

Rights and responsibilities: American Indian collections in cultural museums

by

Elizabeth White, M.S.

A Project

November 2010

Submitted to the Graduate School of
the University of Oregon in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Science

Rights and responsibilities: American Indian collections in cultural museums

by

Elizabeth White

A Project

Approved by the Department of Arts Administration

Phaedra Livingstone, Ph.D., Advisor

Date

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	2
RESUME	3
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction	4
CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review: The Indian in the Museum	11
CHAPTER THREE: Cultural Laws and the Rise of the NAGPRA	31
CHAPTER FOUR: Museum Collaborations	40
CHAPTER FIVE: Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and Museum in Pendleton, Oregon	50
CHAPTER SIX: Museum of Natural and Cultural History in Eugene, Oregon	69
CHAPTER SEVEN: Conclusions	82
APPENDIX A	92
BIBLIOGRAPHY	93

ABSTRACT

Rights and responsibilities: American Indian collections in cultural museums

Elizabeth P. White, M.S.

Advisor: Phaedra Livingstone, Ph.D.

The presence of American Indian materials in collections is an asset and a liability for museums, a dichotomy that is reflected in the collections management practices and interpretation within exhibitions. This project is a study on the development of institutional practices as a response to legal and ethical influences. The research primarily consists of a review of current relevant literature, personal interviews, and case studies on two institutions in the state of Oregon: The Museum of Natural and Cultural History in Eugene, and the Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and Museum in Pendleton. This paper offers a current perspective on these organizations and their unique collections and exhibitions, response to cultural resource laws, and interpretative methodologies in the larger context of the cultural museum field.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my family, friends, and eclectic grad school cohort for their support throughout the whole graduate school process. A special thank you goes to my mother and father for always encouraging me to do what I felt was right for me.

Thank you to Dr. Phaedra Livingstone, my project advisor, for her support of my research topic and understanding that I would eventually get it completed. I am also grateful to the other faculty members of the AAD Department for their support: Dr. Doug Blandy, Dr. Lori Hager, Dr. John Fenn, and Dr. Patrica Dewey.

I am especially appreciative of Diana LaSarge, Randall Melton, Elizabeth Kallenbach and Pamela Endzweig for their willingness to share their knowledge and experiences for this research project.

And lastly, thank you to Cindi Budlong and Dorothy Bayern of the MNCH, who happily put up with my academic shenanigans and came to my research presentation even when I asked them not to.

ELIZABETH PEARL WHITE

40 E 30th Eugene OR, 97405

(503)703-2148

ewhite4@uoregon.edu

EDUCATION:

Master's in Arts Administration: Museum Studies, received November 2010

University of Oregon School of Architecture and Allied Arts: Eugene, Oregon

B.A. in Art History: Western Art before 1945, received June 2008

University of Oregon School of Architecture and Allied Arts: Eugene, Oregon

WORK EXPERIENCE:

Exhibitions Intern, *Museum of Natural and Cultural History* (Sept. 2008–Nov. 2010)

Participate in various aspects of exhibit planning, concept development, production, research, exhibit design and mount making. The internship covers the development of major exhibits on a variety of topics including photography, geologic processes, native plants, musical instruments, and paleontology.

Interpretive Intern, *Collier Memorial State Park Logging Museum* (July-- Sept. 2009)

Assisted in the implementation of the Collier State Park Interpretive Concept Plan. Duties included advancing the development of museum period cells, site planning, assisting with the relocation of museum artifacts and historic cabins, research, design of historical displays, and administering gift agreements for museum donations.

Education Intern, *Museum of Natural and Cultural History* (Jan.–June 2008)

Main roles included assisting in the creation and implementation of Family Day and Exhibition Opening events designed to encourage awareness and interest in the museum. Designed materials for use to educate children on topics related to exhibits in the museum.

Education Programs Assistant, *Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art* (Oct. 2007–June 2008)

Managed the museum's iTours program, recording and editing brief speeches by art professionals and community members concerning various art objects in the museum. Podcasts were then uploaded to the museum website and iPods available for visitor check-out.

Art History Association Symposium Co-Chair, *University of Oregon* (Sept. 2007–June 2008)

Involved in coordinating and producing a two-day symposium presenting papers on various art historical topics. Organizational duties included creating budgets, scheduling, and contacting professionals and students from various universities in the United States.

Programs Intern, *International Student Association of the University of Oregon* (Jan.–June 2006)

Designed and produced community events on campus in order to facilitate intercultural communication. Displayed organizational skills in making arrangements with the university scheduling, facilities, catering, and housing departments.

CHAPTER ONE:

Introduction

Museums as institutions of collection and education often hold materials from non-European cultures to strict ideological constructions of ownership and authority. Museums are places where the western concepts of race, evolution, and cultural colonization were as much a component of display as the physical objects and accompanying descriptions displayed. In the past fifty years the gradual shift in perspectives on museum authority and cultural self-determinism has evolved and the history of American Indians in museums has been a particularly interesting example of the shift in museum practices. Reacting to increased demands for cultural equality and respect on a societal level, as well as laws enacted in support of American Indian rights, museums have begun to incorporate culturally conscious considerations in their practices of collection, display, and outreach.

Problem Statement

The presence of culturally based American Indian collections is both an asset and a liability for museums. With these items, the museum needs to be aware of both their obligation to identify such items as being culturally important, and the responsibilities of handling these items in a professional and respectful manner. The adaptation of cultural consideration, such as institutional internal codes of ethics, cultural-based legislation, collaborative processes, and community participation are methods that have been utilized to acknowledge American Indian concerns.

Conceptual Framework and Methodology

The framework of this research project is broken into several distinct areas of concentration, designed for multiple viewpoints. It required looking into the identification of American Indian collections and representations in American tribal and non-tribal museums. Research in this area primarily focused on historical, legislative, and cultural developments analyzed in legal, academic, and professional documents.

Much of the information relating to the topic of cultural patrimony and representation is divided into ethical and legal subsections, which is replicated in this conceptual framework (Appendix A). The literature review frames my research on the practices of museums, and what both museum professionals and tribal communities see as a compromise of interests and ideologies.

The first group of documents addresses the relations between Native American communities and dominant western society's preconceived definitions of identity and culture. This includes issues of cultural sensitivity when representing communities and matters of object identification and association. Conflict tends to present itself when these two categories meet, based on politics and identity, where questions arise addressing cultural affiliation, unidentifiable cultural material, and the ownership of objects (Nafziger & Dobkins, 1999) is often explored through legal processes.

Federal legal issues addressed in this paper include laws such as the American Indian Religious Freedoms Act, the National Museum of the American Indian Act and the Native American Graves and Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). Historically, as laws such as the NAGPRA have gone into effect, museums have been required to document and catalogue

their cultural items. This has allowed museums to become more familiar with their own collections, identifying and grouping items of American Indian origin from which museums may continue their collections and create exhibitions with a clearer context.

Following the literature review, I present a comparative case study of two cultural museums, the Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and Museum in Pendleton, Oregon and the Museum of Natural and Cultural History in Eugene, Oregon-- with a focus on their collections and exhibition of American Indian materials. A research and site visitation to both locations evaluates their culturally based collections management and interpretations in response to legal and ethical influences. Documentation of the site visit included taking notes on the structure of collections, the response to NAGPRA legalities, the structure of the exhibitions, and the manner in which they are displayed.

Research Perspective

At the onset of this research, I had a limited amount of experience in handling culturally sensitive materials and information, and was not positive what related best practices of museums should be. I am not American Indian and I would include myself in a category of persons that has infrequent day-to-day contact with those of American Indian heritage. I am a supporter of Native self-government and self-definition. Much of what I know (or think I know) of American Indians cultures I have learned from media, museums, and research. I have spent almost three years working in the Museum of Natural and Cultural History as an intern designing and fabricating exhibits. As an individual looking towards a career in exhibit development in cultural

and historical museums, this research is important to me as a student, a museum professional, and a resident of the United States.

Research Questions

The purpose of this research was to form a descriptive analysis of the background and current context of American Indian cultural materials in museums. The primary question of my research asks: What are ethical and legal issues surrounding museums collecting and displaying American Indian cultural objects, and how is this evident in museum collections and exhibitions practices?

Sub-questions:

- What ethical concerns exist relating to museum ownership of culturally significant items
- What is the state of current legislation regarding cultural objects, and how do these laws affect museum operations and organization?
- What sort of interaction and dialogue exist between museums and the cultural communities they represent?
- What additional actions can museums take to ensure they are acting in the best interest of a culture they are representing?

Why is this topic important enough for a research project? As museums are devoted to the preservation of materials and the education of the public through their exhibitions and research, there is a certain amount of cultural competence that is required for institutions who take up that role. By acknowledging the history of how American Indians cultural materials were collected and displayed and developing an awareness of the different cultural practices and world-views, museums are able to understand, communicate with, and effectively represent people across multiple cultures.

Research Design

This project involves several methods of data collection focusing on relevant museum documents and policy descriptions, interviews with relevant museum staff members, interviews with Oregon Tribal cultural resource agencies, and two museum case studies.

Historical methodology investigates and interprets questions that deal with past human experiences to inform present lives. As cultural patrimony and cultural representation in museums has changed dramatically over the past two hundred years, understanding where practices originated is important in understanding their effect of these preexisting and prevalent ideologies. This provides context to the additional research I conducted into the current practices of small tribal and non-tribal cultural institutions.

Primary research for this project involved information gathered through rich case studies. Two cultural institutions were selected as subjects for the case studies: the Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and Museum in Pendleton, Oregon and the Museum of Natural and Cultural History in Eugene, Oregon. Both are strong case study sites, owing to their collections of American Indian cultural items and efforts to display them with sensitivity to their history. The first is a tribal-run institution, housing and displaying its own historical and contemporary cultural objects. The Museum of Natural and Cultural History, however, is a university-affiliated non-native museum that houses a large collection items from multiple branches of science. In addition to the site studies, interviews with the collections manager were conducted to discuss collections history, collaboration and consultation, and interpretation/representation.

Document analysis included: collections of written articles on museum practices of collection, repatriation and display; American Indian civil rights information; state and federal

laws; academic articles; and collections of written supplemental exhibit materials. Participant observation involves site visits to cultural institutions to observe the methods of collections management and display in current exhibitions. Interviews, the primary tool for the development of the final product of this project, are a major source of information on the relationships between cultural communities, museums, and the politics of display.

The majority of early literature and document review was conducted at the University of Oregon, with the assistance of research advisors and peer groups over the course of the winter and spring terms. Four interviews were conducted in the spring and summer terms. Each lasted between an hour and an hour and a half, depending on the constraints of the interviewees. The interviews of the museum employees occurred at their respective sites, while interview with resource director was conducted in an administrative office.

Site visits required detailed field notes on visual analysis, and the collection of brochures and exhibit catalogues. Documents for the analysis and literature review were obtained through internet websites, academic journals, newspapers, books, and colleagues. Information collected was according to their content and placement in the final project document.

Basic categories of coding information for this project are similar to the categorization of the research sub questions: legal, ethical, and practical. Subcategories of coding include the differentiation of museum practices and academic theory; and differentiation of object treatment and representation when discussing exhibitions/museum practices; the impact of federal legislation; and the use of collaboration. Museums' acknowledgement of social changes is an important development in the museum field particularly in the last twenty years. The techniques and messages of these institutions attract national discussions on museum practices. What

exactly are these organizations doing differently than in the past? How does the history and mission of the organizations influence collections management, exhibitions, and community outreach practices? By understanding how tribal and non-tribal museums operate, and how they related to one another, we can begin to recognize how to apply them to the greater museum community.

CHAPTER TWO:

Literature Review: The Indian in the Museum

The museum field has faced a number of complex legal and ethical considerations reacting to initial interactions with American Indians. Early 20th century legislation was originally an outgrowth of the concern over disappearing American Indian cultures by collectors in the 19th century. Slowly the focus shifted to concerns of American Indian communities who were attempting to regain their cultural sovereignty. This grew into a large-scale re-evaluation of the practices and collections of museums and collections institutions that were known to house and display cultural items. The inclusion of ethical consideration, such as institutional codes of ethics, NAGPRA compliance, collaborative processes, and community participation are methods in which museums have used to acknowledge American Indian cultural concerns.

The collection and representation of ethnic or “exotic” cultures by peoples of differing backgrounds has a long and complicated history within the United States. Particularly in the case of American Indian cultures within the now United States territories, the complicated interactions laid the foundation for the treatment of individuals, communities, and cultural patrimony.

Historically, the United States has been accused of possessing a “short cultural memory” (Koehler, 2007:105) stemming from notions of Manifest Destiny and beliefs by Europeans that the America was pristine and unpopulated upon arrival. The native peoples that the Europeans encountered were not considered as having 'culture' in a European understanding. As the Europeans have developed into the dominant power of the eventual United States government,

the notion that Americans Indians did not possess a culture was carried into the future generations. In this way, “the cultural memory of the United States, per se, would only extend back as far as its birth or, at most, the early colonies. Even if culture could have been said to have existed in the land the Europeans occupied prior to their arrival, the new arrivals would not have considered it US culture-- at least not early in US history” (Koehler, 2007:105). Treatment varied from curiosity to disinterest to disdain, affecting all interactions and communications from the onset.

The impact of the loss of cultural artifacts, land, and sovereignty was enormous. Collection of American Indian cultural materials assets was influenced by the founding of museums archaeological societies, and private collections. Competition for artifacts increased as demand for diverse collections increased, causing looters and collectors to use unethical methods in the collection of materials. Additional laws outlawing cultural ceremonies had a two-fold effect of breaking down communities as well as creating the opportunity for ceremonial objects to be sold or confiscated by non-Native collectors. In 1979 the U.S. Department of the Interior sent a report to Congress describing the nature of unethical collecting:

Museum records show that some sacred objects were sold by their original Native owner or owners. In many instances, however, the chain of title does not lead to the original owners. Some religious property left the original ownership during military confrontations, was included in the spoils of war and eventually fell to the control of museums. Also in times past, sacred objects were lost by Native owners as a result of less violent pressures exerted by federally-sponsored missionaries and Indian agents. [...] Most sacred objects were stolen from their original owners. In other cases, religious property was converted and sold by Native people who did not have ownership or title to the sacred object. [...] Today in many parts of the country, it is common for “pothunters” to enter Indian and public lands for the purpose of illegally expropriating sacred objects.

Interstate trafficking in and exporting of such property flourishes, with some of these sacred objects eventually entering into the possession of museums (Dept. of Interior, 1979, cited in Gunn, 2010:510).

As many of these objects ended up in the hands of museums and private collectors, they were in the position to determine what 'deserved' to be kept and preserved. The act of selecting objects to be collected, it is inevitable that such objects would make their way into a display setting far removed from their community or individual cultural context. When the objects were displayed, they were shown with a new representation as objects of cultural appropriation and dominance, which fed into the how the objects were viewed. The hierarchical nature of collections that developed from Europeans taking control of the identities of American Indians, inviting representation that amounts to “strategies of domination through appropriation” (McLoughlin, 1999:20).

This ideology of domination and appropriation was applied to the development of personal collections as well as in the development of museum collections. Museums created a benchmark for the understanding and interpretation of cultural communities within the United States. As the decades progressed and fewer American Indian communities were able to influence their image, the public understanding of Indian cultures was reduced. In populations where native and non-native peoples have limited contact, mass media and the museum play “a critical role in defining Native culture and history” (McLoughlin, 1999:3-4). While the presentation of the American Indian in contemporary media is another interesting topic, this section will continue to focus on the role of the museum in American Indian representations and display.

In order for museums (or any institutions) to show one representation of an object or a culture, another must be denied. By virtue of their position of cultural and scholastic authority, museums have the power to define and present who people are as a nation or culture, and as a result separate cultures into a categories that are heavily regulated by theories of Us and Them (Ashley, 2006:31). Museum served not only as “repositories of elite culture and national heritage, but also as spaces that categorized cultural differences along a hierarchy of race and class.” (Grodach & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2004:51)

The Major Players

Historically, within the context of museums studies and the ethnographic (American Indian) displays, there are two main players: the museum and the objects of exhibition. It is only within the last few decades that a third player has been added: the representatives of the living American Indian cultures (Penny, 2000:47). When considering the traditional construction of the museum and its focus on the collection, the objects themselves were of primary importance. Yet in many cases the focus is less on the pieces, but rather on the cultures that created them and imperialist culture that made the collection possible. The attitudes towards native cultures are what come into play (McLoughlin, 1999:14). Yet representational issues are often a result of the collections themselves, so that while the objects are the catalyst, the representations are the concern.

Museums

For several decades the international community has struggled to define museums in a

way that is acceptable. With attention paid to the social, political and economic considerations. The International Council of Museums (ICOM), in their eighteenth General Assembly in 1995 defined a museum as a:

non-profit making, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates, and exhibits, for the purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of people and their environment (as cited in Hudson, 1998:85).

One of the most important functions of the museum is the conviction that the museum exists to serve the public. This is a shift from the old responsibilities of museums, which exists to serve its collections rather than its visitors. While there may be continuing arguments over what the ICOM definition means by 'society' or how or performance art can be collected in museums, the primary aspect of the museum relevant to this discussion is the acquisition of material evidence of people.

While there are multiple aspects of museum construction, the primary method of museum communication is through the production of exhibitions. These exhibitions are constructed through: the use of physical layout of space and design; the sources and choices of objects, images, text, and other materials; the position, condition and presentation of these elements; and the light, movement, sounds and smells created in the exhibition (Porter, 2004:111). Museums, both as whole institutions and as being composed of numerous individuals, have an agenda that is reflected in their operations, missions, and collections.

Objects

Museum collections are often primarily concerned with the physical objects that can be collected, categorized, and displayed. However, the objects themselves have no intrinsic value *per se*, but rather their value is defined by the persons or institutions that interact with them. The objects are subject to a change in valuation and categorization, and their prescribed meaning:

oscillate[s] between two worlds, namely the world from which they come, and the world created by display. In the context of the museum, an object's significance depends not on its stylistic, artistic, or technological value, but on its capacity to be consistent with the narrative or discourse, and to transmit a message (Risnicoff de Gorgas, 2001:360).

The shift in meaning has its own particular purpose and characteristic set of meanings. The meaning of objects change with their surroundings, and reconstructions of the past are affected by the present.

Community Representatives

In recent decades, there has been a change in the way that museums interact with American Indian communities who are known to have produced the materials that the museum has in their collections and exhibitions. Many museum professionals would acknowledge the importance of including the “Native Voice” into exhibitions. This can include the recruitment of American Indian People as advisors, consultants, to the exhibitions, or in the museum creating partnerships with American Indian peoples where joint custody of collections is established in terms of management, storage and exhibition (Ames, 2000:77-78).

However this is a relatively recent shift in the operations of museums and American

Indian communities with respect to one another, and as such there is not always a direct consensus in how events should proceed once both sides have voiced their thoughts and expectations (Penny, 2000:47). The historical practices and authority of museums is hard to shake.

The Museum as a Communication Device

While much of the research for this paper is based around the legal and ethical issues of cultural items and material culture within museums, the act of displaying and collecting such items are heavily tied to the notions of representation, communication, and identity politics. The 'what' that is on display is as important as 'who' the object represents, and 'how' they are referenced. As a result, the issues concerning cultural exhibitions ties concerns over objects, representation, and exhibits as single concern of cultural sensitivity. Further discussions in this paper integrate the concerns of the physical objects with the larger context of cultural representation.

It has often noted that museums define cultural reality (Higgins, 2009:12). From the earliest collections to modern day, the exhibitions, interpretations, and educational materials have affected the perceptions of museum audiences and communities at large. Yet rather than existing as a democratic forum for the exchange of ideas, the early museum “functioned more as a civic temple—a space that authenticated and consecrated the values of the bourgeoisie and nation-state as an objective reality for all to emulate” (Grodach & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2004:52). And at this point in time American Indians were viewed as something to be recorded for their contributions to the history of the United States, but not something to be emulated.

The historical process of placing objects and peoples into collections focused on

collecting, measuring, classifying, picturing, filings and narration of the Other was a function of colonial European hegemony, and the connections between scientific and political practices. This organization of cultures “encode[s] an agenda the effectively unifies the white (male) citizens of imperial powers (the self) against conquered peoples (the other)” (Marstine, 2006:14).

Museums and private collectors of American Indian objects have from the beginning claimed benevolent motivations for their collecting, that they are collecting objects that cannot be protected by their communities of origin, the prestige of collecting was nevertheless the primary motivating factor (Marstine, 2006:14). This rhetoric of cultural domination and conservation has its roots in the expansion of the western world and the rise of imperialism. As Doxtator (1988) noted in her writings on Canadian First Peoples in museums: “The ethnographic museum gallery was born in the 19th century when, at the heart of 'Indianness,' was the belief that Indian cultures were technologically and intellectually inferior” (Doxtator cited in McLoughlin, 1999:19).

The idea of cultural and intellectual inferiority has had lasting effects on the presence of American Indians in museums. Elements of social control and cultural identity-making exists by virtue of collections institutions not only physically collecting (not always through ethical means) objects of cultural significance, but also through limiting the version of history the is told in the museum (Cooper, 2006:2).

Ethnology and Social Evolution

The development of anthropology as a science drew the focus away from the collector to the object being collected, often informed by the evolutionary debates of the time. Objects and

artifacts were used to tell the story of human development, combined with social Darwinist theories of the development of civilizations from primitive to civilized.

Persistent colonial attitudes continued showing them as having lesser value than Europeans. This was also shown in the museum adaptation of typologies, where the objects were displayed according to Darwinian ideas of racial progress and development from simple to complex. This was eventually applied to human remains where “19th century displays situated the remains of still extant peoples as the earliest specimens of a common evolutionary path” (McLoughlin, 1999:70-71). In the typological method of exhibitions, artifacts were displayed in as a series that depicted their development from simple to complex. The system “presented, in visual and authoritative form, an order in which the Caucasian Empire was the just beneficiary of all things civilized” (McLoughlin, 1999:71).

Unlike the previous private collections, which were engaged in the collection of the rare and the unusual, the typological exhibits sought examples of the common type. This shift in focus, combined with the fear that native peoples would not survive the onslaught of genocide and assimilation, created a rush of collecting. Cole (1982) noted the:

scramble for skulls and skeletons, for poles and paddles, for baskets and bowls, for masks and mummies, pursued sometimes with respect, frequency with rapacity, almost invariably with avarice, went on until it burned itself out (pp: 439, Cole cited in McLoughlin 1999:71).

Influences of Franz Boas

In June 1887 several prominent social scientists published articles in the journal *Science*, voicing their opinions on the various professional and philosophical implications of ethnological classification of ethnological displays in museums. Anthropologist Franz Boas and Otis T.

Mason, Curator of Ethnology at the Smithsonian, were engaged in similar activities of collecting and exhibiting ethnographic materials. Carbonell (2004) summarizes the two conflicting positions of Boas and Mason by indicating that:

Mason advocates the grouping of like objects together in the museum, in what Boas terms a deductive 'argument from analogy.' Alternatively, Boas advocates an inductive method, a tribal arrangement of objects in order to 'understand the phenomena... in their physiological and psychological foundation.' ... Arguing that 'individuality' and nuance are more important than outward similarity, that 'civilization is not something absolute' but relative and constantly under modification (Carbonell, 2004:126).

Despite the changes in the field of exhibiting cultures, the overarching authority of the European culture over the indigenous cultures remained firmly in place. The placement of their cultures within museums went along with the European idea that “indigenous populations were the products of culture, a seemingly non-progressive concept that explained equally their past, present and future. This lower case 'c' concept of culture continued to be equated with natural history” (McLoughlin, 1999:82). While Europeans had the distinction of having their culture divided into two separate institutions, the art museum and the history museum, indigenous cultures did not have that luxury, as according to the director of the Bureau of American Ethnology at the time, “formal or aesthetic movements for art were characteristic only of civilizations in their later stages of development” (McLoughlin, 1999:83). American Indian was not looked at as being a counted.

Into the 20th Century

Since the construction of the 19th century museum types, there have been a change in the

thinking, but the underlying framework of cultural dominance and the 'progression of roles' continues to shape museums as cultural and educational institutions. Emerging philosophies, civil rights movements, and a growing arena of cultural politics change the relationships of museums with the cultural communities and individuals being represented. It was in this environment that, according to Sullivan (1984):

Museums like the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C., now stand on the edge of nothing less than a cultural fault line. The vertical paradigm of progress is rapidly shifting to a horizontal, globally independent one. No longer viewed as the vertical master of a natural order over which we were given divine dominion. Western peoples increasingly view themselves as participants in a horizontally interconnected ecological system and an interdependent pluralistic cultural system (Sullivan cited in Franco, 1994: 154).

For the museums that adopted this paradigm shift, the main components of the entire museum structure required a “reexamination”. The categorization of collections, the historiography, exhibition and educational methodology, and the underlying museum message and mission are organized according to new schemes of post-colonialism and new museum philosophy that reflect the changed worldview. In the particular case of American Indian collections “reinterpretation of Native American collections from the Indian perspective does not fit comfortably within old structures based on an assumption of a linear, hierarchical classification” (Franco, 1994:154). But at this point several questions arise. Rather than a museum asking what should be saved as a representation of a culture, the question becomes *who* decides what can be collected and displayed. The decisions of the museum become “politically charged in a pluralistic society that recognizes museum displays can provide recognition and legitimization or

can perpetuate the attitude of colonialism” (Franco, 1994:154).

Crisis of Representation

But what specifically is being affected by this paradigm shift in museums, in relation to American Indians Merriman (2000) puts forth the “Crisis of Representation” with a critique of the methods in which American Indians are represented within museums. His criticisms, admittedly taken from the point of view of the archaeological community, can nonetheless be applied to the museums at large. He argues that interpretations of indigenous cultures are informed by the social context in which they are developed. According to Merriman, the representations of the past have fallen under the scrutiny of academics and museum professionals, who are now asking the question: “Whether museums, developing from a background of white, western, imperialist, monolithic, and modernist attitudes, can serve a valid function in a culturally diverse, post -modern, post-colonial world” (Merriman, 2000:301).

While the questions have slowly been brought to the attention of the museum field, there has not been an equally accepting response to criticism of the 'old ways.' The concerns for representation can either be ignored or one can “take the critique seriously and to work constructively with it in order to transform notions of archaeological representation in museums into something more responsive to the needs of the coming century” (Merriman, 2000:303).

In response, Merriman argues that this 'crisis of representation' is due to external pressure on museums from groups not represented on museum staff. As a result, many indigenous peoples have become involved with exhibit teams and curators. Museums, subsequently, must be critically self aware. Often evidence is given and conclusions are drawn, but the public does not

know how these conclusions were arrived at. Public must understand the process of interpretation as well. The incorporation of theories of “multivocalism,” or exploring the views of many in museums, could be considered a step in the right direction. All museum actions are “inherently an assumption of power: the power to define and limit the meaning of those objects, and those cultures to which it provides a home... Exhibits are re-presentations that not only reflect particular and situated interpretations of history, but also create a particular vision of contemporary [life] that has the potential to defuse much of what may seem to threaten it” (McLoughlin, 1999:13).

The role of the past is to provide a precedent for contemporary developments (construct narratives, establish connections with place, and support contemporary identities). In practice, however, there is no universal narrative (Layton, 2001:2) and no such thing as 'universal histories.' In the case of Native American communities the overarching dominance of a scientifically implemented 'history of mankind' represents aspects of colonialism. This denies all non-Western forms of historical consideration, ignoring the idea that people could have different relationships with their pasts.

Frequent Negative Messages Conveyed in Exhibits

These exhibitions have been accused of misrepresenting the past and present of American Indians in the United States, and act as a disservice to the contemporary cultural communities, as well as working against the mission and purpose of museum institutions, and the educational potential for visitors. As a result of historical factors and the traditional representations of indigenous peoples, the exhibitions that convey a very specific set of messages concerning

American Indian cultures, communities, and individuals. The audiences of these exhibits are primarily non-native persons. Nason (2000) derives four distinct messages inherent in indigenous exhibitions:

- Real American Indians are no longer extant.
- Real American Indians exist solely in the past, and as such their material culture that has been left behind is as unimportant to American history as their culture.
- American Indians do not have a 'history' the same way Europeans do, and they have made no significant contributions to the present.
- Real American Indians are only important as references to their removal from the 'real' progress of the United States. (Nason, 2000:38-39)

The messages include notions of authenticity and the “real” American Indians, which affects the presented identities and information seen by the audiences. By confining American Indians to history museums, which are repositories of historic (read as unchanging) information, it prevents visitors from understanding that American Indian cultures exist through to the present day, and that their cultures have evolved and adapted to the changing cultural, economic, and political influences.

While the ideas of cultural oppression have been brought to light to the museum professionals, what is preventing the complete overhaul of museum exhibition practices? The short answer for their continuation is a “lack of knowledge, funding, resources, and facilities as well as limited institutional networking between American Indian communities and museums” (Nason, 2000:38-39).

One primary argument against the methods in which American Indians have been represented in past museum exhibitions involves the essential differences between 'seeing' and

'showing' ethnographic and cultural materials. The difference is that seeing involves how an individual or community views the world, whereas showing constitutes how that entity is shown or exhibited to the world. Museums, as forms of communication, freeze cultures at a point in time (either in the colonialist ideology of racial segregation, or the general sense of exhibitions not being frequently updated) where there is no opportunity for the exhibitions to be contested or used to engage in a dialogue. Objects are “displayed, in public, for audiences to gawk at or exclaim over. This very act of exhibition was spectacular in the Debordian sense: a representation, divorced from reality, is presented to and consumed by an undifferentiated audience” (Ashley, 2005:31). And the materials presented to this 'undifferentiated audience' have generally not been produced or okayed by the persons which they concern. These projections of American Indians are then accepted and perpetuated in society, reinforcing negative or incorrect information.

Four Contemporary Native Arguments Concerning Museums

As a result of the actions of collectors, anthropologists, and museums, Native representation has often been protested within the native communities, who before the present were unable to raise enough awareness to affect the practices of museums as professional organizations. During the American Indian Rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the voices of native communities were finally being acknowledged and considered by institutional America. As a result, several complaints against museums were developed in an attempt to take control of their history and future.

If they themselves cannot (for whatever reason) control objects and representations

directly, then at least have consideration for their cultural rights. Several particular points of conjecture in the development of displays of American Indian objects included: the consignment of American Indians to natural history museums where American Indian cultures are relics of a vanished past; the grouping of diverse cultures under a single “Pan-Indian” identity; generally inaccurate representations; and the insensitive display of (often looted?) human remains, funerary objects, and artifacts designed for ceremonial use.

American Indian Cultures as Past Relics

Museums have developed the tradition of representation stemming from several primary fields of social science: ethnography, anthropology, and history (Penny, 2000:49). American Indian cultures have been contained within the bounds of anthropology and history from the Western perspective, with an emphasis on the behaviors and events of people who are either individually or culturally no longer extant. Displays on American Indian cultures, when located in the same building as extinct animals and geological specimens, disassociated from the living culture's past and present to the point where it essentially “disembodies” the reality of a continual American Indian existence by the simply denying it (Nason, 2000:37). Museums give the impression that they no longer exist. Natural History museums, as a rule, do not make it their mission to connect the past ways with contemporary life, and has not compelled them to discuss American Indian contributions to the history of the United States, aside from an obstacle to be overcome in the rush towards civilization (Cooper, 2006:4).

Specifically, American Indian exhibits rarely identify the makers (artists) of objects, instead identify them by their simplest categorizations (bowl, pot, etc.) a holdover from the

typological displays of the 20th century. The result is a lack of human association with what is exhibited. Displays “become not the works of the hands and hearts of real men and women, but simply what 'they' did. 'They' are the faceless unknowns (and by implication, unknowables)... These unknowns had no kinship, religion, human values; only objects that indicate they existed here, at one time in the past” (Nason, 2000:38).

The “Pan-Indian” Identity

There are, in the United States, well over 500 tribal groups that current exist, with differing languages, customs, beliefs, and world-views. In many instances, Native Peoples have not been asked their opinions on matters relating to their cultures. It is easy for someone who is not familiar with Native cultures to create an exhibit that discusses the “Indianness” as a generality, something that all tribal groups conform too.

Attempts at representation have involved picking out pieces of various cultural identities that have been made familiar through an amalgam of white culture, tribal culture and the traditions of other American Indian cultures from across North America. The result is “the creation of the Pan-Indian who is a hybrid of many different identities. Two obvious examples that demonstrate this hybridity are powwows and feather headdresses —strong modern-day First Nations identifiers, but not something that all historic native cultures used” (Ashley 2005:33).

Inaccurate Representations

When dealing with cultural collections, museums must be critically self-aware of the message they are presenting and how it is received by audiences. Often in exhibitions evidence is

provided and conclusions are drawn, but the public does not know how these conclusions were arrived at and will commonly take them at face value (Merriman, 2000:304). In the case of one culture is exclusively being the one represented, concerns for exhibition include displays instilling or perpetuating lies or stereotypes when audiences see an object or quote out of context. (Cooper, 2008:16) There is also evidence of cultural misidentification or entire cultural group being omitted from historical occurrences and discussions. As Cooper (2008) points out:

while American Indians rarely gained attention for an exhibit did not describe their culture adequately or appropriately, the exhibit content that has most raised Native ire has been exhibits focusing on the hero dimensions of people like Christopher Columbus while ignoring, or diminishing, his genocidal actions of enslaving, murdering, and kidnapping Native people (Cooper, 2008:19).

Insensitive Displays

As a result of the general collections practices of museums and private collectors, the items that are currently housed in museums most certainly contain objects that are controversial. The materials include funerary objects, and artifacts designed for ceremonial use and human remains. To the cultural communities that produced these objects, the fact that they have are no longer within the possession of the tribal groups has begun to be contested. As Hohman-Caine (1989) points out:

the notion that all things (realms, values, objects) must necessarily, by right, be open to examination and, thus, possession (whether physical or perceptual), is a strong Western value which lies, unquestioned, at the base of many conflicts ranging from reburial of human remains and study of sacred artifacts, to conservation and repatriation (Hohman-Caine, 1989: 89).

Displays are tools of museum communication; acting as the voice of the collection and the mission of the institution. Museums are traditionally utilized as academic and scholarly locations with an emphasis on the ability to examine, study, and handle objects to gain a better understanding of the object itself as well as the culture that created it. However, Norsdtrand (2004) notes that in some American Indian communities, “some knowledge is seen as privilege for the few (both objects and images). Museums in the past have been reckless in their displays of such objects” (Norsdtrand, 2004:12). The term sacred, in this discussion, is used to describe objects which have a particular value for individuals from the community of origin. These objects command respect and therefore require special care or conditions for housing and display (Derlon-Mauze, n.d.: 6).

There is no general consensus on what, specifically, is considered a sacred object for a community. This can be the result of a flexible application of the term “sacred” or “sensitive.” The fluctuation is reflected by the contexts in which the objects are displayed, handled; depending on the knowledge of the people responsible; or result from disagreements from within the cultural community itself (Derlon-Mauze, n.d.:11).

However, there is one aspect of display that has garnered consensus of the majority of American Indians: the removal of human remains from museum exhibitions and collections. In the past few decades museum professionals have found themselves in a growing debate over their use of American Indian human remains in collections and exhibitions. The questions were ethical in nature: Should museums continue to collect and display human remains, or should they (along with the funeral materials accompanying them) be returned to American Indian communities to be reburied with respect? American Indians posed the question: What would

happen if they began excavating the graves of white and put their bones on display with the notion of 'expanding knowledge' or creating a more complete museum collection? (Schrag, 2010:1).

To many American Indians, the issue of denying proper respect to the remains of the dead is another indication of the political and racial injustices committed against them. The call for the return of human remains and sacred objects became a major rallying point for indigenous rights campaigns in the late 1970s and 1980s, culminating in Congressional hearings and federal action. The resulting legislation NAGPRA established a new ethical standard for the control human remains, as well as associated funerary objects and cultural patrimony.

NAGPRA is considered “an unusual meeting of the White Man's law and indigenous law,” (Sackler, 1998:135) where two vastly divergent world-views could come together to confront issues surrounding the collecting of American Indian cultural materials. NAGPRA raises the question of “whether it is appropriate for non-Natives to possess sensitive American Indian objects and raises the issue of questionable provenance... [and] recognizing the distinction between sensitive material as commodity and its spiritual connection to living cultures” (Sackler, 1998: 136). While NAGPRA is currently considered the most influential law concerning cultural property in the United States, it was not the first. Rather it was the result of numerous developments in American Indian civil rights and cultural resource concerns. These cultural laws are discussed further in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE:

Cultural Laws and the Rise of NAGPRA

Discussions of cultural property are frequently explored through cultural resource legislation. The United States has a particular method of handling cultural objects, specifically those that originated with the American Indian communities that stems from early European colonial influences, including government practices of removal and termination, paired with the growing field of private collection and birth of the field of anthropology.

Laws advocating the protection of cultural property have been shaped by the country's history of genocide, treaty violations, by ignorance, and by “a politically motivated belief, for so many years, that the native peoples were inferior to the Europeans who conquered them” (Koehler, 2007:111). When the Congress of the Confederation passed the Northwest Ordinance on July 13, 1787 to create the Northwest Territories and continue westward expansion, brief mention was made of the American Indians who lived in the Northwest, to the effect that: “The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians, their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in justified and lawful wars authorized by Congress” (Northwest Ordinance, 1787). The imperialistic agreement claimed that if the Tribes lost their homeland to either war or negotiations, then they would be placed on reservations, and that “they would not just survive, but thrive; and that they would have a partner in the federal government, who would protect their life-ways and autonomy” (Wood, 2004: 1331). However the US freely entered into treaties promising sovereignty, and then willfully broke them when it was profitable

for the federal government. When treaties were broken by the US, major conflicts broke out throughout the country. In retaliation, the US Army pursued a policy to force all American Indians to surrender and live on reservations where they could be assimilated into 'white culture.'

With such a dramatic reduction of American Indian freedoms, American archaeologists also expressed a concern that the cultures would disappear entirely (ironically exactly what the government had attempted) from the continent. In the late 19th century, the concern for the preservation of historic sites and the artifacts they contained was presented to the government by scientists, educators, and members of the growing archaeological field. A movement was implemented beginning with the National Park Service “to safeguard sites on public lands being endangered by haphazard digging and purposeful, commercial artifact looting” (National Park Service (a)). This was also timed with an increased awareness by museum officials and archaeologists to form massive undocumented collections to displays of cultural materials.

Over the subsequent decades the laws governing the cultural properties went through several incarnations, primarily in keeping with the ideology that the cultural resources were there to benefit those in control. Only after 85 years did ideas of cultural self-representation and equal rights inform legislation to the degree that allowed for American Indian communities to regain a measure of control over the representation of their culture in public institutions. The following laws have had the most impact on American Indian communities control over their cultural materials.

The American Indian Movement

In the 1970s several members of native communities took action on behalf of their cultural rights

to form the American Indian Movement (AIM). The AIM sought to “turn the attention of Indian people toward a renewal of spirituality which would impart the strength of resolve needed to reverse the ruinous policies of the United States” (Wittstock & Salinas, n.d). This movement was formed during a time of intense social change, following the national legislation of the Civil Rights Movement, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Wittstock & Salinas, n.d) and the “rise of global activity on behalf of indigenous populations in other countries” (Koehler, 2007:113). The founders of AIM believed that the current US political system simply ignored the interests of American Indians, and that those who had advocated for American Indian interests politically were ineffective. AIM decided that a more aggressive approach was required (Wittstock & Salinas, n.d). In November, 1972 a number AIM representatives traveled to Washington, DC and put twenty claims directly before the President of the United States. These included: restoration of treaty making (ended by Congress in 1871); recognition of rights of Indians to interpret treaties; new office to remedy breakdown in the constitutionally prescribed relationships between the United States and Native Nations; and Indian religious freedom and cultural integrity protected (Wittstock & Salinas, n.d).

American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978

As a result of these complex interactions between the American Indian Movement and the US government, American Indian cultural and religious communities often conflicted in several distinct points: American Indians had previously been banned from several sacred places that were crucial for sacred ceremonies; possession of certain items (including eagle feathers, bone, and peyote) violated US law; and an issue of general interference in religious practices by state

officials or the general public (Vacsey, 1991). The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 was implemented as policy to “protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites” (AIRFA, 1978: U.S.C. 1996).

AIRFA came during “a high-water mark of federal concern for American Indians, a time when U.S. policy-makers were recognizing the validity of Indian claims to land and sovereignty and were acknowledging the history of U.S. mistreatment of Indian tribes” (Vacsey, 1991). However when put into use, AIRFA was criticized as being too broadly worded and having “no teeth.” When cases eventually brought the law into court for enforcement, it did not produce the desired results. Ultimately AIRFA led to the passage of more effective laws like the National Museum of the American Indian Act (1989), the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990), the Native American Language Act (1992) (Vacsey. 2003).

National Museum of the American Indian Act of 1989

In 1989 two of the largest collections of Native American cultural materials, the Heye Museum collection in New York and the Smithsonian collection in Washington DC were brought together by an act of Congress to form the “a living memorial to Native Americans and their traditions, which will be known as the 'National Museum of the American Indian’” (NMAI, 1989). This law also included provisions that mandated the Smithsonian Museum to take a complete inventory of American Indian objects in their collections, and repatriate certain items back to federally

recognized tribes. Due to the level of success of repatriation and communication between the museum and Native communities, and additional law was developed to expand the requirements of repatriation and collections review to all federally funded museums. The result was the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1991

The most influential federal law for American Indian cultural communities came to the forefront of national attention through the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1991. NAGPRA establishes the ownership of cultural items excavated or discovered on federal or tribal land after November 16th, 1990 and “provides a process for museums and Federal agencies to return certain American Indian cultural items -- human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony - to lineal descendants, culturally affiliated Indian tribes, and Native Hawaiian organizations” (National Parks Service (b)). The majority of these items ended up in public museums and private collections. Repatriation, the process by which native communities are able to request the return of culturally significant items, was initially a response to museum collections that contained human remains of Native persons, but since expanded to objects considered to hold cultural significance.

NAGPRA uses several specific terms to describe American Indian objects. *Sacred objects* are “specific ceremonial objects which are needed by traditional Native American religious leaders for the practice of traditional Native American religions by their present day adherents” (NAGPRA, 1991:2.3.D). Sacred objects can include masks and regalia, drums,

rattles, altars, staffs, pipes, and medicine bundles. *Cultural patrimony* items are those with “ongoing historical, traditional, or cultural importance central to the Native American group or culture itself, rather than property owned by an individual Native American” (NAGPRA, 1991:2.3.D), including Zuni War Gods and Wampum Belts of the Iroquois. *Associated burial objects* are those that are reasonably thought to have accompanied human remain “as a part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, are reasonably believed to have been placed with individual human remains either at the time of death or later” (NAGPRA, 1991:2.3.D). *Unassociated burial objects* are funerary objects that are not accompanied by human remains, but can be tied to particular individuals or burial sites.

The final category of NAGPRA concern is human remains of American Indian persons. Those remains found in collections included not only the bones of ancient skeletal remains from American Indian burial sites, but also corpses taken from nineteenth-century battlefields. (Cooper, 34). Through NAGPRA museum inventories, it was revealed that as many as 600,000 human remains were being held by museums (Cooper, 2006:34).

The implementation of NAGPRA had several immediate effects on the operations of museums. The law requires that every federal agency, museum, or cultural institution that receives any funding from the federal government to inventory their American Indian collections, with regards to funerary objects, unassociated funerary objects, human remains, and cultural patrimony objects. A summary of the collections must be produced and published by the institution. The ultimate goal of the act is to allow the appropriate descendants of the tribes to request repatriation of these objects.

As of November 30, 2006, thousands of objects have been returned to the communities of

cultural origin. This includes: 669,554 associated funerary objects; 3,584 sacred objects; 281 Objects of cultural patrimony; 764 objects that are both sacred and patrimonial and 31,995 human remains (National Parks Service (b)). Some notable pieces include Tlingit ceremonial dance headdresses, Zuni War Gods, and Iroquois Akwesansne Wolf Wampum Belt.

The NAGPRA law has resulted in an intensive cataloguing of American Indian collections in order to identify the living heirs, and culturally affiliated Indian tribes from which the objects have originated. Significantly, the reviews of collections and collaborations have forced museums to reevaluate relationships with American Indian communities. With these reviews, objects are being evaluated to determine where they are “needed for Native rituals, proper to exhibit, or candidates for repatriation. The dust is being shaken off Indian objects that have languished on museum shelves for decades” (Hill, 2000:104).

Rather than simply protecting these items from destruction, looting, and illegal collection, which was the aim of the previous cultural resource laws, NAGPRA actively seeks to restore cultural items to the communities of origin. Michael Fox, former Director of the Heard Museum, described the benefits of repatriation by stating that it:

helps to revive cultures; serves to resolve injustices; brings people together; . . . [and] encourages the participation and involvement of Native Americans in our institutions . . . These positive consequences foster a team approach that leads to productive museum and scientific working environments as they celebrate and preserve a cultural heritage (Fox, cited in Gunn, 2010: 521).

While there were some arguments against the law from archaeologists who feared that they would lose access to study materials, support was found throughout major associations of

museums, scientists, historical societies, and Indian tribes. Rennard Strickland, a historian of Osage and Cherokee heritage, wrote that:

The act is important because it represents the new American consensus about sacred objects and cultural patrimony, a consensus not only of members of the Congress and of Native peoples, but also of very diverse groups of scientists, museum trustees, and art collectors. That consensus is: The sacred culture of Native Americans and Native Hawaiians is a living heritage. This culture is a vital part of the ongoing lifeways of the United States, and as such, must be respected, protected, and treated as a living spiritual entity—not as a remnant museum specimen (Strickland, cited in Gunn, 2010:505).

Access to funerary objects, sacred objects, cultural patrimony, and human remains is vitally important to many American Indian communities, helping communities retain their culture, identity, and religion for the future generations. Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahele discussed the repatriation of the bones of his Hawaiian ancestors:

We are returning to cultural ceremonies because of the repatriation of bones from the Smithsonian, which was our first move to reclaim our ancestors. As soon as the laws were signed, we came to get all of our ancestors. We took them home and replanted them in the ground. This created new ceremonies, because we never before had ceremonies for reburying our ancestors. New ceremonies began, based on the old ones. And so we are in a good place, moving ahead by moving back in the past (Kanahele, 1999: 68-69).

Museums, reacting to increasing concerns of cultural rights, identity politics, and repatriation, have begun to explore the implications of housing and displaying cultural materials and representations. While the concern has been raised that the actions of repatriation would result in a loss of collections for museums, the counter-argument has been raised that NAGPRA has resulted in museums gaining new insight into the cultures that they representing in their

collections. Welsh (2005) argues that comprehensive inventories of collections along with Tribal consultations have:

brought people together to find areas of mutual concern and agreement, leading to ongoing working relationships. Instead of diminishing the museum by draining its holdings, diminishing science by thwarting the quest for new knowledge, and diminishing society by depleting the heritage held in public trust, a growing number of museums have found that stewardship actually enriches museums, disciplines and society (Welsh, 2005:113).

Collaboration, consultations and partnerships are an opportunity for museums and cultural communities to work together to affect the messages produced by the museums. The following chapter describes the type of collaboration that has come about.

CHAPTER FOUR:

Museum Collaborations

The importance of cultural objects to the American Indian tribes as a representation of other forms of intangible heritage is being “addressed, and is seen as equal in importance to, or in some cases greater, than an object’s tangible nature” (Ogden, 2007:275).

The emphasis on the importance of 'understanding' in intercultural relationships is based on the notion that while many museum professionals view cultural items as 'artifacts,' something that was made or used by people which have unto themselves assigned a value judgment. This is not a universal construct; Museum items, and often ethnographic collections, are removed from the context in which they were created and evaluated in terms of their beauty or representational value. It becomes a thing to be 'seen and studied' rather than a thing to be used (Ogden, 2007: 276). Contrary to this ideology, American Indian peoples often identify objects as being inseparable from the culture it originated in. These collections are a method in which the culture and life-ways of the people is protected. Cultural objects, particularly those of living cultures, are really about the people and societies. And whereas the goal of non-Indians is primarily to collect and preserve objects, “the goal of American Indian people is to preserve the culture of which the item is just one part” (Ogden, 2007:278). Jill Norwood, Community Services Specialist of the National Museum of the American Indian explains:

As an American Indian museum professional at the National Museum of the American Indian, I have seen the bittersweet emotions of sadness and joy that arise when Native people view cultural materials in our storage facilities. These community representatives often struggle to show museum staff that their cultural materials are not inanimate things

but have life within them; it is hard for them to see the materials in such a clinical setting. Therefore I ask museum professionals everywhere to be respectful when speaking about Native cultural materials (Norwood, cited in Ogden, 2007: 278).

Miriam Clavir of the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia compares different approaches to collection conservation. She explains:

Conservators approach preserving the cultural significance of a heritage object by preserving its physical integrity (which they can “read” through scientific evidence) and its aesthetic, historic, and conceptual integrity (which is interpreted through scholarship in related disciplines as well as “read” through physical evidence). Many First Nations, on the other hand, view the preservation of the cultural significance of a heritage object as inseparable from the preservation of traditions, oral history, community, and identity as First Nations; preservation is about people, and objects have their role in cultural preservation (Clavir, 2000: xvii).

If the museum truly desires to develop a respectful method of collection and accurately represent a living cultural community in exhibitions, they will require guidance of tribal members. There are many ways in which a museum can connect with and develop relationships with tribal groups. Even the acknowledgment of the general area or cultural group that created the object will give museum practitioners an idea of how to deal with it (Thomas, 2004:8). Further collaborations work to include the 'Native Voice' in the museum practices by “actively incorporating cultural pluralism into its activities, refocusing its efforts to be relevant to communities, and expanding its commitments to the public dimension of museums” (Scott & Luby, 2007: 266). However, it is when two groups with differing world-views and goals come together to work on projects of a sensitive nature, that there will be conflicts and difficulties.

Tony R. Chavarria (Santa Clara Pueblo), curator at the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture

Laboratory of Anthropology advises museums that:

Progress should not be measured in results such as repatriations, but in the ongoing dialog with tribes. The consultation process can be a method to establish a level of trust and understanding; the prospect is to create ongoing relationships with governments and people. The experience is symbiotic. Over time, tribal representatives will have a deeper insight into the museum, its mission, staff, and collections; and the museum will gain a deeper understanding of the cultures it represents. By open and quiet dialogue, respect and a fragile trust can be built and always must be nurtured. Repatriation is not always a conclusion. Consultation and beneficial relationship is the ongoing hope (Chavarria, 2005:4).

Relationships with tribal groups can take the form of consultation, collaboration, stewardship, and the incorporation of additional curatorial practices. Between museums and American Indian communities, a number of discussions, exchanges, exhibitions, and projects have been designed to educate museum professionals, the public, and Native communities themselves about their own histories (Haakanson, 2004: 3-4). There are, within these practices, levels of participation that are dependent on a number of factors, influencing the abilities and practical activities of museums. One major factor is the size of the museum, with all the resulting staffing and funding complications. Another can include the collections themselves, combined with the existing (or non-existent) information present on cultural objects. The last is the willingness/ability of the tribes to work with collections (they too, have funding and staffing issues that can complicate matters).

While the requirements of the NAGPRA were the legal incarnation of the development of communication between museums and indigenous communities, the further incorporation of

collaboration as a museum practice was part of a larger movement on the part of the museum community to re-evaluate how museums present themselves to and interact with their audiences. This movement sought to actively incorporate cultural pluralism into its operations through the role that communities play in museum activities, by encouraging community collaboration. While museums have been instrumental in the preservation of certain material aspects of cultures, they are generally unable to bring them into a living context. Haakanson (2004) writes that museums are important in that:

Much of the collections contain implicit knowledge and information about how Native groups made and used materials. Many such groups have lost this knowledge and can only learn about it through museum collections... We need museums to continue caring for and promoting our heritages, and they need us to inform them about the objects they house, what they symbolize, and how they were made, used, and treated (Haakanson, 2004:5).

Types of Interactions

Consultation is a process in which an institution requests the input from a community or group on matters that have an effect on the community. In a general sense, the goals of consultations are to improve transparency, efficiency, and invite public involvement. The process begins with the steps to notify groups or individuals of events or intentions. When implementing consultations into American Indian community and museum activities, this is often seen in the form of interactions where museums either ask/impart for information relevant to an object, such as in NAGPRA notifications. Another aspect is contacting communities involves the development exhibitions or programs relating to tribal activities and histories. A simple method

of consultation before and exhibit is to provide written statements of the museum's intention and exhibit plan to tribal leadership.

While consultation can be viewed as an attempt by the museum to work together and share authority, it is not a true partnership. *Collaboration* is mutually beneficial and begins by identifying how the desired outcomes will be accomplished on both sides by sharing knowledge, learning from one another's past associations, and building a consensus of actions and ideas (Norsdtrand pp. 13). As a more in-depth process than consultation, collaboration is implemented before projects or exhibits are developed, giving time for Native communities and museum professionals to discuss and jointly develop conclusions. Collaboration is a growing trend and not only in American Indian communities. Schrage writes that "the act of collaboration is an act of shared creation and/or shared discovery" (2004:1). With an increasingly diverse population base, an increase in information availability, and a growing awareness of the complexities of cultural survival in an increasingly global world, circumstances are becoming more complex in US museums. The new reality is that "it will take the collaborative efforts of people with different skills to create innovative solutions" (Schrage, 2004:1) that fuse multiple perspectives.

Stewardship refers to a museum's obligations and responsibilities relating to the management and care of all objects entrusted to the museum. When museums seek to recognize that American Indians have an interest in museum collection, authority "must be shared with Native constituency to remain true to the museum's mission to enhance the programmatic aspect of the museum's work" (Henry, 2004: 107). For the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), this includes committees of Native and non-Native persons who gather information on cultural collections through consultations, while acknowledging the political and cultural

dynamics of Native communities. When information on an object is obtained, a schedule is developed to identify what maintenance is required, and which staff and tribal community members are required (Henry, 2004: 111).

Even the NMAI will never be able to provide the original cultural contexts for objects, but committing to maintaining relationships with the associated cultural communities is not outside an institution's abilities.

Related Protocols for American Indian Materials

Recently, a group of nineteen Native American and non-Native American archivists, librarians, museum curators, and historians got together to establish a protocols for professional practices for care and use of American Indian archival material held by non-tribal organizations. The document was named *Protocols for Native American Archive Materials* and is used to understand Native American values and perspectives and provide some measure of context for Native American paper materials.

The proposed standards and goals of the *Protocols* “are meant to inspire and to foster mutual respect and reciprocity. Institutions and communities are encouraged to adopt and adapt the culturally responsive recommendations to suit local needs” (Beaulieu, 2004:2). The situation of archivists is similar to that of museum professionals, in that both seek to preserve and represent the physical materials that have been collected, as well as the cultural context in which the materials were produced.

The first step is to establish what in the collection is affiliated with American Indian Tribes, and the types of materials that they are. With the passage of NAGPRA, this should have

already been conducted by museums that have some measure of federal funding. NAGPRA require steps for repatriation designed to begin the process of establishing relationships between the two. It briefly states that museums must identify cultural items in their collections and prepare inventories and summaries of the items. Once the items are identified, the museum is required to publish the summaries of inventories, so that consultations can be scheduled with those tribal groups and organizations that have cultural affiliation and that items may be repatriated.

While many museums have gone through the process of writing NAGPRA summaries and consulting in repatriation discussions, a number of institutions did not go through the process, or subsequently have lost staff members who were a part of the original process. When establishing relationships with American Indian communities, museums can contact the chair's office of the tribes that may be affiliated with objects in the collection. Consultations and collaborations should be conducted with authorized American Indian community representatives. The process may require communication with more than one person, and as a professional courtesy, museums can also contact the community's cultural center, library, or archives and/or the cultural preservation office. A list of contacts can be found through the Bureau of Indian Affairs *Tribal Leaders Directory*, or the *National Directory of Tribal Archives, Libraries and Museums* (WH-IAEWG, 2007:6). The National NAGPRA program also includes The Native American Consultation Database (NACD), a tool for location consultation contacts for American Indian Tribes, leaders, and organizations. It also suggests a several other sources of information, including the Bureau of Indian Affairs, state/federal governmental agencies, and national or regional archives.

Once contact is established, museums need to inform communities about the collections that they possess, the event they are putting on, the exhibit in development, or any other project with an American Indian cultural component. Through discussions, an evaluation needs to be conducted to make sure that each member of the discussion is given equal treatment in negotiations. Agreements with tribal groups need to be documented, and every effort should be made to honor any agreements. Museums need to determine if there are restrictions that should be placed on objects (in terms of viewing or research) or information surrounding tribal community practices. Specifically, the museum needs to figure out what it is that the American Indian communities want, in terms of resources and services (Beaulieu 2004:8).

When engaging in discussions, particularly those related to the control or repatriation of objects, museums must remember to respect both Western as well as American Indian approaches to caring for and engaging with collections. Traditional knowledge “possesses equal integrity and validity. Actions and policies for preservation, access, and use based on Native American approaches will in some cases be priorities” (Beaulieu, 2004:8). Museums must be self-reflective in their assumptions about any practices, (collection, handling, or display) that are in contention with American Indian world-views and practices. Respect is the key element.

Challenges

When analyzing the museum practices and theoretically-oriented literature as a basis for their study of whether museums in the United States are incorporating organizational adjustments to develop and sustain relationships with Native communities, Luby and Scott (2007) identified a number of insights concerning collaborations. One of the most the important of these insights is

that for museums and communities to work together, “both sides of the collaboration muse engage equally, and that collaborations should be flexible, comprehensive, and sustained” (Scott & Luby, 2007:266). Other considerations for effective management include the need for strong leadership and museum management, institutional support for collaborations, and effective guidance systems within the museum's established practices.

The study itself examined the management practices and organizational procedures that guided museums in handling long-term relationships with Native communities. It found that “while museums consider long-term relationships with Native communities to be important, they are not making the structural adjustments to ensure that such relationships are secure and long-lasting” (Scott & Luby, 2007:265). Noticeable problems include:

- a lack of specific policy on issues that are important to Native communities,
- a lack of procedures for implementing and maintaining relationships,
- a lack of institutional succession procedures for departing staff members involved in the relationships, and
- organizational structures that do not live up to their full potential.

It is crucial for museums to develop close working partnerships for working with Native communities. Museums are no longer the sole voice of authority in relationships and the stakes are high for museums that fail to engage in with indigenous groups and, indeed, with communities of all kinds.

The following two chapters describe the two museums included in this research. I describe their institutional history, collections (content and management), exhibitions, responses to cultural resource laws and NAGPRA, and finally discuss information received from interviews and each museum. I found that both museums in this study treated objects of

American Indian origin in differing fashions, but with some practical similarities that attempt to address interactions between American Indians communities and museum practices.

CHAPTER FIVE:

Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and Museum in Pendleton, Oregon

The Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and Museum is a cultural institute located on the Umatilla Indian Reservation near Pendleton, Oregon and widely considered one of the best Tribal museums in the western United States. The Institute opened in August 1998 with the intention to preserve, perpetuate, and represent the history and culture of the members of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR) (Karson, 2007:9). It is an institution built on the preservation of a set of beliefs and world views that have been under continual conflict and outside control. The development of new theories of cultural property and development of cultural resource laws has had an effect on the development of practices and administration of the CTUIR. Additionally, the organization has accepted its place in within the discussions of cultural ownership, and has fitted policies and approaches to their influences.

The CTUIR is comprised of three distinct peoples who previously occupied the lands in northeastern Oregon and southwestern Washington. The Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla tribes now share a reservation consisting of 172,000 acres (Indian Country, 2005: 41). As of 2005 the CTUIR have 2,461 tribal members, with approximately 1,100 members living on the Umatilla Reservation. About 1,500 non-tribal members are currently living on the Reservation (Indian Country, 2005: 41).

In the mid-1990s the CTUIR was brought to the attention of the United States when it became involved in a high profile legal dispute in the interpretation of the NAGPRA law. The dispute was in relation to a 9,300 year old skeleton recovered from the Columbia River in 1996 near the town of Kennewick, Washington. The remains, known to as *oytpama natítayt* (“The

Ancient One”) to the tribes and “Kennewick Man” to the national media, prompted an extensive examination of the relationship between American Indian religious and cultural rights, and the rights of the scientific communities.

The process of repatriation, either in its successful completion and return of objects, or even in the form of using the law to bring to light the potential cases that are particular importance to the tribal communities, has an additional significance that is seen. Karson, in her dissertation on the development of the Tamástslikt center, wrote that:

even in cases when objects are not returned, repatriation exists as a process of reclaiming identity, history and control over the cultural narrative and the collective ideas and images that inform this narrative. This is often accomplished through memory and testimony (Karson, 2007:19).

These claims are considered important to the continuation of the tribal groups, both in dealing with their (sometimes painful) past and future interactions/development.

Physically, the claims developed by the tribes have a particular process which has been developed and refined over the past twenty years. When an object is identified for possible repatriation, and is unique and important to the tribal community, and/or the history of the area, it is run through the Cultural Resources Protection Program and the Tribal Museum. While connected with several common goals, they are separate entities, with the Cultural Resources Program handling NAGPRA, while the museum primarily handles storage and public interpretation.

NAGPRA Coordination through the CTUIR

All NAGPRA relations for the CTUIR are run through the Cultural Resources Program, whose NAGPRA Coordinator works as a liaison between the museums, federal agencies, and the tribes for the repatriation of ancestral remains, associated and unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and cultural patrimony items. While every tribe has a different system for handling NAGPRA relations (and some, as in the case of tribes that may not have state or federal recognition, may not have any at all) the CTUIR is in line with the notion that representation and handling of NAGPRA materials is best understood within their original (tribal) context, and that the tribes have an inherent privilege as a result. In her research, Karson writes that:

For the [CTUIR], the past – whether represented through oral tradition, coyote stories, or from living memory – is not differentiated between history and pre-history. In their historical narratives, outsiders arrive to their homeland not in the act of discovering them, but in the form of incursions to be dealt with, exemplifying that perspectives can be shifted and then made meaningful to others through an ongoing politics of place (Karson, 2007:33).

When it is brought to the attention to the tribe that an institution is housing a set of human remains affiliated with the tribe, or an object of cultural significance, the CTUIR initiate a claim under NAGPRA laws. Claims are written up and passed through the Cultural Resource Committee and then submitted to the Board of Trustees for signing. The Board Chairman is the NAGPRA Representative for the CTUIR. All tribal entities work together to get claims organized and then it passes off to the museum to make the Native American determination and the Cultural Affiliation determination on the collections.

In order to gather information on the process and influence of the development of NAGPRA claims and practices for a tribal entity, I arranged an interview with the Cultural Resources Program for the CTUIR. My initial contact and interview had been scheduled with Teara Ferman, the Program Manager, however a few days before I was to go the interview (scheduled in conjunction with an interview with the collections manager of the Tamaslikt Museum) I was informed that Ferman was unable to make the interview, so I could either reschedule or interview the NAGPRA Coordinator. As it was a 6 hour drive each way to the site, I decided that I would accept the change of interviewee. I spoke with Diana LaSarge, a NAGPRA Coordinator/Anthropologist I for the CTUIR. She briefly described the creation of the Cultural Resources Program and her participation in the early 1990s:

Quite a few years ago, I started with NAGPRA when it first started [with] summaries from museums coming in and there was a stack of them and I got hired as an assistant-- actually a Secretary I-- for Cultural Resources when it was just beginning here. And I was handed a stack and told to deal with it. So I started a database and started talking with each different museum about the inventories and then it just kind of progress from that. And then we had to coordinate with our beginning Cultural Resources Committee—they had to be established too-- about what kinds of things we wanted to prioritize in the categories of NAGPRA. Humans remains are first, and then funeral objects, and unassociated funerary objects are next and then cultural patrimony and sacred objects. We've dealt with those as they come up. It's kind of difficult. Some tribes do it the other way around (LaSarge).

The priorities of the tribe have placed particular importance on the returning human remains to the tribe, but allow for the consideration of the importance of return of cultural property. The return of tribal materials is of particular note here in that it serves as a particular example of the

shift from a non-tribal to a tribal care-taking (Karson, 2007:27). While the current NAGPRA claims are a result of a particular set of ideas and viewpoints of members of the CTUIR, priorities and considerations of repatriation claims they are not always agreed upon, or given equal weight by all persons within the tribe. This is also repeated between museum administrations and the tribe. LaSarge elaborates:

We made a list of what we considered cultural patrimony items or what we thought were sacred items. But it's a list that can change over time. This year we have a new—we've ended up with almost a brand new Board, and an almost new Cultural Resources Committee and so their ideas of what may be sacred or cultural patrimony may be different than the previous one. So we change that list over time. A cultural patrimony item is something that does not belong to the individual, it belongs to the tribe—such as maybe a whip. We have what's called a whip in ceremonies—like Powwows or ceremonial dances-- there is someone who carries a whip. There is usually a whip man and a whip woman, and they will pass that on to someone else. They won't keep it as their own. And there are various other things. In families even, like a dress or a war bonnet, or something that will be passed down (LaSarge).

Yet when such items are identified, there are conflicted opinions. Some believe that the pieces are well off where they are, under the care and protection offered by the museum or institution. Yet many also believe that the materials be considered an important part of the tribal community, and that the pieces have (for several possible reasons, including theft) left the control of the tribe to end up in museums and collections institutions, when they are still relevant to the community. Return of these items or simple notification of their presence in museum collections (for possible future use or research by the tribe itself when developing a detailed self-history) would do well to create opportunities for tribal members to re-associate with their past.

Cultural Resource legislation, and the NAGPRA in particular, has acted as a particularly influential method of developing a conduit for consultation and information sharing. As LaSarge stated:

If we didn't know about NAGPRA we wouldn't have known about a lot of the remains and funerary objects and other objects and cultural patrimony objects. It's given the tribe an 'in' to these things. When these things were collected, sometime they have been there for a hundred years and if NAGPRA hadn't come about these things would still be sitting on shelves. And there still are a lot of things on shelves. It is up to the tribes to decide what it is they want to repatriate back and some tribes, like the southern tribes, would rather get cultural patrimony items back first and not so much deal with the remains. It's given the tribes leverage to get these things back, and to put them back where they belong. Using them as cultural patrimony items, you can put them back in your ceremonies. And it's a healing process to a tribe (LaSarge).

The primary concern of the Cultural Resources Program has been the return and reburial of the human remains from museums, the identification and tracking of significantly important items within the collections of other museum institutions, and the control representation of tribal groups in relation to their cultural identity and history. To take the development of identity and history a step further, the CTUIR seized on the opportunity to create an entire cultural institution developed to care for their cultural collections-- whether it be historical items (clothes, baskets, and horse regalia), historical documents (i.e. the declaration of the tribal reservation), or oral histories (personal narratives, songs, or family accounts).

The Museum

The Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and Museum was originally conceived as one of four

interpretive centers/museums commissioned by the State of Oregon to celebrate the 1998 sesquicentennial of the Oregon Trail. The Oregon Trail Sesquicentennial began organizing important locations within the state in the early 1980s and several Oregon museums across the state were selected. Initially the city of Pendleton was discussed as a possible location, at which point lawyers from the City brought up the idea of having a Tribal museum. The CTUIR government carefully considered the idea, and agreed that if they were to participate, the CTUIR wanted control of the building and its content. In 1988 the Tribal Master Plan was developed for the Tamástslíkt Cultural Institute and Museum. Several committees were developed consisting of community members, planners, and museum professionals. One committee was tasked with creating the museum's story line, including how the institution would portray the history of the area and its peoples. A tribal historian was also hired to write texts and incorporate personal histories from tribal members. The committees worked with the Jean Jacques Andre design firm from Vancouver, British Columbia to develop the overall look and feel of the institution (Melton).

In addition to being a part of the Oregon Sesquicentennial Celebration, the museum offered the opportunity for the CTUIR to take a story that is already commonly recounted--the history of the trail itself and the people who came to the Oregon Territories to settle--and provide a Native centered approach to pre-contact and contact eras of history. The Tamástslíkt Cultural Institute and Museum shows visitors the history, stories, life-ways, and world-views of the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla peoples. As a result of the orientation of the museum and its unique administration, the story of the settling of Oregon by westerners is told from the perspective of the Cayuse, Umatilla and Walla Walla tribes.

In the initial developmental plans for Tamástslikt, the center avoided the use of the term “museum,” when referencing the institution. When interviewing the administration on their actions, Karson identified a common mindset with the Tribes that the term carried with it “a system of narratives, images, and attitudes - a symbolic construction - that reflects a particular worldview” (Karson, 2007:65). That was not part of how the Tribes wished to convey themselves or their history to a larger audience. Not including the term “museum” works to avoid the association of their cultural materials with older representations that alienated and commodified the Tribes as a people. However, as Tamástslikt was also to be a commercial venture on the reservation designed to attract persons with an interest in the history of the area and its association with the Oregon Sesquicentennial Celebrations, the CTUIR eventually decided on the more common usage of the term museum in its title. Tamástslikt compromised with declaring the institution a combined “cultural center and museum” with a nod to internal tribal educational aspects (cultural center) and public education (museum). While they insist on the notion that Tamástslikt is a solely a museum of display and they insist that they are not just a repository for “ancient artifacts”, there are still familiar aspects of museum construction that are tied to the institution practice of display/education.

Exhibitions

The Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and Museum exhibitions are housed in the main section of the building, divided into three distinct thematic sections that were considered particularly important to the education of the public on the history (and contemporary history) of the Tribes. The combined meeting spaces, archives, research library and work spaces total 45,000 square feet.

The three sections are *We Were*, *We Are*, and *We Will Be*. Each section includes displays, audio media and multi-media presentations of the Tribes' past, present, and future. The majority of the exhibition materials are on permanent display, yet the rotating exhibits that include contemporary and traveling exhibits connected to the Tribes' story changes every six to eight weeks.

The exhibits are built in a circular formation, a symbol that has a commonly associated important meaning, and doubles as a method to control the movement of visitors to experience the message of each location before moving on to the next level of interpretation and are indicative of the tribes' control over their own personal stories, history, cultural property, and representations (Karson, 2007:33).

Each of the three sections is guided by an overarching narrative that has been selected by tribal historians to provide a context to the materials on display, and the stories told. The voice of the narrator is that of Coyote, a character in Tribal legend that is associated with telling stories and conveying moral lessons or histories to the people. The narration is provided in both audio formats, as recordings that are piped in from an ambiguous overhead location, and also through quotes on the wall designated by graphics of coyote tracks.

The first section of the exhibits (*We Were*) works to introduce the visitor to the context of the Tribal groups before contact with the Europeans in that particular portion of the land. A Seasonal Round is replicated within the exhibit, including recordings of story-telling and personal narratives. The exhibit continues by showing methods of traditional harvesting, food processing, and material production. Other sections show the impact of the arrival of Europeans, the (re)introduction of the horse, and aspects of everyday life.

This section is the most similar to the representations of American Indians seen within most North American museums. There are maps and photographs of the 'old ways' as well as collections of beautiful objects that were seen in the day, and descriptions of practices that are not often associated with the 'modern' world.

However, within this section of the exhibits several aspects of exhibition practices have been modified to fit the perspective of the museum. Within the displays, the objects each have descriptive text for their function within daily life, yet there is a noticeable lack of attribution and date for each object. This is not an instance of carelessness on the part of the exhibition design team, but rather an intentional practice to force the focus of the object's presences as a part of the larger storyline within the exhibit. The items seen on display were made to be functional and serve a purpose, rather than to be seen as a trophy or a piece of art. When the observation of the lack of dates was brought up during the interview with Randall Melton, the collections manager of the museum, he reiterated that “it was important for us, that even though we know of certain basket makers, or people who would do beadwork, we thought it was important to say 'this is what everyone used to do, and this is why they did it, and this was the way that it was used' so they were items of use” (Melton). On a more practical note, the lack of specific attribution allows for the curators to periodically go through the exhibit and change out certain pieces that are on display, such as light sensitive clothes and blankets.

The circular construction of the exhibit soon moves visitors in to the *We Are* section of the exhibition, which has a contemporary focus on the Tribe. Rather than focusing on the displays of specific objects, the exhibit focuses on active members of the tribal community who have distinguished themselves as tribal historians, teachers, members of the U.S. military, or

participants in the annual Pendleton Round-Up. This display is constructed in a way that allows for reorganization and redevelopment to highlight the continuing presence of the tribal community in the county and state.

The last section of the main exhibit area is titled *We Will Be*, focusing on the future of the CTUIR as a community. In this section, tribal members from multiple generations and areas of the community come together to “speak on the video about their hopes and plans for a strong future that at once breaks with the disruption of the past two centuries, while it holds fast to a unique culture” (Tamástslíkt Cultural Institute, n.d.).

Tamástslíkt also includes several additional exhibitions. The living Culture Village, also known as the *Naami Nishaycht* (which is seasonal and was not running during my visit to the institution) is used to demonstrate the continuation of certain cultural traditions (such as food preparation and tanning hides) by tribal members, to educate both the younger generation of tribal members as well as members of the public (Tamástslíkt Cultural Institute, n.d.). An annual “Here Forever Precious Gifts Arts Show” is also organized and judged at the museum, with multiple sections: one for tribal members to show their family heirlooms, as well as a section for non-tribal members (Melton) to show off items from their personal collection that they wish to have shown, but not donated to the museum.

The cultural center portion of the building (consisting of educational facilities and conference rooms) also hosts several annual events including: the American Indian Film Festival, convocations with scholars and elders discussing social and cultural issues, art shows, cultural demonstrations, storytelling, and book signings (Tamástslíkt Cultural Institute, n.d.).

For the primary tribal exhibits at Tamástlikt, the information that is related through the displays and object choice was developed with an eye to the collections of oral histories passed through generations of tribal families. Combined with the influences of contemporary community members, museum and architectural professionals, and tribal historians, Tamástlikt exhibits, collects and circulates cultural and social history. Even the objects in the exhibitions, are “no longer simply inanimate objects, but are accompanied with stories, meanings and messages” (Karson, 2007:viii).

Collections

The Tamástlikt Cultural Center and Museum collection has over 10,000 items in its possession, including “photos, video, documents, books, archaeological and ethnographic objects such as basketry, weaving, and regalia” (IMLS, 2009). The primary focus of my research has been in the physical objects that have been in collections, and are most frequently cited in disputes over cultural properties.

Tamástlikt received its first donation of objects in 1991, yet the major foundation of the collection was obtained through a purchase of a large private family collection in 1996. According to records, approximately 80% of the museum collection is comprised of objects from the local area-- either as native pieces that have remained in the control of the families of origin, or purchased collections of local historical materials. However, during the initial stages of organization a large vault was opened up for general collections, resulting in the museum obtaining pieces from various other regions of the United States that are generally not used for

exhibition purposes. The central concern of the institution is on the care and management of its own collections, but it has also in the past done work with outside entities. According to LaSarge:

[Tamástslíkt] has worked with the City of Pendleton with a collection that they have, they are still working on inventory for NAGPRA-- they contacted us to look at the collections to see what might be NAGPRA, and there are a couple of things in there. And they also work with the Corps of Engineers, there is a large collection from the Umatilla town site that the Corps of Engineers has repositored there (LaSarge).

In the early stages of the museum's existence, the collection did not have an official lead curator, and as a result several different staff members cared for collection and any accompanied documentation (IMLS, 2009). In an attempt to organize and document the collection properly, the CTUIR applied for and was awarded a 2007 IMLS Native American/Native Hawaiian Museum Services grant for \$47,086 to create a comprehensive and organized catalogue of approximately 3,000 objects (IMLS, 2009). It was during this period of time that the staff examined each object and its associated accession or loan file to verify and update the information to ensure that the object was both properly documented in paperwork, as well as making sure that each piece is treated respectfully. It was at this time that staffs were able to properly address the contents of the collection and establish a mindset that allowed the staff to follow standard museum collections management practices, but also include elements of traditional (tribal) methods of handling and caring for the objects in the collection.

While working with the IMLS grant money, specified members of the museum staff attended training sessions on collections care, with focuses on mount building, pest management, and general conservation. Simultaneously, the museum hosted the exhibit *Caring for the Past: A*

Tamástslikt Conservation Lab, designed to allow the public a glimpse behind the scenes of the collection while staff catalogued and documented objects. Melton explained that:

We had an opening in our traveling exhibit calendar, so we created some panels to explain the project and our perspective on collection care, moved objects and equipment into a temporary storage area in our exhibit gallery, and continued cataloguing... I believe that was a real highlight of the project, to be able to show the public, both tribal and non-tribal, the level of care afforded to collection objects (Melton, quoted in IMLS, 2009).

During the duration of the exhibit's run, a tribal elder from the community participated in a walk-through of the collections being processed with museum staff members to identify the origins of particular items, such as a buckskin dress identified through the beadwork design. The project was considered a success in that the museum (as a young institution) was able to project a level of professionalism. As a result, the museum received donations from people who were impressed with the collection's treatment:

We've had some donations that have come in after the exhibit that we did ... because [people] were able to see us work on the collections, how the [objects] were taken care of, and the process that we followed. So that was a way to build some relationships with the community and show them that their objects will be taken care at Tamástslikt (Melton, cited in IMLS, 2009).

As documentation and collections care has been developed, further relationships have been formed as tribal members, community members and outside researchers have come to the site to study objects and files.

Interview with Randall Melton, Collections Manager

For this research I was able to interview the collections manager of the Tamástslikt, Randall

Melton in the spring of 2010. Melton has been with the museum for several years, working in the collections department after doing internships with several other larger museums, including the National Museum of the American Indian. He was also able to participate in NMAI workshops that provided resources for tribal museums and the people who work for them who wish to work with both standard museum practices as well as tribal. Later, he returned to be an assistant trainer adding the small museum perspective to the workshops.

After an initial introduction to the museum, involving a tour of the exhibit area, we returned to his office for a more formal interview session where the majority of the information concerning the museum was obtained. The meeting was concluded with a short tour of the collections vault and additional discussions of the future of the institution.

As the interview took place almost immediately following my interview with Diane LaSarge, I was able to connect several areas of interest from the Cultural Resources Program to the museum. When the topic of NAGPRA was brought up in association with the museum collections, Melton was very clear that the primary NAGPRA role was already filled by the Cultural Resource Program in terms of repatriation and claims. While aside from instances involving funerary items and human remains there have been a limited number of repatriation claims, the NAGPRA itself as a tool has helped the CTUIR and Tamástslikt.

The Vert Collection

It had been previously stated that the main concern of the CTUIR NAGPRA program is the return of human remains and funerary objects, yet I was still curious how the cultural resource laws were utilized by the Tribes. When asking about items being sought by the Tribes, Melton

specified that one of the best examples was from the City of Pendleton:

[The City] had a large collection known as the Vert Collection, which had all kinds of feather work, basketry, regalia, that is obviously from the tribe here. There are even some that can be identified through historic photographs. And so the City was gifted that in the 1930s and built a small museum. Management bounced around on it, and basically the tribes said that they were building a museum now and wanted it returned to them, repatriated. And it got to the point where they threatened to file NAGPRA and this was back in 1993, so NAGPRA was new, so they brought that to the table and said that was something they could do. They negotiated an agreement where the tribes didn't take ownership of the items, but took stewardship (Melton).

This was a result of the legislation, which allowed for the tribe to take a legal standing when approaching the City, which evidently had a positive impact on proceedings. Another example is that of the patu club associated with Captain Cook, that was claimed as an unassociated funerary object and repatriated to the tribe from the Smithsonian Institution, and is being housed at the museum. Ultimately, the decision on what to do with the club and any other items returned to the Tribe (whether they can either be displayed or returned to the ground) will be made by a recommendation of the Cultural Resource Committee to the CTUIR Board of Trustees.

Conservation

Along the lines of the attitude of object treatment, the nature of the object has an impact on the collections management and maintenance measures decided upon by the museum. Not unlike many museums, Tamástslikt has chosen to do primarily preventative conservation on their collections, with some level of stabilization. There is no conservator at the institution, and the museum has decided that objects are not to be restored at the museum. The idea that a piece may

not be “museum quality” in appearance is notable in that the objects are there to show that these pieces are, and continue to be, representative of the lives of real people in the Tribe. One particular piece that Melton considers a particularly good example is a basket with a broken handle. Whoever owned the basket during its “life” fixed a broken handle while in the field with a buckskin patch. The basket could be cleaned and the patch removed to restore the basket to its original pristine state, but the museum instead chose to keep it as is. Keeping the basket in its rough state emphasizes that people used the basket (and the majority of the objects in the museum's collection) every day, and that it was okay when these things broke. They were fixed as best as they could and people went on with their lives. An “everyday basket was used, everyday” (Melton).

Community Storage/NAGPRA room

As the museum is a center that is involved in the storage of the collections of not only City collections such as the Vert Collection, and NAGPRA collections, but also materials that have been collected from families and individuals from the reservation. As a result there are certain sections of the museum that were made to be separate from the general collections vault.

When the museum plans were being laid out, a section of storage space originally had been designated for community storage, for people to be able to check-in/check-out certain items. But due to funding issues the locker system for check-outs was not installed, and the vault space was slowly taken over by other storage concerns. However, there are a few items that are able to be borrowed. Items such as:

huckleberry baskets, regalia, photographs, archival materials, drums, anything ... We've had all kinds of different things. We usually ask if this is something that we can display,

we'd like to see if we have that option. And then if it is long term storage we ask to identify a successor. And we try to get as much history as we can (Melton).

Further development of the community storage idea is in development, but at present space and staff is at a premium. An additional separate collections area was reserved for NAGPRA items that the Tribes had acquired possession of. Although the Cultural Resources offices generally took care of all NAGPRA claims, instances where a secure area was needed for storage, or when donations were made to the museum required a separate vault.

Additional Collections Practices

The Tamástslikt Museum managers follow standard practices for collections care for the majority of their materials, including: limited conservation; utilizing proper HVAC conditions for the collections area; having proper mounts, storage furniture, and signage; database of collections; an integrated pest management and pesticide contamination plans; and management of the overall composition of the collection in relation to the museum's mission and goals. Yet there is an interest in a mix of standard and tribal care of objects. In the collections area rose water is offered as “Indian hand sanitizer” so that people who are handling objects are able to remove any negativity, particularly if the object is from a deceased person. The entire building receives blessings a few times a year as a form of maintenance for everything involved, so that “the items know they are home” (Melton).

The Tamástslikt Cultural Institute and Museum was built by the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla as an opportunity to express their unique cultural histories within a familiar context

of a museum. Their presence and practices are the result of a unique process of self-representation and community development that has the particular purpose of developing collections and displays that represent their internal concerns. This is quite different from the second museum studied in this project, documented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX:

Museum of Natural and Cultural History in Eugene, Oregon

The Museum of Natural and Cultural History at the University of Oregon in Eugene is the current incarnation of an institution that originated in 1876 when Thomas Condon brought his collection of fossils and rocks samples to the University. When Condon died in 1907, the collection was purchased by the University and became the Condon Museum. In 1935 Oregon Legislative Assembly created the Oregon State Museum of Anthropology (OSMA). The OSMA was to designed to serve as a research center and act as the “official depository for any materials of an archaeological or anthropological nature that may come into the possession of the State of Oregon” (Oregon Statutes 352.045) by way of the actions of state agencies or through donations from public and private entities. Within the museum, the director of the Museum of Anthropology “shall assume full responsibility for the custody and safekeeping of said collection” (Oregon Statutes 352.045). In 1936 the State Board of Higher Education created the University of Oregon Museum of Natural History, incorporating the Condon Collection, OSMA, and a university herbarium (MNCH, 2008:8).

As the museum has been in existence for several decades, it has undergone several transformations in terms of collections, priorities, and even physical locations. Since the museum functions as a part of a research-based university and multiple professors utilizing portions of the collection at any one time, the collections have been housed in several campus locations throughout their history. When part of the original science building was razed to make room for the new science complex and grounds, portions of the funding for the new science complex

partly supported creating a new museum structure at a new site on the east side of campus.

The new Museum of Natural History was dedicated on Dec. 12, 1987. The construction also included the percent for art-works in the form of architecturally integrated sculptures on the front of the building and walkway coverings. In 2004 the museum went through another major change, when the interior exhibit halls underwent an extensive 13-month renovation, and reopening on February 11, 2005. The main permanent exhibit hall, *Oregon--Where Past is Present*, celebrates the natural and human history of Oregon (MNCH, 2008:5). The interior was created by Balzhiser and Hubbard Engineers and design architect Bill Shaw. The exhibit interpretive plans were developed by Presentation Design Group out of Eugene.

In addition to physical remodeling, the institution also changed its official name to the University of Oregon Museum of Natural and Cultural History (MNCH), with the addition of the term *Cultural* to reflect the additional emphasis on the museum's ethnographic and archaeological collections. The staff also re-imagined the internal focus of the institution, updating the language and emphasis of the mission. Presently, the mission of the museum is to states that the museum “protects significant collections, enhances knowledge, and encourages stewardship of human and natural history through research, preservation, and education”(MNCH Website, 2010).

Exhibitions

The Museum of Natural and Cultural History exhibitions are currently divided into several sections focusing on different aspects of the history of Oregon. The introduction to the 10,700 square foot exhibit hall begins with a the word *Kla-ho'w-ya*, “welcome” in the Chinook Jargon

language, a trade language developed by native tribes and currently taught at the University. The text introduces the visitor to the continuing history of the American Indians of the area, and their contributions to the history of the area, museum collections, and the interpretation of museum materials. On the opposite wall stands an introduction to Thomas Condon's fossil collection and the contributions of scientists to the University and the Museum itself. From the onset, the museum establishes itself as a museum dedicated to both the importance of scientific research and collection to our understanding of Oregon history, as well as acknowledging the stories and contemporary history of the diverse cultures that lived, and continue to live in the state.

The main permanent exhibit gallery is *Oregon—Where Past is Present*, where the cultural history of the peoples is divided into four geographic regions: the Great Basin, Columbia Plateau, Western Valleys, and Pacific Coast. Each area is presented through a combination of text panels, ethnographic and archeological objects, numerous ethnographic baskets, replicas created by Native American tribal members, and oral histories. The materials range from some of the oldest evidence of human habitation in Oregon, to baskets and beadwork of the 19th and 20th centuries, to contemporary examples of ancient craftwork. In addition to the collections on display, the museum includes contributions from several contemporary native artists.

The construction and orientation of the exhibit hall draws the visitor along through the hall in a fairly regimented manner. From the main entrance, the exhibit sections are viewed one right after the other with repeated focuses on natural resources, housing, cultural exchange, and cultural expressions. For each section, a realistic environmental display is used to depict the life-ways of the people living in particular regions at a particular time.

The MNCH tells involve a larger number of different groups of people spanning multiple geographic areas, telling the story of how a group of people react to their environment and particular circumstances. This can be seen as an extension of the original foundation of the museum as a repository for fossils and geological specimens that were particularly important for their ability to show the story of change through time. While many other cultural or tribal museums try to offer their particular perspective on the history of their culture and land, as a university and research museum the MNCH attempts to take a step back and focus on scientific interpretation.

The indigenous rights movement of the 1970s created an emphasis on tribal community empowerment and restored tribal sovereignty that made its way into the museum. Cultural practices, crafts, and language were being revived, and “a new generation of Oregon Indians is rediscovering and learning traditions from its elders” (MNCH, 2008:35). The MNCH took into consideration the importance of presenting the cultures of Oregon natives and used the collections in a way that addresses contemporary issues relevant to living people.

The first section of the exhibit details the environment of the Great Basin, displaying a traditionally made wikiup, crated by Paiute artist Minerva Soucie out of tule mats and willow switches. The display highlights adaptations to the seasonal resources of the area, including specially made fishing hooks and an atlatl.

The Pacific Coast environment includes a three-dimensional replica of a traditional winter plank house. The plank house was built by Don Day, a elder and member of the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde. The interior of the exhibit is furnished with recreations of traditional tools, including tule mats woven by Fred Wallulatum.

The Columbia Plateau environment depicts one of the largest Native fishing and trading centers in the country at a time when native communities took advantage of massive salmon runs. Celilo Falls, traditionally Wy'am or "Echo of the Falling Waters" was a place of particular economic and spiritual importance (MNCH, 2008:26). When the U.S. Congress passed legislation to build a dam in 1952, the resulting rising water submerged fishing platforms and flooded villages, ending a tradition of fishing and trading that had existed for thousands of years. This section is often considered the most relevant for visitors to the museum, as the damming of the falls, and the subsequent impact on native communities occurred in recent memory and is still debated.

In the Western Valleys, a mural depicts Native women gathering camas roots during the spring harvest, a practice that is continued in the present day. This section of the exhibit documents the variety of peoples who inhabited the valley, who collectively spoke at least 8 languages and 20 dialects. Parts of these languages survive in the names of the Willamette's tributaries, including the Santiam, Tualatin, and Luckiamute (MNCH, 2008:30).

Each of the four regions is highlighted by murals painted by Don Prechtel, an artist known for his historically accurate paintings of the West and Native Americans. Additionally, sections include short biographies of native artists and crafts-persons who are working to keep their traditions alive. Titled *We are Still Here*, they include biographies of persons such as Kalapuya storyteller Ester Stutzman and Paiute weaver Minerva Soucie.

The theme of *We Are Still Here* is carried on into a separate section of the exhibit. A wall case at the end of the four regions of Oregon section is devoted to documenting the continuity and change in traditional forms of native art. The current exhibit features the work of Stephanie

Wood, a Grand Ronde tribal member and University of Oregon graduate who worked in the MNCH's basketry collection to identify individual baskets and weavers. The previous exhibited the work of Don Day, a Grand Ronde elder and artist who has worked to revive the art of cedar plank splitting using traditional technologies.

The exhibit area also includes several air-tight cases devoted to woven materials—baskets, shoes, hats, bags, and nets. While many of the items are older pieces of the basketry collection, interspersed are examples of the works of modern weavers. The number of baskets in collections is extensive. As a result of having this large and relatively local collection of objects, there has been an effort to provide additional documentation on the baskets, such as information on the specific materials and how they are made or other contextual information that adds to the history of an object. Several times the museum has invited a group of 5 or 6 weavers from different tribes to an informal session at the museum where they sat at a table and looked at the baskets one at a time and had the people talk about the baskets. Each session was audio-taped and tied to the accession records of each object.

The museum is not the only one to gain from such an experience. In addition to gathering historical and archival data:

[the weavers] get a chance to see a lot of baskets. People are interested in learning about historical baskets, and are interested in getting artistic inspiration for their own projects. It's pretty amazing. [Baskets] were the most obvious ones since there are so many weavers out there and we have so many Oregon baskets and Northwest Coast baskets. It's a common type of thing for people to be tied to their Native American community that way; baskets were just an obvious group of objects to start with (Kallenbach).

The basketry project has been one way that the museum has sought to invite the community into the collections. Opening the collections to persons with a variety of interest has been an aim of the museum in terms of the long-term goals and mission. Currently:

Lots of archaeologists are doing research here, and sometimes art history classes will come in and look at things. We had one class on New Guinea art come in. Sometimes people come to in look at biological remains. So yes, that is the big point, we are a university museum. And I think that is down-played. The point of saving it all and protecting it and managing it and making it accessible and having images online is so that it can be used and researched and looked at for educational purposes. That is the ultimate goal (Kallenbach).

Collections

Altogether, the MNCH collections contain 100,000 biological and fossil specimens, and nearly a million archaeological and ethnographic objects, composing one of Oregon's "most significant collections of Native American cultural and archaeological artifacts, spanning 15,000 years" (MNCH Website, 2010) including textiles, baskets, weapons, and other objects representing traditional technologies and everyday life. While the main focus of the collections is on those pieces that are from Oregon, pieces are also identified as being from additional areas of the U.S., southeast Asia, the Philippines, New Guinea, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Canada, and Australia (MNCH Website, 2010). Notable pieces in the collection include 10,000-year-old sagebrush bark sandals and several hundred western American Indian baskets made before 1900.

The museum continues to expand its collections through excavations conducted by the Research Division, associated archaeologists, state agencies, and private donation. The museum focuses on the investigation of history, educating the public on both scientific and cultural topics,

and the preservation of important heritage sites (MNCH Website, 2010). The MNCH, as a cultural museum is:

not only about the people, but also for the people. With increasing public involvement through collaboration in exhibit planning and programming and access to museum collections through visits, online resources, and documentation projects, museums have the potential to affect community development projects, influence social change, and promote cultural heritage preservation and renaissance (MNCH, 2008:36).

The collection is managed by two staff members Collections Director and Archaeologist Pamela Endzweig and Collections Manager Elizabeth Kallenbach, both of whom were interviewed over the course of this research. When asked about their positions within the museum and their management of collections, Kallenbach clarified that:

We have such a small staff, Pam [Endzweig] and I are the only staff to manage the anthropological collections, we don't have a Curator of Ethnology or a Curator of Archaeology, but things are physically divided, and divided in databases and inventories. So like we've got the archaeological collections stored separately by site, and by excavation permit. And ethnographic objects are stored by region. For example, African material is stored physically together, and Oregon basketry is organized and stored together. And information that pertains to all of our ethnographic items, no matter what they are--an African shield or an Oregon basket--are in one large database (Kallenbach).

When the topic of collections management of cultural items came up in the Kallenbach interview she revealed that the museum does not have any specific restrictions regarding handling objects in the collections with the exception of materials that are NAGPRA related. In regards to the general collections objects of Native American origin, they are housed in the same vault as the other ethnographic and archaeological collections. Since there is a particular diversity to the

collections and knowing the context or history of every object is impossible.

The museum uses a scientifically-oriented organization of materials into categories and develops care strategies that depend on material type and age. The primary goal is to preserve objects and keep everything from deteriorating. Acting as museum professionals, a certain level of care and respect for everything is practiced. But this is extended towards all objects in the collection, with generally no special treatment enacted towards particular objects.

This was a somewhat surprising note due to several events that had occurred during the formation of an exhibit several months prior to this research. During the development of *World Harmony*, an exhibit on ethnomusicology involving dozens of musical instruments from the MNCH collections, two particular objects were removed from consideration for display: a Northwest Coast First Nation's raven rattle and an Australian bullroarer. The rattle was removed from consideration at the request of Madonna Moss, professor of anthropology at the University of Oregon and manager of the North Pacific Collections, who consults on Northwest Indian cultural matters. The bullroarer was removed from consideration by Mark Levy, professor of ethnomusicology and guest curator for the exhibit. During his research on the Aboriginal bullroarer with professionals in Australia, it was decided that due to the instrument's associated traditional male-only handling and viewing practices would be kept in collections.

The collections department itself does not have any regulations regarding viewing practices, orientation, or handling, yet if during the course of exhibit development concerns are brought forward, then both the collections and exhibitions department will take care to honor those requests as completely as possible. To date, no one has indicated that anything in the MNCH collections is being treated inappropriately, and the museum maintains that it is open to

all input that may be extended in the future (Endzweig).

NAGPRA and the Museum

The one exception to the collections practice at the MNCH in regards to the passage of NAGPRA, which had a profound effect on the museum, owing to its place as a university museum as well as being the legally designated repository for objects and artifacts found on state and non-federal public land. Even when housed in the collections of a museum, items found on federal land are the responsibility of the federal agency on whose land the remains/objects were found. The museum merely acts as a custodian, requiring participation of the federal agencies to make determinations on what to do with NAGPRA items. As a result of this, MNCH had to go through their collections to create summaries due in 1993, and separately document which items were federal, state agency, or museum responsibility. Financial support for NAGPRA compliance with regard to federal collections was obtained to pay for this research in determination. The MNCH also got a 2-year NAGPRA grant for summaries and inventories. There were also built-in funds to pay for tribes (of Oregon) to come to the museum for consultations—travel and lodging (Endzweig).

The American Indian materials in collections are very extensive, originating from groups all over the United States. When the NAGPRA went into effect the amount of data to process and organize was staggering. As Director of Collections, Endzweig was instrumental in developing the museum's approach to NAGPRA that worked organizationally within the museum as well as approached the process as a way of opening the collections to the tribes for collaboration as well as repatriation.

Interestingly, the deadline for inventories was in 1995, but the federal rules for how inventories were to be processed was only produced after the fact. Museums were forced to 'wing it' for the first few years until guidelines were available. The MNCH was in friendly contact with the Burke Museum in Seattle, and had informal chats about how each respective museum was approaching inventories.

The MNCH was able to transfer and publish their inventories fairly early on. The process of so many museums publishing inventories at the same time resulted in Oregon tribal agencies being inundated with paperwork and notifications. Some were able to increase/relocate staff—Diane LaSarge is an example of a hire as NAGPRA coordinator, but others were more limited in their capacity to respond. As a result, some tribes went through the inventories slowly, and only recently have been able to respond and make claims. Some tribes are more pro-active than others, but the same can also be said for federal agencies, resulting in an on-going process of paperwork and notifications even twenty years later. In some cases, inventory notices were published in portions. Sometimes this was a result of a particular tribe wanting to fast-track repatriations of human remains and associated funerary objects to persons from particular families or elders in the tribe. The desire was to 'reunite' families before the elders passed (Endzweig).

The first NAGPRA consultation at the MNCH was with members of the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation in Washington State. It was also the first time consulting for the Yakama. The whole process was very open between all participants. Eight tribal members attended, including religious persons, members of the cultural resource department, and administrative officials. The materials in question included human remains as

well as associated cultural patrimony items, which were removed from collections and set aside in a special locked room. In this particular instance, some tribal members wanted to see the remains; all others did not (Endzweig).

There is not always a consensus between the museum and tribes, between different tribal agencies, or between the members of one tribe. Some only want to see cultural artifacts, some want to only see the human remains and some wanted to see everything. It is a matter of personal choice, and the museum attempts to accommodate each request as it comes up.

While the amount of paperwork and documentation required for the implementation, documentation, consultation and subsequent repatriations was, and continues to be, enormous, the overall museum response to the NAGPRA has been positive. There is the significance of the collection to the scientific community and the researchers based in the museum, particularly in that MNCH is a research-based university museum. The MNCH staff may feel sad to lose materials, yet at the same time is sympathetic to the (religious/cultural) concerns of the tribes and enjoy being part of reuniting people with their history. Essentially, NAGPRA “opens channels of communication; opens collections” and the development of consultations and personal contact was the best outcome.

The museum collaborates with American Indian tribes in many areas. Its archaeological fieldwork teams work with tribal representatives and tribal monitors during excavation projects and providing input in the research permitting process. Internally, tribes have participated in consultation sessions for the development of exhibitions, creating artifacts and artwork for displays, and creating educational material concerning their history.

The Museum of Natural and Cultural History is the culmination of a hundred years of changing museum collections practices, coming a long way from its first incarnation. Its practices are the result of a process trial, error, and change of representation and community development for the cultural communities that are the originators of the collections materials.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

Conclusions

Whether a museum is a publicly funded research institution, a small local historical society, or a community tribal museum, they all share a common goal: to utilize their position as an educational facility to preserve and present to the public a socially conscious history or story. These institutions contribute to the greater community through their collections, exhibitions, programs and community relationships. In the context of American Indian presence in museums, the development of socially conscious practices has gone through several key steps. First, the slow development of more inclusive standards of cultural representation and collection within the museum field resulted in institutions modifying their actions and ways in which anthropological and ethnographic materials are regarded. Second, the implementation of cultural resource legislation, with particular emphasis on the American Indian Religious Freedoms Act and the NAGPRA, propelled the efforts of American Indian cultural and religious rights to the forefront of the museums. Finally, the development of collaborative efforts and community partnerships has opened the door for transforming empathy into understanding.

At the beginning of this study it had been my intent to investigate the formal publications relating to museums adapting to the notions of cultural communities desires for input in museum collections and exhibitions management. While there are few formal publications regarding these institutions, this does not mean that there is an absence of information. Numerous articles and publications have been written on how museums interpret the call to be more inclusive of American Indian cultural communities, but fewer on specific examples of how collaborations are

established and how the museum interprets their impact. Law review journals are filled with evaluations of the impact of the NAGPRA on the scientific community, yet fewer on the cultural impact on tribal communities gaining access to materials from their history.

The two case studies of the MNCH and Tamástslikt were an attempt to look into the real-world practices of museums that are trying to instill in their collections and exhibitions the best possible treatment. To a degree, the two institutions were ideal for study. The MNCH is an example of a science-based museum that modified its previously colonialist/ethnocentric practices to become more acknowledging of cultural concerns. The Tamástslikt is a cultural museum built for and by the community it represents, applying their world-views and history. All museums function in the real world and as such are subject to restrictions in the form of resources, time, staffing, and access to certain sets of knowledge. It has been acknowledged, by all museum professionals interviewed for this project, that museums in general are doing the best they can with the material, information and personnel they have available. In a perfect world, all museums could address all the individual histories and concerns of each cultural group identified within the exhibits and collections. However, while many museums can integrate these collections management and interpretive practices with support from the staff, board, and the local and cultural communities, there are many that cannot.

During my interviews at Tamástslikt, I was told that one of the most important concepts that a visitor is supposed to come away with from the museum is the idea that the history of the people, and the stories of the objects are told from the tribe's point of view. The way that they are represented is the way it was from their own view, how they are today, and what they hope to be in the future; a sort of a 'take it or leave it, that is the way that we feel' mentality. This point of

view was contrasted with that of the non-tribal museum, who even with their best efforts are often essentially saying that these tribes live here, this is what they did, this is the way they were, and this is the way they are. *We* versus *they*, while seemingly a small shift in terminology, has an enormous impact on the way a story, object, or history is presented and received.

Ultimately museum professionals from the tribal and non-tribal museums interviewed acknowledged that they cannot be identical in their actions. But then, how can a non-tribal museum work towards practices that are complimentary to the ways in which the cultural communities would like to be represented? The development of increasingly participatory museum methods as well as the implementation of NAGPRA has produced a method of potential compromise with a hope of comprehension. In all instances of reviewing literature and speaking with museum professionals, there was consensus on the most important outcome: consultations and personal contact.

There is no one right way to go about housing and interpreting American Indian materials in museums. Tamástslikt is able to draw from their own community to create their own particular methods of collections care and exhibition that suit both their need for professional practices as well as adapting to their community needs. The MNCH draws from a different set of persons when developing their practices, including scientists, long-time museum professionals, and some outside consultants.

There is also much variation in the process of establishing exhibitions and collections policies, as well as ways in which museums can respond to/continue the collaborations and consultations that NAGPRA began. There are different approaches by individual museums, or between federal agencies, or between/within tribes. Reactions and attitudes within the tribal

agencies have had time (since the early 1990s) to change generationally as well. In a museum such as the MNCH, whose collections span multiple tribal groups within the western United States, contact among each group, or even among individual members of each group, the number of experiences is so varied.

That being said, the fact that museums, tribes, and individuals are so varied in their perspectives, there really is no way to create firm guidelines to govern practices. When dealing with American Indian materials in collections, or developing an exhibit on a particular tribe or practice, the best method of ensuring proper care and respect is through a case-by-case basis that allows for discussion and the communication of ideas.

This, then, requires that the museums and tribes maintain some measure of contact between the two groups. While this may seem like an obvious and easy course of action for the tribal museums, which are essentially run by the tribal governments already, the focus of action falls to non-tribal museums to make the effort to establish and maintain connections. Non-tribal museums need to be open to the idea of consulting outside museums/tribal agencies for information to be implemented, while tribal museums/tribal agencies should be ready to be approached by museums that may have little knowledge but an interest to do right. Involving individuals and cultural communities in museum practices in order to let them tell their own history has gotten to the point where other institutions are sending representatives to Tamástslíkt to find out how to handle these objects, if are being handled in an appropriate way, and what can be done to make that better. All sides need to make the effort to be open, listen and respond so that all sides can be find a successful way of making sure everyone feels respected.

Sharing information and resources represents something larger than single-focus organizational goals and objectives and a shift to enter into relationships with other institutions to achieve shared goals, visions and responses to mutual interests and obligations-- in this case the best possible methods of handling, collecting, and displaying American Indian cultural materials. This type of sharing requires development and enhancement of relationships with the commitment to achieve something through that relationship, which may not otherwise be achievable by an individual organization.

As the project only involved two site locations, the project could not yield a set of specifics that could be applied by all non-tribal museums when dealing with American Indian objects. However, there are common themes and approaches that have been identified in the practices of the two case study locations. Museums should maintain institutional values and principles, and demonstrate attitudes and policies that allow them to work effectively with cross-cultural perspectives. Some specific areas that were identified through this research are listed below.

Museums should open collections and provide means of access to cultural materials.

While it was not unprecedented for museums to consult American Indian communities when developing exhibitions or gathering information on collections, NAGPRA helped to “open doors and open collections” for those who are looking to reconnect with their history, building relationships between tribal communities and the museum for the development of contemporary scholarship on museum materials reinforces the message of collaboration. In addition to site visitations, collections identification, and repatriation processes, this can also include developing

programs to bring native artists into the museum to identify artists and materials, providing professional and academic internships to persons with particular interest in native materials, and opening the collections to cultural/university classes, and developing online web galleries to provide access to information. Providing further educational opportunities with an emphasis on native concerns places the museum at the forefront of research in cultural understanding.

Cultural experts should be consulted determining how to handle collections when questions arise over collections care or acceptability of display.

In the case of both university and tribal museums, institutions must be able to incorporate the potential issues that arise from cultural collections housed in multiple institutions. When a non-tribal museum wishes to create a display involving cultural materials of an American Indian community, they should consult cultural experts to establish if there are any conflicts of interest. In order to address some of these questions, Tamástsiikt has offering to work with surrounding collections institutions in order to provide information on collections practices relating to material that originated from the CTUIR. The MNCH gathers information and perspectives from native artists and crafts-persons in the identification and care of collections materials, as well as utilizes university faculty members with specialties in cultural studies to make decisions on management practices and individual pieces for display.

Institutions must acknowledge certain cultural concerns, even when not practiced.

In the interviews with the collections managers Melton and Endzweig both discuss practices that they have adopted for the care of collections. While the MNCH only practiced particular handling restrictions on NAGPRA American Indian materials that were considered for

repatriation, if other concerns are brought to their attention, through experts or concerned community members, the museum would pay close attention to the matter and attempt to work with concerns. When discussing collaborations in a previous chapter, the idea that all parties are doing the best they can in situations that rarely have clear answers was seen as an acceptable response by representatives from both institutions interviewed, with the understanding that not all parties will care for materials in quite the same way, owing to particulars of tribal affiliation or diversity of collections. Having a caring attitude, one that looks towards any action or situation with a certain level of concern is key.

Museums should work towards the main themes of cultural continuity when interpreting Native peoples, cultures, or events.

The practice of exhibiting materials from living cultures has gone through a particularly interesting development through the decades that has produced a tangible development of display methods. Tribal museums obviously have a more targeted focus on the way that they represent themselves, with access to stories, narratives and first-person histories. Yet non-tribal museums are also able to work within the context of display to produce exhibits that not only use good sense in the object choices, but also retain the voice and identities of the people on display. One of the most important concerns treaded through the discussions of American Indian materials and representation in museums is the concern that the cultures being represented are shown as being static elements of the past. Both museums worked to include a strong sense of cultural placement in Oregon and work to emphasize the continuity of culture to the present through their exhibitions titled *We Are* and *We Are Still Here*.

The objects themselves on display should be situated within the larger context of a rich

cultural history. In both museums, this is addressed through the pairing of older artifacts with contemporary examples of continuing cultural traditions. Displaying older baskets alongside contemporary weavings, or the stories of historic tribal figures alongside the biographies of contemporary military persons emphasizes the fact that despite having their stories in a museum, these people and cultures are a part of a living cultural tradition.

Develop an institutional policy of overall cultural competency and awareness.

While the first cultural museums may have lacked a certain level of cultural understanding, the current field stresses that they had to put considerable effort into developing it cultural competency. Cultural competence is the understanding and acceptance of the values and beliefs of others. Those considered culturally competent demonstrate the kinds of skills necessary to work with and serve diverse individuals and groups. This means examining institutional biases and prejudices, developing cross-cultural communication skills, searching for museum role models that fit the mission and scope of the institution, and ensuring that it becomes a part of the institution.

While many people would take this to mean that the non-tribal museums are the ones responsible for making sure that members of their organization have an understanding of the cultural communities represented in their collections, there is a certain level of commitment to building awareness, knowledge and skills related to cross cultural communication that is required of non-tribal museums, tribal museums, and the members of the cultural communities.

There is no one right way to work within cross-cultural communication and even within groups, opinions and ideologies vary.

There is not a formula for working with different groups or any one way to react to all cultural concerns. Institutions can develop awareness about certain aspects of a cultural group, but they cannot assume that everyone within that group will fit into a formula, and should act accordingly when creating institutional relationships that they intend to last longer than the individual participants.

Whether it be working on an cultural exhibit, working to develop educational materials relating to the local native communities, or working on repatriation requests, cooperation between all parties is necessary. Individuals and groups must recognize that they are working together for a common purpose or benefit-- the preservation and expansion of cultural materials, stories, and identities.

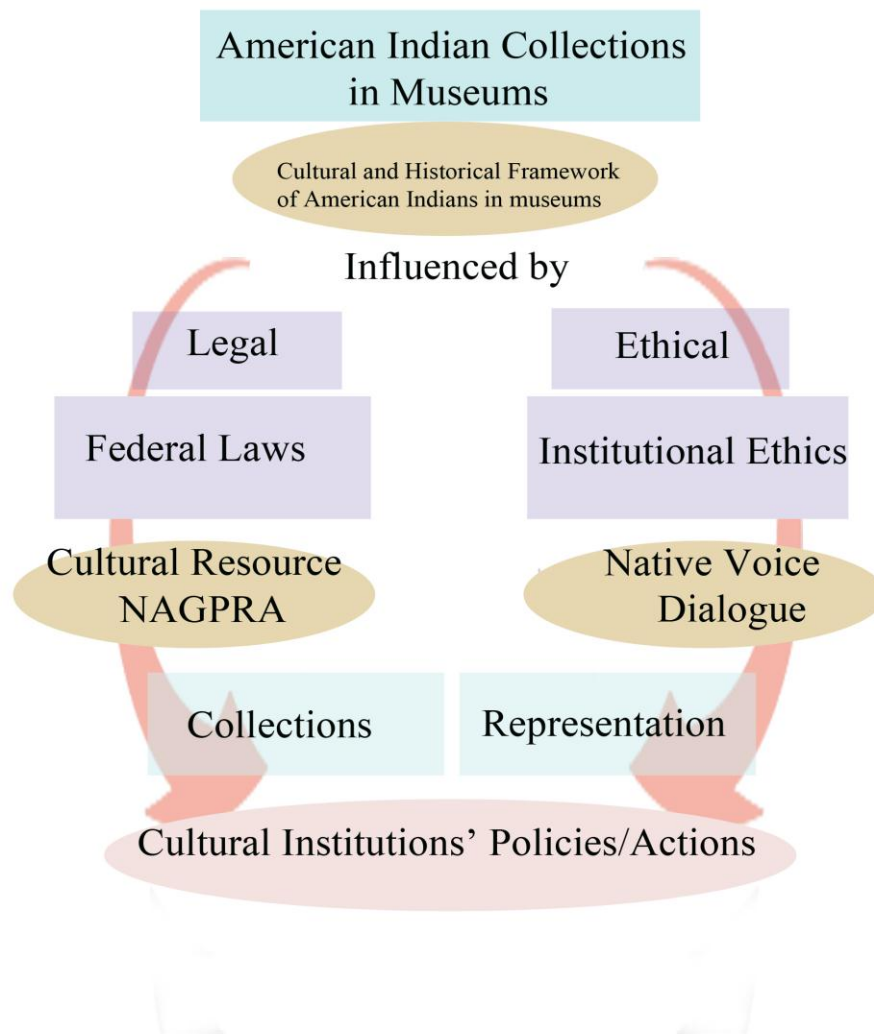
When discussing collaborations in a previous chapters, the idea that all parties are doing the best they can in situations that rarely have clear answers was seen as an acceptable response by representatives from both institutions interviewed. The understanding that not all parties will care for materials in quite the same way, owing to affiliation or diversity of collections. Having a caring attitude, one that looks towards any action or situation with a certain level of concern is key.

The literature review documents the institutional shift from the museum focusing solely on their internal practices and collections, to an external concern of the way in which living communities are included and represented within the museum. The U.S. laws affecting native communities and materials saw a change from a focus on scientific importance of materials, to

an additional acknowledgement of the continuing cultural importance and the rights of communities of origin to have input on their care. But at the same time, progress should not be measured in results such as repatriation, but in the ongoing dialogue between non-tribal museums, tribal museums, and native communities.

Overall, all of these aspects, from cultural resource laws to institutional ethics to individual programs, encourage museums to move away from thinking of the museum as a memorial to dead cultures, and rather as an active gathering place that fosters and shares living cultures. The museum is a critical tool as spaces for zones of contact, where disparate systems of meaning converge and jostle with one another. But the situation is complex and the solutions are not always straightforward. Communication and collaboration, the most important aspect of this project, is what all institutions should strive for, if they wish to remain relevant and culturally conscious institutions.

APPENDIX A:



BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- _____(2005). A Travel Guide to Indian Country—Oregon State 2005/2006. Edited by Ernie Stensgar, Jan Halliday, Victoriah Arsenian, Audrey Fraggalosch & M. Yearout. *Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians Economic Development Corporation*. Retrieved February 2010 from: www.atniedc.com/pdfs/IndianCountryOREGON05.pdf.
- _____(2007). Tribal Leaders Directory. *National Directory of Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums*. Institute of Museum and Library Services. Produced by the University of Arizona, Arizona State Museum.
- _____(2009a). NAGPRA and Repatriation. *Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Website*. Retrieved December 2009 from: <http://www.peabody.harvard.edu/node/310>.
- _____(2009b). Oregon Statutes 352.045-Oregon State Museum of Anthropology. *Oregon Statutes*. Volume 9, Title 30, Chapter 352. Retrieved March 2010 from: http://www.lawserver.com/print/16499751:oregon_statutes_352-045.
- _____(2010a). Anthropology Collections. *Museum of Natural and Cultural History Website*. Retrieved December 2009 from: <http://natural-history.uoregon.edu/collections/anthropology-collections>.
- _____(2010b). Archaeology and Repatriation. *Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture Website*. Retrieved January 2010, from: http://www.washington.edu/burkemuseum/collections/archaeology/repatriation_faq.php.
- AAM (2000a). Museums and Community Initiative: An Opening Conversation About Museums and Community. *American Association of Museums*. Retrieved January 2010, from: <http://www.aamus.org/initiatives/mandc/papers/conversation.cfm>.

AAM (2000b). Museums and community: Shaping the dialogue (highlights of the National Task Force Leadership Meeting Washington, DC, February 17–19, 2000). *American Association of Museums*. Retrieved January 2010, from:
[http:// www.aam-us.org/initiatives/mandc/papers/leadership.cfm](http://www.aam-us.org/initiatives/mandc/papers/leadership.cfm).

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP). (2008). *Consultation with Indian Tribes in the Section 106 Review Process: A Handbook*. Retrieved 26 November 2009 from:
http://www.summitlaketribe.org/uploads/Sec_106_Consultation_Handbook.pdf.

American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA). (1978). 42 U.S.C. §§ 1996 Retrieved on 14 November 2009 from: <http://nps.gov/>.

Ames, Michael. (2000). Are Changing Representations of First Peoples in Canadian Museums and Galleries Challenging the Cultural Prerogative? In *The Changing Presentation of the American Indian: Museums and Native Cultures*. Washington: University of Washington Press.

Antiquities Act. (1906). 16 U.S.C. §§ 431-433. Retrieved on 14 November 2009 from:
<http://nps.gov/>.

Anyon, Roger. Ferguson, TJ, & Welch, John. (2000). Heritage Management by American Indian Tribes in the Southwestern United States. In *Cultural Resource Management in Contemporary Society: Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past*. New York: Routledge.

Apodaca, Paul. (1999) Exhibit Review: Powerful Images: Portrayals of Native America. *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 101, No. 4, pp. 818-823.

Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA). (1979). 43 C.F.R. §§ 7 Retrieved on 14 November 2009 from: <http://nps.gov/>.

- Ashley, Susan. (2005). First Nations on View: Canadian Museums and Hybrid Representations of Culture. Paper presented at the Joint Programme in Communication and Culture at York University. Retrieved November 2009 from:
www.yorku.ca/topia/docs/conference/Ashley.pdf.
- Beaulieu, Kathryn. (2004). Protocols for Native American Archive Materials. *First Archivists Circle*. Retrieved November 2009 from:
<http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>.
- Bennet, Tony. (1998). Pedagogic Objects, Clean Eyes, and Popular Instruction: On Sensory Regimes and Museum Didactics. *Configurations*. Vol. 6, No 3. pp: 345-371.
- Boas, Franz. (1887). Museums of Ethnology and Their Classification. *Science*. Vol. 4, No. 228.
- Bonnichsen, et al. v. United States, et al., (9th Cir. Feb. 4, 2004). Retrieved February 2010 from:
<http://openjurist.org/367/f3d/864/bonnichsen-v-united-states>.
- Camarena, Cuauhtemoc & Morales, Teresa. (2006). The Power of Self-Interpretation: Ideas on Starting a Community Museum. In *Living Homes for Cultural Expression: North American Native Perspectives on Creating Community Museums*. Edited by Karen Cooper & Nicolasa Sandoval. Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian at the Smithsonian Institution.
- Carbonell, Bettina. (2004) Introduction. In *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Context*. Edited by Bettina Carbonell. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage (1999) *Safeguarding Traditional Cultures: A Global Assessment*. Edited by Peter Seitel. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution.

- Chavarria, T. R. (2005). Structural Fills: Preservation and Conservation in a Museum of Living Anthropology. *Western Association for Art Conservation Newsletter*. Vol. 27. No. 1. pp: 23–24.
- Clavir, Miriam. (2002). *Preserving What Is Valued: Museums, Conservation, and First Nations*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Cleese, Henry. (2001). Uneasy Bedfellows: Universality and Cultural Heritage. In *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*. Edited by Robert Layton, Peter G. Stone, and Julian Thomas. New York: Routledge.
- Cooper, Karen. (2006). Starting a Native Museum or Cultural Center. In *Living Homes for Cultural Expression: North American Native Perspectives on Creating Community Museums*. Edited by Karen Cooper & Nicolasa Sandoval. Washington, D.C.: National Museum of the American Indian Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Corbey, Raymond. (1933). Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930. *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 338-369.
- Derlon, Bridgitte, & Mauze, Marie.(n.d) “Sacred” or “Sensitive” Objects. Retrieved December, 2009 from: http://www.necep.net/papers/OS_Derlon-Mauze.pdf.
- Endzweig, Pamela. Personal Interview. September 10, 2010.
- Fetterman, David M. (1989) *Ethnography: Step by Step*. Sage Publications INC.
- Fletcher, Matthew. (2007). Retiring the “Deadliest Enemies” Model of Tribal-State Relations. *Tulsa Law Review*. Vol 43, Issue 1. pp. 73-88.

Franco, Barbara. (1994). The Communication Conundrum: What is the Message? Who is Listening? *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 81, No. 1. pp. 151-163.

Fred, Morris A. (1997) Law and identity: Negotiating Meaning in the NAGPRA. *International Journal of Cultural Property*, Vol 6, pp: 199-230.

Grodach, Carl & Loukaitou-Sideris, Anastasia. (2004) Displaying and Celebrating the “Other”: A Study of the Mission, Scope, and Roles of Ethnic Museums in Los Angeles. *The Public Historian*, Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 49–71.

Gunn, Steven. (2010). The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act at Twenty: Reaching the Limits of Our National Consensus. *William Mitchell Law Review*. Vol. 36. Number 2.

Haakanson, Sven Jr. (2004). Why Should American Indian Cultural Items be Preserved?. In *Caring for American Indian Objects: A Practical and Cultural Guide*. Edited by Sherelyn Ogden. Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Harding, Sarah. (2003a). Defining Traditional Knowledge: Lessons from Cultural Property. *Cardozo Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 11, part 2. pp: 511-518.

Harding, Sarah. (2003b). Cultural Property and the Limits of Preservation. *Law and Policy*. Vol. 25, No. 1. pp: 17-36.

Henry, James. (2004) Challenges in Maintaining Culturally Sensitive Collections at the National Museum of the American Indian. In *Stewards of the Sacred*. Edited by Lawrence Sullivan and Alison Edwards. Washington, DC: American Association of Museums.

- Herscher, Helen. (1989). International Control Efforts: Are There Any Good Solutions? In *Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?* Edited by Phyllis Mauch Messenger. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Higgin, Elizabeth. (2009). Museums of Social Conscience: Interpreting a Troubled Past. Unpublished Thesis, Baylor University.
- Hill, Richard Sr. (2000). The Indian in the Cabinet of Curiosity. In *The Changing Presentation of the American Indian: Museums and Native Cultures*. Washington: University of Washington Press.
- Historic Sites Act. (1935). 49 U.S.C. §§ 461-467. Retrieved on 14 November 2009 from: <http://nps.gov/>.
- Hohman-Caine, Christy. (1989). Commentary. In *Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?* Ed. by Phyllis Mauch Messenger. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Hudson, Kenneth. (1998). The Museum Refuses to Stand Still. In *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Context*. Edited by Bettina Carbonell. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS). (2009). Cataloging Histories of the Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Walla Tribes Grant. Retrieved on February 2010 from: <http://www.imls.gov/profiles/Oct09.shtm>
- IITC, . (n.d.). *About the International Indian Treaty Council*. Retrieved 15 November 2009 from: www.treatycouncil.org.

Joan, Thomas. (2004). Handling Considerations: One Person's Story. In *Caring for American Indian Objects: A Practical and Cultural Guide*. Edited by Sherelyn Ogden. Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Kallenbach, Elizabeth. Personal Interview. June 17, 2010.

Kanahele, Pualani Kanaka'ole. (1999). The Role of Education: Acculturation Back into the Future. In *Safeguarding Traditional Cultures: A Global Assessment*, ed. Peter Seitel. Washington D.C.: Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage at the Smithsonian Institution.

Karson, Jennifer (2007). *Bringing It Home: Instituting Culture, Claiming History, and Managing Change in a Plateau Tribal Museum*. Unpublished Dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin.

Koehler, Elizabeth M. (2007). Repatriation of Cultural Objects to Indigenous Peoples: A Comparative Analysis of U.S. and Canadian Law. *The International Lawyer*. Vol 41, Issue 1. pp. 103-126.

Kurin, Richard. (1997). *Reflections of a Cultural Broker*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

LaSarge, Diana. Personal Interview. March 11, 2010.

Layton, Robert. (2001). Commentary. In *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*. Edited by Robert Layton, Peter G. Stone, and Julian Thomas. New York: Routledge.

Marstine, Janet. (2006). Introduction. In *New Museum Theory and Practice*. Edited by Janet Marstine. Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing.

- Mbunwe-Samba, Patrick. (2001). Should developing countries restore and conserve? In *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*. Edited by Robert Layton, Peter G. Stone, and Julian Thomas. New York: Routledge.
- McClintock, Charles. (1979) Applying the Logic of Sample Surveys to Qualitative Case Studies: The Case Cluster Method. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 4. pp: 612-629.
- McLoughlin, Moira. (1999). *Museums and the Representation of Native Canadians: Negotiating the Borders of Culture*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- McManamon, Francis P. (2000). The Protection of Archaeological Resources in the United States: Reconciling Preservation with Contemporary Society. In *Cultural Resource Management in Contemporary Society: Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past*. New York : Routledge.
- McManamon, Francis P. & Hallton, Alf. (2000a). Introduction: Considering Cultural Resource Management in Modern Society. In *Cultural Resource Management in Contemporary Society: Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past*. New York: Routledge.
- McManamon, Francis P. & Hallton, Alf. (2000b). *Cultural Resource Management in Contemporary Society: Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past*. New York: Routledge.
- Melton, Randall. Personal Interview. March 11, 2010.
- Merriman, Nick. (2000). The Crisis of Representation in Archaeological Museums. In *Cultural Resource Management in Contemporary Society: Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past*. New York: Routledge.
- MNCH (2008). *Oregon Where Past is Present*. Edited by Sarah McClure and Jon Erlandson. Eugene: Museum of Natural and Cultural History Press.

Nafziger, James A. & Dobkins, Rebecca. (1999) The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in its first decade. *International Journal of Cultural Property* Vol. 8, 1, 77-106.

Nason, James. (2000). "Our" Indians: The Unidimensional Indian in the Disembodied Local Past. In *The Changing Presentation of the American Indian: Museums and Native Cultures*. Washington: University of Washington Press.

National Museum of the American Indian Act (NMAIA). (1989). Public Law 101-185. Retrieved on 14 November 2009 from: <http://nps.gov/>.

National Park Service (a). (n.d.). *History of the Antiquities Act*. Retrieved 17 November 2009 from: <http://www.nps.gov/history/history/hisnps/npshistory/antiq.htm>.

National Park Service (b). (n.d.). *National NAGPRA*. Retrieved 17 November 2009 from: <http://www.nps.gov/history/nagpra/>.

National Park Service (c). (n.d.). *National NAGPRA Glossary*. Retrieved 17 November 2009 from: <http://www.nps.gov/history/nagpra/TRAINING/GLOSSARY.HTM>.

National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). (1966). 16 U.S.C. §§ 470 Retrieved on 14 November 2009 from: <http://nps.gov/>.

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). (1991). 25 U.S.C. §§ 3001-3013. Retrieved on 14 November 2009 from: <http://thomas.loc.gov/>.

Neuman, W. L. (1997). *Social Research Methods*, 3rd edition. New York: Pearson Education.

- Nichols, Deborah; Klesert, Anthony; & Anyon, Roger. (1989). Ancestral Sites, Shrines, and Graves: Native American Perspectives on the Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property. In *Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?* Ed. by Phyllis Mauch Messenger. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Norsdtrand, Pollyanna. (2004). The Voice of the Museum: Developing Displays. In *Caring for American Indian Objects: A Practical and Cultural Guide*. Edited by Sherelyn Ogden. Minnesota Historical Society Press.
- Ogden, Sherelyn. (2004a). How Should Cultural Items Be Used for Display? In *Caring for American Indian Objects: A Practical and Cultural Guide*. Edited by Sherelyn Ogden. Minnesota Historical Society Press.
- Ogden, Sherelyn. (2004b). Introduction. In *Caring for American Indian Objects: A Practical and Cultural Guide*. Edited by Sherelyn Ogden. Minnesota Historical Society Press.
- Ogden, Sherelyn. (2007). Understanding, Respect, and Collaboration in Cultural Heritage Preservation: A Conservator's Developing Perspective. *Library Trends*. Vol. 56, No. 1. pp: 275-287.
- An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States North West of the River Ohio (Northwest Ordinance). (1787). Retrieved on 22 November 2009 from: <http://ourdocuments.org>.
- Penny, David. (2000). The Poetics of Museum Representations: Tropes of Recent American Indian Art Exhibitions. In *The Changing Presentation of the American Indian: Museums and Native Cultures*. Washington: University of Washington Press.

- Porter, Gaby. (2004). Seeing Through Solidarity: A Feminist Perspective on Museums. In *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Context*. Edited by Bettina Carbonell. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Risnicoff de Gorgas, Monica. (2001). Reality as an Illusion, the Historic Houses that Becomes a Museum. In *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Context*. Edited by Bettina Carbonell. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Sackler, Elizabeth. (1998) The Ethics of Collecting. *International Journal of Cultural Property*. Vol.7 No. 1, Oxford University Press for International Cultural Property Society, NC, 1998, pp: 132-140.
- Sadongei, Alyce. (2004). What About Sacred Objects?. In *Caring for American Indian Objects: A Practical and Cultural Guide*. Edited by Sherelyn Ogden. Minnesota Historical Society Press.
- Sassoon, David. (1989). Considering the Perspectives of the Victim: The Antiquities of Nepal. In *Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?* Ed. by Phyllis Mauch Messenger. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Schrag, Brian. (2010) With Bones in Contention: Repatriation of Human Remains. *Online Ethics Center for Engineering*. Retrieved December 2009 from: www.onlineethics.org/Resources/Cases/bones.aspx.
- Schrage, Michael. (2004). Collaboration and Creativity. *American Association of Museums: Museum News*. Retrieved in January 2010 from: http://www.aam-us.org/pubs/mn/MN_MA04_CollabCreativ.cfm.

- Secakuku, Susan. (2006). Creating Museums within a Tribal Government: A Look at the Hopi Tribe. In *Living Homes for Cultural Expression: North American Native Perspectives on Creating Community Museums*. Edited by Karen Cooper & Nicolasa Sandoval. Washington, D.C :National Museum of the American Indian Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Shestack, Alan. (1989). The Museum and Cultural Property: The Transformation of Institutional Ethics. In *Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?* Ed. by Phyllis Mauch Messenger. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Smith, Laura Jane. (2004). *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*. New York: Routledge.
- Tamástslikt Cultural Institute. (n.d.). *Tamástslikt Media Kit*. Retrieved March 2010 from: www.Tamástslikt.org/press.cfm.
- Thomas, Joan Celeste. (2004). Handling Considerations: One Person's Story. In *Caring for American Indian Objects: A Practical and Cultural Guide*. Edited by Sherelyn Ogden. Minnesota Historical Society Press.
- Thomas, Julian. (2001). Introduction. In *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*. Ed by Robert Layton, Peter G. Stone, and Julian Thomas. New York: Routledge.
- Vecsey, Christopher. (2003). "American Indian Religious Freedom Act." *Dictionary of American History*. The Gale Group Inc. Retrieved November 28, 2009 from Encyclopedia.com: <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3401800168.html>
- Vacsey, Christopher. (1991). *Handbook of American Indian Religious Freedom*. New York: Crossroad Press.

- Warren, Karen. (1989). A Philosophical Perspective on the Ethics and Resolution of Cultural Properties Issues. *Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?* Ed. Messenger, Phyllis. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Watson, Rubie. (2004). Culturally Sensitive Collections: A Museum Perspective. In *Stewards of the Sacred*. Edited by Lawrence Sullivan and Alison Edwards. Washington, DC: American Association of Museums.
- Welsh, P. H. (2005). Re-configuring Museums. *Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, Vol. 20 No. 2, pp: 103-130.
- White House Indian Affairs Executive Working Group (WH-IAEWG). (2009). *List of Federal Tribal Consultation Statutes, Orders, Regulations, Rules, Policies, Manuals, Protocols and Guidance*. Retrieved 26 November 2009 from: <http://www.achp.gov/programs.html>.
- Wittstock, LW, & Salinas, EJ. (n.d.). *A Brief History of the American Indian Movement*. Retrieved 15 November 2009 from www.aimovement.org.
- Wood, Mary Christina. (2004). Politics of Abundance: Towards a Future of Tribal-State Relations. *Oregon Law Review*. Vol. 84, Issue 4. pp. 1331-1348.
- Zimmerman, Larry. (2005). Public Heritage, a Desire for a 'White' History for America, and Some Impacts of the Kennewick Man/Ancient One Decision. *International Journal of Cultural Property*. Vol. 12, No 2. 265-274.