit Catalog

Every one of the 309 art objects displayed in the exhibit *Visions of the People* is also pictured in the exhibit catalog[19] along with an artistic and/or cultural description. Catalog information was transferred to a database program. The use of a database allowed me to look for patterns; it also protects against an unconscious search for those themes, which I, as a researcher, might wish to find (Lutz and Collins 1993). Statistical data used in this study does not represent formal hypothesis testing. I utilized the database to describe and record each art object displayed in the exhibit. Objects are recorded by: 1) title; 2) type of object; 3) tribal affiliation; 4) presumed use; 5) artist's name (if known); 6) materials used in construction; 7) date of manufacture; 8) display location within the exhibit; 9) museum attributed gender associations; 10) collector; 11) current owner; and 12) author of each catalog synopsis. Categories used to record objects in the database are the same as those the MIA used in its catalog. This study makes use of both quantitative and qualitative analysis.

[19]This is in marked contrast to most exhibit catalogs that reproduce selected items from a show.

Institutional Data: Interviews

I carried out extensive interviews with the exhibits' curators, Evan M. Maurer and Louise Lincoln, and intern Joe Horse Capture.[20] Multiple interviews were conducted with each curator. All interviews were carried out at the MIA. I also maintained an on-going conversation about this project with one of the curators for over a year. Ojibwe and Dakota members of the advisory board were also consulted about their participation in program planning for the exhibit.[21]

Audience Response

Response in both American Indian and non-Indian communities is assessed by examining: 1) comment books from the exhibit in which visitors wrote their responses after leaving the exhibit; 2) questionnaires and interviews with teenage students and their instructors whose high school class attended the show;[22] 3) exit interviews with visitors after viewing the show;[23] 4) locally and nationally published reviews of the exhibit; 5) articles, editorials, and letters to the editor published in the *Circle* and the *Star Tribune*; and 6) my own viewing experience.

---

[20]Joseph is the son of George P. Horse Capture, A'ani (Gros Ventre) scholar who established and developed the American Indian Art Museum located in the Buffalo Bill Historical Center complex, Cody, Wyoming. George is currently Deputy Assistant Director for Cultural Resources at the National Museum of the American Indian.

[21]My involvement in this project was suggested and encouraged by art historian Ron Libertus (Ojibwe), who acted as consultant to the exhibit and who has continued to be helpful as the project developed.

[22]See Appendix A for Student Questionnaire.

[23]See Appendix C for Visitor Questionnaire.

Audience Data: Comment Books

Comment Books were available to visitors as they exited the show although the museum staff did not direct visitors toward the Books. Therefore the Comment Books represent the reactions of a particular self-selected group of people.[24] The show was well attended and often times crowed. Unless a visitor was specifically looking for the Comment Books or saw others writing in them, the Books were past by unnoticed. Visitors would have needed prior experience with museum comment books to be aware of their existence (Visitor Interview). Moreover, while individual curators and museum workers did read the comment books, they did not use them in any systematic way as an evaluation tool and certainly not as a basis for understanding how the audience related to, rejected and/or internalized the narrative presented in the exhibit (Staff Interviews).

Audience Data: Student Interviews

One week following their visit to the MIA, I interviewed twenty-six students, 11th and 12th graders from Washburn High School, who had attended the show. Washburn is an integrated, inner city, Minneapolis public high school. All twenty-six students filled out a Student Questionnaire (Appendix B) and participated in a classroom discussion. To frame the discussion, I asked students to view a slide show put together by the MIA for *Visions of the People*.[25] In the discussion that followed, students talked about their responses to both the exhibit and to individual objects in the exhibit. I know one of the

[24] The Comment Books further presumed that you could read and write in English.

[25]Appendix D lists the title, catalog number, and description of each object in the slide presentation.

students quite well.[26] She and four of her friends agreed to a late lunch after class where we continued to discuss the exhibit.

I also read and evaluated twenty essays written by students involved in the MIA's educational outreach program. Student permission was given to read them without the name suppressed so that I was able to determine the gender identity of most of the writers, although I did not record student names. Based on students' self-identification of ethnicity, the classroom discussion group included three American Indian, three Asian American, seven African-American, and thirteen white students (Table 1.1). Half the students were female and half were male. Ethnicity and its affect on viewer response were addressed in both the Student Questionnaire (Appendix B) and the lunch discussion.

Table 1.1 Gender and Ethnicity of Student Responsents

	Female	Male	Total
African-American	3	4	7
American Indian	2	1	3
Asian-American	2	1	3
White	6	7	13
Total	13	13	26

Audience Data: Exit Interviews

My primary goals were to illuminate the personal responses of visitors to the exhibit and to allow for a situation where the complexities of their experiences could be articulated. For this, open-ended questions and an unstructured informal format were the

[26]It was this relationship that provided me access to Washburn faculty and students.

logical choice.[27] Langness and Frank (1981) argue that an unstructured format helps to ensure that the images and ideas figuring into people's responses are ones drawn from individuals' own experiences. Such a format helped me avoid suggesting particular images or subjects to be discussed. Forty-nine visitors agreed to an exit interview. Except for the curators, who are already publicly associated with the exhibit, all interviews were anonymous; no names or identifying information was recorded,

Visitors to the MIA exhibit were approached upon exiting the show. Some visitors avoided contact with me altogether while others were curious about my presence. There was no correlation between avoidance and ethnicity nor was there a correlation between curiosity and ethnicity, although there was a correlation between avoidance and class affiliation. The only people who openly declined to speak with me were upper middle-class white people, whose class affiliation was deduced from their speech and dress.

My choice of individuals to approach was not innocent; I was after a diversity of responses. Knowing that the time of day (afternoon vs. evening) and the day of the week (weekday vs. weekend) will tend to draw different kinds of audiences (singles vs. families, old vs. young, employed vs. unemployed), I decided to conduct interviews on Thursday evenings, and Tuesday, Saturday, and Sunday afternoons. My interviews do not represent a random sample.

[27]See Appendix C for Visitor Questionnaire.

Given the ethnic[28] make-up of Minneapolis, which is 77.9 per cent white,[29] the majority of visitors to the show were also white. To compensate for this ethnic asymmetry, I approached anyone whose visual appearance or speech pattern indicated that they were either foreign-born, non-white, and/or from out-of-state. Some people identified themselves as American Indian others did not. This would have been volunteered information since the Visitor Questionnaire did not ask about age, ethnicity, or gender. Furthermore, ethnicity cannot always be correctly identified based on physical characteristics. In other words, not all of the white-appearing respondents may have been white. Therefore, the following ethnic breakdown (Table 1.2) may be skewed. Of the forty-nine people interviewed, possibly twenty-four of the respondents were white, thirteen American Indian, four African-American, five unknown, and three respondents, all from the same family, were self-identified as Chicano.[30] Age categories reflected in Table 1.2 are an approximation made by this author. Gender is also assumed. Both age and gender assignments were based on visual appearance.

---

[28]Following Andrew Hacker (1992), the word ethnic is used here to denote an historical rather than biological construct. Ethnicity is sometimes used to indicate irreducible cultural or linguistic differences. Used thus, it suggests that differences are biological and therefore natural rather than viewing differences as the outcome of particular historic processes where ethnicity is an emergent and shifting category.

[29]According to the 1990 U.S. Census Figures the population of Minneapolis is 368,383. Ethnic breakdown: 12.9% African American, 4.2% Asian American, 3.3% American Indian, 2.2% Hispanic, and .9% Other. The category "Other" included people who defined themselves as "multiracial," "bi-racial," or "inter-racial."

[30]This family had originally come to view a less highly publicized exhibit of Chicano artists organized for the Quincentennial. They came to *Visions* to see how the two shows compared. It was their opinion that the Chicano exhibit consisted almost entirely of contemporary art focusing on areas of conflict - racism, religion, and identity. By contrast, they felt that *Visions* was about the past and did not point up areas of current conflict and/or concerns of American Indian people.

Table 1.2 Age, Ethnicity, and Gender of Visitor Respondents

	Women			Men		Children	Total
	Young 15-29	Middle Age 30-50	Older >50	Young 15-29	Middle Age 30-50		
African-American	1	1	~	1	1	~	4
American Indian	3	3	1	2	2	2	13
Chicano	~	1	~	~	1	1	3
white	3	9	3	2	4	3	24
unknown	1	1	~	2	1	~	5
Total	8	15	4	7	9	6	49

Approximately one-third of those interviewed responded in writing to the Visitor Questionnaire (Appendix C). One-third both answered the questionnaire and spoke with me. One-third wanted only to talk while I recorded their responses. People in the last two groups also asked me questions. Many wanted to know if the MIA had hired me to do this research while others sought to engage me in dialogue by asking my opinion of the exhibit. At different times the number of discussants expanded to include docents. Particularly when visitors criticized the exhibit, individual docents would join the discussion and defend the institution. The issue that most often elicited a response from docents was the criticism that the exhibit lacked representation of women.

While no two interviews were the same, in every instance I clearly described the purpose of my work, the purpose of their interview, the ways in which their interview would be used and the potential audience for my work. Individual interviews lasted anywhere from 15-45 minutes. Eight people indicated they would be willing to be contacted for a follow-up interview. I was able to reach five of these individuals; follow-up discussions lasted from 30 minutes to 2 hours.

Audience Data: Print Media

A series of newspaper articles and positive reviews of the exhibit were published in the *Circle* and the *Star Tribune*. Both newspapers carried articles, editorials, and letters to the editor regarding the exhibit as well as controversy surrounding the display of calumets/pipes and the museum's decision to remove them from the exhibit. I used newspapers and magazines to gauge the general response to the exhibit, in both American Indian and non-Indian communities.

Audience Data: Personal Viewing Experience

I viewed the entire show six times. My initial visit took in both the blessing ceremony and the opening reception. I then viewed the exhibit once unaided, once with an audio taped narrator, once with a group of museum members led by a docent, and once with a friend who is not an anthropologist. I also accompanied a group of students from a "Plains Indian Art" course offered by the MIA in tandem with the exhibit. This group of seventeen women and three men was primarily middle-class, middle age, and white. Seven individuals in the group were non-professional art collectors.

Topographical Mapping

This study takes as its starting point the position that museums, anthropological as well as fine art, construct their display and interpretation of American Indian art objects within a cultural framework. Since museums engaged in cultural representation tend to utilize anthropological models, understanding the contemporary critique of anthropology is relevant to an understanding of museum practice. This critique is developed in the next

chapter, Chapter 2. Chapter 3 presents a brief overview of the history of museums. Focusing on the MIA in particular, I consider how the museum legitimizes its authority to represent the social reality of American Indian peoples. Chapter 4 considers the process by which objects have come to reside in museums, detailing the limitations of collections when used for the purposes of cultural interpretation. I then discuss the significance and the authority of objects displayed in an institutional setting. Chapter 5 investigates the literary images and cultural constructions used by the MIA to describe/inscribe American Indian peoples their histories and cultures by examining the introductory essays produced for the *Visions of the People* catalog authored by the curator. I then consider how an exhibit is constructed by examining the interpretive models employed in museum display. Chapter 6 details the major themes and key features that visually structured and organized the exhibit. This is done by analyzing each of the galleries that made up the show. The collective imagery brought together in each gallery established a series of vignettes that contributed to the overall narrative developed by the exhibit. Since no exhibit can tell all, the absence of particular objects and ideas and the silence generated by their absence is informative and is analyzed in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 concludes this study by offering a discussion of alternative narratives developed by tribal museums and collaborative exhibits.

Having provided an overview of my intentions, it is important to point out that this case study fills a second, although less prominent, gap in the literature. While art and artifact exhibits are routinely reviewed, critiqued, and criticized from every perspective imaginable, each of these evaluations tends to be organized around a predominant

analytical focus. Individual exhibits tend not to be examined from multiple analytical perspectives. The strength of a multi-dimensional approach utilized in this case study is in its' ability to concretely and thoroughly interrogate multiple ideas and practices associated with cultural issues - issues of authority, authenticity, otherness, and representation. The interrogation of these particular ideas and practices not only has academic relevancy but also is also capable of establishing a "clearer understanding of the importance that images of Indians in popular culture have in determining the quality of the lived experience of American Indian people" (Shanley 2001:29).

A Return to the Object, the Subject and the Self

> Yves Coppens, professor at the Musée de l'Homme, took me on a tour of the museum's innards. I held the skull of Descartes and our mutual ancestor, the old man of Cro-Magnon. I also found Broca's brain, resting on a shelf surrounded by other bell jars holding the brains of illustrious scientific contemporaries - all white and all male. The area just above this shelf holds Broca's collection of anatomical parts . . . severed heads from New Caledonia, an illustration of foot binding - yes, a bound foot and lower leg. And, on the shelf just above the brains . . . in three small jars, I saw the dissected genitalia of three women labeled *une négresse, une péruvienne*, and *la Vénus Hottentotte* . . . George Cuvier had dissected Sartje (The Hottentot Venus) upon her death in Paris late in 1815.
>
> Stephen Jay Gould "The Hottentot Venus" [1982:20]

This situation highlights the major contradictions that confront people who create cultural representations. Gould's report tells us that in 1815, a prominent white, male, European scientist felt that it was well within ethical professional pursuits to dissect the genitalia of an immigrant, African-born woman. After all, she was deemed to be a unique addition to the collection. The scientist saw this as a legitimate scientific

undertaking. Further, a most distinguished museum, as recently as 1982, felt that it was reasonable to continue to preserve various and sundry body parts in their collection. Both the scientist and the curator of collections were acting out of their own cultural understandings of what is reasonable and responsible behavior. However, three issues make this situation problematic yet worthy of attention. First, people tend to act based on the belief that their own worldview is good, proper and right; the scientist, for example believes in positivism and universal criteria. Second, in both situations the power to make the final decision was not shared; body parts cannot resist or engage in dissent. Finally, even if objections existed the scientist and the curator may have still made the same decisions; consider the history of NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act) and the repatriation of human remains or the long-standing dispute over the Elgin Marbles. The problematic nature of Gould's example can be generalized to my own study. As a result, I hope to respond critically yet constructively to the issues faced by these whose work I intend to examine.[31]

Understanding how people formulate their reality is a complicated and complex matter. Therefore, I do not claim that mine are the only possible interpretations, nor would subsequent interpretations necessarily be mutually exclusive. My interest is inspired by the legacy of Franz Boas, "one of the first anthropologists to use the words 'beauty' and 'art' in connection with the creative works of other peoples" (Newton 1981:9

[31]Since the publication of Gould's article, Saartjie (Sartje) Baartman's remains have been repatriated to South Africa where she was buried by her relatives. For a discussion of Ms. Baartman's life including her autopsy, see Gilman (1985: 214-15) in addition to Gould (1982).

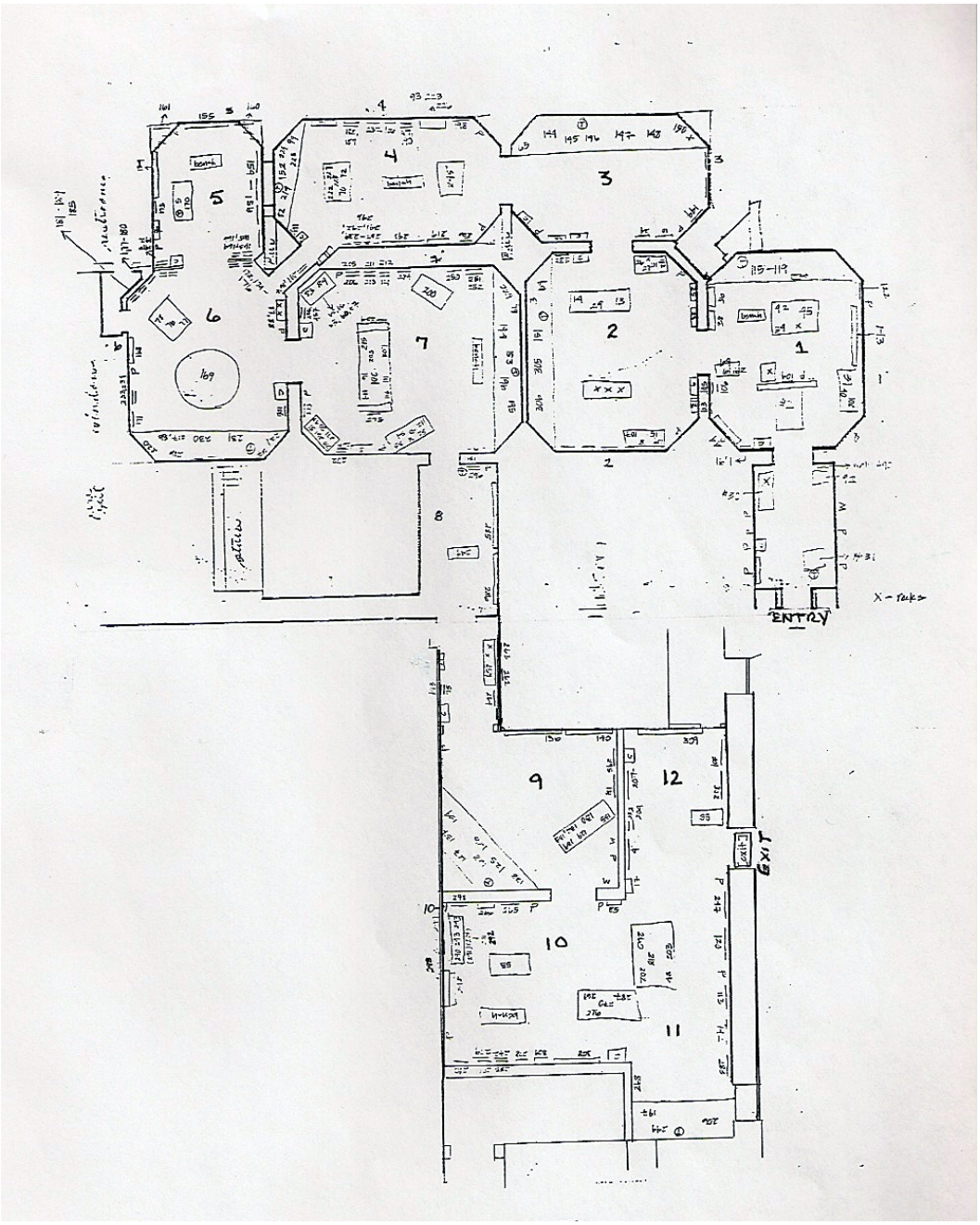
cited in Ames 1992:71).[32] It is my hope that I remain faithful to the spirit of critique set forth by anthropologist Michael Ames:

> It is typically easier to see what should be done which requires a judgment; than to get it done, which requires a more extensive analysis of the situation and a marshaling of support. The objective, then, is not simply to criticize museums but also to attempt to locate them within their social, political, and economic context.
>
> *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes* (1992:5)

Figure 1.1
Plan View Map of *Visions of the People* exhibit - Next Page

[32]At first gloss, this sentiment may seem patronizing and possibly racist until we remember that Boas' legacy also includes his participation in the fight against eugenics, his collaboration with W.E.B. Dubois, Ella Deloria, and Zora Neale Hurston. For a balanced and insightful discussion of Boas and Boas-bashing see H. Lewis (2001) "The Passion of Franz Boas," F. Harrison (1992) "The Du Boisean Legacy."

Figure 1.1
Plan View Map of *Visions of the People* exhibit (Blueprint: MIA).
Minneapolis Institute of Art, Minneapolis, Minnesota.



Chapter 2

CONSTRUCTIONS

> With each telling in the present the original is transformed, for the past is never just recalled; it is always constructed . . . old stories are never just stored in memory nor are they ever really recoverable, for they change with each telling. We can recover the words of the story but never the same context or the prior interpretation, if only because the world has changed and we are different. There are no authentic originals, only a process of authentication.
>
> Edward M. Bruner, "Epilogue" [1993:331]

The inability in recent decades maintain a stable body of objective knowledge that would provide 'timeless truths' with which to order the world and our lives has produced much discomfort. It has also produced an abundance of social theories collectively referred to as post-modernism. This label brings together a number of social theorists whose work has been readily incorporated into contemporary cultural and literary analysis. Widely divergent in many respects, post-modernist theories share three basic and interrelated propositions. First, they assert that the representation of reality comes about through social interactions located in institutions. Second, post-modernist theories maintain that as a source of power, institutions are sites of conflict, coercion, and negotiation where power is contested, subverted, and legitimated. Third, post-modernist theories incorporate the idea that assertions of power rarely go uncontested.[33]

---

[33]Theory also rarely goes uncontested. Anthropologist Susan Gal in (1991:177) "Between Speech and Silence" suggests that post-modernist theory lacks "a concept of gender as a structure of social relations (separate from class or ethnicity)." For a fuller discussion of current debates in feminist anthropology see *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge* (1991a) di Leonardo (ed).

By re-evaluating Western representations of the Other,[34] post-modernist discourse challenges the major legitimating narratives that have shaped the modernist values, beliefs, and practices of the West.[35] Furthermore, post-modernist discourse serves as a reminder that the economic, political, and cultural influences of Western institutions have repeatedly been challenged and/or subverted throughout the modern era, both at home and abroad. Therefore, as highly valued and authoritative institutions that produce major cultural narratives, museums are often the sites of contested representation.

Museums are historically situated institutions whose power stems from their authority to reproduce and interpret the stories we tell about ourselves to ourselves,[36] as well as the stories we tell about others (Geertz 1983b). In its role as storyteller, museum practice has been one of simultaneously constructing a definition of self and other. Struggles at contested sites like museums are over political questions, in particular, who will have the role of telling these stories as well as how those stories will be told (Bruner 1993). The following discussion reviews the anthropological critique of representation

---

[34]For a discussion of the philosophical creation of the devalued marginalized Other see de Beauvoir (1953) *The Second Sex*, Diamond (1974) *In Search of the Primitive*, and Memmi (1967) *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. See McGrane (1989) *Beyond Anthropology: Society and the Other* for a history of European conceptions of difference from the16th to the 20th century. See also Trouillot (1991) "Anthropology and the Savage Slot."

[35]See Jurgin Habermas (1983) "Modernity - An Incomplete Project" and (1987) *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*. For a discussion of modernity and museums see Walsh (1992) *The Representation of the Past.*

[36]This is the inclusive "we" but with specific cultural applications. "The stories we tell about ourselves" is a phenomenon that operates in many diverse cultural situations. For example, it operates at the MIA as well as the recently established National Museum of the American Indian [NMAI] (W. West 1994). It operates through the Nigerian National Commission for Museums and Monuments (Kaplan 1994a) as well as at the tribally run Makah Cultural Research Center in Neah Bay, Washington (King 1986:71).

and establishes that these shifts in social analysis have affected both anthropology and the models employed by museums. This study draws upon postmodern concerns with cultural authority as well as the critiques offered by feminist anthropologists, and American Indian scholars and artists. Finally, this work is tempered by the practice orientation of particular political theorists.

Theoretical Dialogue

Major developments in anthropological theory since the 1960s have been pivotal in the construction of an anthropological critique of representation. Four theoretical developments are relevant to this discussion. They include: 1) the historicizing of the field and its subject matter; 2) the evaluation of gender, race and class as both analytical and interpretive categories; 3) the examination of fieldwork method and theory - addressing the issues of who does fieldwork and how is it done; and 4) the exploration of the written product of fieldwork - ethnography - who writes it, how it is written and finally, how it is received by those being written about. Broadly speaking, while not wholly post-modern in character, these major theoretical developments in anthropology converge with a post-modern perspective in many respects.

Post-modernist theory and its subsequent influence did not develop in a vacuum but represents an awareness of and a response to a cumulative series of international historic events. According to anthropologist Renato Rosaldo (1989) in *Culture and Truth*, the political movements of the 1960s and 70s represented large-scale opposition to

institutionalized political power.[37] These movements both demanded and created an understanding that put the history and experience of marginalized people at the center of social analysis. Institutionalized intellectual power was also challenged. Therefore, it is within a political context that the reshaping of anthropology can be seen in *Re-inventing Anthropology* (Hymes, ed. 1969).[38] *This volume* was followed closely by Talal Asad's (1973) edited volume *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* that examines the history of anthropological research emerging out of colonial situations. Literary scholar Edward Said (1978) entered the discussion by challenging the ways Western scholars have represented non-Western societies. Said's *Orientalism* (1978) prompted serious and sometimes furious discussion. In an analysis of knowledge and power, Said (1978, 1989) argues that, as a form of knowledge, Western representations of the Other served to justify colonialism. As a major producer of cultural representations, anthropology like museums has become a site for contested authority.

Several authors have analyzed how anthropologists have constructed their representations. Writing from a world-systems perspective, Eric Wolf (1982) in *Europe and the People Without a History* undermines the functionalist notion of societies as

---

[37]Political movements of this period include international liberation struggles in Africa and Latin America. Major movements in the U.S. were organized around civil rights, anti-war efforts, the United Farm Workers fight for unionization, the demands for sovereignty and self-determination articulated by the American Indian Movement (AIM), and efforts to pass the ERA (Equal Rights Amendment) spearheaded by the feminist movement.

[38]As a contributor to this volume, Wolf (1969:251-263) traces "a continuous thread in Anthropology: the legacy of unconcern with the phenomena of state power" (cited in di Leonardo 1998:78).

integrated and bounded systems separated from one another.[39] Wolf (1982) demonstrates that the ethnographic focus on social relations rather than political economy helped to write people into the ethnographic present, which, in turn, produced "a people without history."[40] Described in the ethnographic present, change, innovation and creativity were denied the subjects of anthropology.

Responding to anthropology's androcentric representations, Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere's edited volume *Woman Culture and Society* (1974) attempts to broaden anthropological conceptions of social life. Contributors to the volume argue that women, like men, are social actors within a power structure who employ political strategies to achieve desired goals. The focus on women's actions was a challenge to traditional ethnography, which had tended to be about what men do or about women from the perspective of men.[41] Focusing on specific challenges that feminist theory poses to anthropology are two volumes, *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality* (Ortner and Whitehead, eds. 1981) and *Women and Colonialism: Anthropological Perspectives* (Mora Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, eds. 1980). While developing different arguments and arriving at differing conclusions, both

---

[39]For critical reading of *Europe and the People Without a History* see Roseberry (1989:125-144).

[40]Bernard Cohn (1987) examines anthropology and history as forms of knowledge embedded in the experiences of Europe. He argues that these disciplines have contributed to an understanding of the construction of the nation state in Europe and the colonial systems dominating other parts of the world.

[41]For an early discussion of the androcentric assumptions of anthropological theory see Slocum (1975) "Woman the Gatherer: Male Bias in Anthropology."

volumes examine questions of egalitarianism by considering the issues of prestige/status, autonomy, and power.[42]

Herrietta Moore documents feminist research in *Feminism and Anthropology* (1988), where she discusses ethnographic and theoretical work that reconceptualizes social organization and uncovers/recovers whole arenas of activity performed by women. The significance of reconceptualizing social organization cannot be overstated. When women are understood as social actors in every cultural arena - political, economic, social and religious - then all prior analysis must be interrogated and reformulated. Further, to reconceptualize social organization affects not only the interpretation of cultural observations from the field but it also affects how those observations are made. In a related discussion, Keesing (1985b) in "Kwaio Women Speak" suggests that the field worker's gender matters to women in the field.

Ethnography and therefore "fieldwork as a way of human learning" (Gudeman and Rivera 1990:3) has been cultural anthropology's most significant and unique contribution to social theory. Ortner (1984) in "Theory in Anthropology Since the Sixties" looked at developments in anthropology and defined the central project of social theory as one that would account for the relationship between social structure and individual agency.[43] While she examined different approaches, the overriding similarity among them was the proposition that people are agents and subjects in their own

---

[42]For a concise review of the anthropological literature on gender viewed cross-culturally see Brettell and Sargent (eds. 1997) and Ortner (1990).

[43]For a more recent formulation of these issues see Borofsky, ed. (1999).

history.[44] Social theory that foregrounds agency disputes the essentializing imagery of people as child-like victims of colonialism. While acknowledging the affects of colonialism this approach draws attention to the ways in which people have resisted, subverted, and altered colonial practice.[45]

Ethnography as Text

Anthropology has often operated as a cultural critique of the West (Rosaldo 1989). The difficulties of working in world where "hitherto marginalized groups [of people] can name themselves, speak for themselves, and participate in defining the terms of the interaction" (Hartsock 1987:189) may help explain the intense effort of anthropologists to critique their own practice. Geertz (1973) employs the metaphor of ethnography as "text" as he examines the writing styles of particular anthropologists. By bringing metaphors of literary criticism into the discussion ethnographies become historical documents to be read and shifts the discussion to the authority of the author.[46]

---

[44]Ortner (1984) sites Bourdieu, Foucault, and Giddens as influencing the action-oriented approach in anthropology, however, Fredrik Barth (1966, 1967) should be added to this list.

[45]On the subject of resistance and people as agents in their own history see Dirks (1992) *Colonialism and Culture*; Dirks, Eley, and Ortner (eds. 1994) *Culture/Power/History*; Guha (1983b) *"The Prose of Counter-Insurgency*;" Mohanty, Russo, and Torres (eds. 1991) *Third World and the Politics of Feminism*; Ong (1987) Spirits *of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline*; Scott (1988) *Gender and the Politics of History*; and Spivak (1987) *In Other Worlds*.

[46]This analytical shift maintains the privileged position of the author, albeit in a round about way. For a discussion of this process see Jaffe (1993) "Involvement, Detachment, and Representation on Corsica," Polier and Roseberry (1989) "Tristes tropes: post-modern anthropologists encounter the other and discover themselves," and VanMaanen (1988) *Tales of the Field*. See Handelman (1993) "The Absence of Others, the Presence of Texts," Kapfer (1988) "The Anthropologist as Hero" on the masking of the ethnographer's voice, and Friedman (1988) "Comment" on the appropriated voice.

Several important critics investigate the construction of ethnographic authority and anthropological models of cultural representation.[47] George E. Marcus and Michael M.J. Fischer in their influential book *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (1986) base their discussion on the premise that the world is currently conceived quite differently than it was when ethnographic practice was first established. It is within this context that they examine how anthropologists have represented the social reality of others. Marcus and Fischer suggest that innovations in ethnography have generated cultural models of representation that include multiple points of view in the text. James Clifford and George E. Marcus' (1986) edited volume *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Cultural Representation* uses textual and literary analysis to examine the construction of ethnographic texts and the rhetorical devices authors use to establish their authority.[48] As a counterpoint, some contributors to this volume highlighted examples of cultural accounts they felt incorporated multiple perspectives. In *Works and Lives: the Anthropologist as Author* (1988) Geertz also pursues the issue of ethnographic authority by examining the models of ethnographic representation utilized by different authors.

---

[47]The critique of anthropology developed by many of these authors is informed by the work of the following critical social theorists: Gramsci's work (1971) on the historically situated cultural dimensions of power and the concept of "cultural hegemony;" Bourdieu's (1977) ideas of symbolic domination; Eagleton (1983); Foucault (1977, 1980) on subjugated knowledge; Giddens (1979) challenges to positivism; Lyotard (1984 [1979]) on authority and the end of meta-narratives; White (1973,1978) on history and meta-narrative, (1987) on historical representation; and Williams (1973) on Marxist theories of opposition, emergence and resistance. The project that links these theorists is an investigation of the sociology of knowledge.

[48]For a feminist critique of the "ethnography-as-text" writers see Caplan (1988) “Engendering Knowledge” and di Leonardo (1991b) "Introduction: Gender, Culture, and Political Economy."

Discovering a Position

A critique of the rhetorical devices and cultural models used to construct a text presupposes an author. Marcus and Fischer (1986) discuss the ideological self-positioning of the researcher. Cornel West (1993:144) puts it this way:

> Now, when we make the shift to refection about (others), we begin by reflecting on where we are and what authorizes the claims that we make about (others). Why? Because we know that we, (as academicians) are socially distant from the very object that we are constituting as an object of investigation . . . Now it means then, where are we socially? Where are we culturally? What kinds of values and sensibilities have shaped our socialization given where we come from?

Clifford (1988) in *The Predicament of Culture* suggests that the values and sensibilities of the author will reveal themselves in the text because political assumptions are built into particular writing styles. Continuing the analysis of ethnographic authority he considers issues of power and resistance by examining the ways in which particular representations achieve their authority. He then discusses specific ways in which indigenous people have resisted colonial representations of themselves. Pierre Bourdieu (1977) in *An Outline of a Theory of Practice* offers another perspective as he considers the construction of knowledge. He suggests that the social position of the anthropologist, that of the observer, tends to privilege particular ideas since knowledge depends on ones' viewpoint. According to Bourdieu, to be the observer affects how one understands and interprets practice, moreover, it is the distance between the observer and practice that has encouraged anthropologists to constitute practice as an object of observation, as a spectacle, a representation. Bourdieu asserts that this distance cannot be eliminated but instead the observer's position should also be analyzed as a particular kind of practice.

"Native" Anthropology

A discussion of anthropological text production (ethnography) calls into question other issues related to just who is producing the text. Initially, the discussion assumed the fieldwork model of the lone researcher and the debate centered on the relative merits of the "insider" versus "outsider" anthropologist.[49] The complexities of this issue were cogently argued by Delmos J. Jones, as early as 1970 in "Towards a Native Anthropology," and Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney (1984) in "Native Anthropologist." Jones concluded that the advantage of an "insider" anthropologist is that she/he may question certain theories because their own identity is at stake. On the other hand, although the "outsider" anthropologist brings to the field certain unquestioned assumptions, the "insider" based on "his [or her] own sentiments and desire [to do] what is good for his [or her] people . . . may distort the truth as much as the outsider" (Jones 1970:256).

Anthropologists Stephen Gudeman and Alberto Rivera (1990) in *Conversations in Columbia* discuss collaborative fieldwork. As researchers from differing backgrounds - one from Columbia, one from the United States - working in the Andes of Columbia, they had to come to terms with these differences:

> More often than we would like to admit, each of us had missed something the other had heard, or heard the 'same thing' differently. . One of us knew 'Columbian culture' from growing up in it; yet this knowledge only came to be voiced when the other did not fully

[49]Many people have contributed to this discussion, see Aguilar (1981); Chilungu (1976); Fahim (1977, 1980); Hau'ofa (1975); Jules-Rosette (1978); Kim (1990); Limo_ (1991; Maruyama (1974); and Medicine (1989a). For an international discussion of the insider/outsider dilemma as experienced by indigenous anthropologists from around the world see Caroline B. Brettell (1993b:14-16) "Introduction: Fieldwork, Text, and Audience."

> understand a word usage or practice in the field . . . the drawing out and use of personal knowledge led us to wonder whether anthropology might not be nearly impossible for the single foreign researcher, who could never fill out the cultural connections . . . and also whether it might not be impossible for the "native" for whom phrase and explanation was too familiar to require conscious explication. [1990:6-7]

The question of "insider" versus "outsider" is not as straightforward as some would have it. Kirin Narayan (1993) in "How Native is a 'Native' Anthropologist?" argues against a fixed distinction between "native" and "non-native" anthropologist, a distinction that she maintains is a function of colonialism. Similar to Abu-Lughod (1991), Narayan (1993:671) proposes "a view of each anthropologist in terms of shifting identifications amid a field of interpenetrating communities and power relations." Narayan (1993) describes her personal experience as "multiplex identity," where personal identity spans racial, ethnic, or cultural groups.[50] "Factors such as education, gender, class, or sexual orientation . . . may at different times outweigh the cultural identity we associate with insider or outsider status" (Narayan 1993:672). The issue is not to figure out who is an "authentic indigenous anthropologist" (Fahim et al 1980) but "to examine the ways in which each of us is situated in relation to the people we study" (Narayan 1993:678). Following the work of Maquet (1964) and Haraway (1988) she concludes that all knowledge is situated, negotiated, and viewed from a particular social-political location, that is, from a partial perspective. This partial perspective holds true for all observers (Haraway 1988).

---

[50]For a discussion of identity as multiple and mediated see S. Hall (1989); and Kondo (1986, 1990).

"Native" Anthropologists

American Indian anthropologists have consistently analyzed the way in which anthropology constructs its object although their work has oftentimes gone unheeded. Two years prior to the publication of Asad's (1973) *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, Alfonso Ortiz (Tewa) in "An Indian Anthropologist's Perspective on Anthropology," (1971) defined the relationship between anthropology and American Indian people as being rooted in colonialism. Bea Medicine (Lakota) in "The Anthropologist as Image Maker," also published in 1971, discusses how descriptions of American Indian life are written in the ethnographic present.[51] She concludes that this representation poses American Indian people in historically static positions producing a history that consists of "before - and - after snapshots" of American Indian life (Medicine 1971:29). Like Ortiz, Medicine's publication date is before both Wolf (1982) and Fabian (1983). Whose voices get recognized, heard, and then acted on by being brought into the larger debate within the discipline is a process that demands critical reflection.

Michael Dorris (Modoc) in "Indians on the Shelf" (1987) discusses the white construction of the Indian Other as a set of beliefs about Indianness that has been accepted as truth. This representation depends on the conviction that the West holds a monopoly on logic, science, and the interpretation of reality by which the truth will be uncovered. Although differing in some respects, Dorris' analysis dovetails with that of the post-modernists for he asserts that "to admit that other culturally divergent

[51]See Johannes Fabian (1983) *Time and the Other* for a detailed discussion of the construction of the ethnographic present. See also Stephen Kern (1983) *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* for a discussion of Western views of time and space.

interpretations are equally plausible is to cast doubt on the monolithic center of western beliefs" (Dorris 1987:102). Published only a year later than Marcus and Fischer (1986), Dorris is rarely cited when anthropologists discuss representation. Taken together, the lack of response to Ortiz, Medicine, and Dorris is an example of what Harrison describes as anthropology's tendency "to relegate the contributions of minorities and women to the status of special interest trivia" (1991b: 6-7). There exist other examples.

Although Said's *Orientalism* (1978) "[rang] a death knell for all authority claimed by the West in representing the rest" (Biersack 1989:96), the concept of a constructed Other was precisely the analysis developed by a number of American Indian scholars presented in *The White Man's Indian*, edited by Robert Berkhofer, also published in 1978. The initial critique delineating the concept of the Indian Other had already been under discussion by historian Vine Deloria, Jr. (Standing Rock Lakota) in *Custer Died For Your Sins* (1969), historian D'Arcy McNickle (Flathead) in "American Indians Who Never Were" (1970), and anthropologist Bea Medicine (Lakota) in "The Anthropologist as Image Maker (1971)." In this article, Medicine directs the reader's attention to the seldom utilized work of Ella Deloria, George Hunt, S. Cramer, and Francis LaFlesche; American Indian people who were "trained as collectors of native texts, folktales, and genealogies . . . and who were major influences in native communities" (1971: 27).[52] There is a question here about whether "native" scholars are accorded intellectual respect

[52]For a discussion of American Indian ethnographers and writers of anthropological texts see Finn (1995) and Medicine (1980) on Ella Deloria (Dakota) and Quintasket [Mourning Dove] (Salish); Jonaitis (1991) on George Hunt (Kwakiutl); Hertzberg (1979) on Arthur C. Parker (Seneca); Liberty (1978) and Mark (1982) on Francis La Fleshe (Omaha); Rideout (1912) on William Jones (Sac and Fox); and Swanton (1983) on John Napoleon Brinton Hewitt (Tuscarora).

or if they are viewed, in some way, as informants, that is, people who are qualified to comment on their own culture, but personal commentary is considered the limit of their expertise (Jones 1970, Medicine 1978). Historical examples may be instructive.

The contributions and work of Ella Deloria (Dakota) and Zora Neale Hurston (African-American), both "native" anthropologists, have been explored by a number of scholars (e.g.Behar 1993; Finn 1993; Medicine 1980, 1989b; Mikell 1989; Murray 1974; Narayan 1993; Obbo 1990; and M. Wallace 1990a). Many of these authors conclude that Deloria and Hurston were often treated as 'native informants' rather than as scholars in their own right. Even though they were both students of Boas, "neither attained academic positions nor, until recently had much of an impact on anthropology" (Behar 1993:317). Ella Deloria's professional career spanned the 1920s to the 1970s. She produced texts on Dakota language, public policy documents, ethnographic accounts of Dakota and Lakota peoples (Finn 1993), as well as the novel, *Waterlily* (1948), a study in kinship drawn from women's experiences. Zora Neale Hurston's anthropological career covered the period 1926 to 1948. She produced work (1936) on African-American folklore, religion, and the role of women. Her ethnographic work on Jamaica and Haiti (1938) included a discussion of colonialism and racism as factors in shaping aspects of culture (Mikell 1983). Ironically, Hurston is better known for her work as a novelist than as an anthropologist. According to Mikell, prior to World War II, "only three Black female anthropologists emerged - Zora Neale Hurston, Irene Diggs, and Catherine Dunham" (1983:33). Marginalization is not unique to anthropology. Referring to the established canon, Toni Morrison (1989:40 quoted in Behar 1993:313) addresses this issue:

> Looking at the scope of American literature, I can't help thinking that the question should never have been "Why am I, an African-American, absent from it?" It is not a particularly interesting query anyway. The spectacularly interesting question is "What intellectual feats had to be performed by the author or his critic to erase my presence and what affect has that performance had on the work?"

The inability of anthropology to fully incorporate the contributions of women of color, in particular, leaves the field vulnerable and lacking the credibility to adequately respond when the work of anthropologists is criticized or challenged.

Political Practice

Renato Rosaldo (1989) in *Culture and Truth* asserts that social analysts must recognize that the objects of analysis are also analyzing subjects who critique anthropological writing, ethics and politics. This position is based on Rosaldo's observation that the multicultural social reality in the U.S. has led to a debate about what counts as important knowledge e.g., what should be included in the cannon.[53] Similar to Rosaldo's discussion of the analyzing subject, Ames' argument (1992) demonstrates that those who have historically been represented in museums not only have a well developed critique but also are demanding the right to interpret and represent themselves. He then considers how this critique has affected the politics of cultural interpretation and the social systems in which anthropology and museums are embedded.

---

[53]See Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (1992) for a critique of the debate surrounding the cannon. For a specific analysis of the cannon in anthropology see Behar (1993, 1995); F.V. Harrison (1991b); Lutz (1990); and Visweswaren (1988). See also Lutz (1995) "The Gender of Theory."

Critique of Post-modernism in Anthropology

Anthropologist Bruce Kapferer has evaluated the changes in ethnographic description with criticisms of some of the newer approaches. In his review (1988) "The Anthropologist as Hero: Three Exponents of Post-Modernist Anthropology" Kapferer agrees with the redirection of the anthropological gaze and sees some usefulness in a theory that illuminates the constructed nature of knowledge. However, he points out that the anthropological record indicates that for many people reality is understood through coherent ideological systems of thought. In other words, the post-modernist attention to the crisis of meaning is not everyone's crisis.

Spencer (1989) in "Anthropology as a Kind of Writing" argues that while serious questions are raised by the authors associated with *Writing Culture*, these authors fail to ask other crucial questions - "who does anthropology, in what context, and to whom are the results available" (Spencer 1989:161; see also Brettel 1993a). Spencer asserts that literary critical theory does not address the practical activity of anthropologists because to do so would require a radical change in anthropological practice:

> If we want to present culture as an area of contest or dispute in which people have different points of view, in which power and politics affect the way in which different people make sense of their world and represent it to others, then we have to employ some sort of practice which allows the historical specificity of ethnographic experience to appear as an integral part of the final analysis. [1989:157]

Lila Abu-Lughod (1990) in "Can There Be a Feminist Ethnography?" argues similarly to Spencer (1989) that the ethnography-as-text critique avoids a basic political issue - "of Western knowers and representers, and non-Western knowns and representeds" (Abu-

Lughod 1990:11, see also Minh-ha 1989). Abu-Lughod challenges the notion of a self/other distinction that is seen as a permanent condition. Rather, she suggests that knowing is a much more complex and fluid process since, like Haraway (1988), she maintains that knowledge is not only partial but it is experienced from a particular point of view.[54] Abu-Lugod rejects a fixed boundary between self/other and subject/object because, as she argues, people act in the world through a multiplicity of selves, "moving back and forth between the many worlds they inhabit" (Abu-Lugod 1990:26).

Anthropologists Nicole Polier and William Roseberry (1989) in "Tristes tropes: post-modern anthropologists encounter the other and discover themselves," provide a thorough political examination and critical review of recent work in postmodern anthropology. Polier and Roseberry observe that the most paradoxical feature of late capitalism is that "social and political life seems increasingly disconnected even as global economic and political connections become more fundamental" (1989:259).[55] Further, they argue that contrary to postmodern ethnographers' view of themselves, truly "radical" work would attempt to analyze the appearance of fragmentation and disconnectedness in social life and then follow through with an analysis that clarifies particular historical,

---

[54]For a more developed discussion of feminism and objectivity, including a critique of post-modernist accounts of difference see Haraway (1988) "Situated Knowledge."

[55]"Illustrating the benefits of local area analysis for understanding global dynamics," Slocum and Thomas (2003) provide a sharp and thorough analysis of the Caribbean and Caribbean anthropology. These authors make the connections between the social, the economic, and the political. Their discussion of theoretical developments vis-à-vis colonialism, nationalism and globalization would be useful for anyone concerned with these issues.

social, and economic connections.[56] Francis E. Mascia-Lees, Patricia Sharpe and Collen Ballerino Cohen (1989) in "The Postmodernist Turn in Anthropology: Cautions From a Feminist Perspective" also issue a sharp response. They assert that the post-modern ethnographers write from a "male dominant position and have seen self reflective, collaborative, and textual experimentation as 'new' only when it has been practiced by men" (Mascia-Lees et al 1989:26).[57] They also make the observation that just when the authority of the white Western male is losing credibility and formerly silenced ethnographic Others are beginning to forge a speaking space in the discourse, social theory changes to suggest that all voices are now equally subjective. Nancy Harstock (1987:26) in "Rethinking Modernism: Minority vs. Majority Theories" agrees:

> Somehow it seems highly suspicious that at this moment in history, when so many groups are engaged in "nationalisms" which involve the redefinitions of maginalized Others, that doubt arises in the academy about the nature of the "subject." Why is it, exactly at the moment when so many of us who have been silenced begin to demand the right to name ourselves, to act as subjects rather than objects of history, that just then the concept of subjecthood becomes “problematic?”

---

[56]For an analysis that does precisely this while addressing the concerns of postmodern reflexive anthropology see Pat Caplan (1988) “Engendering Knowledge: The Politics of Ethnography.” See also di Leonardo (1998:77) on the "evisceration of the political in postmodern anthropological work."

[57]Women who have used reflexivity in their accounts and/or experimented with form include: Eleanor Bowen [Laura Bohannon] (1964) *Return To Laughter*, Jean L. Briggs (1970) *Never In Anger*, Manda Cesara [Karla Poewe] (1982) *Reflections of a Woman Anthropologist*, Ella Deloria (1988 [manuscript 1948]) *Waterlily*, Zora Neale Hurston (1935) *Mules and Men*, Hortense Powdermaker (1966) *Stranger and Friend*, and Margery Wolf (1968) *The House of Lim*. For a more detailed discussion of these authors see Abu-Lughod 1990; Behar 1993; Gacs et al 1989; and Visweswaren 1988.

Ethnography As More Than Text

A number of authors have suggested that the current ideologically shifting sands which no longer support a positivist objective notion of truth has obscured the value of ethnography (Gudeman and Rivera 1990; Polier and Roseberry 1989; di Leonardo 1989). Uni Wikan (1991:292) in "Toward An Experience-Near Anthropology" cautions us:

> Magnificent achievements have been made by anthropologists alerting us all to the need for reflexivity and consciousness about our representational tools and genres. Yet, something seems amiss . . . There is an old proverb that says: "If the tool you have is a hammer, it is tempting to see everything as if it were a nail." It seems as if there is an awful lot of hammering going on with the texts being constructed and deconstructed, again and again, and much of anthropology's subject matter lost in the process.

Critics of post-modernism in anthropology, that is, as represented by the "ethnography-as-text" school, share the conviction that anthropological practice needs to change (Spencer 1989) and as that change occurs it will necessitate a change in anthropological writing.[58] The volume, *When They Read What We Write* (1993a) edited by Caroline B. Brettell, considers, through case studies, how ethnography has been "received and interpreted by those who have been the subjects of anthropological investigation" (Brettell 1993b:3). The volume details how the issues confronting anthropologists become more complex and more immediate when the people we write about are in a position to both read and respond to what we write. The authors discuss

[58]On the silencing of Others in anthropological writing see Trinh Thi Min-ha (1989) *Woman, Native, Other;* and Hallam and Street (eds. 2000) *Cultural Encounters: "Representing Otherness."*

various reactions to their work and its' affect on subsequent fieldwork. People reading about themselves have contested (Davis 1993), challenged (Glazier 1993), and outright rejected (Handler 1993c) as well as welcomed and approved (McBeth 1993) the work of anthropologists. Other authors reconsider the ethics of ethnography (Hopkins 1993), power relations (Sheehan 1993), alliances of individual anthropologists (Horwitz 1993), and ethnographic authorship (McBeth 1993; see also Tedlock 1991). This volume explores the relationship between the ethnographer and audience - not only those who are the subjects of anthropological investigation but also the ethnographers' colleagues, indigenous scholars, and the press.

Similar in purpose to Hymes' (1969) argument in *Reinventing Anthropology* is *Recapturing Anthropology* edited by Richard G. Fox (1991a). This volume enters the debate on ethnographic authority by considering the context in which anthropological knowledge is produced. Authors examine the academy, the marketplace of ideas, and the affects of prior ethnographies on current work. They call for re-examining anthropological concepts - culture, self/other, and ethnography itself.[59] The intent of these authors is the reshaping of anthropology "in order to reenter the world in order to say something important about the present" (Fox 1991b:15). In a similar vein, the authors of *Decolonizing Anthropology* (F. Harrison, ed. 1991a) address the politics of fieldwork, knowledge production, and appropriation.

[59]For a recent formulation of these issues see Borofsky et al (2001), Ingold, (1996), and Lewis (1998).

American Indian Critique

The critique of anthropology developed by American Indian scholars, artists, and activists would suggest that it is "problematic" to be an object of study. While anthropologists examine the issue of "who is speaking for whom" the American Indian critique is concerned with "who has been speaking for them." A number of American Indian artists and scholars offer a critique of the historical relationship between American Indian people and anthropology. They have expressed either a distrust of anthropologists and/or a disagreement with the discipline's representation of them and their history.[60] Historian D'Arcy McNickle (Flathead) in "American Indians Who Never Were" (1970) asserts that comparative studies have expanded Westerners' understanding of themselves but whether they have improved the understanding of other peoples is questionable. Historian Gerald Vizenor (Anishinaabe) in "Socioacupuncture" (1987) describes the colonial invention of an American Indian past where that past was created by explorers, traders, colonists, missionaries, soldiers, and government agents. As for anthropology, Vizenor explains that casting Indian people in the ethnographic present turns them into "consumable objects of the past" (1987:183).[61] As an example of ethnographic

---

[60]See Lurie (1988) for an historical overview of the changing "Relations Between Indians and Anthropologists." She describes the development of these relationships in the 1830s and traces their mutually useful nature from 1870-1950 through to their deterioration after WW II. The relationship has not always been viewed as exploitative and/or negative by the parties involved. In a related discussion on relationships between American Indian artists and anthropologists see Dobkins (2001).

[61]Which continue to be consumed in the present, see Meyer and Royer eds. (2001) *Selling the Indian*.

"preservation," he cites the photographs of Edward Curtis, images he describes as "discontinuous artifacts in a colonial road show" (1987:183).[62]

In *Custer Died For Your Sins* (1969), historian Vine Deloria Jr. (Standing Rock Lakota) argues that anthropologists have an obligation to the people they study because anthropologically collected knowledge gets used for political purposes. Deloria's concerns, while no longer new, are echoed by Patai (1991) in "U.S. Academics and Third World Women" as she explores the contradictions in attempting to do ethical fieldwork. Elizabeth Enslin expands on this theme:

> In a world shaped by gross inequalities . . . research done on the lesser privileged, by and for the ultimate benefit of the privileged, is simply not ethical. We gloss over this inequality by claiming to be doing research *with* our subjects. By paying lip service to collaboration and dialogue, we mask the very real differences among us and the ways that our research continues to buttress them. ("Beyond Writing" 1994:545 [emphasis in original])

Scholarly work affects people's lives. Anthropologist Wendy Rose (Hopi) in "The Great Pretender" (1992) suggests that non-Indians view American Indian oral history, literature, and rituals as anthropological property. She cites a number of situations in which non-Indians have refused to accept American Indian peoples' talk, walk, dress, speech, or ideas when it conflicted with a non-Indian understanding of what it is to be Indian. According to Rose, American Indian people have credibility in the non-Indian world so long as they act in accordance with the anthropological literature.

---

[62]Curtis has been alternately praised and reproached by American Indian and non-Indian critics alike, but all agree that his photos have been influential and continue to impact contemporary ideas about Indianness. For a balanced critique of Curtis' work see Lippard (1992:23-27) and Lyman (1982).

Commenting on scholarly work done in the past, activist Jean Fisher in an article co-authored with artist Jimmie Durham insists that:

> Indigenous America is outside representation, unrepresentable, except as a phantasm masquerading under the misnomer "'Indian" - a term that homogenizes what was in fact a heterogeneous population, as diverse in language and customs as Europe and Africa. (1988:101)

American Studies scholar Linda Oxendine (Lumbee) (1992) informs us that a popular response to anthropology in the 1970s and 80s is expressed in a song written by Dakota activist, folksinger and composer Floyd Westerman[63] (Perception Records 1970):

> And the anthros still keep coming
> like death and taxes to our land
> to study the feathered freaks
> with funded money in their hands.
>
> Like a Sunday at the zoo
> their high priced cameras click away
> taking notes and tape recording
> all the animals at play.
>
> Here come the anthros
> better hide the past away.
> Here come the anthros
> on another holiday.

Cultural Autonomy and Control

Although Westerman's lyrics represent a particularly intense and sharp response, American Indian communities are not alone in wanting to control how their image is

[63]For a fuller treatment of Westerman's career see Ward Churchill (1977).

presented.[64] The intensity of the response is related to indigenous struggles concerned with preserving and recovering economic and natural resources (Ames 1992). In the struggle for autonomy, control of economic and cultural resources is imperative. As Ames (1992:80) points out:

> [Indigenous people] are no longer willing to be treated as resource banks into which graduate students and their supervisors may dip at will . . . they increasingly challenge the notion that scholars carry everywhere with them the privilege of academic freedom that endows them with the right to study anyone anywhere.

In fact, the Massett Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands have publicly banned particular anthropologists from doing research on the Massett Reserve (Ames 1986). Many tribes are beginning to regulate research access to their communities and have adopted codes of behavior that define the conditions under which research may be conducted. It is becoming increasingly common for anthropologists and other researchers to be required to formally apply for permission to work in American Indian communities (Oxendine 1992).

According to American Studies scholar Allison Arieff (1995:83) in the newly opened National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), "ethnographic practice is the target of far more wrath than government policy; anthropologists are chastised more than politicians." Arieff implies that the critique is lopsided, but one could argue that it is

---

[64]The choice of what images inhabit public space is always determined by power, by who controls the choice of images and for what purpose (hooks 1992). See also Hall (1989) on the connection between domination and representation. The issue of controlling public images has multiple dimensions: witness the Congressional fervor led by Senator Jesse Helms over the work of photographer Robert Mapplethorpe, or the Parents Music Research Center (PMRC) culture committee advocating censorship spearheaded by Tipper Gore, or the anti-pornography campaign lead by Andrea Dworkin.

more dangerous to attack politicians than anthropologists since the institutional basis of the politician is stronger; they have economic and political resources to make policy and withhold funding as well as constituencies to support them. While governmental policy and anthropologically gathered information have both had a profound affect on the lives of American Indian people (V. Deloria 1969; Dorris 1987; Medicine 1971; Ortiz 1971; Rose 1992; Vizenor 1987), in some ways it is a less daunting task to challenge government policy.

Arieff's observations not withstanding, the American Indian critique is complex, multi-faceted and encompasses far more than anthropology. The issues raised include the viewing of indigenous people and their culture as objects of curiosity (Ortiz 1971), the reinforced invisibility of American Indian people (Dorris 1987) who are perceived as existing in some timeless past without either a history or a present reality (V. Deloria 1973). When there has been a study of history or present reality there exists within these studies no link between the two (V. Deloria 1973). In addition, there has been strong on-going opposition to the appropriation, misuse, and abuse of sacred objects (Hanson 1980; Jaimes 1992) and skeletal remains (Layton 1989).[65] These issues manifest themselves in many ways including, but not limited to, legal questions concerning religious freedom,[66] ownership of objects and the attendant right to represent their meaning, and the

[65]This is not an exhaustive list. Other prominent issues that go beyond the scope of this paper include political and legal questions concerning treaty rights, land use, sovereignty, and self-determination.

[66]See Steve Talbot (1985) "Desecration and American Indian Religious Freedom" for an historical analysis of the public debate on repatriation and religious practice.

repatriation of skeletal remains and sacred objects. Richard Hill, Sr. a Tuscarora of the Beaver Clan of the Six Nations Confederacy of the Hodenosaunee (Iroquois), museum worker, and self-identified traditionalist,[67] explains that sacred objects need to be in their community of origin and describes the consequences of their absence:

> This is the way it happened: the earth was created on the back of a giant turtle in the middle of an endless sea. Plants, animals, birds and human beings sprang from the earth. In order to maintain peace, the creator gave the human beings sacred instructions, duties and responsibilities . . . Then the white man swept across the continent and he tried to preserve the material culture of the "vanishing American" by placing ceremonial and secular objects in museums according to European tradition . . . The Hodenosaunee (Iroquois) survived, only to realize that the design for peace faces destruction, not from absence of belief but from inaccessibility to sacred messages and religious objects. [1977:43-44]

According to Hill (1977), the emotional well being of Hodenosaunee people is related to fulfilling their religious duties not unlike Christians who go to communion, receive the wafer, and drink from the holy chalice. For many people objects retain memories, associations, and experiences that link them to others and "assist them in the construction, development and representation of self" (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981:47). In contrast, the collecting process removes objects from their cultural context, thereby fundamentally altering human-object relationships (Dominguez 1986). Hill's conceptualization of the significance of objects and their attendant meaning differs from that of museums, which house these same objects.

---

[67]In the struggle for cultural autonomy and personal integrity many communities are experiencing a renaissance in the production of art and literature with an attendant interest in language and philosophy. Elders are often called upon to teach the language, values, and a world-view of what they describe as "traditional" Indian values.

In *The Meaning of Things* (1981), Cskszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton describe how human-made objects depend on intention for their existence. Objects are interpreted by a viewer; this may be a collector, a curator, or a museum visitor. Viewers have their own reasons for wanting to preserve the object but objects were originally shaped by the intentions of the artist. They conclude that this dual role gives all objects a particular importance in "human affairs" (1981:14).

Many American Indian peoples have made claims to cultural property and suggest that objects may belong elsewhere than on display in museums.[68] "The Repatriation of *Ahayu:da* Zuni War Gods: Interview with the Zuni Tribal Council on April 25, 1990," transcribed by T.J. Ferguson (1990) discusses the actions initiated by the Zuni Tribal Council in 1978 on behalf of the Pueblo of Zuni in pursuing the return of the *Ahayu:da* from the Smithsonian Museum. The Council representing the *A:shiwi* (Zuni people) strongly objected to the display of these figures as art. According to Council members the *Ahayu:da* are neither ethnographic artifacts nor are they art objects. Instead they are objects of continuing religious significance.

The basis for the request, initiated in 1978,[69] rests on the definition of *Ahayu:da* as communal property. Therefore, by definition, they must be stolen property since the Pueblo, as a community, never agreed to relinquish them. According to Zuni Pueblo Governor Lewis "They are guardians of the land with protective responsibilities for the

---

[68]See George H.J. Abrams (1994) "The Case for Wampum," David Finster (1975) "Museums and Medicine Bundles," and Charlotte J. Frisbie (1987) *Navajo Medicine Bundles or Jish*.

[69]1978 also coincides with the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act.

people" (Ferguson 1990:12). When asked to return the *Ahayu:da* the Smithsonian initially responded with its own set of cultural concerns. The museum saw itself as responsible for the public trust and countered with issues concerning ownership, curation, and legal obligations (Merrill et al 1993). Differing interpretations informed by differing goals and objectives have produced an ideological tension between museums as institutions and American Indian people whose culture, history and artistic productions are displayed and stored within these institutions.[70] In 1987 the *Ahayu:da* were repatriated and "installed on a mesa overlooking Zuni Pueblo" (Merrill et al 1993:523).[71]

Ideological tensions are expressed in conflicts surrounding appropriation, authority, and representation. Artist James Luna (Luiseño/Diegueño) first performed his "Artifact Piece" in 1986 at the San Diego *Museum of Man*.[72] "Artifact Piece" was an installation which included the artist as part of the display (Figure 2.1). This display,

---

[70]Repatriation has been the subject of wide spread international concern since the 1970 UNESCO Convention On Cultural Property prohibiting the illicit transfer of cultural property (Tymchuk 1983 cited in Stocking 1985a). NAGPRA, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (H.R. 5237) was enacted as Public Law 101-60 in 1990. See Hill (1980); and Yellow Bird and Milun (1994) on the subject of religion, reburial, and repatriation. See Layton (ed. 1989), and Swindler et al (eds. 1997) for a discussion of the sometimes fierce debate on the repatriation and re-burial of skeletal remains. Mihesuah (ed. 2000); Thomas (2001); and Zimmerman (1989), (1982); review issues relative to repatriation and reburial. See also Echo-Hawk (1986) and Messenger (ed. 1989) on the repatriation of cultural resources. In a related discussion, Watkins (2001) describes the involvement of American Indian people in the practice of archaeology.

[71]For a full discussion of the repatriation process as it was worked out in the case of the *Ahayu:da*, a process lasting over a period of ten years, see Merrill, Ladd, and Ferguson (1993) "The Return of the *Ahayu:da*." Although Congress passed the Repatriation Act it also under funded NAGPRA. Under funding prevents tribes from pursuing claims and inhibits museums in their attempts to carry out NAGPRA's mandates as well as investigate rival claims (Haas 1996; Lurie 1996).

[72]For the artist's discussion of his work see Luna (1987).

described by artist Jean Fisher (1992:49), artist and curator Lucy Lippard (1990:198), and art historian and curator Charlotte Townsend-Gault (1992:54), consisted of three glass museum cases which sat in a section of the museum devoted to the Kumeyaay people who had once lived in San Diego County. The first case, labeled "The Contemporary Indian," contained Luna laying on his back in a bed of sand complete with a nametag dressed only in a leather breechclout. Smaller didactic labels described his tribal affiliations and directed the visitors gaze to the scars on Luna's body, said to document injuries received during an episode of “excessive drinking” (J. Fisher 1992:49). An adjacent case held his personal effects - divorce papers, childhood photos, albums from the Rolling Stones and Jimi Hendrix, buttons from SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) and the United Farm Workers Union, and a large collection of shoes. The third case, labeled "Medicine Objects," contained ceremonial items from the Luiseño reservation. These objects were displayed without didactic labels. By including himself in the display, Luna simultaneously becomes an anthropological subject as well as a museum object.

The strength of his performance draws the audience into the discussion of appropriation, museum authority, and anthropological representation. Visitors were uncomfortable gazing at a person layed-out in a glass case. Some wondered if Luna was a "real Indian" and whether or not he was alive (Lippard 1990). Non-Indian museum goers are used to mannequins dressed-up to represent Indian people; they have become familiar with the Edward Curtis photos of American Indian people "posed to document

their own disappearance" (Lippard 1990:198),[73] but a living person surrounded by the political paraphernalia of the late twentieth century confounds audience expectations. The rituals of the museum and the ways in which museums interpret objects are parodied by Luna (Townsend-Gault 1992:54). Here is a fierce challenging of the ethnographic status of American Indian people.

According to J. Fisher (1992:49):

> The shock of his real presence disarms the colonial voyeuristic gaze and denies it it's structuring power . . . because Luna's body speaks as the site of both colonialism's demands and of a possible liberation.

This type of performance art, where the artist is both subject and object, has been elaborated on by Latino/indigenous artists Coco Fusco and Guillermo Gomez-Peña in the performance *Two Undiscovered Amerindians Visit Madrid*, performed in Madrid, May 1992 (Figure 2.2). Similar enactments were performed in Minneapolis, September 12, 1992; Washington, D.C., October 1992; and Chicago, January 1993. The artists live in a gilded cage for the duration of the performance (two - three days). In a fictional history, they present themselves as aboriginal peoples from an island in the Gulf of Mexico that Columbus has somehow overlooked. They perform "authentic" and "traditional" tasks such as writing on a laptop computer, watching television, sewing "voodoo" dolls, and doing exercises. Audience members could pay for authentic dances, stories, and Polaroids of the "Amerindians" posing with them. One of the striking outcomes of the

[73]In keeping with the theme of disappearance, several authors provide a serious and historical discussion of Curtis' 1914 film "Land of the War Canoes;" see Griffiths (1996), Holm and Quimby (1974), and R. Morris (1994). See Jacknis (1992) on George Hunt's work with Curtis, and Jacknis (1984) on Boas' criticism of Curtis.

work was that more than half the visitors at the Madrid performance thought the artists were real "Amerindians" (Fusco and Gomez-Peña 1992). As multivalent and multivocal performances, the work of James Luna, Coco Fusco, and Gomez-Peña address a native audience as well as the dominant culture.

Considering the contradiction between anthropological subject and museum object, anthropologist Michael M. Ames, Director of the Museum at the University of British Columbia, in *Museums, The Public and Anthropology* (1986) addresses the ways in which anthropologists construct the phenomena they study in the context of museum practice. Ames looks at differing approaches employed by both anthropology and fine art museums that display ethnographic material. He found that in each case the selection of objects and type of display was informed by a particular kind of exhibition philosophy. Each of these approaches to display "represented only a selection of a larger totality, therefore [each was] incomplete" (Ames 1986:42).

As a major storyteller in multicultural America, museums have helped to shape both the perceptions and understandings people have about themselves and others. Therefore it is imperative that there be an on-going critique of museum practice. In the spirit of critique, the following chapters highlight the social relationships between objects, the process of their having been collected, and the institutions that collect, curate, display, and interpret these same objects.

Figure 2.1
James Luna *The Artifact Piece*, mixed media installation, Museum of Man, San Diego

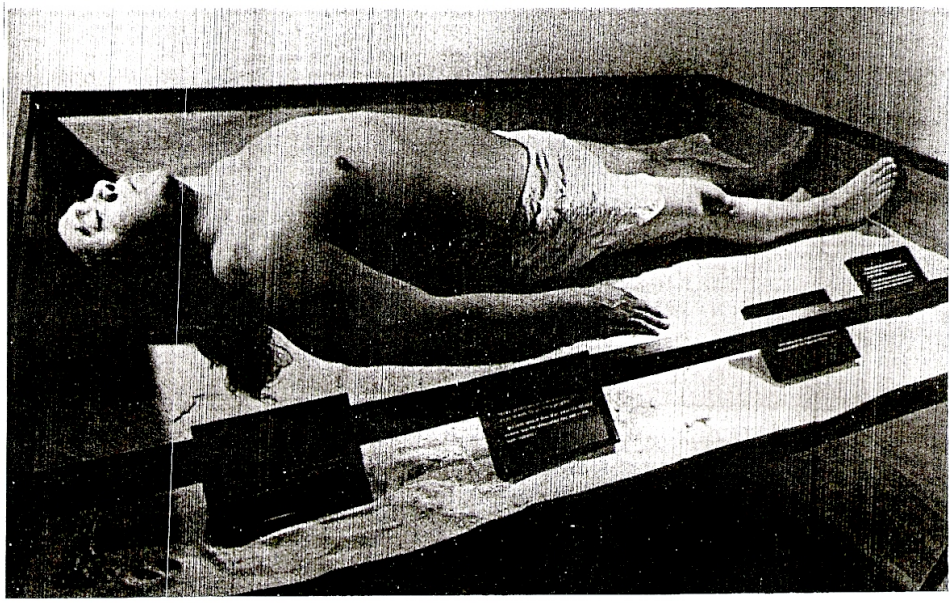


Figure 2.2
CoCo Fusco and Guillermo Gomez-Pena
The performance *Two Undiscovered Amerindians Visit Madrid*, May 1992

Chapter 3

LEGITIMIZING CULTURE

> We are often asked the question, "What did Indians eat?" as though we had quit the habit a hundred years ago. The fact is, we are not part of your "rich, cultural heritage." You did not inherit us or our history.
>
> Jimmie Durham, "We The People" [1988:16]

> As custodians of their collections, museums play a vital role in safeguarding and presenting artistic, cultural, social, scientific and natural heritage. They provide a valuable and valued public service and their future is, therefore, a matter of substantial national importance.
>
> Policy Statement of the Museums Association [1989:37]

Museums are part of the "cultural pattern of modern Europe, and of the European influenced world" (S. Pearce 1992).[74] Europe has approximately 13,500 museums and another 12,000 exist throughout the world (S. Pearce 1992). Anthropologist Nancy Lurie estimates that in 1978 there were 5,500 museums in the U.S., and observes that "the distribution of museums correlates closely with the distribution of population with only one congressional district in the country lacking some kind of museum" (1981:181). Lurie further breaks down the figures by museum type: history museums made up 50%; science museums including zoos and arboretums, 18%; art museums, 14%; with the remaining 10% children's museums, parks, and museums devoted to special topics (Lurie 1981:181). According to a more recent listing, the number of museums in the U.S. has

[74]According to Clifford (1988:232) "Gathering, owning, classifying, and valuing are certainly not restricted to the West; but everywhere these activities need not be associated with accumulation (rather than redistribution) or with preservation (rather than natural or historical decay)."

increased to "over 6,700 museums of all sizes and shapes from Art to Zoology not to mention specialized establishments for fly-fishing, Elvis Presley, barbed wire, and the National Cowgirl Hall of Fame" (Newton 1994:272).

More people learn about culture, their own and others, from museums than from universities (Parezo 1988 cited in Ames 1992:139), which positions museums as keepers of other people's heritage and the interpreters of other people's histories (Ames 1992:138-139).[75] Sally Price (1989:69) observes that, "The West has assumed[76] responsibility for the definition, conservation, interpretation, marketing and future existence of the world's arts." As prestigious, influential, and public institutions museums have complex and contentious histories and practices as revealed by the following remarks made by prominent museum professionals:

> A person who is free from the dissolute and vicious associations of our existing cities - with ready access to Libraries, Galleries of Art, Public Worship, would be more accessible to moral sentiments and devout convictions . . . The circumstances in which individuals are placed, and the kind of training and education they receive, have a great influence in the formation of their character.
>
> James Silk Buckingham, "National Evils and Practical Remedies" [1849]

---

[75]While not followed up in this paper, anthropologist Constance Perin describes another important social role played by museums: "People living in a society that compartmentalizes and institutionalizes lived experience - dividing it into work, family, politics, and religion, for example - depend on institutions for their opportunities to achieve coherence, growth, and an evolving sense of identity. Museums are singularly important stimuli for human synthesis" (1992: 216).

[76]Price tells us "The use of the word 'assumed' is intentional here, meaning both 'to take on' and 'to take for granted'" (1992:133 footnote 5).

The arts of mankind (sic) should be illustrated by a series, commencing with the oldest flint implements, and passing through those of polished stone, bronze, and iron - showing in every case, along with the work of prehistoric man (sic), those corresponding to them formed by existing savage (sic) races.

Alfred R. Wallace, "Museums for the People" [1869:248]

The visitor would enter the museum at the narrow end of a long hall dedicated to a quasi-historical presentation of the organization of nature . . . (The display) would carry us from the simplest and most primitive (sic) manifestation of life, and, continuing down to the end of the hall, we would finally come to man's (sic) place at the end of the sequence.

A.E. Parr, "Mostly About Museums" [1959:15]

Museum professionals are not the proper people to handle, use, or protect sacred objects . . . Plainly stated, we are dealing with separate realities - very different concepts of sacredness or religion . . . the possession of these ceremonial articles by museums is seen as a symbol of religious persecution.

Richard Hill, "Indians and Museums" [1980:24-25]

The continuing story of the transformation of Australia from a country of hunter-gatherers to an industrial nation is one of tragedy, triumph, persistence and innovation. It should be told with vigor and objectivity, using our collective heritage to promote the consciousness and self-knowledge which foster a mature national identity.

Museum of Australia, "Report of the Interim Council" [1982:2]

It has been said that once upon a time the Welsh poet Dylan Thomas walked into the museum in his home town and looked at the stuffed animals crowded into their dusty cases with faded labels. "This museum," he observed, "ought to be in a museum!"

Brian Morris, "Special Demands Placed on Museums by Their Users [1983:1]

> F]ull as it is of dead bones . . . [the museum] is a kind of charnel house that houses images of living things that have passed away but whose life force still lingers around their remains and so passes itself on to us . . . a museum caters to the urge to absorb the life of another into one's own life . . . museums are a form of cannibalism made safe for polite society.
>
> Jane Tompkins, *At the Buffalo Bill Museum* (1990:533)

> Museums are about cannibals and glass boxes, a fate they cannot escape no matter how hard they try. However, there is more to museums than cannibalistic appetites, glass box display cases and ideology production. What some call appropriation, others call inspiration; some view glass boxes as a form of cultural imprisonment, others see them as a way of preserving heritage for future generations; and what some call the channeling of consciousness, others term consciousness-raising.
>
> Michael Ames, *Cannibal tours and Glass Boxes* (1992:3-4)

These quotational snippets reflect aspects of the social and ideological history of museums, a history embodied in changing museum practices. I examine the museums as cultural institutions that have come to serve as guardians of cultural heritage and interpreters of social life. Authors from many disciplines have delineated this history and contributed to the current critique of museum practices. I focus on the anthropological literature but in a limited way I also draw from political history, art history, American Indian studies, and museum studies.

Political and Ideological History

Museums as a modern institution can be traced to the fifteenth century Renaissance cities and courts of Europe (Duncan and Wallach 1980).[77] "Their predecessors were the temples and churches of the classical world where elites stored

[77]For a discussion of the chronological development of museums see Germain Bazin (1967) *The Museum Age*, Oliver Imprey and Arthur MacGregor, eds. (1985) *The Origins of Museums*, and Neils von Holst (1967) Curator, *Collectors and Connoisseurs*.

treasure and religious relics. These storage practices contributed powerful ideas about objects as treasure and objects as relics connecting those alive with the dead" (S. Pearce 1992:91). The princely collections of the Renaissance celebrated the power and wisdom of the prince (Ames 1992). The viewing of the collection was restricted to formal occasions as a "tangible show of his splendor" (S. Pearce 1992:93). Princely collections of natural and cultural materials and objects began as trophies and curiosities where the collections grew in size and scope paralleling the growth of European expansion throughout the world (Ames 1992). The earliest public museums were established in Western Europe during the eighteenth century with the transfer of princely and private collections to the state (Duncan and Wallach 1980). "[W]ith [the transfer] came the idea of the world-in-microcosm but with distinctions between natural history, fine art, and the remaining human artefacts" (S. Pearce 1992:99). These distinctions remain today in the form of separate institutions for history, fine art, natural history, and anthropology.[78]

The conversion of royal, princely, and private collections into public museums was part of a larger historical process (Duncan and Wallach 1980) that included the transformation of the European social, political, and economic system from control by monarchies to the modern nation-state. For example, the collections of the Danish Kings led to the National Museum at Copenhagen and the Berlin Ethnographic Museum was formed from collections of the Kings of Prussia (Duncan and Wallach 1980). The most

[78]Initially, the art/artifacts of non-Western peoples were exhibited in anthropology and natural history museums. In the United States and Canada, American Indian made objects, for example, where often displayed in natural history museums organized in cultural evolutionary sequences (Ames 1986; Feest 1980; S. Pearce 1992; Phillips 1994). History and fine arts museums were reserved for the preservation and display of Western traditions.

politically significant transformation was the Louvre (Duncan 1991). In 1773, the French Revolution established the Republic and "the new state nationalized the King's property, confiscated his art collection and declared the kings palace a museum" (Duncan and Wallach 1980:454).

The political, economic and social transformation of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Europe is the period in which the museum acquires its modern form (Bennett 1995, Duncan 1995). This transformation from a monarchy to a nation-state brought with it many concerns related to issues of governance. In *The Birth of the Museum* (1995) Bennett documents the plans and proposals of social reformers, city planners, police officials, politicians and others concerned with the state's ability to govern an increasingly urban population that could not be controlled in the old way; people were no longer subjects they were citizens. In other words, it was no longer effective to terrorize the population into submission based on the sovereign's power to punish (Bennett 1995, Foucault 1977), instead the nation-state chose to exercise power in a way that was calculated to transform the behavior of the individual in specific desired directions (Foucault 1977). Thus, museums alongside collateral institutions, department stores, libraries, public parks, reading rooms, and public lectures formed part of the "new strategies for governing, aimed at producing a citizenry which, rather than needing to be externally directed would monitor and regulate its own conduct," (Bennett 1995:21). These cultural institutions were considered capable of improving the character and moral development of the populous (MacDonald 1986).

According to George Brown Goode in *The Principles of Museum Administration* (1895:71 cited in Bennett 1995), in order to transform the populace, cultural institutions would need to go through a corresponding transformation. In the case of the museum, Bennett (1995:24) describes three areas that distinguish public museums from their royal predecessors: 1) as a social space, 2) as a space of representation, and 3) a space of observation and regulation. The museum was to be a social space "in which civilized forms of behavior might be learnt" (Bennett 1995:24). Museum display, as a space of representation, should increase knowledge and bring "culture and enlightenment to the people" (Goode 1895:3). Finally, it would be the visitor who would be observed, subject to social regulation and "molded in accordance with the new requirements of public conduct" (Bennett 1995). This conceptualization of the museum as an instrument of public instruction in the mid-nineteenth century was envisioned as a space where the lower classes "might learn to civilize themselves" (Bennett 1995:28; c.f. Seling 1967).[79]

Fashioning a new space of representation allowed objects inherited from previous collections to be used to construct a narrative about the nation-state and correspondingly about citizenship in the nation-state. Nineteenth-century European public museums were dedicated to the lives of great men[80] and great artists. Museums exhibited old "masters" and monumental art which were thought to display the highest achievements of humanity (Duncan and Wallach 1980). They have since come to be known as Universal Survey

[79]Another related “civilizing” project, also known as the "white man's burden," has historically been the rationale for the conquest and colonization of non-western peoples including American Indian peoples (Hoxie 1979).

[80]This is intended as a gendered reference.

Museums. Duncan and Wallach analyze the philosophy, history, and development of these institutions, and argue that through architecture, gallery design, and object choice museums appropriate the heritage of the classical tradition and "equate that tradition with the very notion of civilization itself" (1980:451; c.f. Sherman and Rogoff 1995).

Universal Survey Museums and their galleries were designed according to the new ideas of art history.[81] Objects were organized in chronological sequence by schools of artistic thought (Duncan 1991). Pictures were divided into national schools and critiqued based on the formal qualities of line, color, composition, and content (Duncan 1995). This chronological arrangement was intended to demonstrate a continuing increase in knowledge where one could trace the historical lines of the development of Western art (Duncan 1995). "Classical marbles and other antiquities took their natural place in this arrangement, both as the touchstones of spiritual excellence and as the glorious past to which the splendid present was heir" (S. Pearce 1992:100). Just as displays of the collections had demonstrated something about the prince - his splendor, glory, and wisdom, in the new setting of a public art museum, these same objects would acquire a new meaning (Duncan 1991).

The prince's treasures, secular as well as sacred, now became recontextualized as art-historical objects. As such, the objects were then considered to be the products of individual genius representative of particular national identities (Duncan 1991). Art history as a linear progression of linked formal sequences "provided an exemplary array

[81]On the invention of art history and its role in structuring the museum experience see Bann (1984), Bazin (1967), P. Fisher (1991), and von Holst (1967).

of evolution-like developments that were taken to guarantee that history was indeed engaged under Western leadership, in an adventure of progress" (McEvilley 1992b: 86 see also Presziosi 1993).

This "splendid present," marked by "progress," boasted a philosophy of knowledge expressed in the scientific revolution of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The aim of this revolution was to discern the nature of reality by discovering, what was assumed to be, the basic laws of nature. The fundamental philosophical assumption informing the work of scientists in this period was that the world, and ultimately the universe, could be known through the observation, collection, classification, and investigation of all phenomena (Mason 1979).

The great natural history museums housed everything and anything that was not considered 'high art', which included both natural and ethnographic materials (S. Pearce 1992). These museums were founded on the scientific principles established by Carolus Linnaeus, (1707-1778), the great classifier; Charles Lyell, (1797-1875), who substantiated the antiquity of the earth; and Charles Darwin, (1809-1882) who described the diversity and evolutionary change inherent in living organisms (Hooper-Greenhill 1992). These principles provided the basis for the modern disciplines of geology, biology and, to a large extent, archaeology and anthropology (Kehoe 1983). Further, the birth of the museum is coincident with the emergence of these disciplines (Bennett 1995, Hooper-Greenhill 1992). Bennett summarizes:

> While important differences remained between competing schools of evolutionary thought throughout the nineteenth century the predominant tendency was one in which the different times of geology, biology, anthropology and history were connected to one another so as to form a universal time. Such temporality links together the stories of the earths formation, of the development of life on earth, of the evolution of human life out of animal life, and its development from 'primitive' to civilized forms, into a single narrative which posits modern Man (white, male, and middle class) as the outcome of theses processes. [1995:39]

In other words, these physical and cultural processes in their proposed interrelatedness formed a totalizing order of things and peoples. This master-narrative (White 1973), detailing an evolutionary order, gave scientific credence to the category 'Primitive People' and, in turn, denied them their history (E. Wolf 1982). This master-narrative is then retold through the museum.[82]

The twentieth century, from a European perspective, was politically and economically a less "splendid" time than the previous one hundred years, a situation that would, in turn, affect the role of museums. The international empires of European nations were crumbling as they found themselves immersed in two world wars and beset by economic depressions, revolutions, and struggles for liberation. Organized political resistance and revolutionary armed struggle in Russia, China, and major regions of Africa succeeded in removing large sections of the world from direct control by European

[82] In "Ethnographic Showcases" Corbey examines links between scientific and political practices and concludes that: "science, commerce, and imperialism go hand in hand . . . museums of ethnography often originated from world fairs that, despite their many aspects, were first and foremost commercial happenings: the Musée d'Ethnographie de Trocadéro-now called the Musée de l'Homme-was created on the occasion of the 1878 World Fair" (1993:356-357). On the display of American Indian people at the World's Fairs see Hoxie in "Red Man's Burden," where American Indian people "emerged much the worse for the experience" (1979:327). See also Huhndorf (2001).

nations.[83] Museums underwent political reconfiguration as collections were hidden, destroyed, stolen, or dispersed by invading armies. Douglas Newton (1994), Curator Emeritus of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, documents a number of these situations. There was the appropriation of personal and public holdings during World War II as the fascist Nationalist Socialist Army (Nazis) conquered much of Europe and expanded into the Soviet Union. Many art collectors profited by the clandestine removal of Asian art objects through Vietnam, first by the French and then later by U.S. troops. Then there were the thefts from Kuwait museums by Iraqi forces preceding the Gulf War (Newton 1994:271) and most recently, the plundering of museums during the U.S. - Iraq war.[84]

As the twentieth century wore on, the philosophical belief in the capacity of the West to order the world politically or scientifically was called into question. In museums, classification gave way to a new approach in which material was analyzed in terms of relationships and context (S. Pearce 1992). The contextual approach affected the display of both natural and ethnographic objects. Museum displays representing human communities were organized in tableaux-like dioramas (Kavanagh 1991b). The

---

[83]At one point, European empires had dominion over more than half the land and a third of the peoples in the world - close to "72 million square kilometers of territory and more than 560 million people (C. West 1990:26).

[84]Franklin (1996) reports that the theft of irreplaceable American Indian art objects from museums is on the increase. In a survey of eleven states, more than thirty-six thefts occurred from 1994 - 1996. Particular items have been targeted and their value is estimated to be between $10,000 and $25,000 apiece. Most of the objects date to the turn-of-the-century and were stolen for collectors both in the U.S. and abroad. "The soaring art market, fueled by millionaire collectors, goes hand-in-hand with increases in art thefts" (Ames 1992:6). The consensus among museum professionals and security officers is that, aside from one unusual theft, American Indian people are not involved (Franklin 1996). In part, the increase in thefts may be a response to the 1990 passage of NAGPRA which has the potential to remove valuable items from non-Indian institutions thus eliminating any future possibility that collectors might acquire them.

idea of contextualizing specific culture groups had been developed by Boas (Clifford 1988) most prominently in the North West Coast Hall of the American Museum of Natural History (Jacknis 1985).[85] Contemporary museums have inherited this history, which influences their construction of knowledge in the present. Museums, then, have the ability "to display, to demonstrate, to show the nature of the world and of men [and women] in it by arranging the collected material in particular patterns which reflect, confirm, and project a contemporary world view" (S. Pearce 1992:4). Over time museums have conveyed ideas about wealth, history, civilization, national identity, and what it means to be human.

Museum Temples and Monuments: Their Significance and Purpose

A museum is a complex experience involving architecture, exhibits, displays of art objects and particular installation practices (Duncan 1991:90). Architecturally, modern museums in both Europe and the United States belong to the same category as that of classical temples and shrines, medieval cathedrals, and Renaissance palaces. These buildings share similar symbolic interpretations (Duncan 1991). Museum architecture draws inspiration from the ceremonial architecture of the classical world, e.g. the Pantheon, and European palaces such as the Louvre (Figure 3.1), (Duncan and Wallach

[85]Boas argued that museums communicate to the visitor a particular theory of culture. "[In the Northwest Coast Hall] specimens were arranged according to two principles: first, a general collection presenting the main outlines of the culture area; and second, several independent collections, arranged geographically, explored in greater depth more specialized topics" (Jacknis 1985:93-94).

1980).[86] In fact, the Louvre (Figure 3.2) was the prototype for New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art (Duncan 1992:99). Neo-classical forms, in particular the Greco-Roman temple front (Figure 3.3), have been widely used in "public and civic buildings since the Renaissance" (Duncan and Wallach 1980:450). The temple is an imposing structure and like other types of monumental and ceremonial architecture; its function, as described by Duncan and Wallach (1980:449), is ideological:

> It is meant to impress upon those who use it societies most revered beliefs and values. Past societies devoted substantial wealth to constructing and decorating temples and cathedrals. Similarly, our society lavishes enormous resources on creating and maintaining museums of art . . . Absorbing more manual and imaginative labor than any other type of architecture, the museum affirms the power and social authority of a patron class.

Although architecturally ceremonial, Western cultural tradition ideologically classifies secular sites - museums, courthouses, and jails - as different in kind from religious buildings - temples, churches, and mosques. The ideological separation of sacred and secular is part of a modern, Western world-view that has its roots in the political and philosophical ideas of the Enlightenment, which were aimed at reducing the power and influence of the church (Duncan 1995). Secular knowledge is associated with concepts like: rational, verifiable, and objective. At the same time, the ceremonial temple facade of secular museums tends to associate religion, belief, and truth with art.[87]

---

[86]All Figures for Chapter 3 are found at end of Chapter.

[87]In the natural history museum this becomes the somewhat paradoxical 'religion of science'

Duncan (1995:8-9) continues:

> Art museums belong to the realm of secular knowledge, not only because of the scientific and humanistic disciplines practiced in them . . . but also because of their status as preservers of the communities official cultural memory . . . it is precisely for this reason that museums can become objects of fierce struggle and impassioned debate . . . what we see and do not see in art museums - and by whose authority we do or do not see it - is closely linked to larger questions about who constitutes the community and who shall exercise the power to define its identity.

Symbolic interpretation of the use of ceremonial architecture at a secular site allows us to suspend our assumptions about the necessity to separate sacred and secular experiences in the context of a museum. It also allows Duncan (1995) to make the case that museums function as ritual structures. Like most ritual space, museum space is carefully marked off and visitors are expected to behave with a "certain decorum" (Duncan 1995:10). Ritual experience has been analyzed by anthropologists as transformative in its ability "to confer identity, to purify, or to restore order in the self or in the world through sacrifice, ordeal, or enlightenment" (Duncan 1995:13).[88] Duncan (1995) concludes that both liminality and transition are features of ritual experienced by the museum visitor. Museum visitors are said to come away from the experience with a sense of enlightenment or a feeling of being spiritually renewed. It is the visitor who enacts the ritual within a large impressive structure, a structure that "communicates not only that the art it holds is important but that the message transmitted to the viewer about

[88]Duncan's (1995) analysis of ritual is informed by Abner Cohen (1974); Edmund Leach (1968); Sally F. Moore and Barbara Myerhoff (1977); and Victor Turner (1977).

that art is important" (Jonaitis 1992:49). The museum is a publicly accessible civic temple identified with the ideals of the nation expressing the established values and images of a society. This is done "directly by promoting and affirming the dominant values and indirectly by subordinating or rejecting alternative values" (Ames 1992:22). It is through the ritual enacted at a museum site that individuals are initiated into the aesthetic community of 'High Culture' (see Figure 3.4).

The Founding of a the Minneapolis Institute of Arts

In the United States, as in England, museums have been funded mainly by private citizens; nevertheless, they have incorporated the ideological and architectural model of their state-founded equivalents in Europe (Duncan 1991). Large-scale public museums first appeared in the industrial cities of the U.S. "where business and banking were concentrated enough to support such expensive and ambitious cultural enterprises" (Duncan 1995:49). In the late nineteenth century major art museums were founded in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Minneapolis (Duncan 1995). The Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts (hereafter known as the Society) was incorporated in 1883, and its museum, the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (MIA) was dedicated in 1915 (Hess 1985).[89] These new institutions were to distinguish U.S. cities and their residents as "civilized" and cultured (Jonaitis 1992). In a speech to prospective donors on January 10, 1911 at the Minneapolis Club, Charles L. Hutchinson, president of the Art Institute of

[89]*Their Splendid Legacy* (1985), by Jeffrey A. Hess, was published by the MIA to commemorate its own history with over 70 photos of important objects and people. Information on the Society, the MIA, and its' founding members is taken from this source.

Chicago and vice-president of the Corn Exchange Bank, spoke of the public benefits of art museums "which inspire civic pride, improve the workmanship of craftsmen, speak alike to rich and poor, and promote the uplift of every man, woman, and child in the city" (Hess 1985:24). In addition to their "civilizing" powers, art museums conferred status on those cities in which they were built (Duncan 1995). Moreover, a big showy art museum demonstrated to national and international business interests that a city had 'arrived' as a cosmopolitan center and was worthy of their investment.

The new public art museums were but one item on a larger agenda to make American cities more "civilized, sanitary, moral, and peaceful" (Duncan 1995:55). From the turn of the century until the Great Depression wealthy businessmen and their families supported efforts to make their cities more dignified and efficient - from sewers to schools to streetlights (Trachtenberg 1982). Their efforts helped to create public culture and shape public spaces (Duncan 1995). The motives of those who founded American museums were a complex combination of personal and public ambitions with elitist and democratic ideals (Duncan 1995). The purpose of museums was to bring high culture to the citizenry. "What they disseminated was western European high culture . . . the culture of Protestant elites, but they identified it as the definitive national culture, the highest philosophical and moral heritage of the American people" (Duncan 1995:54-55). In Minneapolis, the Society's founders were a select group "firmly established in the city's commercial, industrial, financial, and professional life. By birth or by up-bringing, almost all were closely identified with the mainsprings of traditional Yankee culture" (Hess 1985:5).

Founding members of the Society included:

> *Russell A. Plimpton*: graduate of Princeton in finance and early Director of the Institute, he had been on the staff of the Metropolitan Museum of Art before coming to the Institute. "His tastes were said to run to the aristocratic - sleek convertibles, horseback riding at the Fort Snelling Officers Club, and dinner parties of roast peacock" (Hess 1985:38);
>
> *John Van Derlip*: corporate lawyer, President of the Society, with his wife Ethel Morrison Van Derlip, daughter of a leading milling family, provided the Museum with its largest endowment for the acquisition of art work;
>
> *Herschel V. Jones*: grain speculator, Chairman of the Museum Development Committee over-seeing acquisitions, and rare book collector whose donations established the Museums' print department;
>
> *Alfred Pillsbury*: flour-milling executive, Trustee of the Museum, collector of Chinese ceramics and bronzes bequeathed to the Museum in 1950;
>
> *Augustus L. Searle*: one of the Midwest's' largest grain dealers, Trustee of the Museum, and collector of seventeenth and eighteenth century Chinese carved jade donated to the Museum in 1927;
>
> *James Ford Bell*: Chairman of the board of General Mills, collected early Americana, especially colonial silver, donated to the Museum in 1932; and
>
> *James J. Hill*: railroad magnate, Trustee, collected l9th century European painting, and guest speaker at the museum's dedication ceremony.

A quote from Van Derlip, President and founder of the Society, is particularly revealing:

> People in New York have the idea that as soon as you get west of Buffalo people live in tepees (sic) and don't know how to spell art. On the contrary, we have a very cultured class of people - many, you know, moved from the East, (Hess 1985:38 quoting *The Bulletin*, Jan/Feb 1915:11-14).

Like other major public art museums founded in the late nineteenth century, the

Minneapolis Institute of Arts (MIA) was established and supported, through the

Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts, by an urban elite[90] whose wealth and power were displayed in their personal art collections (Jonaitis 1992). Collecting the 'beautiful' objects from Europe and the "Orient" allowed them to associate their power and wealth with those places considered to be centers of civilization and ancient wisdom, thus establishing "the notion that culture filtered downward from a distant past, from overseas, and from the sacred founts of wealth and private power" (Trachtenberg 1982:144-45 in Jonaitis 1992:41). Private collections were donated or bequeathed to the museum, with doorway inscriptions and plaques on its marble walls to serve as reminders of the generosity of wealthy citizens (Duncan and Wallach 1980). Museums were thus the product of a privileged class representing the values and assumptions of that class.[91]

> Those segments with the power to do so . . . created museums that were the temples within which they enshrined those things they held to be significant and valuable. The public generally accepted the idea that if it was in a museum, it was not only real but represented a standard of excellence. If the museum said that this and that was so, then that was a statement of truth. [Cameron 1971:17 cited in Ames 1992:21]

The same people who founded the MIA also served on the boards of other civic institutions. The public service record of William Watts Fowell, founding member of the Society, is instructive. He served as president of the University of Minnesota, 1869-1884; president of the Society, 1883-1888; president of the Minneapolis Board of Park

[90]Following E. S. Kaplan, "elite refers to those groups who are both organized and conscious of themselves as at the top of a social hierarchy, and recognized as such by others" (1994b:3).

[91]That museums bolster the authority of an elite class has become a commonplace idea. For a review of historical studies that explore this idea see Harris (1981); and Handler (1993b).

Commissioners, 1889-1907; chairman of the State Board of Charities and Corrections,[92] 1885-1901; president Minneapolis Improvement League, 1902-1905; and president of the Minnesota Historical Society, 1924-1927 (Hess 1985). Similar to their counterparts in Europe and other major cities in the U.S., members of the Society in Minneapolis erected a temple-like structure to house the museum (Figure 3.5). Costing $2,000,000 in 1914 dollars, the architectural design of the MIA was said to be reminiscent of the Louvre and Versailles (Michaels 1974 in Hess 1985). When completed in 1914, "it stood forth as an opulently realized building columned and clad in white Vermont granite, rightly appointed with parquet flooring and Botticio marble" (Hess 1985:29).[93] Within the Temple was displayed the power and wealth of the founders whose personal collections became the nucleus of the museum.

The Floor Show

The MIA was intended to be an influential institution. Records for the Inaugural Exhibition confirm 12,000 visitors, setting a single day attendance record for any American Museum outside of New York City (Hess 1985). Visitors continued to come. By the end of the first month, the MIA had attracted 80,000 visitors (Hess 1985). Thus the 1914 Inaugural Exhibition was described:

> Entering the large octagonal room, one finds casts of the finest examples of Greek sculpture of the fifth century B.C. Crossing the hall one comes to the period rooms, in which the different arts of the great epochs are arranged not according to classes of material, but according

[92]The linking of Charities with Corrections is particularly revealing with respect to public policy.

[93]This quote is instructive for it is from a MIA publication describing the MIA.

> to the age which produced it . . . To the south is a room in which is an interesting group of objects representing Oriental art, Japanese prints, and Persian miniatures . . . On the upper floor the west end is occupied by American art and the east end by European, and the large central hall is taken by Mr. Hill's remarkable XIX Century French pictures.
>
> [*Bulletin* 4 Jan/Feb 1915 in Hess 1885:34]

The Inaugural Exhibition reproduced the floor plan of the prototype Western art museum organized through the classical world of Greek sculpture, the ancient wisdom of the "Orient" and the European centers of "civilization" to reproduce a narrative glorifying the philosophical and moral heritage of America. The temple was consecrated.

The Public and the Private

Yet, no matter how elite or "cultured" their practices, American art museums would have to appear inclusive and democratic. "To thrive as art collections, they needed money and art from the rich, but to work as ideologically effective institutions, they required the authority, status and prestige of public spaces" (Duncan 1995:57). In order to situate themselves firmly within the public realm museums were built on public lands, although, management, policymaking, and ownership would reside with the Board of Trustees (Duncan and Wallach 1980). In the case of the MIA, the Society, following the example of other art museums, supported Municipal ownership of the museum site so that it could be maintained as a public park. "The City of Minneapolis accepted ownership of the land, demised it back to the Society free of charge, and pledged an annual appropriation for the upkeep of the grounds" (Hess 1985:28). The MIA continues to receive these appropriations (Staff Interview). The combination of publicly owned land and private control of the collections creates a situation in which museums appear as

neutral presenters of culture thereby reinforcing a democratic ideal of the museum as an institution which provides equal access to the treasure that it houses (Duncan 1995:57).

"Designed to Signify"

A feeling of political equality may be experienced by the Trustees, staff, and museum members but for the non-elite outsider[94] the experience continues to be quite different. During interviews with juniors and seniors from Washburn High school, an integrated, inner city, public school, a number of students described their experience while visiting the MIA.[95] "The place (MIA) is supposed to be for everyone, but you know from all the frowns on all the white faces that you don't really belong" (16-year old Jamaican woman). Almost all of those students interviewed had some negative comment to make about the docents who provided them with a guided tour of the exhibit.[96] "They just talked too much . . . acted like we were too stupid to deal with the art on our own" (17-year old African-American man). Most felt that the museum staff was there to keep them under control. "They were afraid we would act out . . . If we went off by ourselves

[94]The phrase "non-elite outsider" is vague and awkward but it is difficult to be more specific since class and ethnicity as social markers of identity intersect in complex and sometimes competing ways. Working class people, minority and white, are often viewed as outside of fine culture. At the same time, middle class people of color who may be fully familiar with museum culture are oftentimes treated as outsiders due to racism.

[95]These students had seen the slide-show produced by the MIA for the exhibit, gone on a docent narrated tour of the exhibit, written an essay on their personal responses to the exhibit, and attended a lecture given by artist Ernie Whiteman (Anishinaabe) before being interviewed.

[96]At the MIA *docent* is a volunteer position. Docents undergo rigorous training that consists of two years of intensive study of the collections followed by periodic training sessions for each of the temporary exhibits and traveling shows (MIA 1995). While this structure has produced knowledgeable facilitators, it has also meant that docents tend to be privileged upper middle-class white women who have the leisure to volunteer their services (Staff Interviews).

to look at something else they herded us back into the group like cows or something" (17-year old white woman).

Only seven of the twenty-six students interviewed had had occasion to visit the MIA other than on a school sponsored 'field trip.' For many students this trip was particularly disappointing. Their response to the objects displayed in the museum was positive; "The stuff was fresh"[97] but this reaction was undercut by what they felt was a patronizing or at least a distancing attitude of the staff. Some thought the building was purposely "designed to signify" [98]and "to intimidate." They also felt that the arrangement of the museum collections was "so confusing you'd need a guide dog to get through the whole thing" (16-year old white man).

These are working class students, African-American, American Indian, Asian American, and white. They responded to the treasures of the museum, were aware of and understood the role of monumental architecture, picked-up on the cues for correct decorum in the halls of opulence and yet they did not undergo the transformative experience of museum enlightenment. They were perceived as outsiders and felt reminded of their outsider status. Perhaps, some of the interactions can be explained as differences between teenage students and adult staff/volunteers, which, in itself, is a

---

[97]This is a high compliment. Roughly translated fresh is "cool," "hip," "happening," worthy of attention and admiration.

[98]To *signify* is to signal, to openly position oneself. People can "signify" through speech that they are affiliated with certain schools of thought. To *signify* through clothing, colors, and jewelry is to advertise membership in certain groupings or sub-cultures. People also *signify* through the ownership and display of material objects that they are successful and/or dangerous, e.g. clothing, pagers, and/or weapons. Architecture will *signify* to what extent the institution housed within is an exclusive domain.

difference in status and authority but the students, also identified specific behaviors within these interactions that reflect differences in class and ethnicity. Granted this interpretation of the museum was informed by their recognition of themselves as outsiders but this recognition does not negate the meaningful social distance between the museum, its staff/volunteers, and these students. For it is this very social distance that contributes to the definition of these students as outsiders.[99]

Paradoxically, the notion of the museum as an institution that transcends class barriers (Coombes 1991)[100] is firmly established in the Mission Statement of the MIA:

> The Minneapolis Institute of Arts is dedicated to the collection and exhibition of works of art of the highest quality presented in an educational and accessible manner to the broadest possible audience.
>
> *MIA Annual Report 1988-1989*

This is the first Annual Report following Maurer's appointment as Director and CEO of the MIA. In fact, one of the first things he did as CEO was to reinstitute a policy of not charging admission to the museum's permanent collections. Instead revenue was to be generated by charging admission to traveling shows and temporary exhibits. Maurer wanted to guarantee that the community at large and the local Phillips neighborhood, in particular, would have access to the institution (Staff Interview).[101] But the paradox of

---

[99]For statistical analysis of museum visitors that demonstrate how closely museum attendance is related to privilege, in particular education, see Berger (1972) on Europe, Merriman (1989 [1993]) on Britain and Hooper-Greenhill (1988) on the U.S.

[100]For an historical discussion of the notion that the museum as an institution transcends class barriers see Coombes (1988) case study of the development of British museums.

[101]Phillips is an inner city, working class community and one of the most economically disadvantaged communities in the city whose residents have little access to public institutions.

providing equal access to an institution built on class privilege as experienced by the students from Washburn continues to be played out. The exhibition program for the same year as the Annual Report quoted above included the following highlights: "Degas in Mpls," "German Art of the Late '80's," "Masterpieces of Ming and Qing," "Courbet Reconsidered," a retrospective view of a French realist painter, and "Lucian Freud," an English graphic artist.[102] Here the focus of the 1914 Inauguration Exhibit is repeated in the 1988-1989 exhibition schedule organized around the master artists of Europe and the masterpieces of the "Orient." An institution that continues to organize its exhibits around elitist notions of culture will continue to reinforce particular notions of class. Access to the institution does not alter ones class position; in fact, it may only serve to highlight class differences. Museums then are the culmination of several centuries of development (Ames 1992). As an example of a Universal Survey Museum, The MIA continues to function as a repository of objects symbolizing the Enlightenment project where the art objects of non-Western peoples become subsumed and incorporated into a Western "civilizing" narrative. The next section moves to explicate this process of incorporation.

[102]Information is taken from the *MIA Annual Report 1988-1989*. I chose this year because it was the first year following the MIA's organizational and financial independence from the Minneapolis College of Art and Design and it marks the first years of Dr. Maurer's leadership at the museum.

Figures for Chapter 3

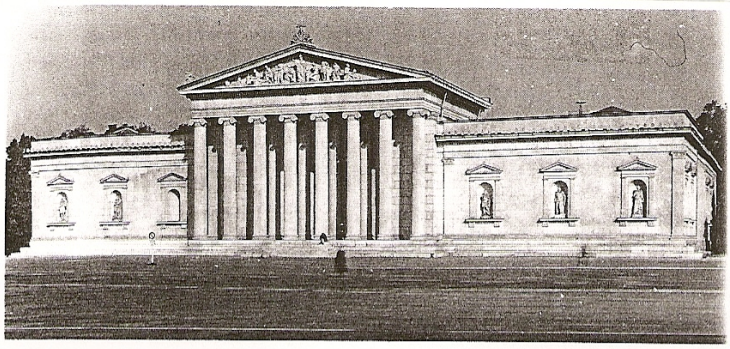
Figure 3.1

Louvre Museum, Paris. Entrance to the Apollo Gallery, (Duncan 1991).

Figure 3.2

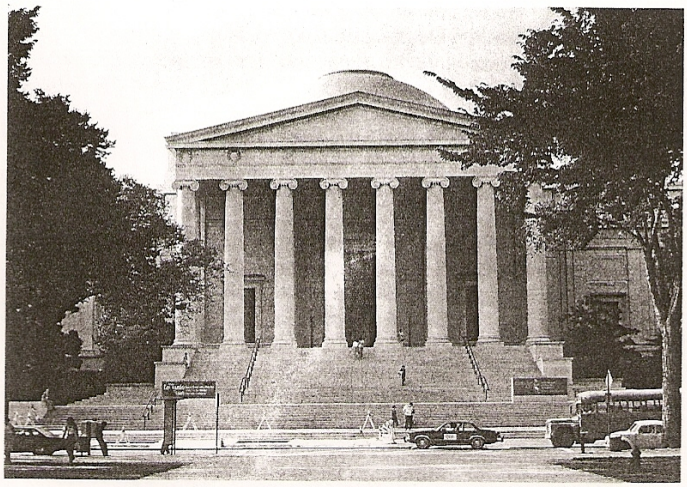
The old Louvre Palace, a former royal apartment converted to museum use in the nineteenth century, (Duncan 1991).

Figure 3.3
Museum architecture from Germany, Australia, and the United States, (Duncan 1991).



Munich, the Glyptothek

The National Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney



National Gallery, Washington, DC

Figure 3.4
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California, (Duncan 1991).

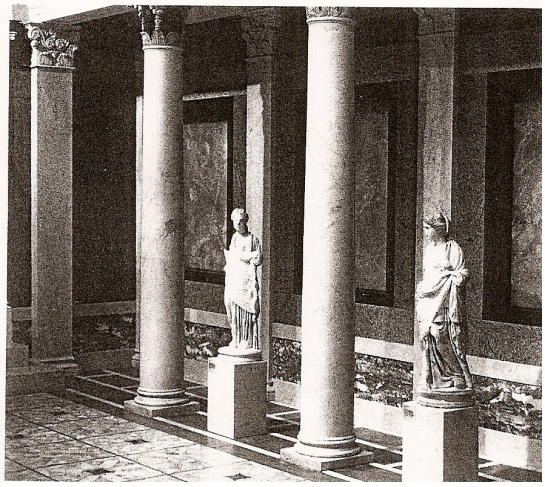
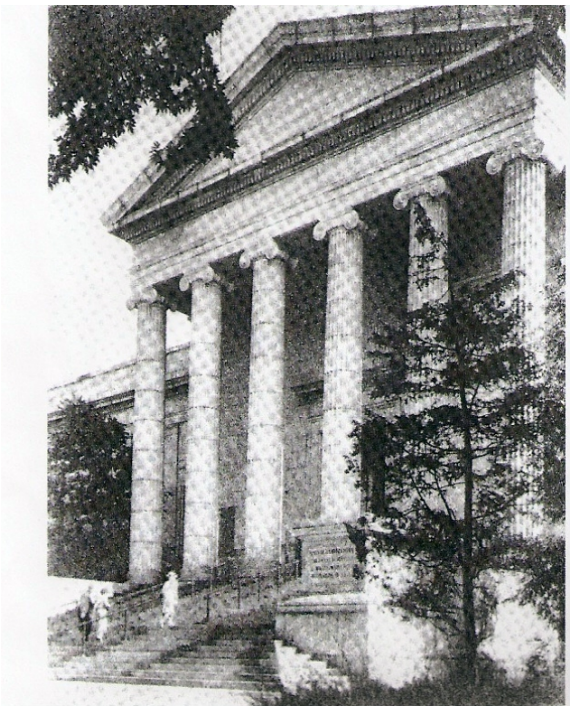


Figure 3.5
Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1941, photo by Robert F. McFerran (Hess 1985).



Chapter 4

HOARDING, COLLECTING AND AUTHORITY

> When a Bamileke Chief took office, Jacques Maquet informs us, he had his statue carved; (*Introduction to Aesthetic Anthropology* 1971:14), "after his death the statue was respected, but it was slowly eroded by the weather as his memory was eroded in the minds of the people." Where is the form here? In the shape of the statue or the shape of the career? It is, of course, in both. But no analysis of the statue that does not hold its fate in view, a fate as intended as is the arrangement of its volume or the gloss of its surface, is going to understand its meaning or catch its force.
>
> Clifford Geertz, Art as a Culture System (1983a:119)

Most non-Western art objects, including American Indian art objects, collected in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have ended up in public and private collections, more often than not owned and/or controlled by Westerners. This result superseded the intentions of the original artists and owners (Price 1989).[103] "Almost nothing displayed in museums was made to be seen in them. Museums provide an experience of most of the world's art and artifacts that does not bear even the remotest resemblance to what their makers intended" (Vogel 1991:191). Most of the world's objects have been created for economic, social, political, and/or religious purposes where they are often linked to leadership, authority, skill, power, and tradition (Geertz 1983a; Berlo and Wilson 1993). It is through their repeated use in dance, song, ritual, and other forms of performance that layers of meaning become incorporated into an object (Berlo and Wilson 1993).

[103]In *Primitive Art In Civilized Places* (1989) anthropologist Sally Price considers the power relationships inherent in an art world made up of Western viewers and non-Western artifacts.

That non-western objects have come to reside in museums is the result of large-scale historical processes of economic expansion and colonial domination (Trigger 1985).[104] Many art objects from North America were appropriated, largely as a consequence of wars of conquest, assimilationist projects,[105] and missionary activity. An era of intense collecting began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and continued through the first decade of the twentieth century (Berlo 1992). It was during this same period that major national museums were established in the United States. The Smithsonian Institution was established in 1846, the Peabody Museum at Harvard in 1856, The American Museum of Natural History in 1869 and in 1879 the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian began its first large-scale collecting expedition (Berlo 1992). The Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago was established to house the artifacts/art displayed at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 (Lester 1972).[106] Art objects were being gathered from European colonies throughout the world and American Indian communities in North America, and then transported to the West (Feest

---

[104]For a well-argued discussion of this process in the American Southwest see Hinsley (1992) "Collecting Culture and Cultures of Collecting." Hinsley considers the related processes of nation building, museum collecting, and the marketing of the "American Indian."

[105]Assimilation is such a benign sounding word. It does not reflect the violent reality of policies which included extermination, forced removal, boarding schools, reservations, disease - in a word - genocide. For a fuller discussion of these processes see David E. Stannard (1992) *American Holocaust.*

[106]For further discussion of the collecting practices of specific institutions see Bolz and Sanner (1999) *Native American Art: The Collections of the Ethnological Museum Berlin;* Cole (1985) *Captured Heritage*; Hinsley (1985) "From Shell-Heaps to Stelae," (1991) "The World as Marketplace;" Dubin (2001) *Native America Collected*; Krech and Shepard (1999) eds. *Collecting Native America*; Rabineau (1981) "North American Anthropology at the Field Museum of Natural History;" Shelton (2001a) ed. *Collectors Expressions of Self and Other,* (2001b) *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*; and Stocking (1985b) ed. *Objects and Others.*

1980) by governments, institutions, colonial administrators, art collectors, and others excited over the 'exotic art' of non-Western peoples (Carpenter 1976). Ludmilla Jordanova elaborates:

> In the case of colonial expansion, artifacts from other cultures, exotic material objects, even the 'natives' themselves were put on view[107] . . . we can legitimately speak of prized objects, of trophies, the spoils of war. The trophy simultaneously expresses victory, ownership, control and dominion. [1989:32]

Collecting and Collections

In *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970), Thomas Kuhn discusses the process by which Western scientific knowledge is generated. He proposes that knowledge is a product of social inter-action rather than an act of discovery and, further, that the social character of knowledge develops within particular historical contexts. Donna Haraway's analysis of the American Museum of Natural History in *Primate Visions: Gender Race and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (1989) suggests that the desire to collect, preserve, and display are historically specific and gendered practices. Incorporating Kuhn's analysis (1970), archaeologist Susan M. S. Pearce (1992:146) in *Museums, Objects and Collections* argues similarly to Haraway (1989) that, when looking at any collection of objects, the illuminating question is not 'What are they?' but 'When, where, how, and by whom were the objects collected?'

[107]See Corbey (1993) "Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930" and Durrans' forthcoming publication *Making Exhibitions of Ourselves* for a fuller discussion of the public display of subject peoples.

Individual and museum sponsored collectors tended to choose material that was considered to be fine work (S. Pearce 1992) based on their aesthetic qualities and/or rarity (Dominguez 1992; Lee 1991). Oftentimes, items were chosen because they were typical of a particular style or class of objects and therefore were considered to be representative (Feest 1980; S. Pearce 1992). Objects were also chosen based on commercial and market interests where the ultimate collecting challenge and therefore the most prized objects were those that represented sacred and/or religious beliefs (Hinsley 1992:15-17).[108] Museologist Sian Jones and archaeologist Sharon Pay (1990:162) in "The Legacy of Eve" discuss how the criteria for collecting artifacts results in gender bias. They describe collecting practices that affect the choice of objects. Artifacts are often collected to document technological changes usually associated with men. Therefore women's work and/or what is assumed to be women's work tends to be undervalued and the associated objects under-represented. Additionally, objects used in domestic and reproductive roles tend to be impermanent and rarely survive, making them difficult to collect. Taken together, collecting practices based on aesthetic quality, rarity, representativeness, market demands, and gender severely limited the range and type of items collected. Ultimately collections are made up of objects that collectors and curators have deemed as important enough to "deserve to be kept, remembered and treasured"

[108]It should be noted, that this is a complex area and that the market has not been the only driving force behind the collecting of sacred objects and/or the recording and documenting of sacred practices.

(Clifford 1988:231). In the words of anthropologist Richard Handler, “Collections are historically contingent assemblages of value and meaning” (1992:21).[109]

In North America, anthropologists Franz Boas in the Northwest Coast,[110] Alfred Kroeber in California, and Robert Lowie on the Plains were collecting objects from American Indian cultures in order to salvage and document a 'disappearing past' (Fane 1992; Handler 1985; Lee 1991). "Underlying their activity was an essentialist idea that kernels of meaning adhere to objects that could be discovered retrospectively at some time in the future through the analytical skills of a curator" (Cruikshank 1995:34). The appropriating and collecting of objects has left a legacy of American Indian grievances that are directly related to the ruthlessness of many collectors "who felt obligated to get the artifacts no matter how sacred or secret, by almost any stratagem before they were lost forever" (Lurie 1981:186-187). Sally Price documents "the sometimes irregular methods of acquisition" which included theft, abduction, and monetary incentives (1989:69-77). James Hanson (1980:49-50) in "The Reappearing Vanishing American" describes the long term involvement of museums with American Indian people:

> The late Jack Herman, Oglala Sioux tribal historian, once told me that his grandfather had a new position in a museum, when I asked what museum, he replied, "Smithsonian. Third exhibit case on the left."

---

[109]For an interesting perspective on present collecting practices, compare this historical discussion to Satov (1997:232-235, 237). Through formal interviews Satov establishes the criterion for acquisition employed by British curators of contemporary ethnographic museums.

[110]Although Boas spent a decade with the American Museum of Natural History, he resigned in 1905, believing that it was impossible to adequately represent cultural meaning on the basis of physical objects alone (Handler 1985:192; Jacknis 1985:108).

Ironically this collecting activity both preserved and destroyed the past (Berlo 1992). "By the time it ended there was more Kwakiutl material in Milwaukee than in Mamalillikulla, more Salish pieces in Cambridge than Comox . . . and New York City probably housed more British Columbia material than British Columbia herself" (Cole 1985:286).[111] A visit to the storage rooms of any major European or North American museum would confirm that this phenomena was not isolated to the Northwest Coast. These collecting practices have resulted in the unequal distribution of cultural property throughout the world. In a discussion of Oceanic ethnographic collections, Peter Gathercole (1991:80) informs us that:

> The existing distribution of these collections still reflects more the history of Imperialism than present-day geo-political and cultural realities . . . the majority of collections continue to be held outside the South Pacific beyond convenient access by indigenous scholars and by other Pacific Islanders.

For all the items acquired in the wake of this "frenzied collecting" (Dominguez 1986:547), the various collections, housed in both Europe and North America, represent only fragments of the social life and material culture of any one American Indian Nation[112] (Gordon and Herzog 1988).

Formed in the colonial era, museum collections can be studied as the products of many different collecting projects. In addition to ethnologists and native-collectors who

---

[111]On the collecting practices of museums see Cole (1985); Fane et al (1991); Jonaitis (1988); and Penny (1992).

[112]In many parts of the world, anthropologists speak of cultural traditions. In North America, native people have historically been defined by tribal affiliation. American Indian people speak of themselves as being members of a "Nation" which describes their cultural and political affiliation.

often worked collaboratively, art historian Ruth B. Phillips (1995) describes the process by which art enthusiasts and tourists also acquired many significant items of material culture. Consequently, the composition of collections has been influenced by a number of variables. Individual collectors tended to select objects that were rare and old - qualities they associated with authenticity - unfortunately; these items often came to museums without reliable documentation (Phillips 1995).[113] Socially prominent families tried to create personal and family memorials through gifts and bequests by donating art works, furniture, "bric-a-brac," and personal effects to museums, which then became collections of decorative art or period rooms (Duncan 1995). Less prominent families donated personal memorabilia and tourist souvenirs to their local historical society, again, documentation was often lacking (Phillips 1995). Through acquisition practices, objects associated with historical events or important political figures tend to be over-represented in museums (Gathercole 1991). What characterizes these diverse projects is the lack of a coherent rationale that informs acquisition policy (S. Pearce l991b).

The advantage of anthropological collections for the purposes of analysis is that they were often based on systematic collecting principles, which resulted in "planned expeditions, organized excavations, and the deliberate assemblage of historical materials" (S. Pearce l991b:148-149). Systematic collecting led to well documented collections.[114]

---

[113]Notable exceptions are Lt. George Thornton Emmons, USN, son of George Foster Emmons a member of the Wilkes Expedition, and Charles F. Newcombe. Emmons and Newcombe became the names in Northwest Coast collecting. They never profited financially from the specimens they collected for museums for they refused to sell to collectors and dealers (Carpenter 1976).

[114]For a critique of various collecting strategies see Hooper-Greenhill (1992).

Unfortunately, it also led to categorizing objects in ways which were not necessarily recognized by the people who made and used them (Phillips 1995, see also Townsend-Gault 1988). In addition, objects were chosen based on the criteria and aesthetic judgment of the collector, not necessarily those of the artist (Berlo 1992; S. Price 1989). The practice of ignoring indigenous categories and aesthetics has resulted in incomplete or incorrectly defined assemblages.

On the subject of aesthetic evaluation, Edmund Carpenter (1976) in "Collectors and Collections" recounts some very interesting history. A group of European Surrealist painters in the 1940s, among them Max Ernst and Yves Tanguay, became very interested in the American Indian art of the Northwest Coast. The Surrealists responded to this work, which often depicts the process of transmutation: two beings simultaneously occupying the same space. Northwest Coast, Inuit, and Melanesian artists like the Surrealists emphasized visual puns, and it was visual puns the Surrealists collected. After comparing the collections of anthropologists and artists, Carpenter found the Surrealist collections to be artistically superior. Anthropologists had collected objects based on function where the Surrealists chose works based on the aesthetic judgment of the people that produced them. Multiple factors - the fragmentary nature of collections, value judgments about age and authenticity, and aesthetic judgments of the collectors - determined what objects have been retained for exhibition. These same factors affect how these surviving objects have been interpreted (Feest 1980; S. Price 1989).

James Clifford summarizes:

> The collector discovers, acquires, and salvages the objects. The objective world [appears to be] given not produced, and thus historical relations of power in the work of acquisition are occluded. The making of meaning in museum classification and display is mystified as adequate representation. (1988:220)

Studying the values that informed the collecting process allows us to understand the inherent social nature of collections. Collections are partial in particular ways; this is true for any collection, from 17th-century Chinese decorative arts to l9th-century Expressionist painting. Given the inevitable incompleteness of any cultural display, one cannot use them to present an impartial account of anything, past or present, of the self or the other (S. Pearce 1992; Vogel 1991, C. King 1992). Curators and museum staff construct exhibits from historically constituted partial collections. Once constructed an exhibit shapes the meaning associated with those objects and creates a forum for cultural interpretation.[115] Stephen E. Weil, deputy director of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, in an article published in *Museum News* (1990:59) states that:

> What has become compellingly clear is the extent to which - like speech, like writing, like every other form of human discourse - an exhibit is shaped from the outset by the values, attitudes, and assumptions of those who choose and arrange the objects that it contains . . . it is the exhibition itself that radiates the strongest interpretive emanations.

---

[115]On the role of exhibits and the construction of meaning see Ames (1986) *Museums the Public and Anthropology*, (1992) *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*; Boylan (1990) "Museums and Cultural Identity;" Duncan (1991) "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," (1995) *Civilizing Rituals*; Karp and Levine, (eds. 1991) *Exhibiting Cultures;* Karp, Kramer, and Levine, (eds. 1992) Museums and Communities; S. Pearce, (ed. 1991a) *Museum Studies in Material Culture*, (1992) *Museums, Objects and Collections*; and Vogel (1991) "Always True to the Object in Our Fashion." On the role of exhibitions in the construction of a radically different Other, see Stallybrass and White (1986).

Representation and Authority

Excluding some forms of Western art, the material culture of the world has been produced for every ritual, social, and cultural context imaginable, except for the purpose of museum display (Vogel 1991).[116] For the purposes of collection and display, objects are removed from their original contexts of production, use and/or discard and are given new roles as historic, cultural or artistic artifacts (Stocking l985a). Although an object does not change its form when it is transferred from one cultural setting to another, the context that informs how an object is read[117] and understood by the viewer changes significantly (Jonaitis 1992; Vogel 1991).

> The very recontextualization or ordering of objects as a "collection" constitutes an act of authority over the artifacts and their makers . . . the collection, by its new existence begins also to generate a representational reality of its own. [Hinsley 1992:15]

Objects exhibited in museums command an authority that is not intrinsic to the objects themselves. Authority is conferred upon an object by being reconstructed as art or as artifact (Jordanova l989). By not stressing the reconstructed nature of exhibitions, museums imply that their narrative is accurate and objective. According to Vogel:

> The radical dislocation of objects in museums has become a firmly established tradition in the west. Museum visitors expect to see practically everything from tombs and altars to shoes and clocks; the visitors' relative lack of experience of these artifacts in their original contexts makes them unaware of how much the museum itself influences what they see. (1991:200-201)

---

[116]It should be noted that non-western artists, including American Indian artists, are increasingly producing for the art market and consequently for museums (Lippard 1990, Townsend-Gault 1997).

[117]The choice of the verb 'to read' in this context is itself a Western construction.

The museum narrative is subjective, partial, and authored, yet it is often presented as if it were written by an objective, impartial and unbiased authority. Much of the authority of museum presentations rests on this lack of acknowledged authorship (Ames 1992; Vogel 1991).[118] In a series of installations, begun in the mid-1980s, entitled On Loan From the Museum of the American Indian, artist Jimmie Durham parodies the didactic forms of representation. Durham arranges artifacts from contemporary people's daily lives with labels that read "An Indian Toothbrush," "Pocahontas' Underwear," and "This exhibit sponsored in part by the Sir Walter Raleigh Tobacco & Firearms Corp. and the John Jacob Astor Animal Skinning Co." His work exposes the underlying misinterpretation and distorting power of unauthored captions that have heretofore paraded as objective commentary (Lippard 1990:209-211).

To recontextualize is not just rearrangement, museums also evaluate objects in terms of western aesthetic principles. In some measure the West has attributed to the art of all times and all places the qualities of its own artistic traditions where the decontextualization of non-Western art objects appropriates these objects into a discourse that is about Western art (S. Price 1989; Torgovnick 1990). Handler (1992) in "On the Valuing of Museum Objects" asserts that despite the growing awareness that collections are historically created assemblages of value and meaning there remains the idea that real value is based on universal criteria that is intrinsic to the object itself. A view he

[118]*Objects of Myth and Memory* (1991) and *Chiefly Feasts* (1991) are exceptions. The introductory panels in these exhibits were signed by the curators and consultants who wrote them. This practice removes "the aura of objective anonymity" that has characterized museum representations (Berlo and Phillips 1992:42).

attributes to the primacy of positivism as it informs museum practice.[119] In contrast, he argues that "without meaningful human activity to create values, objects are meaningless" (1992:21) where even title, provenance, and dates are forms of interpretation that highlight our "conceptual and social interactions with the object" (1992:25). Art critic Thomas McEvilley comments on the consequences of this approach:

> Modernist exhibition strategy holds that the installation of tribal objects in the purified art gallery setting frees them from context in order to open them to appreciation as pure art. The esthetic or formalist idea of art is enforced upon objects of other primary intentions. Western criteria of quality are forced upon works that, even as art, were not made with the West in mind. The result is a global claim for the universality of a certain idea of quality. [1992a:65]

Since the criteria of quality that underlies the artworks will supposedly never change, the artworks incorporating such criteria become investment objects. On October 19, 1987 the New York Stockmarket crashed; as stocks plummeted, the value of artworks went up. "Art was transcendently legitimized as incorporating values more profound and durable than the values of money and of material reality in general" (McEvilley 1992a:71l; c.f. Berger 1972). The West benefits both aesthetically and financially from the decontextualization and recontextualization of art objects. Additionally, art historical standards of 'quality and connoisseurship' have historically disenfranchised women and

[119]The ideas of universal criteria are associated with art history where anthropology tends to be more particularist. Dominguez (1992) attributes this to differences in the definition of "culture." Anthropologists employ a holistic model where art historians prefer the old European elitist notions of *Kulture/Culture*. It is this elitist notion that attributes value to objects according to criteria of aesthetic quality and rarity (Dominguez 1992). This discussion, contrasting anthropology and art history, is further developed in Phillips (1994).

working class artists, as well as artists of color.[120] Elitist notions of quality incorporate rigid boundaries with respect to race, gender, class, and ethnicity. This explains, for example, the absence of nineteenth-century European women painters and twentieth-century working class artists from most museum collections.[121]

Visual Imposition

The anthropological study of art has disclosed that art has as many purposes and forms of expression "as there are conceptions about the way things are" (Geertz 1983a:122).[122] In the case of Western art, Vogel argues that it is created for the purpose of contemplation and further "that its main qualities can be apprehended visually" (1991:192). With the exception of Western art objects most of the world's art has not

---

[120]These are not mutually exclusive categories. Individuals may have multiple identities; it is possible, for example, to be a working class, woman artist of color.

[121]For a discussion of the exclusion of artists of color see Biome (1990) *The Art of Exclusion*, hooks (1995) *Art On My Mind*, and Lippard (1990) *Mixed Blessings*. Investigations into the historically gendered aspects of social space and the museum include Landes (1988) *Women and the Public Space* writing on France and Riley (1988) *Am I That Name?* on Britain.

[122] While the anthropological literature on art is much too extensive to be fully listed here, major works include Biebuyck, (1969) *Tradition and Creativity in Tribal Art*; Forge, (1973) *Primitive Art and Society*; Fraser (1966) *The Many Faces of Primitive Art*; Graburn, (1976) *Ethnic and Tourist Arts*; Greenhalgh and Megaw, (1978) *Art In Society*; Jopling (1971) *Art and Aesthetics in Primitive Societies*; Layton (1991) *The Anthropology of Art*; and Otten, (1971) *Anthropology and Art*. On the role of the artist see Blackman (1993[1980]) "Master Carpenter's Daughters;" Holm (1974) "The Art of Willie Seaweed," (1981) "Will the Real Charles Edenshaw Please Stand Up?;" Munn (1971) "Visual Categories;" Parezo (1982) "Navajo Sand paintings;" Thompson (1969) "Abatan: A Master Potter."

been made for the purpose of contemplation.[123] The primary significance of an art object may be found in the texture of the object, in the sound it produces, in the use for which it was created, or in its ability to elicit a response (Berlo and Wilson 1993; Anderson and Field 1993). Museum display emphasizes the visual as a medium of knowledge and authority (J. Fisher 1992:47), but the visual qualities of an object and their importance, like any other quality, are part of a matrix of socially constructed meaning where the visual qualities may not be what is most significant to the people who make and use it.[124]

Art critic and historian Coutts-Smith comments on the preeminence of the visual mode in contemporary Western fine arts and suggests that "Painting was the form that best objectified bourgeois ideals, the individual picture could become property in the absolute sense, since it could uniquely embody both the status and aspirations of its owner in a manner that was denied to the poem, the novel, the play, or the opera" (1991:17 emphasis in original).[125] Art museums ignore this matrix of socially constructed meaning because they operate under the assumption that:

---

[123]One could argue that the images covering a Lakota shield created from the knowledge granted during a Vision Quest could be considered art that is contemplated by the artist. What is being argued here is that Western art is created primarily for the purpose of contemplation by an audience. While a Lakota artist may contemplate his life and accomplishments upon seeing his shield, contemplation was not the guiding purpose for its creation.

[124]For a discussion of American Indian and First Nations' artists who do not isolate the visual from other expressive modes and idioms that carry social meaning see Townsend-Gault (1992). See Podedworny (1991:27-29) argue against the possibility of a universal visual experience.

[125]Claude Levi-Strauss writes: "It is this avid and ambitious desire to take possession of the object for the benefit of the owner or even the spectator which seems to me to constitute one of the outstanding original features of the art of Western civilization" (Charbonnier 1969:64 cited in Berger 1972:84 and Price 1989:133 footnote 4.)

> Art somehow represents an embodiment or the concretization of basic values and fundamental truths that exist somewhere outside of history, beyond social change, external to political and economic reality. [Coutts-Smith 1991:14]

To make the visual primary reinforces the assumption "that our visual perception is a somehow coherent, even objective process" (Vergo 1989:49). Interestingly, Western artists have disputed this commonly held view of the process of "seeing" (Berger 1972), and much of their creative energy has been devoted to exploring how it is we see that which we think we see (Canaday 1980). Notable artists in this regard include: Paul Cezanne and the use of forms and shapes in composition; Claude Monet and the effect of light on appearance; George Seurat on the application and juxtaposition of color focusing on its ability to create an image; Vincent van Gogh on optical distortion and movement; Pablo Picasso developed the idea of mediated vision through geometric abstraction; Edward Munch portrayed the subjectivity of the subject; Henri Matisse on the ability of color to define space and evoke a response; and Georgia O'Keefe achieved a focused view of the subject producing multiple interpretations (de la Croix and Tansey 1986).

These artistic explorations demonstrate that what we experience as recognition is affected by culturally conditioned processes and a knowledge of certain pictorial conventions that inform the way in which we cognitively apprehend the visual (Vergo 1989). In other words, the way we see things is affected by what we know and what we believe (Berger 1972: 31-33; c.f. Benjamim 1970). Artistic intentions create particular meanings which cannot be perceived unless the object is culturally contextualized. When art is culturally contextualized, the category 'art' can include literally anything, from body scarification to prayers. "In Bali they make statues out of coins, in Australia drawings

out of dirt" (Geertz 1983a:122). Art may or may not exist as a category in differing cultures and then may be quite variably conceived. To draw out these contrasts, Clifford (1988:207) quotes activist and novelist Chinua Achebe (1984:ix emphasis in original):

> The purposeful neglect of mbari houses with all the art objects in them provides a significant insight into Igbo aesthetic value as process rather than product . . . When the product is preserved or venerated, the impulse to repeat the process is compromised. Therefore the Igbo choose to eliminate the product and retain the process so that every occasion and every generation will receive its own impulse and experience creation. [126]

In some settings objects are individual creations, in others, collaborative endeavors, e.g. Melanesian canoe prows. In some instances art is a commercial transaction, others it is a gift within the framework of reciprocity, e.g. Lakota cradleboards (Forge 1973; Mauss 1990 [1950]). Within a given society some objects are preserved while others of a more ephemeral nature are destroyed once they have fulfilled the function for which they were created, e.g. Navajo sand paintings (Parezo 1982).[127] To impose the qualities of western art on non-western created objects is to substitute and elevate one set of interpretations over another where the local understanding of these objects is undermined by particular interpretive stances.[128] This process of substitution

---

[126]See also C. Uchendu (1965) *The Igbo of Southeast Nigeria*.

[127]It could be said that Navajo healers have another definition of preservation. While individual sand paintings may be dispersed, the design for each type of painting has been committed to memory with the intention that each time it is produced it will be recreated exactly as it was the time before.

[128]Western ideas of art and aesthetics are themselves historically particular products of European culture - see Eagleton (1990) *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*, Shelton (ed.) (1995) *Fetishism: Visualizing Power and Desire*, and Staniszewski (1995) *Believing Is Seeing*.

then devalues those objects and the artists who created them. Commenting on the process that has redefined ethnographic items as art, artist Susan Hiller concludes that:

> The decontextualization that occurs when tribal objects enter 'art' means it is precisely not on their own terms that they achieve this universal significance, but only when they are assimilated into a western world-view which is imagined to be universal. Display in an art museum is the final stage in a series of powerful institutional strategies of appropriation, a mythologized denial that there is any specific meaning in the collecting, possessing, and displaying of ethnographic objects by the west.
>
> [1991:186 emphasis in original]

The Object

With all this talk about transformation, interpretation, recontextualization and construction just what is it about objects that allow this to occur? Pearce (1992) argues that objects are such a fundamental part of our experience that we rarely acknowledge the profound way in which they shape the very fabric of our lives (c.f. Deetz 1977).[129] People wrap babies in diapers and gifts in paper, look into mirrors and gaze out of windows, prevent disease with condoms and contraception with diaphragms. Objects circumscribe the very way in which we do things (Glassie 1975). We walk through doorways not walls, stub our toes on furniture and duck under lintels. Materials have properties that interact with the physical world to impose limits on objects (S. Pearce

[129]For a review of the literature on material culture see Susan M. Pearce (1991a) "Museum Studies in Material Culture." Exemplar works include Arjun Appadurai (1986) *The Social Life of Things*; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) *The Meaning of Things*; James Deetz (1977) *In Small Things Forgotten*; Henry Glassie (1975) *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia*; Grant McCracken (1988) *Culture and Consumption*; and Daniel Miller (1987) *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*, and (ed. 1998) *Material Culture: Why Some Things Matter*, Myers (ed. 2000) *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*.

1992). A net does not hold water and kilns are not made of wood. "The ability to produce a world of things is a fundamental part of our ability to create social lives and feel 'at home' in them" (Pearce 1992:23).[130] For children, objects precede language as a means of expressing feelings and desires (Miller 1987:99). Upon the death of someone close to us, the sight of an object or a piece of clothing, something that belonged to them, something they used or cherished, calls forth associated memories and causes grief (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981).[131] Clearly we have emotional relationships with objects.

Objects function as social signals of class, ethnicity, gender, status, and wealth (Apadurai 1986, Deetz 1977, McCraken 1988). People ride in limousines or take buses. We wear dresses and pants, high heels and athletic shoes, drink from crystal goblets and plastic cups, sleep in beds or on park benches, and adorn our bodies with earrings, watches, and nose rings.[132] "Objects are intentional inscriptions on the physical world which embody social meaning" (S. Pearce 1992:21). It is the very physicality of objects that allows them to be possessed, owned, and transferred from one person to another, "although why these things happen to them, that is their desirability, rests in the value ascribed to them by the community concerned" (S. Pearce 1992:31-32, see also Miller

---

[130]Objects as a frame of reference for social behavior see Miller (1987) *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*, Gombrich (1979) *The Sense of Order* and Goffman (1975) *Frame Analysis*.

[131]For confirmation see the Visitor Interviews in this Chapter as well as Chapter 5.

[132]See also Myers (ed. 2000) for a discussion of objects and the construction of meaning, the way objects classify persons, objects and nationalism, objects and indigenous identity, and objects and cultural borrowing.

1989). Objects have a life span and a history, passing from one possessor to another, from one kind of use to another, and from one place to another. The ability of objects to physically survive gives them a unique relationship to past events (Miller 1998, S. Pearce 1992). The qualities of physicality, history, and transferability move people to call objects the 'real thing.' "It is this capacity for reality which gives them, and so the museums which hold them, their ability to testify to the nature of past events" (S. Pearce 1992:256). In a museum context, the physicality of objects on display provides visual authentication that the narrative being presented is real, genuine, and objective. Objects become the cold, hard facts of the narrative. Their concreteness serves as proof that what is being said about history culture and art is true (S. Pearce 1990, Kavanagh 1991b). It is the very physicality of objects, the authority of the museum, and the control of the exhibition space, form, and style which often leads visitors to accept the particular narrative offered by the museum (S. Pearce 1990; Vogel 1991).

Museums operate under the assumption that there exists a link between the viewing of an object and the acquisition of knowledge (Jordanova 1989); yet, objects do not speak for themselves. While the function of an object may be known, or at least reasonably assumed, it is much more difficult to know with any certainty what particular objects may have meant to the individuals who created and used them. An assembly of artifacts cannot convey the experience of what it is like to be a child or a warrior or an artist, for example. "These are abstractions; each is a name we give to a vastly complex and variable set of experiences" (Jordanova 1989). Museums create the illusion that they can offer a representation of history or culture by making the object "stand for" an

abstraction (Stewart 1984). A Plains warrior shirt becomes an ethnographic metonym for a Plains warrior as well as Plains warrior culture. The classification for displaying an object (e.g. warrior shirt, sacred regalia, ceremonial garment, hunting outfit) overrides the specific histories of the objects. Therefore, in a modern museum, relationships between objects replace social relationships (Stewart 1984).

The museum displays the shirt and the shield of a warrior but does not indicate who beaded and quilled the shirt, who decided what images would embellish the shirt, or who tanned the leather to make the shield. The creation of a warrior shirt as well as the warrior depends upon particular social relationships, relationships that are rarely addressed in museum exhibits. Many objects displayed in museums were at one time a fundamental part of the lives of those who created them but these same objects have been removed from their original contexts and recontextualized within another

Building the Exhibit

The process by which the MIA developed *Visions of the People* is instructive. Three distinct elements distinguish this effort. First, even though the MIA is a prominent 'white' institution,[133] American Indian people were involved in planning aspects of the exhibit. The MIA worked on program planning with an American Indian Advisory Board, whose members were primarily Dakota and Ojibwe, and brought in Joseph D. Horse Capture (A'ani [Gros Ventre]) as an exhibit intern. Second, the curators' choice of

[133]The building that houses the museum is 'white,' an overwhelming majority of the staff is 'white,' and most Trustees of the museum are 'white.'

exhibition objects provoked controversy over the proposed displaying of calumets/pipes. This controversy fueled a debate over the definition of what is sacred, which subsequently led to the removal of the calumets/pipes from the show.[134] Third, the Institute engaged in a concerted effort to attract oftentimes overlooked audiences by reaching out to inner-city public schools, local community organizations, and reservations in the region.

This community effort was directed toward an inner city, working-class, American Indian, African-American, and white audience and is worth examining in some detail. The MIA contacted local area schools and provided special viewing times for students. The Education Department of the MIA produced a classroom educational packet consisting of a slide presentation of selected items from the show (Appendix D) and an instructor's manual with artistic and historic interpretations describing each object. This packet was distributed to instructors who brought their students to the show. The MIA sent free passes to local community organizations within the Phillips neighborhood (e.g., the Indian Health Board and the Urban League) that specifically address the needs of American Indian and African-American people. The boundaries of the Phillips neighborhood lie near the MIA and although integrated, Phillips is one of the poorest neighborhoods in Minneapolis. Its working-class residents are primarily American Indian (primarily Dakota, Ojibwe, and Oneida), but the neighborhood also includes

[134]Townsend-Gault (1997:142) reminds us, "Contested social relations, both intra- and extra-group, have always tended to focus on the material culture, as arguments over the display and transmission of ownership. Objects do not travel alone through the field of social relations, being wrapped in stories of their production and histories of their representation, and accompanied by songs, dances and theories making claims about their value."

African-Americans, and whites. The MIA also hired bus companies to provide transportation for Dakota and Ojibwa people from reservations in both Minnesota and South Dakota who wished to attend the exhibit.[135] Again, this was an outreach program aimed at people who do not ordinarily frequent the institution.[136] In the process of building for the exhibit, the MIA invited American Indian people to act as program consultants and engaged in an effort to bring people from local communities to the exhibit. The institution also responded to requests from outside the museum and struggled to reach consensus around the issue of displaying sacred objects.

In an effort to reach a mass audience the MIA allocated a significant part of its operating budget to advertising. *Visions of the People* was advertised prominently in the mass media. Advertisements appeared on TV, in newspapers, and on billboards as part of an intensive media campaign. Exhibit logos were printed on Target[137] discount store shopping bags in an attempt to reach a larger audience. Brian Wallis (1986), adjunct curator at the New Museum of Contemporary Art, in his article, "The Art of Big

---

[135]How well this effort was coordinated is difficult to evaluate. Individuals from Fond du Lac reported that they did not have access to a bus (Visitor Interview).

[136]My observations and interviews suggest that the MIA was successful. A significant number of American Indian and African-American people came to the show. Working-class people (American Indian, African-American and white), who seldom visit the MIA, attended in large numbers. Many of those interviewed, reported that they either rarely visit the MIA or that *Visions* was, in fact, their first visit. Conversely, the turnout of museum-familiar, upper-class art patrons appeared to fall short of their usual high attendance figures, if not in actual numbers than as a percentage of total visitors. The presence of a large working-class contingent subtly altered the viewing atmosphere by increasing the comfort level for those working class people who attended.

[137]The Target chain of discount stores, as part of the Dayton-Hudson Corporation, is owned by the Dayton family of Minnesota. Individual family members serve on the Board of Trustees of the MIA and have, over time, donated several artworks from their private collections to the institution.

Business," discusses changes in museum funding. He observes that over the past twenty years museums have experienced financial hardships and have turned to corporations for funding. Similar to the trend described by Wallis, the MIA enlisted the aid of The Dayton Hudson Corporation as a major corporate sponsor to ensure a successful outcome.[138] Wallis argues that these joint ventures between museums and large corporations have led to a shift in museum values. He further argues that an increasing reliance on corporate sponsorship produces more and more exhibits that have taken on the characteristics of mass spectacle, entertainment and consumerism. These same characteristics were in evidence at *Visions of the People*. Historian Daniel J. Sherman and art historian Irit Rogoff (1995) in *Museum Culture: Histories Discourses and Spectacles* take the analysis further, "Blockbuster exhibitions . . . function in tandem with consumer advertising to produce culture as spectacle so that spectacle can be marketed as a form of cultural legitimacy" (1995:xvii). All the more reason for a critical appraisal of a major exhibit like *Visions of the People*.

Another Vision

Visions of the People seemed to signal a fundamental change in museum representation. Until recently fine art museums did not display American Indian art (Clifford 1988; Lippard 1990). In fact, objects created by American Indian artisans were

[138]Funding for the exhibit and catalog was provided by the Henry Luce Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts, The Bush Foundation, Dayton Hudson Foundation on behalf of Dayton's and Target Stores, KSTP TV, and Dona and Cargill MacMillan. Additional support for education and outreach programs was provided by Lisa and Judd Dayton, Honeywell Inc., The American Express Philanthropic Program on behalf of IDS Financial Services Inc., and Shearson Lehman Brothers.

categorized as artifacts displayed in either ethnographic or natural history museums (Blakey 1990; Feest 1980). In ethnographic museums visitors could see American Indian artifacts organized by culture areas[139] displayed in dioramas depicting 'everyday life' focusing on technology, hunting practices, food processing techniques, and the use of trade goods. Natural history museums also used dioramas but displays of "American Indian-life" would be next to or down the hall from stuffed pigeons, sand cranes, star fish, and snakes (Clifford 1988; Gordon and Herzog 1988; Phillips 1994). In an ethnographic museum, visitors glimpsed the "noble people" from a timeless past while in a natural history museum they were just another form of wildlife (V. Deloria 1969).

This shift from ethnographic object to art has been explained as a broadening of Western aesthetics which interestingly coincided with a developing market in non-western art (Wade 1985); it also coincided with better funding for art as opposed to anthropology exhibits (Feest 1984). The fact that large numbers of artifacts have been redefined as art "is a taxonomic shift that requires critical historical discussion not [necessarily] celebration" (Clifford 1988:196). Price engages this discussion: "The equality accorded to non-western art is not a natural reflection of human equivalence but rather, can be seen as, the result of western benevolence" (1989:25).[140] For it is only

---

[139]The MIA employed the anthropological concept of the Culture Area when they organized the exhibit around the idea of "Plains Indians." See Chapter 5 for detailed discussion of this concept.

[140]This argument appears to be supported by the attitude expressed by art critic Hilton Kramer, "In a world in which the primitive (sic) is looked upon as a sort of aristocrat of feeling and spirit - as being on more exalted terms with instinct and appetite and even perhaps God than any we (sic) could hope to achieve under the constraints of modern life - is it any wonder that primitive art should be elevated to a new cultural status (1982:62 cited in Price 1989:29-30)?

when non-western art is assimilated into a western aesthetic and world-view that it becomes 'art' (Hiller 1991:186). American Indian people comprise approximately 2% of the population. Non-Indian people can live their entire lives without meeting or not recognize that they had met an American Indian person. This unrecognizability exists because most non-Indian people carry with them an image of Indian people that bears little resemblance to reality: [141] Michael Dorris (1987:99) offers this explanation:

> Many non-Indians would not know a real Native American if they fell over one, for they have been prepared for a well-defined, carefully honed legend. Unless they talk "Indian" and ooze nostalgia for bygone days . . . native people are a disappointment to non-Indians whose standards of ethnic validity are based on Pocahontas, Squanto, or Tonto.

Generations of school children grow up knowing the fifty states that compromise the territory of the United States, minimally they know the state they live in, but most non-Indians cannot name the American Indian Nations existing within these same borders. Invisibility is demonstrated each time a sports fan does the tomahawk chop or supports the continued use of American Indian names and images as mascots for sports teams.[142]

---

[141]Two volumes have particular relevancy for those who wish to challenge myths misconceptions about American Indian people: Bird (1996) *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*; and Mihesuah (1997) *American Indians: Stereotypes and Realities.* Bird's edited volume (1996) looks at specific myths (the story surrounding the stereotypes) and examines the process that creates, perpetuates, and promotes these myths. Mihesuah (1997) provides a contemporary handbook on American Indian stereotypes, arranged by topic, with information conveyed in an accessible writing style. Topics include: "Indians are all alike," "Indians are a vanished race," and "Indians like having their picture taken." Each topic is dismantled by Mihesuah followed by a list of "Recommended Readings.

[142]American Indian mascots are a pervasive, ubiquitous feature of American culture - mascot images have been found printed on toilet paper (C.F. King 1998:47). *Team Spirits* (2001) discusses the complex history and significance of mascots, activism against the use of mascots, and "elaborates the complicities and complexities associated with the practices in which predominantly white communities reinvent themselves through imagined Indians" (C.R. King and C.F. Springwood 2001:18).

"They call it honoring you, somehow it is an honor being an icon, to be memorialized as if you were dead" (Interview).

> The poorest and most desperate places in America are Native American reservations . . . 85 percent unemployment, deplorable health care and even worse education, horrifying rate of alcohol and drug addiction, the highest suicide rates and lowest life expectancy of any ethnic group in the nation. It is apparently delightful to caricature Native Americans in movies or as mascots as long as the real people are hidden from sight on rural lands reserved for their containment.
>
> Lewis Owens (2001) As If an Indian Really Were an Indian.

The invisibility is built from a non-Indian construction of American Indian people that relegates them to the past and if they exist at all, they exist as part of the landscape, as roadside scenic vistas, something that goes by like trees or fence-posts as you cruise down the highway. "Much of the psychic pain people experience in a racist society is caused by dehumanizing oppressive forces that render us invisible and deny us recognition" (hooks 1992:35).

While the people may be invisible, American Indian images have wide recognition. Indian images have become synonymous with advertising and entertainment symbols.[143] "When companies adopted Indians as trademarks, they appealed to the idealized notions of Indians as bloodthirsty savages, sensitive men of nature, or the honest and noble primitive" (Morgan 1986:57). Companies also used Indians in the same way that they had used buffalos and eagles; as a symbol for America indicating that the product was

[143]For a concise but thorough treatment of advertising and trading cards see Steele (1996).

American made (Morgan 1986).[144] Non-Indians market Land O' Lakes butter, Mazola corn oil, and Crazy Horse beer, yell 'Geronimo' as they jump out of planes, save Buffalo nickels, drive a Jeep Cherokee Chief, Dakota trucks, and Indian motorcycles, sleep at the Thunderbird motel, buy Mutual of Omaha insurance, camp in a Winnebago and their children play with action figures from TV's Tonto and Disney's Pocahontas. Cheyenne artist Edgar Heap of Birds responds:

> Even as grave hardships exist for the living Indian people, a mockery is made of us by reducing our tribal names and images to the level of insulting sports team mascots, brand-name automobiles, camping equipment, and various other commercial products . . . This strange white custom is particularly insulting when one considers the great lack of attention given to real Indian concerns. [1991:341]

Transforming American Indian people into brand name products and advertising logos, allows the "menace of the savage warrior to be safely recycled as nostalgic 'primitivism' in advertising" (Fisher and Durham 1988:104; see also Rosaldo 1989 on imperialist nostalgia). While the white construction of Indianness is a fiction writ large, American Indian peoples are not. Identity, integrity, and personhood are challenged daily by people and institutions who have accepted this fiction as reality. Even when American Indian people clearly state, 'this is not who we are,' the fiction holds fast. If American Indian people object, they are redefined as no longer Indian (Rose 1992; Owens 2001). The strength of this fiction is grounded in history and time; it permeates all aspects of social life. When the MIA put on one of the largest, regionally specific exhibits of American Indian objects in the country, displayed these objects in the

[144]See also Steele (1996) for a discussion of racial ideology and the use of American Indian, African American, Asian American, and Irish images in advertising.

hallowed halls of fine art, and crafted an historical narrative that ended in the present with the idea that contemporary objects represent living traditions, it seemed as if the institution was engaged in a radically new practice. Few large fine arts museums had mounted shows on such a massive scale. It was a statement that countered the invisibility, a statement that moved the representation of American Indian people out of the world of the natural history museum of stuffed animals and fossils and moved American Indian art into the realm of the aesthetic, in the same building with the old masters, the chosen few.

The Audience Looks Twice

This was not the first time that American Indian art/artifacts have been displayed in a fine art's museum. Maurer, himself, had done so in l977 at the Art Institute of Chicago with the exhibition *Native American Heritage: A Survey of North American Indian Art*. However, *Visions* was the largest and well orchestrated, organized to coincide with the Quincentennial, a moment that was generating public discourse on the subject of indigenous people and the legacy of colonialism. The timing was right and the MIA had the resources to devote to a mass media campaign.[145] Even if you did not attend the show, you knew about it by virtue of all the media coverage. Many American Indian people interviewed said that it was time these items were brought out of storage and shown in a respectful way and they were glad that the MIA had done so. But the gladness was often tempered by a sadness that this was not to be a permanent installation.

[145]Again, the attendance for *Visions of the People* made it the second largest show ever put on by the MIA, second only to a prior exhibit done on the *Impressionists* (Staff Interview).

Therefore, many American Indian people, particularly middle-aged men, came to the exhibit multiple times, because, although they wanted to be able to come to the museum whenever they felt the need they knew the exhibit would be leaving soon (Interviews). In response to this understanding, one Dakota gentleman who recorded his reactions in the visitors comment book indicated that he had viewed the exhibit twelve times.[146]

I interviewed a woman who had come to the show with her adult daughter, niece, and grandson. When asked about her reactions she initially indicated that she did not want to talk. Her niece however did agree to talk to me. When we finished, her aunt returned to say that she had refused earlier because she had been feeling a "profound sadness" upon leaving the show and had not expected to be approached by anyone. She went on to describe a particular object in the show that had triggered a number of memories. "The last time I saw one of those I was a girl and it belonged to my father" (Visitor Interview). She went on to say that the objects needed to be more available, that American Indian people needed to have access to them. There was a somberness as people exited the show, even the joking behaviors that often occur within groups was absent.

American Indian women frequently came to the show with their daughters, nieces, and/or grandchildren. White women frequently came in same age pairs or groups of related women. Often African American people came as couples or families. More

[146]The visitor's comment book was located at the gallery exit. Not all the comments were positive. A number of entries rebuked the MIA for its exclusion of Anishinabe art. One comment accused the MIA of pandering to a Hollywood notion of feathered Indians on war ponies suggesting that this was the reason the MIA chose "Plains Indians" over Anishinabe art and culture. In all fairness, it should be pointed out that the museum's director is a Plains Indian art scholar.

women than men came to the show and more women stopped to talk but the sharpest criticism came from a middle-aged American Indian man: "While the exhibit was good at showing the richness and diversity of cultural traditions, it was too disjointed. The struggles of Indian people fade when you get to the contemporary room." He said he "felt a distance from the show" although he did not elaborate. This was not unusual. Most men did not discuss their emotional responses during the interviews.

The MIA reached out to American Indian communities and to the organizations that serve those communities and people came. The MIA made a point of stating that American Indian people would be treated as "guests" by not charging them admission to the exhibit. But the irony of whose 'house' controlled access to whose family heirlooms came out in a number of Interviews. Unlike the objects bequeathed to the museum by its founding members, the American Indian heirlooms on display were not associated with engraved plaques of the family name to serve as a reminder of their generous contribution (albeit, many of these contributions were not made voluntarily). Instead they are displayed next to didactic labels stamped with accession numbers that form the inventory record of the particular institution that currently owns each of the objects.

Visions of the People had the affect of defining American Indian objects as art within the context of a Western art aesthetic thereby legitimating American Indian culture as worthy of admiration, alongside other cultures enshrined in the museum. By bringing American Indian history and culture into a mainstream institution the exhibit provided a limited forum for the articulation of American Indian concerns but in doing so it also

legitimated the power of the institution itself.[147] The institution incorporated the object, the art, the culture and the critique of the institution into itself, "for it is always in terms of the dominant critical discourse [in this case, art history] that the alternative practice is being described and named" (M. Wallace 1990b:244).[148] The institution comes to be seen as good, kind, respectful, and honorable. By honoring the Other the institution is perceived as honorable.

> The show gave me the feeling that us Native Americans were being more recognized by the white man's society.
>
> Teenage Woman

> Thank you for showing a positive and alive culture of my people. We have had that image for many years and centuries. You have done a greatness in honoring us in the past and present.
>
> Middle-aged Man

Once the physical shift from natural history to fine art is achieved with its attendant ideological shift from artifact to art, the question remains: What to make of this shift? The shift represents a change in status and the impact on the viewer, both American Indian and non-Indian, is significant. McEvilley (1992b:129) describes its importance:

---

[147]For a classic discussion of the legitimation of power see Max Weber (1948 [1904-1905]) *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

[148]For a discussion of mainstream institutions subsuming and then silencing the critique see Michele Wallace (1990b) "Negative Images."

> The visual arts have a global social importance that is quite independent of formalist notions of esthetic presence. A culture's visual tradition embodies the image it has of itself . . . Art draws into visibility a culture's sense of its identity and of its value and place in the world. Seen this way, art encompasses far more than esthetics. Right now the issue of identity has come to the foreground both of culture in general and the visual arts in particular. It involves the deepest meanings of what we call history.[149]

There is no doubt that the MIA marshaled its financial resources, curatorial talent, and status as a major institution to legitimate and display the living artistic traditions of American Indian people. But the presentation of image is still constructed, albeit the natural history museum is about science and the fine arts museum is about aesthetics, both are mainstream institutions that interpret objects through the dominant values of society because they are by their nature "embedded in the social, economic, and political complexities of contemporary society" (Ames 1992). It is within the context of the social nature of collections and the social construction of knowledge that this paper considers what purposes museums serve, the meanings they produce, and how they have come to be such powerful and revered institutions. The MIA carried out the exhibition in a dignified and respectful manner. One layer of invisibility has been pulled back, but now it is necessary to examine what specific ideas *Visions of the People* made visible.

---

[149]David Penny (1992), curator at the Detroit Institute of Arts, offers a well developed discussion on the emergence in the late nineteenth century of regionally and tribally distinct artistic styles as signifiers of ethnicity and identity. According to art historian Marsha Cliff Bol, "It is precisely when the traditional order was under its greatest stress in Lakota history [the move onto reservations] the women produced their most elaborate art, lavishly covering everything in sight with beadwork" (1985a:33). Contemporary legacy is expressed as: "If it doesn't move, bead it!"

Chapter 5

TEXT PERFORMANCE

> So where we are now is that a whole country of people believe I'm a "nigger," and I don't, and the battle's on! Because if I am not what I've been told I am, then it means that you're not who you thought you were either! And that is the crisis.
>
> James Baldwin, "A Talk To Teachers" 1963

Objects do not speak for themselves. To describe an object, to discuss its purpose or speculate on its meaning is to engage in interpretation (Handler 1992; Jordanova 1989). The act of interpreting incorporates particular ways of conceptualizing culture (Kavanagh 1991b) and when employed in a museum context are linked to the principle social characteristics of objects. These characteristics include the ability of objects to embody social meaning, to signal status and wealth, as well as the ability of objects to denote their unique relationship to past events. Their ability to act as signals of status, ethnicity, gender, and wealth among other attributes allows objects to function as communication systems, whereas, their unique relationship to past events gives them a particular authority in the interpretation of the past (S. Pearce 1992; c.f. Napier 1997). Paradoxically, Western philosophy has seen objects as the products of the thoughts, feelings, or actions of a human creator (Appadurai 1986). Therefore the world of material things "is deprived of any independence, primary reality or possibility of active intervention" (S. Pearce 1992:21).[150] The tendency of Western thought to treat objects as

[150]It is this view that prevents Westerners from fully grasping the importance of American Indian demands for the return of items like Medicine Bundles (Finster 1975; Frisbie 1987), Wampum Belts (Abrams 1994), and *Ahayu:da,* the Zuni War Gods (Ferguson 1990; Merrill et al 1993). See also Podedworny (1991:29) on First Nations art and the dynamism of objects.

passive expressions of thought or action is associated with a functionalist view of material culture "where objects are given an essentially materialist or utilitarian role" (S. Pearce 1992:144). One way or another these analytical approaches - objects as communication, objects as authority, and objects associated with functional roles - are involved in any effort to generate meaning through the display of material objects (S. Pearce 1992:145). Incorporating the work of Susan M. Pearce (1992) in *Museums, Objects, and Collections* and art historian Jonathan C.H. King (1986) in "Tradition in Native American Art" this chapter explores how particular approaches to objects and their meaning provided the conceptual framework for *Visions of the People*.

Functionalism

In order to evaluate the extent to which *Visions of the* People is a functionalist account of American Indian culture and history this paper offers a brief discussion of functionalism as developed by anthropologists. As an explanatory model, functionalism, initially associated with British anthropology,[151] is based on the idea that the principle aim of society is to perpetuate itself (Leach 1982). Therefore, all institutions, technology and material culture, go through a series of adaptations to the physical and social environment (Leach 1982). Adaptation becomes the survival mechanism of a society. A functionalist view stresses the utility of social institutions and attendant behaviors by focusing on the ways in which different elements fit together to promote survival

[151]This paper does not examine the differences between the work of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown (Leach 1982); instead it assumes a core of similar influential ideas that taken together have been labeled functionalism (Bohannan and Glazer 1988).

(Bohannan and Glazer 1988). Stability and survival are said to be maintained in three ways: ecological adaptation, complementary institutions, and the process by which individuals find a 'useful' place in their society (S. Pearce 1992). In other words, people create a life from the ecological conditions in which they find themselves. They do so by creating tools and developing skills to exploit the available resources in order to meet their basic needs. From this, according to a functionalist perspective, social institutions are created "that shape communal and individual life patterns" (S. Pearce 1992:147). This perspective became the blueprint for *Visions of the People*.

A model that looks at the complementary nature of institutions considers social identity in terms of alliances and political solidarity looking for persistent patterns of behavior (Leach 1982). Individual patterns of behavior are viewed in terms of usefulness and social harmony where social forces operate to produce conformity to social expectations (Applebaum 1987a). While this model explains certain patterns in social relations it implies that people live their lives in harmony with one another and further that everyone is, if not happy and contented with their lot in life, at least resigned to it. This model leaves little room for conflict; instead it romanticizes people's lives. Interviews with museum visitors included the following responses:

> My ideas about Plains Indians were challenged. I felt that there was a pattern to the way they did things. You look back at the way they lived and you say to yourself, "How much more there is to learn from them."
>
> Middle-age white woman

> The way it looks is they had a nice life in pre-reservation days and people got along, although they lived an isolated life until the americans came and took it all away.
>
> Young white woman

> I was impressed by the way Indian people relate to their history and spiritual ways.
>
> Young African-American man

A functionalist model of environment - survival strategy - material culture - social institution is often a major aspect of human history exhibitions in which a simple relationship between environment and social strategies is taken for granted (S. Pearce 1992). An exhibit based on this interpretation would be one that might focus on "Plains Indian life" and the role of the buffalo, for example. This exhibit would explain how the buffalo made life possible; buffalo were the main source of food, shelter, and material culture e.g. bowls, sinew, cooking bags, containers, shield covers, clothing, and tipi walls and liners. The exhibit would then focus on the ways in which the buffalo was associated with the idea of renewal and the spiritual aspects of life. Within the exhibit, objects representing the buffalo, both sculpture and painting, would be displayed. Labels, drawings, and paintings would describe hunting and butchering methods; practices which, in turn, shaped social institutions like the Buffalo Society and promoted values associated with co-operative work and a division of labor by age and gender. While *Visions of the People* was not organized around the buffalo it did make use of this model. Sixty-two objects, representing twenty-one percent of the objects in the show had direct reference to the buffalo in the lives of Plains peoples. When asked to describe the life of the people represented in the exhibit one student visitor replied: "They had a thing with buffalos, that symbolize their culture, religion, and more" (Student Interviews).

While there exists explanatory merit in this approach, it has some drawbacks. It is possible, for example, to live on the Plains as an Arikara farmer as well as an American

soldier assigned to a nuclear silo. A functionalist explanation offers little assistance in determining why either of these life ways has come about at the particular historical moments in which they appear (S. Pearce 1992). Functionalism, then, does not address issues of dynamics and change (Applebaum 1987b).[152] In its basic form, it cannot explain why Arikara society, for example, has changed because functionalism assumes that equilibrium is the natural state of society, where the original condition is one of no change. Therefore, by logical extension, all change is initiated by external forces that disrupt the existing social stasis (Leach 1982). These external forces are usually defined as historical events often brought about through "cultural contact."

Functionalist theory defines a series of society types to which actual societies are said to belong. All societies of the same type, e.g., tribe, band, chiefdom, state, are presumed to have a cluster of similar institutions linked with associated strategies for exploiting the environment, technological development, and artifact production (S.Pearce 1992). It was this idea of similar society types that allowed the MIA to lump together seventeen different American Indian Nations into a category called "Plains Indians" without having to examine each individual Nation/group to see if, in fact, they were similar for the purposes of the exhibit. "This generalizing tendency creates a certain determinism in which societies take inevitable forms and work out predetermined destinies" (S. Pearce 1992:158). Determinism coupled with a functionalist view of change suggests that history unfolds in a natural (perhaps preordained) sequence and that

[152]It is important to note, with respect to later discussions that innovation, creativity, and change are sometimes explained with reference to a gifted genius, marginalized individuals, or prophets (Bruner 1993). These views also see change as the exception not the norm.

while some events may be unfortunate, even tragic, they are still seen as inevitable. This idea was reflected in interviews with exhibit visitors:

> I found myself becoming quite sad at a certain point, especially towards the part of the exhibit that took us through the first half of this century. A sadness that comes with the recognition of the history of this country.
>
> Middle-age white man

> I have a sense of sadness for the great loss of the people and their way of life.
>
> Middle-age white woman

> Very nice [exhibit], but I get very angry about all the treaties that were made and broken, promises unkept, attempts to turn American Natives into "whites." It is good that some of the facts are exposed.
>
> Middle-age American Indian man

Sadness and anger were common responses (both American Indian and non-Indian visitors) but no one suggested that history could have happened otherwise. "The value placed on progress and the general belief in social evolution that accompanies it combine to give these cultural changes a feeling of inevitability" (Lutz and Collins 1993:246, see also C. King 1998:33-37). Referring specifically to mainstream interpretations of "contact" experiences,[153] Vine Deloria (Lakota) argues that these interpretations project the idea that it was the fate of American Indian nations to be "overwhelmed by the inevitability of history" (1973:41).[154] A functionalist view of change coupled with the

---

[153]The metaphor of "contact" calls up the image of astral bodies on a collision course, an image that reinforces the idea of the seemingly random but inevitable nature of the universe.

[154]See Hinsley (1992:18) for a discussion of the museum collecting process that moved American Indian peoples “from living communities to museum ‘life groups’ from historical actors to market commodities and museum displays.” He argues that this process confirmed a view of American Indian cultural demise as inevitable. See also Meyer and Royer (2001) *Selling the Indian*.

idea of historic inevitability has other consequences. It promotes a notion of a pure tradition that existed in some prior time and by extension defines everything after the change as impure or less than. The focus on tradition slips into a focus on cultural survivals. The MIA openly acknowledged that the ideas of enduring traditions and cultural survivals informed the exhibit (Maurer 1992a:6; 1992b:16, 17, 19). This discussion of functionalism was necessary in order to assess the conceptual framework that informed the exhibit. How one conceptualizes culture affects the structure of the installation and would be reflected in the exhibit and its catalog since the major themes and key features that structured and organized the exhibit are the intellectual products of those who produced it (Gathercole 1991; Karp and Levine 1991). Therefore this analysis will examine the *Preface* and the Introductory Essay also entitled *Visions of the People* produced for the catalog and authored by the MIA's director Evan M. Maurer.[155]

Catalog Text

While an exhibit catalog is part of the original event, it is also an artifact that continues to exist long after the exhibit itself has been dismantled making it "the most important surviving record of the event" (S. Pearce 1992:245). As such it represents a particular type of visual and written documentation of the exhibit.[156] The *Visions of the*

[155]As director and CEO, Maurer was involved in all production decisions concerning the exhibit.

[156]While useful for the analysis being developed in this chapter, a catalog has its limitations relative to the viewing experience. "While people may read the catalog if it is cheap enough, attractive enough, and entertaining, they almost certainly will not read it while visiting the exhibition, so that, as a way of structuring the immediate experience of exhibition-going, it is useless" (Vergo 1989:50). The cost of the *Visions* catalog discounted for museum members was $45.00, for non-members $50.00.

People exhibit catalog (Maurer 1992c) is divided into two sections. It contains a series of art history essays discussing major themes in Plains Indian Art followed by photographic images of individual art objects.[157] Each image is displayed separately against a white background accompanied by a brief description. This arrangement directs the viewer's gaze[158] toward the special characteristics of each item. "Photography, of simple objects on vivid backgrounds, conveys the impression that exotic objects are both beautiful and valuable, can be termed 'masterpieces' and hence count as art" (Berlo 1992:39). The catalog does not contain information about the context in which objects were displayed as part of the overall exhibit. It does not provide maps of the exhibit's organization nor does it describe which items were displayed together and which were displayed separately. This is significant, for it is contextualization that provides the audience, in this case the reader, with cultural interpretation and assigns meaning to the objects on display. Conversely, the exhibit conveyed only a very small portion of the historic, artistic, and cultural information found in the catalog text; therefore exhibit viewers took their interpretive cues from the choice of objects without benefit of this body of knowledge. "People bring with them, their repertoire of self- and culture-defining ways of thinking, acting, and reacting" (Kurin 1991:340; c.f. Perin 1992:184) and fill in the blanks with

---

[157]Most exhibit catalogs reproduce only selected photos. *Visions* contains photo reproductions of all 309 items in the exhibit. It would appear that corporate sponsorship has its benefits. It should be noted that the catalog has no index and is therefore difficult to use as a research tool.

[158]A number of scholars have explored the concept of "the gaze." They include Bhabha (1983): Gaines (1980); hooks (1992); Jameson (1983); Lacan (1981); Mast and Cohen (1985); Sider (1987), and Tagg (1988).

their own culturally specific ideas about what constitutes the experience of what ever abstraction is on display. Berger (1972:11) reminds us that:

> When an image is presented as a work of art, the way people look at it is affected by a whole series of learnt assumptions about art. Assumptions concerning:
>
> Beauty
> Truth
> Genius
> Civilization
> Form
> Status
> Taste, etc.

Contextual information must be gleaned from the catalog essays. The text provides the artistic and cultural descriptions of the objects as interpreted by the curators. Since a museum both presents and generates a "vision" of its subject, an analysis of the text should reveal the elements that were used to construct the museum's "vision." At issue are not only the metaphors and word choices of the author but also the literary and hence visual constructions used to describe people, their history and culture. Language choice, the subjects spoken of and those avoided are associated with implicit meanings:

> Museums are generally regarded as centers of excellence and objective learning, their collections being accepted as assemblages of authentic objects. Texts accompanying their collections are automatically imbued with a received aura of unquestioned truth. However, no text can be entirely innocent or objective, for the construction of language is itself a construction of reality. [Coxal 1991:93]

Initiating the Story

Titles are clearly one place to start in determining the overall intention of an exhibit (Hodge and D'Souza 1979). Moreover, titles tend to set the stage for the artistic

production and function as a caption for the entire show (Lutz and Collins 1993). Captions, then, anchor the viewer and direct not only the viewer's gaze but also their understanding towards some interpretations and away from others (Lutz and Collins 1993:76-77). The title of the exhibit is *Visions of the People: a Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life*. As a title, it asserts that there exists a category of people, Plains Indians, who are culturally and ethnically bounded, who possess a special history and a collective and common heritage. But the entity, "Plains People," is an abstract category that derives its meaning from the anthropological model of the Culture Area Concept developed by the Boasian school of anthropology (Berkhofer 1988, Fox 1991c).[159]

Boasian anthropology, in a response to the scientific racism of the early 20th century, "emphasized the wholeness of cultures (plural not singular), examined the distribution of traits rather than their origins" (Berkhofer 1988:543) and mapped North American cultures rather than building racist evolutionary taxonomies. This concept categorizes and maps various modes of subsistence, social organization, language, customs, beliefs, environmental conditions, and resource usage and then correlates these traits "according to their distribution in aboriginal America" (Berkhofer 1988:544 see also Fox 1991c:103). Mapping the distribution of cultural characteristics "led to the designation of Culture Areas based on the lifeways considered to be most characteristic before contact, which were especially useful for the museum display of native artifacts"

[159]Joan Lester (1972:30) traces the public use of the Culture Area Concept to the Columbian Exposition of 1893 with Otis T. Mason's exhibits on arts and industries. She then describes how this concept was later refined by Kroeber and Wissler.

(Berkhofer 1988:544).[160] The Culture Area Concept has been a powerful tool for understanding cultures as patterned, holistic, historical configurations but it has its limitations (Kehoe 1981, Fox 1991c).[161]

By employing the Culture Area Concept the MIA posits that there exist similar patterns in the lives of all "Plains Peoples"[162] and further that, for the purposes of the exhibit, these patterns will be demonstrated through the medium of pictorial representation (Maurer 1992a:6-7).[163] Because the Culture Area Concept emphasizes pre-contact lifeways, it tends to downplay contemporary realities, thereby, keeping the historical and interpretive focus on the past. Furthermore, the Culture Area Concept has the potential to, if not erase then, minimize the very real differences that have existed and continue to exist between different American Indian Nations/groups. The MIA, for example, categorizes as more similar both the more settled agricultural communities of the Mandan and Hidatsa, and the less settled hunting/raiding communities of the Cheyenne and Lakota. It may be important here to point out that the hunting and raiding way of life as described by the MIA was a florescence of the eighteenth and nineteenth

---

[160]For a critique of the Culture Area Concept as applied to another contemporary art exhibit see Alfred Youngman (1990) *The Spirit Sings*.

[161]For an interesting discussion on culture history as developed by the Boasian school of anthropology and its contemporary application, see Fox (1991c) “For a Nearly New Culture History.” He maintains that, “We usually remember that anthropology was not invented in Malinowski’s tent . . . Before ethnography became anthropology’s text - that is, before Malinowski’s dictum became anthropology’s credo - other texts and other anthropologies existed” (1991c:96-97). Fox suggests that in contrast to ethnography, “there are other ways of narrating our understandings and other stories worth telling” (1991c:94-95).

[162]See Scaglion (1980) "The Plains Area Concept."

[163]The limitations of this aesthetic approach are addressed in Chapter 6.

centuries, attributed, in part, to the Spanish introduction of the horse (J. Price 1973). Therefore, at best, "Plains People" is a problematic and vague category with which to describe/inscribe the history and culture of seventeen different contemporary Nations of American Indian people and one archaeologically defined group - the Caddoan, Spiro phase.[164] Table 5.1 lists the Nations/groups of American Indian people defined as "Plains Indians" by the MIA. Each Nation/group is listed by its commonly recognized name and by the name people call themselves where that name differs from common usage.

Table 5.1 American Indian Nations Included in the Exhibit

Common Name	Self-Defined Identity
Arapaho	Inuna-ina
Assiniboine	
Blackfeet	Siksika, Piegan
Cheyenne (Northern, Southern)	Tsistsistas
Comanche	Niuan
Cree, Plains	Natimiwiyiniwuk
Crow	Absaroke
Dakota	
Gros Ventre	Haainaw
Hidatsa	Minitari
Kiowa	Gaigwa
Lakota	
Mandan	Numakiki
Nakota	
Pawnee	Chahiksichahiks
Shoshone (Lemi, Flathead)	
Ute	

Note: Attribution of names and spelling from *Visions of the People* catalog.

[164]Caddoan refers to a hierarchical Southeastern culture complex covering a broad area that included Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. Spiro was a ceremonial complex dating from A.D. 1200-1350 located in the Arkansas River Valley whose influence is said to have extended into the Plains (Maurer 1992b:28-29 citing Brown 1976; Morse 1960; and Phillips and Brown 1979.)

The title further suggests that "Plains People" are a people who have "visions" although the text is ambivalent about just what kinds of visions are meant. Are these the visions of a group of people with a special perspective? Are these a visionary people? Does the idea of visions suggest that the exhibit represents an American Indian point of view with respect to interpretation? By not directly stating its position, the catalog implicitly supports all three interpretations and possibly more. To further complicate what is already a problematic beginning, Western viewers whose heritage includes Enlightenment ideas and faith in the scientific method would be hard pressed to accept the idea of recurring spiritual visions.[165]

Point of View

In the opening statement of the *Preface* (Maurer 1992a:7) informs the reader that:

> *Visions of the People* celebrates the continuing life of the Plains tribes by bringing together a selection of objects that they created to communicate what was most important to them. These images commemorate the routines of daily living, acts of personal bravery and that powerful spirituality and reverence for the sacred that gives comfort as well as direction and meaning to life.[166]

The metaphors, phrasing, and word choice in this paragraph clearly communicate the idea that this exhibit represents an American Indian point of view. This is done initially by making the exhibit the active agent in the first sentence, an agent, who selected the

[165]Except perhaps in the case of Joan d'Arc who is better known for taking up the sword than for her visions, which, in the end, got her, burned at the stake for heresy. This may, in fact, be the lesson westerners have learned: that spiritual visions are a form of heresy whose penalty is death.

[166]Due to repeated usage, reference to the catalog essays for the remainder of this chapter are indicated by publication year and page number only; the title and author have already been established.

objects of most significance to Plains people. These selected objects then become the authority for "communicating what is most important to [Plains people]" (1992a:7). Since all the objects were created by American Indian artists it logically follows that the exhibit must represent an American Indian point of view. The process appears to be self-evident. This slight-of-hand (slight-of-pen) circular argument succeeds because no human agent is identified in this process. Again, the only entity with agency is the exhibit ergo the authority for the selection of the contents is the exhibit itself.

Besides "celebrating" and "commemorating" the authors pay "tribute."

> We [the authors representing the institution] offer the artwork . . . As a tribute to the past, present, and future generations of Plains people in an exhibit that honors Plains tradition. [1992:7]

The use of the word "tribute" connotes commemoration and implies sympathy by those conscious of a debt (Hodge and D'Souza 1979). However the exhibit is both a tribute and a historical record. This dual function suggests a possible contradiction (Hodge and D'Souza 1979). As a record the exhibit is a historical document where the concept of tribute seeks to create an attitude of pride, honor, and respect (Hodge and D'Souza 1979). What if the historical record is unflattering in certain respects or the reports and testimony of individuals is in conflict (Hodge and D'Souza 1979)? Or what if there is conflict over the choice of objects to be displayed? In the case of *Visions of the People* there did exist a conflict surrounding the proposed display of calumets/pipes, although, no description or representation of this conflict was incorporated into the exhibit. The calumets/pipes were removed from the exhibit and marking their place were painted rocks displayed individually and alone unaccompanied by explanatory information.

The catalog contains an additional page inserted after the *Preface* (1992a:8) comprised of one column of text discussing the conflict surrounding the display of calumets/pipes. It reads:

> Although there is a range of opinion in the American Indian community about the appropriateness of displaying pipes in museums, it became clear in subsequent discussions that the sentiments of those opposed to such a display were particularly strong within the Native American community in the Twin Cities, where many people feel that pipes are too sacred to be used in any context other than prayer. For this reason, the Institute has withdrawn pipes from the exhibition, although photographs of pipes remain in the catalogue, where they are shown in an artistic and cultural context.

The conflict is acknowledged but the description is written in code. The author discusses the differing opinions in "the American Indian community" and "the Native American community in the Twin Cities." Who compromises an American Indian community as distinct from a Native American community? Is it only urban people in the Twin Cities that feel that pipes are too sacred to display? As described in the text, the concept of sacred itself is clothed in mystery. If something is "too sacred" is it possible for something else to be "slightly sacred?" If the pipes are too sacred to be physically displayed how does that differ from catalog display? Was the "Native American Indian community in the Twin Cities" consulted about the decision to display the pipes in the catalog? If so, did they agree? This suggests behind-the-scenes cultural brokering, which may, in fact, be a cultural reality, but if so, particular individuals, both within the institution and in the community, then have the power to determine the boundaries of public and private discourse. A question remains as to who benefits by a lack of disclosure. As for the museum's claim that "photographs of pipes in the catalogue [are]

shown in an artistic and cultural context" (1992a:8), the pipes are photographed the same as all the other objects in the catalog - alone on a white background.[167]

Returning to the idea of "offering tribute and honor," to do so conveys the idea that the museum's intentions are honorable and suggests that the museum is only appreciating that which exists. In other words, the museum casts American Indian people in the role of 'honoree,' not as objects of more anthropological scrutiny. The museum seems intent on avoiding the imputation that it is engaged in the construction of either Indians or Indianness. But notice, as early as the first paragraph of the *Preface* (quoted earlier), the author has constructed a list of those things "which are most important to [Plains Indian people]" (1992a:7). This list includes "routines of daily life, personal bravery, powerful spirituality, and reverence for the sacred" (1992a:7). As a definition of Indian values this list essentializes American Indian people (Fabian 1983; Medicine 1971; Said 1978) and reinforces a perception that American Indian people were and continue to be a bounded, homogeneous, tribal people. This imagery sets the audience up for a functional analysis since the bounded, homogeneous, culture group is the basic unit of functional thought which, in turn, sets the author up to discuss Plains people as a "traditional" people.

Two Worlds: the Traditional and the Modern

In the essay "Tradition in Native American Art" (1986), Jonathan C.H. King, curator of the Museum of Mankind, considers the question of tradition as it has been

[167]The cultural context referred to by the MIA may be that they photographed the pipes separate from the stems, a practice that has been adopted by many museums at the request of American Indian people. However, once again, the author leaves the reader to guess at meaning.

applied to American Indian art. King (1986:65-66) asserts that:

> The concept of tradition in culture and art cannot be viewed as an absolute [since societies are in a continuous process of change]. Instead it must be seen as a relative term used to describe an art object with respect to a given corpus of related material. Tradition defined . . . as something that has prevailed from generation to generation is used in many contexts to validate not only art objects but also political and cultural ideas. Because it appears such a simple and clear-cut term, suited to an infinite number of situations, it becomes a "semantic booby trap" (Brody 1971:59).

American Indian art has always been profoundly influenced by trade, exchange and war among native groups, by contact with European cultures, by the adaptation of European designs and materials, by colonization, and commercialization, (King 1986),[168] Even if one could have a full view of American Indian material culture over the past twenty-five thousand years, King (1986) argues that one would not see smooth transitions within any one tradition (the word here is used in the archaeological sense).[169] Rather one would see a magnificent array of changes in raw materials, technique, design motifs, symbolic intent, and finished objects. Even whole ceremonial complexes would be transformed in structure, content, and/or meaning (King 1986).[170] To use the word

---

[168]For authors who develop similar ideas see Cohodas, Feder, Haberland, and Holm, all in the 1986 volume *The Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution,* E. L. Wade (ed). See also Berlo, Cohodas, and Jonaitis, in *The Early Years of Native American Art History* (1992), Berlo (ed). Contemporary reinterpretations of changing traditions see Blackman (1976) "Creativity in Acculturation," and Phillips (1995) "Significant Silences in American Museum Representations."

[169]For archaeologists, the term is not a heuristic devise with an opposing counterpart (King 1986), but rather a unifying idea, designed to bring together common elements of a material culture, where the material culture as a whole is referred to as a single tradition (Willey & Sabloff 1980).

[170]Similar to King (1986), Adrienne Kaeppler (1992) in a study of Hawaiian representation in museums concluded that while many ideas and/or events can be considered traditional, traditions often refer to different points in time, and are continuously renegotiated and reinvented.

"traditional" and by implication "non-traditional" suggests a clearly defined situation when reality is much more fluid and complex (King 1986).[171] The "Preface" of the *Visions of the People* catalog would suggest that the use of the word "tradition" is clear-cut and generally understood by the audience since it is never defined. The "Preface" is anchored by the word "tradition" (seven references on page 7 alone) where its' generalized use raises more problems than it solves. Taken from the *Preface*, the word "tradition" is used in the following ways (emphasis mine):

> This book is intended to honor Plains *traditions.* [1992a:7]
>
> . . . the *traditions* brought to them . . . must be kept alive. [1992a:7]
>
> . . . oral *traditions* expressed the sanctity and interrelatedness of nature. [1992a:7]
> . . . to participate in an age-old community *tradition* of sacred ritual [1992a:7]
>
> . . . constructive dialogue between museums and those whose *traditions* are represented in museum collections. [1992a:7]
>
> . . . the oldest and most *traditional* form of ceremonial art still practiced. [1992b:18]
>
> As in many *traditional* societies . . . [1992b:17]

Traditional American Indian art is an invented notion" (Jonaitis 1992:27). Most collections on which the definition of American Indian art is based were created between 1860 and 1930 (King 1986), which is indeed the time depth for most of the objects in the

[171]Attitudes about the appropriate use of 'tradition' are also a point of contention within indigenous communities (Wade 1985). There is not always unanimity on how communities should represent themselves (Roberts 1994).

Visions of the People exhibit.[172] Ironically this peak period of collecting coincides with one of t-he most traumatic periods in American Indian history[173], which, in turn, "provided the material basis for the definition of what is traditional and what is not" (King 1986). Regardless of this reality, many museums "present the art collected and produced during this period as 'authentic and traditional' Indian art" (Jonaitis 1992:27). Historically, this particular concept of "heritage" or "tradition" is a nineteenth-century Euro-American invention (Jonaitis 1992:27).[174] The point in time just prior to "contact" is arbitrarily selected as the time that signifies the "genuine" culture. "Thus, native history before and after is negated" (Fürst 1991:101, see also C. King 1998:35). Early twentieth-century museums, whose collecting practices were based on the idea of the "Vanishing Indian" (Berkhofer 1978; Fane 1992), tried in their exhibits to depict the life of American Indian peoples in the pre-contact era, again, this period was considered to be the apex of cultural flourishing. "Preserved in museum displays were manifestations of

---

[172]In *Visions of the People*, 86 percent of the exhibit, 255 objects, were produced and collected between 1860 and 1930. Only eight objects were created before 1800, dating to the period 1200-1797. Another sixteen objects date to the period 1800-1850 and include six pipe bowls, four shirts, three robes, a headdress, a shield cover, and a pair of moccasins. Only thirty objects were produced after 1930, five of these commissioned for the show itself, including three tipis, and another six are from a photo series done by Kiowa (Gaigwa) artist Horace Poolaw.

[173]During this period most people were forcibly confined to reservations, proselytized, and their economic pursuits eliminated (Ames 1992; Stannard 1992). This period also included the final military battles for control of the Plains, the banning of religious practices, and the Dawes (Allotment) Act of 1887 (Ames 1992; Cornell 1988).

[174]For an historical overview of the changing understanding and usage of the concept "tradition" see Graburn (2001) "What Is Tradition?" For a detailed accounting see Horner (1990) *The Assumption of Tradition*. See also Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) *The Invention of Tradition*. This volume investigates cultural practices of Northern Europe and Britain considered to be "traditional" and shows how these practices emerged and were created. See B. Anderson (1991) *Imagined Communities* on the construction of community identity.

an earlier time when 'Indians were Indians, unspoiled by the taints of white culture" (Jonaitis 1992:47). This is the legacy reproduced in *Visions of the People.* Without employing an analysis of the collecting process that recognizes the severe limitations and constructed nature of the collections, the MIA put together a show displaying a selected grouping of appropriated objects as if they were a representative sample of those objects "created to communicate what was most important to [Plains people]" (Maurer 1992a:7).

This is not to say that the objects displayed in *Visions* are not significant but that the nature of the collections are limited, partial, and often reflect the aesthetic vision and cultural attitudes of the collectors. In other words, a comparable example would be one in which you deployed one hundred different people, all with differing training, philosophy, outlook, and values, to collectively visit every major Western museum in the world and assign each of them the task of bringing back one object from each institution. Once collected, you then proceed to bring the objects altogether, display them under one roof, and call the exhibit: *The Historical Vision of Western Art: 1200AD - 1992AD.*[175] Western art historians, museologists, and art patrons alike would overwhelmingly reject the premise of the show. They would say that western art was too complex; it's history too rich and textured to be represented by such a small, partial, and incomplete sample. Conversely, it is the idea of "tradition" tied to the early museum practice of exhibiting an "American Indian Golden Age" (Berkhofer 1978) that allows for the same type of display to be unreservedly presented and accepted in the case of *Visions of the People.*

[175] Westerners are considered to have history everyone else has tradition (V. Deloria 1973; Lutz and Collins 1993; Rosaldo 1989; E. Wolf 1982). The time span for this fictitious exhibit was chosen to coincide with the time period covered by *Visions of the People.*

It may be worthwhile to provide an extended quote from Janet C. Berlo's (1992:4-5) "Introduction" to *The Early Years of Native American Art History* in order to explicate some of the complexities involved in any exhibit that claims to display "Traditional Indian Art" or "American Indian Traditions."

> Washoe basketry dealers marketed Louisa Keyser (under the name Dat So La Lee) and her baskets as quintessentially Washoe. Ironically, Louisa Keyser was a strikingly innovative artist. Although the Cohns marketed her *degikup* as a traditional Washoe basket shape, it was Keyser's own invention, and sparked the creativity of other Washoe basket makers (Cohodas 1986:207). For us as well, it has come to typify Washoe basketry even through it was an invented tradition.
>
> Haida artist Charles Edenshaw was highly individualistic in his artwork . . . [A]s a consequence of white patronage, Edenshaw become a major force in the process of defining what Haida art was. Charles Edenshaw's replicas of Haida sculpture became the model *for* this art rather than simply models *of* it (Jonaitis 1992).
>
> When Smithsonian anthropologist James Mooney began work with the Kiowa in Oklahoma in 1891, he commissioned small-scale replicas of painted tipis.[176] These were based on the memories of elder informants, for by that date only one painted tipi remained among the Kiowa (Ewers 1978:8). These miniature tipi models were exhibited at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904 and later at the Smithsonian. Some of them, in turn, have been models for more recent recreations of Plains tipi painting (New 1973).

Extended space has been devoted to the issue of tradition because it is a basic functionalist and ahistorical framework from which cultural interpretation and analysis are generated. The case studies, referred to by Berlo (1992) in the previous quote, represent only a small portion of the art historical and anthropological literature that

[176]See Cheyenne Model Tipi, ca. 1900, object #244 in the *Visions of the People* exhibit catalog.

refutes the idea of a timeless past of pure tradition.[177] But the sheer weight of alternative analysis does not necessarily shift the understanding nor the practice of representation for this is a stubborn concept, one that flows out of a five hundred year history of a white construction of Indianness[178] bolstered by functionalist interpretations.

Even within the current educational climate supporting multiculturalism a white construction of Indianness is maintained. "Just to learn about other people's cultures is not to learn about the racism of one's own. Multicultural education itself comes to be seen as an adjustment process within a racist society and not as a force for changing the values that make that society racist" (Sivanandan 1983:5). Multiculturalism is not necessarily anti-racist. Stated more strongly, “Multiculturalism is a new variant of assimilation - a means by which the mainstream incorporates diverse cultural perspectives without essentially relinquishing control” (J. Fisher 1992:45). Based on the presentation, selection and ownership of the objects this is precisely the case that can be made with reference to *Visions*.

"Tradition" as an organizing and interpretive concept has further implications. Pivotal to an understanding of the MIA's definition of tradition, as expressed in the choice of objects, is the exhibit's relative lack of acculturated items. Many goods introduced in the late eighteenth-century were "added to the native material inventory"

---

[177]Detailed case studies on this subject include Bruner (1980) "Modern Hopi Painting," Cohodas (1986) "Washoe Innovators and Their Patrons," Parezo (1982) "Navajo Sandpainting," Volkman (1990) "Visions and Revisions," Wade (1985) "The Ethnic Art Market," and Washburn (1984) "Dealers and Collectors of Indian Baskets.”

[178]A fuller discussion of this concept can be found later in this chapter.

(Blackman 1976:391) but we see few of these objects in the show except for the pictorial representation of horses and guns. It is the exclusivity of these two additions that tend to define the people represented in the exhibit as stereotypical Plains warriors (Berkhofer 1978; Green 1988). Not to downplay the achievements of this period, militarily Plains warriors of the nineteenth century were considered by General Phillip Sheridan to be the best light cavalry force in the world (Forbes 1964), but beyond military prowess the show is relatively silent on the acculturated use of objects, ideas and technology.[179]

Acculturative change has both its disjunctive and innovative aspects, although the commonly held view is that the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was, for American Indian people, predominantly a period of "disorganization, decline, and disruption" (Blackman 1976:409). An alternative view recognizes that through innovation acculturation can be a culture-building process even under conditions of severe hardship (Phillips 1995). To acknowledge the existence of acculturated contact objects, which included cultural borrowing on both sides of the great contact divide, would recognize that people are not helpless victims or pawns but are active participants in their own lives affecting their own destinies (Dirks 1992; Fogelson 1985; Merrell 1991; Phillips 1995; Scott 1988). Writing about the late contact period in the Pacific

[179]While not an exhaustive list, acculturated items not represented in *Visions of the People* include those items that utilized tradecloth, buttons, calico, taffeta, muslin, satin, brass, copper, iron, steel, and/or European forms and designs. These materials, forms and designs are found in clothing, storage containers, baby carriers, gun cases, horse gear, tipi ornaments, blankets, belts, gloves, bonnets, robes, purses, pouches, parasols, and pin cushions. Conn (1982, 1986); Coe (1986); Porsche (1987); and Wade (1986) provide examples of these items which were created and used within Native communities. Only four items out of 309 objects in the exhibit were defined as acculturated items: a vest whose design included a ground line, a fully beaded suitcase, and two star quilts described as "transformations of an adopted form" (Maurer 1992c:290).

Northwest de Laguna (1960:7-8 cited in Blackman 1976:389) discusses acculturation. "In the past, it was they [Tlingit people]who chose what to accept of the cultural innovations offered . . . and what to make of the opportunities afforded. It has been Tlingit character, interests, and orientations that have determined how these importations were reinterpreted to fit Tlingit ethos and adjusted to Tlingit culture." Because the transformations brought about through "contact" were not within the domain of the ethnographic curator, collectors either ignored contact items or these items were later deliberately eliminated from many collections (Coombes 1988:62).[180] "The problem, of course, was that collections which excluded the interchangeable mass-produced commodities that by 1912 were being used by *all* North Americans could represent only imagined, not actual, lifestyles" (Phillips 1995:106). One other important category underrepresented in *Visions of the People*, is that of tourist art.[181] The exclusion of tourist art is highly significant since "tourist art along with other trade wares made up the

[180]While this statement is generally applicable, there exist a number of acculturated objects in North American collections that the MIA would have had access to. For examples, see the following exhibit catalogues: Richard Conn (1982) *Circles of the World*, and (1986) *A Persistent Vision*; Ralph T. Coe (1986) *Lost and Found Traditions*; Audrey Porshe (1987) *Yut_´keca: Transitions*; and finally, Edwin L. Wade (1986) *The Arts of the North American Indian*, that featured Maurer as a contributing author.

[181]In addition to a number of ledger drawings, the exhibit included only eight objects acknowledged in the text as having been created for the tourist market. They include: a tipi cover, two hide paintings, two fully beaded vests, a cradleboard, a painted jar, and a painted fan. These last two items, as well as a number of ledger drawings, were produced by men held as prisoners at Fort Marion, Florida. In contrast, the range of items created for the tourist trade was and continues to be quite variable. Items range from beaded watch fobs to feather and quillwork on hair combs, from beaded cigarette cases to quilled gramophone-horn covers. Currently items produced for the market are purchased by both American Indian and non-Indian people. Contemporary items include, but are not limited to, beaded checkbook covers; silver, beaded, and/or quilled jewelry; as well as beaded tennis shoes.

major category of commodity production for many aboriginal communities from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century" (Phillips 1995:114).[182] The problem with tourist art, as curators and collectors saw it, was that it looked too "white"[183] yet it serves as evidence of the ability of people to adapt, survive, and even thrive without assimilating (Phillips 1995).[184] The absence of tourist art, which in many cases was produced for internal use as well as trade, "is a sign of silence about peoples' contemporary existence, of lifestyles that had been imposed on them by force and then ingeniously negotiated under conditions of colonial domination" (Phillips 1995:116). As such, their absence supports a romantic representation of American Indian people "reflecting stereotypes about Indians untouched by white society" (King 1986:76,78; see also Kaeppler 1992). Not to acknowledge the acculturation process is to undermine a serious understanding of the creativity, values, and actions of American Indian people.

In discussing American Indian artists adoption of Euro-American floral decoration in their beadwork, Hodenosaunee (Iroquois) curator Richard Hill in the exhibit *Creativity Is Our Tradition* has this to say: "Even if there were a cross-cultural influence, the Great Lakes Indians believed that this style best represented their world-view at the time"

---

[182]Again, museum collections on which the definition of American Indian art is based were created between 1860 and 1930. By and large, these collections do not include tourist art (Phillips 1995).

[183]In other words, the objects do not conform to a non-Indian view of what American Indian art/artifacts should look like because the artist incorporated ideas and/or materials acquired through contact.

[184]Phillips (1995) points out that tourist art is the product of a careful anthropological study of the aesthetics of the West by indigenous artists.

(1992b:23).[185] Although *Visions of the People* demonstrated that certain motifs, symbols, and values persisted through time, the exhibit was conspicuous in its silence as regards acculturated objects and tourist art.

An alternative perspective on the concept of tradition is offered by Joe Horse Capture (Staff Interview 1992).[186] He suggests that traditional can be understood in opposition to assimilation where peoples' lives and activities embody a sense of change alongside continuity. In a discussion of American Indian values, for example, Horse Capture described the Sun Dance as practiced in 1990 as quite different from that practiced in 1850 but particular values reinforcing the community continue to reassert themselves (see also Medicine 1981). He characterized this continuity as, "Same tune, different lyrics" (Staff Interview). He also cautioned that there is a big difference between ones self-description as a "traditionalist" and the labeling of an entire group of people as traditional. What Horse Capture described as traditionally American Indian was peoples' ability to revive, revise, and transform old practices in new and changing circumstances. Others have described this process as "finding new meanings in old practices and old meanings in new practices" (Kurin 1991:342 see also Kaeppler 1992). Summarizing Fredrik Barth's 1994 address to the Canadian Anthropological Society, Cruikshank (1995:36) discusses the process by which people construct continuity and integration in the face of disorder:

---

[185]A good example of this style is the Iroquois beaded Glengarry Cap shown in Figure 5.1 (see end of this Chapter).

[186]A similar discussion can be found in George P. Horse Capture (A'ani [Gros Ventres]) 1993 "From Museums to Indians: Native American Art in Context. The Frayed Thread of Tradition."

> The compelling question, Barth says, is how people enmeshed in this disorderly world create an identity which has some continuity especially when there is no script. We do this by working with those strands of tradition we have at our disposal to produce the idea that the world is still continuous, and go on to create those continuities, often by 'weeding out' the really incongruent portions. Culture does not produce itself; rather images resonate because they become translation devices for new experiences which do not seem to have cultural roots. The ways humans use these images show our struggle to achieve consistency between old values and changing circumstances.

Spiritual Coinage

Within the Introductory essay there appears to be a category of words associated with tradition that are used evocatively but like tradition, they too, are never defined. This category is represented in the following phrases (emphasis mine):

> For the circle of the people to remain strong, the traditions brought to them by their *prophets and Holy Beings* must be kept alive. [1992a:7]
>
> As these drawings were associated with *spirit beings*, they were considered *wakan* (as the Lakota would say) made viable with *spirit force*. [1992b:20]
>
> . . . to join the dancers who honor *Person Above*. [1992b:17]
>
> . . . preparing a feast meal, which is blessed by the *priests* [1992b:18].
>
> . . . documented the creation of pictographic drawings by peoples of the Columbia Plateau as part of their *Vision Quest*. [1992b:20]
>
> . . . example of the long tradition of *sacred* visual representations. [1992b:36]
>
> Shields have symbolic *"medicine"* or power designs painted on them. [1992b:27]
>
> At important *medicine dances* the *priests* directed . . . [1992b:33]

> We find versions of this horned serpent also among the Ojibwa, Potawatomi, and Menominee, where they are conceived as powerful *beings* associated with *magic and sorcery*. [1992b:28]

These words and phrases constitute a spiritual category that is never discussed in an informed or informing way. The result is that we do not learn what people actually believed/believe only that their beliefs make them uniquely different (Dorris 1987; Lutz and Collins 1993). Spiritual concepts are genuinely difficult but their difficulty is concealed by a "writing style which replaces interesting difficulties with puzzling phrases" (Hodge and D'Souza 1979). Indigenous discourse on spiritual concepts might need additional explanation and, in turn, the non-Indian public would be expected to exert some effort to understand. It is also possible that these beliefs should not be shared, and that too, should then be acknowledged and respected. I would suggest that had the text of the catalog been written in a Plains Indian language, such as Lakota or Arapaho for example, we would find that the concepts represented by the MIA's spiritual category would be used much differently in Native discourse (Clifford and Marcus 1986:16-17).

> Part of the problem may stem from the long standing tendency to regard Indians as "Other," as fundamentally and profoundly different. A survey of literature dealing with Indians over the past two or three hundred years would imply that Indians are motivated more often by mysticism than by ambition, are charged more by unfathomable visions than by intelligence or introspection and in effect derive their understanding of the world more from an appeal to the irrational than to empiricism . . . Indians, though obviously contemporary people are somehow regarded as ancient. In the paradigms of European confusion, Indians have been objects of mystery and speculation, not people.
>
> [Dorris 1987:101-102]

The correlation of Indian people with a spiritual dimension has been consistently advanced in the world of fine art as demonstrated by the following list of exhibition titles from the past two decades: One *with the Earth* (1976); *Sacred Circles* (1976) curated by Ralph T. Coe for the Arts Council of Great Britain; *Song of the Earth* (1978) curated by Jamake Highwater for the New York Graphic Society; *Of Pride and Spirit* (1981); *Pleasing the Spirit* (1982) curated by Douglas C. Ewing; *The Raven's Journey* (1986); and *The Spirit Sings* (1987) curated by J.D. Harrison for the Glenbow Museum.[187] According to art historian John Gogol (1984:6 in Gordon 1995:13):

> Art in contemporary society is insipid, weak, frivolous, mere decor.
> In tribal societies artists were in harmony with their environment . . .
> art was powerful and spiritual, a moral imperative.

This correlation with spirituality provides non-Western art with a particular place in the western art market. An aura of spirituality allows those involved in the transport and sale of non-Western art objects to reap monetary rewards. The market for objects categorized as "primitive art" (Kuper 1988) that is, non-Western art produced outside of North America, was firmly established in the 1950s and 60s (Clifford 1988:228). The turning point for the sale of American Indian art objects came in the early 1970s. In 1971, the George Green collection was auctioned and brought "unheard-of prices" for American Indian objects; one basket sold for over $6,000 (Gordon 1988). In 1974,

[187]"The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples" (1987) was organized by the Glenbow Museum as part of the "cultural program" for the Calgary Winter Olympics. It was boycotted by the Lubicon Lake Cree of northern Alberta. Turns out that, as the corporate sponsor for the exhibition, Shell Oil was actively drilling on land claimed by the Lubicon - a claim the Lubicon had been pressing for over 40 years (Ames 1992; J. Harrison et al 1988; Jones 1993; Phillips 1995). For a review of the exhibit see Alfred Young Man (1990).

"another estate realized $450,000, twice its appraised value, for its American Indian art" (Gordon 1988:11).

Not so coincidentally, 1974 also marks the passage of the Antiquities Act, prohibiting the sale, exchange, importing, and/or exporting of undocumented art pieces. This federal legislation was strongly supported by archaeologists concerned with the looting of cultural sites, activities which had provided both private collectors and museums with art objects. One could speculate that the art world, which by and large opposed the Antiquities Act, "saw the writing on the wall." In other words, the Antiquities Act had the potential to severely curtail the international trade in stolen goods from Third World countries to the West (S. Price 1989). This being the case, the market responded by turning its attention towards the Third World at home and began collecting American Indian art objects in earnest. Interestingly, *American Indian Art,* a quarterly journal whose audience consists of scholars and serious collectors was first published in 1975 - appearing within one year of the passage of the Antiquities Act. The initial affect of this journal was to further encourage market activity during this period.

"Visions" as an organizing idea for the display of American Indian art is also not new. Other exhibits include: *As In a Vision* (1983) curated by Edwin Wade, Carol Haralson, and Rennard Strickland for the Philbrook Art Center; *A Persistent Vision* (1986) curated by Richard Conn for the Denver Art Museum;[188] and *Shared Visions*

[188]*A Persistent Vision: Art of the Reservation Days* is devoted to explicating American Indian art during this period. It does not refer to "visions" in the metaphysical sense but in the sense that people envision themselves and use art as a vehicle to assert individual and community identity in opposition to colonialism (Conn 1986).

curated by Margaret Archuleta and Rennard Strickland.[189] The *Preface* of *Visions of the People* exhibit catalog (Maurer 1992c) relies on deeply held notions of culture. It utilizes a functional analysis and merges that analysis with contemporary concerns about representation by crafting an exhibit that appears to be one developed from an American Indian point of view. In the process, it garners authority from prior exhibits organized around the ideas of tradition and spirituality.

The Culture History of Natures Children

Following the *Preface*, the Introductory essay, also entitled *Visions of the People* (Maurer 1992b), begins by presenting a culture-history narrative of American Indian people told from a functionalist point of view, in which the social organization and social institutions of "Plains People" are circumscribed by the necessities of the environment. It is necessary at this point to provide an extensive quote from the *Visions of the People* essay in order to assure the reader that the author has not been taken out of context.

> The many varieties of grasses and other plants are a rich source of nutrients capable of supporting vast herds of herbivores. Early European travelers reported that one could ride for five days or more and still be surrounded by the immense herd. It was the buffalo that made life possible for the human inhabitants of the Plains from early prehistory through the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The people depended on the animal for their staple food, clothing, and shelter. The destruction of the buffalo herds as part of United States anti-Indian policy in the nineteenth century abruptly altered thousands of years of uninterrupted cultural history for the first inhabitants of this land.

[189]For a description of *Shared Visions* see Appendix A. *Shared Visions* emphasized artists who shaped the Native American Fine Arts Movement of the twentieth century and "whose work influenced the direction of American Indian painting and sculpture" (Achuleta and Strickland 1991:5). See also Brody (1970) *Indian Painters and White Patrons*, and (2001) "Retrospection: Memory and Imagination in the Study of 20th-Century Native American Art History."

> Humans have lived in the Great Plains region of North America since they first arrived on the continent from Asia twenty-five thousand to forty-five thousand years ago. The earliest indications of habitation show that these people had a lithic technology; they made stone tools and weapons, as well as objects of wood, bone, and antler, for the needs of daily life. They sustained themselves by hunting buffalo, deer, elk, and antelope and by gathering the wild fruits and root vegetables growing around the water sources. Specialized tools such as knives, scrapers, and awls indicate a well-developed system of creating clothing and shelter from dressed animal skins . . . Both hunting and warfare were made more efficient by the horse's endurance and speed, and this animal soon became an indispensable part of Plains life . . .
>
> As true for all other Native Americans, the lives of the Plains tribes have changed more drastically over the past two hundred years than during the previous millennium. In the past the people had to adapt their life-styles to new climates and the pressures of intertribal aggression and expansion. Nothing in their previous experience, however, could compare with the cultural trauma inflicted on them by the European invaders, whose appetites for territory and power were matched only by their blatant disregard for any racial group other than their own. [Maurer 1992:16]

In less than one page the essay attempts to convey twenty-five thousand years of "uninterrupted culture history" (1992b:16), from the Bering Land Bridge crossing the arrival of Europeans in the western hemisphere.[190] The author is able to be extremely succinct because he invokes the power of an old narrative, the functionalist model of ecological adaptation, to explain the past (Karp 1992:452-453; Lutz and Collins 1993:25-

[190]In an essay that puts itself forward as representing a native point of view, it is interesting that the origin story it tells is that of the Bering Land Bridge migration. Ames (1986); Biddle (1977); Hill (1977); and Kehoe (1981) explicate indigenous discourse as it contests this interpretation of the origin of peoples in the Americas.

31).[191] American Indian people, according to this model, are an ancient nomadic people who experienced cultural continuity for over twenty-five thousand years and for whom events occurred but not necessarily history. We know that subsistence activities did occur and that those activities were important to the people who engaged in them but what is at issue here is the way in which those activities are described. The author (paragraph two) arranges the people, plants, and animals in a diorama reminiscent of a natural history museum. This becomes a visual metaphor for harmony with nature. The idea of “The” Indian as a "natural man" has been analyzed by Vine Deloria as a white American view of Indian people as "a picturesque species of wildlife" (1986:6). This romanticized vision has been articulated by artist and traveler George Catlin:[192]

> Nature has nowhere presented more beautiful and lovely scenes than those of the vast prairies of the West and of *man* and *beast* no nobler specimens than those who inhabit them - the *Indian* and the *buffalo* - joint and original tenants of the soil, and fugitives together from the approach of civilized man. [Catlin 1841:293 cited in Berkhofer 1978:89 (emphasis in original)]

Similar to Catlin, the introduction consistently romanticizes a past age. The rhetoric of a "Golden Age"[193] tends to describe American Indian societies as primitive democracies functioning in a state of utopian harmony (Berkhofer 1978:90). While romanticism recognizes human difference and diversity, albeit from a particular perspective,

---

[191]A critique of environmentalism as an explanation of American Indian life see Bieder (1986).

[192]Like Edward Curtis, Catlin’s work has been both positively and negatively received. Either way his views have been influential and continue to inform contemporary ideas about American Indian history and culture.

[193]Sometimes referred to as the "Age of the Golden Tipi" (Rayna Green 1992:50).

functionalism asserts that societies are the products of social and physical environments. Combined with the ideals of American democracy a functionalist environmental explanation becomes very compelling for, "if all men were created equal . . . then all variation must be due to natural causes" (Berkhofer 1988:540). This is the basis on which audiences accept a romantic notion of the Indian Other.

Enduring Themes: Primitivism [194]

> The country can't make up its mind. One decade we're invisible, another dangerous. Obsolete and quaint, a rather boring people suitable for school kids and family vacations, then suddenly we're cool and mysterious. Some now regard us as keepers of planetary secrets and the only salvation for a world bent on destroying itself. Heck, we're just plain folk, but nobody wants to hear that.
>
> Paul Chaat Smith *What Do You Think of When You Think of Indians?*

The idea of "The Indian" is a foundational element in American mythology embedded in a 500-year history of image making.[195] Further, the concept of "The Indian" is a construct created and maintained by non-Indian people, (Berkhofer 1978; Bird 1996; Keiser 1933; Mihesuah 1997; R. Pearce 1965; Stedman 1982; Slotkin 1973). From the moment of contact between residents of the New World and explorers, traders, missionaries, and colonists from the Old World, non-Indian people have attempted to

---

[194]Marianna Torgovnick (1990) *Gone Primitive* is the usual reference for this subject. A more fitting reference for this paper is Helen Carr (1996) *Inventing the American Primitive.*

[195]The basic texts which inform any serious treatment of Indian images, their history and genealogy include: Berkhofer (1988) *The White Man's Indian* (1978), and "White Conceptions of Indians" (1988); R. Pearce (1965) *Savagism and Civilization*; Stedman (1982) *Shadows of the Indian*; and Slotkin (1973) *Regeneration Through Violence: the Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860*.

explain indigenous people to themselves (Saunders 1978, Todorov 1984, Vizenor 1987).[196] Non-indigenous explanations were introduced by the Europeans, followed by the colonists, and finally non-Indian America has maintained control of the public discourse on the definition of Indianness. Therefore it is primarily a non-Indian definition of American Indian people that informs public opinion and therefore public policy as regards indigenous peoples.

> Primitivism is the desire for a way of life dramatically opposite in complexity and organization from the present. Primitivism dreams of a paradise on earth that proves that an alternative to the present age could exist. Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman traditions of the Garden of Eden and the Golden Age had combined in a myth of lands far away to the west or long ago in the past whose citizens dwelt in an ideal(ized) landscape in harmony with nature . . . Primitivism postulated people dwelling in nature, according to nature, existing free of history's burdens and the social complexity felt by people in the modern period. [Berkhofer 1978:72]

The Primitivist tradition became the framework early explorers and others used to interpret their actual experiences in the "New World" (Hill 1991). Such myths influenced the Spanish conquistadors and their search for fabled cities of gold and fountains of youth (Berkhofer 1988:529). The Primitivist tradition influenced early English and French literature and art producing the image of the Noble Savage (R. Pearce 1965, Slotkin 1973).[197] The Noble Savage was a literary convention which later became the Indian as a

---

[196]Similarly indigenous peoples have engaged in a discourse about non-Indian peoples.

[197]R. Pearce (1965) and Slotkin (1973) are the intellectual progenitors of the current theoretical work on the construction of an Indian image as the foundation of an American national identity; see Green (1988); P. Deloria (1999); C. Richard King (1998); King and Springood (2001); Scheckel (1999); and Owens (2001).

Child of Nature (Hill 1991; Kaufmann 1975) whose current incarnation is the Indian as Protector of the Environment (Maltz and Archambault 1995). This contemporary prototype is characterized by his heroic stoicism, self-discipline, and courageous, calm and dignified manner (Stedman 1982; Berkhofer 1988). However pictured or described, "Indians are always the quintessential Other" (Bird 1996:4), a fabrication built upon multiple myths and stereotypes (Stedman 1982). Fondness for the Indian as savage, defined in terms of his cultural difference,[198] his inability or unwillingness to be assimilated into White culture, and the manifestations of those cultural differences in his hostile actions toward Whites appears throughout American popular culture (Slotkin 1973).[199] Yet a fondness for the Indian as admirable, noble, and exotic is also a repeated trope (Berkhofer 1978).[200]

The Primitivist inspired desire for a simpler way of life produces an idealization - "The" American Indian (R. Pearce 1952; 1965). White America has constructed an ideal type where the quintessential Indian is thought to be outside of time and as part of the

---

[198]This is intended as a gendered reference. Constructed as Other, Indian women are marked by their absence.

[199]Two authors need special mention. Albert Keiser (1933 [1975]) *The Indian in American Literature*; and Leslie Fiedler (1968) *The Return of the Vanishing American*, and (1988) "The Indian in English Literature." Both authors firmly establish the way in which the Noble Savage served non-Indian America as an oppositional figure, as well as, an object of "simultaneous desire and repulsion" (P. Deloria 1998:113).

[200]Representations of "The Indian" in popular culture include cigar-store Indians, mascots, films, drama, and literature, see Brauer and Brauer (1975); Berkhofer (1988, 1978); Bird (1996); Carr (1996); Faery (1999); Feest (1987); Fiedler (1968); Hill (1991, 1992); Honour (1975); Maltz and Archambault (1995); R. Pearce (1952, 1965); Stedman (1982); Tilton (1994); Young (1962). "The Indian" as cultural icon appears in legends, jokes, songs, proverbs, epithets, engravings, sculpture, paintings, coins, and stamps (Green 1988, 1989). Her work is very comprehensive and includes extensive references to original source material.

wilderness must be "overcome in order to bring order to a wild continent" (Kilpatrick 1999:40).[201] Non-Indians picture the "real" Indian as the one before contact.[202] Hence the persistence of the myth of the Vanishing Indian (Dippie 1982; Fiedler 1968). As the American frontier moved west the Noble Savage - Bloodthirsty Renegade duality "traded its woodland garb for a buffalo robe," (Fiedler 1968; Slotkin 1973). Thus people of the Plains have become the essence of Indianness in the eyes of non-Indian America (Berkhofer 1978:89). Green (Cherokee) argues that [1989:657;

> By the time they reach second grade, every child in the country knows what an Indian is. They wear lots of feathers, ride spotted ponies and shoot arrows. Indians who don't fit the type are invisible; they simply can't be imagined by the majority of white children or adults.

Non-Indian people grow up with myths and assumptions about American Indian culture, myths that are sometimes shared by American Indian people as well. "These associations are brought, however subtly and unconsciously, to the artworks" (Gordon 1988:3; c.f. Perin 1992:184). Thus, the exhibit, consciously or not, is ideologically supported by a Primitivist tradition that encourages a "tendency to look backwards to the image of a lost

---

[201]Also known as Manifest Destiny (Dippie 1982; Krupat 1992; Slotkin 1973; Stedman 1982).

[202]The primary and secondary literature on the contact period in America is enormous. The processes of interaction and transformation of Indians and Europeans into Americans is best described in secondary sources which include Axtell (1981) *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*, and (1985) *The Invasion Within: the Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America*; and Berkhofer (1978) *The White Man's Indian*. See also Nash (1974) *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America*; Salisbury (1982) *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans and the Making of New England, 1500-1643*; Hallowell (1963) "American Indians, White and Black: The Phenomenon of Transculturalization"; and Zuckerman (1977) "The Fabrication of Identity in Early America." See also Lurie (1974) in "Forked Tongue in Cheek Or Life Among the Noble Civilages," which looks at English institutions that were transferred to the New World - the reservation system forced on the "wild tribes of Ulster" (1974:30) and the sending of missionaries to Scotland.

world, to the idea that there was once an integrated, cohesive, social totality which can be located historically" (Miller 1991:55).[203] The "noble savage" merges with the "Plains warrior" as the archetype in *Visions of the People.* The Introductory essay (last paragraph extended quote) plays off a negative view of the contemporary world where traditional life is seen as a time uncorrupted by modernity. The essay (1992b) provides other references in support of an idealized view of "the good old days:"

> It is within these camps that one comes closest to experiencing traditional Plains Indian life as it was in the days of freedom. [p.30]
>
> Expansion of the U.S. Government . . . brought about the end of the free life style of the Plains tribes. [p.41]
>
> Losing the freedom to follow their age-old patterns of existence was a cultural and economic shock whose negative affects can still be seen. [p.16]

There is no denying the drastic changes that have taken place in Native America over the last five hundred years. What was devastating about the European Invasion of what the Ojibwe refer to as Turtle Island is not that native cultures have changed in response to contact rather that the devastation is located in the actual historic events that were the consequence of colonial expansion, those events that David Stannard (1992) details in *American Holocaust*.[204] What is reprehensible is not that culture changes, but rather that many American Indian people continue to live in a neo-colonial political and economic

---

[203]See Rosaldo's discussion of a "particular kind of nostalgia, where people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed . . . that uses a pose of 'innocent yearning' both to capture people's imaginations and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination," (1989a:70).

[204]For a serious accounting of U.S. government policy toward American Indian people see Dippie (1982) *The Vanishing American:White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy*; Drinnon (1980) *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian Hating and Empire Building* focuses on economic, political and social, consequences of manifest Destiny; Prucha (1962) *American Indian Policy in the*

situation and as with most people of color, they must engage in an on-going struggle to respond to and protect themselves from daily acts of racism, institutional and otherwise. Discussing the legacy of expansionist policies and the continuing struggles of American Indian people J. Fisher (1991:310) concludes that:

> The neo-colonial position of Native American peoples nevertheless remains a cause for concern; with limited political support or legal representation, relocation and land loss continue to threaten the well-being of many; the small-pox infested blankets have been replaced by water and crop pollution from industrial effluents and radioactive waste, threatening life itself.

A desire for the "good old days" and the focus on cultural trauma reflect a functionalist view of cultural change. This view asserts that at one point in time there flourished a pure tradition that had existed fully intact without significant change until altered by external forces. A functionalist model cannot explain why European expansion took place; it can only describe the results in terms of cultural degradation. To hold up the "good old days" as a cultural standard is a reminder that "we are no longer what we were" (Mithlo 1995) and as such can only invoke sadness, anger, and anguish (Green 1992). It says that contemporary American Indian peoples are somehow less than their predecessors and since it is impossible to return to the "good old days" people will remain so. Anthropologist Nancy Mithlo (Chiricahua Apache) delivers an eloquent first person account of her exploration of the meaning of Fort Sill, Oklahoma where her

---

Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790-1834, considers the consequences of Indian policies as these policies foreground either assimilation or elimination; this theme is expanded in the 1990 edited volume *Documents of United States Indian Policy*; and Frederick E. Hoxie and Peter Iverson's (1998) edited volume *Indians in American History* which is best described "As a View From the Other side of the Frontier" (article title in the volume). Includes a good overview of the U.S. policy of Termination.

relatives along with other members of the Chiricahua Apache were held for *two decades* as prisoners of war. Many died during their incarceration and are buried at Fort Sill.

> It was my family too, my relatives who were hunted like animals, who were shipped on freight trains, and who were herded into small camps to die. The holocaust belongs to Indian people too . . . Like the museums that portray our history we are confined to a specific time . . . The privileging of the past has led to detrimental consequences . . . Couldn't the concept of a holocaust museum be just as appropriate for recognizing the genocide of American Indians? No museums are talking about my people truthfully in this manner . . . I believe that the privileging of a "safe" history [one that privileges the past] is detrimental to tribes such as mine that desperately need to develop a sense of dignity based on who we are, not who we were . . . The refusal to acknowledge contemporary thought as valid in and of itself is simply another acculturation device. [Mithlo 1995:51-53,57]

American Indian people have survived a holocaust and continue to survive acts of genocide and ethnocide. It is precisely the ability of American Indian people to adjust, take action, and survive that has allowed them to respond to changing political, economic, and social conditions (Cruikshank 1995; V. Deloria 1969; Fogelson 1985; Stannard 1992). For it is often "those changes which tradition-seeking Westerners take as evidence of cultural demise [that] may be seen as ongoing life and resiliency by the people engaged in them" (Handler 1993:35). A "good old days" rhetoric keeps the specter of colonialism in the past. According to the exhibit catalog (Maurer 1992b:16):

> Nothing could compare with the cultural trauma inflicted by the European invaders whose appetites for territory and power were matched only by their blatant disregard for any racial group other than their own.

While this is a clear statement with respect to the eighteenth century the analysis ends there. Nowhere in the exhibit is there any reference to contemporary conditions and struggles of American Indian people to regain resources, territory, and access to political

and economic power.[205] Since the theme of *Visions of the People* is enduring artistic traditions, the show focuses on cultural survivals and on particular historic events depicted in the artworks. In this way the exhibit situates itself in the past and avoids the political challenge associated with any attempt to illuminate contemporary issues (Ames 1986; Dominguez 1992; Owens 2001, Shanley 2001). Ironically, the functionalist compression of time carries the idea of enduring traditions into the present providing the exhibit with a feeling of immediacy and contemporaneousness, so much so, that the text is able to refer to people in the present. Moreover, the catalog essay cites "cultural trauma" as the affliction brought about by "contact," not physical dislocation, political disruption, or genocidal extermination policies and practices.[206] The description of the "European invaders" is also revealing; they are defined by their "appetites" as if the quest for land and power was an instinctual response to a physical need rather than the historical outcome of rivalries initially being waged in Europe for political and economic control of Europe itself (Cornel 1988; Jennings 1975).[207] As for "their blatant disregard

---

[205]See Stephen Cornell (1988) *The Return of the Native: American Indian Political Resurgence.*

[206]See Smith (1990) *Virgin Land:The American West as Symbol and Myth* details the interaction between policy and ideology that resulted in a process that changed Indians from objects to be civilized or utilized to obstacles that needed to be pushed past the frontier to once again become the Vanishing Indian; Jennings (1975) *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest* which reminds us that the invasion of America was, before all else, a commercial and political enterprise. See also Trexler (1996) *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas*.

[207]Individual European nations as a political reality and historical force were only established after development of the first nation-state (Spain) in the fifteenth century. Their power was consolidated through the expansion into the "New World" which, in turn, was supported by the trans-Atlantic slave trade. See B. Anderson (1991) *Imagined Communities*, which considers the appearance of nations and the idea of nationhood within the context of particular historical developments. See also Nash (1974).

for any racial group but their own" (1992:16), racism and racist policies are not that easily explained. While Europeans in the "New World" most certainly developed racist policies towards indigenous people, the French and English, and then the English and American colonists, in alliance with differing Indian Nations," blatantly" killed each other (Edmunds 1983). Historically the subjugation of colonized people in the process of Empire building is neither a new nor uniquely European phenomena. Rationales differ, of course, but one only has to look to Aztec, Byzantine, Dahomey, Ottoman, and Roman Empires for compelling precedents.

A World of Ritual

Having established a narrative that reifies traditional life, the Introductory essay (1992b:17) goes on to describe the Sun Dance:

> Among the many traditional events that mark the yearly cycle on the Plains, none is more elemental and powerful than the Sun Dance, an elaborate ritual . . . this most ancient of Plains celebrations.

In classic functionalist fashion, the Introductory essay analyzes the Sun Dance as a key institution. Analytically focusing on a selected part simultaneously evokes the whole because functionalism maintains that everything in culture is functionally interrelated (Marcus and Fisher 1986). Presented as prototypical, the Sun Dance is seen as an "emblematic cultural performance" (Marcus and Fisher 1986:55). The catalog text continues (1992b:17-19):

> At the hour before sunrise the camp crier chants his morning message. The rich melodious tones and rhythms of the language rouse the sleepers in their tents. The air is chill with a dim, predawn cast. The day is beginning and the people are urged to make their way to the Sun Dance Lodge . . . The camp presents a glorious sight; there is much to

> be done . . . The women repair the days main repast . . . whose bounty is in keeping with the importance of the occasion . . . Men search for the sacred sweet sage which is an essential element of the costumes and rituals . . . By now the sun has climbed higher into the vast blue sky and is felt as a palpable force commanding gratitude and respect . . . As the younger children are put to bed . . . the black vault of the heavens is studded with brilliant stars of astonishing clarity and multiplicity, its center banded by the star-dusted swath of the Milky Way.[208]

This description of the Sun Dance encampment is written in a stilted style of folklore translation that dates to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the pretentious diction of romantic legend telling. The author's self-positioning is also intriguing; he is not a participant nor does he describe the events from any particular geographic location. Written in the timelessness of the ethnographic present (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Fisher 1986; Medicine 1971) the author is an invisible presence at the Sun Dance, assuming the position of the "detached observer" (Rosaldo 1989:198). It is precisely because this account offers a sense of unmediated vision that it appears to be authoritative (Jordanova 1989:35). Clifford and Marcus (1986) analyze the rhetorical strategies authors use to establish their authority and to convince the reader of the accuracy of their description. Authority is constituted by

> . . . his presence at the events described, his perceptual ability, his objectivity and his sincerity . . . it is impossible to fix his vantage point . . . his is a roving perspective, necessitated by his "totalistic" presentation of the events. His presence does not alter the way things happen or, for that matter, the way they are observed or interpreted . . . He assumes an invisibility he cannot really have. [Clifford and Marcus 1986:155]

---

[208]This last sentence could well be a description of Van Gogh's 1889 "The Starry Sky." Besides which, "Traditional Plains" cosmology does not refer to this constellation as the “Milky Way.”

This is the authority of false immediacy (Guha 1983b). The Sun Dance becomes a "Grand Metaphor" (Clifford and Marcus 1986:75) for "Plains Indian" social organization. The Sun Dance in this description is not any unique and particular Sun Dance; it is the Sun Dance as Ideal, practiced by those people living in the Plains Culture Area. Having established the Ideal, the Introductory essay (1992b:19) concludes:

> The Sun Dance camp of a contemporary Plains tribe exhibits the salient features of their traditional culture: prayer and personal sacrifice combined with a commitment to the common good . . . a vital expression of deeply held religious beliefs.

While aspects of this construction have relevancy and meaning for particular individuals, the force of the construction is to portray people "as ritual performers embedded in tradition and living in a sacred world" (Lutz and Collins 1993:90). As such, the Sun Dance comes to represent the ritual of sacred and formally organized group behavior. The marking of ritual practice as different, in kind, implicitly contrasts it with practices with which the non-Indian viewer is familiar. Therefore, as "interesting and beautiful as they may be, right as they may be for [traditional people] they do not represent the direction taken by history" (Lutz and Collins 1993:276). Once again, American Indian people are left in the past, a footnote in the history of America.

Moreover, holistic representations tend to exaggerate particular cultural characteristics of pristineness, order, and community consensus (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Fisher 1986). Dominguez in "The Messy Side of Cultural Politics (1992) argues that only small, minority or peripheral populations are "described holistically, while the dominant population employs substantive differentiations to refer to itself" (1992:24). In addition, these same holistic representations tend to "highlight

and celebrate forms of creative expression thought to have been developed before the establishment of Euro-American hegemony" (Dominguez 1992:25), thereby, denying the relevancy, import, and political significance of contemporary art produced by American Indian artists. Presented as prototypical, rather than as a unique historical event, the Sun Dance is understood as a marker of ethnicity rather than as negotiated social interaction (Lutz and Collins 1993). Further, holistic representations of enduring tradition perpetuate the idea that it is culture as distinct from political economy that created and continues to create ethnic differences in society (Dominguez 1992:33). In other words, many non-Indian people conclude that, although unfortunate in some ways, if only Indian people would be willing to acquiesce and accept the mandate of assimilation they could then avoid those social and economic problems associated with ethnic difference. Conversely, this view also suggests that if American Indian people insist on being different then they should not be surprised if they are treated differently. In classic blame the victim fashion, non-Indian people conclude that if one resists assimilation then one must accept the consequences of resisting however horrific those consequences may be.

What is even more striking about the Introductory essay is the author's willingness to define what it means to be Indian. Throughout, the essay suggests, both directly and indirectly, that what is Indian are those traditions which have survived. In other words, the standard of cultural belonging is based on cultural survivals. This cultural prescription is adhered to by many American Indian and non-Indian people alike. To be Indian, according to the catalog essay, is to "nurture ones cultural heritage" (1992b:16), to "learn the ancient ways and traditions" (1992:17), and to "perform the elaborate rituals

and sacred celebrations" (1992b:17). The essay's description (1992b:16) of a contemporary American Indian family is one that;

> loads up the tipis and camp gear and travels to ceremonies and social events . . . that participants in festive powwows at which elaborately costumed men, women, and children perform dignified but spirited dances . . . people also attend giveaways . . . and the rituals of the sweat lodge.

The enduring traditions of American Indian people, to the extent that they have survived, point to the strength of people to survive but do not define who they are. If being Indian is defined in terms of cultural survivals, there will come a generation when Indianness becomes extinct because not everything will nor can be replicated from generation to generation. In contrast, artist and language scholar, Earl Nyholm (Anishinaabe) describes his family (1994:54):

> A lot of people use the word 'traditional.' I don't like that word. It's one of the most abused words in Indian-English today. Nowadays, they say that to be a traditional Indian you've got to go to so many powwows during the summer. Now, I remember my grandparents – I only saw them at two powwows, and I bet you my moccasin that up in Canada, there's some Indian people living up in the bush who are very traditional, but who have never been to a powwow.

An alternative view proposes that people may have a distinctive way of life based on using the old in new ways. It is this renegotiating and reinventing of tradition that defines people culturally and more closely resembles the process of cultural change. Consider George C. Longfish (Seneca/ Tuscarora) and Joan Randall's (1983) statement in "Contradictions in Indian Territory."

> Think of Tonto, *The Last of the Mohicans*, Mazola corn oil commercials, John Wayne westerns, Seneca apple juice and the Buffalo head nickel. Mix those images with Oklahoma Indian Days, powwows, pick-up trucks, pottery, jewelry, rugs and Northwest carvings, alcoholism and high mortality and morbidity rates among Indian people. Throw in scenes of Alcatraz, the Longest Walk, and the struggle in Navajo and Hopi land, the Uranium mines in the Four corners area, James Watt. Then switch the film to the black-haired brown faces dancing in the Long House . . . see the sun dances in the Oklahoma summer's heat; listen to the old women's stories during the quilt-making session or in the kitchens while cooking for yet another community event. Wipe your Indian hands on your Levi jeans, get into your Toyota pick-up. Throw in a tape of Mozart, Led Zepplin or ceremonial Sioux songs; then throw your head back and laugh - you are a survivor of a colonized people. Your children are Indian who learn the stories, the ceremonies, and a sense of profound difference with those in the dominant culture. They also learn to run computers, drive automobiles, watch Mazola oil commercials and make a living in a modern Indian world.
>
> (1983 cited in Ames 1992:850)

Visions of the People relies on culturally constructed metaphors to explain cultural difference. These metaphors tell a story of an ancient people steeped in tradition and bound by ritual. With little supporting evidence the catalog attributes to American Indian people "all manner of experience, intentions, motivations, dispositions, and understandings" (Clifford and Marcus 1986:72). The text does not cast people as individuals;[209] the nouns are "Plains people" or "Plains tribes" as though everyone shares

[209]The only exception in the exhibit was the room devoted to Tatayka Iystanka (Sitting Bull) who has become an historical figure of mythological proportions to both American Indian and non-Indian people.

a single subjectivity. What the *Preface* leaves the reader with, then, is what Clifford and Marcus call a "generalized people" who become "a foil for [the author's] description, interpretation, and theorizing" (1986:70-71). Even the show's attempt to honor American Indian people misfires because people are honored for being the epitome of a white American construction.

> The impasse seems to be constant. Indians are unable to get non-Indians to accept them as contemporary beings. Non-Indians . . . insist on remaining in the last century, reciting a past that is basically mythological, thrilling, and comforting. [V. Deloria 1973:56]

Figures Chapter 5

Figure 5.1

Glengarry Cap
Embossed and spot stitched. Appliqué beadwork, velveteen wool, silk, rick-rack, and glass beads. Denver Art Museum.

Chapter 6

SILENCED

American Indian art disturbs and is meant to disturb.
Edwin Wade and Rennard Strickland
Magic Images 1982:24

American Indian rights continue to be prominent political issues. In the U.S., the treaty claims of American Indian people to indigenous sovereignty challenge a national ideal that strives to encompass cultural diversity (Singleton 1990). American Indian rights to fishing and ricing, as well as the right to pursue commercial ventures represented by casinos, continue to be sharply contested. Disputes over the authenticity of American Indian identity, which legitimize indigenous rights, shapes both legal challenges and cultural discourse (Clifford 1991; Kaplan 1994a; Singleton 1990).

To mount an exhibit of American Indian history during the Quincentennial was a bold undertaking. In an essay entitled "In Plains View" (1992:145-147), *Visions of the People*, (hereafter referred to as *Visions*), was described as an exhibit that "by-passes non-native views of Native America and gives an unprecedented look into Plains Indians' lives through their art."[210] The lavish expenditure of time, resources, and curatorial talent devoted to *Visions* demonstrates that the museum believed in the importance of this exhibit.[211] The objects displayed in the exhibit were part of a larger multimedia

[210]This three-page essay was part of an eight-page ad insert included in *Mpls. St. Paul Magazine* (October 1992). Like most advertising, the essay did not provide the name of the author(s).

[211]In addition to the time and resources devoted to this exhibit the MIA borrowed material from sixty-four institutions and individuals from Canada, Europe, and across the U.S. and met with prominent individuals in American Indian communities throughout the area covered by the exhibit (Staff Interviews). See Appendix E for a full listing of contributors.

assemblage that included: large and small display cases, ledger drawings, watercolors and oil paintings. Films, lectures, and dance performances accompanied the exhibit.

Even before setting foot inside the exhibit, the visual and cultural impact of the show was felt by visitors; three full-size painted tipis (18 feet tall, 18 feet in diameter), one Gros Ventre, one Blackfeet, and one Kiowa, were set-up on the grounds leading to the building. Once inside, visitors were led by signs, docents, and the flow of people to the entrance of the exhibit. Here the vaulted ceilings of the MIA opened up to an illuminated doorway creating a theater proscenium (Hall 1987), which provided access to the treasures assembled in the exhibit. Through internal organization and restrictions imposed by the architecture, the visitor was guided through a sequence of twelve galleries and two hallways (Figure 1.1). Selected objects were arranged in each gallery with particular objects foregrounded to draw visitors into each room. Gallery space oriented visitors and organized the direction of movement through the exhibit (Hall 1987). There was only one entrance into the exhibit and one exit leaving the exhibit. Having entered *Visions*; visitors were then committed to continue through the entire exhibit. Although the exhibit was often crowded it was overpowering in its visual richness, attention to detail, and carefully crafted design.

On Display (Hall 1987), a textbook on exhibit design, examines the ways in which exhibit design shapes communication and propels visitors through an exhibit. Exhibition strategy holds that the placing of objects in a meaningful sequence demonstrates the laying out of material knowledge (Hall 1987; S. Pearce 1992). Therefore a sequence of galleries produces a specific narrative (Coombes 1991:192). The physical layout of the

galleries and the arrangement of objects within establish a series of relationships between the objects and the story being told by the exhibit. This manipulation of design elements is intended to encourage openness to this story (S. Pearce 1991:149).

Visions was remarkably coherent as a programmed sequence of galleries that presented an overview of American Indian peoples' art, architecture, history, and social institutions. *Visions* included objects from a number of Plains cultures, interpreted according to function and displayed in chronological sequence. This format implies a progression through time which served to illustrate Plains peoples' history. As in most fine art museums the visual qualities of the objects were privileged. All the galleries presented the objects against a background of muted pastels that covered walls and lined cases, creating a quiet and unified backdrop. Lighting in the exhibit was low in order to preserve the textiles. Labels offered a minimum of didactic information and were printed on clear backgrounds to avoid visual confusion (Hall 1987). Cultural context was inferred by the theme of the gallery that housed each object. The extent to which labels contextualized specific objects was limited and selective, since, like the gallery arrangement, the labels invited visitors to perceive the objects in a particular way (Jordanova 1989:24). The choice of muted colors as background and the use of minimalist labels were similar to the display of other holdings in the MIA giving *Visions* the look of a permanent exhibit. Taken together, these display techniques reflect the paradigm of fine art rather than ethnological representation.

Displaying a group of selected objects is an act of representational knowing (Hinsley 1992), where, the exhibit claims to offer a representation of a particular world -

in this case the social and aesthetic world of particular American Indian peoples geographically associated with the Plains. By doing so, the exhibit metonymically becomes the Plains in a process that conflates history and social relationships (Hinsley 1992). This occurs because the process of removing objects from their original contexts places a claim of familiarity and possession on that context. Their removal is followed by the creation of an exhibit, where, as Hinsley (1992:15) argues, "An exhibit by its new existence begins to generate a representational reality of its own." The representational reality of *Visions of the People* was organized by a sequence of galleries that established a linear chronology. In addition, each gallery had a specific and distinct thematic focus. Together, the chronology and the themes established a particular narrative. This is not an unusual approach nor is it necessarily negative. It is this chronological and thematic approach that will be examined in detail throughout this chapter.

The Master Narrative

In order to fulfill their mission as public educators, museums must be accessible to the public, and in the process of making them accessible, the display of the past is often driven by interpretations that are commonly accepted in the present (S. Pearce 1990, Kavanagh 1991b). In Vergo's experience (1989:46), "most exhibition objects are brought together because they are part of a story one is trying to tell . . . The 'context' of the exhibition confers upon them a 'meaning' beyond any significance they may already possess as cultural artifact or object of aesthetic contemplation." By being incorporated into an exhibit objects become elements in a narrative forming part of a discourse with

links to other stories already functioning within the wider culture. In the case of *Visions*, the choice of objects arranged together in each room is informative.

By examining the placement of the objects in each gallery, their assumed use, cultural interpretation, and dates of manufacture, I was able to define the cultural theme that characterized each gallery.[212] This analysis allowed me to uncover the organizing principles employed by the MIA and from that reconstruct the narrative being generated by the exhibit. This method was applied to every gallery and hallway in the exhibit. The process by which I analyzed each gallery can be examined more thoroughly by considering the analysis of a specific gallery. How I arrived at the particular cultural theme associated with a gallery can be seen in the following discussion of Gallery 2. A more detailed examination of my conclusions can be made by comparing the discussion of Gallery 2 to the data derived from the exhibit catalog summarized in Table 6.1. This table immediately follows the discussion of Gallery 2.

The Sacred Gallery

Displayed together in Gallery 2 were twenty-two objects and except for three all were described in the *Visions* exhibit catalog (Maurer 1992b)[213] as either sacred, spiritual or visionary. The descriptions provided by the catalog specifically categorized nineteen of the twenty-two objects as follows: 1) "spiritually infused" items of clothing and

---

[212]Object placement was determined from the plan-view map provided by the MIA (Figure 1.1). Specific information on assumed use, cultural interpretation, physical description, and dates of manufacture are from the *Visions* exhibit catalog (Maurer 1992b).

[213]From here on, 'the catalog' is a specific reference to the *Visions* exhibit catalog (1992).

personal ornaments which included two robes, a pair of moccasins, and a copper ornament; 2) "sacred ritual objects" which included a rattle, a drum, three shield covers, and one shield cover and shield; 3) objects that "maintained the spiritual well-being of the community," included were two carved feast bowls, a medicine bowl, and three leather containers; 4) one shaman's backrest that "demonstrated the honor and importance of spiritual individuals;" and 5) a model tipi and a drawing "decorated with visionary scenes." Dates of manufacture for the objects in this gallery range from 1750-1900. Only the Visionary Room (Gallery 1) has a range of dates extending over a longer period (1200-1900). This range of dates for the objects in Gallery 2 suggests, similar to the catalog essay, that spirituality and a reverence for the sacred are longstanding values among Plains peoples (Maurer 1992a:6) and further, that the range of objects displayed in Gallery 2 suggests that all aspects of life are infused with some form of sacredness.

The three objects not specifically described as sacred, spiritual or visionary were a carved eagle feast bowl (#13), a warrior's robe depicting biographical events (#151), and a model tipi (#3).[214] While not specifically defined as spiritual, all three objects were associated with the spirituality of other objects in the exhibit either through design, decoration or function. For example, the carved eagle feast bowl (#13) was similar in design and pictured in the catalog next to another carved eagle feast bowl (#14). Based on its design and function the second feast bowl (#14) was defined as sacred. The model tipi (#3) was decorated with four- and five-pointed stars which were said to symbolically

[214]Objects displayed in *Visions* were assigned a number that functioned as an inventory tracking devise. Consequently object catalog numbers correspond to the object numbers on the plan-view map. Hereafter, objects will be identified by their number without the word 'object' as a preface.

represent "heavens and the universe" (*Visions* 1992:111).[215] Objects decorated with star motifs were described as either "visionary" (#2 a shield cover and #103 a drawing), "ceremonial" (#4 "Nightshield" painting), or associated with "sacred regalia" (#109 a pouch). Even the reference to the "heavens" would, for some visitors, imply a spiritual dimension. Finally, the warrior's robe depicting the biographical events of its owner (#151) is also never described as spiritual, sacred or visionary but by its presence in this gallery, one could easily conclude that the role of a warrior is understood as sanctioned by spiritual forces and perceived as a sacred duty. Objects in Gallery 2, either directly or indirectly, evoked awareness and/or memories of a spiritual experience (Interviews).[216]

Based on the gender associations of the objects, almost all the actors in Gallery 2 are men. Eighteen of the twenty-two objects were specifically identified in the exhibit catalog as either created or used by men. Three objects were not specifically associated with either women or men and were described as follows: 1) a Great Lakes Leather Pouch (#8) created for use "by many peoples as containers for objects associated with healing, power, and ritual societies" (*Visions* 1992:113); 2) a Dakota Medicine Bowl (#101) is "used in mixing medicines prepared by a specially trained person" (*Visions* 1992:154), and 3) a Lakota Leather Pouch (#109) defined as sacred regalia that was "used to hold personal medicine" (*Visions* 1992:157). Only one object, a Box and Border Robe

[215]Individual object descriptions were written by five different individuals, Evan Maurer, Louise Lincoln, Angela Casselton, Joseph Horse Capture, and Candace Green. Therefore, all specific references to the catalog entries will be by the abbreviated title of the exhibit catalog - *Visions*.

[216]A few individuals expressed concern over the ability of others to identify them in this paper. Particular references will only be acknowledged by the identifier - "Interview" or "Interviews."

(# 306) was described as used by a woman. Finally, two objects, both of them robes (#305, 306) were described as being created by women. For those objects displayed in Gallery 2, the text makes no other reference to women. Not only is Gallery 2 sacred but also spirituality appears to be a man's world. By examining the placement of the objects, their assumed use, cultural interpretation, and dates of manufacture, I concluded that sacredness was the cultural theme that characterized Gallery 2. A more detailed examination of my conclusions can be made by comparing the discussion of Gallery 2 to the data derived from the exhibit catalog summarized below in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Gallery 2 - Catalog Information By Object

Date	Object	Design	Description	Object #
1835	Robe	Warrior Biography	Historic Events	151 *
1870	Robe	Feather and Circle	Ceremonial	305
1870	Robe	Box and Bor	Sacred Elements	306
1900	Moccasins	Thunderbird	Personal Vision, Spiritual Design	15
1860	Copper Ornament	Bear Cutout	Amulet of Sacred Power	27
1860	Rattle	Eagle, Thunderbird	Sacred Images, Military Society	107
1875	Drum	Buffalo Head & Hoofs	Ceremonial, Sacred Images	41
1820	Shield Cover	Bear Paw	Healing and Spiritual Power	25
1875	Shield Cover	Bear	Spiritual Design	23
1850	Shield Cover	Thunderbird	Vision Inspired, Spiritual	12
1860	Shield and Cover	Thunderbird	Mythical, Sacred	9
1850	Carved Feast Bowl	Animal Crests	Used in Sacred Medicine Dance	29
1860	Carved Feast Bowl	Eagle	Sacred	14
1860	Carved Feast Bowl	Eagle	Unique Engraving	13 *
1860	Medicine Bowl	Anthropomorphic Heads	Used in Healing, Spiritual	101
1860	Leather Pouch	Anthropomorphic Figures	Sacred Regalia, Personal Medicine	109
1750	Leather Pouch	Spirit Entities	Ritual Society Use	8
1860	Rawhide Bag	Sacred Directions, Bear	Medicine, Bear Dreamers Society	26
1900	Backrest Banner	Vision of Spiritual Power	Used by Shaman	102
1880	Drawing	Cheyenne Village	Foregrounds Visionary Design	255
1904	Model Tipi	Stars, Traditional	Symbolize the Heavens & Universe	3 *
1904	Model Tipi	Underwater Monster	Spiritual	69

**Note:* These objects were not specifically described as spiritual, sacred or visionary.

Memorable Motifs

Each gallery was analyzed looking for patterns and associations, using the same approach as that used in the analysis of Gallery 2. Gallery numbers correspond to the plan-view map of the exhibit (Figure 1.1) and are organized consecutively to follow the pattern of movement experienced by the visitor. Visitors would have moved through the exhibit from the Entry into Gallery 1 and continued moving consecutively through Galleries 2, 3, 4 . . . finally exiting from Gallery 12. Appendix F provides a detailed inventory of all the displayed objects in organized by gallery. Each item in Appendix F is described by date of manufacture, assumed use and cultural interpretation. All information is derived from the exhibit catalog. By examining placement of objects in a gallery, their assumed use, cultural interpretation, and dates of manufacture, I was able to identify the cultural theme that characterized each gallery. Each gallery, its associated theme, followed by a brief description is listed below. Dates associated with each gallery are the range of dates of manufacture of those objects displayed in each gallery.

<u>Galleries and their Associated Cultural Themes</u>

Entry: *Antiquity (1200-1750).*
Establishes the cultural ancestry of Plains peoples.

Gallery 1: *A Visionary People (1200-1900)*
Confirms the centrality of the Vision Quest and the Sun Dance. Highlights the idea of "visions" as an integral part of peoples' lives from birth to death.

Gallery 2: *The Sacred (1750-1900)*
Objects are described as either ceremonial, ritual, sacred, spiritual, and/or visionary.

Gallery 3: *Warriors (1790-1875)*
Consists of the regalia, biographies, and exploits of individual warriors.

Gallery 4: *Intertribal Warrior-Hunter Diplomacy (1800-1890)*
Displays the accouterments of warriors and warrior societies alongside drawings of men hunting, raiding, counting coup, and battles fought between different Indian nations.

Hallway: *Transition: Indian-white Relations (1885-1890)*
Ranchers, cowboys, and U.S. Army soldiers are represented.

Gallery 5: *The Battle of Greasy Grass on the Banks of the Little Big Horn (1880-1890)*[217]
History of the battle as told by the Cheyenne, Lakota, and the Crow.

Gallery 6: *The Life of Tatayka Iystanka (Sitting Bull) (1860-1910)*
Objects and drawings illustrate the life and contributions of this man.

Gallery 7: *Domestic Life on the Plains - Enter Women (1850-1910)*
Only concentration of objects associated with women and children. Includes scenes of village life, courting, and women dancing.

Gallery 8: *Post 1850: Documenting Culture Contact (1877-1931)*
History of the Lakota as told in the Winter Counts alongside drawings that depict assimilation policies, the impact of disease, and comparisons of Kiowa and U.S. soldiers.

Hallway: *Institutional Transitions (1876-1900)*
The introduction of the Grass Dance, new trading patterns and evidence of syncretized clothing are illustrated in drawings.

Gallery 9: *Spiritual Revitalization: The Ghost Dance (1890-1910)*
Contains clothing and other items used in the Ghost Dance. Drawings depict the arrest and death of Tatayka Iystanka (Sitting Bull).

Gallery 10: *After the Final Battles for the Plains (1876-1940)*
Drawings and objects document imprisonment at Fort Marion, the boarding schools, and Peyote Ceremonies. First time we see any acculturated items and photographs.

Gallery 11: *Cultural Revitalization (1900-1990)*
Contemporary paintings of traditional subjects. Introduction of new artistic techniques. The only reference to an elder in the entire show is displayed in Gallery 11.

---

[217] *Visions* calls this "The Battle of the Little Big Horn." For an exhibit that claims to present an American Indian perspective there was no mention of differing names for this event. Lakota people refer to it as "The Battle of Greasy Grass on the Banks of the Little Big Horn." King (1992) argues that depending on your perspective, The Battle actually represents different events.

Gallery 12: *Living Traditions: Contemporary American Indian Art (1989-1991)*
Warriors, the Pow-Wow, and heritage are the subject matter. Contains two collages, one comments on tradition in the contemporary American Indian world and the other on the white appropriation of American Indian traditions.

Outside: *Architecture: Tipis (1991-1992)*
Gros Ventre, Blackfeet, and Kiowa painted tipis stand outside the museum.

Catalogue Only: *Pipe bowls and Stems (1200-1890)*
Ceremonial, diplomatic, and personal pipes and pipestems made by the Blackfeet, Cheyenne, Dakota, Lakota, and Pawnee carvers including one Caddoan pipe are pictured.

A Walk Through the Exhibit

Each gallery represents an episode in a cultural chronicle shaped by the MIA, a chronicle that informs the audiences' understanding and perceptions of American Indian peoples' history and culture. The first three galleries locate the cultural traditions of Plains peoples in antiquity (The Entryway) and establish Plains people as a "visionary" people (Gallery 1) whose relationship to the world is mediated by the use of sacred objects (Gallery 2). The next four galleries (Galleries 3-6) and a Hallway establish a central unifying cultural ideology - that of the Plains warrior. This narrative confirms a view of Plains people as fierce and proud, invoking Hollywood images of horse-riding, feather bonnet-wearing, male warriors and culminates in Gallery 6 which is devoted to the quintessential warrior and spiritual leader - Tatayka Iystanka (Sitting Bull).[218]

[218]As an icon that conjoins mysticism and militarism, representations of Tatayka Iystanka (Sitting Bull) obscure as much as they clarify. Standard museum stories that highlight conflict, war, and resistance position American Indian men as military adversaries heroically challenging, what is often perceived as, the inevitable advance of "American" history (C. King 1998:35). If one tracks these advancing forces, it takes little imagination to see Sitting Bull become another icon - The Vanishing Indian.

The barrage of warrior exploits is briefly interrupted by Gallery 7 whose objects represent women and children engaged in the activities of domestic life. Not only is the story of domestic life accomplished in just one galley but we rarely see women and children in any other setting. Immediately following scenes of domestic life is Gallery 8, which holds the pictographic record of Plains peoples' history as, described by the Winter Counts. Displayed alongside the Winter Counts are drawings referring to assimilationist policies that encouraged farming and ranching. In this exhibit narrative, assimilation (Galley 8) follows domestication (Galley 7).

Following the exhibit's reference to assimilation and forced removal is a Hallway that marks a transition to the next two galleries (Galleries 9-10); this Hallway marks an historical transition within the story line of the narrative as well. Drawings in this Hallway illustrate the introduction of the Grass Dance as a Pan-Indian institution and documents the use of syncretized clothing. Following the Transition Hallway, Galleries 9-10 focus on changing social institutions, in particular, those institutions concerned with revitalization - the Ghost Dance and the Peyote Religious Movement. The objects in Galleries 9-10 highlight the interaction between spirituality, religion, and community. Once again, the museum narrative underscores this interaction as fundamental to Plains peoples culture.

The concluding two galleries (Galleries 11-12), because they follow a particular telling of the story, represent the movement of Plains peoples into the "modern" world. These galleries hold all the contemporary art in the exhibit and the only examples of acculturated items are here as well. When considered together, the impact of the entire

show is disturbing precisely because in the process of claiming to provide a native perspective on the interpretation of history, heritage, and art the show still reifies an old yet familiar view of Plains peoples.

Visions of the People: A Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life is the same master narrative (White 1987) of the nomadic Plains warrior-hunter eulogized in the Costner's film, *Dances With Wolves* (1990).[219] *Visions* is a story of men who carve and smoke the sacred pipe. Men who attempt the Vision Quest in order to receive the power to protect themselves in battle as they strive to defend their community and way of life. Those represented in *Visions* are portrayed as heroic peoples, who recount and record their tribal history, fulfill their obligations, attend to their spiritual life, and maintain the traditions of their ancestors. This cultural portrait is the specific representational reality that the advertising insert claimed was an "unprecedented look into the lives of Plains peoples" (*Mpls.St.Paul* 1992:144).

Longing For A Past

From tipi architecture to visionary shields, American Indian cultures, as represented in *Visions*, offer models of authenticity that stand in contrast to industrial America (Hinsley 1992:16). Within the hide walls of the tipi, a harmonious daily and seasonal life is imagined to exist, regulated by sacred beliefs and practices, based on individual heroism, community cooperation, and the production of meaningful hand-made objects

[219]*Dances With Wolves* is but one film is a long line of films from the Indian - Cowboy - Settler - Calvary - Massacre Genre. In fact, the first Kinetoscope produced by Thomas Edison in 1894 was titled *Sioux Ghost Dance* (Kilpatrick 1999:17).

(Hinsley 1992). The modernist world of market motivations, impersonal human relations, and mass production has cultivated an “anti-modernist impulse” (Hinsley 1992:16) that looks to American Indian cultures for authenticity (Berkhofer 1979; Carr 1996; Hinsley 1992; Torgonick 1990).[220] Romantic descriptions of non-industrial societies present indigenous societies as alternative images of what a good society could be (Torgovnick 1990). According to Joe Horse Capture, "White people see the failure of their culture and turn to traditional Indian values for meaning" (Staff Interview)."[221]

The longing for a past that was destroyed by modernism works itself out in Western society's nostalgia toward ethnographic images (Phillips 1995).[222] "The native artist and his or her tribal history represent a mythologized ideal of the other that derives meaning from its apparent contrast with the modern world. Indeed, Western culture can conceive of itself only with reference to fictions of the other" (Berlo 1990:139; c.f. Hunhdorf 2001).[223] Coombes points out (1991:210), that vicarious tourism often provides an

---

[220]Lippard (1992:14) suggests that "[T]here is another, deeper, desire involved . . . the desire to *be* "the other," a kind of cultural cannibalism that is still being played out in popular culture." This, however, is the desire to be the Invented Other not the Real Other. For a lucid discussion of this phenomena see Rayna Green (1988a) "A Tribe Called Wannabee." See also bell hooks (1992) "Eating The Other."

[221]One result of this impulse is the appropriation of American Indian religions practices with the attendant disturbance of sacred sites as New Agers pilgrimage to places like Devil’s Tower, S.D.

[222]For discussions on ethnographic images and photography see Blackman (1980); Dippie (1990); Edwards (ed. 1992); Lippard (1992); Scherer (1975, 1988, 1990); and Taureg and Taureg (eds. 1990). On ethnographic images and post cards see Albers (1990); Jay (1987); Kit (1993); and Scherer (ed. 1990).

[223]On the construction of "The Indian Other" as the foundation of American national identity see P. Deloria (1999); Friar and Friar (1972); Green (1988); Huhndorf (2001); King and Springwood eds. (2001); C. Richard King (1998); Scheckel (1999); Shanley (2001); Owens (2001).

incentive for museum visits.[224] A romantic notion of American Indian culture is still deeply inscribed in the American psyche (Berlo and Phillips 1992), especially, but not exclusively, among non-Indian people who made up a significant portion of the audience.[225] The master narrative of a nomadic Plains warrior culture ultimately developed in *Visions* was particularly disappointing when one considers the ways in which the curators attempted to construct a different kind of American Indian art exhibit.

Exhibit Innovations

The use of well crafted exhibit design, attention to labeling, and the choice and variety of objects, together with the prestige of the institution redefined the objects in *Visions* as fine art. This process created a sense of cultural significance and aesthetic worth that became integrated into the interpretation of these objects (Visitor Interviews). This shift in definition from ethnographic curiosity and natural history specimen to fine

---

[224]In "Eating The Other," bell hooks (1992:29) argues that the "ability of white folks to roam the world and make contact," (through tourism, advertising, and colonialism), is perceived by them as the reward they earned for having paid the price of modernity. I would suggest that they continue to see themselves as paying the price for everyone else through the World Bank, the IMF, development projects, and church sponsored rescue missions, etc.

[225]These romanticized and ultimately racist notions are reinscribed each time we see that cinematic creation - The Hollywood Indian. Some of the most readily available, easily internalized, pervasive images invoked to represent, describe, or explain American Indian people are those produced by the film industry. The significance of Indian stereotypes in film and their affect on the American imagination is profound. Important work done in this area include: Friar and Friar (1972) who set the model for this literature; Bataille and Silet (eds. 1980) includes articles written by native and non-native authors, (1985) evaluates Hollywood films, including silent, educational, and independent films; Marsden, and Nachbar (1988) expand this work; Hilger (1986) describes a number of films and analyses them for use of stereotypes, he is then able to trace trends through time, his categories include: "Attacks on Covered Wagons," "Captives," "Drunkenness," and "Hostile Mixed-Bloods" among others; and Kilpatrick (1999) focuses on the social and political history of American Indian people and compares it to the representations of Indian people in film.

art object was recognized and appreciated by museum visitors. A number of American Indian people expressed their gratitude toward the curators and the institution for taking this approach (Visitor Interviews). The curators made a point of using labels to convey a sense of what particular objects meant to the people who made and used them. Good examples include the Winter Counts (#285, 286), Shield Covers (#2, 6, 7, 9-12, 23-25, 35-38, 71, 87), Star Quilts (#308, 309), and Birth Amulets (#60-63, 66-68). One of the characteristics that distinguishes *Visions* from other exhibits of American Indian art was the commitment of the institution to identify the artist.[226]

> The role of the individual must be recognized in American Indian and other non-European art traditions. Native American art has too often been presented as anonymous, the product of a generic culture. This has been caused as much by a general lack of respect for the Indian as a person as by the paucity of documentation in museums and private collections . . . This exhibition addresses that problem by using works made by or owned by known individuals whenever possible. [*Mpls. St.Paul* Insert 1992:144][227]

In addition to identifying a number of artists, the curators were able to successfully narrate non-material aspects of culture, e.g. politics, history, religion. A significant

---

[226]In the case of non-western created art objects, the name of the artist is rarely known. Sally Price (1989:56-67) explains that among art historians, this art is considered to be a product of a culture, where anonymous artists are reenacting age-old *traditions* in order to express the concerns of their community through their art. The socio-economics of this situation are interesting. "The pedigree of such an object does not normally provide detailed information on its maker or its original (native) owner; rather, it counts only the Western hands through which the object has past . . . The pedigree for a work of art lists, not only previous owners, but also the exhibits and publications in which it has appeared, the sales at which it has changed hands, and the prices that have been paid for each transfer" (Price 1989:102). See also MacClancy (1997a:13-15).

[227]That these sentiments are heartfelt was confirmed by interviews with Dr. Maurer. He spoke passionately and at length about this issue (Staff Interview). The catalog also included a discussion of the need to identify individual artists. "Nameless, faceless 'tribes' didn't create and use these objects and images, people did" (Maurer: 1992a:7).

amount of exhibition space was devoted to ledger drawings, for example, drawings which were identified by artist. Leger drawings represent a pictorial chronicle of particular historical realities and events. Many of these drawings document the Lakota, Crow, and Cheyenne telling of the final battles for the control of the Plains (Berlo 1990:134). The ledger books' recordings of the 1876 Battle of Greasy Grass on the Banks of the Little Big Horn are worth examining for several reasons. This battle was an unusual situation in the annals of U.S. military history (Berlo 1990:133). It was a staggering loss for the U.S. Calvary - no white survivors and no white eyewitnesses - there was no 'official' account of the battle. By bringing a number of ledger drawings into the exhibit as art and as history the MIA countered the silencing of indigenous historical accounts and the marginalization accorded indigenous syncretized art forms.

American Indian art can provide an “alternative to official epistemology” (Berlo 1990:139) where prior interpretations have been constructed by non-Indian representations of indigenous peoples. Art that challenges assimilation and critiques contemporary issues has the most potential to challenge prior interpretations. This alternative perspective was brought into the show by the use of ledger drawings, photos, and a few of the paintings but, overall, the MIA relied on ethnographic objects to narrate the exhibits story of Plains peoples, objects for which the audience already has a preconceived, usually romantic, place for in their thinking. Therefore the museums attempt to offer an alternative perspective was severely limited.

The curators demonstrated their ability to produce a well-crafted exhibit design, to narrate non-material aspects of culture, to convey an understanding of the multiple uses

and meanings inscribed in many of the objects in the show and demonstrated respect for individual identities. These factors explain why the exhibit received such a positive response from both American Indian and non-Indian artists, curators, patrons and visitors. But the use of a Kosner-like master narrative seriously undercut the impact of these innovations in museum representation.

Representational Design and Geometric Imagery

The curators of *Visions* made a crucial decision at the outset (Staff Interviews): this show would only survey representational art even though the museum recognized that, "[A]mong the Indian peoples of the Plains, abstract designs and representational images[228] formed a visual vocabulary that combined with their oral traditions [and] communicated information important to individuals and the community" (Maurer 1992a:6). The reasoning behind the decision to only survey representational art is not addressed in the catalog text, it can only be inferred. There are however, particular sentences repeatedly found in the Preface (Maurer 1992a:6) and the Introductory Essay (Maurer 1992b:19):

> Like all peoples, the Plains Indians have had a long and continuing need to document the significant events in their lives, and their art allows them to use the wisdom and power of the past as a foundation for the present and the future.

[228]Please note that the phrase used here is "abstract designs and representational images" not "abstract and representational images," where the word "design" is associated with construction, pattern, scheme, or outline and "image" is associated with resemblance, likeness or reflection.

> Because like other native North Americans the Plains tribes had no written language, they relied on a system of interrelated song, oral narrative, and visual arts to convey what was vital to them.
>
> Among the Indian peoples of the Plains, abstract designs and representational images formed a visual vocabulary that combined with their oral traditions . . . [and] communicated information important to individuals and the community.

In the Essay, these sentences are followed by: "An overview of Plains Indian representational art must take into account the ancient pictoral traditions on which it was built" (Maurer 1992b:20). In the *Preface*, these same sentences are followed by: "This book is intended to honor the evolving Plains traditions by constructing an overview of their representational arts in all media and time periods. By providing a broad survey (A.D. 1300 to the present) *we can chart traditions, changes, and adaptations*" (Maurer 1992a:7) [emphasis mine]. I suggest that the curator's choice to limit the display of Plains Indian art to representation was in the service of his goal - to "chart traditions, changes and adaptations" which could be linked to "ancient pictoral traditions." This raises a fundamental question about whether or not the charting, as well as its trajectory would have looked the same if the visual vocabulary on display had included abstract and geometrical designs.[229]

Interestingly, the curators made significant exceptions to their own mandate. The Box and Border Robes (# 305, 306) and the Star Quilts (# 308, 309) included in the exhibit are not necessarily representational. The Star Quilt's central motif (# 305 for

[229]David Penny in his essay on "Equine Representations" written for the exhibit catalog tells us: "Images make visible how symbolic thought as manifested in pictorial language, interacted with broad events in Plains Indian history (1992:69).

example) appears as an eight-pointed "star" where each point is a 45^0 triangle. This "star" is embedded in a circular design that has sixteen triangle shapes arranged around its circumference. On this outer circle the shapes alternate between 45^0 and 90^0 triangles. The entire quilt is created from interlocking triangular pieces of material and diamond shapes of color.[230] In some contexts, this motif is the morning star; in others, it is the sun. It is symbolic of a belief in the importance of a generous spirit as well as an honorific gift given to demonstrate that the receiver is held in high esteem (Albers and Medicine 1983). The idea that representational art is more accessible to meaning and interpretation because it has a one-to-one correspondence to the natural world is indeed problematic. Wade, Haraldson, and Strickland (1983:23-24) comment on this issue:

> Whether abstract or abstracted from nature, Native American art did not tend to be representational or naturalistic . . . rather than striving to capture the *likeness* of nature native artists often incorporated the life form itself into the work . . . we see the use of snapping turtles in Iroquois rattles, badger skins in the bags of the Mide´. . . integrated into an object that becomes a collage of life form and abstract idea. [emphasis in the original]

Representation may make it easier for the audience to identify with the work and the artists because the audience feels it knows what it is looking at. While a focus on representational motifs undercuts the notion that other cultures are inexplicable, it does not necessarily make the meaning any more accessible. There exist no representational images without abstract ideas and no series of geometric designs without a reference to representation. Geometric designs found on many articles are at the same time

[230]The very techniques involved in quilting demand that a quilt is built from geometric shapes. If there is any object that blurs the distinction between representational images and geometric designs, this is it.

representational images of camp circles, cottonwood trees, horse tracks, and racks used to dry meat (Lanford 1990). A pictorial image of a bear is probably a realistic representation but its symbolic meaning is no more obvious than the symbolic meaning of the circle, the rectangle, or the diamond. "Symbolic conventions varied through time and even within groups, families, and individuals. Thus while the meanings of representational designs seem obvious, those designs, too, are open to interpretation" (Lanford 1990:78).

The use and application of geometric designs/images was a highly developed art form among many Plains groups. From hide paintings, photographs, and interviews we learn that tattooing geometric designs was a widespread practice among American Indian people on the Plains (Lanford, 1990:73).[231] Some of these same geometric symbols are seen on painted rawhide containers including parfleches, ceremonial bags, and tool kits. The diamond, triangle, and hourglass tattoos are identical to geometric motifs seen later in women's quill and beadwork. Further, many items thought of in terms of geometric embellishment include symbols that are the representational motifs of the cardinal points, buffalo tracks, tipi doors, horse tracks, pipes, the turtle, and the thunderbird (Lanford 1990:74-77). Parfleche containers, for example, that held foodstuffs, clothing, and other personal belongings were painted with geometric designs. As Ella Deloria recounts (1948), parfleches containing foodstuffs were often stored communally and the designs indicated the identity of the individual owner or household. Often times the designs on

[231]This practice is usually described in terms of men, since the literature is silent with respect to women.

containers indicated that the owner, usually a woman, was also a member of a particular society, e.g. Elk Dreamers, Quillworkers (Lanford 1990:74-77). There exists no clear distinction, social or artistic, between representational and geometric images, as conceptual categories they overlap one another.The elimination of objects inscribed with abstract designs is problematic in itself, but the range of representational objects displayed in the show did not include tourist art, acculturated objects, and objects decorated with the Plains floral designs of the late 1800s (c.f. Penny 1991). Therefore, even at the level of representational objects, as defined by the MIA, the selection process was limited to those objects that would ultimately fit the narrative.

Patterned Silence

The absence of particular categories of items and the silences generated by their absence is informative. What is present, like that which is omitted, is not accidental (Jordanova 1989:26). Patterns of exclusion as well as inclusion shape the narrative. This section proposes to interrogate these silences. *Visions* was advertised as a survey of Plains art and included objects from seventeen different Nations. Looking specifically at what objects were displayed, in what context they were displayed, and particular group of people is associated with each object allows for a comparison to be made. Data used for this comparison are illustrated in Tables 6.2 and 6.3. Table 6.2 lists each nation represented in the exhibit, total number of items per nation, and the percentage of objects per nation in the exhibit. Table 6.3 illustrates the number of objects by type displayed per nation. All data derived from the exhibit catalog.

Table 6.2 American Indian Nations Represented by Objects

Nation	Object Total *	Percent Exhibit **
Arapaho	18	5.82
Assiniboine	3	0.97
Blackfeet	9	2.91
Cheyenne	**41**	**13.25**
Comanche	6	1.94
Cree	1	0.32
Crow	17	5.51
Dakota	11	3.55
Gros Ventre	2	0.65
Hidatsa	6	1.94
Kiowa	**33**	**10.67**
Lakota	**123**	**39.81**
Mandan	10	3.24
Nakota	5	1.62
Pawnee	6	1.94
Shoshone	4	1.29
Ute	1	0.32
Subtotal	295	95.47
Kiowa-Apache	1	0.32
Kiowa-Commanche	1	0.32
Mandan-Hidatsa	1	0.32
Salish-Cree-Shoshone	1	0.32
Caddoan	4	1.29
Great Lakes	2	0.65
Northern Plains	1	0.32
Upper Missouri	3	0.97
Subtotal	14	4.51
Total	309	99.99

Note: Data from *Visions of the People* catalog.
Boldface indicates totals and percentages for those Nations most frequently represented.
* Total number of objects displayed based on catalog attributions.
** Total number of objects per Nation expressed as a percent of total objects in exhibit (x = 309).

The idea that *Visions* was an inclusive survey of Plains art is challenged by the data in Table 6.2. Two-thirds (63.73%) of the objects in the show (197 objects) represent only three nations - the Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Lakota. At the other extreme, the Assiniboine, Cree, Gros Ventre, and Ute each represent less than one percent of the items in the show. Further, as Table 6.2 indicates, the objects from one group of people, the Lakota, comprise forty percent of the show (123 objects). Unless one makes the case that Lakota people are "The" typical Plains people, or the most numerous, or the most important, which the exhibit did not do, the effect is to blur tribal distinctions and gloss over the history, accomplishments, and cultural specificity of each Nation.

A telling example was the display of a number of nineteenth-century fully beaded objects. Most visitors assumed that this form of beadwork was representative of all Plains people during this period when, in fact, all of the fully beaded nineteenth-century items in the exhibit are not only Lakota (Maurer 1992) but most of them were created by one beadworker from the Cheyenne River Reservation (F. Lessard 1990). Further, since these items were not displayed together, it would not occur to visitors to make these connections. The information that is omitted is as significant as information that is provided. The issue highlighted here is that most visitors would not be aware of what is being omitted. Object selection can have a very distorting influence. By comparing different social categories of objects included in the show we can see in what ways people were or were not represented. Table 6.3 illustrates this comparison. Table 6.3 records the number of objects by type displayed from each nation. All data is derived from the exhibit catalog.

Table 6.3 Number of Objects by Nation and Social Category*

Legend: **In**fant, **Ch**ildren, **El**ders, **Co**mmunity; **Ce**remonies, **Da**nces, **So**cieties; **Wo**men Only, **Me**n Only, **Bo**th (women & men); **Hi**storical Events, **Ot**her, **Pipe**s and Stems

	In	Ch	El	Co	Ce	Da	So	Wo	Me	Bo	Hi	Ot	Sub	Pipe	Total
Arapaho				1	6		3	3	3			3	18		18
Assiniboine							1		1			11	3		3
Blackfeet					1		1	1	2		1	1	7	2	9
Cheyenne	1			2	3		2	2	9	2	17	2	40	1	41
Comanche		1		1					3			1	6		6
Cree									1				1		1
Crow				1					12	1	1	2	17		17
Dakota				1		1		1	1	1	1		6	5	11
Gros Ventre						1						1	2		2
Hidatsa						4		1		1			6		6
Kiowa	1	3			8	1		1	7	3	5	4	33		33
Lakota	12	2		1	7	2	18	10	33	3	22	8	118	5	123
Mandan								1	6		1	2	10		10
Nakota			1						2	1	1		5		5
Pawnee					1	1			1			1	4	2	6
Shoshone						1			1		2		4		4
Ute					1								1		1
Kiowa-Apache												1	1		1
Kiowa-Commanche												1	1		1
Saliah-Cree-Shoshone												1	1		1
Caddoan									2		1		3	1	4
Great Lakes					1						1		2		1
Northern Plains												1	1		1
Upper Missouri									2		1		3		3
	In	Ch	El	Co	Ce	Da	So	Wo	Me	Bo	Hi	Ot	Sub	Pipe	Total
Total	14	6	1	6	28	12	25	20	86	12	53	30	293	16	309

Note: Subtotal precedes the "Pipe" category because pipes and stems were removed from the exhibit but photos of them were included in the catalog.

*Social Categories in Table 6.3 are derived from the exhibit catalog. Each object is defined by only one category. Where the catalog described an object with reference to more than one category, table reflects the focus of the description. For example, the painting, *Dakota Teaching* (#283) could be categorized as either “Teacher” or “Elder.” “Elder” was chosen because the social role of “Elder” was the focus of both the description and the painting. *Baby Bonnet* (#276) could have been categorized as “Clothing” or “Infant.” Clothing as a category is not particularly informative. Categories were also chosen to be inclucive. Historical Events, for example, is not subdivided into specific events, since subdivisions are not developed in the catalog.

As Table 6.3 indicates, the number of objects associated with community activities, ceremonies, dances, and societies totaled 101 objects, twenty-three percent of the show. But within these categories the Cree, Mandan, and Nakota are not represented at all. For objects like the Winter Counts (#285, 286) which form the basis of historical records as told from Plains peoples point of view, the Arapaho, Assiniboine, Commanche, Cree, Gros Ventre, Hidatsa, Nakota, Shoshone, and Ute are not represented. In fact, the Cree and Ute have only one object each in the show.[232] A total of twenty objects associated with infants and children came from the Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, and Lakota only.

Objects associated with infants included a baby bonnet (#276), seven amulets (#60-63, 66-68), two cradleboards (#84, 287), a cradleboard cover (#44), one photograph of a baby in a cradleboard (#280), and two dolls in Ghost Dance attire.[233] The exhibit contained four items associated with children. They included a drawing of boys hunting rabbits (#246), a photograph of three girls in their dance dresses (#282), and two illustrated narratives written by children in boarding schools (#299, 300).[234] Young people were represented in two photographs taken by Horace Poolaw, one a young man participating in a Fancy War Dance (#253) and the other of young women going to church (#281).

---

[232]A Cree Backrest Banner (#102) and a Ute Sacred Drum (#41), both displayed in Gallery 2.

[233]The catalog text is ambiguous stating that the dolls may have been made either for children or for sale (*Visions* 1992:174).

[234]Frank Calico's narrative (#299) compares American Indian-owned horses to white-owned horses and Zetta Whirl Wind (#300) describes her family's home.

Visions offered a limited representation of objects and activities associated with infants, children, and young people. Limited not only in the number of objects - twenty - but also limited in terms of Nations represented - four. Although, within these categories there existed gender equality, that is, an equal number of objects associated with both girls and boys. This gender equity does not hold for objects associated with adults. *Visions* contained twenty objects specifically depicting women or described as used by women. The total for objects specifically depicting men or described as used by men was eighty-six. A comparison of objects by age group is illustrated in Table 6.4. This table utilizes object totals and categories established in Table 6.3.

Table 6.4 Demographics by Age Group Represented by Objects

Age Group	Object Total *	Percent of Exhibit **
Infants	14	4.52
Children	4	1.31
Young People	2	0.64
Subtotal	20	6.47
Women Only	20	6.47
Men Only	86	27.83
Women & Men	12	3.88
Elders	1	0.32
Subtotal	119	38.51
Total	139	44.98

Note: Data from *Visions of the People* catalog
*Total number of objects displayed based on catalog attribution.
**Total number of objects per category expressed as a percent of objects in the exhibit (x=309).

By far, the most striking omission in the exhibit was that of elders. There was only one elder in the show, depicted in Oscar Howe's (1951) painting, *Dakota Teaching* (#283). "The work shows an older man seated on a hide outside a decorated tipi, [children sit on either side of him.] The picture emphasizes the importance of elders as teachers" (*Visions* 1992:273). Because the only elder in the show is male there is a complete absence of older women represented in *Visions*. Interpretations that focus on men at the expense of women, elders, and children can be traced to the earliest accounts of travelers, missionaries, and military personal (Albers and Medicine 1983; Gibbon 2000). After examining these early documents, Rosemary Lessard (1990:47) concluded that: "Hypnotized by the spectacle of leaders, warriors, and hunters in action, early observers neglected the majority of the people - women, babies, and children."

Through presentation and interpretation museums "define not only what is memorable but also how it is to be remembered" (Sullivan 1994:101). The Master-Narrative generated by the exhibit has been examined in detail. By considering the placement of objects in each gallery, their assumed use, and cultural interpretation the narrative was found to be an old romantic notion of a nomadic Plains warrior culture. As a survey it offered limited representation of many of the Nations/groups in the exhibit and provided a limited understanding of Plains cultures because it focused on the role of the male warrior as the quintessential symbol of "Indianness." This then was the American Indian cultural identity the MIA exhibit chose to present.

Chapter 7

MISSING IN ACTION

Where are the women?
Visitor Interview 1992

Images of American Indian men fill the pages of coffee-table picture books and are printed on posters, greeting cards, and post cards. Men become the emblem in advertising, environmental protection campaigns, mascots for sports teams, and the subject of sculpted statuary in municipal parks and town squares (Albers and Medicine 1983a:1-2). Hollywood movies and Western novels portray the American Indian warrior in combat with U.S. soldiers and enemy tribesmen alike. "From fiction to historical records, from early accounts of traders, missionaries, explorers, and government agents to twentieth-century historians and anthropologists the lives of Plains Indian women have been alternately absented, ignored, neglected, misrepresented or denigrated" (Weist 1983:29). The lives of Plains Indian women is treated similarly in *Visions*.

The exhibit presented no clear vision of women as individuals. In contrast, the lives and "war exploits" of specific men were displayed and documented repeatedly throughout the exhibit. Visitors did not see a Plains woman's vision of her life or her community represented in the exhibit.[235] Again, in contrast, the shields, ledger drawings, painted tipis, and objects associated with Military and Dream Societies[236] allowed the audience to

[235]The only exception would be the contemporary work of Jaune Quick-To-See Smith.

[236]These included the Kit Fox, Strong Heart, Soldier, Badger, and Tomahawk Military Societies as well as the Animal, Bear, Buffalo, Wolf, Horse, Black Tailed Deer, and Elk Dreamer Societies (*Visions* catalog 1992).

see life from the perspective of individual men. This was both the exhibit's strength and its weakness. Its strength was that it offered "insider" perspectives on individuals and their view of the community. Its weakness was that it only did this for men, and then only a particular category of adult men.

The neglect of women in cultural analysis is not an oversight or a mistake that can easily be remedied. The entire enterprise must be re-examined in order to incorporate women into the analysis of social formations and cultural change (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974). Models of society (Brettell and Sargent 1997) and history (Scott 1988) have been reconstructed as scholars interrogate not only women's roles (Etienne and Leacock 1980) but also women's understandings of their own lives (Medicine 1983).[237] When women are recognized as social actors (Ortner and Whitehead 1981) then *all* prior analysis must be interrogated and reformulated (Medicine 1993; Moore 1988; Ortner 1990). To this end, I offer the following analysis.

Artists of Prominence, Excellence, and Renown[238]

> If nineteenth-century beadwork was fine craft, it was women's craft; if it was art, it was women's art. This simple but fundamental fact is too often overlooked today in our concentration on the beaded objects themselves, or on the men who wore and used them. [Chronister 1994:103 cited in Logan and Schittou 1995:70]

---

[237]In this vein, Medicine (1983) looks at the specific issues of sex roles and gender identity. She re-analyzes the role of American Indian warrior women and finds it to be a healthy and apparently widespread role. See also W. Williams (1997) on gender variance among men and women in indigenous communities in both North America and Latin America.

[238]The authors in *The Hidden Half* (P. Albers and B. Medicine 1983a) cited in this section draw information from ethnographies of Plains Indian peoples. Speaking for these authors, Schneider (1983:109) informs us that, “Extreme care has been taken to include only those instances where information clearly and precisely indicates the sex of the maker and/or user of the item.”

The anthropological subsistence model of "man the hunter" employed by the MIA, incorporates assumptions about women and men, assumptions about their activities, capabilities, social position, and contributions to the community. This model highlights the importance of men's roles and relegates women to a passive and supporting role (Conkey and Spector 1984).

> Men may cook or weave or hunt hummingbirds, and if such activities are appropriate occupations of men, then society votes them as important. When the same occupations are performed by women, they are regarded as less important. [Mead 1949:159 cited in Jones and Pay 1990:163]. (Note the date of Mead's analysis.)

This value system influences how knowledge is constructed. It defines what issues are important to attend to as well as assigning value to differing activities. In *Visions*, we occasionally glimpse women but their roles are obscured through their partial treatment (Potter 1991). The side of Plains Indian life most often developed in *Visions* is a male-centered universe of diplomacy, warfare, and hunting. "Plains Indian women are mere backdrops on stages dominated by the actions and dialogue of men" (Albers 1983:6). Women do not receive the kind of interest, scrutiny or analysis apparent in many of the catalog descriptions and exhibit labels devoted to men's activities and men's roles.

> Such notions as "warrior society" and "male dominant" . . . set the tone for the analysis of male and female behavior in Plains Indian societies. Consequently, the rich complexity of female gender roles and the variety of relations between women and men has been largely obscured. [Medicine 1983:376]

For women meaningful activities are absented from the show. By and large, women are defined by what they do *not* do. Based on exhibit objects, women do not hunt, raid for horses, engage in warfare, have visions, or record history. Women are

represented by pictures and photographs as they dance (#251, 252), ride in parades (#278), are courted (#267, 272, 273, 275), get married (#274), move camp (#256) and go to church (#281). Direct visual reference to women's work is avoided. A female domain is artificially isolated from the rest of the world; it does not appear to be dynamic. "The domestic sphere is considered, if not drudgery then, uninspiring, rarely treated as serious, dignified or filled with the weight of tradition" (Porter 1991). There exist no "real women" in the exhibit, only the fictional category "woman" constructed in vague and opaque terms.

Status and Authority

The ethnographic literature suggests that there is a falseness to this domestic/public dichotomy (Lamphere 1997).[239] According to Albers (1983a:4-5) there exists a:

> widely held notion that the place of Plains Indian women in the household is not as important as her male counterpart's position in the community at large. This idea is based on the assumption that everywhere domestic life is separated and subordinated by the public sector; while this state of affairs may have applied to the organization of European societies, it is questionable whether it applies to many indigenous societies in the Plains and elsewhere.[240]

In addition to maintaining the camp, provisioning the community with food, and participating in the education and rearing of children, women also hunted, rode with war parties, stole horses, and engaged in combat (Kehoe 1983; Medicine 1983). "All secular

[239]See Lamphere (1997) for a close reading of the literature on the domestic/public dichotomy.

[240]See Collier (1988) for an examination of Comanche, Cheyenne, and Kiowa gender relationships. She, too, finds that the domestic/public dichotomy is inappropriate because for these societies the domestic and public spheres were integrated with no firm line separating them.

activities normally pursued by men were also pursued by women" (Medicine 1983:269, c.f. Tsosie 1988).[241] Let me repeat: camp was the domain of women. "The tipi, its furnishings, the food in it, clothing and other manufactures were hers" (Kehoe 1983:69). Women acted independently in many areas including that of shaman and healer (Kehoe 1983:68). Discussing women and political power, Grinnell (1972:I, 156-157) states that:

> Among the Cheyenne women have great influence. They discuss matters freely with their husbands, argue over points, persuade, and usually have their own way about tribal matters. They are, in fact, the final authority in the camp. There are traditions of women as chiefs, and of women who have possessed remarkable powers or have shown great wisdom in council . . . They exercised an influence that can hardly be overestimated. [quoted in Schneider 1983:117][242]

The contributions of American Indian women have been overshadowed by the notion of a courageous Plains warrior in the ethnographic literature as well as in museum displays. In a case study of the Lakota, Marsh Clift Bol (1985a) looks at the function of art and its production before and after the relocation to reservations. Prior to relocation, hunting, warfare, and horse raids provided men with opportunities to attain social rank in a community that prized bravery, achievement, and generosity, for both women and men. A man's actions, the value of those actions, as well as his reputation became publicly recognized through artistic means e.g. painted robes and tipis, beaded and quilled garments. The support system that produced many of these items was controlled by a man's female relatives (E. Deloria ca 1937:37 cited in Bol 1985a:37). Art production

---

[241]In a related discussion, Foster (1995) describes how women's roles have been erased from the historical literature on the Iroquois.

[242]For a fuller discussion on women and status see Sanday (1974); Ortner (1990). On women, power, and politics see Collier (1974); Lamphere (1974); and Leacock (1981).

was a significant contribution that women made to their communities. Women's work contributed to the wealth and prestige of the woman and her family and was recognized by the community (Schneider 1983:103-104, 109). Young women were expected to demonstrate their artistic accomplishments just as young men demonstrated their abilities as hunters and warriors (Standing Bear 1933:105 cited in Bol 1985:38). Those whose lives reflected the cultural ideals were thought to have supernatural assistance (Schneider 1983:115-117). Sacred power was associated with art production, according to Wissler (1907:50 cited in Schneider 1983:116) women were able to "obtain power to make shields and war medicines."[243] Albers (1983b: 134b citing Wissler 1904:93) informs us that among Lakota women, "Supernatural powers that fostered skills and inspired designs were sought in visions and dreams." The spiritual appears to be expanding.

Ceremonial Art

Among the Lakota, Dakota, Pawnee, Arapaho, and Mandan women made important contributions to the social and ceremonial art of their communities (Albers 1983b:123). Women designed and constructed tipis used on sacred occasions, decorated hide robes displayed at honorific ceremonies, embellished containers carrying ritual objects and were involved in creating ritual regalia (Albers 1983b:124; see also Schneider 1983:104). However, because the exhibit catalog identifies and describes objects in terms of

[243]Significantly, fourteen of the sixteen shields displayed in *Visions* were described as painted and/or owned by men, the other two descriptions were silent with respect to gender.

ownership or functional purpose women are rarely associated with sacred or ceremonial objects. Table 7.1 lists sacred and ceremonial objects and their gender associations as defined by the exhibit catalog.

Table 7.1 Sacred, Spiritual, Ceremonial, and Ritual Objects Associated With Use and Ownership

Number and Object		Description	Association
51	Moccasins	Elk Dreamers	Both
54	Bag	Elk Dreamers	Both
83	Pipe Bag	Elk Dreamers	Both
112	Pipe Bag	Elk Dreamers	Both
			Total 4

Number and Object		Description	Association
16	Quilled Boots	Ceremonial	Women+
138	Leather Boots	Ghost Dance	Women
74	Robe	Sundance	Women
306	Robe	Sacred Elements	Women
128	Dress	Ghost Dance	Women
129	Dress	Ghost Dance	Women
110	Moccasins	Double Woman	Women
114	Pipe Bag	Double Woman	Women
			Total 8

+This object was described as being created by a woman

8	Quilled Bag	Ritual	Silent
54	Beaded Bag	Ceremonial	Silent
34	Ornament	Medicine Bundle	Silent
136	Cape	Ghost Dance	Silent
137	Baton	Ghost Dance	Silent
139	Pipe Bag	Ghost Dance	Silent
12	Shield Cover	Power	Silent
25	Shield Cover	Power	Silent
			Total 8

Number and Object		Description	Association
5	Quirt	Ceremony	Men
144	Shirt	Ceremony	Men
53	Vest	Elk Dreamer	Men
109	Pouch	Sacred	Men
40	Rattle	Military Society	Men
107	Rattle	Strong Heart Society	Men
108	Rattle	Military Society	Men

Table 7.1 Continued

39	Drum	Prayer	Men*	
41	Drum	Sacred	Men*	
79	Baton	Military Society	Men	
82	Baton	Tomahawk Society	Men	
93	War Club	Ceremonial Effigy	Men	
94	War Club	Ceremonial Effigy	Men	
76	Sculpture	Ceremonial Effigy	Men	
77	Sculpture	Ceremonial Effigy	Men	
78	Sculpture	Ceremonial Effigy	Men	
19	Dance Stick	Hot Dance Society	Men	
88	Ornament	Medicine Bundle	Men	
220	Lance	Soldier Society	Men	
221	Lance	Soldier Society	Men	
102	Backrest Banner	Spiritual	Men	
13	Feast Bowl	Sacred	Men*	
14	Feast Bowl	Sacred	Men*	
29	Feast Bowl	Sacred	Men*	
30	Feast Bowl	Sacred	Men*	
101	Medicine Bowl	Spiritual	Men*	
45	Tobacco Bag	Ceremonial	Men	
227	Quilled Pipe Bag	Ceremonial	Men	
228	Quilled Pipe Bag	Ceremonial	Men	
229	Quilled Pipe Bag	Ceremonial	Men	
26	Medicine Container	Bear Dreamers Society	Men	
152	Tipi Liner	Military Society	Men	
153	Tipi Liner	Military Society	Men	
2	Shield and Cover	Visionary	Men**	
6	Shield and Cover	Visionary	Men**	
9	Shield and Cover	Visionary	Men**	
36	Shield and Cover	Ceremonial	Men**	
23	Shield Cover	Visionary	Men**	
37	Shield Cover	Buffalo Society	Men**	
71	Shield Cover	Spiritual Power	Men**	
7	Shield	Visionary	Men**	
10	Shield	Ceremonial	Men**	
11	Shield	Ceremonial	Men**	
24	Shield	Visionary	Men**	
35	Shield	Visionary	Men**	
38	Shield	Buffalo Society	Men**	
87	Shield	Spiritual	Men**	
				Total 57

Note: Data from *Visions of the People* catalog. Object total is 77.
*These objects were described as created by men.
**These objects were described as both created and used by men.

All of the objects listed in Table 7.1, no matter their gender association, are described in the catalog either by ownership or by the functional purpose for which the object was created. If we consider the total number of objects per gender expressed as a percent of total objects (those defined as sacred, spiritual, ceremonial, or ritual), we find that men are associated with 74% of the objects, women with 10%; the catalog is silent with respect to 10% of the objects and the remaining 5% are associated with both women and men together.

As indicated in Table 7.1 the only ceremonial objects associated with women are items of clothing that women would wear on particular ceremonial occasions. All other objects, accoutrements, and regalia associated with community ceremonies and rituals are either associated with men or the catalog text is silent on whether a man or a woman used, owned or created particular objects. Only one object, a pair of quilled boots (#16), is described as being created by a woman. Twenty-one objects are described as being created by men. Interestingly, the only sacred, spiritual, or ceremonial objects described with reference to the actual artist are the shields and shield covers (14 artists) and the artists are men. Neither the exhibit catalog nor the exhibit itself referred to the role of women artists in the creation of ceremonial objects. The silence is deafening. [244]

Accomplishments

This lopsided presentation in the exhibit is all the more egregious when we realize that whether applied to secular or ceremonial objects, women's artistic talents were

[244]In the context of an art museum, which generally venerates the artist, it is striking that little attention is paid to those artists who created many of the objects on display in *Visions*. See Price (1989:56-67) and MacClancy (1997:13-15) on the anonymity of non-western artists.

esteemed, sought after, and oftentimes commissioned (Albers 1983a). Women's' work was held in high esteem, so much so that women established secret Quilling Societies to promote and protect these specialized skills (Albers 1983b:134). "Ceremonial feasts and contests were held to publicize artistic accomplishments" (Albers 1983b:134). Among the Blackfoot, Wissler (1938:290 [quoted in Kehoe 1983:67]) tells us:

> In pre-reservation days, a woman was judged by the number of skins she had dressed, the baskets she had woven, or the pottery molded; her renown for such accomplishments might travel far. When you met a woman who had distinguished herself, it was proper to address her in a manner to reveal your knowledge of her reputation.

Among Arapaho quillworkers, a feast was given for society members when a new woman was granted membership into the Quilling Society. The older members would begin the ceremony by telling of the robes they had decorated. "This recital was the equivalent of counting coup and the statement had to be verified by a witness or by swearing on a pipe" (Schneider 1983:112; see also Wissler 1910:65).[245] Women took pride in their work, often keeping records of their accomplishments, e.g., quillwork, tipi and robe tanning and decorating (Schneider 1983:115). Dakota women recorded their accomplishments

> by means of dots incised along the handles of [leather working] scraping tools . . . Each black dot represented a tanned robe; each red dot represented ten hides or one tipi. When a woman had completed 100 robes or 10 tipis she was privileged to place an incised circle in the base of the handle of her scraper. [Schneider 1983:115 quoting Hassrick 1964:42] [246]

---

[245]One of the clearest accounts, according to Schneider (1983:112) of how one became a member of the Arapaho Quillworking Society and how the Society functioned can be found in Kroeber's work (1902-07).

[246]Archaeologist Janet Spector (1993:35-39) discusses a similar tool, an antler awl handle, excavated in 1980 from *Inyan Ceyaka Atonwan* (Little Rapids), a Wahpeton Dakota Village site dating to the 19th century.

Lakota women kept quilling counts in earlier times. These counts were "displayed on the dew cloths[247] hanging in household tipis as well as the Red Council Lodge, and they were placed alongside those marking the war honors of men" (Albers 1983b:135 citing Hassrick 1964:43). Honor marks in the form of a belt were gifted to Hidatsa women in "recognition of great work" (Schneider 1983:115). "On formal occasions, women counted coup on their deeds of repute" (Kehoe 1983:69).

Craft Versus Art

A lack of understanding of the role of women artists is exacerbated by the MIA's practice of classifying ethnographic objects in terms of use/function rather than production processes and social relations. This practice further conceals women's experience and limits an understanding of men's experience as well. While one can talk about separate yet overlapping gender spheres in Plains Indian life, these are interrelated spheres of personal, political, and social relationships where artistic production is not uniformly segregated by gender (Bird 2001, Kehoe 1983, Medicine 1993). However, regardless of the complexities of these gender spheres, women's artistic works are usually assigned to the lower status categories of 'craft,' 'decorative,' and 'utilitarian arts' by art galleries and museums (Ames 1992:155, see also Albers and Medicine 1983).

---

[247]The exhibit catalog refers to these items (#152, 153) as "tipi liners." Both liners are painted with scenes of battle and "would have been used in one of the tipis made especially for military societies" (*Visions* 1992:197). These particular examples were not chosen because they represent typical dew cloths. In fact, liner #153 was commissioned by James Mooney in 1904 to document the making of painted shields and tipis (*Visions* 1992:197). These liners were chosen for their rendition of battle scenes, once again, obscuring the roles and achievements of women.

In the case of Plains art, women have become associated with geometric art and men with representational art (Albers and Medicine 1983, Schneider 1983).[248]

In the case of *Visions*, the curator's choice of pictorial representation (defined as a male domain) excludes women due to an assumed division of artistic labor. Women are marginalized for two reasons: 1) the main motif chosen, that of representation, presumably excludes women's participation,[249] and 2) the emphasis on the object not on the social relations inherent in its production reduces women's artistic accomplishments to craft production. Material representation based on use and/or ownership, as in *Visions*, is foregrounded at the expense of any understanding of human agency, (Cruikshank 1995:34) which, in turn leads the visitor to believe that women do not create art nor do they affect tradition. Their marginalization as artists contrasts with male activities as central to art production (Porter 1991).

There existed a close relationship between Plains peoples' art production and social institutions. The production, gifting, and exchange of women's artistic productions, e.g., moccasins and cradleboards, for example, strengthened and maintained kinship

---

[248]Bea Medicine, in her presentation *Women's Roles in Native Art* given at the MIA, 10 June 1993, clearly detailed how the old division between geometric and representational art could not be sustained. For if art is produced within a cultural matrix then to include women's creative work in the analysis demands a very different interpretation. She sighted male bias in early ethnographic reports (see also Weist 1983 and Kehoe 1983) and argued that it was this reporting that established the segregated and impermeable categories of geometric craft and representational art.

[249]Here we come back to the legacy of the anonymous indigenous artist. The museum exhibits the representational art of Plains people, objects that in most cases do not include the name or gender of the artist. If women's creative work is believed to be limited to geometric design then curators and visitors, alike, assume that the anonymous artist is male.

relationships. Rosemary Lessard (1990:49) points out that the crafting and gifting of Lakota cradles had multiple functions. These functions included: 1) child care tools, 2) art objects, 3) a marker of tribal identity, 4) gifts from one woman to another that demonstrated the esteem of the receiver and the generosity of the giver, in order to strengthen kinship bonds[250] 5) to advertise a woman's expertise, 6) status symbols, and 7) as a hand-held display piece used in special settings. The entire family benefited from the prestige of a well-crafted beaded cradle.[251]

Neither the exhibit nor the catalog provided this kind of complex view of women's artistic production. A tipi, for example, may be painted by men[252] but all the furnishings are made by women (Schneider 1983). It is often the case that the labor of many women goes into furnishing one tipi; a fully furnished tipi represents the accumulated labor of many women whose kinship relations and friendship alliances form the basis for production. What first appears to be a simple division of labor between women and men is really a division embedded in a more complex network of social relations. The gender division in Plains art production is not primary; it only appears that way when it is viewed through the lens of twentieth-century western gender relations (Kehoe 1983).

---

[250]In the case of cradleboards, it was often created by the sister of the husband and gifted to the wife (E. Deloria 1948; R. Lessard 1990, Medicine 1993).

[251]See also Albers and Medicine (1983b) for a similar discussion on the production of ceremonial Star Quilts. The Star Quilt is now the gift the sister makes for her brother's first child (1983b:276).

[252]This should not be interpreted as a statement that defines men as the only ones to decorate tipis.

Specialization

Although each woman was expected to be proficient in the industrial arts, e.g., tanning hides, for example, some arts were executed by specialists. The work of these specialists was often preferred, valued, and influential (R. Anderson 1956; Bol 1985; see also Albers and Medicine 1983). Women made objects for other women and the transactions would include the exchange of gifts. Oftentimes the work of particular specialists was commissioned by both men and women. Specialization in women's arts varied from group to group. Among the Pawnee, for example, buffalo hair rope making, wooden bowl carving, and gambling basket making were specialized art forms created by women (Schneider 1983:111). Among the Lakota, Dakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho specialized quillwork was maintained by a woman's guild (Schneider 19:112). Similar to the quillworking societies were those guilds for the tipi workers of the Oglala, tipi decorators of the Cheyenne, and the basket-making specialists among the Mandan and the Hidatsa (Schneider 1983:112-113). Michelson (1932:8-9 quoted by Schneider 1983:113) in *Narrative of a Cheyenne Woman* reports that tipi decoration as a specialized skill:

> The first tipi I decorated was after I had my forth child. When I was a girl my mother permitted me to look on when she made decorated tipis. There is a rather long ceremony in connection with making tipis. I became a member of the "tipi decorators" which is composed of women only. I was very carefully instructed never to disclose the ceremony in the presence of men.

Role of Women Artists

It is often impossible to determine whether items were made individually by a man or a woman or if they were created co-operatively by a group of women or a group of

men, or women and men together. The Western notion, that art is produced by a uniquely gifted, usually male, individual who creates for the purpose of contemplation and/or exhibition has biased the presentation and interpretation of American Indian art (Schneider 1983:102, see also Albers and Medicine (1983b)). Art objects may be started by one person and finished by another, created by one person for the use of another, and several people working together may create an object (Schneider 1983:103).

> It should be obvious that there is a danger in assuming that because a job is done by a woman in one society, that it is the work of women in all societies. There is also a danger in assuming that because a task is normally done be a woman, then it is always done be a woman or vise versa. [Schneider (1983:103) [emphasis in original]]

In the case of those objects displayed in *Visions*, many were created co-operatively or created by one person for the use of another (Albers 1983; Medicine 1983; and Schneider 1983). In a museum context, these objects often become identified with the owner of the object thereby obscuring the gender identity of the artist. Under these circumstances, western definitions of art, artist, and artistic purpose do not apply. The division of labor in Plains Indian societies was not as hard and fast as we have been led to believe (Medicine 1993) but instead depended on a number of variables. "Women made items which we have been accustomed to believe were made by men," (Schneider 1983:109,) e.g. sacred and ritual objects. Even the classic distinction in design types - women use geometric designs and men use representational images - has its variations (Medicine 1993; Schneider 1983).

The buffalo rawhide bag (#26) from the exhibit is an interesting object, said to "hold materials associated with the Bear Dreamers Society" (*Visions* 1992:121). This is a ritual bag associated with a men's society painted with both the geometric designs of the hourglass shape, circles, and triangles and with representational images of bear paws on the center panel. So the question is: Who painted this bag? Either a woman painted both geometric and representational images or a man did. Either way, the classic gender division in artistic production does not apply. The ethnographic literature suggests that women painted these kinds of bags (#26) in association with these types of images (Kehoe 1983, Schneider 1983). It is possible that a man and a woman both painted it although my examination of the object revealed that the same kind of brush stroke was used to paint both the geometric and representational images. Based on brush stroke evidence most art historians would conclude that the bag was painted by one artist. Including women's artistic practices in the analysis produces an entirely different interpretation.

Sphere of Influence

Even in areas that we know were dominated by women artists the exhibit downplays the importance of women's contributions. Consider the beadwork displayed in the exhibit and illustrated in Table 7.2 on the next page:

Table 7.2 Beaded Objects Associated with Use and Artist

Number of Objects	Object	Used By				Made By			
		Infant	Men	Women	Silent	Women	Men	Both	Silent
1	Cradleboard	1							1
7	Birth Amulet	7							7
1	Bonnet **				1		1*		
2	Adult Amulet		2						2
1	Dress			1		1			
1	Shirt		1						1
2	Vest		2						2
7	Moccasins		3		4	2		1	4
1	Sacred Pouch				1				1
2	Personal Bag		1		1			1	1
3	Tipi Bags				3	3*			
1	Tobacco Bag				1				1
6	Pipe Bag		3		3	1		1	4
1	Suitcase				1	1*			
1	Panel				1	1*			
1	Hymnal		1			1*			
1	Medallion				1		1*		
39	Totals	8	13	1	17	10	2	3	24

Note: All attributions are from the exhibit catalog.
*Named artists.
**Made in 1991 for the art market.

From Table 7.2, we find that out of a total of thirty-nine beaded objects, two of the objects (#276, 304) were made by men, both artists were identified by name in the catalog. Four named female artists created six other objects (#260, 268, 303, 261, 270, 271).[253] Of the remaining thirty-one objects that could be presumed to have been beaded by women, only four catalog entries specifically stated that the artist was a woman (#42, 225, 229, 245) and another three were described as objects created by women to be used by men (42, 227, 218).

[253]All three tipi bags were created by one artist - Minneconjou Lakota (Visions 1992:261).

One of the most glaring contrasts was in the area of use. Twelve of the thirty-nine objects were defined as used by men yet only one object, a dress (#201), was described as used by a woman. All other descriptions referred to "people" or "a person" who would make use of the object. Object categories with the largest representative sample were Birth Amulets and Moccasins. Amulet descriptions were genderless. The Moccasin category included seven beaded pairs displayed in *Visions*. Interestingly, three pairs (#72, 217, 225) were defined by the catalog as men's moccasins but the catalog is silent as to gender association for the remaining four pairs (#15, 42, 86, 307).

Silence works its way into this exhibit on many levels. In fact, for twenty-four of the beaded objects, the catalog is silent as to who created them. Contrast this with the gender descriptions associated with painted shields and shield covers. Out of sixteen shields and covers, fourteen specifically stated that they were created and or owned by men. Much of women's artistic work is absent, ignored, silenced, or neglected in *Visions*.

It has been established that beadwork was specialized work organized by women's guilds (Schneider 1983, Albers 1983). In the case of *Visions*, all the beaded objects in the exhibit are beaded with representational imagery - human figures, buffalo, horses, tipis, deer, elk, dragonflies, swallows, and Thunderbirds. The use of representational imagery by women artists flies in the face of the idea of representational artistry as a male domain, unless you make the case that every time a woman beaded representational imagery a man had to outline the image on the object. If this were the case, then traces of this outlining would still remain on those beaded objects currently in museum collections. Further, the literature is very clear that young women were taught beadworking by older

women (Schneider 1983, Albers 1983) as a specialized art form protected by a guild. No mention is made of men being inducted into the guilds to outline representational images. In fact, the opposite seems to be the case. The literature is clear: it is only in particular and specific instances that men outline representational images and then usually for the purposes of painting. These situations do not appear to occur with any consistency.

There is a danger in assuming a hard and fast division between the artistic productions of women and men. The old distinctions between geometric and representational images, between utilitarian and fine art are based on male bias in ethnographic reporting (Albers 1983; Kehoe 1983); Medicine 1993). However, male bias alone does not explain the persistence of these ideas nor does it explain the lack of criticism of *Visions* relative to the representation of women.[254] I suggest that to differing degrees, individual viewers as well as museum workers carry with them a stereotypical, genderized, set of ideas about Plains Indian women which allowed them to accept the exhibit's limited and highly distorted representation of American Indian women.

The prevailing "Invented Indian" image of men is a duality - either the Noble Savage or the Bloodthirsty Savage; for women, the image is either the Indian Princess or the Squaw. The Indian Princess is the lovely, selfless, "unspoiled benefactress in feathers" (Stedman 1982:21) who is defined by her service to a white man,[255] but if she has no ties or loyalty to a white man then she becomes The Squaw (Green 1975).

---

[254]Not a single Review criticized the exhibit. When individuals museum visitors remarked on the absence of women in the exhibit, docents politely explained to them that they were wrong.

[255]She is a combination of myth and history, e.g. Pocahontas, U-le-la, Malinche, and Sacajawea.

A Squaw is a drudge who is at the beck and call of her warrior Indian husband. She produces baby after baby and engages in indiscriminate sex usually while intoxicated.[256] A beast of burden, a menial slave (Weist 1983), she isportrayed as lazy, filthy, stupid, and ugly (Bird 1996). American Indian women suffer from racial and gender stereotyping.[257] Literature, early ethnographies, film, and other forms of popular culture continually rework this imagery, which, in turn, feeds a stereotype that has little or no relationship to reality. Bird (2001:81) provides an example of an authoritative source that has helped to construct the image of Indian women: "Thus, James Hall and Thomas McKenney (the chief U.S. Administrator of Indian Affairs from 1816 to 1830) wrote in 1844:"

> The life of the Indian woman, under the most favorable circumstances, is one of continual labor and unimagined hardship. Trained to servitude from infancy and condemned to the performance of the most menial offices, they are the servants rather than the companions of man. [Reprint 1933:199]

In the case of *Visions*, Pocahantas 'has left the building,' they are no white men to save in this exhibit, which only leaves us with her alter ego - The Squaw. In her most benign representation she is modest, passive, and self-effacing. She lives in a male-

---

[256]The myth of sex and drunkenness gets played out in a number of locales - soldiers at the fort, locals at the trading post, and sometimes her husband offers her to visitors both Indian and white.

[257]Helping to break the silenced record of the lives of American Indian women is Laura F Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman (eds.) *Women and Power in Native North America* (1995). This is a well crafted piece of work that includes specific discussions of Seneca, Navajo, Tlinget and Muskogee women and their differing reactions to colonial pressure. They also review other important volumes, including Albers and Medicine (1983); Green (1983); and Bataille (1993) who collected over 240 biographically sketches of American Indian women. Includes a number of reviews concerning anthropology and American Indian women including Leacock's (1981) edited volume.

centered universe of diplomacy, warfare, and hunting. She is merely the backdrop on a "stage dominated by the actions and dialogue of men" (Albers 1983:6). Interestingly, in many ways, the stereotype is defined by what she does *not* do. Women do not hunt, raid for horses, engage in warfare, have visions, or record history. Instead, she is locked into a separate domestic world of work, hardship, and service to men. The domestic world is considered drudgery, uninspiring, never "treated as serious, noble or filled with the weight of tradition" (Porter 1991). There exist no "real women" within this stereotype, only the fictional category "Indian woman" constructed in vague and opaque terms.

I suggest that it was this seemingly benign version of the stereotype that many visitors (and museum workers) brought with them to their viewing experience of Visions.[258] And not only did these perceptions of American Indian women go unchallenged, they were instead confirmed by the exhibit's partial and limited representation of American Indian women.[259] Consequently, a substantial number of people would have willingly accepted the story told by the museum because it felt 'authentic' (Bird 2001:89).

---

[258]In Shively's study (1992) whites saw Westerns as historically accurate. This is not surprising, stereotypes about Indian people are entrenched in an American mythology that in different ways and to differing degrees affects everyone including American Indian people. Of course these myths accompany people to an exhibit.

[259]Let me be clear. I am in no way suggesting that *Visions* reflected any of the more racist and degenerate aspects of this stereotype. In fact, many well meaning people fully support the idea of the "Domestication of Women" and further believe it to be a good thing.

Tell Me Again. Where Are the Women?

How do the almost non-existent women in the MIA's narrative accord with the available knowledge showing women as possible warriors, council members, inheritors, holders of wealth, skilled quillworkers, weavers, hide tanners, healers, and shamans? Again, for purposes of comparison, data is organized in Table 7.3 to illustrate how women were incorporated into the show. Note: the reality that shirts, moccasins, leggings, saddle blankets, pipe bags and ceremonial items were created by women for men is not reflected in the exhibit. The descriptions of these objects in the catalog are associated with men's use, not with the women who made them, which obscures not only the role of women artists but also the dynamic social relationships that promoted and depended on women's artistic production.[260] The following table Table 7.3 considers the distribution of objects by Gallery placement and type of object. Table organizes the objects by social category within a gallery. See Table 7.3 next page.

[260]See specific case studies R.Anderson (1956); Bol (1985a); F.Lessard (1990); R.Lessard (1990).

Table 7.3: Distribution Of Objects By Gallery and Category Type+

	Children	Women	Men	Both	Community	Ceremony	Healing	History	Other	Total
Entry			1		1	1		1		4
Gallery 1	3	1	15			7	1			27
Gallery 2		1	15		4		1		2	23
Gallery 3			12							12
Gallery 4	1	2	31						2	36
Hallway			1					1		2
Gallery 5		1	5					13		19
Gallery 6			20					10	2	32
Gallery 7	7	10	15	9	7	3			3	54
Gallery 8			2				2		1	5
Hallway			4		3					7
Gallery 9	2	5	6			3		1		17
Gallery 10	6	4	6		3	4		4	5	32
Gallery 11			3						8	11
Gallery 12		2	4					1	2	9
Outside									3	3
Total	19	26	140	9	18	18	4	31	28	293*

Legend: Galleries and Their Associated Themes

Entry	*Antiquity*	Gallery 7	*Domestic Life*
Gallery 1	*Visionary*	Gallery 8	*Culture Contact*
Gallery 2	*Sacred*	Hallway	*Transition*
Gallery 3	*Warriors*	Gallery 9	*Spiritual Revitalization*
Gallery 4	*Intertribal Diplomacy*	Gallery 10	*After the Battles for the Plains*
Hallway	*Transition*	Gallery 11	*Cultural Revitalization*
Gallery 5	*Little Big Horn*	Gallery 12	*Living Traditions*
Gallery 6	*Sitting Bull*	Outside	*Architecture*

*Since the pipes and pipestems were not displayed they are not included in the total.

+Social Categories in Table 7.3 are derived from the exhibit catalog.
Each object is defined by only one category.

Note: Totals for some social categories in Table 7.3 differ from those in Table 6.3. Objects from Table 6.3 associated with particular Societies and Dances were also described in association with either men or women. This was also true of biographical art depicting particular historic events. For these objects the gender association not there reference to community are illustrated in Table 7.3 that accounts for differing totals.

Table 7.3 organizes the objects by social category and gallery. Social category was determined based on catalog descriptions. Based on object count, there is no gallery that is not primarily and in some cases exclusively associated with men. (Gallery 3: *Warriors* and Gallery 6: *Sitting Bull* are exclusively male.) In fact, items associated with men make up the largest category (140 objects) representing 45% of the total objects in the exhibit. Conversely, objects specifically associated with women represent only 8.4 percent of the show with a total of twenty-six objects.[261]

Women's objects are concentrated in Gallery 7: *Domestic Life*. This gallery has 10 objects associated with women, 15 associated with men and all objects associating women and men together are concentrated here. Gallery 7: *Domestic Life* also appears to be exclusively heterosexual. Gay, Lesbian and Transgendered people are exhibited in other galleries. They include Manly Hearted Woman (#245) displayed in Gallery 4, Warrior Woman (#166) displayed in Gallery 5 and a reference to Berdache (#113) is displayed in Gallery 12. Six of the twelve galleries in the show display no objects associated with women. These include: Gallery 3: *Warriors*, Gallery 6: *Sitting Bull*, Gallery 8: *Culture Contact*, Gallery 11: *Cultural Revitalization*, and finally, the *Architectural* Display. There is no Gallery without objects associated with men. It is important to note that objects associated with men were by far the largest category of objects in the exhibit. The second largest category listed in Table 7.3, 'History,' represents only 10.5% of the objects in the exhibit.

[261]Objects associated with women are listed in Appendix G.

Gender Interviews

When students were asked to describe the pre-reservation life of Plains Indian people based on the art exhibit they just saw, this is what they said:

> The women took care of the children and the cooking. The men would hunt and bring the food. The children would gather plants and herbs and help their mom look after the other kids.
>
> Young white man

> Mainly, men hunted and fought in wars, occasionally women would fight also, but mainly she did all the things to keep them alive. I don't know what the children did.
>
> Young white woman

> Men hunted and fought in wars. Women did everything else. Children learned the ways of life.
>
> Young African-American woman

> I could say more about the men than the women and children but it was clear that the men hunted and were warriors.
>
> Young African-American man

> The show didn't give enough information to conclude anything.
>
> Young American Indian man

Responses varied considerably. However the idea of a nuclear family organized by gender was a recurring theme among respondents. This idea is at odds with what is known about indigenous social structure. While some Nations are matrilineal, and some patrilineal, all have recognizable kinship systems with associated rights and responsibilities. Households more often than not were comprised of extended rather than nuclear families. Rights, obligations, duty, acts of generosity etc. were extended through kinship. The show certainly highlights community and its central importance in the lives

of individuals but it is silent on kinship and the role of both women and men as actors in a complex kinship network.[262]

What Do Women Do?

The catalog incorporated assumptions about women and men's artistic production/creation that is not supported by the ethnographic literature. For example, not only did the MIA assume that pictographs were done by men (*Visions* 1992:23, 25) but specifically stated that carved wooden bowls were made by men as well (*Visions* 1992:116). This may be true for some American Indian societies but not for all. Among the Pawnee, women artisan specialists carved wooden feast bowls and made all other wooden objects, e.g. mortars and pestles (Weltfish 1965:464-465). Among the Blackfeet, Assiniboine, Cheyenne, and Hidatsa both women and men carved wooden bowls, whereas woodcarving was done exclusively by men among the Omaha (Schneider 1983:103, 106-107). This is a recurring pattern in the creation of Plains Indian arts. Another example will serve to illustrate. The exhibit catalog is silent on who carved horn spoons (#20, 47 *Visions* 1992:118, 130). One of the Horn Spoons (#47) was pictured next to a carved Courting Whistle (#48), a pipe bowl (#49), and an Elk Cutout (#50). All objects accept the spoon were specifically associated with men. The other Horn Spoon (#20) was pictured on the same page with another Courting Whistle (#18), a Hot Dance Society Stick (#19), and a Pipe Stem (#21). All objects except the spoon were again

[262]See Robert Anderson (1956) "The Northern Cheyenne War Mothers" for a discussion of kinship and the War Mothers organization as a response to the draft during WWII and later a response to the exodus of young people leaving the community in search of work.

specifically associated with men. In the silent space the viewer infers that all objects were sculpted by men. Most of the people interviewed assumed that these objects were sculpted by men (Interviews). Yet Cheyenne and Pawnee women created the sculpted horn spoons in their communities while both women and men made them among the Blackfeet (Schneider 1983:107). Since the exhibit shows few items from these Nations, the silence accorded the creators of sculpted horn spoons provides a distorted picture that resembles twentieth century Western gender ideology supported by the idea that there existed a division of labor by gender. In other words, if attribution is not explicitly stated then it is assumed to be male.[263]

It is hard to maintain that men exclusively created items used in ceremonial and ritual activities when women did the quilling and the beading. Even tipis were not all painted by men. Describing Blackfeet tipi designs McClintock (1936:21 cited in Schneider 1983:108) states:

> The wife was skilled in the making of tipis and was known also as a good decorator. She painted pictures of both war and hunting on the tipi cover illustrating adventures in the life of her husband.[264]

While there are specific examples, like the Omaha described by Fletcher and LaFlesche (1972:353-354) where men outlined the designs on a tipi and women assisted with the painting, we cannot assume that this is the case for all Plains societies. But even in those situations where men created and painted the tipi designs, Mandelbaum (1940:211, 286 cited in Schneider 1983:108) notes that "since the women of the

---

[263]In these situations, "male" functions as the unmarked category.

[264]*Visions* (1992:111, 119, 139, 128, 129, 244, 249) refers to men as the painters of tipis.

household owned the tipi cover, her approval of the design had to be secured before it could be painted." These examples highlight a number of problematic areas in the exhibits' presentation of Plains Indian art. The organizing concept "Plains Indian" art may have been one of the most fundamental distorting influences.

Women and Men Create Together

Analysis based on a strict gender division obscures an understanding of art that is co-operatively created. Both women and men made rawhide rope among the Blackfeet and the Cree (Schneider 1983:104), among the Oglala, men made rawhide rope (Standing Bear 1928:78). Both women and men tanned hides. Whether a woman or a man did the tanning was determined by the kind of animal from which the hide was taken (Schneider 1983:104-105).[265] Making clothing was also not the exclusive domain of women. Among the Pawnee, (Weltfish 1965:455-456) a limited number of men who were specialists created shirts, and the shirt-maker's wife applied the quillwork. This situation was also true for the Oglala (Schneider 1983:106). Another important area of object manufacture was saddle making. Kiowa and Blackfeet women were saddle makers. Pawnee men made the saddles used in their communities while saddle making among the Cheyenne was a co-operative process "in which the horn foundations were made by men and the coverings put on by women" (Schneider 1983:107).

[265]See Schneider (1983:104-105) for a very detailed discussion of who tanned which kinds of hides and under what circumstances they were tanned.

It is certainly true that the creation of particular objects and/or the execution of particular techniques within particular Nations were gender specific. But when the variability among American Indian groups of the Plains is taken into account, there are relatively few objects whose creation was the exclusive domain of either women or men. While a division of labor by gender as applied to particular objects or techniques existed within each group, it differed from group to group. Table 7.4 summarizes information on gender and creativity among Plains Indian peoples presented in this section.

Table 7.4 Gender, Creativity, and Object Type

Created By Either Women or Men	Co-operatively Created By women and Men	Women only	Men Only
Amulets	Amulets	Quillwork*	Leger
Art**			
Ceremonial Objects	Ceremonial Objects	Beadwork*	
Containers-Sacred Objects	Containers-Sacred Objects	Quilting**	
Painted Tipis	Painted Tipis		
Pipe Bags	Pipe Bags		
Ritual Regalia	Ritual Regalia		
Saddles	Saddles		
Saddle Bags	Saddle Bags		
Shields	Shields		
Dew Curtains/Tipi Liners			
Diplomatic Objects			
Dress Skins			
Sculpted Horn Objects			

*These tended to be specialized objects maintained by a guild.
**Both art forms became established/introduced in prisons, reservation schools, missions.

As Table 7.4 demonstrates, art production and creative processes cannot be categorized by mutually exclusive gender categories nor can they be understood by blurring tribal distinctions in an effort to talk about Plains Indian art. To recognize and respect the actual lived experience of American Indian women and men demands a very different interpretation from the one provided by *Visions*.

The Traditional in Museum Display

The planners of *Visions* did not seem particularly concerned with questions of "authoritative voice" or the problems associated with "contested meaning" since they completely failed to acknowledge the circumstances under which collections of American Indian art objects were formed.[266] The extent to which the calumet/pipe controversy may have reflected these concerns was relegated to the catalog. There was also no mention of repatriation although *Visions* did not include any items to be repatriated. But the most telling omission was the lack of discussion of the circumstances of collecting.

Examples of objects displayed in *Visions* serve to illustrate: A Northern Cheyenne shield (#11) dated to 1860 was collected by Brevet Major General George Armstrong Custer at the Battle of Washita, November 27, 1868. The shield was owned by Little Rock. Little Rock's shield and scalp were taken by the U.S. Army after the army had attacked the Cheyenne civilian encampment at Washita. The shield was sent by Custer to the Audubon Club of Detroit in May of 1869. The shield is now part of The Detroit Institute of Arts' collection, currently on loan to the MIA.

Two ledger drawings, one titled "A Courting Couple (#267) and "Testing the Ghost Shirt (#131) both are attributed to Red Hawk (Lakota) and date to 1885. These drawings were collected by Captain R. Miller, at Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota, January 8, 1891. The drawings were from a book removed from the body of a dead Lakota warrior at Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Information on all three objects was

[266]The exhibit *Sacred Circles* (1976) was objected to for this same reason (J. Fisher 1992).

contained in the catalog but was not foregrounded in the exhibit. Therefore most visitors were unaware of the specific histories of these particular objects.

For a non-Indian audience the history of these pieces makes a statement about the history of Indian-white relations that many may not have considered or understood before. I would suggest that if museum visitors, in particular American Indian people, had known that these pieces were removed from the bodies of murdered individuals there would have been a more complicated response to the show. Objections to the display of these objects may have pushed the furor of the pipe controversy into the background.

Ledger drawings were a major component of the exhibit, although many of the ledger drawings displayed in *Visions* were created by POW's while incarcerated at Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida. Again, many non-Indian people are aware of the U.S. government's interment camps set-up to hold Japanese-Americans during World War II but few know that in the 19th century American Indian people were held as POW's.[267] The ledger series depicted scenes from pre-reservation life as well as aspects of the incarceration experience. However, the ledger drawings were created while the artists were in prison and were not labeled as such in the exhibit. Again, most visitors were unaware of the specific histories of these particular objects - hence, no different than any other drawing.

Visions included two Boarding School Notebook Pages that are surviving personal accounts of history in the form of children's drawings. But the import of the Boarding

[267]Chiricahua Apache men and women were held for up to 28 years at Fort Sill, Oklahoma (Mithlo 1995).

Schools as institutions could not be gleaned from the show - only one drawing depicting a BIA agent removing a child against the protests of the child's mother. It was in fact, Captain Pratt from Fort Marion who set up Carlisle, a residential boarding school for American Indian children. The graveyards at these boarding schools hold the remains of American Indian children who died from disease, physical and sexual abuse, suicide, and loneliness. These are painful and difficult subjects and perhaps it was a respectful and honorable thing not to highlight these issues in the show. An alternative solution would have been not to show them at all. The catalog could have addressed issues of acquisition methods with respect to Wounded Knee Creek, repatriation, POW's, and boarding schools thereby demonstrating the political nature of collecting and exhibiting. This the curators' seemed unable or unwilling to do.

Lack of Contemporary Work

While the MIA had an ambitious outreach program that included a community advisory board, the board was not fully incorporated into decisions pertaining to the exhibit. The Advisory Board was primarily responsible for the public programming that was held in tandem with the exhibit. Public programs included films and lectures by American Indian artists and Family Day events that included ‘traditional’ singing, drumming, and dancing. The Advisory Board did not make decisions about what objects would or would not be included in the show (Interviews).

In contrast, an earlier exhibition, *A Time of Gathering: Native Heritage in Washington State* (1989) at the Thomas Burke Museum at the University of Washington,

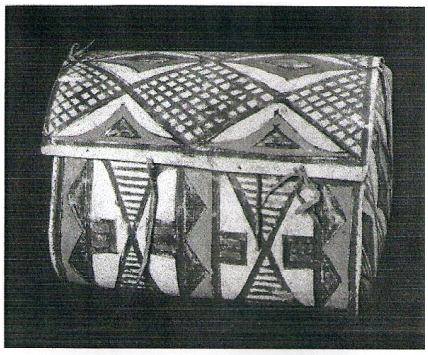
Seattle included an advisory board in its planning and decision making process. Based on recommendations of the advisory board the exhibit included a gallery of contemporary American Indian art that addressed current political issues of concern to those people being represented in the exhibit (Jones 1993; Singleton 1990). Whether museum workers acknowledge it or not representation is a political act. Museums must move beyond the level of consultation with American Indian peoples to the inclusion of people at the level of decision making if American Indian people are to have the power to represent themselves as complex people and thereby contest their invisibility and negative one-dimensional stereotypes (Ames 1992, 1999).

Other Choices

What follows is a series of images of Plains Indian art objects created between 1860 and 1915. Most items were readily available to the MIA and are found in the following catalogs and institutions. *Beauty, Honor, and Tradition: The Legacy of Plains Indian Shirts*, 2001, NMAI (National Museum of the American Indian); *A Persistent Vision: Art of the Reservation Days*, 1986, Denver Art Museum; *Circles of the World: Traditional Art of the Plains Indians*, 1982, Denver Art Museum; *Yut_´keca: Transition: The Burdick Collection*, 1987, State Historical Society of North Dakota in Bismark. If *Visions of the People* had included these items, the master narrative would have been subverted, if not forever, at least long enough to cause the authoritative voice to quiver.

Figures 7.1 - Series of Exhibit Photos

Cayuse Riding Gloves 1900



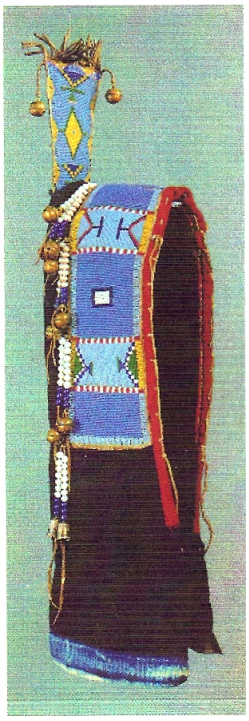
Crow Box 1885

Crow Shirt 1915

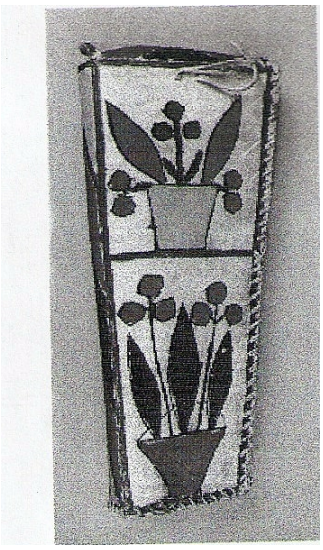
Dakota Half Leggings 1850

Lakota Woman’s Beaded Purse

Dakota Baby Bonnets 1890



Kiowa Cradleboard 1890



Crow Woman’s Bag 1900

Dakota Shirt 1890

Chapter 8

(AN)OTHER VISION

> It is the museum worker who remains in control. The mediating or enabling function is not really far removed from the original gatekeeping function, no matter how much we hide behind a discourse of emancipatory practices . . . to allow access to our sacred temples does not surrender power . . . Anything short of handing museums over to the people will be allowing people the fantasy of participation and nothing more . . . In this context, a museum practice that makes use of the resources of human experience is preferable to our current object-centered representations being imposed from above.
>
> Peter Jenkinson, "Peoples' History and Populism" 1991:147

Critique can sometimes distance a writer from the actual experience one is writing about. In an attempt to bridge this distance, consider the confession of art historian Sidney Kasfir in an article titled the "Curators Dilemma" (1997:8 cited in Butler 1999:83):

> Like mannequins from some fashion show of an ideal South - African past, they are both sumptuous in their beads, textiles, baskets and weapons, and truly timeless. Utterly ahistorical and fictionalized, yes, but this is the kind of image everyone (including their present-day descendants, the museum-going public, the government, and this author) frankly loves.

Armed with my anti-imperialist nostalgia stun gun, I would ordinarily blast away at this sentiment. However, my experience talking to visitors at the MIA resonates with the candid way in which Kasfir describes the audience. In fact, a similar audience response was one of the reasons I decided to evaluate the MIA exhibit. Unless I was going to conclude that the entire audience suffered from the affects of a colonialist

mentality,[268] I would have to expand my thinking on this matter. Janet Berlo (1990:138) was very helpful in this respect:

> To represent the past and to inscribe one's place in a universe of meanings are the fundamental activities of most artists. For the native artist it is an especially important act . . . to take part in an historicizing impulse that is common to most cultures.

Museum exhibits that reconstruct the past elicit a response that viewers experience as reminiscence and memories especially as those memories are associated with concrete objects in a display (Visitor Interviews).[269] This is one of the reasons, people come to an exhibit regardless of who is telling the story for whom (Visitor Interviews). A feeling of nostalgia or longing is not always a function of a colonial inspired mentality. To long for a past, a connection, to be part of a larger cultural tradition, to be able to claim a history, allows individuals to position themselves in the world. To historically situate oneself is part of a process in which individuals create, establish, and/or accept an understanding of their identity and their place in the world.[270] A number of the visitors I spoke to were acutely aware of the role of the museum in structuring this experience and they were grateful for the opportunity. This interaction between the exhibit and the viewer places an enormous responsibility on museum workers, especially if Kasfir is correct - that people are drawn to ahistorical and fictionalized images. However, if Kasfir is correct, it

---

[268]Which would really be a dirty trick to play on an audience: a museum constructs an exhibit, invites an audience to respond, then some critic accuses them of being intellectually and socially impaired.

[269]This is not to be confused with the longing associated with imperialist nostalgia described by Rosaldo (1989).

[270]The desire to construct and display an accurate portrait of history, art, or culture represents a longing for an understanding, similar in kind to a longing for a past.

could be also argued that museum practice has created a self-fulfilling prophecy. Either way, curators and other museum workers will decide this issue as they continue to evaluate and implement their own representational practices.

MIA Representational Practices

When the MIA put on one of the largest, regionally specific exhibits of American Indian objects in the country, it was a statement that moved the representation of American Indian people out of the world of the natural history museum of stuffed animals and fossils and moved American Indian art into the realm of the aesthetic. By bringing American Indian history and culture into a mainstream institution the exhibit provided a limited forum for the articulation of American Indian concerns

The use of well crafted exhibit design, attention to labeling, and the choice and variety of objects, together with the prestige of the institution redefined the objects in *Visions* as fine art. This process created a sense of cultural significance and aesthetic worth that became integrated into the interpretation of these objects (Visitor Interviews). This shift in definition from ethnographic object and natural history specimen to fine art object was recognized and appreciated by museum visitors. A number of American Indian people expressed their gratitude toward the curators and the institution for taking this approach (Visitor Interviews).

The MIA reached out to American Indian communities and people came. The MIA treated American Indian people as "guests" by not charging them admission to the exhibit. But the irony of whose 'house' controlled access to whose family heirlooms

came out in a number of interviews. Unlike the objects bequeathed to the museum by its founding members, American Indian heirlooms on display were not associated with engraved plaques of the family name to serve as a reminder of their generous contributions (albeit, many of these contributions were not made voluntarily). Instead they are displayed next to didactic labels stamped with accession numbers that form the inventory record of the institution that currently owns each of the objects.

Visions of the People tells a story of an ancient people steeped in tradition and bound by ritual. Both directly and indirectly, the show suggests that what is Indian are those traditions which have survived. In other words, the standard of cultural belonging is based on cultural survivals as opposed to changing, negotiated, definitions of cultural identity. If being Indian is defined in terms of cultural survivals, there will come a generation when Indianness no longer exists because not everything will nor can be replicated from generation to generation.

Each gallery presented an episode in a cultural chronicle that informed the audiences' understanding of American Indian peoples' history and culture. The over arching narrative generated by the exhibit was found to be an old romantic notion of a nomadic Plains warrior culture. As a survey it offered limited representation of many of the Nations/groups in the exhibit and provided a limited understanding of Plains cultures because it focused on the role of the male warrior as the quintessential symbol of "Indianness." This then was the American Indian cultural identity the exhibit chose to present. Even the show's attempt to honor American Indian people misfires because people are honored for being the epitome of a white American construction.

Patterns of exclusion as well as inclusion shape the narrative. We occasionally glimpse women but their roles are obscured by their partial treatment. The side of Plains Indian life most often developed in *Visions* is a male-centered universe of warfare, diplomacy, and hunting. Women do not receive the kind of interest, scrutiny or analysis apparent in many of the catalog descriptions and exhibit labels devoted to men's activities and men's roles. Children, young people, and elders receive less attention than women.

The curators demonstrated their ability to produce a well-crafted exhibit design, to narrate non-material aspects of culture, and to convey a sense of what particular objects meant to the people who made and used them. One of the characteristics that distinguishes *Visions* from other exhibits of American Indian art was the commitment of the institution to identify a number of artists. By bringing ledger drawings into the exhibit as art and as history the MIA countered the silencing of indigenous historical accounts and the marginalization accorded this type of indigenous syncretized art forms. These factors explain why the exhibit received such a positive response from both American Indian and non-Indian artists, curators, patrons and visitors. But the use of a male-centered, Kosner-like (*Dances With Wolves*) master narrative seriously undercut the impact of these innovations in museum representation.

My Representational Practices

This study makes use of a substantial body of literature and the challenge has been to integrate concepts, analyses, and perspectives from authors whose training, interests, and expertise are widely divergent. This study demanded that I develop both a

broad and a focused understanding: broad because of the complex nature of representation itself, focused because this study is concerned with a particular type of institution - the museum and a particular type of cultural production - art.

Visions of the People was a complex and influential exhibit. Therefore any serious study of the exhibit and the audience would need to address a wide range of concerns. Much of my study is about representational practices. Museums engage in cultural representation and tend to utilize anthropological models; it became necessary to understand how anthropologists have constructed their representations which also makes the contemporary critique of anthropology relevant to an understanding of museum practice. I became familiar with the literary/film images and other cultural constructions used to describe/inscribe American Indian peoples their histories and cultures.

This study also surveys the history and development of museums, examines the role of museums as cultural interpreters, explores the social nature of objects as markers of cultural ideas and values, analyzes the ways in which particular representations achieve their authority, assesses object selection processes with attention to patterns of inclusion as well as exclusion, and investigates the cultural narratives employed by museum workers as they conceptualized and created the exhibit. Briefly stated, my work explores the understanding, meaning, and representation of American Indian art, history, and culture that was fashioned by the MIA.

The import of my case study rests on the assertion that images are powerful. Museums display objects and images in an attempt to convey particular ideas and interpretations to an audience. How individuals respond to these interpretations is of

interest to museum professionals as well as anthropologists. I found that a visitor's response is affected by the ideas, beliefs, and experience they bring to an exhibit as well as by what they see. Critical aspects of this study grew out of the conversations I had with individuals from the exhibit audience.

This study has the potential to serve as a primer for someone interested in museums as historically situated institutions that possess the cultural authority to reproduce and interpret the stories we tell about ourselves to ourselves,[271] as well as the stories we tell about others (Geertz 1983b). Each section of this study addresses a different topic, and brings together the perspectives of those people most concerned with or most impacted by each topic. Contributors to each section include: scholars, museum professionals, artists, and members of the audience. Each of these roles included both American Indian and non-Indian contributors.

This study utilizes multiple analytical perspectives. While the analytical approach foregrounded in each section differs, I applied the analytical method most appropriate to the topic under investigation. The strength of a multi-dimensional approach is in its' ability to concretely and thoroughly interrogate ideas and practices associated with significant cultural issues, e.g. authority, authenticity, appropriation, marginalization,

[271] This is the inclusive "we" but with specific cultural applications. "The stories we tell about ourselves" is a phenomenon that operates in many diverse cultural situations. For example, it operates at the MIA as well as the recently established National Museum of the American Indian [NMAI] (W. West 1994). It operates through the Nigerian National Commission for Museums and Monuments (Kaplan 1994a) as well as at the tribally run Makah Cultural Research Center in Neah Bay, Washington (King 1986:71).

primitivism and tradition. Conclusions in this study were arrived at only after a serious, thorough, and detailed analysis had been made of the issues under investigation. Based on this study, I can confidently conclude that whether you are constructing anthropological representations of culture or creating an art exhibit you will be confronted with vexing problems and difficult situations. I believe that in order to maintain the integrity of your work is there is no substitute for asking and answering the most basic, and often, the most difficult questions:

What story are you telling, why is it important, and who does it serve?

All Played Out - Who Does This Serve?

Patterns of exclusion as a representational practice are not limited to exhibits of American Indian people's history and culture. In a paper that incorporates the rhetoric of multivocality as it discusses the display of industrial heritage, Catherine Cameron (1999:67-68) articulates a rather common view of the ownership of industrial heritage:

> We might want to imagine that industrial heritage is largely a narrative about workers. I question whether steel making is mainly working class history in the same way coal mining was. The principle workers in the coal industry were the colliers themselves . . . the vast majority of workers did a few simple tasks: dig in the mines below and sort chunks of coal above. Contrasting with this is the more complex division of labor in the steel mill.

How different is Cameron's view from the following imagined description:

> Tanning hides is largely a narrative about Indian people - they scraped and sorted animal hides - Contrasting with this is the more complex division of labor that it took to create factory-produced clothing.

The treatment of the history of Steel Workers as a group, similar to the history of American Indian people, relegates that history to a footnote in American history, in this case a history of the industrial heritage of America. Cameron's conclusion is also worthy of attention: "With the exception of the steel workers I spoke to, most people were fairly excited about the Bethlehem Steel Museum" (1999:71). Apparently we are to read this as an improvement over previous museum practice that looked a bit like: 'With the exception of the American Indian people nobody spoke to, most people were excited over the museum's display of Indian artifacts.' Interesting that in the name of multivocality certain groups of people are considered expendable or at least do not rate a prominent position in the discourse. Multivocality therefore is not value free, who determines the story to be told and which voice or voices are foregrounded is a matter of power. Bethlehem Steel is funding the museum - Bethlehem Steel will decide the content of the story. Multivocality becomes a smokescreen that obscures relations of power.

What is important here is that the same method used to erase American Indian people is utilized to erase steel workers. In the case of the Bethlehem Steel museum, the historical account on display will probably be silent on the refusal of the industry to upgrade U.S. steel plants thereby reducing their ability to complete on the world market, silent as to the dire consequences of plant closings on steel workers' families, and most especially silent on the fundamental role of these workers in establishing the U.S. as an

industrial power. "Same song, different lyrics." The methodology of marginalization appears to be characterized by its generalizing capacities.[272]

If, in fact, methodologies of marginalization[273] are characterized by their generalizing capabilities, then an analysis of that process becomes useful to museum workers and anthropologists who are truly reflexive and self-critical about their practice. An example may be helpful here. This study has repeatedly addressed the use of the Culture Area Concept as an organizing principle in museum display. In and of itself, this concept represents many things and as such serves many purposes. It was developed at a particular historic moment for specific reasons; "initially it was a means of organizing American Indian data by the criteria important to the peoples themselves" (Kehoe 1992:602).[274] Over time, it has come to be associated with particular ideologies of containment and timelessness. The Culture Area Concept has also been employed as an approach to organizing historic and cultural information in texts as well as organizing objects in displays. Therefore, as a concept, the idea of a Culture Area is multifaceted both in terms of what informs the concept as well as how it is used. This is true for other equally complex concepts, like multivocality or participatory strategies - all have a history, reflect an ideology and offer differing approaches to representation. Moreover,

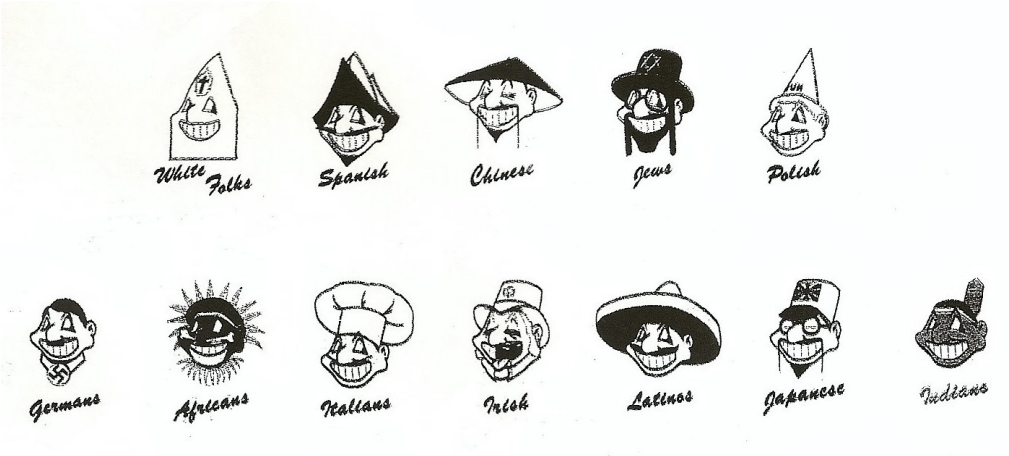
---

[272]Proposals for the museum's permanent installations manage to make steel workers look exotic. Their plan is to devote one room to the workers. The room they chose is a former changing room with giant treble hooks hanging from the ceiling. Attached to the hooks are authentic examples of safety clothing worn by the noble but now vanished steel workers of the past.

[273]This applies to the silencing of the subject as well.

[274]This would indicate that at least some of the concerns currently associated with a postmodern critique are not new.

concepts when used for the purpose of representation are not limited in their application; any one concept does not correspondingly dictate only one approach. In other words, museum workers have developed multiple approaches to representation and differing strategies of display for the articulation of any one concept. Returning to my assertion concerning representation and methodologies of marginalization,[275] I submit that in addition to particular colonial, racist, and/or misogynist ideologies, the use of particular approaches and tactics in museum display have the capacity to marginalize, distort, or silence the subject. If one wants to avoid the marginalization of the subject, then understanding this process is instructive. In the spirit of interrogating representational practices consider the work of American Indian artist Oscar Arredondo (2001):



"Welcome To Cleveland" Series (2001)
Chief Wahoo the Cleveland Indian's baseball team mascot,
Re-imagined in other ethnic terms.

[275]I am not suggesting that ideologically, a concept like multivocality, for example, necessarily leads to maginalization. Whose voice(s) gets heard is always a question of power, authority, and control. There exists no pure ideology that can never be challenged or subverted because all knowledge of cultural reality is knowledge from a particular point of view which is limited, partial, and selected by the observer based on the values the observer has about what is a culturally significant action and/or event (Weber 1949 [1904-1905])

Try to imagine any sports team in America using any of these images other than Chief Wahoo. Immediately the viewer cringes. Simultaneously, multiple objections spring into your consciousness. You're a bit confused as you attempt to reel in your thoughts in order to form a coherent yet sharp rebuke. What happens if we follow Arredondo's lead and turn the anthropological gaze back onto itself, so to speak, if we apply current representational practices to the work produced in the West. I am suggesting that museum workers focus the anthropological gaze on western art traditions and create imaginary exhibits using those models most commonly employed when displaying non-Western art. This proposal includes all museums, irrespective of who is speaking for whom within any given institution. What follows is my attempt at this exercise.

Visions of Light: A Pictorial History of Impressionist Euro Life

Preface [276]

Visions of Light celebrates the continuing life of the Impressionist peoples by bringing together a selection of objects that they created to communicate what was most important to them. These images commemorate routines of daily living, acts of community solidarity and that powerful spirituality and reverence for the sacred that gives comfort as well as direction and meaning to life. Like all peoples, Impressionist Euros have had a long and continuing need to document the events of their lives, and their art allows them to use the wisdom and power of the past as a foundation for the present and the future.

Creating metaphorical marks and images is a basic human need. Among the Impressionist Euros of the Temperate Deciduous Plains, abstract designs and representational images formed a visual vocabulary that, combined with their written traditions, expressed the sanctity and interrelatedness of nature and communicated information important to individuals and communities. Being essentially sedentary, Impressionist Euros attached these portable images to permanent structures - their homes, shrines, and sacred architecture.

---

[276]Phrasing and word choice are heavily influenced by the following art exhibit catalogs: *All Roads Are Good* (1994), *Beauty, Honor, and Tradition* (2001), *Visions of the People* (1992), and the art text *The Shock of the New* (1980).

One of the projects of art is to reconcile us with the world, not by protest, irony, or political metaphors, but by the ecstatic contemplation of pleasure in nature. Repeatedly, Impressionist Euro artists offer us a glimpse of a spiritual universe - a terrestrial space full of meaning. This book is intended to honor the evolving Euro traditions. By providing a broad survey from ancient cave art to contemporary painting, we can chart the traditions, changes, and trajectory of Impressionist people's history and culture.

Impressionist Euro heritage includes the great images of civilized pleasure - a gathering of people enjoying themselves in the open air, beneath arching trees, on the green lawn of an amenable landscape, either naked or in formal dress, basking in the sacredness of Nature. For Impressionist peoples, Nature as sacred joins up with a secondary image of Nature as property, belonging to the people so that they can belong in it. These scenes are evidence that the forest-fears of the mediaeval world, brought on by the Black Plague, have at last been exorcized. From their art we come to know the Impressionist Euros as a people who see a world of ripeness and bloom, projecting an untroubled sense of wholeness. One might look at this world with irony, but never with the eye of despair. I offer this work as a tribute to the past, present, and future generations of Impressionist Euro peoples from whose spirit, strength, and beauty we can all learn.

***Visions of Light Catalog*: Series of Images and Photos (Figure 8.1)**

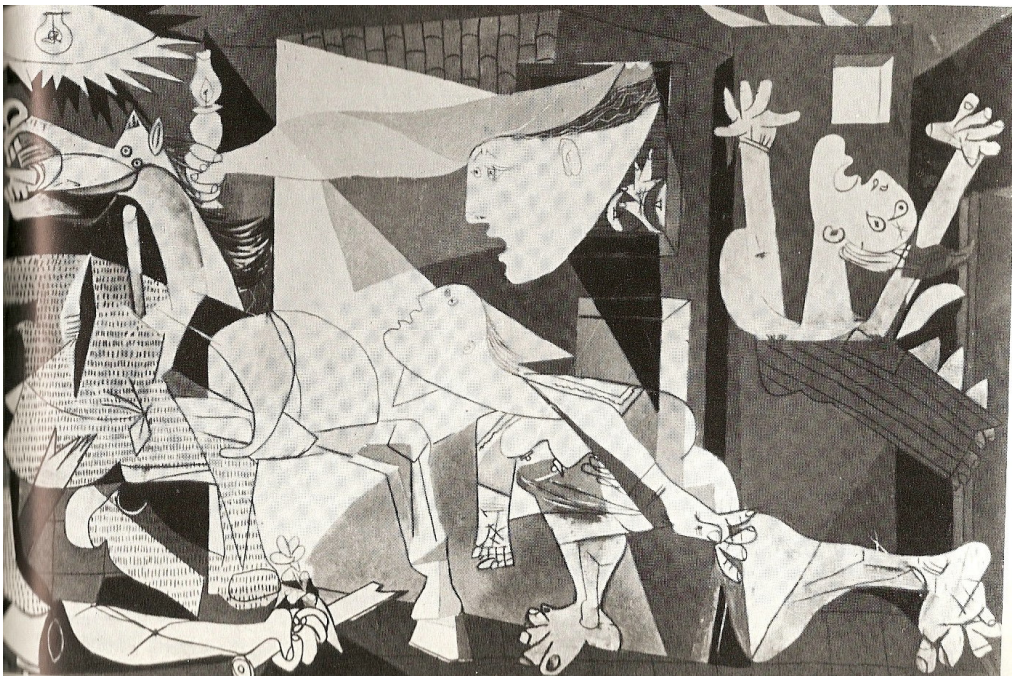
Map: Culture Areas of Western Europe (from Jermain et al. 1997)

Antiquity
An overview of Impressionist Euro art must take into account the ancient stylistic traditions on which it was built. The vase (3000 B.P.), the Upper Paleolithic engraved bone, (18,000 B.P.) and the sculpturing on the uprights from a Neolithic megalith burial chamber (4500-4000 B.P.) all establish the antiquity of the artistic style seen in Impressionist Euro art created during the 19th and 20th-century florescence of this cultural tradition. (images from Jermain et al. 1997)

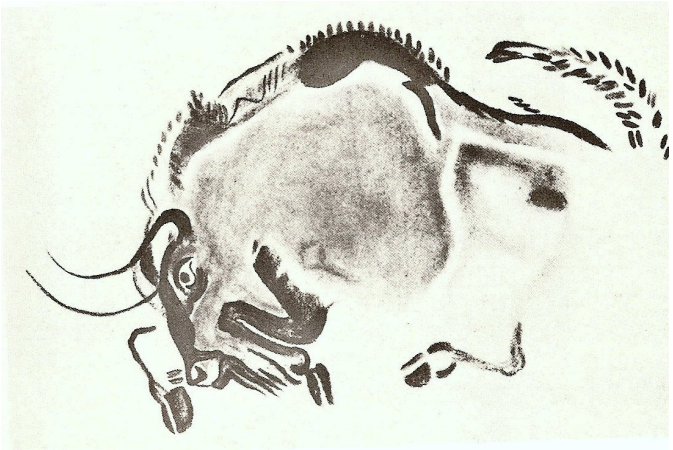
Notice the similarity between the pattern of incised lines in the vase, the engraved bone, and the painting *The Starry Night* 1889. We also find continuity when we compare the sculpting pattern in the uprights to the *van Gogh Self-Portrait* 1889.
(both images occur later in this series)

The Spiritual Realm and History

Guernica 1937 is a particularly well articulated visual representation of spiritual beings. It can also be read as a visual record of an historical event. (image from Britt 1999)



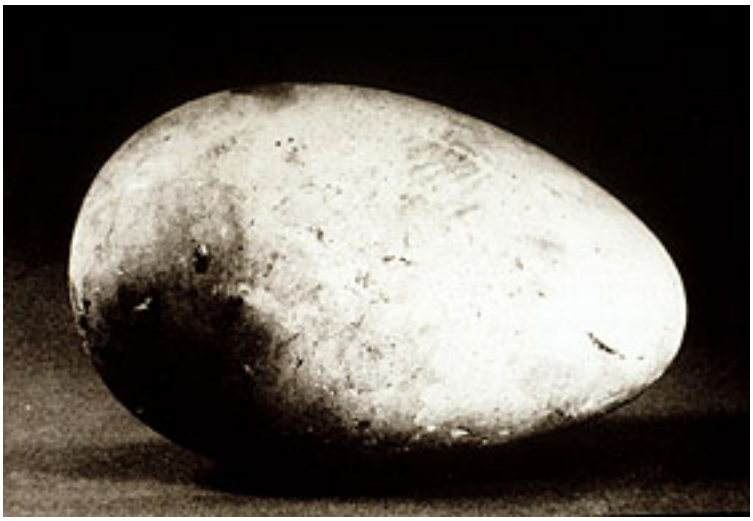
Precedents for these images are found in the ancient caves at Lascaux and Altamira (17,000 B.P.). The cave paintings provide the earliest evidence of a long tradition of pictorial representation devoted to both visionary imagery and to historical events. Here again we see the artistic relationship between the past and the present.



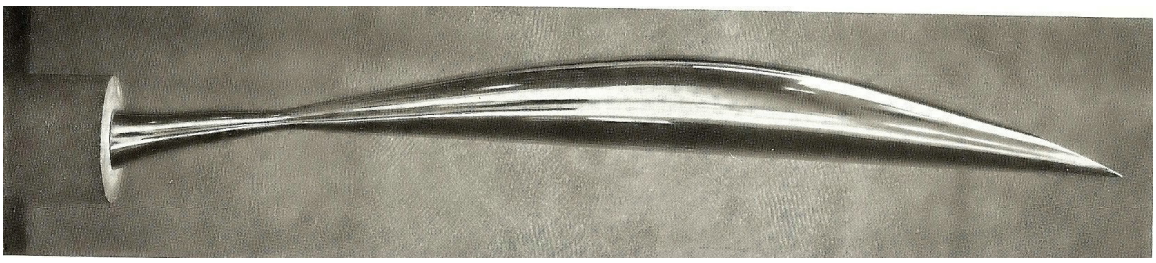
Lacaux (image from Jermain et al. 1997)

The Spiritual Realm and History

Origin Story
Contemporary artist Brancusi, heir to the Impressionist Euro Tradition has reproduced a symbolic representation of *The Beginning of the World* 1924, as well as one of the peoples' holy relics, *Bird in Space* 1925. (images from Britt 1999)



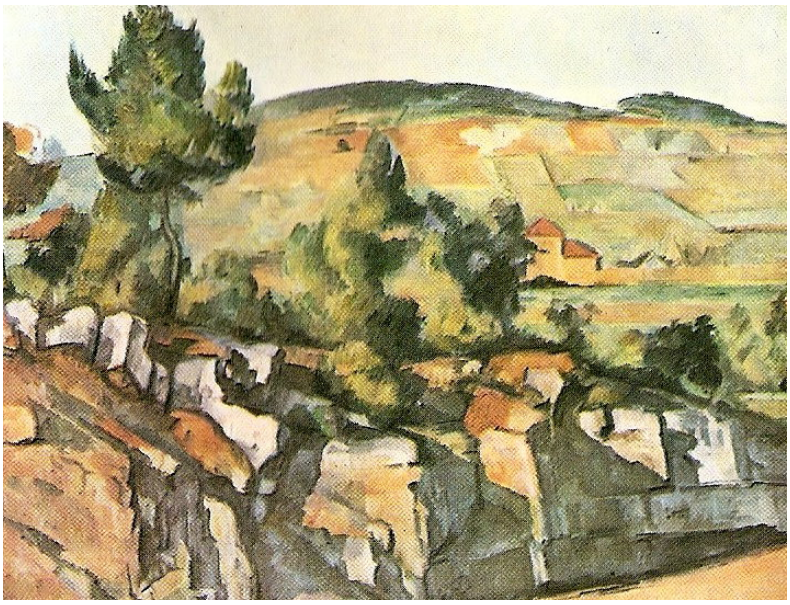
The Beginning of the World 1924



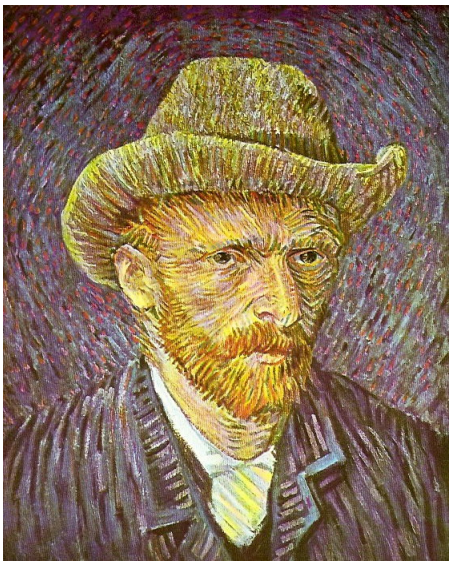
Bird in Space 1925

Environment

The lack of roads and activity in Cézanne's *Mont Ste-Victoire* 1904 as well as the fresh atmosphere surrounding Renoir's unkept *Garden of the Rue Cortot* 1874 suggest that a life in harmony with nature is possible. (images from Cunningham 2000)



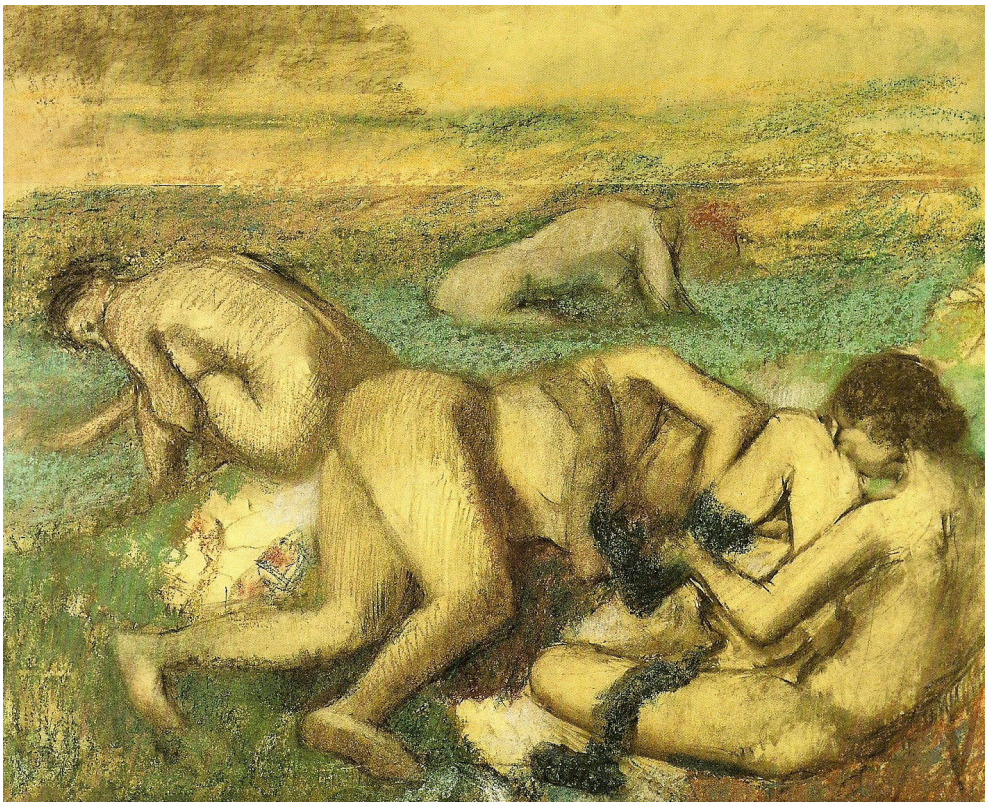
Artists and Leadership
The unfailing quiet dignity of Impressionist Euros is reflected in this portrait of artist and community leader Vincent van Gogh, *Self-Portrait* 1889. In Impressionist communities, it is men who engage in traditional artistic activities. (image from Cole & Gealt 1989)



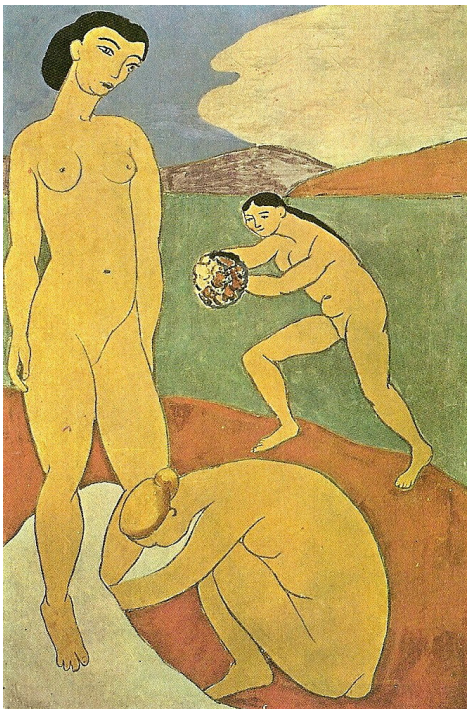
Tradition
Among Impressionist peoples men are the visual artists and women are dancers. Dega's *Three Studies of a Dancer in Fourth Position* 1879/1881 depicts the early age at which young girls are trained in this tradition. (image from Cunningham 2000)

Tradition
The practice of foot-binding of young women is documented in Dega's work.
(image from Cunningham 2000)

Community
The social life of the community is expressed in *The Dance* 1910 and *Music* 1910 by Matisse. Nakedness is important in the life of adult women.
(image from Cunningham 2000)

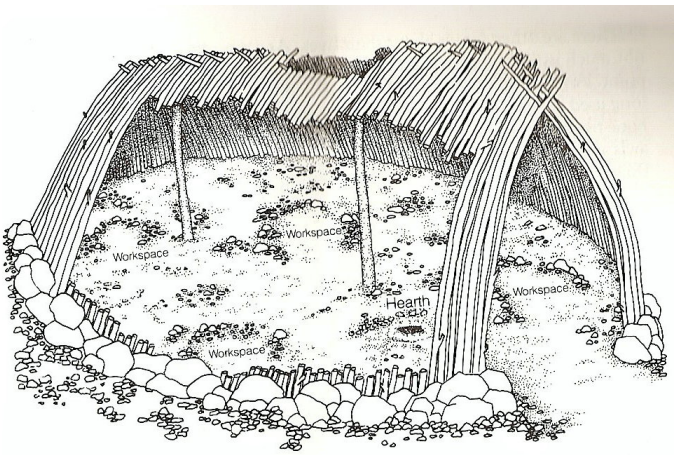


Music 1910 (image from Cunningham 2000)



Ritual and Spirituality

Ritual Haystacks are the subject of Monet's *Haystacks* 1891. The reconstruction of Terra Amata (300,000 B.P.), illustrated below, is considered to be a regional architectural influence not an exclusively Impressionist predecessor.



Terra Amada (image from Jermain et al. 1997)

Ritual Haystacks (image from Cunningham 2000)

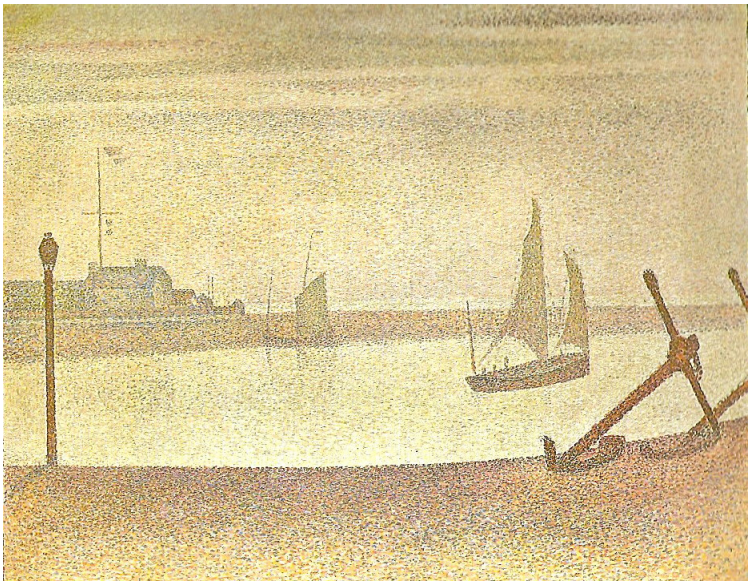
Sacred (image from Cunningham 2000)
Pruned trees used in sacred ritual. Endowed with wisdom and poetry, Impressionist Euros practice the principles of conservation infused with spirituality. *Poplars* 1891.

Women and Ritual (images from Cole & Gealt 1989)
While women may not be artists they have a special connection to the spiritual. Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* 1907 documents their transformation.

In *Madonna* 1894, Munch records the influence of Christianity on Euro communities.

Culture Contact

These paintings function as historical documents. Seurat's *Port of Gravelines Channel* 1890 speaks to the friendly and harmonious trading relationship between the Impressionists and the Graveline Boat People. (images from Cunningham 2000)



Art and Revitalization
Created by Matisse in 1953, the Impressionist sun-god Apollo fills this canvas. Only a priest or holy person has the training to paint geometric designs.
(image from Britt 1999)

Art and Revitalization
Smithson's 1970 photograph *Spiral Jetty* allows us to see how the people are revitalizing an ancient ritual site whose power is reflected in the heavens of van Gogh's *The Starry Night* 1889, together creating infinite spirals of spirituality. One feels that here we may find the secrets of the universe.

Spiral Jetty 1970 (photo from Britt 1999)

The Starry Night 1889 (image from Cole & Gealt 1989)

Museum Comment Book

Clearly, this exhibit is nonsense, which is precisely the point of this imaginative exercise. Moreover, the intent of this exercise is to prompt the user to ask the question: What specific factors or attributes make it utter nonsense? Therefore, I propose that curators and other museum workers focus the anthropological gaze on western art traditions and create imaginary exhibits using those models most commonly employed when looking at non-Western art.

Let me expand a bit here. This is not a universalizing proposal; it does not assume that cross-culturally all people have the same concerns, or that all cultures can be described using the same categories, or that all communities share a set of basic unchanging characteristics. Quite the opposite, so long as the person creating the imaginary exhibit recognizes that there are vast and wide-ranging differences across cultures as well as differences through time, then using this method can be effective. This proposal, to refocus the anthropological gaze, is an attempt to more fully understand the specific consequences of using a given model to organize any representation. Further, I believe that it is reasonable to expect that the consequences of using any given model may be very different depending on the material being displayed.

Model Building As a Creative Exercise

Case in point: I created the imaginary exhibit *Visions of Light*. Using the same approach as the MIA used in *Visions of the People*, I focused the exercise on the idea that art objects are a dependable vehicle for the representation of the history of a particular

group of people, and further that we can derive a coherent and cohesive cultural narrative from a set of objects. Again, similar to the MIA, the Culture Area Concept provided the cultural boundaries for this imaginary exhibit. In my imaginary exhibit, I accepted the role of curator, and proceeded to select those objects that would be displayed in *Visions of Light*. However, just like any other curator, I was limited in my selection because not all possible objects associated with Impressionism were available to me. I was limited by what different authors chose to include in their textbooks. Authors, like collectors, have criteria that determine what objects will be included in their textbooks/collections.

The narrative constructed for *Visions of Light* followed the plot line developed in *Visions of the People*. The plot line included: 1) building a case for the antiquity of the people, 2) interpreting art objects as historical documents, 3) finding evidence of community ritual, 4) highlighting spirituality as a core value, 5) describing gender roles, and 6) defining the relationship between art and gender.

Clearly, *Visions of Light* stretched the bounds of reasonable assumption and interpretive license. Their exists no such culture group as the Impressionist Euros, but is there a group of people that identifies themselves by the name Plains Indians? Or is Plains Indians an analytical category that has validity only in certain limited and well-defined circumstances? While I think there is validity is describing a geographic area as a Plains Culture Area, that use of this category is very different, in kind and intent, when used to describe Plains Indians as a Culture Group. As a category term, "Plains Indian peoples" functions alot like the category "Impressionist Euro peoples." Consider another example from *Visions of Light* - the case for antiquity was feeble and seemed absurd,

which is one of the predicted outcomes of this imaginative exercise. If making the case for antiquity looks absurd in the context of Western Impressionist art then the absurdity itself indicates that we should more closely examine how and why we would use the idea of antiquity to interpret non-Western art. The same general case can be made of the other absurdities in *Visions of Light*.

A Practical Yet Creative Resolution

The point of using this exercise is not to identify particular practices as bad or wrong-headed. The point of the exercise is to interrupt the usual ways we categorize and theorize the display and interpretation of non-western art. Engaging in this exercise, I believe, will deepen our understanding of the ways in which our approach(s) to the display and interpretation of non-Western art objects may in fact be counter-productive and ultimately does not reflect our intentions. This imaginary exhibit exercise has a number of benefits: 1) it very quickly illuminates areas in our thinking or aspects of our approach that are absurd - preposterous - fatuous - shallow - or just silly, 2) it can be used to highlight areas of difference between sets of materials and whether or not those differences are significant, and 3) it is very flexible - it can be developed individually or as a team exercise.

In the context of museum display, the team approach is worthy of some attention. Consider that, at a minimum, any exhibit requires that the following tasks be discussed, evaluated, and completed - selection of objects, corresponding and appropriate display techniques, use of space, use of technology, creation of explanatory text, education and

community outreach, and funding. Just as collections are the outcome of multiple selection processes, exhibits are the outcome of a series of decision processes based on differing criteria relative to each of the tasks outlined above. What are the possibilities if individuals from some or all of these areas come together to participate in this exercise?[277] Finally, this exercise offers each participant a forum to be actively self-critical rather than immobilized, dismayed, or anxious by the discovery that their personal frames of reference may be informed by racist or sexist ideas, for example.[278] How could it be otherwise, growing up in America, enculturation takes place within the context of a segregated society.[279]

Museums[280] perform significant services for the community and provide unique experiences for the individual. For some visitors the experience is "full of awe and wonder," for others "moving and emotional" and still others it is "hard to take it all in" (Visitor Interviews) Collectively, museums have come to represent heritage, history, and the arts. In the secular world, museums and the professionals who staff these institutions, protect, care for, and make meaningful those things that many believe make us human.

---

[277]I recognize that collaborative work in the context of a hierarchical institution is challenging. Individuals may need to modify this proposal based on the conditions existing within their institution.

[278]The list does not stop here, related issues include: age, (dis)ability, gender, sexuality, and religion

[279]This is not to suggest that all museum workers are American-born. To the extent that other cultural traditions are represented as part of a museum staff only strengthens the ability of that group of museum workers to respond to criticisms of museum representation and create more inclusive programming.

[280]That is to say, that the agency in this process resides with the people who staff the institution who actually create, facilitate and carry out this work.

Therefore, as highly valued and authoritative institutions that produce major cultural narratives, museums are often the sites of contested representation. Museums are historically situated institutions whose power stems from their authority to reproduce and interpret the stories we tell about ourselves to ourselves,[281] as well as the stories we tell about others (Geertz 1983b). In its role as storyteller, museum practice has been one of simultaneously constructing a definition of self and other. Struggles at contested sites like museums are over political questions, in particular, who will have the role of telling the stories as well as how those stories will be told (Bruner 1993). For some time now, professionals in the field have concerned themselves with "the museum's problem of having multiple responsibilities to diverse audiences" Welsh 1988). It is museum workers who have produced the literature on "the ways in which museums are embedded in the social, economic, and political complexities of contemporary society" (Ames 1992:139). It is these same people who are now charged with the responsibility to create exhibits and programs "that encourage inclusiveness and that resonate with a wider audience as well as provide communities with opportunities for self-representation" (Fox 2000:77). To the extent that museum workers are successful, these practices will come to represent a major shift in museum practice.

[281]This is the inclusive "we" but with specific cultural applications. "The stories we tell about ourselves" is a phenomenon that operates in many diverse cultural situations. For example, it operates at the MIA as well as the recently established National Museum of the American Indian [NMAI] (W. West 1994). It operates through the Nigerian National Commission for Museums and Monuments (Kaplan 1994a) as well as at the tribally run Makah Cultural Research Center in Neah Bay, Washington (King 1986:71).

Part of this study has been about attempting to offer those who actually do the difficult work of representing history, culture, and art something that could be of service to them. It is my hope that I have remained faithful to the spirit of critique set forth by anthropologist Michael Ames:

> It is typically easier to see what should be done which requires a judgment; than to get it done, which requires a more extensive analysis of the situation and a marshaling of support . . . The objective, then, is not simply to criticize museums but also to attempt to locate them within their social, political, and economic contexts.
>
> *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes* (1992:5)

Bibliography

Abrams, George H.J.
1994 "The Case for Wampum: Repatriation from the Museum of the American Indian to the Six Nations Confederacy, Bradford, Ontario, Canada." In *Museums and the Making of Ourselves: The Role of Objects in National Identity*. F.E.S. Kaplan (ed.), pp. 351-384. London: Leicester University Press.

Abu-Lugod, Lila
1990 "Can There Be A Feminist Ethnography?" *Women and Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 5(1):7-27.

1991 "Writing Against Culture." In *Recapturing Anthropology*. R. G. Fox (ed.), pp 137-162. Sante Fe New Mexico: School of American Research Press.

Achebe, Chinua
1984 "Forward" to *Igbo Arts: Community and Cosmos*. H.M. Cole and C.C. Aniakar (eds.), pp. vii-ix. Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of Calf.

Aguilar, John L.
1981 "Insider Research: an ethnography of a debate." In *Anthropologists at Home in North America: Models and Issues in the Study of One's Own Society*. Donald A. Messerschmidt (ed.), pp.15-26. NY: Cambridge University Press.

Albers, Patricia
1983 "Introduction: New Perspectives on Plains Indian Women" In *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women.* P. Albers and B. Medicine (eds.), pp.1-26. Washington D.C.: University Press of America.

1990 "Private and Public Images: a Study of Photographic Contrasts in Postcard Pictures of Great Basin Indians, 1898-1919." *Visual Anthropology* 3(2-3). Picturing Cultures: Historical Photographs in Anthropological Inquiry.

_____ and William R. James
1981 "Historical Fiction As Ideology." *Radical History Review* 25:149-161.

1984 "Utah's Indians and Popular Photography in the American West: a View From the Picture Postcard." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52:72-91.

_____ and Bea Medicine
1983a (Eds.) *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*. Washington D.C.: University Press of America.

1983b "The Role of Sioux Women in the Production of Ceremonial Objects: The Case of the Star quilt." In *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women.* P. Albers and B. Medicine (eds.), pp.123-140. Washington D.C.: University Press of America.

Alpers, Svetlana
1991 "The Museum as a Way of Seeing." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display.* I. Karp and S. D. Lavine (eds.), pp. 25-32. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Alsop, Joseph
1982 *The Rare Art Tradition: The History of Art Collecting and Its Linked Phenomena Wherever These Have Appeared*. Bollingen Series XXXV (27), Princeton University Press. NY: Harper and Row Publishers.

Ames, Michael M.
1986 *Museums, the Public, and Anthropology: a Study in the Anthropology of Anthropology*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press and New Deli: Concept Publishing.

1992 *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: the Anthropology of Museums.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

1999 "How to Decorate a House: The Re-Negotiation of Cultural Representations at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology." Museum Anthropology 22(3):41-51.

Anderson, Benedict R.
1991 *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Anderson, Richard
1993 "Art That Really Matters." In *Art In Small Scale Societies*. R.L. Anderson and K.L. Field (eds.), pp. 445-452. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

--------- and Karen L. Field
1993 (Eds.) *Art In Small Scale Societies*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall

Anderson, Robert
1956 "The Northern Cheyenne War Mothers." *Anthropology Quarterly* 29:82-90.

Appadurai, Arjun
1986 (Ed.) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Applebaum, Herbert
1987a "Integration of Cultures - Structuralism and Functionalism." In *Perspectives in Cultural Anthropology*. H. Applebaum (ed.), pp. 109-115. NY: State University of New York.

1987b "The Boasian Attack - Historical Particularism." In *Perspectives in Cultural Anthropology*. H. Applebaum (ed.), pp. 61-69. NY: State University of NY.

Archuleta, Margaret and Rennard Strickland
1991 *Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century*. Traveling Exhibit 1991-1992 of the Heard Museum. Phoenix, AZ.

Arieff, Allison
1995 "A Different Sort of (P)Reservation: Some Thoughts on the National Museum of the American Indian." *Museum Anthropology* 19(2):72-90.

Asad, Talad
1973 (Ed.) *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. London: Ithaca Press.

Axtell, James
1992 "Columbian Encounters: Beyond 1992." *William and Mary Quarterly* 49(2):335-360.

Babcock, Barbara A. and Nancy J. Parezo
1988 *Daughters of the Desert: Women Anthropologists and the Native American Southwest 1880-1980.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Baldwin, James
1963 "A Talk To Teachers." Originally delivered in 1963. Published in 1988. *Greywolf Annual Five: Multicultural Literacy.* Rick Simonson and Scott Walker (eds.) pp. 3-12. Saint Paul: Greywolf Press.

Bann, Stephen
1984 *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Banta, Melissa and Curtis M. Hinsley
1986 *From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography, and the Power of Imagery*. Cambridge, Mass: Peabody Museum Press.

Barth, Fredrik
1966 *Models of Social Organization*. Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Paper, 23.

1967 "On the Study of Social Change." American Anthropologist 69:661-669.

Bataille, Gretchen
2001 "Introduction." In *Native American Representations: First Encounters, Distorted Images and Literary Appropriations*. Bataille (ed.) pp. 1-7. Lincoln: University of Nebraska

_____ and Charles Silet
1976 "A Checklist of Published Materials on the Popular Images of the Indian in the American Film." *The Journal of Popular Film* 5:171-182.

1980 *The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in the Movies*. Ames: Iowa State University.

1980a "An Annotated Checklist of Articles and Books on the Popular Images of the Indian in American Film." *The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in the Movies*. G. Bataille and C. Silet (eds.) pp. 175-193. Ames: Iowa State.

1985 *Images of American Indians on Film: An Annotated Bibliography*. NY:Garland.

Bazin, Germain
1967 *The Museum Age*. Trans. Jane Van Nuis Cahill. NY: Universe.

Behar, Ruth
1993 "Introduction: Women Writing Culture: Another Telling of the Story of American Anthropology." *Critique of Anthropology* 13(4):307-325. Reprinted 1995, *Women Writing Culture*. R. Behar and D. Gordon (eds.) Berkeley: University of California.

1995 "Introduction: Out of Exile." In *Women Writing Culture*. R. Behar and D.A. Gordon (eds.), pp. 1-29. Berkeley: University of California.

_____ and Deborah A. Gordon
1995 *Women Writing Culture*. Berkeley: University of California.

Benjamin, Walter
1970 "The Work of Art in the Age of Reproduction." *Illuminations*. London: Cape.

Bennett, Tony
1995 *The Birth of the Museum*. London: Routledge.

Berger, John
1972 *Ways of Seeing*. London: British Broadcasting Corp.

Berkhofer, Robert F. Jr.
1978 *The White Man's Indian*. NY: Random House.

1988 "White Conceptions of Indians." In *History of Indian-White Relations*. W. E. Washington (ed.), pp. 522-547. *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol 4, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Berlo, Janet Catherine
1990 "Portraits of Dispossession." *Art Journal* 49(2):133-141.

1992 "Introduction: The Formative Years of Native American Art History." In *The Early Years of Native American Art History: the Politics of Scholarship and Collecting*. J.C. Berlo (ed.), pp. 1-21. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

_____ and Ruth B. Phillips
1992 "'Vitalizing The Things of The Past': Museum Representations of Native North American Art in The 1990s." *Museum Anthropology* 16(1):29-43.

_____ and Lee Anne Wilson
1993 (Eds.) *Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas: Selected Readings*. Eaglewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Bhabha, Homi K.
1983 "The other question: Homi K. Bhabha reconsiders the stereotype and colonial discourse." *Screen* 24(6):18-36.

Biddle, Lucy
1977 "Keeping Tradition Alive." *Museum News* 55:37-40.

Biebuyck, Daniel P.
1969 (Ed.) *Tradition and Creativity in Tribal Art*. Berkeley: University of California.

Bieder, Robert E.
1986 *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820-1880: The Early Years of American Ethnology*. Norman: University of Oklahoma.

Biersack, Aletta
1989 "Local Knowledge, Local History: Geertz and Beyond." In *The New Culture History: Essays*. Studies on the history of society and culture series. Lynn A. Hunt, (ed.) Berkeley: University of California Press.

Biome, Albert
1990 *The Art of Exclusion*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Bird, S. Elizabeth
1995 "Introduction: Constructing the Indian, 1830's-1990's." In *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*. S.E. Bird (ed.) pp. 1-12. Boulder, Colorado: Westview.

2001 "Savage Desires." In *Selling the Indian: Commercializing and Appropriating American Indian Cultures.* C. Meyer Jones and D. Royer (eds.), pp.62-98. Tucson: University of Arizona

Blackman, Margaret
1976 "Creativity In Acculturation: Art, Architecture, and Ceremony From the Northwest Coast." *Ethnohistory* 23(4):387-413.

1980 "Posing the American Indian" *Natural History* 89(10):68-74.

1993 "Master Carpenter's Daughters: Women Artists of the Northwest Coast." In *Art in Small-Scale Societies*: R.L. Anderson and K.L. Field (eds.), pp. 233-246. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. From a paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Meetings. Washington, D.C. 1980.

Blakey, Michael L.
1990 "American nationality and ethnicity in the depicted past." In *Politics of the past*. P. Gathercole and D. Lowenthal (eds.), pp. 38-48. London: Unwin Hyman.

Blish, Helen
1967 *A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux: Drawings by Amos Bad Heart Bull*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Boas, Franz
1927 *Primitive Art*. Instituttet for Sammenlegnende Kulturforskning. Oslo: H. Aschehoug. Serie B: Skrifter VIII. Reprinted 1955. London: Dover Press.

Bohannan, Paul and Mark Glazer
1988 (Eds.) *High Points in Anthropology*. Second Edition. NY: McGraw-Hill.

Bol, Marsha Clift
1985a "Lakota Women's' Artistic Strategies in Support of the Social System." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 9:33-51.

1985b "Lakota Beaded Costumes of the Early Reservation Era." In *Phoebus 4*. A.L. Gully (ed.), pp. 70-77. Tempe: Arizona State University. Reprinted 1993 *Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas*. J.C. Berlo and L.A. Wilson (eds.), pp. 363-370. Eaglewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Bolz, Peter and Hans-Ulrich Sanner
1999 *Native American Art: The Collections of the Ethnological Museum Berlin.* Seattle: University of Washington.

Borofsky, Robert
1994 (Ed.) *Assessing Cultural Anthropology*. NY: McGraw-Hill.

_____ Fredrik Barth, Richard A. Shweder, Lars Rodseth and Nomi Maya Stolzenberg
2001 "When: A Conversation About Culture." American Anthropologist 103(2)

Bourdieu, Pierre
1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bowen, Eleanor Smith (Laura Bohannon)
1964 *Return To Laughter*. NY: Doubleday.

Boylan, Patrick
1990 "Museums and Cultural Identity." *Museum Journal* 90(10):29-33.

Brauer, Ralph and Donna Brauer
1975 *The Horse, the Gun and the Piece of Property: Changing Images of the TV Western*. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press.

Bradford, C. J. and Laine Thom
1992 *Dancing Colors: Paths of Native American Women*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books.

Brettell, Caroline B.
1983a (Ed.) *When They Read What We Write: The Politics of Ethnography*. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey.

1983b "Introduction: Fieldwork, Text, and Audience." In *When They Read What We Write: The Politics of Ethnography*. C.B. Brettell (ed.), pp. 1-24. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey.

_____ and Carolyn F. Sargent
1997 (Eds.) *Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall

Briggs, Jean L.
1970 *Never In Anger*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brody, J.J.
1970 *Indian Painters and White Patrons*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.

2000 "Retrospection: Memory and Imagination in the Study of 20th-Century Native American Art History." Museum Anthropology 24(2/3):17-21.

Brown, James A.
1976 *Spiro Studies: The Artifacts*. Vol. 4. Norman: University of Oklahoma Research Institute.

Brown, Jennifer
1981 *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Families in Indian Country*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Bruner, Edward M.
1980 "Modern Hopi Painting." In *Hopi Kachina: Spirit of Life.* D.K. Washburn (ed.), pp. 87-96. Seattle: University of Washington Press. Reprinted 1993 in *Art in Small-Scale Societies: Contemporary Readings*. R.L. Anderson and K.L. Field (eds.), pp. 349-356. Inglewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

1993 "Epilogue: Creative Persona and the Problem of Authenticity." In *Creativity/ Anthropology*. S. Lavie, K. Narayan, and R. Rosaldo (eds.), pp. 321-334. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Buckingham, James Silk
1849 *National Evils and Practical Remedies, with the Plan of a Model Town.* Facsimile edition by Augustus M. Kelly, Clifton, 1973.

Bunzel, Ruth
1929 *The Pueblo Potter: a Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art.* Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 8. NY: Columbia University. Reprinted 1992, NY: Dover.

Cannaday, John
1980 *What Is Art?* NY: Alfred A. Knopf.

Cameron, Duncan F.
1971 "The Museum, a Temple or the Forum." *Curator* 14(1):11-24.

Carpenter, Edmund
1976 "Collectors and Collecting." *Natural History* 85(3):56-67.

Caplan, Pat
1988 “Engendering Knowledge: The Politics of Ethnography.” *Anthropology Today* 4(4):8-12, Part I; 4(6):14-17 Part II.

Carr, Helen
1996 *Inventing the American Primitive: Politics, Gender, and the Representation of Native American Literary Traditions, 1789-1936*. NY: New York University.

Castile, George
1991 "Indian Sign: Hegemony and Symbolism in Federal Indian Policy." In State and Reservation: New Perspectives on Federal Indian Policy. G.P. Castile and R. Bee (eds.), pp. 165-186. Tucson: University of Arizona.

1996 "The Commodification of Indian Identity." *American Anthropologist* 98(4): 743-749.

Catlin, George
1841 *North American Indians, Being Letters and Notes on their Manners, Customs, Written During Eight Years' Travel Amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in America, 1832-1839.* Vol 1. Edinburgh: John Grant.

Cesara, Manda (Karla Poewe)
1982 *Reflections of a Woman Anthropologist: No Hiding Place.* NY: Academic.

Cameron, Catherine
1999 "Emergent Industrial Heritage: The Politics of Selection." *Museum Anthropology* 23(3):58-73.

Chappell, Edward
1989 "Museums." *The Nation.* 27 November: 655-660.

Charbonnier, Charles G.
1969 Conversations with Levi-Strauss. London: Jonathan Cape.

Chilungu, Simeon W.
1976 "Issues in the Ethics of Research Method: An Interpretation of the Anglo-American Perspective." *Current Anthropology* 17(3):457-481.

Chronister, Allen
1994 Review of: Georg J. Barth. "Native American Beadwork: Traditional Beading Techniques for the Modern-Day Beadworker." *American Indian Art Magazine* 19(3):100-103.

Churchill, Ward
1977 "Floyd Westernman: A Giant in Lower Case." *Rocky Mountain Musical Express*: July.

Claerhout, Adrian G.H.
1965 "The Concept of Primitive Applied to Art." *Current Anthropology* 6(4):432-438. Discussion posed by A. Claerhout. *Current Anthropology* 6(3):237.

Clifford, James
1988 Collecting Art and Culture." In *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art.* J. Clifford pp. 215-251. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Reprinted 1990. In *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Culture.* R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. Minh-ha, and C. West (eds.), pp. 141-169. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press and The New Museum of Contemporary Art, NY.

1991 "Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. I. Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds.), pp. 212-254. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

_____ and George E. Marcus
1986 (Ed.) *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Coe, Ralph
1976 *Sacred Circles: Two Thousand Years of North American Indian Art.* Exhibit Arts Council of Great Britain. London: Lund Humphries.

1986 *Lost and Found Traditions: Native American Art 1965-1985*. American Federation of Arts. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Cohn, Abner
1974 *Two-Dimensional Man: An Essay on the Anthropology of Power and Symbolism in Complex Society.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cohn, Bernard
1987 "Anthropology and History in the 1980's: Towards a Rapproachment." In *An Anthropologist Among the Historians and Other Essays.* B. Cohn (ed.) Oxford: Oxford University.

Cohodas, Marvin
1986 "Washoe Innovators and Their Patrons." In *The Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution.* E.L. Wade (ed.), pp. 203-220. NY: Hudson Hills.

1992 "Louisa Keyser and the Cohns: Mythmaking in the American West." In *The Early Years of Native American Art History: the Politics of Scholarship and Collection*. J.C. Berlo (ed.), pp. 88-133. Seattle: University of Washington.

Cole, Douglas
1985 *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Collier, Jane Fishburne
1974 "Women in Politics." In *Women, Culture, and Society*. M. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (eds.), pp. 89-96. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

1988 *Marriage and Inequality in Classless Society*. Stanford: Stanford University.

Conkey, Margaret
1990 "Experimenting With Style in Archaeology: some historical and theoretical issues." In *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*. Conkey and Hastorf (eds.), pp. 5-17. New Directions in Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

---------- and Janet Spector
1984 "Archaeology and the Study of Gender." In *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*. M. Schiffer (ed.), pp. 1-38. London: Academic Press.

Conn, Richard
1979 *North American Indian Art in the Denver Art Museum.* Mount Vernon, NY: A. Colish Inc. distributed by the University of Washington Press: Seattle.

1982 *Circles of the World: Traditional Art of the Plains Indians.* Traveling exhibit catalogue April 12, 1982 - April 29, 1985. Denver Art Museum distributed by the University of Washington Press. Third Printing 1989.

1986 *A Persistent Vision: Art of the Reservation Days.* Denver: Denver Art Museum.

Coombs, Annie
1988 "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities." *Oxford Art Journal* 11(2):57-68. Reprinted 1991. In *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives On Art*. S. Hiller (ed.), pp. 189-214. NY and London: Routledge.

Coote, Jeremy and Anthony Shelton
1992 *Anthropology Art and Aesthetics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Corbey, Raymond
1993 "Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930." *Cultural Anthropology* 8(3):338-369.

Cornell, Stephen
1988 The Return of the Native: American Indian Political Resurgence. NY: Oxford.

Coutts-Smith, Kenneth
1991 "Some General Observations on the Problem of Cultural Colonialism." In *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art*. Hiller (ed.), pp. 14-31. NY:Routledge.

Coxall, Helen
1991 "How language means: an alternative view of museum text." In *Museum Languages: Objects and Texts.* G. Kavanagh (ed.), pp. 83-100. London: Leichester University.

Cruikshank, Julie
1995 "Imperfect Translations: Rethinking Objects of Ethnographic Collections." *Museum Anthropology* 19(1):25-38.

Csikszentmihalyi, Milhaly and Eugene Rochberg-Halton
1981 *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dances With Wolves
1990 TIG Productions: Orion Pictures. Director: Kevin Costner. Screenplay M.Blake

Davis, Donna L.
1983 "Unintended Consequences: The Myth of 'The Return' in Anthropological Fieldwork." In *When They Read What We Write*. C.B. Brettell (ed.), pp. 27-36. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey.

de Beauvoir, Simone
1953 *The Second Sex*. H. Parshley trans. & ed. NY: Knopf. Original in French 1949.

de la Croix, Horst and Richard G. Tansey
1986 *Gardner's Art Through the Ages II: Renaissance and Modern Art*. NY and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

de Laguna, Frederica
1960 "The Story of a Tlingit Community." *Bureau of American Ethnology*, Bulletin 172.

Deetz, James
1977 *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of North American History.* Doubleday.

Deloria, Ella
1937"Old Dakota Legends." Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. Manuscript No. 30 (x8a.21).

1948 *Waterlily* [manuscript]. Reprinted 1988 by Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

Deloria, Philip J.
1998 *Playing Indian*. New Haven and London: Yale University.

Deloria, Vine, Jr.
1969 *Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. NY: Macmillan. Reprinted 1988. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

1973 *God Is Red*. NY: Dell Publishing Co.

di Leonardo, Michaela
1989 "Malinoski's Nephews." *The Nation* 248(10):350-352.

1991a (Ed.) *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in Historical Perspective*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California.

1991b "Introduction: Gender, Culture, and Political Economy." In *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in Historical Perspective.* M. di Leonardo (ed.), pp. 1-48. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of Calf.

1997 "The Female World of Cards and Holidays: Women, Families, and the Work of Kinship. *Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. C. Brettell and C. Sargent (ed.), pp. 340-350. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. Reprinted from *Signs* 12(3):440-453.

1998 *Exotics At Home: Anthropologies, Others, American Modernity*. Women in Culture and Society Series edited by Catherine R. Stimpson. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Diamond, Stanley
1974 *In Search of the Primitive: A Critique of Civilization*. New Brunswick: Dutton.

Dilworth, Leah
1996 *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Dippie, Brian
1982 *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy*. Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University.

1992 "Representing the Other: the North American Indian." In *Anthropology and Photography*. E. Edwards (ed.), pp. 132-136. New Haven: Yale University.

Dirks, Nichols B.
1992 *Colonialism and Culture*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

_____, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner
1994 (Eds.) *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Dobkins, Rebecca J.
2001 "Art and Auto-ethnography: Frank Day and the Uses of Anthropology." *Museum Anthropology* 24(2/3):22-29.

Dominguez, Virginia
1986 "The Marketing of Heritage." *American Ethnologist* 13(3):546-555.

1992 "The Messy Side of Cultural Politics." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 91(1):19-42.

Dorris, Michael
1987 "Indians On The Shelf." In *The American Indian and the Problem of History*. Calvin Martin (ed.), pp. 98-105. NY: Oxford University Press.

Drinnon, Richard
1972 *The White Savage: the Case of John Dunn Hunter*. London: Routledge.

1980 *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian Hating and Empire Building*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.

Dubin, Margaret
2001 *Native America Collected: The Culture of an Art World*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.

Duncan, Carol
1992 "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. I. Karp and S. D. Lavine (eds.) pp. 88-103. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

1995 *Civilizing Rituals: inside public art museums*. NY and London: Routledge.

_____ and Alan Wallach
1980 "The Universal Survey Museum." *Art History* 3(4):448-469.

Durham, Jimmie and Jean Fisher
1983 *We The People*. Curated by Jimmie Durham and Jean Fisher. NY: Artists Space Gallery. Exhibition Catalogue.

1987 "The ground has been covered." *Art Forum*. XXVI 3(10):99-105.

Durrans, Brian
n.d. (Ed.) *Making Exhibitions of Ourselves*. London: Scholar Press.

Eagleton, Terry
1983 *Literary Theory: An Introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

1990 *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Echo-Hawk, Walter
1986 "Museum Rights vs. Indian Rights: guidelines for assessing competing interests in Native cultural resources." *Review of Law and Social Change* 14:437-453.

Edmunds, R. David
1983 *The Shawnee Prophet*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Edwards, Elizabeth
1992 (Ed.) *Anthropology and Photography*. New Haven: Yale University.

Enslin, Elizabeth
1994 "Beyond Writing: Feminist Practice and the Limitations of Ethnography." *Cultural Anthropology* 9(4):537-568.

Etienne, Mona and Eleanor Leacock
1980 (Eds.) *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives.* NY: Praeger.

Ewers, John C.
1978 *Murals in the Round: Painted Tipis of the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache Indians.* Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Fabian Johannes
1983 *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. NY: Columbia.

Faery, Rebecca Blevins
1999 *Cartographies of Desire: Captivity, Race and Sex in the Shaping of the American Nation*. Norman: University of Oklahoma

Fahim, Hussein
1979 "Foreign and Indigenous Anthropology: The Perspective of an Egyptian Anthropologist." *Human Organization* 36(1):80-86.

1982 (Ed.) *Indigenous Anthropology in Non-Western Countries.* Durham: Academic.
_____, Katherine Helmer, Elizabeth Colson, T.N. Madan, H.C. Kelman, Talal Asad

1980 "Indigenous Anthropology in Non-Western Countries: A Further Elaboration." *Current Anthropology* 21:644-663.

Fane, Diana
1992 "New Questions for 'Old Things': the Brooklyn Museum's Zuni Collection." In *The Early Years of Native American Art History: the Politics of Scholarship and Collecting*. J.C. Berlo (ed.), pp. 62-87. Seattle: University of Washington.

_____, Ira Jacknis, and Lise M. Breen
1991 *Objects of Myth and Memory: American Indian Art at the Brooklyn Museum.* Exhibit catalog October 1991 - January 1993. Seattle: University of Washington

Feder, Norman
1986 "European Influences On Plains Indian Art." In *The Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution.* E.L. Wade (ed.), pp. 93-104. NY: Hudson Hills Press.

Feest, Christian F.
1980 *Native Arts of North America*. NY: Oxford University Press.

1984 *Anthropology and Art History*. Symposium held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York on November 3, 1984.

1987 (Ed.) *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collections of Essays*. Aachen, GDR: Edition Herodot/ Raader-Verlag.

1988 "The Indian in Non-English Literature." In *History of Indian-White Relations.* W. E. Washington (ed.), pp. 582-586. *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol 4, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Ferguson, T.J.
1990 "The Repatriation of *Ahayu:da*, Zuni War Gods: An Interview With the Zuni Tribal Council On April 25, 1090." *Museum Anthropology* 14(2):7-14.

Fiedler, Leslie
1968 *The Return of the Vanishing American*. NY: Stein and Day.

1988 "The Indian in English Literature." In *History of Indian-White Relations.* W. E. Washington (ed.), pp. 573-581. *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol 4, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Finn, Janet L.
1993 “Ella Deloria and Mouring Dove: Writing for Culture, Writing Against the Grain.” *Critique of Anthropology* 13(4):335-349. Reprinted 1995. *Women Writing Culture.* R. Behar and D. Gordon (eds.), pp.131-147. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Finster, David
1975 "Museums and Medicine Bundles." *The Indian Historian* 8:40-48.

Firth, Raymond W.
1936 *Art and Life in New Guinea*. NY: The Studio, London and Studio Publishers. Reprinted 1979. NY: AMS Press.

Fischer, Michael
1986 "Ethnicity and the Post-Modern Arts of Memory." In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. J. Clifford and G. Marcus (eds.), pp. 194-233. Berkeley: University of California.

Fisher, Jean
1991 "Unsettled Accounts of Indians and Others." In *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives On Art.* S. Hiller (ed.), pp. 293-313. London: Routledge.

1992 “In Search of the ‘Inauthentic’: Disturbing Signs in Contemporary Native American Art.” *Art Journal* 51(3):44-52.

_____ and Jimmie Durham
1988 "The ground has been covered." *Art Forum*. XXVI 3(10):99-105.

Fisher, Phillip
1991 *Making and Effacing Art: Modern American Art in a Culture of Museums*. NY: Oxford

Fletcher, Alice and Francis LaFlesche
1972 *The Omaha*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Bison Books.

Fogelson, Raymond D.
1985 "Night Thoughts on Native American Social History." From *The Impact of Indian History on the Teaching of United States History*. Occasional Papers in Curriculum Studies. D'Arcy McNickle Center, Newberry Library, Chicago.

Forbes, J.D.
1965 (Ed.) *The Indian in America's Past*. Englewood, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Forge, Anthony
1973 (Ed.) *Primitive Art and Society*. London: Oxford University Press.

Foster, Martha
1995 "Lost Women of the Matriarchy: Iroquois Women in the Historical Literature." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 19:121-140.

Foucault, Michel
1977 *Discipline and Punishment: the Birth of the Prison*. Alan Sheriden, trans. NY: Random House.

1980 *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews and other writings*. Ed. and trans. Colin Gordon. NY: Pantheon Books.

Fox, Richard G.
1991a (Ed.) *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. Sante Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research.

1991b "Introduction: Working in the Present." In *Recapturing Anthropology*. Fox (ed.), pp. 1-16. Sante Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research.

1991c "For a Nearly New Culture History." In *Recapturing Anthropology*. Fox (ed.), pp. 93-113. Sante Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research.

Franklin, Robert
1996 "Indian artifacts disappearing from museums." *Star Tribune.* 2 May:A1,A5.

Fraser, Douglas
1966 (Ed.) *The Many Faces of Primitive Art: a Critical Anthology*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Frazier, Leslie Jo
1993 "Genre, Methodology, and Feminist Practice: Gladys Reichard's Ethnographic Voice." *Critique of Anthropology* 13(4):363-378

Friar, Ralph and Natasha A. Friar
1969-1970 "White Man Speaks with Split Tongue, Forked Tongue, Tongue of Snake." *Film Library* 3:16-23. Reprinted 1980 in *The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in the Movies*. G. Bataille and C. Silet (eds.) pp. 92-97. Ames: Iowa State University.

1972 *The Only Good Indian . . . The Hollywood Gospel*. NY: Drama Book Specialists/Publishers.

Friedman, Jonathan
1988 "Comment." *Current Anthropology* 29(3):426-427.

Frisbie, Charlotte J.
1987 *Navajo Medicine Bundles or Jish: Acquisition, Transmission, and Disposition in the Past and Present.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Fronville, C.L. and Z.D. Doering
1989 *Visitor Perspectives on Tropical Rainforests: A Report Based on the 1988 "Tropical Rainforests: A Disappearing Treasure" Information Study*. Washington D.C.: Office of Institutional Studies, Smithsonian Institution.

Fürst, Jörg
1991 "Material culture research and the curation process." In *Museum Studies in Material Culture*. S.M. Pearce (ed.), pp. 97-110. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Fusco, Coco and Guillermo Gomez-Peña
1992 "The Origins of Intercultural Performance." From the program booklet describing the installation "*The Year of the White Bear*." at the Walker Art Center, Sept. 13-Nov. 15, 1992. Minneapolis, MN: Walker Art Center.

Gacs, Ute, Aisha Khan, Jerrie McIntyre, and Ruth Weinberg
1989 (Eds.) *Women Anthropologists: Selected Biographies.* Urbana: University of Illinois.

Gaines, Jane
1980"White privilege and looking relations: race and gender in feminist film theory." *Screen* 29(4): 12-27.

Gal, Susan
1991 "Between Speech and Silence: The Problematics of Research on Language and Gender." *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in Postmodern Era*. di Leonardo (ed.), pp.175-203. Los Angles: U of Calf.

Gates, Henry Louis Jr.
1992 *Loose Cannons: Notes On the Culture Wars*. NY: Oxford University Press.

Gathercole, Peter
1991 "The Fetishism of Artifacts." In *Museum Studies in Material Culture*. S.Pearce (ed.), pp. 73-82. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

_____, and David Lowenthal
1990 (Eds.) *The Politics of the Past*. London and Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Garbarino, Merwyn
1985 *Native American Heritage*. Second Edition. Prospect Heights: Waveland.

Geertz, Clifford
1973 *The Interpretation of Cultures*. NY: Basic Books.

1983a "Art As a Culture System." In *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. C. Geertz, pp. 94-120. NY: Basic Books.

1983b "From the Native's Point of View: On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding." In *Local Knowledge* C. Geertz, pp. 55-70. NY: Basic Books. Reprinted 1984. In Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion. R. Shwender and R.Levine (eds.), pp.122-136. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

1988 *Works and Lives: the Anthropologist as Author*. Lectures Delivered at Stanford University. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

1991 *Insights: Museums, Visitors, Attitudes, Expectations A Focus Group Experiment*. Los Angeles: Getty Center for Education in the Arts and the J.P. Getty Museum.

Giddens, Anthony
1979 *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gilman, Sander L.
1985 "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature." Critical Inquiry 21(1).

Glassie, Henry
1975 *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee.

Glazier, Stephen D.
1993 "Responding to the Anthropologist: When the Spiritual Baptists Read What I Write About Them." In *When They Read What We Write*. C.B. Brettell (ed.), pp. 37-48. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey.

Goffman, Erving
1974 *Frame Analysis: an essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Gogol, John M.
1984 "American Indian Art: Values and Aesthetics." *American Indian Basketry and Other Native Arts* 4(4):6.

Gombrich, Ernst Hans
1979 *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*. Second Edition 1984. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Gomez-Peña, Guillermo and Coco Fusco
1992 "The Origins of Intercultural Performance." From the program booklet describing the installation "*The Year of the White Bear*" at the Walker Art Center, Sept. 13- Nov. 15, 1992. Minneapolis, MN: Walker Art Center.

Goode, G. Brown
1895 *The Principles of Museum Administration*. York: Coultas & Volans.

Gordon, Beverly and Melanie Herzog
1988 "Collecting Indian Art: The Historical Context." In *American Indian Art: Collecting Experience*. Exhibition Catalog produced by B. Gordon and M. Herzog, pp. 4-5. Rlvehjem Museum of Art: University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Gould, Stephen J.
1982 "The Hottentot Venus." *Natural History* 91(10):20-27.

Graburn, Nelson H. H.
1976 (Ed.) *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions From the Fourth World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

2001 "What Is Tradition?" Museum Anthropology 24(2/3):6-11.

Gramsci, Antonio
1971 *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and G.N. Smith. NY: International Publishers.

Griffiths, Alison
1996 "Science and Spectacle: Native American Representation in Early Cinema." In *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*. S.E. Bird (ed.) pp. 79-95. Boulder, Colorado: Westview.

Grinnell, George Bird
1972 *The Cheyenne Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Bison Books.

Green, Rayna
1975 "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture." *Massachusetts Review* 16(4):698-714.

1988a "A Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe." *Folklore* 99(1): 30-55.

1988b "The Indian in Popular American Culture. In *History of Indian-White Relations.* W. E. Washington (ed.). *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol 4, W. Sturtevant, general editor. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

1989 Discussion with Edward Chappell. "Museums." *The Nation* Nov 27, pp.655-660

1992 "Rosebuds of the Plateau: Frank Matsura and the Fainting Couch Aesthetic." In *Partial Recall*. Lucy Lippard (ed.), pp. 47-54. NY: The New Press.

Greenhalgh, Michael and Vincent Megaw
1978 (Eds.) *Art In Society: Studies in Style, Culture, and Aesthetics*. NY: St. Martin's.

Gudeman, Stephen and Alberto Rivera
1990 *Conversations in Columbia*. NY: Cambridge University Press.

Guha, Ranajit
1983a (Ed.) *Subaltern Studies II: Writings on South Asian History and Society, pp.1-42*. Delhi: Columbia University Press.

1983b "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency." In *Subaltern Studies II: Writings on South Asian History and Society.* R. Guha (ed.), pp.1-42. Delhi: Columbia University.

Haas, Jonathan
1996 "Power, Objects, and a Voice for Anthropology." *Current Anthropology* 37(supplement): 1-22.

Habberlin, Herman, J.A. Teit, and H.A. Roberts under the direction of Franz Boas
1928 "Coiled Basketry in British Columbia and Surrounding Region." *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for 1919-1924*, 41:119-484.

Haberland, Wolfgang
1986 "Aesthetics in Native American Art." In *The Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution.* E.L.Wade (ed.), pp. 107-132. NY: Hudson Hills

Habermas, Jurgin
1983 "Modernity - An Incomplete Project." In *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*. Hal Foster (ed.) p 3-15. Port Townsend, Washington: Bay.

1987 *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*. Trans. F.G. Lawrence. Cambridge: Polity.

Hacker, Andrew
1992 *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*. NY: Ballantine.

Hall, Margaret
1987 O*n Display: A Design Grammar for Museum Exhibitions*. London: Lund Humphries.

Hall, Stuart
1989 "Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation." *Framework* 36:68-81.

Hallam, Elizabeth and Brian V. Street
2000 (Eds.) *Cultural Encounters: Representing "Otherness."* NY: Routledge.

Hallowell, A. Irving
1963 American Indians White and Black: The Phenomenon of Transculturalization." *Current Anthropology* 4(4):519-531. Reprinted in Contributions to Anthropology: Selected Papers of A. Irving Hallowell, pp. 498-529. University of Chicago, 1976.

Handleman, Don
1993 "The Absence of Others, the Presence of Texts." In *Creativity/Anthropology*. S. Lauie, K. Narayan, and R. Rosaldo (eds.), pp. 133-152.

Handler, Richard
1985 "On Having a Culture." In *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*. G.W. Stocking (ed.), pp.192-217. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

1992 "On the Valuing of Museum Objects." *Museum Anthropology* 16(1):21-28.

1993a "Anthropology is Dead! Long Live Anthropology!" *American Anthropologist*. 95(3-4): 991-995.

1993b "An Anthropological Definition of the Museum and Its Purpose." *Museum Anthropology* 17(1): 33-37.

1993c "Fieldwork in Quebec, Scholarly Reviews, and Anthropological Dialogues." In *When They Read What We Write*. Brettell (ed.), pp. 67-74. Westport: Bergin.

Hanson, James
1980 "The Reappearing Vanishing American." *Museum News* 59(2):45-51.

Haraway, Donna
1988 "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question on Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." *Feminist Studies* 14(3):575-599.

1989 *Primate Visions: Gender, Race and Nature in the World of Modern Science*. NY: Routledge, Chapman & Hall.

Harris, Neil
1981 "Cultural Institutions and American Modernization." *Journal of Library History* 16(1): 28-47.

Harrison, Faye V.
1991a (Ed.) *Decolonizing Anthropology: Moving Further Toward an Anthropology of Liberation*. Washington D.C.: American Anthropological Association.

1991b "Anthropology As An Agent of Transformation" *Decolonizing Anthropology: Moving Further Toward an Anthropology of Liberation*. F.V. Harrison (ed.), pp. 1-14. Washington D.C.: American Anthropological Association.

1992 "The Du Boisean Legacy." *Critique of Anthropology* 12 (3):239-60.

Harrison, Julia D., Bruce Trigger, and Michael M. Ames
1988 "Point/Counterpoint" 'The Spirit Sings' and the Lubicon Boycott. *MUSE*, Journal of the Canadian Museum Association, 6(3):12-25.

Hartsock, Nancy
1987 "Rethinking Modernism: Minority vs. Majority Theories." *Cultural Critique* 7:187-206. Reprinted 1990. *The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse.* A. Jan Mohammed and D. Lloyd (eds.), pp. 17-36. NY: Oxford Press.

Hassrick, Royal
1964 *The Sioux*. Norman: University of Oklahoma.

Hau'ofa, Epeli
1975 "Anthropology and Pacific Islanders." *Oceania* 45(4):283-289.

Heap of Birds, Edgar
1991 "Born of Sharp Rocks." In *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives On Art*. Hiller (ed.) pp. 338-343. NY and London: Routledge.

Hertzberg, Hazel W.
1979 "Nationality, Anthropology, and Pan-Indianism in the Life of Arthur C. Parker (Seneca)." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 123:47-72.

Hess, Jeffrey A.
1985 *Their Splendid Legacy: The First 100 Years of the Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts*. Minneapolis: Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts.

Hilger, Michael
1986 *The American Indian in Film*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow.

1995 *From Savage to Nobleman: Images of Native Americans in Film*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow.

Hill, Richard
1977 "Reclaiming Cultural Artifacts." *Museum News* 55(5):43-46.

1980 "Keeping the Faith: the Exhibition and Collection of American Indian Sacred Objects." *Four Winds* 1(1):62-63, 82-83.

1980 "Indians and Museums: A Plea For Cooperation." *Council for Museum Anthropology Newsletter* 4(2):22-25.

1991 "Savage Splendor." *Turtle Quarterly* pp. 14-23.

1992a *Creativity Is Our Tradition: Three Decades of Contemporary Indian Art.* Exhibit at the Institute of American Indian Arts. Santa Fe, New Mexico.

1992b "Three Voices For Repatriation." *Museum News* 71(5): 61-67.

1992c "The Non-Vanishing Indian: Are the Modern Images Any Closer to the Truth?" *The Quill* 80(4):36-43.

Hiller, Susan
1991 "Editor's introduction" to Part II. In *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives On Art*. S. Hiller (ed.), pp. 185-189. NY and London: Routledge.

Hinsley, Curtis M.
1985 "From Shell-Heaps to Stelae: Early Anthropology at the Peabody Museum." In *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*. G.W. Stocking, Jr. (ed.), pp. 49-74. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

1991 "The World As Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893." In *Exhibiting Cultures.* Karp and Lavine (eds.), pp. 344-365. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

1992 "Collecting Cultures and Cultures of Collecting: The Lure of the American Southwest, 1880-1915." *Museum Anthropology* 16(1):12-20.

Hobsbawn, Eric and Terence Ranger
1983 (Eds.) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hodge, Robert and Wilfred D'Souza
1979 "The Museum as a Communicator: A semiotic analysis of the Western Australian Museum, Aboriginal Gallery, Perth." *Museum* 31(4):251-266.

Holm, Bill
1974 "The Art of Willie Seaweed: a Kwakiutl Master." In *The Human Mirror*. Miles Richardson (ed.) pp. 59-90. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University.

1981 "Will the Real Charles Edensaw Please Stand Up? The Problem of Attribution in Northwest Coast Indian Art." In *The World Is as Sharp as a Knife: An Anthology in Honour of Wilson Duff*. D.N. Abbott (ed.), pp. 175-200. Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum. Reprinted 1993. *Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas: Selected Readings*. Berlo and Wilson (eds.), pp. 86-106. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

1986 "The Dancing Headdress Frontlet: Aesthetic Context in the Northwest Coast." In *The Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution.* E.L. Wade (ed.), pp. 133-140. NY: Hudson Hills Press.

1993 "Forward." *Native American Beadwork: Traditional Beading Techniques for the Modern-Day Beadworker*, by Georg J. Barth. Stevens Point: Schneider.

_____ and G.I. Quimby
1980 *Edward S. Curtis in the Land of the War Canoes: A Pioneer Cinematographer in the Pacific Northwest Coast*. Seattle: University of Washington.

Honour, Hugh
1975 *The New Golden Land: European Images of America From the Discoveries to the Present Time*. NY: Pantheon Books.

1975a *The European Vision of America*. Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Museum of Art.

hooks, bell
1992 "Eating The Other" pp. 21-39. In *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Boston, MA: South End Press. Reprinted 1998 In *Eating Culture*. R. Scapp and B. Seitz (eds.), pp.181-200. Albany: State University of New York.

1994 *Outlaw Culture Resisting Representations*. London: Routledge.

1995 *Art On My Mind: Visual Politics*. NY: The New Press.

Hooper-Greenhill, Eileen
1988 "Counting Visitors or Visitors Who Count?" In *The Museum Time Machine: Putting Cultures On Display*. R.Lumley (ed.), pp. 213-32. London: Routledge.

Hooper-Greenhill, Eileen (continued)
1992 *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

Hopkins, MaryCarol
1993 "Is Anonymity Possible? Writing About Refugees in the United States." In *When They Read What We Write*. Brettell (ed.), pp. 121-130. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey.

Horner, Alice
1990 *The Assumption of Tradition: Creating, Collecting, and Conserving Cultural Artifacts in the Cameroon Grassfields (West Africa)*. PhD dissertation in Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Horse Capture, George P.
1981 "Some Observations on Establishing Tribal Museums." American Association for State and Local History. Technical Leaflet Insert 134. *History News* 36(1). January 1981. Reprints Available.

1993 "From Museums to Indians: Native American Art in Context. The Frayed Thread of Tradition." In *Robes of Splendor*. G.P.Horse Capture (ed.) NY: The New Press.

Horwitz, Richard P.
1993 "Just Stories of Ethnographic Authority." In *When They Read What We Write*. C.B. Brettell (ed.), pp. 131-144. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey.

Houlihan, Patrick T.
1991 The Poetic Image and Native American Art." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. I. Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds.), pp. 205-211. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Hoxie, Frederick E.
1979 "Red Man's Burden." Antioch Review 37(3):326-342.

1989 *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920.* Cambridge

------ and Peter Iverson
1998 (Eds.) *Indians in American History*, 2nd Edition. Wheeling: Harlan Davidson.

Hungry Wolf, Beverly
1980 "Running Eagle: Woman Warrior of the Blackfeet." In *The Ways of My Grandmothers*. B. Hungry Wolf. NY: William Morrow & Co.

Huhndorf, Shari M.
2001 *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination*. Ithaca: Cornell.

Hunt, Lynn A.
1989 (Ed.) *The New Culture History* Studies on the History of Society and Culture Series. Berkeley and London: University of California Press.

Hurston, Zora Neale
1936 *Mules and Men*. With an introduction by Franz Boas. Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Co. Reprinted in 1969. NY: Negro University Press. Reprinted again in 1990. NY: Pernnial Library.

1938 *Tell My Horse.* NY: Arno Press.

Hymes, Dell
1969 (Ed.) *Reinventing Anthropology*. NY: Pantheon. Reprinted 1974. NY:Vintage.

Impey, Oliver and Arthur MacGregor
1985 (Eds.) *The Origins of Museums: Cabinet Curiosities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe*. Oxford: Claredon Press; NY: Oxford University.

Ingold, Tim
1996 (Ed.) *Key Debates in Anthropology*. NY: Routledge.

Irwin, Lee
1994 *The Dream Seekers: Native American Visionary Traditions of the Great Plains*. Vol 213 Civilization of the American Indian Series. Norman: University of Oklahoma.

Jacknis, Ira
1994 "Franz Boas and Photography" *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 10(1): 2-60.

1985 "Franz Boas and Exhibits: On the Limitations of the Museum Method in Anthropology." In *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*. G.W. Stocking (ed.), pp. 75-111. Madison: University of Wisconsin .

1992a "The Artist Himself: The Salish Basketry Monograph and the Beginnings of a Boasian Paradigm." In *The Early Years of Native American Art History: the Politics of Scholarship and Collecting*. J.C. Berlo (ed.), pp.134-161. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

1992b "George Hunt: Kwakiutl Photographer." In *Anthropology and Photography*. E. Edwards (ed.), pp. 143-151. New Haven: Yale University.

Jaffe, Alexandra
1993 "Involvement, Detachment, and Representation on Corsica." In *When They Read What We Write: The Politics of Ethnography*. Caroline B. Brettell (ed.), pp. 51-66. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey.

Jaimes, Annette M.
1992 "Introduction: Sandcreek: The Morning After." In *The State of Native America: genocide, colonization, and resistance*. Race and Resistance Series. A.M. Jaimes (ed.), pp. 1-12. Boston: South End Press.

Jameson, Fredric
1983 (Ed.) *Formations of Pleasure*. London: Routledge

1991 *Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Jay, Robert
1987 *The Trade Card in Nineteenth-Century America.* Columbia: University of Missouri. Jenkinson, Peter 1991 "Material Culture, People's History, and Populism: Where Do We Go From Here?" In *Museum Studies in Material Culture*. S. Pearce (ed.), pp. 139-152. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian.

Jennings, Francis
1971 "Virgin Land and Savage People." *American Quarterly* 23(4):519-541.

1975 *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest*. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

Jensen, Doreen and Cheryl Brooks
1991 (Eds.) *In Celebration of Our Survival: The First Nations of British Columbia*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Jonaitis, Aldona
1988 *From the Land of the Totem Poles: The Northwest Coast Indian Art Collection at the American Museum of Natural History*. NY and Seattle: American Museum of Natural History and University of Washington Press.

1991 (Ed.) *Chiefly Feasts: The Enduring Kwakiutl Potlatch*. Seattle: University of Washington.

1992 "Franz Boas, John Swanson, and the New Haida Sculpture at the American Museum of Natural History." In *The Early Years of Native American Art History*. J.C. Berlo (ed), pp. 22-61. Seattle: University of Washington.

_____ and Gloria Crammer Webster (Kwakwaka'wakw)
1991 *Chiefly Feasts: The Enduring Kwakiutl Potlatch* at the American Museum of Natural History. October 18, 1991 - February 23, 1992. Seattle: University of Washington.

Jones, Carter Meyer and Diana Royer
2001 (Eds.) *Selling the Indian: Commercializing and Appropriating American Indian Cultures*. Tucson: University of Arizona

Jones, Delmos J.
1970 "Towards a Native Anthropology." *Human Organization* 29(4): 251-259. Reprinted in *Anthropology For the Nineties* 1988. J.B. Cole (ed.), pp. 30-41. NY: Free Press.

Jones, Sian and Sharon Pay
1990 "The Legacy of Eve." In *The Politics of the Past*. P. Gathercole and D. Lowenthal (eds.), pp. 160-171. London: Unwin Hyman.

Joping, Carol F.
1971 *Art and Aesthetics in Primitive Societies: A Critical Anthology*. NY: E.P. Dutton & Co.

Jordanova, Ludmilla
1989 "Objects of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Museums." In *The New Museology*. P. Vergo (ed.), pp. 22-40. London: Reaktion Books.

Jules-Rosette, Bennetta
1978 "The veil of objectivity: prophecy, divination, and social inquiry." *American Anthropologist* 80:549-570.

Kaeppler, Adrienne
1992 "Museums of the World: stages for the study of ethnohistory." In *Museum Studies in Material Culture*. Pearce (ed.), pp. 83-96. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Kapferer, Bruce
1988 "The Anthropologist As Hero: Three Exponents of Post-Modernist Anthropology." *Critique of Anthropology* 8(2):77-104.

Kaplan, Amy and Donald E. Pease
1993 *Cultures of United States Imperialism*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University.

Kaplan, Flora Edouwaye S.
1994a "Nigerian Museums: Envisaging Culture as National Identity." In *Museums and the Making of "Ourselves": The Role of Objects in National Identity*. F.E.S. Kaplan (ed.), pp. 45-78. London: Leicester University.

1994b "Introduction." In *Museums and the Making of "Ourselves": The Role of Objects in National Identity*. Kaplan (ed.), pp. 1-16. London: Leicester.

Karp, Ivan and Steven D. Levine
1991 (Eds.) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

_____ Christine Muller Kreamer, and Steven D. Levine
1992 (Eds.) *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Kaufmann, Donald
1975 "The Indian as Media Hand-Me-Down." *The Colorado Quarterly* 23:489-504.

Kavanagh, Gaynor
1991a (Ed.) *Museum Languages: Objects and Texts*. Leicester: Leicester University.

1991b "Objects as evidence, or not?" In *Museum Studies in Material Culture*. S. M. Pearce (ed.), pp. 125-138. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Keiser, Albert
1933 *The Indian in American Literature*. NY: Oxford. Reprinted NY: Octagon 1975.

Keesing, Roger
1985a "Conventional Metaphors and Anthropological Metaphysics: The Problem of Cultural Translation." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 41:201-217.

1985b "Kwaio Women Speak: The Micropolitics of Autobiography in a Solomon Island Society." *American Anthropologist* 87(1):27-39.

Kehoe, Alice B.
1981 *North American Indians: A Comprehensive Account*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

1983 "The Shackles of Tradition." In *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*. P. Albers and B. Medicine (eds.), pp. 53-73. Washington D.C.: University Press of America. Paper originally presented at symposium entitled "The Role and Status of Women in Plains Indian Culture." Plains Conference 1977 held in Lincoln, Nebraska.

Kern, Stephen
1983 *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Kilpatrick, Jacquelyn
1999 *Celluloid Indians: Native Americans and Film*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

Kim, Choong Soon
1990 "The Role of the Non-Western Anthropologist Reconsidered: Illusion Versus Reality." *Current Anthropology* 31(2):196-200.

King, Jonathan C.H.
1986 "Tradition in Native American Art." In *The Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution*. E.L. Wade (ed.), pp. 65-92. NY: Hudson Hills. Reprinted 1993. *Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas: Selected Readings*. Berlo and Wilson (eds.), pp. 47-362. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

King, C. Richard
1992 "Segregated Stories: The Colonial Contours of the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument." *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*. Bird (ed.) pp167-180. Boulder, Colorado: Westview

1998 *Colonial Discourses, Collective Memories, and the Exhibition of Native American Cultures and Histories in the Contemporary United States*. N.Y. and London: Garland.

_____ and Charles Springwood
2000 (Ed.) *Postcolonial America*. Urbana: University of Illinois.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara
1991 "Objects of Ethnography." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Karp and Levine (eds.) pp. 386-443. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Kit, Barry
1993 *Reflections: Ephemera From Trades, Products, and Events*, vol. 1. Brattleboro VT: Iris.

Kondo, Doreen
1986 "Dissolution and Reconstruction of Self: Implications for Anthropological Epistemology." *Cultural Anthropology* 1:74-96.

1990 *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kramer, Hilton
1982 "The High Art of Primitivism." *New York Times Magazine* 24 January pp.18-19, 62.

Kresh III, Shepard and Barbara A. Hail
1999 (Eds.) *Collecting Native America*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Kroeber, Alfred
1902-1907 "The Arapaho." *American Museum of Natural History Museum Bulletin* 18.

Krupat, Arnold
1992 *Ethnocentrism*. Berkeley: University of California.

Kuper, Adam
1988 *The Invention of Primitive Society: Transformations of an Illusion*. London: Routledge.

Kuhn, Thomas S.
1970 *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 2nd Edition. International Encyclopedia of Unified Science. Foundation of the Unity of Science. Vol. 2 No. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Kurin, Richard
1991 "Cultural Conservation Through Representation: Festival of India Folklife Exhibitions at the Smithsonian Institution." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Karp and Lavine (eds.), pp. 315-343. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Lacan, Jacques
1981 *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis*. NY: Norton.

Lackey, Louana
1982 *The Pottery of Acatlán: A Changing Mexican Tradition*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Lampere, Louise
1974 "Strategies, Cooperation, and Conflict Among Women in Domestic Groups." In *Women, Culture. and Society*. M. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (eds.), pp. 97-112. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

1989 "Feminist Anthropology: The Legacy of Elsie Clews Parsons." *American Ethnologist* 16(3): 518-533.

Lampere, Louise (continued)
1997 "The Domestic Sphere of Women and the Public World of Men: The Strengths and Limitations of an Anthropological Dichotomy." *Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Brettell and Sargent (eds.), pp. 82-92. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

_____ and Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo
1974 (Eds.) *Women, Culture. And Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Landes, Joan B.
1988 *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University.

Lanford, Benson
1990 "Origins of Central Plains Beadwork." *American Indian Art Magazine* 16(1):72-79.

Layton, Robert
1989 *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*. London: Unwin Hyman.

1991 *Anthropology and Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leach, Edmond
1967 "Ritual." *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Vol. 13. David Sills (ed.), pp. 521-526. Macmillan Co. and The Free Press.

1982 *Social Anthropology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leacock, Eleanor Burke
1981 *Myths of Male Dominance: Collected Articles on Women Cross-Culturally*. NY: Monthly Review Press.

_____ and Nancy Oestreich Lurie
1971 (Eds.) *North American Indians in Historical Perspective*. NY: Random House.

Lee, Molly
1991 "Appropriating the Primitive: Turn of the Century Collection and Display of Native Alaskan Art." *Arctic Anthropology* 28(1): 6-15.

Lessard, F. Dennis
1990 "Pictographic Art in Beadwork From the Cheyenne River Sioux." *American Indian Art Magazine* 16(1):54-63.

Lessard, Rosemary
1990 "Lakota Cradles." *American Indian Art Magazine* 16(1):44-53, 105.

Lester, Joan
1972 "American Indians: A Museums Eye View." *The Indian Historian* 5(2):25-31.

Lett, James
1987 *The Human Enterprise: A Critical Introduction to Anthropology*. Westview.

Lewis, Herbert S.
1998 "The Misrepresentation of Anthropology and Its' Consequences." American Anthropologist 100: 716-731.

2001 "The Passion of Franz Boas." *American Anthropologist* 103(2):447-467.

Lewis, Oscar
1941 "Manly Hearted Women among the South Peigan." *American Anthropologist* 43:173-87

Liberty, Margot
1978 "Francis La Flesche: the Osage Odyssey." *American Indian Intellectuals*. (Ed.) M. Liberty. 1976 Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society. St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Co.

Limon, José
1991 "Representation, Ethnicity, and the Precursory Ethnography: Notes on a Native Anthropologist." *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. R.G.Fox (ed.), p. 115-136. Sante Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.

Lippard, Lucy R.
1990 *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America*. NY: Pantheon Books.

1992 (Ed.) *Partial Recall*. NY: The New Press.

Littlefield, Jr., Daniel F. and Lonnie Underhill
1971 "Renaming the American Indian: 1890-1913." *American Studies* 12(2): 33-45.

Lockwood, Victoria S.
1997 "The Impact of Development on Women: The Interplay of Material Conditions and Gender Ideology." In Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective. C. Brettell and C. Sargent (eds.), pp. 504-518. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Longfish, George C. and Joan Randall
1983 "Contradictions in Indian Territory." *Contemporary Native American Art*. Exhibit Catalogue. Gardiner Art Gallery, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma. Oklahoma City: Metro.

Lumley, Robert
1988 (Ed.) *The Museum Time Machine: Putting Cultures On Display*. London: Routledge.

Luna, James
1987 "The Artifact Piece." *Fiction International* 18(1):38-42.

Lurie, Nancy Oestreich
1975 "American Indians and Museums: a Love-Hate Relationship." The Old Northwest 2(3):235-251.

1981 "Museumland Revisited." *Human Organization* 40(2):180-187.

1988 "Relations Between Indians and Anthropology." In *History of Indian-White Relations.* W. E. Washington (ed.), pp. 548-556. *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol 4. W.C. Sturtevant, general editor. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian.

1996 "Comment." *Current Anthropology* 37(supplement): 15-16.

Lutz, Catherine A.
1990 "The Erasure of Women's Writing in Sociocultural Anthropology." *American Ethnologist* 17(4):611-627.

1995 "The Gender of Theory." In *Women Writing Culture.* R. Behar and D. Gordon (eds.), pp. 249-266. London: University of California.

_____, and Jane L. Collins
1993 *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lyman, Christopher
1982 *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: Photography of Indians by Edward Curtis*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Lyotard, Jean Francois
1984 [1979] *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Geof Bennington and Brian Massumi, trans. Theory and History of Literature, Vol 10. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

MacCannell, Dean
1976 *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. NY: Schocken Books.

MacClancy, Jeremy
1997a "Anthropology, Art, and Contest." In *Contesting Art: Art Politics and Identity in the Modern World*. J. MacClancy (ed.), pp.1-25. Oxford: Berg.

1997b (Ed.) *Contesting Art: Art Politics and Identity in Modern World*. Oxford: Berg.

MacDonald, Sally
1986 'For "swine of discretion": design for living: 1884.' *Museums Journal* 86(3):

McBeth, Sally
1983 "Myths of Objectivity and the Collaborative Process in Life History." In *When They Read What We Write: The Politics of Ethnography*. C.B. Brettell (ed.), pp. 145-162. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey.

McClintock, Walter
1936 "Painted Tipis and Picture Writing of Blackfoot Indians." *Master Key*, Vol. 10.

McCracken, Grant
1988 *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities.* Bloomington: Indiana University.

McEvilley, Thomas
1992a "Opening the Trap." In *Art and Otherness: Crisis in Cultural Identity*. Documentext. T. McEvilley, pp. 57-71. Kingston NY: McPherson & Co.

1992b "The Selfhood of the Other." In *Art and Otherness: Crisis in Cultural Identity*. Documentext. T. McEvilley, pp. 85-108. Kingston NY: McPherson & Co.

1992c "One Culture of Many Cultures" *Art and Otherness: Crisis in Cultural Identity*. Documentext. T. McEvilley, pp.127-132. Kingston NY: McPherson & Co.

McGrane, Bernard
1989 *Beyond Anthropology: Society and the Other*. NY: Columbia University.

McKenney, Thomas L.
1844 [1933] *The Indian Tribes of North America*. Reprint 1933 Edinburgh:John Grant

McNickle, D'Arcy
1970 "American Indians Who Never Were." *The Indian Historian* 3(3): 4-7.

Mandelbaum, David
1940 "The Plains Cree." *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 37, Pt. 1.

Maquet, Jacques
1964 "Objectivity in Anthropology." *Current Anthropology* 5:47-55.

Marcus, George E. and Michael M.J. Fischer
1986 (Eds.) *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: an Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Mark, Joan
1982 "Francis La Flesche: American Indian as Anthropologist." *ISIS* 73(2):496-510.

Marsden, Michael T. and Jack G. Nachbar
1988 "The Indian in Movies." In *History of Indian-White Relations.* W. E. Washington (ed.), pp. 607-616. *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol 4, W. C. Sturtevant, general editor. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Martin, Calvin
1987 (Ed.) *The American Indian and the Problems of History*. NY: Oxford.

Maruyama, Megorah
1974 "Endogenous research vs. delusions of relevance and expertise among exogenous academics." *Human Organization* 33:318-322.

Mascia-Lees, Frances E., Patricia Sharpe, and Ballerino Cohen
1989 "The Postmodernist Turn in Anthropology: Cautions From a Feminist Perspective." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. 15(1):7-33.

Mason, Stephen F.
1979 *A History of the Sciences.* NY: Collier Books.

Mast, Gerald and Marshall M. Cohen
1985 (Eds.) *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings.* NY: Oxford Press.

Maurer, Evan M.
1977 *Native American Heritage: A Survey of North American Indian Art*. Exhibition Catalog. The Art Institute of Chicago: Congress Printing Company.

1992a "Preface." In *Visions of the People: A Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life*. Exhibition catalog. Minneapolis Institute of Art. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington.

1992b "Visions of the People." In *Visions of the People: A Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life*. Exhibition catalog. Minneapolis Institute of Art. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press.

1992c *Visions of the People: A Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life*. Exhibit catalog. Minneapolis Institute of Art. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington.

Mauss, Marcel
1990 *The Gift*. Trans. W.D. Halls. Forward by Mary Douglas. NY and London: W.W. Norton. Originally published 1950 by Presses Univeritarires de France.

May, Rollo
1975 *The Courage to Create*. NY: W.W. Norton & Co.

Mechling, Jay
1980 "'Playing Indian' and the Search for Authenticity in Modern White America." *Prospects* 5:17-33.

Medicine, Bea
1971 "The Anthropologist As Image Maker." *The Indian Historian* 4(1):27-29.

1975 "Role of Women in Native American Society." *The Indian Historian* 8:51-53.

1980 "Ella Deloria: The Emic Voice." *MELUS* 7(4):23-30.

1981 "Native American Resistance to Integration: Contemporary Confrontations and Religious Revitalization." *Plains Anthropologist* 94(1):277-286.

1983 "Warrior Women - Sex Role Alternatives for Plains Indian Women" In *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*. P. Albers and B. Medicine (eds.), pp. 267-280. Washington D.C.: University Press of America. Paper originally presented at symposium entitled "The Role and Status of Women in Plains Indian Culture." Plains Conference 1977 held in Lincoln, Nebraska.

1989a "Learning to be an Anthropologist and Remaining Native." In *Applied Anthropology in America*. Elizabeth M. Eddy and William L. Partridge (eds.), pp. 182-196. Urbana: University of Illinois NY: Columbia University.

1989b "Ella Cara Deloria (1888-1971)." In *Women Anthropologists: Selected Bibliographies*. Ute Gacs, Aisha Khan, Jerrie McIntyre, and Ruth Weinberg (eds.), pp. 45-50. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

_____ and Patricia Albers
1983a (Eds.) *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*. Washington D.C.: University Press of America.

1983b "The Role of Sioux Women in the Production of Ceremonial Objects: The Case of the Star quilt." In *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women.* P, Albers and B. Medicine (eds.), pp123-140. Washington D.C.: University Press of America.

_____ and Patricia Albers (continued)
1993 *Women's Roles in Native Art*. Presentation Minneapolis Institute of Art June 10.

Memmi, Albert
1967 *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Merrell, James H.
1991 1990 *The Indians New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors From European Contact Through the Era of Removal*. NY: W.W. Norton. Originally published 1989. University of North Carolina Press.

Merrill, William L., Edmund J. Ladd, and T.J. Ferguson
1993 "The Return of the *Ahayu:da:* Lessons for Repatriation From Zuni Pueblo and the Smithsonian Institution." *Current Anthropology* 34:523-568.

Merriman, Nick
1989 "Museum Visiting as a Cultural Phenomenon." In The New Museology. P. Vergo (ed.), pp.148-171. London: Reaktion. Reprinted in 1993.

Messenger, Phyllis M.
1989 *The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Michaels, Eileen
1974 *An Architectural View, 1883-1974*. Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts.

Michelson, T.
1932 "Narratives of a Southern Cheyenne Woman." *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. 87, pp. 1-13.

Mihesuah, Devon A.
1997 *American Indians: Stereotypes and Realities*. Atlanta, GA: Clarity.

2000 (Ed.) *Repatriation Reader: Who Owns American Indian Remains?* Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

Mikell, Gwendolyn
1983 "The Anthropological Imagination of Zora Neale Hurston." *Western Journal of Black Studies* 7(1):27-35.

Miller, Daniel
1987 *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

1991 “Primitive art and the necessity of primitivism in art." In *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives On Art*. S. Hiller (ed.) pp.50-72. London: Routledge.

1998 *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Miller, Susan A.
1998 "Licensed Trafficking and Ethnogenetic Engineering." *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians*. Mihesuah (ed.) pp.100-110. Lincoln: University Nebraska. Reprinted 1990 *American Indian Quarterly* 20:1

Minh-ha, Trinh Thi
1989 *Woman, Native, Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University.

Minneapolis Institute of Arts
1988-1989 "Mission Statement of the MIA." *Minneapolis Institute of Art Annual Report*. 30 June 1989.

1995 "Exciting Training Awaits Docents." *Arts* 18(9):12. Minneapolis Institute of Arts Members Bulletin.

_____, Walker Art Center, and Indian Art Association
1972 *American Indian Art: Form and Tradition*. NY: E.P. Dutton.

Mithlo, Nancy Marie
1995 "History Is Dangerous." *Museum Anthropology*. 19(2):50-57.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres
1991 (Eds.) *Third World Women and The Politics of Feminism*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Monroe, Dan L. and Walter Echo-Hawk
1991 "Deft Deliberations." *Museum News* 70(4):55-58.

Moore, Henrietta L.
1988 *Feminism In Anthropology*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

Moore, Sally F. and Barbara Myerhoff
1977 "Secular Ritual: Forms and Meanings." In *Secular Ritual*. S.F. Moore and B. Myerhoff (eds.), pp. 3-24. Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum.

Morgan, Hal
1986 *Symbols of America*. NY: Viking.

Morris, Brian
1983 *The Special Demands Placed Upon Museums by Their Users*. Presented to the general conference of the International Council of Museums, London, 23 July.

Morris, Rosalind C.
1994 *New Worlds From Fragments: Film, Ethnography, and the Representation of Northwest Coast Culture*. Boulder: Westview.

Morrison, Toni
1989 "Unspeakable Things Unspoken: The Afro-American Presence in American Literature." *Michigan Quarterly Review* 28(1):1-34.

Morse, Dan F.
1960 "The Southern Cult in the Central States." *Central States Archaeological Journal* 7(3).

Mpls. St. Paul Magazine Sponsored Section "In Plains View" pp.141-148. October 1992.

Moses, L.G.
1984 "Wild West Shows, Reformers and the Image of the American Indian, 1887-1914." *South Dakota History* 14(3):193-221.

Munn, Nancy
1966 "Visual Categories: an Approach to the Study of Representational Systems." *American Anthropologist* 68(4): 936-950. Reprinted 1971. *Art and Aesthetics in Primitive Societies: A critical anthology*. C.F. Joping (ed.) pp. 335-355. NY: E.P. Dutton & Co.

Murray, Janette
1974 *Ella Deloria: A Biographical Sketch and Literary Analysis*. PhD. Dissertation. University of North Dakota.

Museums Association
1989 "Museums - A National Resource, A National Responsibility." Policy Statement of the Museums Association. Adopted September 22, 1989. *Museums Journal* 89(8):36-37.

Myers, Fred
2000 (Ed.) *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*. Santa Fe: School of American Research.

Napier, A. David
1997 "Losing One's Marbles: Cultural Property and Indigenous Thought." In *Contested Art*. J. MacClancy (ed.), pp. 165-181. Oxford: Berg.

Narayan, Kirin
1993 "How Native Is A 'Native' Anthropologist?" *American Anthropologist* 95:671-686.

Nash, Gary
1974 *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Nash, Roderick
1982 *Wilderness and the American Mind*. 3rd edition. New Haven, Conn: Yale.

New, Lloyd
1973 *Painted Tipis By Contemporary Plains Artists*. Anadarko: Oklahoma. Indian Arts and Crafts Cooperative.

Newton, Douglas
1981 "The Art of Africa, the Pacific Islands, and the Americas: A New Perspective." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*. 10 September: 9-10.

1994 "Old Wine In New Bottles and the Reverse." In *Museums and the Making of "Ourselves": The Role of Objects in National Identity*. F.E.S. Kaplan (ed.), pp. 269-290. London: Leicester University.

Nyholm, Earl
1994 "The Proper Way." In *All Roads Are Good: Native Voices On Life and Culture*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press in association with the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

Obbo, Christine
1990 "Adventures in Fieldnotes." In *Fieldnotes: the Makings of Anthropology*. Roger Sanjek (ed.), pp. 290-302. Ithaca: Cornell University.

O'Brien, Lynne Woods
1973 *Plains Indian Autobiographies*. Caldwell, Idaho: The Coxton Printers.

Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko
1984 "Native Anthropologist(s)." *American Ethnologist* 11(3):584-586.

1990 (Ed.) *Culture Through Time*. Stanford: Stanford University.

O'Neale, Lila M.
1932 "Yurok-Karok Basket Weavers." *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 32(1):1-184. Berkeley.

Ong, Aihwa
1987 *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Ortiz, Alfonzo
1971 "An Indian Anthropologist's Perspective on Anthropology." *The Indian Historian* 4(1): 11-14.

Ortner, Sherry B.
1984 "Theory in Anthropology Since the Sixties." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26(1): 126-166.

1990 "Gender Hegemonies." *Cultural Critique* 14:35-80.

_____ and Harriet Whitehead
1981 (Eds.) *Sexual Meaning: the Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*. NY: Cambridge University Press.

Otten, Charlotte M.
1971(Ed.) *Anthropology and Art: Readings in Cross-Cultural Aesthetics.* NY: Natural History Press

Owens, Louis
2001 "As If an Indian Were Really an Indian: Native American Voices and Postcolonial Theory." In *Native American Representations: First Encounters, Distorted Images and Literary Appropriations*. Bataille (ed.) pp. 11-25. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

Oxendine, Linda Ellen
1992 *Tribally Operated Museums: a reinterpretation of indigenous collections.* Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Minnesota.

Parezo, Nancy J.
1982 "Navajo Sandpaintings: The Importance of Sex Roles in Craft Production." *American Indian Quarterly* 6(1-2):125-148. Reprinted 1993 in *Art in Small-Scale Societies: Contemporary Readings*. Anderson and Field (eds.), pp. 220-232. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

1988 "A Glass Box for Everyone: Displaying Other Cultures." Paper presented to the special symposium, 'The Objects of Culture,' chaired by Peter H. Welsh and Nancy J. Parezo, annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Phoenix, 19 November.

Parr, A.E.
1959 *Mostly About Museums*. Washington: American Museum of Natural History.

Patai, Daphne
1991 "U.S. Academics and Third World Women: Is Ethical Research Possible?" In *Women's Worlds: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*. Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (eds.), pp. 137-153. NY: Routledge.

Peacock, James
1986 *The Anthropological Lens: Harsh Light Soft Focus*. Cambridge: Cambridge.

Pearce, Roy H.
1952 "The 'Ruines of Mankind': The Indian and the Puritan Mind." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 13(2):200-217.

1965 *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind*. Revised Edition. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins.

Pearce, Susan M.
1990 (Ed.) *Objects of Knowledge*. Vol. I, New Research in Museum Studies. London: Athelone Press.

1991a "Museum Studies in Material Culture." In *Museum Studies in Material Culture*. S.M. Pearce (ed.), pp 1-10. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

1991b "Collecting Reconsidered." In *Museum Languages: Objects and Texts*. G. Kavanagh (ed.), pp. 135-154. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

1992 *Museums, Object, and Collections*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Penny, David W.
1991 "Floral Decoration and Culture Change: An Historical Interpretation of Motivation." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15: 53-77.

1992a "Expressions of Ethnicity: Nineteenth-Century Dress." *Art of the American Indian Frontier: The Chandler-Pohrt Collection*. D. Penny (ed.), pp. 28-54. Seattle: University of Washington.

1992b "The Horse as Symbol: Equine Representations in Plains Pictographic Art." In *Visions of the People: A Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life*. Exhibition catalog.Minneapolis Institute of Art. Seattle: University of Washington.

Perin, Constance
1992 "The Communication Circle: Museums as Communities." In *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. I. Karp, C.M. Kreamer, and S.D. Lavine (eds.), pp. 182-220. Washington: Smithsonian Institution

Peterson, Jacqueline and Jennifer S.H. Brown
1985 (Eds.) *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

Peterson, Karen Daniels
1971 *Plains Indian Art From Fort Marion*. Norman: University of Oklahoma.

Phillips, Phillip and James A. Brown
1979 *Pre-Columbian Shell Engravings from the Craig Mound at Spiro, Oklahoma.* Salem, Mass: Peabody Museum Press.

Phillips, Ruth B.
1994 "Fielding Culture: Dialogues Between Art History and Anthropology." *Museum Anthropology* 18(1):39-46.

1995 "Why Not Tourist Art? Significant Silences in Native American Museum Representations." In *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*. Gyan Prakash (ed.), pp. 98-129. NY: Princeton University.

Podedworny, Carol
1991 "First Nations Art and the Canadian Mainstream." *C Magazine* 31:28-32.

Polier, Nicole and William Roseberry
1989 "Tristes tropes: post-modern anthropologists encounter the other and discover themselves." *Economy and Society* 18(2):245-264.

Porsche, Audrey
1987 *Yuto´keca: Transition: The Burdick Collection*. Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota.

Postman, Neil
1990 "Museum As Dialogue." *Museum News* 69(2):55-58.

Powdermaker, Hortense
1966 *Stranger and Friend: The Way of An Anthropologist*. NY: Norton.

Preziosi, Donald
1989 Rethinking Art History: Meditations on a Coy Science. New Haven and London: Yale University.

Price, John A.
1973 "The Stereotyping of North American Indians in Motion Pictures." *Ethnohistory* 20: 153-171.

Price, Sally
1989 *Primitive Art in Civilized Places.* Chicago: University of Chicago.

Prucha, Francis Paul
1962 *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790-1834*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

1990 (Ed.) *Documents of United States Indian Policy*. 2nd edition. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

Quimby, Ian M. G.
1978 (Ed.) *Material Culture and the Study of American Life.* NY: Norton.

Rabineau, Phyllis
1981 "North American Anthropology at the Field Museum of Natural History." *American Indian Art*. 6(14):31-37,79.

Rapp [Reiter], Raya
1979 "Anthropology." *Signs* 4(3):497-513.

Reichard, Gladys
1934 *Spider Woman: A Story of Navajo Weavers and Chanters*. NY: Macmillan.

Richardson, Miles
1974 (Ed.) *The Human Mirror*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University.

Rideout, Henry Milner
1912 William Jones: Indian, Cowboy, American Scholar and Anthropologist in the Field. NY: Fredrick A. Stokes.

Riley, Denise
1988 *Am I That Name? Feminism and the Category of "Woman" in History.* London: Macmillan.

Roberts, John
1994 "Indian Art, Identity, and the Avant-Garde: the Sculpture of Vivam Sundaram." *Third Text* 27:31-36.

Rosaldo, Michelle Zimbalist and Louise Lampere
1974 (Eds.) *Woman, Culture, and Society*. Stanford: Stanford University.

Rosaldo, Renato
1989a *Culture and Truth: the Remaking of Social Analysis.* Boston: Beacon Press.

1989b "Imperialist Nostalgia." *Representations* 26:107-122.

Rose, Wendy
1992 "The Great Pretenders: Further Reflections on White Shamanism." In *The State of Native America: genocide, colonization, and resistance*. Race and Resistance Series. M.A. Jaimes (ed.), pp. 403-422. Boston: South End Press.

Roseberry, William
1988 "Political Economy." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 17:161-185.

Said, Edward
1978 *Orientalism.* NY: Pantheon.

1989 "Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors." *Critical Inquiry* 15(2):205-225.

Sanders, Ronald
1978 *Lost Tribes and Promised Lands: The Origins of American Racism*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

Sandy, Peggy R.
1974 "Female Status in the Public Domain." In *Women, Culture, and Society.* Rosaldo and Lamphere (eds.), pp. 189-206. Stanford: Stanford University.

Satov, Murray
1997 "Catalogues, Collectors, Curators: The Tribal Art Market and Anthropology." In *Contesting Art*. J. MacClancy (ed.), pp. 215-241. NY: Berg.

Scaglion, Richard
1980 "The Plains Area Concept." In *The Anthropology of the Great Plains*." W.R. Wood and M. Liberty (eds.), pp. 23-34.

Scheckel, Susan
1998 *The Insistence of the Indian: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth Century American Culture*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University.

Scherer, Joanna Cohan
1975 "You Can't Believe Your Eyes: Inaccuracies in Photographs of North American Indians." *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* 2(2):67-79.

1988 "The Public Faces of Sarah Winnemucca." *Cultural Anthropology* 3(2):178-204.

Scherer, Joanna Cohan (continued)
1990 (Ed.) "Historical Photographs as Anthropological Documents: a Retrospect. Special Issue." *Visual Anthropology* 3(2-3). Picturing Cultures: Historical Photographs in Anthropological Inquiry.

Schevill, Margot Blum
1992 "Lila Morris O'Neale: Ethnoesthetics and the Yurok-Karok Basket Weavers of Northwestern California." In *The Early Years of Native American Art History*. Janet Catherine Berlo (ed.), pp. 162-190. Seattle: University of Washington.

Schneider, Mary Jane
1983 "Women's Work: An Examination of Women's Roles in Plains Indian Arts and Crafts." In *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*. P. Albers and B. Medicine (eds.), pp. 101-122. Washington D.C.: University Press of America. Originally printed 1979 in Plainswoman 2:8-11.

Scott, Joan Wallach
1988 *Gender and the Politics of History*. NY: Columbia.

Sears, John F.
1989 *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*. NY: Norton.

Seling, H.
1967 "*The Genesis of the Museum*." Architectural Review. No. 131

Shanley, Kathryn
1997 "The Indians America Loves to Love and Read: American Indian Identity and Cultural Appropriation." In *Native American Representations: First Encounters, Distorted Images and Literary Appropriations*. G. Bataille (ed.) pp. 26-49. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

Sheehan, Elizabeth A.
1993 "The Student of Culture and the Ethnography of Irish Intellectuals." In *When They Read What We Write*. Brettell (ed.), pp. 75-90. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey.

Sheldon, Anthony
1995 (Ed.) *Fetishism: Visualizing Power and Desire*. London: South Bamk Centre.

2001a (Ed.) *Collectors Expressions of Self and Other*. London: Horniman Museum and Gardens and Museo Anthropolico da Universidade Colimbra.

2001b (Ed.) *Collectors: Individuals and Institutions*. London: Horniman Museum and Gardens and Museo Anthropolico da Universidade Colimbra.

Sherman, Daniel J. and Irit Rogoff
1995 "Introduction: Frameworks for Critical Analysis" to *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles*. D.J. Sherman and I. Rogoff (eds.), pp. ix-xx. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

Shiveley, JoEllen
1992 "Cowboys and Indians: Perceptions of Western Films Among American Indians and Anglos." *American Sociological Review* 57:725-734.

Sider, Gerald
1987 "When parrots learn to talk and why they can't: domination and self-deception In Indian-White relations." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29:3-23.

Singleton, John
1990 Exhibition review of "A Time of Gathering." *The Journal of American History* 77(3): 943-949.

Sivanandan, A.
1983 "Challenging racism: strategies for the 80's." *Race and Class* 25(2):1-11.

Slocum, Sally
1975 "Woman the Gatherer: Male Bias in Anthropology." *Toward An Anthropology of Women*. Rayna Rapp [Reiter] (ed.), pp. 36-50. NY: Monthly Review.

Slotkin, Richard
1973 *Regeneration Through Violence: the Mythology of the American Frontier*. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press.

Smith, Jaune Quick-To-See
1987 Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar, and Sage. *Women's Studies Quarterly* 15(1&2):35-41.

Sontag, Susan
1978 *On Photography*. Harmondsevor: Penguin.

Spector, Janet D.
1993 *What This Awl Means: Feminist Archaeology at a Wahpeton Dakota Village.* St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society.

Spencer, Jonathan
1989 "Anthropology As a kind of Writing." *Man* 24(1):145-165.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty
1987 *In Other Worlds: Essays On Cultural Politics*. NY and London: Methuen.

Stallybrass, Peter and A. White
1986 *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*. London: Methuen.

Standing Bear, Luther
1933 *Land of the Spotted Eagle.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Staniszewski, Mary Anne
1995 *Believing Is Seeing: Creating the Culture of Art*. NY: Penguin.

Stannard, Davis E.
1992 *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World*. NY: Oxford University Press.

Stedman, Raymond
1982 *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture*. Norman: University of Oklahoma.

Steele, Jeffrey
1996 "Reduced to Images: American Indians in Nineteenth-Century Advertising." In *Dressing in Feathers The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*. S.E. Bird (ed.) pp. 45-65. Boulder, Colorado: Westview.

Stewart, Susan
1984 *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University.

Stocking, George W., Jr.
1985a "Essays on Museums and Material Culture." In *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*. History of Anthropology, Vol. 3, G.W. Stocking, Jr. (ed.), pp. 3-14. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

1985b (Ed.) *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*. History of Anthropology, Vol. 3. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Sullivan, Robert
1992 "Trouble in Paradigms." *Museum News* 71:40-44.

1994 "Evaluating the Ethics and Consciences of Museums." In *Gender Perspectives*. J. Glaser and A. Zenetou (eds.), pp.100-107. Washington: Smithsonian.

Swanton, John R.
1938 "John Napoleon Brinton Hewitt." *American Anthropologist* 40:286-290.

Swindler, Nina, Kurt E. Dongoske, Roger Anyon, and Alan S. Downer
1997 *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground*. Walnut Creek, CA.: Alta Mira.

Szabo, Joyce M.
1989 *Howling Wolf and the History of Ledger Art*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.

Tagg, John
1981 *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts.

Talbot, Steven
1985 "Desecration and American Indian Religious Freedom." *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 12(4):1-18.

Taureg, Jay Ruby and Martin Taureg
1987 (Ed.) *Visual Explorations of the World: Selected Papers from the International Conference on Visual Communication*. Aatchen: Editions Heridot.

Tedlock, Barbara
1991 "From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation: the Emergence of Narrative Ethnography." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 47(1):69-94.

1995 "Works and Lives: On the Sexual Division of Textual Labor." In *Women Writing Culture.* Behar and Gordon (eds.), pp.267-286. London: University of California.

Thomas, David Hurst
2000 *Skull Wars: Kennewick Man, Archaeology and the Battle for Native American Identity*. NY: Basic Books.

Thompson, Robert
1969 "Abatan: A Master Potter of the Egbado, Yoruba." In *Tradition and Creativity in Tribal Art.* Biebuyck (ed.), pp. 120-182. Berkeley: University of California.

Tilton, Robert S.
1994 *Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Todorov, Tzevetan
1984 *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*. Richard Howard, trans. N.Y.: Harper and Row.

Tompkins, Jane
1990 "At the Buffalo Bill Museum - June 1988." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 89(3):525-545.

Torgovik, Marianna
1990 *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects Modern Lives*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Townsend-Gault, Charlotte
1988 "Kwakiutl Ready-Mades?" *Vanguard.* November 1988:28-33.

1992 "Revitalizing Ritual's Rituals." *Art Journal* 51(3):51-58.

1997 "Art, Argument and Anger on the Northwest Coast." In *Contesting Art*. J. MacClancy (ed.), pp.131-164. Oxford: Berg.

Trachtenberg, Alan
1982 *Incorporation of American Culture and Society in the Guilded Age.* NY: Hill and Wang.

Trigger, Bruce G.
1985 "Writing the History of Archaeology: A Survey of Trends." In *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture.* G.W. Stocking, Jr. (ed.), pp. 219-235. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph
1991 "Anthropology and the Savage Slot: the Poetics and Politics of Otherness." In *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. R.G. Fox (ed.) pp. 17-44. Sante Fe: School of American Research.

Tsosie, Rebecca
1988 "Changing Woman: the Cross Currents of American Indian Feminine Identity." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 12:1-38.

Turner, Victor
1977 "Frame, Flow, and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality." In *Performance in Postmodern Culture*. Benamou and Carmello (eds.), pp. 33-55. Center For Twentieth Century Studies: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Tymchuk, M.
1983 *The Repatriation of Museum Collections: An Annotated Bibliography*. Typescript. St. Albert Place Museum, St. Albert, Alberta, Canada.

Uchendu, Victor C.
1965 *The Igbo of Southeast Nigeria*. Case Studies in Anthropology. George and Louise Spindler, General Editors, Stanford University. NY, Chicago, and San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Gacs, A., A. Khan, J. McIntyre, and R. Weinberg
1989 (Ed.) *Women Anthropologists: Selected Biographies.*

Van Allen
1987 "'Aba Riots' or Igbo 'Women's War'? Ideology, Stratification, and the Invisibility of Women." In *Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. C. Brettell and C. Sargent (eds.), pp.488-503. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. Reprinted *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*. N. Hafkin and E. Bay (eds.). Stanford: Stanford University.

Van Maanen, John
1988 *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography.* Chicago: University of Chicago.

Vergo, Peter
1989 "The Reticent Object." In *The New Museology.* P. Vergo (ed.), pp. 41-59. London: Reaktion Books. Reprinted 1993.

Visweswaran, Kamala
1988 "Defining Feminist Ethnography." *Inscriptions* 3/4:27-44.

Vizenor, Gerald
1987 "Socioacupuncture: Mythic Reversals and the Striptease in Four Scenes." In *The American Indian and the Problem of History*. M. Calvin (ed.), pp. 180-191. NY: Oxford University Press. Reprinted 1990. In *Marginalization and Contemporary Culture.* Ferguson, Gever, Minh-ha, and West (eds.), pp. 411-419. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press and The New Museum of Contemporary Art, NY.

Vogel, Susan
1991 "Always True to the Object, in Our Fashion." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. I. Karp and S.D. Levine (eds.), pp. 191-204. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Volkman, Toby Alice
1990 "Visions and Revisions: Toraja Culture and the Tourist Gaze." *American Ethnologist* 17:91-110. Reprinted 1993. *Art in Small-Scale Societies: Contemporary Readings*. R.L. Anderson and K.L. Field (eds.), pp. 366-387. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

von Holst, Neils
1967 *Creators, Collectors, and Connoisseurs*. Battershaw trans. London: Thames and Hudson.

Wade, Edwin L.
1985 "The Ethnic Art Market in the American Southwest 1880-1980." In *Objects & Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*. History of Anthropology, Vol. 3. G. Stocking, Jr. (ed.), pp 167-191. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

1986 (Ed.) *The Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution*. NY: Hudson Hills/Philbrock Arts Centre, Tulsa.

1986 "Straddling the Cultural Fence: the Conflict for Ethnic Artists Within Pueblo Societies." In *The Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution*. E.L. Wade (ed.), pp.243-54. NY: Hudson Hills/Philbrock Arts Centre, Tulsa.

_____, Carol Haralson, and Rennard Strickland
1983 *As In a Vision: Masterworks of American Indian Art*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press and Philbrook Art Center.

_____ and Rennard Strickland
1981 *Magic Images: Contemporary Native American Art*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press and Philbrook Art Center.

Walker Art Center, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, and Indian Art Association
1972 *American Indian Art: Form and Tradition*. NY: E.P. Dutton.

Wallace, Brian
1989 "The Global Issue: a Symposium." Interview with James Clifford. *Art In America* 77(7):86-87, 152-153.

Wallace, Michael
1981 "History On Display." *Radical History Review* 25:63-96.

Wallace, Michele
1990a "Who Owns Zora Neale Hurston: Critics Carve Up the Legend." In *Invisibility Blues: From Pop to Theory*. M. Wallace, pp. 172-186. NY: Verso.

Wallace, Michele (continued)
1990b "Negative Images: Towards a Black Feminist Cultural Criticism." In *Invisibility Blues: From Pop to Theory*. M. Wallace, pp. 241-256. NY: Verso.

Wallis, Brian
1986 "The Art of Big Business." Art In America. June 1986: 28-33.

Walsh, Kevin
1982 The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World. NY: Routledge.

Washburn, Dorothy K.
1984 "Dealers and Collectors of Indian Baskets at the Turn of the Century in California: Their Effect on the Ethnographic Sample." *Empirical Studies of the Arts* 2(1):51-74.

Watkins, Joe
2001 Indigenous Archaeology: American Indian Values and Scientific Practice. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira

Weber, Max
1948 *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.* NY: Charles Scribner's Sons. Originally published in 1904-1905 and revised in 1920-1921. Trans. Talcott Parsons with a 1920 Introduction written by M. Weber for *The Collected Essays on the Sociology of Religion* and 1976 Intro by Anthony Giddens.

1949 "Objectivity in the Social Sciences and Social Policy." In *The Methodology of the Social Sciences.* Edward Shils and Henry Finch trans. and eds. NY: The Free Press. Originally published in 1904-1905.

Weil, Stephen
1990 "Rethinking the Museum." *Museum News* 69(2):56-61.

Weist, Katherine
1983 "Beasts of Burden and Menial Slaves: Nineteenth Century Observations of Northern Plains Women." In *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women.* P. Albers and B. Medicine (eds.), pp.29-52. Washington D.C.: University Press of America.

Weltfish, Gene
1965 *The Lost Universe*. NY: Ballentine Books, Inc.

Welsh, Peter H.
1988 "Exotic Illusions: Museum Exhibits and Cultural Interpretation." Paper presented to the symposium, 'The Objects of Culture,' chaired by P.H. Welsh and Nancy J. Parezo, annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Phoenix, 19 November.

West, Cornel
1990 "The New Cultural Politics of Difference." In *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures.* R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. Minh-ha, and C. West (eds.), pp.19-36. NY: The New Museum of Contemporary Art. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

1993 *Prophetic Thought in Postmodern Times.* Beyond Eurocentrism and Multiculturalism: Volume One. Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press.

West, W. Richard Jr.
1990 "The New Cultural Politics of Difference." In *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures.* Ferguson, Gever, Minh-ha, and West (eds.), pp.19-36. NY: The New Museum of Contemporary Art. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

1994 "The National Museum of the American Indian: perspectives on museums in the 21st century." *Museum Anthropology* 18(3):53-58.

Westerman, Floyd Red Crow
1970 *Here Come the Anthros*. Perception Records.

White, Hayden
1973 *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

1978 *Tropics of Discourse*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

1987 *The Content of Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Wikam, Uni
1991 "Towards an Experience-Near Anthropology." *Cultural Anthropology* 6(3):285-305.

Willey, Gordon R. and Jeremy A. Sabloff
1980 *A History of American Archaeology*. Second Edition. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman.

Williams, Raymond
1973 "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory. *New Left Review* 82:3-16.

Williams, Walter L.
1997 "Amazons of America: Female Gender Variance." In *Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Brettell and Sargent (eds.), pp.202-213. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. Reprinted from Walter L. Williams 1986 *The Spirit and the Flesh*.

Williamson, Lynne
1993 Review of "A Mohawk Iroquois Village: a permanent exhibit at the New York State Museum." *American Anthropologist* 95:1078-1080.

Wissler, Clark
1904 "Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians." *American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers*. Bulletin 18: 231-275.

1907 "Some Protective Designs of the Dakota." *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 5.

1910 "Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians." *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 5.

1938 *Indian Cavalcade*. NY: Sheridan House.

Wolf, Eric
1969 "American Anthropologists and American Power." In *Reinventing Anthropology*. D. Hymes (ed.), pp. 251-263. NY: Pantheon. Reprinted in 1974. NY: Vintage.

1982 *Europe and the People Without a History*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.

Wolf, Margery
1968 *The House of Lim: Study of a Chinese Farm Family*. NY: Prentice-Hall.

Yellow Bird, Pemina and Kathryn Milun
1994 "Interrupted Journeys: The Cultural Politics of Indian Reburial." In *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question*. Bammer (ed.), pp.3-24. Bloomington: Indiana University.

Yewell, John, Chris Dodge, and Jan DeSirey
1992 *Confronting Columbus: an Anthology*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Co.

Young, Philip
1962 "The Mother of Us All: Pocahontas Reconsidered." *Kenyon Review* 24(3): 391-415.

Young Man, Alfred
1990 Review of "The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples." *American Indian Quarterly* 14(1):71-73.

Zimmerman, Larry
1989 "Made Radical By My Own: An Archaeologist Learns to Accept Reburial." *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*. Layton (ed.), pp 60-67. London: Unwin Hyman.

1992 "Archaeology, Reburial and the Tactics of a Discipline's Self-Delusion." *American Indian and Culture and Research Journal* 16(2):37-56.

_____ and Brian Leigh Molyneaux
1996 *Native North America*. Boston: Little Brown.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Atlatl: Native Arts Network
Conference held October 22-25
Theme: Contemporary Tradition

The conference focused on the role of contemporary art in relation to traditional society. Conference sessions included discussions of Public Law 101-644, the Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990, the Repatriation Act, The Pow-Wow as Performance Art, and artist cooperatives.

Dark Times Bright Visions
Hennepin County Historical Museum

Through photographs, clothing and everyday objects this exhibit attempted to convey a sense of Dakota and Ojibwa history from about 1805-1940. The text for the exhibit was written by Chris C. Cavender, a Dakota scholar from the Upper Sioux Agency.

Enduring Strength
Northern Plains and Woodland Artists
Installed at Intermedia Arts and Two Rivers Gallery

The show consisted of the contemporary work of well known artists like Ernie Whiteman and Jeffrey Chapman but also introduced the work of five women artists, including the performance art of Rebecca Belmore.

From the Earth We Have Formed
Local Artists
First Peoples Gallery

This show was devoted to contemporary ceramic pieces.

Pipestone History: Use and Misuse
Public Lecture at Intermedia Arts Gallery
Presenter: Arvol Looking Horse

Looking Horse, (Lakota) from the Cheyenne River Reservation, Eagle Butte, South Dakota, is the keeper of the sacred White Buffalo Calf Pipe. His presentation focused on the history of pipestone and the issues surrounding its use in contemporary society.

Power Pipes
Artists: Spiderwomen Theater
Performance at the Walker Art Center

This troupe of six American Indian women (Kuna/Rappahannock and Chichimec) dance, drum, sing and combine comedy and drama in this performance. Their work challenges cultural images of American Indian people and women while the members of the troupe move to reclaim and shape their own identity as women, as American Indian people, and as American Indian women.

Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the 20th Century
Installed at the Landmark Center

Sponsored by the Heard Museum as a touring show. Compared to Visions of the People at the MIA, this show received little press; consequently the attendance was much lower than at the MIA, which, I believe, did everyone a disservice. This was a stunning show that celebrated contemporary North American Indian Art and placed it in an art historical perspective. Every major artist was represented: T.C. Cannon, Harrison Begay, Fred and Michael Kabotie, Patrick DesJarlait, and Roxanne Swentzell.

The Submoloc Show/Columbus Wohs
Minneapolis Institute of Art

Curated by Jaune Quick-To-See Smith, this show was organized ay Atlatl. 'Americas First People' were commissioned to provide a visual commentary on the Columbus Quincentennial. Most of the pieces were multi-media installations.

Visions of the People: A Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life
Minneapolis Institute of Art

Subject of this paper.

Year of the White Bear: Image of Discovery
Artists: Coco Fusco and Guillermo Gomez Peña
Installation at the Walker Art Center

From the `Borderlands' these artists provided a multi-media commentary on Columbus, anthropology, ecology, and ethnicity. Their work included painting sculpture, video, and performance, where they responded to 'Columbus' from both a North and South American indigenous perspective.

Appendix B. Student Questionnaire

"Visions of the People"

Why do you think the Minneapolis Institute of Arts decided to do this show?

Please describe your personal reactions to this show, both positive and negative.

Were your ideas about ethnic or cultural identity changed, challenged, or confirmed by this show? Please explain.

Consider your own background and personal identity for a moment.

> How did your own cultural heritage influence your response to the exhibit?
>
> Based on gender, how did you relate to the show? Were parts of the show more engaging than others? Did you feel any distance between yourself and the exhibit?

Based on the show, do you think you could describe the pre-reservation life of Plains peoples? Be sure to include men, women, and children in your response.

After seeing "Visions of the People" is there any advise you would like to give the organizers of the exhibit?

Is there any advise you would like to give the author of this questionnaire?

Appendix C: Visitors Questionnaire

"Visions of the People"

Please describe your personal reactions to this exhibit, both positive and negative.

Did you find particular parts of the show more engaging or important than others? If so, please describe?

After seeing "Visions of the People" is there any advise you would like to give the organizers of the exhibit?

If you are willing to be contacted for a more extended interview, please indicate your name, telephone number, and the best time to reach you.

Appendix D. MIA Educational Packet - Slides

#1 Petroglyphs
Castle Gardens, Wyoming
1625-1775
Warrior wearing bear-paw shirt

#2 Watercolor of Blackfeet Warrior
Karl Bodmer (Swiss artist)
1833

#3 Warrior's Shirt
Mandan
1800-1830
Hide, human hair, quills, pigment

#4 High Dog Winter Count
Swift Dog (Hunkpapa Lakota)
1912
Muslin, ink, pigments

#5 Umbilical Amulet
Assiniboine
1860
hide, glass and brass beads

#6 Moving Camp
Roan Eagle (Lakota)
1890
Pen, ink, watercolor on ledger paper

#7 Pipe Bag
Lakota
1885
Courtship scene
Hide, quills, beads, and horsehair

#8 Baby Bonnet
Todd Yellow Cloud Augusta (Lakota)
1991
Courtship scene
Cotton fabric, glass beads

#9 Crow (Absaroke) Shield
Humped Wolf (owner)
1850
Hide, pigment, feathers

#10 Blackfeet Robe
1844
Butterflies, Morning star image
Worn by Holy woman at the Sun Dance

#11 Figure of a Buffalo
1400-1650
Green quartzite - sculpture
Alberta Canada

#12 Cheyenne Model Tipi
Commissioned
1900
Leather, quills, pigment

#13 Counting Coup
Cheyenne artist
1875-1885
Colored pencil on ruled paper

#14 Rescue
No Two Horns (Lakota)
1900-1915
Pigments on paper

#15 Horse Raid
No Two Horns (Lakota)
Kit Fox Military Society
Pigments on paper

#16 Ghost Dance Dress
Arapaho
1890
Deer skin, beads, tin cones

#17 Ghost Dance Drum
Pawnee
1890
Wood, rawhide, pigment

#18 Allegorical Drawing
Man Between Buffalo and Bull
Wohaw (Kiowa)
1877
Pigments on paper

#19 Star Quilt
Carla Running Horse (Lakota)
1991
Silk, satin, and cotton

#20 Night shield
Robert Lee Penn (Omaha-Lakota)
1990
Contemporary work
Acrylic on canvas

#21 Prince Albert
Arthur Amiotte
1989
Collage and acrylic on canvas

APPENDIX E: Lenders to the Exhibit

Items	Institution
2	Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia
23	American Museum of Natural History, New York
3	Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas
4	Art Institute of Chicago
3	Bern Historical Museum, Ethnography Department, Bern, Switzerland
2	Buffalo Bill Historical Center Plains Indian Museum, Cody, Wyoming
1	Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec
1	Cincinnati Art Museum
2	Cleveland Museum of Natural History
1	Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan
7	Denver Art Museum
1	Denver Museum of Natural History, Crane Collection
1	Detroit Institute of Arts
6	Eastern Montana College Library, Special Collections, Charles H. Barstow Collection of Indian Ledger Art, Billings
2	Eiteljong Museum of the American Indian and Western Art, Indianapolis
17	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago
1	Folkens Museum-Etnografiska, Stockholm
1	Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa
5	Foundation for the Preservation of American Indian Art and Culture, Inc.
1	Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta
1	Hampton University Museum, Virginia
1	Heard Museum, Phoenix, Arizona
3	Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley
1	Heritage Plantation of Sandwich, Sandwich, Massachusetts
6	Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha Public Library Collection, Omaha, Nebraska
1	Kansas City Museum, Kansas City, Missouri
3	Mark Lansburgh Collection, Santa Fe
1	Logan Museum of Anthropology, Beloit College, Wisconsin
3	Mandan Indian Shriners, El Zegal Temple, Fargo, North Dakota
3	Manoogian Collection, Taylor, Michigan
2	Milwaukee Public Library Museum
1	Minikahda Club, Minneapolis
27	Minneapolis Institute of Arts
7	Missouri Historical Society
5	Montana Historical Society, Museum Collection, Helena
1	Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe

APPENDIX E: Lenders to the Exhibit continued

28 National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, D.C.
17 National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, N.Y.
11 National Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
1 Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Los Angeles
1 Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri
2 Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey
1 Oklahoma Historical Society, State Museum of History, Oklahoma City
1 Oklahoma Museum of Natural History, University of Oklahoma, Norman
1 Oscar Howe Art Center, Mitchell, South Dakota
15 Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University
1 Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University
3 Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa
6 Horace Poolaw Photography Project, Stanford University, Palo Alto
1 Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
2 Seton Memorial Library, Philmont Scout Ranch, Cimarron, New Mexico
3 Sioux Indian Museum and Crafts Center, U.S. Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Rapid City, South Dakota
1 Societe' Musee' du Vieil Yverdon, Yverdon, Switzerland
2 South Dakota Art Museum, Brookings
1 South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre
1 Southern Plains Indian Museum and Crafts Center, U.S. Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Anadarko, Oklahoma
1 Staatliche Museen, Museum fur' Volkerkunde, Berlin
23 State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck
4 Taylor Museum for Southwestern Studies, Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center
3 Texas Memorial Museum, University of Texas, Austin
1 University Art Galleries, University of South Dakota, Vermillion
1 University Museum, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville
12 University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
1 Wyoming State Museum, Cheyenne

Total in the show
309 Objects
58 institutions
Altogether 64 institutions and individuals

APPENDIX E: Lenders to the Exhibit continued

Institutions and their respective contributions to *Visions*.

28 National Anthropology Archives
27 MIA
23 Am Museum of Natural history
23 State Historical Society of North Dakota
17 NMAI
17 Field Museum of Natural History
15 Peabody - Harvard
12 University Museum, University of Penn
11 Natural Museum of Natural History

173 Objects - 56% of the objects in the show came from only 9 institutions.

7 Missouri Historical Society
7 Denver Art Museum
6 East Montana
6 Joslyn
6 Poolaw
5 Montana Historical Society
5 Foundation for Preservation

42 Objects - 70% from 16 institutions.

Less than one-third of the institutions account for 70% of the show.

APPENDIX F: OBJECT DESCRIPTION ORGANIZED BY GALLERY

ENTRY: ANTIQUITY

Object	Date	Description
Caddoan Gorget	1200-1350	Ancient warrior status/Caddoan
Buffalo Figure	1400-1600	Quartzite sculpture/Caddoan
Wampum Belt	1650-1800	Diplomacy and status
Feast Bowl	1750	Similar to Caddoan ceramics

GALLERY 1: A VISIONARY PEOPLE

Object	Date	Description
Caddoan Gorget	1200-1350	Ceremonial art
Caddoan Gorget	1200-1350	Ritual art
Amulet Case	1875	Child's protective medicine
Amulet Case	1875	Child's protective medicine
Rattlesnake Amulet	1880	Part of a medicine bundle
Hide Painting	1902	Building the Medicine Lodge
Hide Painting	1902	Capturing the central pope
Hide Painting	1902	Selecting the central pole
Hide Painting	1902	Building the Medicine Lodge
Hide Painting	1902	Peyote Ceremony
Drawing	1875	Sundance Vision
Sundance Robe*	1844	Worn by a Holy woman
Rawhide Ornament	1860	Sacred Buffalo
Quilled Moccasins	1890	Sacred Buffalo
Cradle Cover	1870	Quilled Thunderbird design
Tobacco Bag	1875	Ceremonial use
Rattle	1865	Ceremonial use
Rattle	1870	Military Society ceremonies
Prayer Drum	1865	Sacred
Shield and Cover	1850	Spiritual/Vision Quest
Shield and Cover	1870	Spiritual/Vision Quest
Shield and Cover	1875	Spiritual/Vision Quest
Drawing	1880	Visionary image/Personal power
Drawing	1880	Visionary image/Receiving the pipe
Drawing	1890	Visionary image/Sacred powers
Drawing	1890	Visionary image/Sacred powers
Painting	1904	Visionary image/Battle scene

GALLERY 2: THE SACRED

Object	Date	Description
Copper Ornament	1860	Sacred power
Robe	1835	Warriors biography
Robe	1870	Spiritual
Robe*	1870	Sacred Design
Moccasins	1900	Spiritual Design/Thunderbird
Feast Bowl	1860	Sacred
Feast Bowl	1860	Sacred
Feast Bowl	1750	Sacred
Tipi Model	1904	Traditional
Tipi Model	1904	Spiritual/Underwater Monster
Medicine Bowl	1860	Healing
Leather Pouch	1750	Sacred images
Leather Pouch	1860	Sacred images
Rawhide Bag	1860	Medicine container
Ceremonial Drum	1875	Sacred
Rattle	1860	Military Society/Sacred images
Backrest Banner	1900	Used by Shaman with visionary power
Drawing	1850	Cheyenne village
Shield and Cover	1860	Spiritual/Bear
Shield Cover	1820	Spiritual/Thunderbird
Shield Cover	1850	Spiritual/Bear Paw
Shield Cover	1875	Spiritual/Thunderbird
Shield Cover	1860	Spiritual/Thunderbird

GALLERY 3: WARRIORS

Object	Date	Description
Lizard Amulet	1860	Dream Vision amulet - Warrior medicine
Robe	1835	Biographical war exploits
Robe	1797	Biographical war exploits/Mato Tope
Shirt	1800	Warrior exploits
Shirt	1830	Warrior biography
Shirt	1830	War shirt
Shirt	1840	Warrior shirt
Painting	1833	Battle scene/Two combatants
Shield and Cover	1870	Spiritual/Hawk
Shield	1850	Spiritual/Thunderbird
Shield	1865	Spiritual/Bear
Shield	1870	Spiritual/Buffalo

GALLERY 4: INTERTRIBAL WARRIOR DIPLOMACY

Object	Date	Description
Dragonfly Hair Ornament	----	Worn by a warrior #70
Roach Spreader	1830	Warrior imagery
Headdress	1890	Warrior status
Dragonfly Moccasins	1880	Worn by a warrior
Moccasins	1880	Warrior imagery
Shirt	1890	Warrior imagery
Dress*	1875	Manly Hearted Woman
Gorget	1886	Symbols of battle honors
Weapons	1800	Bow
Weapons	1920	Arrows
Pipe Bag	1860	War medicine/personal
Pipe Bag	1850	Warrior Society/community
Tipi Liner	1875	Military Society
Tipi Liner	1920	Hunting scenes
Baton	1890	War club
Baton	1885	Victory dance effigy
Baton	1880	Tomahawk Society
Drumstick	1875	Personal history
Dragonfly Shield Cover	1860	Warrior/Spiritual
Drawing	1865	Raiding for mules
Drawing	1877	Crazy Horse fighting the Pawnee
Drawing	1865	Yellow Horse counts coup
Drawing	1865	Yellow Horse rides down a soldier
Drawing	1885	Battle between Cheyenne and Shoshone
Drawing	1877	Buffalo hunt
Drawing	1884	Buffalo hunt
Drawing	1880	Hunting scene
Drawing	1888	Hunting scene
Drawing*	1877	Butchering buffalo
Drawing	1877	Men cooking meat
Drawing	1880	Boys hunting rabbits
Drawing	1880	Counting coup
Drawing	1880	Warriors dressed for battle
Drawing	1884	Battle between Lakota and Crow
Drawing	1880	Warrior in Military Society dance
Drawing	1890	Buffalo Society dancer

HALLWAY TRANSITION: INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONS

Object	Date	Description
Drawing	1885	Rancher/Cowboy roping a steer
Perspective Drawing	1890	Fight between Kiowa and the Army

GALLERY 5: BATTLE OF LITTLE BIG HORN

Object	Date	Description
Quirt, Horsewhip	1885	Military Society badge of office
Wood Sculpture	1900	No Two Horns horse effigy
Drawing	1895	Crow scouts for the U.S. Army
Drawing	1895	Crow Scouts for the U.S. Army
Drawing	1899	Little Big Horn
Drawing	1881	Encampment at Little Big Horn
Drawing	1881	Soldiers approach the village
Drawing	1881	Fighting the cavalry at LBH
Drawing	1881	Dead Lakota warriors
Drawing	1881	Dead and mutilated soldiers
Drawing	1881	Leaving with captured horses
Drawing	1885	Warriors fall in battle at LBH
Drawing	1885	Charging soldiers at LBH
Drawing	1885	Charging soldiers and scouts at LBH
Drawing	1885	Capture the flag and count coup
Drawing*	1885	Portrait of a warrior woman
Drawing	1900	No Two Horns at LBH
Drawing	1900	Custer's War
Shield	1900	Spiritual/Thunderbird

GALLERY 6: THE LIFE OF SITTING BULL

Object	Date	Description
Wooden Sculpture	1880	Horse effigy
Wooden Sculpture	1880	Horse effigy
Wooden Sculpture	1900	Horse effigy
Tipi liner	1864	Scenes of horse raids and battle
Tipi Cover	1915	Battle exploits
Leather Buffalo Cutout	1870	Personal medicine bundle
Headdress	1900	Buffalo Society
Man’s Moccasins	1860	Honor symbols
Man’s Moccasins	1890	Equestrian symbols
Robe	1875	Battle and horse capture scenes
Drawing	1870	Swift Dog capturing horses
Drawing	1870	Swift Dog returns with horses
Drawing	1910	Exploits of Old Bull
Drawing	1870	Death in battle
Drawing	1882	Sitting Bull kills a Crow warrior
Drawing	1882	Sitting Bull fights with Crow
Drawing	1882	Sitting Bull adopts an Assiniboine
Drawing	1882	Sitting Bull counts coup
Drawing	1885	Sitting Bull in battle scene
Drawing	1870	Sitting Bull on a raid
Drawing	1870	Sitting Bull adopts an Assiniboine

Drawing	1870	Sitting Bull counts coup
Drawing	1870	Sitting Bull fights with Crow
Drawing	1870	Sitting Bull skirmish with Gen. Sibley
Drawing	1900	No Two Horns raids the Crow
Drawing	1900	No Two Horns counts coup
Drawing	1900	No Two Horns rescues a comrade
Drawing	1900	No two Horns and his cousin Sitting Bull
Small Shield	1870	Dream shield/Thunder horse
Shield Cover	1850	Warrior imagery
Bow Lance	1900	Kit Fox Society
Lance	1900	Soldier Society

GALLERY 7: DOMESTIC LIFE ON THE PLAINS: ENTER WOMEN

Object	Date	Description
Cradle cover	1880	Ceremonial designs
Cradle board and cover	1900	Baby cradle and carrier
Amulet Case*	1860	Child's turtle amulet
Amulet Case*	1875	Child's turtle amulet
Amulet Case	1900	Child's lizard amulet
Amulet Case	1900	Child's lizard amulet
Amulet Case	1900	Child's lizard amulet
Dream Society Bag	1875	Non-military ceremonial bag
Fan	1850	Elk Dreamers ceremonial fan
Drawing	1890	Sun Dance camp
Drawing	1890	Sun Dancer
Headdress	1890	Eagle-feather
Elk Cutout	1860	Adornment used in courting
Moccasins*	1800	Spiritual - Double Woman image
Moccasins	1880	Feather-headdress design
Moccasins	1910	Non-military society
Women's Boots*	1875	Ceremonial
Warrior's Vest	1890	Tourist trade
Vest	1875	Elk Dreamers Society
Warrior's Robe	1880	Historical narrative scenes
Muslin Dress*	1884	Biographical battle scenes
Beaded Dress*	1900	Beaded combat scenes
Courting Whistle	1875	Single-note whistle
Elk Whistle	1880	Courting whistle
Pipe Bag*	1870	Elk Dreamers Society bag
Tipi Bag	1885	Biographical scene
Tipi Bag Panels*	1885	Scenes of camp life
Pipe Bag	1875	Personal use
Pipe Bag	1890	Ceremonial use
Pipe Bag	1890	Personal use
Hide Painting	1865	Autobiographical exploits
Hide Painting	1896	Biographical exploits

Tipi Liner	1904	Made for military society
Spoon	1900	Elk carving
Spoon	1875	Crane carving
Military Society Baton	1891	Carved horse with lightening
Painting	1910	Village within its landscape
Drawing	1885	Burial
Drawing	1885	Courting
Drawing	1877	Courting
Drawing	1880	Courting
Drawing	1875	Courting, autobiographical
Drawing	1877	Hunting
Drawing*	1890	Moving camp
Drawing*	1876	Daily Life
Drawing	1880	Men going to a dance
Drawing*	1883	Women dancing
Drawing*	1883	Women dancing
Drawing	1876	Married couple receiving friends
Drawing	1880	Military society dance
Drawing	1880	Military society dance
Drawing	1880	Military society dance
Drawing	1880	Men's dress reflecting culture contact
Drawing*	1890	Woman in Strong Heart Military Society

GALLERY 8: POST 1850 - DOCUMENTING CULTURE CONTACT

Object	Date	Description
Winter Count	1785-1913	Lakota history
Winter Count	1834-1925	Lakota history
Visionary Drawing	1877	Man between buffalo and cow
Portrait Drawings	1877	Assiniboine and soldiers
Drawing	1883	Exploits of Elk Head

HALLWAY: INSTITUTIONAL TRANSITIONS

Object	Date	Description
Drawing	1885	Grass Dancers
Drawing	1887	Portrait of a Grass Dancer
Drawing	1879	Buffalo Meat's self-portrait
Drawing	1876	Cheyenne going into trade
Drawing*	1880	Cloth trader comes to the Cheyenne
Drawing	1880	Trading party of Navajo
Crane Headed Stick	1900	Hot Dance Society stick

GALLERY 9: SPIRITUAL REVITALIZATION - THE GHOST DANCE

Object	Date	Description
Ghost Dance Drum	1902	Part of a hand-game bundle
Carved Baton	1891	Ghost Dance baton
Shirt	1890	Ghost Dance shirt
Boots*	1890	Ghost dance boots
Cape or Banner	1890	Sacred Ghost Dance cape
Ceremonial Pipe Bag	1890	Ghost Dance pipe bag
Hide Painting	1891	Ghost Dance
Personal Vest	1910	Ghost Dance imagery
Dress*	1890	Ghost Dance dress
Dress*	1890	Ghost Dance dress
Dress*	1890	Ghost Dance dress
Dress*	1907	Ghost Dance dress
Ghost Dance Doll	1900	Tourist trade
Ghost Dance Doll	1900	Tourist trade
Drawing	1890	Testing the protection of the Ghost shirt
Painting	1900	Arrest and death of Sitting Bull
Drawing	1897	Indian policemen

GALLERY 10: AFTER THE FINAL BATTLES FOR THE PLAINS

Object	Date	Description
Drawing	1891	Visionary scene with supernatural figure
Drawing	1876	Army agents barter goods at fort
Drawing	1876	Prisoners transported by train
Drawing	1876	Prisoners transferred to boats
Drawing	1876	Soldiers at Fort Marion
Drawing	1876	Affairs at Fort Marion
Drawing	1876	Prison education
Drawing	1876	Prison church service
Painted Jar	1878	Created at Fort Marion for tourists
Scene of Two Riders	1878	Watercolor sketch for painted jar
Painted Fan	1878	Created at fort Marion for tourists
Drawing	1891	Children removed to boarding school
School notebook page	1890	Boys drawing and narrative on horses
School notebook page*	1890	Girls drawing and narrative on homes
Beaded Cradle Board	1910	Documents culture contact
Beaded Suitcase	1902	Documents culture contact
Beaded Pictorial Vest	1895	Fully beaded - made for tourist market
Beaded Baby Bonnet	1991	Acculturated form
Beaded Tipi Bag*	1885	Cheyenne River master bead worker
Beaded Pipe Bag	1885	Example from Reservation period
Beaded Bag	1961	Contemporary work from Pine Ridge
Drawing	1891	Peyote Ceremony
Photo	1930	After the Peyote meeting

Beaded Medallion	1972	Portrait of Christ
Photo*	1930	Rainy Mountain Church
Hide Painting	1890	Wolf Dance / Grass Dance
Photo	1941	Kiowa group at Indian Exposition
Photo	1928	Fancy Dancer at Indian Fair
Photo	1933	Carnegie Indians Baseball Team
Photo of Bryce Poolaw	1947	Photographers son wrapped in a cradleboard
Star Quilt*	1991	Transformation of an adopted form
Hide Pouch	1940	Honor pouch for a World War II warrior

GALLERY 11: CULTURAL REVITALIZATION

Object	Date	Description
Cheyenne Model Tipi	1900	Collectors Item
Hide Painting	1930	1870 Baker Fight produced for art market
Beaded Hymnal Cover*	1932	Bilingual English-Dakota hymnal - gift
Painting	1949	Cheyenne Sun Dance by Richard West
Painting	1951	Dakota Teaching by Oscar Howe
Painting	1953	Prairie Fire by Blackbear Bosin
Painting	1962	Calling on Wakan Tanka by Oscar Howe
Painting*	1971	Double Woman by Oscar Howe
Hide Painting	1965	Biography preservation project
Belt Buckle	1990	Cultural identity
Beaded Panel	1986	Fully beaded landscape - new techniques

GALLERY 12: LIVING TRADITIONS - CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN INDIAN ART

Object	Date	Description
Buffalo Sculpture	1991	Contemporary heritage
Photo	1990	Lakota girls in dancing outfits
Painting	1990	Night shield by Robert Lee Penn
Sources of Strength	1990	Collage by Jaune Quick-To-See Smith
Collage	1989	Prince Albert by Arthur Amiotte
Silverwork	1991	Warrior's Cross by Jhon Goes in Center
Color Print	1989	To Serve In Defense of Our Nation by David P. Little
Acrylic	1991	Akicita Wasté (Good Soldier) by Martin Red Bear
Star Quilt*	1991	Honor gift by Carla Running Horse

GALLERY 13: ARCHITECTURE - ON THE FRONT LAWN OF THE MIA

Object	Date	Description
Gros Ventre Painted Tipi	1991	Narrative on raiding
Blackfeet Painted Tipi	1992	Personal and military history
Kiowa Painted Tipi	1992	Basic elements of the universe

PIPE BOWLS AND STEMS PICTURED IN CATALOG NOT DISPLAYED IN SHOW

Object	Date	Description
Pipestone Bowl	1885	Cheyenne buffalo pipe
Wood Pipestem - ash	1880	Lakota - carved buffalo, elk, turtle
Metal-lined Bowl	1840	Dakota - carved horsehead
Slate Pipe Bowl	1820	Lakota - carved horse
Pipestone Bowl	1880	Lakota - Iktomi the trickster
Slate Pipe Bowl	1820	Lakota Bear Cult
Yellow Stone Pipe Bowl	1860	Lakota Elk Dreamers
Stone Bowl/Wooden Stem	1880	Blackfeet - ceremonial use
Pipestone Bowl	1830	Pawnee depicts Indian-white relations
Pipestone Bowl	1830	Dakota with lead inlay - culture contact
Pipestone Bowl	1880	Dakota with lead inlay - man with phallus
Pipestone Bowl/ lead inlay	1880	Dakota - diplomatic use complex iconography
Pipestone Bowl	1860	Pawnee - considered sacred
Wood & Brass Pipestem	1860	Lakota spiritual use
Wood Pipe Stem - ash	1890	Dakota spiritual use
Bauxite Pipe Bowl	1200-1350	Caddoan praying warrior

Appendix G: Objects Associated with Women

Object	Object #	Gallery
Sundance Robe	14	12
Ceremonial Boots	16	7
White Buffalo Woman	104	1
Double Woman	110	7
Double Woman	112 both	7
Double Woman	113	11
Double Woman	114	7
Ghost Dance Dress	128	8
Ghost Dance Dress	129	8
Ghost Dance Boots	138	8
Warrior Woman	166	5
Women in Military Society Attire	213	7
Women Dancing	251	7
Women Butcher Buffalo	238	4
Women Move Camp	256	7
Manly Hearted Woman	245	4
Robe	306	2
Star Quilt	308	12
Star Quilt	309	12
Beaded Suitcase	260	12
Beaded Panel	268	12
Beaded Hymnal	303	12
Pastel Drawing	302	12

Named Women Artists in *Visions of the People*

Nellie Two Bears Gates (Lakota)	260 Beaded Suitcase
Clara Archilta (Kiowa-Apache-Tonkawa)	268 Beaded Panel
Amelia Iron Necklace (Lakota)	303 Beaded Hymnal
Jaune Quick-To-See Smith (Salish-Cree-Shoshone)	302 Pastel Drawing
Carla Running Horse (Oglala Lakota)	308, 309 Star Quilts

.