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Cultural Mediations: Or How to Listen to Lewis and Clark's Indian Artifacts

SCOTT STEVENS

RETHINKING THE ARTIFACT

One of the most significant events of the recent bicentennial commemorations for Lewis and Clark's expedition to the American West was an important exhibition of the few remaining Native American artifacts directly associated with the famous voyage put on by the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University. When I first viewed the exhibit, *From Nation to Nation: Examining Lewis and Clark's Indian Collection*, in the spring of 2004, I was struck by the changes that have occurred in recent years in museology and the culture of display surrounding ethnographic objects and Native American arts. This change was especially striking at a museum such as the Peabody. To me, and many other Native people, such institutions are notorious symbols of the dark legacy of the early days of anthropology and ethnography in the Americas. We think of objects (not to mention human remains) unearthed, stolen, bought, and sometimes swindled away from indigenous peoples living in the aftermath of conquest and removal, and we wince to see them placed on display far removed from their sacred or cultural contexts. Yet at the Peabody an attempt was made to reexamine meaningfully these artifacts that played some part in the initial cultural and diplomatic exchanges between Euro-Americans and Native peoples of the Plains and the West.

The greatest challenge for an exhibit such as the Peabody's is to attempt to tell a different story than the one the majority culture has been telling for the last two hundred years.¹ That challenge is exacerbated by the fact that in museums this is a story to be told largely through the display of artifacts. As a museumgoer, I have often been confronted with alienated and alienating artifacts displayed violently out of context. This is the case with museums

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throughout the United States. What is one to make of the seemingly random collection of North American Indian artifacts in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, placed as it is in a section dedicated to the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas? Here beautiful objects from several centuries, four continents, and a vast variety of cultures are collapsed into a single component of this predominantly Euro-American collection. Because the Metropolitan's collection is encyclopedic it includes other non-Western traditions, but they too run the unintended risk of marginalization in an institution predicated on the culturally inscribed notions of art history and connoisseurship that governed such collecting well into the twentieth century. Sincere attempts have been made to inform the viewer of these non-Western objects of their original significance, but the authority over their interpretation remains firmly in the hands of their curators.

Even worse, many similar collections of indigenous objects for decades were warehoused and unavailable to public viewing. George Horse Capture, an A'aninin/Gros Ventre scholar and curator, has noted that the impulse was often to "preserve those relics from long-ago at all costs. . . . No one was to touch them; their sole responsibility was to exist." Such an approach led to the isolation of these artifacts from the cultures that created them and the general public. Horse Capture maintains that this "rendered the items lifeless, and the treatment of the objects often reflected how the Indian people themselves were viewed."² The Peabody would need to reassess its collection not only through correct attribution and the identification of provenance but also in order to interpret the objects' significance within a cultural narrative. Author and scholar Greg Sarris, in discussing the material culture of his Pomo ancestors, notes the need to move beyond the formal artistic qualities of the object and attempt to understand the larger social context of the culture that produced the work and the artist's relationship to the objects produced. When considering widely collected Pomo baskets he writes, "What we need is a way to connect with what we don't know, or are missing, and might learn as a result, a way we might find in the context of viewing and discussing a Pomo basket."³ For Sarris this can be accomplished in part by knowing what our relationship to a given artifact signifies.⁴ Total translation of another's culture will always be elusive, but any display that propels us toward dialogue takes us further toward a deeper understanding.

Likewise, anthropologist Julie Cruikshank has noted in her important work on Native oral culture, *The Social Life of Stories*, that "the historical tendency in museums has been to disconnect 'thing' from 'words.'"⁵ This has led to a deeper disconnect in the viewer's attempt to understand objects displayed in museums. Her account of the Tlingit/Tagish woodcarver, Mrs. Kitty Smith, and the artist's relationship through stories to her own work is instructive of our need to integrate both the narrative and material cultural modes of production in our study of ethnographic artifacts.⁶ The challenge of a dialogic approach in reexamining such objects as those in the Peabody Museum is considerable yet absolutely necessary.

We do not know, for example, who the individual artists involved in the production of these artifacts were, and in some cases even their tribal

provenance is in doubt. But we do have access to contemporary artists from a variety of the Native nations represented in the Lewis and Clark collection, and in working with them the Peabody has explored a hitherto often overlooked avenue of understanding these objects. The Peabody was able to effect a major revision to our understanding of various ceremonial objects in the collection by bringing in guest contributors from several Native nations. The fruits of their labors and the seven years of first-rate curatorial scholarship by Castle McLaughlin produced not only a recontextualization of the objects on display but also an important scholarly text, *Arts of Diplomacy: Lewis and Clark's Indian Collection*, that goes far beyond an exhibition catalog.⁷

With both Sarris's and Cruikshank's holistic approaches in mind, I argue for what we might call an integrationist approach to the collection in question. We need not only to integrate the living oral traditions of the nations who produced these items but also to attend equally to their histories as collections. I maintain that a true engagement with these objects now requires us to integrate their contextual history as both Native object and collected artifact. This means discovering not only what the objects may have originally meant (and still may mean) to the indigenous peoples who created them but also that we must attend to the artifacts' trajectory through Euro-American culture—whether this means how they were seen ethnologically, politically, and/or culturally. I am positing that in order to better understand objects sitting in a museum, often alienated from anything like their original context, we must attend to their stories on both levels. What fascinates me about the surviving items of the Lewis and Clark collection is their peculiarly picaresque narrative once they are sent back East. We need to trace this history as a necessary narrative thread, ultimately integrating the enmeshed histories of Natives and non-Natives alike.

The Corps of Discovery's original collection was one of the first representations of the tremendous cultural diversity of Native North America to the newly independent United States.⁸ In addition to exploring and reporting on the recently acquired territories of the Louisiana Purchase, Lewis and Clark would ship back dozens of crates containing natural history specimens and Indian artifacts. Originally organized to chart a possible water route to the Pacific Ocean and establish trade and diplomatic contacts with the Natives, the expedition would become the first step in the eventual subjugation of the Indian nations on the plains and in the western regions of North America. Still, Lewis and Clark's mission was not one of conquest but rather one of reconnaissance, trade, and diplomacy. Their journals have formed the basis of scores of historical studies and printed accounts of a journey that came to be a formidable symbol in the national narrative being told by Euro-Americans about their own presumed manifest destiny.

From the Native perspective the usual problems remain—the frequent absence of our own extant accounts of the cultural exchanges and interactions that occurred between the members of the expedition and the many indigenous leaders they encountered on their way leaves us with a one-sided historical record. In order to address this problem, anthropologists, ethnologists, and historians have been largely dependent on examining the physical

evidence of these encounters. This can mean looking at artifacts discovered at archaeological sites from the regions explored by Lewis and Clark or examining those cultural materials collected during the expedition. An added difficulty in assessing the significance of these objects is that they were not so much “collected” as acquired. Lewis and Clark approached the collecting of natural materials according to the practice and dictates of the period’s natural philosophy. They cataloged a variety of species and carefully collected specimens (both zoological and botanical) to be returned to the East. The American Indian objects shipped back had been acquired in a less scientific, though culturally significant, manner. Some materials, such as clothing, were often the result of trade for needed supplies and were actually used by members of the expedition while many other artifacts were diplomatic gifts, not unlike the Jefferson Indian peace medals carried by the Corps of Discovery.⁹

When I first learned of the current exhibition of this collection of Indian artifacts I became determined to discover what they could tell us. Could we recover their stories and, if so, what would we hear? A variety of developments in anthropology, ethnology, and archaeology have influenced my own thinking on this subject. Some work, such as Cruikshank’s, already marks a corrective to the supposedly more analytic approach of some mid-twentieth-century archaeologists. During the late 1960s, with the development of the systems theory in archaeology, researchers approached material objects as a means of discovering large-scale systems that were considered to be the underpinnings of a specific culture. This was a drive toward an evermore “scientific,” and presumably more authoritative, understanding of the different societies being studied. What gets lost in such a macrosystemic approach to indigenous cultures is the fact that Native peoples lived as a collection of individuals.¹⁰ The so-called new archaeology was different from the scientific rhetoric of an earlier ethnology and archaeology, but there were still many unacknowledged cultural presumptions built into this approach.

I have found the recent work of ethnohistorian Laurier Turgeon to provide another means of moving beyond such problematic paradigms when dealing with artifacts. In his well-known essay, “The Tale of the Kettle: Odyssey of an Intercultural Object,” Turgeon looks at objects of exchange between Europeans and indigenous peoples in North America as serving as a “point of entry into the relations between [these groups] and, more generally, of the mediating function that the objects perform in intercultural contact.”¹¹ Methodologically he describes his own work as inspired by the “historical-geographic” method developed for the study of folktales, in which all the known versions of a given tale are gathered, their movement through time and space is reconstructed, and textual variations are explained through the contexts of reproduction and reception.¹² Whereas Turgeon examines European objects of trade and how their American Indian owners adapted them to their own systems of culturally specific needs and values, I wish to consider the broader implications of such an approach for the study of material culture and American cultural historiography. In considering the objects sent back East by the Corps of Discovery I wish to extend Turgeon’s method by looking, not at Native uses of European materials, but rather at

the Euro-American uses of indigenous material culture when it was acquired for display. When we attend to the narratives told by the appropriation and repeated recontextualization of Native American cultural artifacts we are taken beyond the object as it stands in a museum vitrine.

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark's expedition accumulated dozens of ethnographic objects in the two years it took to complete their voyage, and only a tiny fraction of that collection is extant, but the story of that collection's movement through American history remains. We know, for example, that a portion of the objects collected were selected by President Jefferson to be included in his "Indian Hall" at Monticello, while the bulk of the collection was turned over to Charles Willson Peale to be displayed in his museum in Philadelphia. We must explore the way in which such early collections were presented to the public while tracing the legacy of the display of the ethnographic object from the early modern period to the present. Part of that history will also illustrate the place of the Indian artifact in American culture in each successive period. For my purposes I will concentrate on the history of the objects now possessed by the Peabody Museum at Harvard and their remarkable part in the evolving narrative of the encounter and struggles between indigenous and nonindigenous peoples in the so-called New World. I wish to examine the bifold significance of Lewis and Clark's collection as representing a body of materials through which we attempt to understand the cultures of the peoples who created the objects and as a means of examining the changing relationship of the United States' cultural arbiters to Native America.

ARTIFACTS AND AN ENLIGHTENMENT COLLECTION

I have mentioned the somewhat accidental manner in which the present collection came into being (and the even more remarkable fact of its survival), but we do know considerably more about this group of artifacts than most others from the same period. For starters we have the invaluable resource of the journals of Lewis and Clark, first published in 1814 as the two-volume *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark*.¹³ Subsequent modern editions have also contributed greatly to our knowledge of the expedition, yet the details surrounding the exchange of the majority of surviving objects remain absent or obscure. As historian James Rhonda has pointed out, we may rightly consider Lewis and Clark in part to be ethnographers but not ethnologists: a subtle distinction but an apt one. The journals record the traces and contours of ethnic or cultural features without attempting any systematic or sustained interpretation of their significance.¹⁴ At best we have occasionally detailed descriptions of the surface of Indian life. Their writings concerning the lives of Native peoples focus almost uniquely on external qualities. They did not presume to understand cultural motivations (for example, religious beliefs, social structures), and therefore the objects they shipped back were usually presented devoid of their context.

We do know that the objects that were part of diplomatic exchanges (that is, an exchange between two sovereign peoples meant to signal the peaceful beginnings to a political and economic relationship among equals) constitute

an aspect of the artifacts' history that is tellingly short-lived—a relationship emphasized in the title of the Peabody Museum's exhibition: *From Nation to Nation*. Neither Lewis nor Clark may have truly seen this to be the case, but the original significance of the objects in question, such as the calumets or peace pipes, show that Native peoples did see their encounters in these terms. Through the careless act of sending such artifacts back East packed with other specimens collected on the expedition they were transformed into the exotica then familiar in existing cabinets of curiosities. Ears deaf to anything like cultural equality could not hear the solemnity or the import of the indigenous diplomatic ceremonies represented by these objects. For all of Jefferson's Enlightenment insights, the same person who could champion liberty, while paradoxically owning slaves, would have little difficulty conceiving of American Indians as a barbarous people.

This does not mean that Jefferson thought the Indians irremediable but rather considered them to represent mankind at an earlier stage of social evolution. In one of his rare sustained meditations on the state of Native peoples Jefferson is in actuality defending North America against Comte Georges-Louis de Buffon's thesis regarding the Western Hemisphere's supposed natural degeneracy.¹⁵ Buffon, the leading French natural philosopher of his day, held that the environment and climate of the New World was not conducive to the fecund or robust sustenance of life. This was said to explain the presumed low population density of the Americas in comparison with Western Europe and the lack of large domesticated animals. Buffon's theories went so far as to claim that even species transplanted to the New World, let alone those that are indigenous to it, would soon degenerate due to the hostile environment. Jefferson, in his "Notes on the State of Virginia," set out to refute this in the section "Productions Mineral, Vegetable and Animal." What is telling in Jefferson's assessment of Native life, besides the connection of the indigenous population to nature at an elemental level, is that Indians are defended primarily to contradict Buffon's thesis and its negative implications for European immigrants living in the Americas. Even in defending indigenous physiology there is no question from Jefferson's writings that he promoted the assimilation of Natives into Euro-American society and by extension the end of their traditional ways of life. This is made explicit in his letters to various American agents charged with carrying out Jefferson's Indian policies while he was president.¹⁶

We need to keep in mind Jefferson's patriotic desire to respond to those European intellectuals that belittled the prospects of the New World in the grand scheme of civilization. Beyond Buffon's dismal essentialist theories were the critiques of figures such as the learned Abbé Raynal, who noted, "America has not yet produced one good poet."¹⁷ Just as Jefferson had countered claims that the Natives were not as physically developed or vigorous as the Europeans, so he would uphold Native eloquence by quoting the now famous words of the Mingo chief known as Logan. Jefferson held that such natural oratorical skill equaled the eloquence of Demosthenes and Cicero.¹⁸ He finds it possible to admire the speech while holding the culture that produced it untenable within his notions of progress. And, though Jefferson is clearly

moved by Logan's speech, what should be noted is how it ultimately serves an American agenda. Buffon's theories had stung Euro-Americans, and it is for them that Jefferson writes anything like an apologia for the Indian. Likewise, the president's interest in Native artifacts serves a similar purpose. What we are witnessing is not the erasure of the divide between an us-versus-them mentality as it pertained to the immigrant and the aborigine but the development of an us-and-ours mind-set in regard to the Euro-American co-option of the continent and its original inhabitants. Indigenous eloquence, like indigenous artifacts, was thereby transformed into America's cultural patrimony. This cultural strategy is made clear in the language used by the American Antiquarian Society Museum in its founding mission statement from 1812.¹⁹ The purpose of the new corporation was "to discover the antiquities of Our Continent, and by providing a fixed, and permanent place of deposit, to preserve such relics of American Antiquity as are portable."²⁰

Jefferson chose to display a variety of Native artifacts from the Lewis and Clark expedition in the form of an American Wunderkammer, or cabinet of curiosities, at Monticello.²¹ As Joyce Henri Robinson has pointed out, he did this seemingly in the spirit of a Baconian man of letters. In the *Gesta Grayorum* Francis Bacon had outlined the "essential apparatus of the learned gentleman" as the possession of a general library, a spacious garden, and "third, a goodly, huge cabinet, wherein whatsoever the hand of man by exquisite art or engine has made rare in stuff, form or motion; whatsoever singularity, chance, and the shuffle of things has produced; whatsoever Nature has wrought in things that want life and may be kept; shall be sorted and included."²² Jefferson's home was known for its fine library and gardens and, as Robinson demonstrates in her invaluable study, numerous visitors commented on their impressions of the entrance hall at Monticello as a type of Wunderkammer.²³ Jefferson chose to display the artifacts sent to him by Lewis and Clark in what he styled his Indian Hall. Here the objects of diplomacy and trade shared space with many other rarities that Jefferson collected—European paintings and sculptures, works of art from the East Indies, a model of an Egyptian pyramid, a mastodon skull, bison and moose heads, and maps of the local vicinity and the world. The format of such displays was usually dominated by aesthetic impulses. Objects were arranged geometrically, rarely with the typological organization that came to dominate museums in the late nineteenth century. The focus on human production was on the rarity or oddity of the objects—less often displayed for edification than for wonder.

Robinson points out the obvious connection between Jefferson's Indian Hall and its European antecedents such as Olé Worm's famous collection in seventeenth-century Copenhagen (fig. 1).²⁴ Worm's collection, as portrayed in a well-known engraved frontispiece, contained a mix of the usual constituent parts of a Wunderkammer as described by Joy Kenseth in *The Age of the Marvelous*. These would include specimens and curiosities taken from nature, instruments of science, intricate and decorative crafts, and objects from the New World labeled exotica.²⁵ All of these elements are present in the depiction of Worm's museum with a special emphasis on Native artifacts from the Arctic. This makes sense given Denmark's activities in the Færoe Islands,

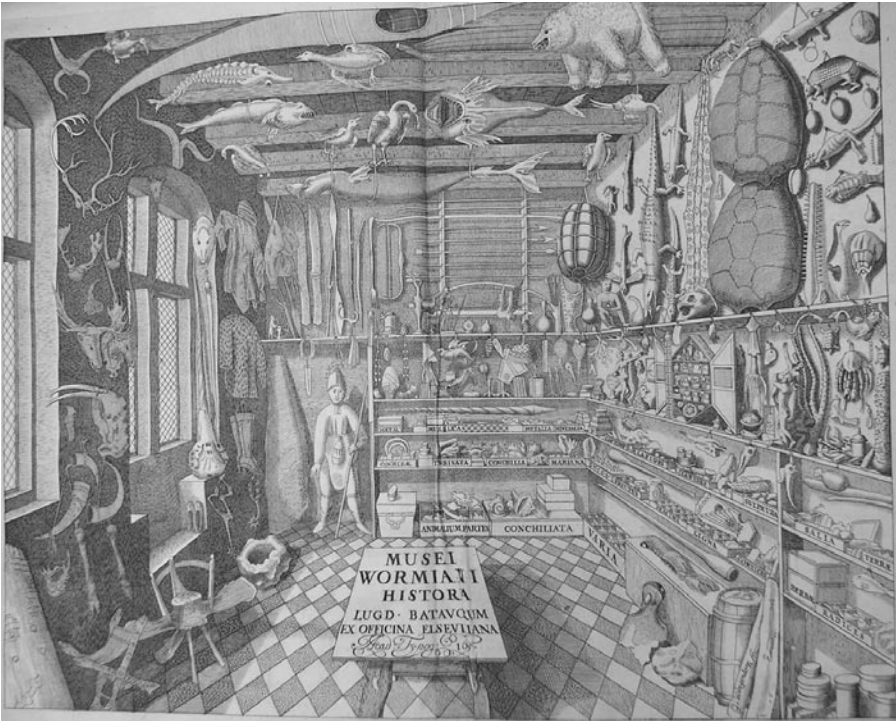


FIGURE 1. Interior of Olé Worm's museum. From Olé Worm, *Museum Wormianum seu historia rerum rariorum* (Leiden, Netherlands, 1655), frontispiece. Courtesy of Canisius College, J. Clayton Murray, S. J. Archives, Buffalo, New York.

Iceland and, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the colonization of Greenland. Scholars such as Ivan Karp have described the exotica of western museums in part as “trophy of imperial conquest” because so many collections came into being as a result of European expansion.²⁶ Jefferson may not have seen himself as an imperialist per se, but the acquisition of the Louisiana Territories had imperial results.

In 2002, several contemporary Native artists and curators at Monticello, with the help of the Peabody Museum, produced a reconstruction of the Indian Hall and supplied it with a generous interpretation. Elizabeth Chew, associate curator of collections at Monticello, writes: “As a product of the Enlightenment, Jefferson’s display represented not simply a desire to showcase the marvelous and bizarre, but to work toward a scientific understanding of the world through observation and study. In the Indian Hall, Jefferson sought to demonstrate, visually, that the products of North America could take their places alongside those of the Old World” (fig. 2).²⁷ This can be only partly true. We know from Jefferson’s writings that he viewed civilization as a progressive phenomenon and one of which the American Indians were in want. In his assessment of Indian artistry in the “Notes on the State of Virginia” Jefferson writes that “the Indians, with no advantage of this kind



FIGURE 2. *Reconstructed "Indian Hall" at Monticello. Courtesy of Monticello/Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Inc.*

[that is, a highly developed artistic culture], will often carve figures on their pipes not destitute of design and merit. They will crayon out an animal, a plant, or a country, so as to prove the existence of a germ in their minds that wants only cultivation."²⁸ Such notions seem to argue for Jefferson as more likely the intellectual heir of Bacon than Rousseau. Joyce Robinson likewise concludes that "by incorporating into the design of the hall both American antiquities and well-established examples of a cultivated European taste, Jefferson essentially applied the analogy of the chain of being to the cultural history of the human race and recreated in microcosm the human race's progressive journey from savagery to civilization."²⁹

THE TRAJECTORY OF THE COLLECTION THROUGH AMERICAN MUSEUMS

The greater part of Lewis and Clark's original collection was presented to Charles Willson Peale, patriot, artist, and naturalist. Once more the objects, stripped largely of their diplomatic significance, begin to tell another story about the relations between Euro-Americans and indigenous peoples. Although Jefferson chose objects to be displayed at his home, Peale placed the artifacts given to him in his Peale Museum in Philadelphia. Indian artifacts there were not displayed as *exotica* nor were they placed in dialogue with

European culture as they had been at Monticello. The so-called arts of diplomacy were displayed alongside mastodon bones, stuffed birds, and other wonders of the natural world as well as with portraits of the Founding Fathers. In his self-portrait Peale portrays himself revealing the main gallery of his museum, partially obscured by a curtain, with a mastodon skeleton behind him and his series of historical portraits ringing the hall (fig. 3). Like Jefferson, Peale understood his collection in patriotic terms. The portraits of leading American statesmen and the classicized busts representing them were meant to place these men in line with the great leaders of the Roman Republic of the Old World. The collection of artifacts from the Corps of Discovery were displayed together as a group, complete with wax figures of Meriwether Lewis and the defeated Shawnee leaders Blue Jacket and Red Pole, as testimony to America's expansion into the West. These waxworks represent an uncanny prefiguring of the soon-to-be ubiquitous Indian diorama to be found later throughout American museums of natural history.

There are others aspects of Peale's curatorial notions that are predictive of future ethnological displays. The Peale Museum, while sharing in the legacy of the Wunderkammer, moves the Indian more firmly into the realm of natural history if we acknowledge that ethnology and anthropology were not yet clearly articulated disciplines. Whereas much of the arrangement of a cabinet of curiosities was aesthetic, Peale looked to Linnean taxonomies to organize his displays. At the top this chain of being were those examples of *homo sapiens europaeus alba* represented by his portraits of leading Americans. Linneaus in the 1758 edition of *Systema naturae* had suggested a hierarchy within the differing kinds of humans with some naturally inclined to more advanced civilizations than others.³⁰ This may well have influenced Peale's scheme of display. The resulting linkage of Native America and other so-called primitive societies with natural history rather than human history would continue to determine the display of ethnological materials well into the 1990s.³¹ We might also look ahead to the degrading tradition of displaying Indian artifacts and dioramas in the context of other things extinct. Peale was the first to bring the Indian and the mastodon together but by no means the last. I remember the museums of my childhood where one could see a woolly mammoth in the same museum space that portrayed a Native village scene of my own Haudenosaunee



FIGURE 3. Charles Willson Peale, *Self-Portrait of the Artist in His Museum*, 1822. Courtesy of Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

ancestors. The message was likely so internalized by the curators that they were unconscious of its ethnohistorical and political implications.

Another aspect informing Peale's collection that may be less apparent still is the psychology behind preserving the artifacts of cultures that he feared might otherwise disappear. Stephen Bann has theorized that one unacknowledged aspect of the cabinet of curiosities may be mourning.³² The objects in this case take on something like the status of a relic—an object that materially preserves an aspect of the past forever maintained in the present. As Christoph Irmscher has pointed out, the decidedly secular Peale had no religious qualms about the desirability of preserving human bodies for display in the context of a natural history museum.³³ Part of the Peale Museum's holdings at the end of the eighteenth century included the skeletons of a male and a female of the Wabash nation—again an uncanny precursor of the scientific grave-robbing to come. Peale differed from the pseudoscientific ethnologists that followed him because he did not regard these skeletons as examples of primitive physiognomy, but rather they were collected for the story connected with the persons they once were.

Irmscher explains that Peale found the skeletons worthy of retention because of what I will call their affective history. Apparently after their respective deaths the couple were to be dissected by US Army surgeons as anatomical subjects. When they were disinterred their only child was found buried with the father. The circumstances of the child's death were not clear, but members of his tribe explained that it was proper that the boy was "sent to his parents." Irmscher emphasizes that Peale focuses on this as evidence of the affection and mutual love of a family-centered society.³⁴ Curious as this detail is, I wish to focus attention on Peale's desire to preserve not a scientific fact but rather a sentiment dependent on the recounting of those people's story. This would be in keeping with Susan Stewart's assertion of a deep psychological connection between Peale's portraiture and his museum collections as cognate means "designed to stay oblivion."³⁵ For example, at the death of his fourth child, Margaret, Peale painted a portrait of his wife, Rachel, weeping over the dead child. Rather than record the child in life Peale chose to preserve the parent's grief at her loss. This focus on mourning might be viewed in relation to the story of the Indian child buried with his father. Stories adhere to the material objects and demand retelling. A similar strategy, with less focus on affect, applied to the Native diplomatic gifts displayed in the Peale Museum. Their cultural significance had not been completely muted, as it later would be, in the hands of successive curators. Through his labels Peale attempted to clarify the diplomatic significance of the Lewis and Clark collection. He explained, in a letter to Jefferson in 1808, that the display of the wax figure of Lewis in Shoshone clothes holding a calumet was a symbol of the "mutual amity" between the Americans and the Indians. Peale imagined the positive impact this would have on viewers, adding, "My object in this work is to give a lesson to the Indians who may visit the Museum, and also to show my sentiments regarding wars."³⁶

If Stewart's observation is true, that "Peale develop[ed] his museum as an antidote to war's loss and as a gesture against disorder and the extinction

of knowledge,” then we should consider how the Lewis and Clark collection functioned within this framework.³⁷ These objects are not merely Native arts or mnemonic devices but the representation of a complex series of intercultural exchanges and struggles. They stand outside the legalistic world of treaties and other documents as figures in a story being told by a people about their relations with another. It is an ongoing story. If it is the initial peaceful gestures that are reified in several of the objects that Peale displayed we are still left to ask what the aftermath was of those peaceful beginnings.

The prospect of Euro-American expansion well beyond the boundaries of the original thirteen colonies became a reality with the Louisiana Purchase and the continued wars against the Natives of the Ohio Valley and Indiana Territory in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Indigenous communities were being displaced at an alarming rate, and extinction seemed inevitable for some observers. This made the preservation of Native artifacts all the more urgent. The early nineteenth century would see the official acceptance of the notion of the vanishing Redman. Historian Gary Nash refers to this as “the idea of inevitable historical outcomes.”³⁸ He points out that although the Puritans promulgated a notion of the providential demise of the Indians it was only in the early nineteenth century that a secular version of this concept became widely accepted. The widespread popularity of this notion was due in large part to the growth of the public school system where, as Nash points out, “the first schoolbooks enshrined the idea of historical inevitability.”³⁹ Such notions must have driven the impulse to collect, as Peale’s was not the only collection of Indian artifacts of its kind, even if it was one of the first and most prominent.

In the 1840s the young lawyer Lewis Henry Morgan began his investigation into Haudenosaunee, or Iroquois, culture in order to supply the non-Native members of his club the Grand Order of the Iroquois with more authentic information.⁴⁰ What started out as a hobbyist’s project turned into a lifelong study and the founding of American ethnology and anthropology. Morgan’s interpretation of Haudenosaunee material culture was given expression in the third section of his magisterial *The League of the Ho-Dé-No-Sau-Nee, Iroquois* published in 1851. If we can allow the notion of ethnological objects speaking to us to be more than a quaint metaphor we can read Morgan’s opening lines on the artifacts of the Haudenosaunee with a fuller sense of their import: “The fabrics of a people unlock their social history. They speak a language that is silent, but yet more eloquent than the written page. As memorials of former times, they commune directly with the beholder, opening the unwritten history of the period they represent, and clothing it with perpetual freshness.”⁴¹ It is clear from this passage that Morgan privileged reading over listening even when using a metaphor of orality.

This in part can be explained by Morgan’s notion that no living Natives existed to speak on behalf of these objects. As Philip Deloria has pointed out, Morgan knew the Indians of New York were not extinct, and he worked closely with several Indian communities, but for Morgan they were no longer authentic Indians because of their level of acculturation.⁴² He, like so many “friends of the Indian” after him, would find actual Natives wanting in every

respect. To listen truly to artifacts would mean inquiring after their significance from living descendants of the peoples who produced the objects in the first place. But this would grant Native Americans authority over such artifacts and force the non-Natives to acknowledge the continuing presence of indigenous peoples. Morgan was, in the end, more anxious to have the interpretation of these artifacts fit into the taxonomies and theoretical narrative that he had developed.

For Morgan, artifacts offered testimony to a people's genius, and, in his appreciation of the accomplishments of the Iroquois, he saw a path from savagery to barbarism to civilization.⁴³ Such ascending stages of civilization were typical of the unilineal cultural evolution that he espoused. Thus the achievements of the Iroquois in the past were to be admired even as their prospects for cultural integrity in the future were denied. Theorized further in the late nineteenth century by British scholars Herbert Spencer and Edward Tylor, cultural evolution could be used to explain the coexistence of so-called primitives alongside the technologically developed societies of the world. Education, and to many the adoption of the Christian religion, was the answer for those peoples living uncivilized lives in the now self-consciously modern age. Morgan could see the richness of Haudenosaunee culture through the lens of history but not in the living present. Like Peale a generation before him, Morgan also collected Indian artifacts and wrote of Native culture in what has been called salvage ethnography.⁴⁴ Morgan's collection was donated to the state of New York where a portion of it remains in Albany, even after a disastrous fire in 1911 destroyed much of what he collected. It is because of Morgan's careful illustration and description of these artifacts in *The League* that scholars have been able to establish their provenance (fig. 4). Early curators of Indian artifacts often straddled the divide between Romantic nostalgia concerning the "melancholy fate of the Indian" on the one side and the scientific claims of modern ethnology and anthropology on the other side.

Unfortunately for Mr. Peale, in spite of all his good intentions, his

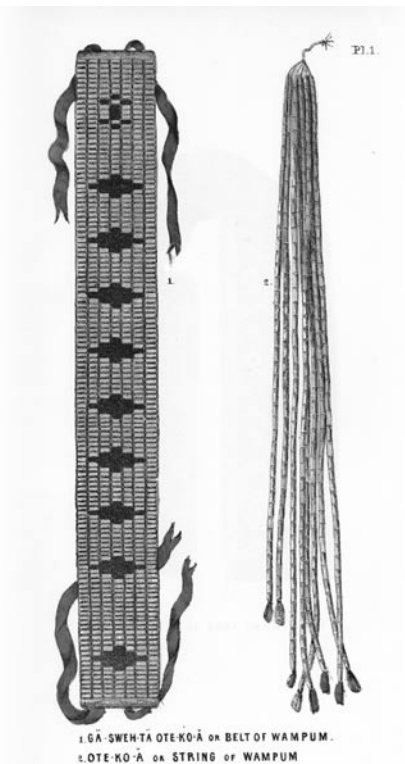


FIGURE 4. Lewis Henry Morgan, "Ga-sweh-ta Ote-ko-á or Belt of Wampum and Ote-ko-á or String of Wampum," *League of the Ho-De'-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois*, 1851, plate 1.

museum did not command the public's appetite for novelty or its financial support for long. Peale, and later his sons, had hoped the US government or even a state or local government would purchase the contents of the Peale Museum as the basis for a national museum of American natural history. Such efforts always met with frustration and disappointment. With the movement away from conceiving of Native artifacts as *exotica* to be displayed in a cabinet of curiosities toward their being displayed in a more scientific and didactic public museum, the Peales had failed to understand that their displays must also entertain. Attempts were made to create a satellite version of the Philadelphia museum in Baltimore, but it too failed. The younger Peale brothers even attempted to add theatrical performances, but the museum remained in debt. By the early 1840s, after moving at least three times in as many decades, the museum was bankrupt and on the auction block. Ironically, it is the county sheriff's sale catalog that is the closest thing we have to an inventory of the museum collection as it existed in 1848.⁴⁵

If we are tracing the trajectory of the Lewis and Clark expedition artifacts in tandem with US-Indian relations we can safely say that it is in this period that we enter the nadir of that history. The contents of the Peale Museum were sold in 1848 to none other than P. T. Barnum and his business partner Moses Kimball. This was the bleak period following the Indian Removal policies of Andrew Jackson and marking the beginning of an out-and-out genocidal Indian policy that the US government pursued unabated well into the next century. To his credit Peale had kept the Lewis and Clark collection intact, but Barnum moved much of the collection to his American Museum in lower Manhattan and promptly divided the rest with Moses Kimball, who operated a museum in Boston. What remained in New York was no longer exhibited for its connection to either Enlightenment notions of natural history or Lewis and Clark's famous expedition. Artifacts were freely mixed with other ethnological curiosities from around the world and displayed in a characteristically haphazard manner. Among the most popular attractions were the infamous mummified remains of the so-called Feejee Mermaid—a hoax made of a fish and monkey sewn together. Indian objects of unknown provenance were now described in Barnum's guidebook as "the dagger of Osceola, the Seminole Chief" and "the Indians' weapons of war, including their clubs, scalping knives, bows and arrows, axes, tomahawks and spears."⁴⁶ The emphasis was on the sensational not the educational.

The American Museum was noteworthy in other ways. It was segregated by race, with a special admittance period for people of color—so that Barnum would not have to give up that lucrative sector of the market altogether. This is a special irony when we consider Barnum's egregiously racist exploitation of African Americans whom he displayed as missing links and cannibals.⁴⁷ Given Barnum's preference for humbug over information we should not expect to find any culturally sensitive treatment of Native artifacts. It is telling that no mention of the Lewis and Clark expedition, even in providential terms, occurs in Barnum's museum guide. Because some of Peale's careful and at times fulsome labels to actual exhibits are still extant we have no reason to doubt that Barnum was aware of the Lewis and Clark exhibit from the Peale

Museum. Rather, this may illustrate how little attention Lewis and Clark now garnered in the public imagination. Their exploits had passed out of the American public's famously brief attention span into the recesses of ancient history. One can see how some of the objects, possibly gifts received by the expedition as part of a diplomatic ceremony or traded for in initial encounters, were recontextualized in Barnum's museum. He writes of some of the beadwork and clothes on display, "Some Indian trinkets, taken from the tomb of a Squaw at Mount Coffin, are fantastic in their fashion. They are evidences of a woman's love of finery, and desire to look charming—perfectly natural and commendable of ladies, be they natives of whatever country they may."⁴⁸

Purple as Barnum's prose may be we get an idea of the tenor of his guide. Given that he was the author of so many hoaxes it is difficult to glean any reliable information from his descriptions, but it should be noted that Mount Coffin was the site of a major Indian burial mound on the Columbia River and had been visited in 1805 by Lewis and Clark. Still, Barnum does not make the connection, and his description of these "trinkets" gives us little to go on. One thing we can be fairly sure of is that whatever was on display in New York has been lost forever. The entirety of Barnum's collection was destroyed in a fire in 1865. This left the only surviving materials from the original Peale collection in Kimball's Boston Museum. This museum, modeled on Barnum's, also sustained damage from a fire in 1899. What survived of the original Corps of Discovery's original artifacts in Kimball's museum was eventually donated to Harvard University's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

Lest we be too cheered by the delivery of these materials from Kimball's permanent sideshow to an institution of higher learning, we should recall the state of ethnology and anthropology in the 1890s. In this Darwinian moment of a specious and racialized theory of human evolution the artifacts collected by Lewis and Clark were not only specimens of a vanishing race but evidence of the teleology from savage to civilized. Or worse, following the notions of Samuel Morton and Louis Agassiz, Indians might even represent a different species. This was a period of measuring Native crania in the name of science and an authoritative anointing of racist and imperialist ideologies. A period that would see the formulation of the white man's burden and Indian boarding schools set up under Pratt's infamous rubric, "Kill the Indian, and Save the Man," was unlikely to contemplate the artifacts of the Lewis and Clark collection as metonymic of the complex diplomatic and economic relations established in that distant encounter. The primary benefit to the collection was that the objects would no longer be mere curiosities, trinkets, or specimens of natural history.

The Peabody, founded in 1866, was the first American museum established expressly for the display and study of anthropological and ethnological materials. As Curtis Hinsley has noted, there was little enthusiasm for the museum in its first decades and even less acceptance of its scholarly practices. As Hinsley puts it, "For most of the scholarly world, the study of mankind was still a branch of classical, humanistic study, rather than part of the realm of natural science."⁴⁹ Only at the turn of the century would the fields of anthropology and ethnology come into their own. It was also in the early decades

of the twentieth century that the Peabody would participate in what Pawnee scholar James Riding In has called "Imperial archaeology."⁵⁰ The human remains from a wide variety of Native nations were disinterred and shipped to Harvard for study. One of the largest collections held by the Peabody was from Pecos Pueblo in New Mexico. Between 1915 and 1929 archaeologist Alfred Kidder was to exhume and send to Harvard the remains of 1,912 individuals. These remained in storage in Cambridge until they were repatriated to their homeland in 1999, as a result of the passage of the landmark Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990. It was estimated that in the late twentieth century there were more dead Indians stored in the vaults of the Peabody Museum than there were living Indians in southern New England. This included tribes from throughout the American West and native Hawaiians, not to mention dozens of sacred objects and other culturally sensitive materials.

The diplomatic gifts sent to Jefferson by the Corps of Discovery were merely a few objects among many in that aggressively acquisitive period. They were not the focus of particular scholarly attention and some had been mislaid or lost within the museum's vast holdings. In 1905 an assistant curator of the Peabody Museum, Charles C. Willoughby, published a brief article on the remnants of the Lewis and Clark collection of artifacts in the journal *American Anthropologist*. The collection, acquired from the Boston Museum six years earlier, was doubtless of interest because of the ongoing centennial celebrations of Lewis and Clark's expedition. But as Castle McLaughlin, a current associate curator at the Peabody, points out, no other substantial study of these artifacts would occur until 1997 when the museum undertook an internal review of the collection.⁵¹

Given this legacy of ethnology and anthropology, many changes would need to occur before we could begin to listen to the stories carried by these objects, because listening to the objects could only be accomplished through dialogue with the living Native peoples they had come to represent and through inquiry about the journey of those same objects through American discussions of race and culture. The Indian New Deal of the 1930s, the civil rights movement beginning in the 1950s, the social activism of the 1960s and 1970s, and to a great extent NAGPRA all made a dramatic reengagement with these hitherto silenced objects possible. The advent of collaborative planning at museums has meant the active involvement of Native community representatives and a multiplicity of perspectives.⁵² The story they tell is not only of what they might have meant in their original context but also the story of where they have been and the painful odyssey that path represents. It is not a story that necessarily has a Hollywood ending. As Patricia Penn Hilden and Shari Huhndorf's 1999 critique of the first National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) at the Customs House in New York City reminds us, the powerful commercial impulses of American society and the securely entrenched immigrant majority can always repackage Indian culture to meet its own needs.⁵³

THE VOICES BEHIND THE ARTIFACT

The diplomatic objects sent back so long ago by Lewis and Clark might finally give us access to the cross-cultural dialogues that the majority culture has ignored for two centuries. They help us round the circle, not by concluding anything but rather by returning us to where we began: two groups of sovereign peoples speaking to each other as equals. If the new NMAI in Washington is to mean anything to American Indians it will be because we as Indian people will be its sustaining voice. The recent opening of that museum offers an interesting addendum to the issues I have been considering here. It may be the last best hope for a genuine reconceptualizing of Native art and artifacts and the culture of display. A variety of the museumgoers may have wanted the NMAI to be primarily focused on North American indigenous history and culture or even to be a Native American version of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, but what the museum's founders and curators created was a space that celebrates living cultures with ancient roots.

For some, though, the histories recounted through the museum's displays risk obscuring the bitter struggles we have faced against Euro-American invasion and colonization even as they emphasize the resilient and evolving world of Native peoples throughout the Western Hemisphere. For them the exhibit *Our Peoples: Giving Voice to Our Histories* comes up short when treating the legacies of genocide and colonization. That exhibit depends primarily on a series of symbolic objects beginning with pre-Columbian gold artifacts and moving through the weapons of conquest to a display of bibles translated into dozens of Native languages to a collection of Native arms, from the bow and arrow to submachine guns—testimonies to Native creativity, loss, colonization, resistance, and change. On a facing wall the display leads the viewer from maps showing the grim spread of pathogens and military conquests to an area displaying broken treaties. This arrangement of visual representations and objects attempts to tell our stories along with us, even to those who may not wish to hear.

But the museum was not received with anything like universal acclaim. Native and non-Native reporters panned the exhibits from papers of record to scholarly journals. There were accusations of commercialism, architectural and aesthetic missteps, and a lack of adequate explanation of the displays.⁵⁴ A number of scholars have offered pointed critiques in a special issue of *American Indian Quarterly* devoted to the subject of the new museum.⁵⁵ Some scholars were dismayed by what they see as the intrusion of abstract academic thinking and application of postmodern theory.⁵⁶ The real challenge for the museum's curators will be to respond to their critics and consider carefully their suggestions. As a passive experience, viewing the arts and artifacts of cultures far removed from contemporary Euro-American society may always disappoint if we expect this experience to provide us with a complex history. We might think of the calumets in the Lewis and Clark collection as an example. In and of themselves they are beautiful, but they represent so much more on a cultural, political, and historic level than a museum label can ever explain.

Likewise, consider the literary scholar Jane Tompkins's account of her frustration with the display of artifacts of the Plains Indians at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center.⁵⁷ She describes a visit in 1988 to this museum in Cody, Wyoming and her reactions to its various displays. We should note that the exhibit represented a departure from the usual Wild West displays typical of regional museums in that a Native scholar, George Horse Capture, had curated it. But Tompkins could be said to "want sympathy" for Indian culture in both senses of the phrase. She writes, "What was the matter? I was interested in Indians, had read about them, taught some Indian literature, felt drawn by accounts of native religions," and yet the exhibits "triggered no fantasies" for her.⁵⁸ Tompkins questions the museum's intentions, asking, "Wasn't there an air of bad faith about preserving the vestiges of a culture one had effectively extinguished?"⁵⁹

Still, this does not explain her lack of sympathy or, possibly, misprision of Native culture when she observes that the artifacts derived from animals led her to see the Indians' mode of life as "even more dedicated to carnage than Buffalo Bill's."⁶⁰ It would appear no amount of revisionist labeling and description could make these objects more alive to Tompkins; judging from their material culture she admits to finding Plains Indian life quite tedious and lacking glamour.⁶¹ Surprising as this appraisal may be in the late twentieth century, it is an honest account of one scholar's admitted inability to comprehend Native culture by simply viewing it. Museums should take note of this problem when reconsidering how they will display ethnological objects in hopes that viewers will be able to extrapolate a foreign culture from them. Unlike the self-conscious *objet d'art* of western culture, the arts of diplomacy, such as those represented in the Lewis and Clark collection, are decidedly overdetermined in a museum context.

At the heart of these issues is the need for continued consultation and conversation with Native peoples. If museums are to overcome the inherent problems of alienation that we may associate with them they will need to move beyond mere display toward conversation. More than anything, the NMAI provides a meeting place where the diversity and continuance of indigenous cultures can be showcased and experienced by Native and non-Native peoples alike. As with the Lewis and Clark collection, we must not only rethink the culture of display but also accept our responsibility to ask questions if we are to listen for a response. It is important to remember that artifacts have intellectual and theoretical biographies too. We tend to think that there is something real about the fact that an object has passed through people's hands, but we tend to dismiss, or at least underestimate, its role in a history of ideas. We dismiss this aspect of their history because we see theory as a kind of progress; an object that gets a better explanation loses whatever theoretical biography it previously had. Posing such questions will lead us back to Native artists and community leaders and, in another direction, require us to discover the history of the collections we view. The object on display will always run the risk of being viewed passively—this was a major frustration for figures such as Franz Boas when he considered the place of the museum object in anthropology.⁶² But new technologies now make it feasible to allow museumgoers

access to a variety of media that will lead us beyond the museum. Listening requires us to seek out the voices telling the stories, and this means that we must leave the confines of the museum and return to the communities represented in such exhibits—even if video, sound recording, or print technologies mediate such experiences. For scholars, Native and non-Native alike, it is up to us to keep telling the stories and record them when appropriate while attending to the other part of the narrative; the one created by the peregrinations of such artifacts through American history, a story of displacement and recontextualization, and one that is also important in our attempts to integrate the narratives of different peoples and different histories. These are stories that find their manifestation in artifacts and that demand we listen.

NOTES

1. See Castle McLaughlin, *Arts of Diplomacy: Lewis and Clark's Indian Collection* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003). This is the most thorough scholarship on the provenance and history of the collection to date.

2. George Horse Capture, foreword to *North American Indian Art*, by David W. Penny (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2004), 7.

3. Greg Sarris, *Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American Indian Texts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 57.

4. *Ibid.*, 60.

5. Julie Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 112.

6. *Ibid.*, 113.

7. See Amy Lonetree's review of *Arts of Diplomacy: Lewis and Clark's Indian Collection* on H-NET, February 2005, <http://h-net.msu.edu> (accessed 19 March 2007).

8. The Corps of Discovery consisted of almost fifty men, led by Lewis and Clark, and traveled in a keelboat and two smaller boats. The Corps was commissioned by President Jefferson to survey the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase, make diplomatic contacts with the indigenous nations, and search for a possible water route to the Pacific Ocean. For a list of the members of the Corp of Discovery see <http://www.nps.gov/archive/jeff/LewisClark2/CorpsOfDiscovery/CorpsOfDiscoveryMain.htm> (accessed 12 June 2007).

9. McLaughlin distinguishes between indigenous gifts of state and chiefly gifts, noting that these categories are not completely discreet and that we often do not know enough about the circumstances of exchange to determine the status of individual objects. McLaughlin, *Arts of Diplomacy*, 57.

10. See Fred T. Plog, "Systems Theory in Archeological Research," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 4 (1975): 207–24.

11. Laurier Turgeon, "The Tale of the Kettle: Odyssey of an Intercultural Object," *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 1(1997): 2.

12. *Ibid.*, 4.

13. Meriwether Lewis, *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark*, written by Nicholas Biddle and ed. Paul Allen (Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1814). This book is cataloged under Lewis's name because it is drawn from his journals, but the writer of the text is Biddle with Allen as editor; also two places

for publication are cited in most card catalogs, though I drew on the Philadelphia edition.

14. James Rhonda, *Lewis and Clark among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 114.

15. See Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia" (1785), in *Writings*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (New York: Library of America, 1984), 183–91.

16. Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 223.

17. Quoted and translated by Jefferson in "Notes on the State of Virginia," 190.

18. *Ibid.*, 188–90.

19. The original museum of the American Antiquarian Society was disbanded in 1907 when the society's president, Waldo Lincoln, decided to make it a library.

20. See Clifford K. Shipton, "The Museum of the American Antiquarian Society," in *A Cabinet of Curiosities: Five Episodes in the Evolution of American Museums*, eds. Whitfield J. Bell Jr. et al., intro. Walter Muir Whitehill (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967), 36.

21. The cabinet of curiosities (sometimes called a Kunst- or Wunderkammer in German) was an early modern forerunner to the natural history museum. These usually private collections contained materials collected for their rarity, exotic qualities, or beauty and often included unusual specimens from nature, ancient artifacts, and ethnographic materials. As scientific and academic disciplines became more formalized such displays were divided and arranged according to fields of study and their respective taxonomies.

22. See Joyce Henri Robinson, "An American Cabinet of Curiosities: Thomas Jefferson's Indian Hall at Monticello," *Winterthur Portfolio: A Journal of American Material Culture* 30, no. 1 (1995): 42.

23. *Ibid.*, 47.

24. *Ibid.*, 45.

25. Joy Kenseth, "A World of Wonders in One Closet Shut," in *The Age of the Marvelous*, ed. Joy Kenseth (Hanover, NH: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College Press, 1991), 82, 89–90. See also Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, eds., *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

26. Ivan Karp, "Culture and Representation," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, eds. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 16.

27. Elizabeth Chew (2002), <http://www.monticello.org/jefferson/lewisandclark/framing/indianhall.html> (accessed 10 March 2004).

28. Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia," 266. Scholar Catherine Holland has interpreted Jefferson as primarily interested in Native Americans as vestiges of the past: "The aboriginal people of America were perhaps most interesting, and most significant, to Jefferson insofar as they represented living relics of an ancient past, an ancient *American* past. Natives were a living museum, an archaism within modern America from whom could be gleaned important knowledge about human civilization in epochs otherwise no longer available for study." See Catherine Holland, "Notes on the State of America: Jeffersonian Democracy and the Production of a National Past," *Political Theory* 29, no. 2 (April 2001): 201.

29. Robinson, "An American Cabinet of Curiosities," 57.
30. Christoph Irmscher, *The Poetics of Natural History: From John Bartram to William James* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, 1999), 84.
31. For an overview of the debates around this issue see Anna Laura Jones, "Exploding Canons: The Anthropology of Museums," *Annual Anthropology Review* 22 (1993): 201–20. In a recent article, "A New Dawn for Museums of Native American Art" (*New York Times*, 30 August 2005), Joshua Brockman also looks at current debates on the recontextualization of contemporary Native American art outside of natural history.
32. Stephen Bann, "Shrines, Curiosities, and the Rhetoric of Display," in *Visual Display: Culture Beyond Appearances*, eds. Lynne Cooke and Peter Wollen (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1995), 23.
33. Irmscher, *The Poetics of Natural History*, 86.
34. Ibid.
35. Susan Stewart, "Death and Life, in that Order, in the Works of Charles Willson Peale," in Cooke and Wollen, *Visual Display*, 32.
36. Quoted in Charles Coleman Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum: Charles Willson Peale and the First Popular Museum of Natural Science and Art* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980), 187.
37. Stewart, "Death and Life, in that Order," 53.
38. Gary Nash, "The Concept of Inevitability in the History of European–Indian Relations," in *Inequality in Early America*, eds. Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 1999), 267.
39. Ibid., 269.
40. See Philip J. Deloria, "Literary Indians and Ethnographic Objects," *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 71–94.
41. Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Ho-Dé-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois* (Rochester, NY: Sage and Brothers Publishers, 1851), 351.
42. Deloria, "Literary Indians and Ethnographic Objects," 90–91.
43. Elisabeth Tooker, *Lewis H. Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994), 14.
44. Deloria, "Literary Indians and Ethnographic Objects," 90.
45. Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum*, 314–18.
46. Phineas Taylor Barnum, *Barnum's Museum Illustrated* (New York[?], 1850), 23. Harvard Theatre Collection TS 272.100.8.
47. See James W. Cook Jr., "Of Men, Missing Links, and Nondescripts: The Strange Career of P. T. Barnum's 'What Is It?' Exhibition," in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, ed. Rosemarie Garland Thomson (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 139–57.
48. Barnum, *Barnum's Museum Illustrated*, 26.
49. Curtis M. Hinsley, "From Shell-Heaps to Stelae: Early Anthropology at the Peabody Museum," in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. George W. Stocking Jr. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 51.
50. See James Riding In, "Repatriation: A Pawnee's Perspective," *American Indian Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (1996): 238–50.
51. McLaughlin, *Arts of Diplomacy*, 3.
52. See Ruth B. Phillips, "Introduction: Community Collaboration in Exhibitions," in *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*, eds. Laura Peers and Alison K. Brown (New York: Routledge, 2003).

53. Patricia Penn Hilden and Shari Huhndorf, "Performing Indian in the National Museum of the American Indian," *Social Identities* 5, no. 2 (1999): 161–83.

54. For an overview of the mass media's critical reception of the NMAI see Jim Adams (2004), <http://www.indiancountry.com/content.cfm?id=1096409661> (accessed 12 April 2005).

55. Sonya Atalay and Amy Lonetree, eds., "Decolonizing Archaeology and Critical Engagements with the National Museum of the American Indian," special issue, *American Indian Quarterly* 30, nos. 3–4 (2006): 269–645.

56. See Gwyneira Isaac, "What Are Our Expectations Telling Us? Encounters with the NMAI," *American Indian Quarterly* 30, nos. 3–4 (2006): 574–96.

57. Jane Tompkins, "At the Buffalo Bill Museum, June 1988," in *West of Everything: The Inner Life of Westerns* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 179–203.

58. *Ibid.*, 188.

59. *Ibid.*, 192.

60. *Ibid.*, 190.

61. *Ibid.*, 191.

62. See Ira Jacknis, "Franz Boas and Exhibits: On the Limitations of the Museum Method of Anthropology," in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. George W. Stocking Jr. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 75–111.