


THE FUTURE IS INDIGENOUS

Stories from the new
NATIVE NORTH AMERICA HALL
at the Field Museum








Edited by **ALAKA WALI** and **TOM SKWERSKI**

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THE DEVELOPMENT, DESIGN, and installation of the *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* exhibition at the Field Museum took place over a four-and-a-half-year time span and involved literally hundreds of people. The scale and scope of collaboration was unprecedented, and no text is adequate to truly acknowledge the time and effort dedicated to the project. The co-editors are deeply grateful specifically to everyone who contributed to this volume, and we also would like to thank all those who made the exhibition possible.

First and foremost, we thank the amazing Native American Advisory Committee (listed in the Appendix) who were with us from the beginning of the project, developing the main conceptual messages, guiding the crafting of the texts, advising on multimedia elements and the visual design, and providing wise counsel for difficult decisions. The committee members worked diligently through a pandemic, holding many meetings over Zoom, actively participating in co-curation, and now contributing chapters to this book.

We are also deeply grateful to all the storytellers (also listed in the Appendix) who collaborated on the exhibition displays—over 130 people from 105 different Tribal Nations across the United States and Canada. They gave generously of their time and expertise, working with the staff to select items from the collections, advising on care and manner of display, and co-writing the label texts. The sidebars in this volume are drawn from the texts they co-wrote and represent their perspectives on the Native Truths and associated stories.

The co-editors of this volume are also grateful to the support we received from the Field Museum staff from all the different departments at the Field Museum who worked on the exhibition. The members of the Anthropology Collections and Research Department were especially generous of their time and effort. We are very grateful to Ryan Schuessler, who compiled the sidebar texts from the exhibition label copy. Over 50 Field Museum staff worked on the exhibition (see credits in the Appendix). Jaap Hoogstraten, Director of Exhibitions, was a guiding force and problem-solver without whom the exhibition would not have reached fruition.

We are also thankful for the support of the Field Museum leadership—the Presidents Richard Lariviere and Julian Siggers, Vice Presidents Debra Moskovits and Thorsten Lumbsch, and the executive team and the Board of Trustees—for their commitment to this project and their willingness to take the risks in moving the Field Museum to a transformative paradigm shift in creating exhibitions with community engagement.

This volume could not have been realized without the support of the Terra Foundation for American Art. The leadership and staff of the foundation have encouraged us at every step of the way and have gone above and beyond providing financial support. In addition, we would like to thank the family of donors who so generously supported the exhibition: the Sarowitz Family for lead support; Robert R. McCormick Foundation, the Efroymson-Hamid Family, Roger and Peter McCormick/Chauncey and Marion D. McCormick Foundation, and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for major support; and Carolyn S. Bucksbaum, Elizabeth Morse Genius Charitable Trust, Julie and Matthew K. Simon, and Cia and Tom Souleles for additional support. In 2019 the Field Museum awarded the Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians—also known as Gun Lake Tribe—the Parker Gentry Award for Environmental Conservation, which comes with $5,000. At the award ceremony, the Tribal delegation returned the award amount and matched it with another $5,000, designating it for the construction of the *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* exhibition. We recognize the trust and responsibility the Tribe placed in us with this gift to tell their story and those of all the others represented with respect and humility.

We are grateful as well to our editors at BAR Publishing for their enthusiastic support and careful attention to the production of the book.

Finally, we are deeply grateful to our families, who nurtured us, listened to our joys and sorrows, sacrificed time, and generally provided moral support during the making of the exhibition and the writing of the book.

CONTENTS

PREFACE

THIS BOOK IS the result of a deeply collaborative effort among all the contributors and reflects the work of the entire team responsible for creating the *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* exhibition. As we move into the twenty-first century, museums are facing new challenges and new opportunities to engage our audiences and to make significant contributions to the public arena on critical societal concerns and the role of art and storytelling in illuminating the human condition. Museums are confronting the legacies of their colonial origins, their complicity in perpetuating harmful stereotypes and privileging narrow or exclusionary perspectives over broader representation of diverse voices by more openly discussing their past practices. New and innovative methodologies that center Indigenous perspectives and protocols have emerged as a result of groundbreaking scholarship by Native American and Indigenous scholars across the globe which many museums are adopting.

It is at this moment that the Field Museum staff decided to undertake the complete renovation of the Native North American Hall, which had remained largely unchanged since the 1950s. In producing this edited volume, it is our hope that it can serve as a reflection on the pathways to improving museum practice and on the contemporary concerns of Native American scholars, artists, and community leaders. The book is intended for general audiences as well as museum professionals and academic Native American Studies disciplines. We also hope it will reach the broader Native American and global Indigenous communities and inspire others to undertake similar efforts. While the book hews closely to the stories in the exhibition and describes the processes entailed in its creation, it can be read as a standalone document.

The book editors and contributing authors as well as the team that worked on the exhibition were a diverse group of non-Native and Native American staff, advisors, and collaborators. The non-Native team members from the Field Museum (including the book editors) spent time reflecting on their position and privilege in their relationships with their Native American colleagues and collaborators. We were helped by a workshop led by Dr. Deana Dartt (Chumash and Mestiza), the Founder and Principal of Live Oak Consulting, who has decades of experience in guiding museums through decolonizing processes. The Native American staff members who joined the project felt the emotional and intellectual burdens of working at an institution that held their ancestors and their belongings. They strove to educate their colleagues about their experiences and how we could all improve practices toward expanding Indigenization spaces. Members of the Advisory Committee and the storytellers who collaborated with us spoke of the risks they were taking in working with a colonial institution and of their commitment to contribute to its transformation.

The team as a whole recognized the different positionalities and power imbalances and strove to address these as much as possible. However, as some scholars and activists have pointed out, complete decolonization may not be possible given the inherent structural barriers and histories of museums. There is still an inadequate pipeline for training and bringing on board Native American, Indigenous, and other underrepresented communities into the work of museums. Potawatomi artist Jason Wesaw, who contributed work to the exhibition, has spoken of the need to move beyond collaboration to more deeply engage in the work of reciprocity between museums and source communities. He points to the need to support Tribal museums, expand access to collections, and strengthen relationships in all aspects of museum practice. These efforts must be continuous and sustained if the potential of the paradigm shift that began at the Field Museum with the installation of *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* is to be fully realized. As editors, we hope this book advances the dialogues between museums and with Indigenous communities toward a brighter future for telling powerful stories with respect and appreciation for the perseverance, resilience, and courage of Indigenous peoples everywhere.

Alaka Wali and Tom Skwerski

INTRODUCTION

ALAKA WALI

THE INSTALLATION OF *Native Truths: Our Voices Our Stories* represented a major departure from the normative practices of new exhibition creation at the Field Museum. The paradigm shift it represented had been years in the making. This book is both an account of the process of making the exhibition at an institution attempting to move past its colonial roots and an account of the diverse perspectives of Native Americans on fundamental concepts told through stories in the exhibition that deepen our understanding of the concerns, philosophies, and cultural practices of Native Americans today. The exhibition represented the first time that the Field Museum had systematically placed collaboration with the communities whose stories would be told at the center of the development and design process for an exhibition. Although there have been collaborations before, there had been nothing of this magnitude or depth. The collaborations started with an 11-member advisory committee and ultimately included over 130 artists, community members, Tribal historic preservation officers, and Tribal authorities from 105 Tribes and First Nations in the United States and Canada. This book brings together chapters and statements from the Advisory Committee members, many of the contributors to the stories told in the exhibition, and chapters from Field Museum staff on the ways the exhibition process changed practices at the Field Museum.

Antecedents to the Renovation of the Native North America Hall

Understanding the process of change at the Field Museum provides an opportunity to reflect on the factors that have influenced the trajectories of change in museum practices. It also provides the opportunity to reflect on the particularity of circumstances at the Field Museum that impacted its specific trajectory. To quote Tolstoy in *Anna Karenina:* "All happy families are alike; each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way." In other words, while all museums were finding pathways to change at a tumultuous time, each was doing it in a different way. Understanding the similarities of factors underlying change and the specificities of difference helps to illuminate the complexities of the challenge of changing institutions.

At the Field Museum, the changes that ultimately resulted in the transformation of the exhibition process used in creating *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* were incremental and episodic, stimulated both by individuals and by the forces of change that were impacting all museums. Although one might argue that change in museum practice has been a constant feature since these institutions came into being, museum scholars generally describe major changes as coming in waves. The first wave, sometimes dubbed the "new museology," began sometime in the 1960s, as civil rights protests in the United States and global struggles for independence from colonial regimes provoked museums to rethink their missions and offer more community-oriented programs and exhibitions and address current issues (Kreps 2020). During this time, the Field Museum undertook some innovative programming, such as the construction of the Pawnee Earth Lodge in collaboration with Pawnee elders (1971), and a major exhibition of Maori art (*Te Maori* in 1986), which was accompanied by the renovation of Ruatepupuke II with the collaboration of the Tokomaru Bay community (www.pacificanthropology.org/ruatepupuke-ii and cf. Mercurio, Hogan, and Garland 2019).

The second wave began sometime in the 1990s, when museums started confronting the reality of declining visitors, mounting protests from those who were being represented in displays without their direct involvement, and innovations in technologies of communication (Phillips 2007; Karp et al. 1991). Natural history museums also continued to expand their emphasis on addressing social and environmental concerns. In 1993, the Field Museum reached 100 years since its establishment, and the leadership, heeding the critiques that were emerging about

museum "fossilization," and driven also by internal debates about how the Field Museum could distinguish itself from other major natural history museums, set forth a strategic plan that emphasized both elevating cross-disciplinary research and increasing the Museum's contributions to global concerns about protection for biological diversity and promoting cultural diversity. These two topics are the foundations of natural history disciplines within museums that contain biological and cultural collections. The new direction for the Field Museum led to the establishment of two initiatives to implement the more activist agenda and put the Museum's research expertise and collections to use (Boyd 2019; Wali 2015). The initiative for direct action on environmental conservation (Environment and Conservation Programs (ECP)) was led by Dr. Debra Moskovits, an ecologist who had been working in the Exhibitions Department. I was hired in 1994 to lead the Center for Cultural Understanding and Change (CCUC), focused on engaging local Chicago-based community organizations and promoting programs for bringing anthropological perspectives on cultural diversity to the Museum's audiences.

Similarly, there was a greater effort to engage local communities in the creation of exhibition content and educational programming (Boyd 2019, 205–09). The then-new Hall of Africa (opened in 1994), for example, included elements about the local Chicago African American community, and exhibition staff consulted both African Americans and African scholars in the development of the content. The Education Department initiated a number of innovative programs to reach local schools and under-resourced communities that had been historically excluded from Museum programs. In 1997, an exhibition titled *Living Together: Common Concerns, Different Responses* opened and featured stories from Chicago communities in tandem with stories from societies whose material culture was represented in the Museum's collections.

However, by the early 2000s, many of these efforts on the public side of the Museum were discontinued as the Museum faced budgetary problems due to the global economic recession and shifting priorities of a new administration. Exhibition programs focused more on efforts to bring in temporary exhibitions from other museums and "blockbusters" with the hope of increasing revenue. Although momentum was lost on the public side, efforts to increase collaboration and work toward environmental conservation and promoting cultural understanding continued. The two action-focused initiatives—ECP and CCUC—had successfully raised funds for programmatic work and outreach, and decided to join forces to better create synergies and focus efforts for greater impact. Between 2006 and 2010, the two units started to merge, and in 2006 they became "Environment, Culture and Conservation"—ECCO, a department within the Scientific Affairs Division. Eventually, Moskovits was successful in raising an endowment for ECCO, and a major gift led to the renaming of ECCO to the Keller Science Action Center (KSAC). The KSAC focused its efforts on building relationships with non-governmental organizations, including Indigenous organizations in the Northwestern Amazon region of South America and with Chicago-based community organizations to collaborate on environmental concerns (Wali 2016). Collaboration was at the core of KSAC's programmatic efforts. The actual staff of the Center was small, but through collaboration, the Center was able to effect transformative change for environmental protection and promoting greater inclusion of community voice to improve quality of life for the two regions (Wali et al. 2017). During this time as well, in 2010, I assumed curatorial responsibility for the North American collection. I brought collaborative approaches that I was using for research and programmatic efforts to my curatorial practice.

By 2012, the Museum's leadership had again changed, and under the new president a renewed interest was sparked in community engagement in the public museum. Curator John Terrell obtained a major grant to begin a co-curation project with Philippine scholars and community members both in the Philippines and in Chicago, which resulted in a website where Filipinos could provide information and stories about cultural items from the Museum's collection. An exhibition curated by Filipino scholars and artists was also installed. These types of experimental exhibitions co-curated with community representatives and artists were installed in small gallery spaces and were successful in attracting visitors and helping to build positive relationships with community organizations. Three of these experiments involved my working with contemporary Native American artists in installations housed in a 500-square-foot gallery named after a former president of the Museum—the Weber Gallery. This space was at the front of the old "Native North American Hall." As curator of the Native North American collection, I invited the artists to select pieces from the historical collection and incorporate them into an exhibition that featured their own works (Wali 2020). This strategy—weaving together the collections with contemporary work—opened the door to a different kind of collaboration, one in which living artists were empowered to develop and install exhibitions that reflected their relationship to the collection and

FIGURE 1 | *Chris Pappan: Drawing on Tradition*, 2016 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein, GN92360_128d

their own concerns about art, identity, and community. The Museum staff who worked with the Native American co-curators were intellectually and emotionally impacted by the collaboration.

One exhibition in particular, co-curated by Chris Pappan (Kanza and Osage), who calls himself a "21st century ledger artist," also had a significant impact on the Museum's administration. Pappan's exhibition, titled *Chris Pappan: Drawing on Tradition*, was installed as an intervention in the old North American Hall, rather than in the Weber Gallery, and brought direct attention to the deficiencies of the Hall, its inherent racism, and its dire neglect of the items on display (detailed in later chapters). The Museum leadership (especially the president), on seeing Pappan's exhibition, became convinced of the urgency of renovating this hall. The decision to undertake the renovation, in 2017, came at a time when the "third wave" of changing museum practice was well underway.

This third wave has elevated efforts to decolonize museum practice (Wali and Collins 2023). Since the early twenty-first century, museum practitioners and scholars of Museum Studies have been documenting the ways in which museums are changing curatorial and collections care practices to more equitably and expansively include perspectives and scholarship of descendants of source communities who have been historically excluded from responsibilities and authority in museums. At universities, there has been an expansion of Native American Studies departments, and there has been more visibility for contemporary Native American artists. This has created opportunities for more collaboration and inclusion of Native American scholarship and creativity in museums. Museums are also building stronger relationships with Tribal cultural experts, including Historic Preservation Officers and Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (responsible for relations with governments) as well as knowledge-keepers. Furthermore, there has been an expansion of Tribal museums and cultural centers (Wali and Collins 2023). The Field Museum was thus well positioned to take advantage of these developments to build a deeper collaborative approach to the construction of the new Hall.

Construction of the New Hall

The Field Museum's administration approved the renovation of the Native North American Hall at the beginning of 2018, after a significant portion of the needed funds had been raised as part of a strategic campaign for overall endowment and programmatic expansion. According to then president, Richard Lariviere, the Museum was able to raise close to $15 million of the budgeted $17 million in record time. Under the leadership of Debra Moskovits, who had been promoted to Vice President of the Science and Education Division, a task force drawn from across all departments of the Museum had been meeting for two years prior to the "green light" for the exhibition to discuss how the renovation of the exhibition would impact the collections and whether funds could be raised to properly meet the needs of caring for the collection, including increased access for Native American community members, repatriation efforts, and collaborative conservation practices. I chaired the task force, which met monthly and discussed the priorities for investments. Each department identified specific needs and created a budget. For example, the Museum's Facilities Department determined that the HVAC infrastructure for the whole east side of the Museum would need to be renovated, the Repatriation Office realized that demands for repatriation would increase and requested more staff support, the Anthropology Collections Department investigated options for digitizing the collections and

for supporting more heritage visits, and the Exhibitions Department calculated the cost of renovating the Hall, including complete deinstallation and new construction.

Ultimately, however, the Museum leadership determined that they would only be able to raise funds for the construction of the exhibition and set the budget at $17 million, which would include an endowment not just for the regular maintenance of the Hall, but for continually changing the content—a first for a permanent exhibition at the Field Museum. With the budget determined, the task force disbanded and the exhibition team took leadership of the project. There was a general consensus that if collaboration was to be central to the design and development of the exhibition, nothing could proceed until a Native American advisory committee was in place. Additionally, we made a commitment to hire more Native American staff in the Collections and Conservation Department, and, crucially, a community engagement coordinator. Fortunately, we were able to bring on Debra Yepa-Pappan (Jemez Pueblo and Korean) who had been volunteering with me since 2016 in this role. We also were able to hire a postdoctoral fellow (Meranda Roberts (Paiute and Chicana)) and a research scientist (Eli Suzukovich (Little Shell Tribe of Chippewa/Cree)) as "co-curators" to work on development of content. In this way, the new exhibition project led to the hiring of eight Native American staff at a time when none were present at the Field Museum. I worked with Dr. Helen Robbins, Director of Repatriation, and Debra Yepa-Pappan to create a potential pool of advisors from our existing networks of scholars, museum professionals, artists, and community leaders. Ultimately, we were able to form the committee with 11 members, many of whom are authors of chapters in this book. Their biographies are included in the Appendix.

The Advisory Committee held their first meeting in March of 2018 and agreed to a schedule of quarterly meetings of two days each. Over the course of that first year and a half, the discussions centered on selecting the main conceptual messages for the exhibition, how to structure the process of collaboration, and the physical design of the exhibition. Some of the key "guideposts" that emerged from these discussions were:

- The focus of the exhibition should be on the resilience and strength of Native American communities today—how they are addressing their concerns and the broader worldviews that have guided their actions. The exhibition could include accounts of historical traumas and injuries caused by the history of displacement and attempts at erasure by European settler populations, but only as necessary to explain the response to these efforts.
- The diversity of Native Americans should be made visible. The Advisory Committee recognized the need to counter the stereotypes of Native Americans—conveyed in media portrayals, educational curricula, and old museum representations—that all Native Americans were "the same" (mostly based on images of Plains Tribes).

FIGURE 2 | The first meeting of the Native American Advisory Committee, March 2018 | Seated left to right: Brian Vallo, Scott Shoemaker, Joe Horse Capture, Elizabeth Hoover, Patty Loew, Doug Kiel, Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa, Bibiane Courtois, Robert Collins (Antonio Chavarria, absent) | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein, GN92506_006B

- Stories, not the objects from the collections, should drive the narrative. The stories should be told by individuals or community groups who best know their communities' experiences. In other words, the advisors did not want to speak for "all" Native Americans. They encouraged the team to reach out to a diverse array of communities and individuals.
- Special attention should be given to the Chicago Native American community. This would make visible the substantial presence of Native Americans in cities and the unique characteristics of Chicago's long history as a thriving hub for regional Tribes.

The process of following these guideposts as we developed the exhibition concept was in the form of dialogue between the advisors and the staff. Between the quarterly meetings, the exhibition developers and the curators would discuss the advisors' suggestions and return to them with further ideas on how to construct the narratives. A major turning point occurred when, at the insistence of the Director of Exhibitions (Jaap Hoogstraten), everyone agreed on a physical structure for the exhibition: a "backbone" or spine of core permanent content and four or five rotating galleries. Initially, the idea had been to have all rotating stories, but the budget and the space of the Hall made this impractical. Settling on the core permanent messages helped define the way in which we could highlight the principal "messages" the advisors wanted to convey, and then use the rotating gallery spaces to tell diverse stories that would amplify or complement the main messages.

Once the structure of the Hall was decided, the advisors and the Museum team decided on the main messages for the permanent portion of the exhibition. These highlighted some of the fundamental "truths" that have been at the heart of Native American worldviews and resistance strategies over time. The truths took the form of statements and were crafted in consensus by the advisors with input from the exhibition developers on museum-friendly wording. The stories for the initial set of rotating galleries were also collaboratively decided. The idea here was to showcase diverse aspects of cultural practices, lifeways, and resistance efforts. One rotating gallery, we decided, would always feature a Chicago story. The advisors recommended

FIGURE 3 | One of the early meetings of the Advisory Committee establishing the main messages for the exhibition | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein, GN92550_074d

that the Chicago Native Americans guide the development of this gallery, and subsequently we recruited a separate Chicago Advisory Committee to co-curate this gallery. Four other rotating galleries took shape through the same collaborative dialogue between the advisors and the staff. As the permanent core stories and the rotating galleries were determined, the advisors took on co-curatorial roles for specific displays. For example, the three advisors from Southwestern Pueblos co-curated the rotating gallery about the Pueblo peoples' relationships to the sacred sites of Chaco Canyon (see Part IV).

Over the course of the next three years, the conversations with the Advisory Committee continued and deepened as we worked to choose the stories that would illustrate the core truths and the rotating galleries. This involved finding people and communities who wanted to work with us to include their perspectives on the core truths or the rotating gallery stories. The advisors provided connections to individuals in their networks, and staff also reached out to their network connections. In some instances, we identified an individual artist or knowledge-bearer, and in other instances, a small group of community members worked together to create a display. Ultimately, we were able to include a total of 31 individual displays (each a story) in the core truths sections. Each of the five rotating galleries were allotted about 500 square feet for displays. Additionally, we commissioned artists to create the "transition" installations to the Hall—one on either end. We also worked with the Pawnee Nation Cultural Resources Committee to reinterpret the Pawnee Earth Lodge (described in Part IV). In total, we worked with 130 collaborators and were able to feature stories, cultural items, or artwork from 105 Tribes in the inaugural exhibition. The exhibition contains 300 items from the collections, 50 new commissioned pieces which were accessioned over the course of the five years, and over 90 items loaned from other museums or from private collections.

The process of developing the stories began just as the COVID-19 pandemic shut down the museum and precluded travel. At first, this presented a severe hardship, as Native communities were especially hard-hit by the pandemic and our collaborators were dealing with the illness in their communities. However, with the help of Zoom technology, we were able to establish a regular working schedule, meeting every two weeks with the storyteller (see Part III for details of the story development process).

For each display or rotating gallery story, the staff assigned a lead exhibition developer and curator. We met with the storyteller about every two weeks. Often, other members of the team joined the meetings. These included the conservator and collections staff member (who also divided up the stories they worked on) and other developers and curators. Debra Yepa-Pappan, in addition to acting as coordinator, often contributed her artistic and cultural expertise to the conversation. Generally, the process started with the exhibition developer giving an overview of the exhibition and the context for the specific display. The storyteller would start suggesting ideas for how their perspective could fit into the context. At some point, as the story took shape, the collections staff member arranged a "virtual visit" of the relevant collection, and the storyteller selected potential items for the display. The storyteller also decided which contemporary items they wanted to include—whether their own work or that of others in their community. After the story had come together and the items for display were selected, the exhibition designers (three-dimensional and graphics) joined the conversations to work with the storyteller on the placement of items in the case, the color schemes, and graphic design. The conservator talked through ideas for conservation treatments of the items, and the exhibition developers crafted the label text based on transcripts of the conversations with the storyteller.

While the work with the storytellers was ongoing, so too was the work with the Advisory Committee. Attention turned to the look and feel of the whole exhibition—the layout of the displays, and the décor or ambiance. The advisors also weighed in on the type and number of multimedia and interactive elements. The lead designer of the exhibition, Eric Manabat, proposed various options for all of these elements, and the lead graphics designer, Lori Walsh, similarly proposed colors and fonts for the texts and other visual elements. The advisors requested that we use materials common to Native Tribes of the Great Lakes region, such as birch bark and copper. Dr. Eli Suzukovich had an existing relationship with the Menominee Nation, and they gifted the Museum maple flooring and pine benches for use throughout the exhibition. The Menominee Nation operates their own forestry enterprise and had won awards for their sustainable management and had sold flooring to university athletic facilities and to international Olympic venues.

To create an ambiance that conveyed the contemporary vibrant dimensions of Native American life, the team researched potential Native American photographers and, with the Advisory Committee's agreement, reached out to selected artists to include their work in large displays above

FIGURE 4 | *Our Return*, signaling to visitors that "You Are on Native Land" through landscape imagery created by X, forms the transition from Stanley Field Hall into *Native Truths*, 2022 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein

the cases and the rotating galleries. In the final stages of production, the advisors reviewed all the label texts and the media elements.

In addition to directly advising on the exhibition, the advisors were also consulted on conservation, collections care, and proper treatment of the cultural items. A subcommittee of the advisors met regularly over the five years with the collections and conservation teams to discuss these issues and institute Indigenous methodologies for care (see Part III for details of this collaboration, and also Smith 2012). At later stages of the project, another subcommittee of advisors worked with the Museum's marketing and public relations department to ensure that the publicity campaigns were informed by Indigenous perspectives.

To summarize, the installation of the new exhibition happened as a continuous dialogue between the staff, the advisors, and the storytellers. The collaborative process had an emotional as well as intellectual impact on the staff that worked on the exhibition. Throughout the book, we have tried to capture the experience and how it transformed us, not just as professionals but also as individuals.

The fundamental 'truths':

- **Our Ancestors Connect Us to the Past, Present, and Future**
- **Native People are Everywhere**
- **The Land Shapes Who We Are**
- **We Have the Right to Govern Ourselves**
- **Museum Collecting and Exhibition Practices Have Deeply Harmed Native Communities**

Outline of Volume Content

The chapters and shorter pieces that comprise this book elaborate on the major theme of the exhibition: the ways in which Native Americans have maintained autonomy and found sources of resilience in the face of continuous efforts to erase their cultural and social life and in some instances their entire existence. Most are written by members of the Advisory Committee and our story collaborators. Field Museum staff have also contributed chapters on the ways in which museum practices changed as a result of the collaborative processes.

The book is divided into four parts, each dealing with major aspects of the exhibition content. Each part contains multiple chapters and shorter "sidebars." Throughout, there are edited versions of the label texts which feature the storytellers' perspectives and commentaries. Photographs used in the exhibition as well as photos of selected cultural items and exhibition installations are included throughout the book.

We begin with a section on Chicago's Native American presence and history, as this story is central to the Field Museum's home place and because we wanted to privilege accounts of urban Native American experiences, which are sorely underrepresented in most museums.

The second section of the book contains chapters on the five fundamental "Truths" or concepts that the Advisory Committee felt were essential for the public audiences to know (see above).

Multiple essays for each chapter elaborate on the meanings of these truths and how they guide Native American community life and actions.

The third part of the book focuses on the changes in practices that the exhibition provoked at the Field Museum. There are six chapters written by Field Museum staff that were involved in the process of deinstallation of the old Native North America Hall and the installation of the new Hall. The accounts in this section provide first-hand accounts of the transformation in approach and practice of the development of the exhibition and treatment of the collections.

The final part of the book contains four chapters on the themes and stories for each of the inaugural rotating galleries. These stories are meant to illustrate the broader "Truths" through specific examples of activism, resilience, and creativity. The stories are:

- Frank Waln's Journey Home;
- The Revitalization of California Basket Making;
- The Pueblo Peoples' Relationship to Chaco Canyon;
- The Reclaiming of Food Sovereignty by the Meskwaki of Tama, Iowa.

Two additional chapters in this part document the changes made to the interpretation of the Pawnee Earth Lodge.

Following these parts, the Conclusion contains a chapter by Advisory Committee member Dr. Doug Kiel that provides an overview of the "transition" installation at the far east end of the exhibition, titled "We Speak for Ourselves." This is a small gallery featuring commissioned contemporary artwork. Kiel's chapter discusses the diversity of intersections of identity reflected in the artists' works. The statements by the artists that are in the exhibition are also included here. The final two chapters look to the future of collaborations with Native American communities. In the first of these chapters Dr. Blaire Morseau provides a general context for how the Field Museum can look forward in building relationships with Native American communities, placing this within the context of Indigenous futurism. The concluding chapter, by Jaap Hoogstraten and Alaka Wali, sums up the lessons learned in the course of the project and discusses the future of collaborative work at the Field Museum. The authors also discuss the reactions of the public to the new Hall after its opening from Native and non-Native visitors.

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FIGURE 6 | 1833 Map of Chicago, by Conley & Stelzer | Wikimedia Commons

PART I

CHICAGO IS NATIVE LAND

INTRODUCTION BY ALAKA WALI

THIS FIRST PART of this book includes three chapters that delve into the history of Native Americans in Chicago and their continuing impact on the region. We chose to feature Chicago prominently in the exhibition for two reasons: (1) Chicago is the home of the Field Museum, and the Advisory Committee felt that it was important to have a central focus on the Field Museum's relationship to the local community; (2) we felt that museums have underrepresented urban Native communities, even though most Native people now live in cities. Given Chicago's substantial Native populations and its long history, the exhibition team felt it was important to create a permanent space in the exhibition dedicated to the Chicago community.

Blaire Morseau begins this section with a reflection on the cosmopolitan nature of Chicago's Native American community. A chapter by Robert Keith Collins follows, on the historical ties between African Americans and Native peoples that shaped the region's commerce and the building of the city. Finally, Eli Suzukovich depicts the history of the American Indian Center, the oldest organization for Native Americans in the country. Included in the section are reflections and memories of members of the Chicago Advisory Committee around the theme of the inaugural exhibition: "Chicago has always been a gathering place."

1

CHICAGO AS A GATHERING SPACE

BLAIRE MORSEAU (POKAGON BAND OF POTAWATOMI)

THE CITY OF Chicago is lauded for being the home of the most Native American residents in the Midwest. Several generations of American Indian families make up Chicago's vibrant and diverse community, representing tribes whose ancestral homelands are as far away from the city as Arizona, Alaska, and Florida. Today, in addition to Potawatomi, Ojibwe, Odawa, Kickapoo, Miami, and others whose ancestors have lived and traveled through the region since time immemorial, Native American community members are also Diné (Navajo), Kanza, Coushatta, and more. Before the era of American Relocation policy which encouraged American Indians from all over the country to establish themselves and their families in urban areas, making Chicago one of the largest hubs of "urban Indians," the site upon which the city of Chicago would be built was, and it continues to be, a tribally diverse place.

Seventeenth-century historical maps drawn from the travel diaries of famous European explorers from René-Robert Cavelier, sieur de La Salle, to Antoine de la Mothe, sieur de Cadillac, and many others noted tribally specific village sites throughout the Great Lakes region, such as *Bodéwadmi* (Potawatomi), *Myaamia* (Miami), *Kiikaapoi* (Kickapoo), Menominee, and hundreds more. As historian Richard White aptly points out, "The units called tribes, nations, and confederacies were only loose leagues of villages" (1991, 16). In other words, the village must be understood as the organizing principle in the northeast and Great Lakes regions of North America—it was the most important political unit. As a result, Indigenous peoples in the Great Lakes region collectively known as *Anishinaabék* or *Neshnabék* formed regional—if not village-specific—identities and political alliances.

Village sites, while often labeled as Miami or Potawatomi, were in fact always intertribal, with residents who came from other communities, such as Meskwaki, *Hocąk* (Ho-Chunk), Mascounten, and many others (as willing visitors or not). They came, traveled with other groups, broke off, and returned in seasonal rhythms sometimes by marriage, as refugees, through adoption, or in other circumstances. In the seminal text *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*, Tanner notes, "Indians of the Great Lakes operated in a dynamic intertribal environment … [with] significant minorities in villages of other tribes" (1987, 3–4). While this Indigenous ethnic diversity was the norm, the region of what is currently called the city of Chicago had the capacity to develop into a major trading center well before the first Europeans knew of North America's existence.

Chicago is a perfect nexus of sociopolitical and ecological landscapes. The unique topography of the Great Lakes and its many rivers and tributaries made Chicago a logistically suitable meeting ground for Indigenous peoples traveling from the north and the east via Lake Michigan as well as from the southwest via the Chicago River. In this landscape, fish runs, wild rice, and copper to the north meet robust harvests from Indigenous farms in the south and east. Many regions have similar natural resources, such as berries, game, and maple trees, but would have access to them at different times of the year, marking the seasonal variation and availability of plants as well as migration patterns of animals. It made sense for

Neshnabék to practice seasonal rotations of camps and large villages to share not just resources, but political alliances, marriages, and leisure time: in other words, to be in good relation with each other.

An incredible number of tribes have a historical relationship to the Chicago region. The word is a corruption of an Indigenous place name referring to wild onions or leeks that grow there. In the Myaamia language Chicago is *Šikaakonki*, and in *Bodéwadmimwen* (the Potawatomi language) it is *Zhekagoynak*. According to Lisa Waukau in LaPier and Beck's *City Indian*, the Menominee people have a traditional story that Chicago was the southern border of a grand lacrosse field for supernatural players (2020, 3). At the turn of the nineteenth century, Shabbona, an Odawa leader, had a village just west of what is currently called the city of Chicago. These are just a few examples of the deep intertribal entanglements contemporary Indigenous peoples have to the region.

These diverse tribal connections are celebrated today by the descendants of Indigenous communities who have always called Chicago home and those who created new relations after Relocation. These relationships are commemorated through gatherings such as round dances, pow wows, conferences, and festivals, as well as in everyday practices such as sugar bush, visiting with elders, and cheering youth on in basketball tournaments. And finally, they are celebrated by gesturing toward future generations, whom we honor by carrying our ancient stories connected to Chicago into the future.

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2

LOCAL KNOWLEDGE IN MUSEUM EXHIBITS

The Relevance of Native America to Black History

ROBERT KEITH COLLINS (AFRICAN-CHOCTAW DESCENT)

Introduction

When Jean Baptiste Point du Sable made his way up the Mississippi and to the mouth of the Chicago River, the world that he entered was already a center of commerce and trade for the Potawatomi and their neighbors. Although they were coping with the challenges of encroachment by American, British, other French, and Spanish agents and speculators, the impact of Native Americans on these contact populations could be seen in kinship through intermarriage, subsistence strategies, etc. Du Sable and other explorers and travelers, like René-Robert Cavelier, sieur de La Salle, Jacques Marquette, and Louis Jolliet, used the terms Chekagou or Chicago to refer to an area encompassing the St. Joseph and Des Plaines Rivers, and Chigagou to refer to a Native American village on a section of Lake Michigan, and the head chief of the Illinois was known as Checaqua (Andreas 1884).

For Potawatomis like Kitihawa, this area of onion forest was an intertribal space, which Potawatomi, Miami, Chippewa identified differently in their own languages, with hunting grounds that were respected, sustained families with deer and elk hunted by men, supplemented family fields of beans, corn, peas, squash, pumpkin, melons, and tobacco planted by women, and provided traded resources to neighbors such as the Chippewa and Ottawa. Although the historical record is vague on their meeting, and on the role this space played in Du Sable's establishment of their residence and trading post, it is clear that Kitihawa and this space impacted Du Sable's lifeways and contributed to the founding of the City of Chicago. What is the relationship between these forms of local knowledge and museum exhibits, and how can shifting paradigms in museum anthropology enable

FIGURE 5 | Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, from "History of Chicago," 1884 | Wikimedia Commons

the exhibition of Native American cultural impacts on contact populations?

Local knowledge has not always been recognized for its impact on museum paradigms or the frameworks used by curators to create exhibits. Yet, more often than not, it is everyday understandings of culture and history that have changed the ways curators structure museum exhibits. Since the 1900s, museum anthropologists have attempted to address the cultural question of this chapter: to what extent can contemporary Native Americans and their inherited ancestral knowledge expand curatorial narratives on the formation of US cities, like Chicago? More theoretically, how can local knowledge enable curators to highlight Native American cultural contributions and impact in the face of US westward expansionism?

Answers emerged when museum anthropologists, curators, and Native American and non-Native American community members, artists, anthropologists, cultural experts, and scholars came together, and used local knowledge to address community critique, and to create an exhibit that tells the shared contributing history of Chicago's founding couple.

The small exhibit on Kitihawa and Jean Baptiste Point du Sable in the new Field Museum exhibit, *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories*, was developed out of critical collaborative conversations on the dynamic contributions of Native Americans to the City of Chicago over time, with the goal of addressing community critique that Native American voices have never been the central focus of Field Museum exhibits. This lack of centering lent the illusion that Native Chicagoans and their ancestors have been passive recipients of city formation, rather than active participants, whose ancestors laid the trade frameworks for which the city is renowned. Although many museum anthropologists and museums have asserted the need over time for collaboration between source communities and museums, this chapter highlights how centering local Native knowledge can be a tool for rethinking orthodox museum paradigms to facilitate greater collaboration and enhance museumgoer knowledge of Native American cultural impact (Boas 1907, 121–23; Haskin, Nash, and Coleman 2003, 65–67; Kreps 2003; Wali 2015; West 1999).

The local knowledge surrounding the founding of the City of Chicago by Jean Baptiste Point du Sable and his wife Kitihawa illuminates and unites two independent but interdependent histories often separated by orthodox frameworks for analysis and museum exhibit creation. On the one hand, there is the question: how are we to represent the impact that Native American cultures and individuals have had on Chicago, as they relate to the tools of their ancestors' everyday lives that collections comprise? These lifeways included canoes used not only during contact, but also prior, for cultural exchange and trade, both intertribally and later with contact African and European explorers and traders (Duggan 2011, 28–29; Fienup-Riordan 1999, 357–58; Jacknis 2019, 231–32).

On the other hand, there is the question: how are we to explain the exchanges and impacts Native Americans of the region had on Africans and Europeans during contact? It must be noted that the contact, cultural exchanges, and shared efforts in self-determination between Kitihawa and Jean Baptiste Point du Sable explain and illustrate both African and Native American cultural impact on contact populations and shared culture contributing to the formation of the City of Chicago. It is critiques by Native American and Indigenous Studies scholars of the relationship between Native Americans and museums and the revitalization of public histories on Native American cultural impact on contact population that has renewed interest in this phenomenon.

While one of the conventional first steps in creating a holistic museum exhibit is to map the themes of collections for the creation of an exhibit design that will inform the new displays, the approach taken by the Advisory Committee and curators for the redesign of the North American Hall mapped Native knowledge, particularly local Native Chicago knowledge, on to the collection. This reversed approach allowed for the centering of contemporary Native Americans voices, in tandem with museum anthropological and curatorial perspectives, in order to provide culturally relevant and salient perspectives on lifeways and language, which complemented and linked largely historical narratives that curators provided for cultural objects from collections to present Native American understandings of ancestral knowledge. This seemingly radical reversal of museum approaches to the story of US formation allowed for the decentering of purely academic curatorial interpretations of material culture, a needed practice raised by both members of the Chicago Native American community and Native American and Indigenous Studies scholars alike, without compromising, but enriching, the empirical soundness of the exhibits and associated museum anthropological interpretations of cultural objects (Collier and Tschopik 2003; Davy 2021; Däwes 2020; Kreps 2003; Lonetree 2012; McLoughlin 1999; Milner 2005; Pandian 1985; Swan 2015, 64–65).

Problems in the Museum Exhibitions

Although considerable research is being done on the topic, three empirical problems can be found when examining the relationship between local knowledge and museum exhibits. First, it is difficult to assess the variation in interpretations of local events. Scholars of museum anthropology have pointed out the different meanings that places can have for local populations. This is important to note because one cannot enable representation in local knowledge, especially Native knowledge, without an understanding of the many cultures that may have contributed to local events (Kidwell 1985; King 2017; Milner 2005; Peers 2000, 8–9; Simpson 1994; Sowry and Kerr 2020).

Second, literature on museum exhibits, particularly those resulting from collaborations between Native American communities and individuals, have shed light on the different meanings that exhibits and cultural objects can hold for museums and source communities. Third, questions of cultural relevance and the limited salience of curator interpretations of cultural objects can be found in both anthropological and Native American and Indigenous Studies literature. It has been asserted that archaeological and curatorial interpretations of Native American art and cultural objects within collections, while relevant to past Native American cultural practices, do not always account for cultural changes in object usage in the present or the potential significance of these same cultural objects to have impacted African and European contact populations (Thorsgard 2008; Turner 2011; Wali 2015; Wali and Tudor 2017).

To the museumgoer, such problems may seem unimportant; however, for the curator, it is important that academic and empirically sound displays of Native American lifeways and tools of past lifeways used before contact with Europeans be provided in an attempt to provide as holistic an interpretation of the past as possible. It is also important to note that interpretations of cultural objects and their associated descriptions are part of a larger history on what happened to Africans, Europeans, and settlers as a result of interactions with Native America, and the shared culture that individuals created together (Chamberlain 1891; 1903; Hallowell 1963).

Local Knowledge and Museum Exhibits

The relevance of Native America to Black History may seem to have no implications for museum exhibits; however, it is important to note that of all of the museum exhibits ever created by museums across the country, few have engaged the shared cultures and histories that exist between US populations, and the frontier for museum exhibit creation that these phenomena offer. These shared cultures and histories range from Africans and Native Americans as fellow slaves to shared kinship and allyship in creative resistance and as active participants and heroes in US wars (Tayac 2009). Other shared histories include those as foes during wars between Buffalo Soldiers and Native Americans and enslavement of Africans by Native American slaveholders.

New approaches to twenty-first-century curation of museum exhibits have resulted in groundbreaking collaborations between curators and source communities and individuals, and the development of methods for exhibiting the common unity that existed in the face of colonization, contact, cultural change, displacement, and encroachment processes that characterized the formation of the United States. The components of these new approaches are shaped in large part by Native American critiques of museum exhibits as attempting to avoid the most genocidal and traumatic impacts of nation-state expansion on Native American communities, families, and societies, and renewed attention to the alliances and common self-determination strategies used to enable survival (Lonetree 2012; Tayac 2009). Aspects of these new approaches enable everyday community-based remembered histories, corroborated by—although often under-researched in—the anthropological and historical records, to become part of exhibition narratives. These new models enable source communities and individuals to tell histories in their own words and use US histories, both local and national, to illuminate the active agency of all individuals during the formation of US cities, communities, and towns and their contributions to—not passive reception of—local and national notions of being and belonging (Tayac 2009). Although source community respondents do not explain events in the same ways as curators and museum anthropologists, their voices enhance the explanations presented in collaboration with curators to ensure that explanations in digital media and captions associated with cultural objects are salient in community and cultural knowledge (Wali and Tudor 2017).

My research interest in the relationship between local knowledge and museum exhibits began nearly twenty years ago as a co-curator on the Smithsonian's traveling banner exhibit *IndiVisible: African-Native American Lives in the Americas.* Using a person-centered ethnographic approach, which takes individuals as active agents and contributors to the formation of culture and focuses

on why people say what they say, do what they do, and what they embody, it was discovered that taking a westward expansion lens to the creation of an exhibit would limit museumgoer understandings of four major shared histories that existed between some Africans and Native Americans: those of allies in resistance, fellow citizens, fellow slaves, and enslavement by Native American slaveholders. Each of these shared histories could be overshadowed by extensive focus on settler encroachment upon Native American populations that had African-descended populations among them, US imposition of blood-quantum rules and anti-black attitudes among Native Americans, particularly those who owned slaves, and European and US settler enslavement of Africans in America for economic gains (Hollan 2005).

When I was given the honor of working on *Native Truths* and its implications for Black History Month, the shared history between African Americans and Native Americans embodied by the City of Chicago's founding couple became obvious. From what contemporary and historical Chicagoans said about Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, anthropological and historical accounts of his contributions to the founding of this metropolis, and the historical likenesses created by local artists, there was significant reason to believe that greater consultation with local contemporary artists, like Ms. Monica Rickert-Bolter, could reveal the salience of this history in local Native American knowledge (www.fieldmuseum.org/blog/relevance-native-america-black-history).

FIGURE 7 | *Kitihawa Dreaming*, by Monica Rickert-Bolter | © Monica Rickert-Bolter

The salience of Jean Baptiste Point du Sable's history in local Native American knowledge can be seen in the maintenance of the history of Du Sable's Potawatomi wife, Kitihawa (Catherine) in Ms. Rickert-Bolter's art, specifically the piece titled *Kitihawa Dreaming*. Although the notion of *Kitihawa Dreaming* is an artistic construct created by Ms. Rickert-Bolter, its meaning has salience in Potawatomi culture and contributions to the founding of the City of Chicago through Kitihawa. Often local knowledge focuses on Du Sable's founding of the city. Kitihawa dreaming and the meanings conveyed through the art piece suggest that Du Sable had assistance and the founding was, like all interpersonal relationships, a team effort.

The Native knowledge that Kitihawa's dream possibly gave meaning to represented Native knowledge of families and clans that provided Du Sable and his contemporaries with knowledge of land use, seasonal knowledge of the various Potawatomi and neighboring tribal nations that shared the land ultimately comprising Chicago, the rivers that were highways of intertribal communication, cultural exchange, and trade and modes of proper travel. The breadth of this cultural knowledge contributed to the following question: to what extent could Kitihawa's dream conveyed through Ms. Rickert-Bolter's art lend to the expansion of our understanding of Du Sable's founding of the City of Chicago? The obvious answer was that it could; however, building an empirically sound blog for Black History Month, without a collection to draw from at the Field Museum, would require the usage of the anthropological and historical records in new and unconventional ways.

The first conceptualization of this blog exhibit actually came from a question raised by Ms. Rickert-Bolter during a conversation with Field Museum curators of the blog: what could and would Kitihawa have dreamed about during the encounters with Du Sable and their later life together? The basic idea was that thoughts generated by a young woman experiencing her culture as the majority population and welcoming a stranger that is different in appearance, language, lifeways, and worldview would require her to be more of a teacher than a passive recipient of contact. During conversations with Ms. Rickert-Bolter, I was reminded to pay close attention to the complementary roles that Potawatomi women played as stewards of culture and how this expertise would have connected Du Sable to an entire network of kinship-based trade with many Native American nations that used Chicago and neighboring rivers as highways not just of commerce and

trade, which is often focused on when westward expansion is taken as the central focus of exhibit creation, but also of the exchange of art and raw materials, like the coppers found in Field Museum collections, and the multilingual ways of describing the world around Native Chicago that would have informed Du Sable of how to more effectively navigate not just the Chicago River, but the St. Charles and Mississippi. Thus, it could be said that this one art piece used as the focal point of conversations generated new ways in which to examine the anthropological and historical records for corroborating evidence.

Although many primary sources were destroyed by the "Great Chicago Fire" in 1871, those that survive in the Chicago Historical Society archives remind us that, according to the July 4, 1779 recording by Colonel Arent Schuyler DePeyster, former British commander at Michilimackinac, Du Sable and Kitihawa's home "is the initial point from which may be traced the growth of Chicago, from a single rude cabin on the sand-point at the mouth of the river, to the magnificent city which stands to-day …" (Andreas 1884, 70). This home was not merely a residence; it was a place well known as a place of commerce by Native American traders, especially fur traders, of Mackinac and Detroit. Together Kitihawa and Du Sable "created a bakehouse, dairy farm, smokehouse, poultry house, and mill" (www.fieldmuseum.org/blog/relevance-native-america-black-history). These resources contributed to what has been called the first permanent settlement in Chicago and maintained Chicago as a center point of Native knowledge and trade that fueled the founding of an American metropolis. It is important to note, as displayed in *Native Truths*, that the original site of their home is only a few miles from the Field Museum.

Formulated in this manner, from what Ms. Rickert-Bolter said and did with her art, and conceptualization of what Kitihawa embodied both as an individual and together with Du Sable as a new African-Native American family that brought together the old world and the new through commerce, cultural exchange, and trade, the relationship between local knowledge and how museum exhibits can be further enhanced by centering Native American cultural impact and their shared contributions becomes apparent. In displaying descriptions of contact and cultural exchange between Native Americans and contact populations, the centering of local Native knowledge reveals the importance of changing descriptions of contact to avoid lending the illusion to museumgoers that Native Americans were passive during the formation of Chicago. For many museumgoers, exhibits are also often a point of contact, where history is brought to life through the narratives conveyed in the displays of Native American art and material culture, and with digital media, languages, and stories (Wali and Tudor 2017; West 1999). These displays can dispel or reinforce the most engrained myths about Native America and Native American presence depending upon exhibit content. While the museumgoer can accept or reject what is seen, creating a culturally relevant and salient exhibit can enable greater consistency and competence in knowledge for both Native and non-Native museumgoers. This consistency ensures that local knowledge represented in museum exhibits illustrates the contributions made by all.

FIGURE 8 | The house built by John Baptiste Point du Sable close to the mouth of the Chicago River | Wikimedia Commons

Implication

What implications does this discussion hold for inspiring further practice and research into how local knowledge can inform paradigm shifts in anthropological museum exhibition practice? Alaka Wali reminds us that "Exhibits bring in diverse voices and provide opportunities for visitors to see objects from entirely different perspectives. These areas of museum practice are only now beginning to change and much remains to be done" (Wali 2015, 25). If this work is to continue, then recently enhanced dialogues between Field Museum staff and source communities and individuals and the creation of new exhibition techniques that center source community voices, reflected in this chapter, offer relevant foundations upon which to build.

A major implication of this chapter is that the centering of African-Native American and Native American contributions does not undermine the importance of exhibitions or the material culture displayed in tandem. On the contrary, a person-centered approach can add to exhibits that center what Native Americans said, did, and contributed in the face of cultural change, allows for different

cultural meanings to different generations and populations, and enriches museumgoer experiences. Illustrating the linkages between past and present sense of being and belonging in a city like Chicago enables museumgoers to place themselves in the shoes of the founders and encourages the asking of questions about the economic and social creativity and self-determination upon which their contributions and ingenuity, like those of all Chicagoans, were based.

Exhibits are beginning to contain information of this nature. For example, the Smithsonian's *IndiVisible: African-Native American Lives in the Americas* illuminates how individuals such as George Bonga in his occupation as a trader ensured fair treatment of traders from his mother's people, the Ojibwe. In a similar vein, the exhibit examines how Paul Cuffee, in his occupation as a whaler, contributed greatly to the acquisition of this occupation by African Americans and Native Americans and the overall wealth of Westport, Massachusetts (Tayac 2009). Another example can be seen in the National Museum of the American Indian's exhibit *Ancestors Know Who We Are*, highlighting Black-Indigenous women artists and their contributions to art.

Unfortunately, however, exhibits displaying holistic information about the contributions of a diversity of US populations to social phenomena, like the founding of a US city, remain rare. This should not be seen as a negative, for it offers insight into a new opportunity for expanding museum curatorial practice, as is occurring at the Field Museum. The discussion presented here may be useful in initiating the building of new approaches and paradigms that center local knowledge and voices, which is a fundamental aspect of ethnography. With further development to suit the needs of exhibit curators, it may be possible to create, for example, local Native knowledge-centered frameworks for exhibits that show what all populations in contact contributed together.

Conclusion

The goal of this discussion is to illustrate how local knowledge informed a paradigm shift in museum exhibition creation. The intended outcome is to highlight the contributions that local knowledge can make to museum exhibitions and the important roles that urban history can play in reminding museumgoers of the shared history and many contributions that African American and Native American individuals made to the founding of the City of Chicago. The need for greater inclusion in museum exhibitions has been a perennial critique against museums (Archambault 2011; Lonetree 2012; Mithlo 2004; West 1999). In a similar vein, portraying African Americans and Native Americans as passive recipients of colonization and US expansionism has also been a target of this critique (Tayac 2009). As demonstrated here, if it can be seen that local knowledge can offer insight into the active roles that African Americans and Native Americans played in the cultural changes enabling the formation of the City of Chicago, then these critiques may be seen for the encouragement to try new analytical and exhibition frameworks that they contain.

The person-centered position of this chapter involves several important related points on the need for greater ethnographic investigation into how local knowledge can inform museum exhibits. It is no longer conventional to discuss African American and Native American critique of anthropological museum exhibiting orthodoxy as a case of misplaced expectations, for three reasons. First, it assumes a lack of agency in the face of colonization and potential material culture within collections that may contradict such assumptions. Second, it ignores the fact that the formation of the City of Chicago reflects such agency, and the need to build a collection around this rich history suggests a new frontier for curation. Third, different and unexpected aspects of African American and Native American lived experiences are often found in the efforts of individuals, rather than shared group history, which may greatly misrepresent the depth in which individuals were involved in major historical events like the founding of Chicago. To address the extent to which local histories and knowledge can further shape museum exhibition practices requires new approaches and discussions that can illustrate variation and similarity in African American and Native American lived experiences and inspire dialogue between communities and museums. A person-centered approach offers a useful lens and tool that contributes to such conversations.

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3

A PLACE TO GATHER

Urban Indians and the Social Transactions of Identity and Place

ELI SUZUKOVICH III (LITTLE SHELL TRIBE OF CHIPPEWA/CREE)

American Indians have been living in and have been involved in the development of many large cities like Los Angeles, Detroit, Seattle, and Chicago (Thornton 1981, 23). In the case of Chicago, migration and settlement (both permanent and temporary) have been common occurrences throughout the history of the region. For many of the Chicago Indian community, the region is their cultural and spiritual homeland. At the same time, for Indians from outside the region, Chicago represents a landscape that is part of a greater sense of connection to the continent. Garbarino notes that the difference between Indian and European ethnic communities is that Europeans become physically disconnected from their homelands, whereas Indians are not separated from the land of their birth and maintain a continuous connection to it (Garbarino 1981, 60).

Native American land is not always defined by Federal and State boundaries alone, but by the connections Native people have to place. For the Chicago Gallery in *Native Truths*, we defined the Chicago Region by river systems, instead of state and federal maps that define "Chicago" through hard lines that do not elucidate on the fluidity and movement of the Native Peoples of the regions. In the early conversations regarding the Chicago Gallery, there was some discussion at length about what defined the Chicago Region. Originally the focus was simply the city boundaries and Native Peoples living within said boundaries. The idea was that the focus had to be Urban Indians as defined

FIGURE 9 | Installation photo of the Chicago gallery in *Native Truths*, 2022 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein

FIGURE 10 | Even before Chicago was a metropolis, this region was already diverse | This photo was taken in 1909 after a dance in southwest Michigan's Potawatomi community, but there were also Myaamia people there | The Pokagon Band of Potawatomi—who live on the closest land base to today's City of Chicago—historically intermarried with and lived among the region's Myaamia, Odawa, and Ojibwe communities | J. A. Little, 1909, Southwest Michigan | © Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians archive

by the post boarding school period (1890–1940) and the Relocation Program (1950s). But this did not define the Chicago American Indian community in any true sense, historically or contemporarily. The Chicago Gallery represents the region as seen and viewed by local Tribal Nations and the scores of Urban Indians who call this region home. It is why we abandoned the use of state and municipal maps, treaty maps, and the usual Indian Claims Commission maps that are often used by academics to define tribal lands. We chose to follow natural boundaries, mainly the various watersheds that are present in the region. These watersheds defined ecosystems and village/urban occupation sites for millennia. The current location of the City of Chicago was chosen due to its relationship to the various watersheds.

Thinking about the Chicago region in this way opened up our possibilities for exhibit topics to include stories specific to the region, but also the histories and contemporary lives of the Tribal Nations that call the region their home. It also expands the idea of Urban Indians to not just be subject to the Federal Relocation Program of 1951, as this region has been home to large urban populations for millennia. In particular the large and interconnected village sites along the Illinois, Des Plaines, Fox, and Chicago Rivers, of ancestral Hocąk, Baxoje, Nutachi, Jiweré, Asâhkîwahki, Meshkwahkîha, Kaskaskia, Kiikaapoi, Myaamia, and Bodéwadmik would form urban networks along the river system and portages, ultimately laying the foundation of the modern city of Chicago, and surrounding suburbs and townships. These urbanized landscapes would soon be taken over by Anglo and other settlers from the east coast and abroad, many times omitting and/or erasing the Native origins of these spaces and locations. Despite the influx of settlers and the efforts to diminish and omit the Native American histories and presence from the land, many Native Peoples remained and continued to thrive. Important to this sense of connection and identity for local Native People is the role of community and Tribal institutions in maintaining these ties to place and developing a regional Native identity.

Maintaining Homelands and Places to Gather in Changing Times

Native American community organizations developed at various points of Indian urbanization. In Chicago, community organizations helped Native people adapt to urban life and, most importantly, maintain their tribal identities and practices. In a larger perspective, urban or urbanized Indians have maintained much of their identity through many sociopolitical institutions at various times throughout the North American continent. In the urban context, community organizations became Indian land, space, or territory (Lobo and Peters 2001, 76). Community organizations act as urban reserves where Indians from various tribes can find support through connecting to other tribal members or with other tribes to deal with larger urban issues. For the Chicago area, Beck has noted that the Chicago Indian community has maintained a continual voice in both political and social realms at least

since the 1890s (Beck 2002). Within this voice, a particular identity has also been maintained that connects the place of Chicago and the American Indians who have called it home. Urban Indian identity has existed in many forms throughout the history of the Chicago area. Though it has changed throughout time, it has demonstrated the continuance and sustainability of a Native presence and culture in the Chicago area through time, particularly within the role of inter- and multi-tribal alliances in the maintenance of identity and culture.

The 1833 Treaty of Chicago was the final land cession treaty in Illinois and removed a large portion of Anishinabek (Potawatomi, Ojibwe, and Ottawa) from the Chicago area. However, the treaty allowed for a large number of tribal members to give up their treaty annuities in exchange for staying and acquiring a deed to their properties (Kappler 2019, 305). Many stayed along the Des Plaines River, especially near the Robinson Reserve. The reserve was granted to Potawatomi chief Shishibungee (Little Rattlesnake), aka Chiibingwenowin (The Blinking Eye), aka Alexander Robinson, in the 1829 Treaty of Prairie DuChien and was the last reserve to remain after the removal in 1837 (Kappler 2019, 299; Vogel 1980, 5; Clifton 1998). After moving west with his band to Mayetta, Kansas, Robinson returned to his reserve on the Des Plaines River in present-day Schiller Park, Illinois, sometime between 1837 and 1842. In the 1840s, during the Tyler administration, the reserve was surveyed and a deed was given to Robinson. The deed was interesting because it issued an executive order from President Tyler and states that possession of this tract was granted forever to Alexander Robinson and his heirs or assigns, and could not be leased or conveyed to anyone without permission of the President of the United States (Vogel 1980, 5). Robinson's land was protected from encroachment from the State of Illinois and the City of Chicago. The descendants of Alexander Robinson remained on the reserve, which was the last vestige of Indian-owned land in Illinois, and would remain so until 1973, when his great-grandson, Herbert Boettcher, passed away (Vogel 1980, 5). In their time, the Robinson family hosted many Potawatomi, Myaamia, Sauk, and other Indians who would travel back to Chicago from the reservations out west and provide a space for Native Peoples in Chicago to gather and socialize.

Despite the act of removal, many Potawatomi, Ojibwe, and Odawa, along with Miami, Menominee, Hocąk, and Kickapoo, remained in Illinois. Regardless of the 1832 and 1833 treaties, which removed the political authority and land holdings of Indian tribes, many individuals remained (Beck 2002, 297). Many traders still operated their businesses, and the Great Lakes shipping industry employed many Indians (Beck 2002, 297).

Chicago's first mayoral election, in 1837, involved a face-off between New York railroad magnate William Ogden and local Odawa trader Madore Beaubien, and Chicago's first city council included four Potawatomi aldermen (Peterson 1980, 99). Beaubien technically won this race. However, Ogden was the preferred candidate for territorial officials and the business community, due to the need to establish Chicago as a railroad hub, and this resulted in him becoming the first mayor of Chicago. Beyond economic and political reasons behind the "re-evaluated" votes, the 1837 election also represented a social and cultural change in the Chicago area. Ogden represented the Anglo-Protestant east. With social plans to Americanize the Midwest, the predominant Catholic communities of Chicago would become subsumed into a Protestant-dominated perspective of religion, business, and social structures. Tribes such as the Potawatomi, who maintained a large Catholic contingent, did not fit into the ideals of Ogden and others from the northeast. As a response, many Native Peoples utilized the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago as a levying device for social, legal, and economic support (Danckers 1999; Peterson 1980).

The Removal, Dawes Act, and Boarding School Periods

The period between 1830 and 1890 was active in terms of Indian policy and is important to mention because it influenced the movement of many Native People from reservation and rural communities to urban centers (and vice versa). As the United States grew, Congress realized that in order to expand the boundaries of the United States, it needed to do something with the Indians; this was commonly referred to as the "Indian problem." An early solution to this was the Removal Act of 1830, which removed many tribes (to some extent) west of the Mississippi River. However, this plan stood in the way of the settlement of the American West. The new solution was to eradicate the American Indian economy, territorial holdings, and lifestyle through military action. Again, this did not solve the problem. William Medill, the commissioner of Indian Affairs, pushed forth the idea of establishing "colonies" or "reservations" that would be exclusive to the natives, mimicking those which the natives had created for themselves in the east (Sandweiss 1996, 174). This led to the creation of the reservation as a way to "protect" Native Americans from conflicts with settlers and to open former Native lands to settlement.

This required tribes to cede territory for settlers, while maintaining a smaller piece of their traditional territory that would be free of settlement. Reservations were further divided into individual allotments through the Dawes Act in 1887. The act was to encourage private land ownership among individual Indian families. Social reformers had hoped to achieve six accomplishments through the dividing of Native land holdings, which included: the breaking up of tribes as a social unit, encouraging individual initiatives, furthering the progress of native farmers, reducing the cost of native administration, securing parts of the reservations as Indian land, and finally opening the remainder of the land to white settlers for profit (Carlson 1981, 79). The concept of private property was intended to transform Indians into proper Americans who would contribute to the greater American society. This policy was successful to a point, in terms of breaking up land holdings for some tribes; however, tribal identities and family ties remained, despite the loss of land. Various tribes continued their cultural lifestyles, though adapted and modified to meet the sociopolitical needs of the time.

After the Dawes Act and military actions proved to be unsuccessful in subduing and assimilating Indian culture and identity, Congress and its supporters would reshift the focus from military actions to educational policies. The boarding school program of the 1890s through 1940s, which combined both federal and religious institutions, was believed by its supporters to be the best solution for assimilation. Indian children would be taken from their home communities and educated with mainstream American and European values and culture. The children were then to go back home and "modernize their communities." This program too had its inherent problems. Many Indians went back to their home communities, where they either returned to living a traditional lifestyle or became outcasts due to their lack of knowledge about the community. But despite the hard times that many of the graduates of the boarding schools faced, the program failed in its attempt at total assimilation (Beck 2002, 298).

During the boarding school period, a new wave of Indians moved into Chicago. Many moved from the reservations they called home due to not being fully accepted in their communities, or for work. With their education, they were able to find employment in many of the growing cities in the US. But in the cities, they would also be faced with discrimination. This discrimination and isolation, however, would eventually create the base from which Urban Indian community development would spring forth. One of the more prominent Urban Indians was Dr. Carlos Montezuma, a Yavapai stomach surgeon who came to Chicago in the 1890s to set up a medical practice (Beck 2002, 297). Even though he was a doctor and an "assimilated" Indian from Carlisle, he still had a difficult time setting up a practice and being accepted by the dominant society, as he was still seen as an Indian (Chicago Urban Records, Montezuma). Despite this, he continued his practice when he could and helped many Indians who came to Chicago with medical assistance, as a host to visiting delegations, or hosting encampments in various forest preserves around the city as a way to bring Indians, both local and nationally, together to discuss various issues (Beck 2002, 297). Montezuma was also an activist who called for the abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and for Indians to become more acculturated. His thought was that tribal ways were holding Indian people back, and that they were too isolated on reservations (Wilson 2002b, 366). Many activists did not necessarily follow his views of acculturation; but they did respect the sincerity of his beliefs and convictions for the betterment of Indian people's lives (Wilson 2002b, 366). Montezuma in many ways lived in a conundrum of maintaining Indian identity and against the BIA's control of Native people, while simultaneously supporting the BIA's assimilationist programs. Ultimately, despite these contradictions, Montezuma activated and challenged members of the Chicago (and national) Indian community to focus on the pressing needs of American Indians, politically, socially, and even culturally, and on the fact that Indians should have an ultimate say and voice on these issues.

In spite of these gatherings, no formal Indian organization existed until 1919, when the Indian Fellowship League (IFL) was created in part by the Chicago Historical Society (Mucha 1983, 342; Chicago Urban Records, Indian Fellowship League). The IFL was composed of Native and non-Native members and reflected two views of Indian organization. Many of the non-Indian members were interested in promoting artistic and cultural activities. Conversely, the Native members (representing some 35 tribes) believed that they should be advocating for Indian rights that were being denied by the federal government (Beck 2002, 298). The IFL sponsored many cultural events, but geared them toward a white audience, to promote many pan-Indian and conservationist ideals (Chicago Urban Records, Indian Fellowship League). Eventually, the conflict of ideas would split the IFL, but it did demonstrate the strength of Indian desires to work on behalf of Indian people in order to protect the political and cultural rights that were guaranteed in the treaties of the nineteenth century (Beck 2002, 298).

In the same vein, the Grand Council Fire of American Indians (GCFAI) would pick up where the IFL stopped in 1923 (Beck 2002, 298; Chicago Urban Records, Indian Council Fire). The Council Fire's Indian membership was as diverse as that of the IFL, but constituted a new group of Indians moving to cities: those educated in off-reservation boarding schools (Beck 2002, 298). Many of this new generation of leaders maintained the ideals set by Montezuma of supporting Indian rights, cultural values, and community service. In the beginning of the organization, they provided a social outlet for Indians living in Chicago, along with social services until the 1930s, when the GCFAI leadership was taken over by its white membership (Beck 2002, 298). From the 1930s till 1986, the GCFAI would emphasize the exotic traditions of Indian culture over social service and support. This new focus on the exotic culture of American Indians, though theoretically against assimilation, appealed to a mainly white audience, and the more pressing needs of American Indians, such as treaty rights, land issues, poverty, and unemployment were deemphasized (Mucha 1983, 344). Many of Chicago's American Indians would leave the organization. It would not be until the late 1930s that an emphasis on social and cultural responsibility would return to Chicago Indian organizations.

By the 1930s, Illinois and local women's clubs had been the primary supporters of social service work for American Indians (LaPier and Beck 2011, 27). In March 1930, Tsianina Blackstone, a well-known Cherokee-Creek opera mezzo-soprano, Anna Fitzgerald, and other Chicago-area American Indian women organized the First Daughters of America (LaPier and Beck 2011, 27). The First Daughters of America was a Native women's organization that focused on social services up until the 1950s. In its charter, the club sought to discourage the unfair portrayal of the American Indian by wild west shows, the state, or motion pictures, and to eliminate from textbooks all matters tending to race prejudice; to preserve and perpetuate the traditional arts, crafts, and music of the American Indian; and to emulate the supreme qualities of American Indian womanhood (LaPier and Beck 2011, 28). This organization filled in the social service needs until organizations like the All Tribes American Indian Center and St. Augustine's Center for the American Indian would take on this role.

In 1947, two new organizations were founded. The first was the North American Indian Mission, founded by two local Indians, Willard La Mere (Hocąk) and Scott Thundercloud (Ottawa), along with a white friend (Mucha 1983, 345). This organization was small and short-lived and focused on social services and support to American Indian veterans and families who were newly arrived in Chicago. The second organization was made up of members of the Longhouse religion who maintained their cultural beliefs and ways, and provided a social outlet for many Oneidas, Mohawks, and other Haudenosaunee who came to Chicago (Mucha 1983, 345; Chicago Urban Records, NAES College Archives). In 1951, the Indian Service League founded by Albert Cobe (Ojibwe) in conjunction with the YMCA and the Chicago Park District provided an athletic outlet for many Chicago Natives (LaGrand 2002, 144). While these organizations would provide some support and voice for the Chicago Indian community, the 1950s would usher in changes that still reverberate today. Interestingly, according to the late Anne Limb (Hocąk), the impetus to form these organizations came from many of the founders of the All Tribes American Indian Center meeting at a performance of Pueblo Dancers in 1946/47 (interview with Anne Limb, Newberry Library Urban Indian Oral History Project). As everyone met, the idea of having a place to gather and socialize became a priority. Shannon Cobe, daughter of Albert Cobe, told me about the social dances that her dad put together at the Humboldt Park Field House, where he worked.

Relocation and Beyond

During the early twentieth century, economic conditions for many reservations were poor. This was compounded by a change in migration and labor patterns due to Indians losing or selling off their allotments (LaGrand 2002, 39; Mucha 1983, 340–41). The lack of employment in reservations had also been something of a concern to the BIA during the late 1930s and 1940s. With the onset of World War II, the BIA decided to tap into the vast amount of Indian labor to work in factories supporting the war effort (LaGrand 2002, 34–35). When World War II ended, there were many Indians who once were employed in the war industry but had now lost their jobs, and simultaneously, many Indian veterans were returning home to reservations (Wilson 2002a, 358). Poor economic conditions on reservations for the most part could not handle the population increase, so many had to leave their reservation communities to find work in large cities (Wilson 2002a, 358). In the midst of this, Chicago had retained many of its Indian workers, due to the large number of industrial jobs. Garbarino noted of the Indian population during and after World War II that "It is unquestionably the job opportunities resulting from the industrial build-up during World War II that enticed a number of individuals and families to Chicago and its suburbs" (Garbarino 1971, 173). Along with industrial employment, many Indian veterans

also stayed in Chicago, having experienced the city while stationed at surrounding bases such as Great Lakes Naval Base, Fort Sheridan, and Fort McCoy (Wisconsin).

Even though some Indians remained in or near large cities, a large number preferred to return to the communities of their birth. The growing number of unemployed Indians living on reservations would eventually gain a reaction from the BIA. In 1950, Dillon S. Myer became director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and began to construct a solution to the current economic situation on reservations (Wilson 2002a, 358; Mucha 1983, 346). The solution to this problem would combine Myer's earlier work with the War Relocation Authority, which was responsible for the relocation, incarceration, and removal of Japanese Americans and immigrants to internment camps (Wilson 2002a, 358), and Congress's ongoing dilemma of the "Indian problem."

After World War II, old trends in Indian Policy were beginning to dominate Washington (Mucha 1983, 346; Lurie 1961, 480). Despite the Indian Reorganization Act, which reversed many of the policies of the Dawes Act, Congress was pushing to limit treaty responsibilities and to abolish reservations (Mucha 1983, 346). Congress changed from thinking that if Indians' specific problems were attended to (poverty, land use, etc.) they would stop being Indian and the Indian problem would be solved, to the idea of getting rid of Indians, and thus the problem, by dispersing them and relieving the government's responsibility for their specific problems (Lurie 1961, 480).

In 1951, the Bureau of Indian Affairs began the Relocation and Employment Assistance Program, which was an effort to move Indians from the low-employment reservation areas to various cities where employment opportunities were greater (Garbarino 1971, 176; Wilson 2002a, 358). The initial idea of Indian relocation began in the 1940s, when a devastating winter blizzard swept across the Navajo and Hopi reservations of eastern Arizona (Ono 2004, 29). The federal government brought in supplies to help the two communities get through the winter. This led to the Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Act in 1950, which was to provide various health and education projects (Ono 2004, 29). This in turn led to the idea that in order to solve the issue of poverty and overcrowding on reservations, off-reservation employment opportunities were needed (Ono 2004, 30).

The Relocation and Employment Assistance Program coincided with the Termination Act of 1953 (Mucha 1983, 346). This act revoked federal recognition of tribes (including the Menominee and Klamath) that Congress believed had become economically self-sufficient. Both of these acts were part of a new wave of assimilation policy which intended to assimilate Indians by either taking them off reservations or eliminating reservations altogether. Termination would inflict much chaos and disarray upon the communities who were terminated, but relocation, especially in Chicago, would create something very different.

As many American Indians found their way into Chicago, their transition from reservation/rural to urban life was at times easy or difficult depending on their personal circumstances. Many of the newcomers to Chicago were promised jobs or vocational training through the Relocation Program, along with housing and social services. However, when they arrived, they found little social support, and substandard housing, which was often far from their job site, and adapting to life in Chicago was awkward for many people from rural areas (Beck 2002, 299; Garbarino 1971, 175–84; Wilson 2002b, 212–19; Goodvoice 2002; Garcia 2002, 193–204). For many of the relocatees, Chicago was not home and had

FIGURE 11 | In 1970, Mike Chosa (Lac du Flambeau Ojibwe) and Carol Warrington (Menominee) organized the Chicago Indian Village, an encampment that moved from Wrigley Field to Belmont Harbor, and finally Fort Sheridan | The group was protesting the lack of housing promised to Native Americans as part of the 1951 Relocation Act | After occupying Belmont Harbor and facing off with Chicago police, they successfully acquired housing in Uptown in 1972 and 1973 | Charles Knoblock, 1970, Chicago, Illinois © Associated Press

very little connection to their tribal identities. Reservation communities were integral to the identity of many American Indians who had come to Chicago. The BIA would refer to reservations as concentration camps and prison when promoting the Relocation Program, but many Indians did not feel the same way. Many, especially those who were born and raised in a reservation, saw it as home and a place where one has their very being (Lurie 1961, 480). This feeling in many ways was reinforced by a lack of substantial support from the BIA. Many of the complaints about the program were not so much directed at its goals, but at whether the program actually worked (Garbarino 1971, 178). It should be noted that these complaints and problems were not unnoticed by the BIA. Fearing a backlash from welfare and civic groups, and fearing negative reports from unsuccessful relocatees might undermine confidence in the program, BIA Placement and Relocation Officer Kurt Dreifuss attempted to solve these issues quickly (Garcia 2002, 199). However, there was limited funding, and the practical problems with relocation made the Chicago BIA staff, including Dreifuss, severe critics of the program (Garbarino 1971, 348). The solution to the need for adequate social service needs and social support would come from local Indian leadership.

In the tradition and drive to assist Indian people's needs, the existing Chicago Indian community began to respond to both the needs of the relocatees and the existing Native American community. Dreifuss called together 28 concerned welfare agents, clergy, executives, and university professors to come up with a solution to the urban Indian problem (Mucha 1983, 349). Among these individuals was John Willard, of the American Friends Service Committee, former Papago chief and University of Chicago graduate, Thomas Segundo, Ernest Naquyouma (Hopi), and Robert Whirling Thunder, who was a Chicago Park District instructor (Mucha 1983, 349). As the group experimented with different meeting places and events, Thomas Segundo and other Chicago Indians initiated the start of a new organization, with the help of John Willard and the American Friends Service Committee, to help them establish an Indian social center similar to one establish by the Quakers in Los Angeles (Mucha 1983, 350; AIC 2006, 1).

The American Indian Center of Chicago

The All Tribes American Indian Center was organized in 1953 with the help of the BIA and local welfare organizations (AIC 2006, 1; Beck 2002, 299; LaGrand 2002, 139). The Center's name would later be shortened to the American Indian Center (AIC) in 1954 (Mucha 1983, 351). The Center was unique compared to previous Indian organizations in that it was initiated by the Chicago Indian community and focused on cultural preservation and social service. The Center emerged from previous Native organizations and the BIA Relocation Office in Chicago. Prior to the AIC's creation, the BIA had organized the American Indian Club as part of their activities and leisure program and operated on Chicago's north side at Chase Park and at Ogden Park on the south side (LaGrand 2002, 138). The creation of this club was to help assimilate

FIGURE 12 | Everett Kapayou (Meskwaki) (center) dances during a powwow at the American Indian Center's first location on LaSalle Street | In an effort to gather socially, "Urban Indians" mobilized themselves through intertribal powwow | Powwow is a time to dance, sing, socialize, reaffirm traditions, and encourage cultural exchange | Retaining cultural practices in urban centers has been difficult | Today's powwow fuses contemporary and traditional practices, allowing us to retain them and pass them on to the younger generations | Unknown photographer, 1953 © American Indian Center archive

newly relocated Indians into socializing more through leisure activities. Dreifuss (Director of the BIA relocation office) and the BIA Citizens Advisory Board decided to create a more permanent center for the club, as a central place to reach more Indians living in Chicago. It should be noted that, while the intent was to promote a sense of community and socialization for the relocated Indians in Chicago, there was also an underlying move to assimilate the relocatees into mainstream society. When the All Tribes American Indian Center held its first meeting in 1953, members of existing Indian organizations including the Indian Council Fire, First Daughters of America, and the American Indian Club attended (LaGrand 2002, 138). While the BIA played a role in the Center's origins, many of the Indians in Chicago, both relocated and existing, took a major role in determining the role and vision of the Center. Many did not like or trust the BIA, and many openly criticized the Relocation Program.

Early on there were structural issues, especially financial issues, with the bylaws and nonprofit status, and relations with the BIA. The disagreements with the BIA focused on how to best assist relocatees. The BIA wanted to promote assimilation, while the Indian membership and board members wanted to promote and maintain the Tribal traditions of the new arrivals (Garbarino 1971, 80; Mucha 1983, 353). This worried Dreifuss, and as the Center moved its focus against the BIA, there were attempts to shut down the Center. Dreifuss created the Kenmore Uptown Center to maintain the BIA presence in the community, but this did not last (LaGrand 2002, 138–44). The American Indian Center would become an Indian-owned and operated organization by the early 1960s.

But despite these disagreements, the AIC remained true to its mission to provide social support and service to the Indian community, and produced monthly powwows, Christmas and Thanksgiving dinners, an intertribal dance club, social nights, traditional arts, and a newsletter, and held meetings in regards to social service needs (AIC: Chicago Urban Records, NAES College Archives; Fixico 2000, 133; LaGrand 2002, 137–44; Mucha 1983, 351). The Center, like the Indian Fellowship League, represented a large number of diverse tribes within the organization, a diversity not really seen at the time. Tribal clubs emerged, along with various tribal and social networks. The Center became a place for Indians to go for services and socializing. Many of these activities still go on, and the newsletter now can be accessed online and reaches a wider audience.

From 1958 to 1971, the AIC experienced tremendous growth in its activities. It added many youth programs, a canoe club, a Boy Scout troop, and a women's club, and an advisory board of past board members was created (Mucha 1983, 359–62). Many of these activities were intertribal, but there were also tribal-specific activities. In 1962, the Winnebago Club emerged to teach the Hocąk language and culture to tribal members living in Chicago (Mucha 1983, 360; LaGrand 2002, 219; Beck 2002, 300). Other tribal clubs were the Lakota/Sioux Club (1965), the Six Nations Club (1966), the Council of Three Fires (Ojibwe, Potawatomi, and Menominee) (1968), the Oneida Club (1969), the Southwest Intertribal Club, and the Choctaw Club (LaGrand 2002, 219; Mucha 1983, 360). The Center governing board was stable and eventually moved into a larger building in 1967 (1630 W. Wilson Ave.), to house many of the new programs. This move also added to a sense of permanency for the community. It also placed the AIC in the heart of the Indian community (Beck 2002, 300).

The AIC went through a transition period in 1971. When the Executive Director of the AIC, Robert Reitz, died, the Center was thrust into a period of infighting, especially with a new organization, the Native American Committee (NAC) (Mucha 1983, 162; LaGrand 2002, 228). This group believed that the AIC was not providing adequate services to the younger and poor members of the community, and they stressed educational needs (LaGrand 2002, 228; Sorkin 1978, 112). In much the same tradition as previous community organizations, NAC provided support in adult education. Eventually the first urban Indian college emerged out of the need to provide education to youth and adults from a Native perspective. The 1971–72 split was the source of much stress in the community and factionalism, but there were some positive elements also. First, it demonstrated the scope of Urban Indian needs, which was wider than one organization could handle. Second, it provided community members to experiment with new programs and ideas for community development. Some of the offshoots would fail, but others, like Native American Educational Services College, would fill in niches in the community that were needed.

St. Augustine's Center for the American Indian

St. Augustine's Center for the American Indian was the second-longest-running Indian organization in Chicago. The services they provided included job training, emergency cash, groceries, a soup kitchen, counseling, adoption and legal counsel, and emergency services for housing and health (LaGrand 2002, 144–45; Sorkin 1978, 116–17). The Center was created in 1954 and, like the American Indian Center, grew out of existing programs. Father Peter Powell, an Anglo-Catholic/Episcopalian priest at St. Timothy's Parish on Chicago's northwest side, created the

center. In 1954, he created the Native American Assistance Center at St. Timothy's. The center was to help Indians newly arriving in Chicago and provide support to individuals and families (LaGrand 2002, 144). During this time, he joined the Church Federation of Greater Chicago and became a strong advocate for reforming BIA policies regarding Relocation. He also printed *The Cross and the Calumet*, which was a newsletter that focused on Indian issues in Chicago and the United States (LaGrand 2002, 144; St. Augustine's: Chicago Urban Records, NAES College Archives). By 1961 he had created the Committee on American Indian Work for the (Episcopal) Diocese of Chicago, which later that year would become St. Augustine's Center for the American Indian. Powell looked to St. Timothy's for support for the Center. They would help on the condition that the Center was also used to evangelize the Episcopalian faith. Interestingly, Fr. Powell rejected the notion of evangelizing and felt that meeting the social needs of the American Indian community was more important (Powell, 2008). Powell believed that there was no need to proselytize to Indians, as they had their own faiths. As a result, he received no financial support from the Episcopal Diocese.

The congregation at St. Augustine's was very loyal and made up of three generations of Chicago Indians, and contained both Christian and Traditional members. For many, St. Augustine's was not just a religious or social service organization, but a place where they could worship, gather, and socialize with other Indians and find support in times of need. It served this purpose until its closure in 2018.

Organizations Evolve

Even with both centers (AIC and St. Augustine's) operating simultaneously, not all needs were filled, as both had specific foci. St. Augustine's was predominantly a social service agency, while the AIC balanced social services, public outreach, and social and cultural support. Educational, economic development, and medical needs could not necessarily be met, due to limited funding. The AIC would be plagued with various financial problems and high employee and membership turnovers throughout the 1970s. The 1980s would usher in a new period of successful leaders who continued the process of reconciling urban life and Indian identity (LaGrand 2002, 246).

After the 1971–72 split, new organizations appeared to fulfill needs in education, public health, business development, and after-school programs. In many ways, it was inevitable for new organizations to be created to meet the current needs of the community. Educational issues were now being met by a Native-owned and operated college (Native American Educational Services College, created in 1973–74) and a grade school magnet program at Audubon Elementary, along with various parent committees (Beck 2002, 303–04; LaGrand 2002, 246; NAES and Audubon Files: Chicago Urban Records, NAES College Archives; Goodvoice 2002, 342–53). In 1976, American Indian Health Services was established to assist in community health (IHS Files: Chicago Urban Records, NAES College Archives).

In 1980, a conference of Chicago Indian organizations met at NAES College to unite and tackle new issues and needs facing the community, and to bring the various organizations together to promote community networking (CAICOC Collection: NAES College Archives). It was successful in its attempts to rebuild community relations, with itself and with the greater Chicago area. Again, new organizations came out of this, namely the American Indian Economic Development Association, which focused on building a network of Native-owned business in the Chicago land area.

A coalition of some 18 Chicago Indian organizations was created in the late 1990s. It was called the Coalition of Chicago American Indian Community Organizations (CCAICO) and was created to voice the concerns and issues of the Chicago and statewide Indian communities to the Illinois State Government. Each organization maintained its uniqueness and independence, but they stood by each other when dealing with the city and state governments. The coalition was based on traditional tribal coalition governance, and decisions were made by consensus. What came of this was the building of strong relationships with the State of Illinois, and the community also found political allies in the Polish and Mexican communities. Today the coalition is no more, but it did lead to greater influence for Native community organizations with city and state governments. And it set the foundation for the current entity, the Chicago American Indian Community Collaborative, which convenes the community organizations in economic, housing, cultural, and political projects and actions.

With the reemergence of the AIC, tribal-specific clubs were restarted, and while the intertribal nature of the major Chicago Indian institutions can provide services on a broad scale, an individual's tribal identity and tribal specific needs may not be met. Also, tribal and clan identity are important for many tribal groups. The AIC, while not tribal-specific, provides a venue for tribal groups to meet and gather. Two clubs in particular, the Menominee Community Center of Chicago and the Hocąk community, would turn from social clubs to full-on political entities within the city. In 1993, the Hocąk Nation opened a tribal office in Chicago to provide services and assistance to its

membership living in the Chicago area (Dall, Abangan, and Jones 2002, 337–41). In the Menominee case, the initiative came from Menominee living in Chicago. In 1994, the Menominee Social Club of Chicago (MSCC) emerged to build social networks among Menominee tribal members living in Chicago and served as a referral agency for social services (Harvard Kennedy School 2003, 32). By 1996, the Menominee Tribal Government became aware of the work of the MSCC and officially recognized the newly renamed Menominee Community Center of Chicago (Harvard Kennedy School 2003, 32). Through collective actions of the Menominee and Hocąk communities, they were able to bridge the social and political gaps between their reservations and urban communities (Alfonso 2002, 372). They also maintain the relationships between intertribal and tribal institutions.

Native American-controlled institutions in Chicago have had a tradition of putting the needs and culture (in all aspects) of the community first; according to Beck, this maintenance of culture and identity has been the defining force behind community development (Beck 2002, 294). The present community is experiencing an upturn in activity that began in 1995, but has also experienced its ups and downs since that time. The present organizations, such as the American Indian Center, St. Kateri Center of Chicago, and American Indian Health Services, have had their declines and transformations; simultaneously, fissures and disagreements have created new organizations, again to meet community needs. The last 10 years have seen the rise of a Native American urban farm, a statewide American Indian Chamber of Commerce, a Native American Artists organization, and a new community-wide coalition of Native American organizations that has reentered the political sphere on both the state and city levels. All of these organizations provide spaces and places for Native people to gather and continue the tradition (if one could call it that) of consistent evolution and of organizations being created, while others last only a short time, or fade away—all tied to what needs they serve and meeting new needs that arise.

The Community and the Field Museum

The previous section outlined the long-standing relationships of the Native American community and its organizing in relation to place and to each other. There are times when the community has relationships with outside entities. The community's relationship with the Field Museum has been mixed since the 1940s/50s, and even earlier, to the Museum's opening in 1907, and stems from how the Museum viewed, and views, Native Americans. There were no social or cultural transactions between the two; the museum's approach leaned more toward extraction and performance (today's "virtue signaling"). We (I am speaking now as a community member) were not included in the decision-making and were often seen as not having the right knowledge or perspective because we are Urban Indians and not "authentic" by mainstream academic and museum standards. The Museum generally viewed the community as entertainment. One example is the opening of the updated Native American galleries in the early 1950s, which featured a parade of community members leading up the south stairs of the museum to Stanley Field Hall. Beyond the performance, the community had never been consulted or invited to contribute to the exhibition. In the late 2000s, with the development of the Ancient Americas Hall, the community expressed their concern and irritation with the Museum regarding the lack of voice and outreach to either the Chicago or other Native communities. There were some last-minute concessions that the Museum had made to indicate that yes, Native Peoples are still here and thriving, but the community and its organizations were not impressed. While the exhibition process did not include voices or perspectives from the community, there were efforts made by museum staff to build a sustainable relationship. Alaka Wali (North American curator emerita), Mavis Neconish, and Andrew Leith, both in North American Collections, and Armand Esai (Archives) did make efforts to make meaningful connections to Chicago's Native American community. To note, both Mavis and Armand are community members, which helped the process greatly. And it was during this period that the Field Museum via the Center for Cultural Understanding and Change and the Anthropology Department attended meetings with community organizations. Today the Museum is an external partner of the Chicago American Indian Community Collaborative (CAICC), which is made up of Native American community organizations and local tribal governmental branch offices/programs.

So, when the *Native Truths* exhibition process began in 2018 and community meetings were held by the museum, many in the community expressed their skepticism about the new exhibition. The Native American Advisory Committee understood the critiques and, along with Alaka Wali, pushed to have a Chicago Region Gallery that would always feature stories about Chicago's Urban Indian community, along with the Tribal nations for whom the Chicago Region is their home. The Advisory Committee was supportive of the community's voice, and having their backing helped the gallery's co-curator David Spencer (Chata/Diné) and me in the development of the Chicago Region Gallery. We were able to create a specific Chicago advisory group to help guide the exhibit's development. There was some back and forth with the museum, as there

were still stereotypes of Urban Indians that persisted, but we worked through them. The final exhibit in many ways was the culmination of efforts begun in the late 2000s, creating a gallery where the Chicago Native American Community could tell its own story. At the same time, the Chicago Region Gallery represents a beginning between the museum and the community. While looking ahead in a positive way, community members and organizations still maintain a healthy skepticism. The heart of social transactions is that each side shares in the exchanges and learning, developing mutual understandings. The Chicago Region Gallery is a middle ground where the Chicago Native American community, its organizations, and the museum can facilitate these exchanges and understandings.

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CHICAGO HAS *ALWAYS* BEEN AN IMPORTANT GATHERING PLACE FOR NATIVE PEOPLE: PHOTOS, STORIES, AND OBJECTS FROM THE CHICAGO SECTION OF THE EXHIBITION

Native people (including the Potawatomi, Ojibwe, Odawa, and many more) have called this place home since time immemorial. The City of Chicago grew from our land. In the 1940s and 1950s, the US government relocated thousands of Native people to cities like Chicago in an effort to depopulate reservations throughout the United States and assimilate us. The result was an urban Native community: complex, intertribal, vibrant.

Then and now, we gather to create

FIGURE 13 | In this photo, Andrew Aikin (Pillager Band Ojibwe) (left) and two currently unknown community members are constructing an eagle feather staff at the old American Indian Center on LaSalle Street | Andy created this staff to honor veterans in Chicago's Native community | Unknown photographer, 1960s | Photograph courtesy of Barbara O'Rourke (Hocąk, Ft. Peck Assiniboine)

Chicago was always cosmopolitan

FIGURE 14 | The Pokagon Band of Potawatomi still holds dances, and they're still diverse | This photo is from a round dance the community held in 2019, which was attended by people from other Native communities in Chicago, Milwaukee, Baraboo (Wisconsin), and as far away as Canada | Potawatomi, Hocąk, Ojibwe, Menominee, Cree, Oneida, and other Nations were represented | Unknown photographer, 2019 | © Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians archive

FIGURE 15 | Moccasins made by Potawatomi and Myaamia Ancestors | Textile, dyes | Collected from Mayetta, Kansas by Milford G. Chandler in 1925 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 155681, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

These moccasins are part of an outfit in the Field Museum's collection and were made with Potawatomi and possibly Myaamia techniques. The Great Lakes' Native communities have always been intertribal and diverse. The patterns on the moccasins are similar to Myaamia designs, but the colors are typical Potawatomi.

Singers in a Drum group are like a family

FIGURE 16 | Here, members of the RedLine Singers sing at Chicago's 66th annual powwow in 2019 | Drums have Ancestors and children | The RedLine Drum is related to the Chi-Town Drum, on display in the exhibition | They share a common ancestor, the Chicago Drum, which was a pick-up drum for American Indian Center community members in the early 1970s | New Drums and Drum families, like the one pictured here, are born when a member creates a new group | Photo by Frankie Pedersen (Listuguj Mi'gmaq First Nation), 2019 | © American Indian Center archive

FIGURE 17 | Dancing bustle created by Ruben Mitchell (Sac & Fox), ca. 1978 | Deer tail, porcupine hair, horse tail, glass seed beads, felt, cotton fabric, feather hackles, buckskin straps, cow hide panel, sinew | Lent by the Chee Joe and Lucille Spencer Collection | Photograph by Michelle Kuo

This bustle, which would have been worn to dance during events like powwows, is relatively unusual: they are rarely made with horsehair. It was made by Ruben Mitchell (Sac & Fox) and was part of the collection of Chee Joe (Diné) and Lucille Spencer (Mississippi Chahta). Chee and Lucille owned a popular Native arts store in Chicago.

Our families are greater than the sum of their parts

FIGURE 18 | In Native Chicago, weddings are yet another event to celebrate the widening of the extended community family | Sean Keahna (Meskwaki, Oneida) and Eva Albert (Ojibwe, Oneida) were married on July 8, 1989 in front of the totem pole at Belmont Harbor | Many receptions—including Sean and Eva's—are held at community spaces like the American Indian Center | Sharing the dance circle and participating in the Two-step dance solidifies the couple's union | Photograph courtesy of Sean and Eva Keahna

FIGURE 19 | Tevelee Skolnick (Spirit Lake Sioux, Chiricahua Apache) and Gary Gudino were married in April 1992 | Before the ceremony, Tevelee and Gary participated in a Lakota sweat lodge ceremony led by Francis Yellow (Lakota), who was also their officiant | Chicago is home to diverse communities, and Native folks here build relationships that lead to the creation of diverse families | Tevelee and Gary's family are Native, but also Ashkenazi, Mexican, and Italian | Photograph courtesy of Tevelee and Gary Gudino

Mary Ellenwood's frybread was legendary

FIGURE 20 | Food has always been an integral part of gatherings in Chicago, and Mary Ellenwood (Nez Perce) could always be found helping out in the kitchen of the old American Indian Center on Wilson Avenue, as well as in her home community in Idaho | Chicago's Native community still gathers around food | People contribute what they can, be it traditional food like wild rice, or other favorites like Popeye's chicken and frybread | Unknown photographer, 1980s © American Indian Center archive

Individuals brought our community together

FIGURE 21 | Vanessa Fuller (Ojibwe), center-right in sunglasses, participates in a powwow grand entry in the 1990s | She served on the board of the American Indian Center and helped to organize events such as Miss Indian Chicago, and she was also a combat veteran of the Korean War | Even though Vanessa did not label herself as such, she is remembered as a role model by LGBTQ youth in the Native community | Unknown photographer, 1990s © American Indian Center archive

The American Indian Center once had a baseball team

FIGURE 22 | The American Indian Center baseball team | The Center has also sponsored basketball teams, a bowling club, archery classes, canoe races, and many other sports | Since the time of its earliest villages, sports have always been an important part of Chicago's Native community | Sports and games were played at social gatherings and ceremonies | There were foot races in Chicago during the 1850s through the 1890s | Unknown photographer, 1960s © American Indian Center archive

Chicago attracts Native talent from across North America

FIGURE 23 | In the Late 1970s, poet E. Donald Two Rivers (Ojibwe) (left) along with Sarina Tȟaté Otȟúŋwahé DiMaso (Chirauchua Apache, Taino, Oglala Lakota) (center), and Elmer Two Crow (Arikara) (right) formed the Red Path Theater in Chicago's Uptown neighborhood | The Red Path Theater sponsored weekly poetry slams at the Green Mill, paving the way for other events in the community where people gather to read poetry, like the Positive Paths' youth poetry slam | Chicago's Native community still gathers to read poetry, tell stories, and sing—and attracts talent from across North America | Photograph by Warren Pearlstein, 1993 | Photograph courtesy of Sarina Tȟaté Otȟúŋwahé DiMaso (Chirauchua Apache, Taino, Oglala Lakota)

Chicago as we know it wouldn't exist without African-Native American families

FIGURE 24 | Between 1916 and 1970, 400,000 African Americans came to Chicago from the South during the Great Migration | Among them were an unknown number of African-Native Americans, like Anna Husband | Anna, who was Black and Chahta, came to Chicago from Shubuta, Mississippi | Her descendants still live in Chicago's Englewood neighborhood, but their connection to Chahta culture was broken because of anti-Black segregation in Chicago | Unknown photographer, 1950s | Photograph courtesy of Yvonne Whiteneir

Our community has always taken a stand

FIGURE 25 | In 2016, Native Americans in Chicago marched through the Loop in solidarity with the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, protesting the Dakota Access Pipeline that was being built on sacred land | Chicago's Native community continues to organize around causes such as food access, environmental issues affecting Native lands and communities, sports team mascots, and more | Photograph courtesy of Rita Pyrillis (Lakota)

Canoes never went out of style

FIGURE 26 | The Chicago Canoe Association was founded in 1964 to ensure that canoeing—an important part of Native culture in the Great Lakes—lived on in Chicago's metropolis | Historically, the region's waterways were sites of annual gatherings for Native people to hold canoe races and other competitions | The Association would gather for races, to clean up rivers, and traced traditional routes by paddling to Dowagiac (Michigan), Green Bay, or Mackinaw Island | Unknown photographer, 1960s | © American Indian Center archive

FIGURE 27 | Canoe created by Chicago Canoe Association, 2012 | Fiberglass | Lent by Richard Gross, Builder | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein

Traditionally, canoes in this region were made out of elm and birch bark, but this one is made of fiberglass. The Chicago Canoe Association's founders—Nathan Bird (Hocąk), Leroy Wesaw (Pokagon Potawatomi), Dan McPherson (Lakota), and Ralph Frese, owner of a local canoe store—used fiberglass to make canoes because it was inexpensive, light, and accessible for community members. They were decorated to mimic traditional birch-bark canoes.

PART II

NATIVE TRUTHS

We Are Still Here

INTRODUCTION BY ALAKA WALI

THIS SECTION CONTAINS multiple chapters devoted to each of the truths mentioned in the book's introductory chapter. Advisory Committee member Doug Kiel (Oneida) writes the main essay, for the truth *"Our Ancestors Connect Us to the Past, Present, and Future."* As a historian, he reflects on the Indigenous concepts of time and history and how Ancestors' knowledge and actions inform and guide present-day efforts to secure a thriving future for Native Americans. His essay is accompanied by shorter reflections from artists and scholars who co-curated the displays that illustrate this theme.

The next chapter draws on texts and interviews with collaborators who were featured in the interactive for the second truth: *"Native People Are Everywhere."* The interactive is a media display through which visitors can see and hear a diverse group talking about their work or places where they live. Here, the stories of urban youth, an army veteran, a scholar working on land acknowledgment, and a museum professional involved in language revitalization illustrate the concept that, contrary to stereotype, not all Native Americans live on reservations or are confined to certain occupations. Rather, Native Americans have made significant contributions to all aspects of American life and continue to thrive.

The third truth begins with chapter 6. Advisory Committee member Patty Loew (Bad River Band Ojibwe) describes how *"The Land Shapes Who We Are"* as she elaborates on her statement used in the exhibition that, for Native People, "history is not about time but about place." Next, an essay by Teresa Montoya (Diné) discusses the relationship of the Diné (Navajo) people to their homeland. Also included here in chapter 8 are two maps by cartographer and artist Margaret Pearce (Citizen Band of Potawatomi) displayed in the exhibition, which she made in collaboration with members of the Ho Chunk, Winnebago, and Myaamia communities, who have selected texts from the maps to highlight. The maps detail the stories of these communities' forced removal from homelands, their resistance and return, and reclamation of ancestral territories. Three other short features drawn from the display label texts from different regions (Innu Nation (Canada), Chitimacha Nation, and Gun Lake Band of Pottawatomi) illustrate the theme with stories of land and water stewardship featured in the exhibition.

The fourth truth—*"We Have the Right to Govern Ourselves,"* has three essays and additional commentaries from display collaborators. Tribal Nations have a special jurisdictional relationship to the Unites States Government, forged through treaties and laws from the earliest days of European colonization. Tribes have exercised sovereignty in different ways and fought hard to retain control of land and resources. Teresa Montoya (Diné), Joe Stahlman (Tuscarora), and Rosalyn LaPier (Blackfeet/Métis) provide perspectives on the concept and practice of sovereignty.

Finally, in this section, on the truth *"Museum Collecting and Exhibition Practices Have Deeply Harmed Native Communities,"* Alaka Wali discusses the history of how the Native American collections were built, and on the slowly changing attitudes toward relationships with Native American communities. Wali's essay is followed by display collaborators in this section of the exhibition. The authors discuss the complexities of relationships

FIGURE 28 | Installation photo: *Our Ancestors Connect Us to the Past, Present, and Future*, 2022 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein

that stem from the Field Museum's complicity in the loss of control of heritage for Native American Tribes, the pain caused by representation that excluded their voices, and the attempts that were made to intervene and improve the Museum's practices for collections care. In the first essay, Matt Matcuk, Cecil Pavlat (Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa), and Marie Richards (Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa) provide an overview of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and the repatriation process at the Field Museum through the lens of the case of the Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa. Next, Bibiane Courtois (Innu) and Elise DuBuc document the request for repatriation of sacred objects from the Innu people, brought to the Museum by anthropologist Frank Speck. These include bear skulls that Innu elders agreed to have displayed to educate the public audiences on the harm done by colonially rooted collection practices and the need for more accountability from museums. Mavis Neconish (Menominee) describes, in her piece, her experiences working with the Field Museum collections. She joined as a collections assistant shortly after the passage of NAGPRA and undertook initiatives to better care for the collections with the perspective of Indigenous methodologies. Her painstaking research led to the reassembling of a women's regalia (beaded dress, leggings, and moccasins) made by Maisie Lone Dog (Lakota) collected on the Fort Peck Reservation. In the final piece of this chapter, artists Jaalen Edenshaw (Haida) and Chris Pappan (Kanza, Osage) reflect on the pain they felt in seeing their heritage in the Museum's collections, but also why they felt it was important to contribute their own work of contemporary art to the collection. This truth concludes with a chapter by Helen Robbins, June Carpenter, and Drew Jepson about the work of the Repatriation Center.

TRUTH

Our Ancestors Connect Us to the Past, Present, and Future

FIGURE 29 | Installation photo highlighting the Mvskoke Stomp Dance (left) and the Ruben Ironhorse-Kent (center) displays, 2022 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein

4

IN HARMONY WITH THE ANCESTORS

Indigenous Worldviews, Traditions, and Arts Bridge the Past, Present, and Future

DOUG KIEL (ONEIDA NATION)

The Field Museum's exhibition *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* highlights the importance of ancestral bonds in shaping the cultural identity of Indigenous nations across North America. Enriched by their ancestral knowledge, Native communities offer insights into the interconnectedness of humanity with nature and the cyclical flow of time. One of the five universal truths that form the basis of the exhibition is "Our Ancestors Connect Us to the Past, Present, and Future." The exhibition features content on the Mvskoke (Creek) Stomp Dance, the Iñupiaq video game *Never Alone*, Karen Ann Hoffman's Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) raised beadwork, and Reuben Ironhorse-Kent's Ioway ceramics. These materials and stories illustrate how Indigenous peoples integrate a cyclical conception of time, linking generations and nurturing a kinship with nature.

This cyclical worldview emphasizes the interconnectedness of life and recognizes that time interweaves natural cycles with generations. Ancestors play a crucial role in preserving cultural heritage and transmitting wisdom that connects past, present, and future. The Mvskoke Stomp Dance is a sacred ceremony that symbolizes the cyclical nature of time. Karen Ann Hoffman's beadwork and Reuben Ironhorse-Kent's ceramics exemplify techniques passed down through generations. The video game *Never Alone* represents an innovative fusion of traditional stories and modern gaming technology.

Indigenous peoples blend traditional practices with contemporary mediums to keep ancient knowledge and traditions vibrant and adaptable. Their cultural expressions invite us to contemplate our relationship with nature and our responsibility in building sustainable societies. The cyclical perspectives of Indigenous cultures offer valuable lessons for appreciating diverse cultures and the environment. One example is the Seventh Generation Philosophy, which emphasizes considering the long-term impact of our actions on future generations. This philosophy shapes Indigenous governance, environmental stewardship, and cultural preservation.

Sustaining Indigenous Worldviews: Bridging Traditions through Stomp Dance and Digital Media

Indigenous cultures of the Americas, including the Mvskoke, hold a distinct worldview rooted in cyclical conceptions of time. This perspective intimately weaves natural rhythms with the lineage of generations, underscoring the interwoven nature of life's various facets and nurturing a profound affinity with the natural world. Such deep-seated interconnectedness also pervades the relationships across generations, in which ancestors are instrumental in bridging the past, present, and future. A prime exemplification of this worldview is the Mvskoke

Stomp Dance, a time-honored ceremony that extols the cultural heritage, spiritual bonds, and resilience of the Mvskoke people in the face of colonization and marginalization (Johnson 2022).

The Mvskoke Stomp Dance is marked by an amalgamation of social interaction and spiritual dedication. It epitomizes the Indigenous cyclical perception of time and the honoring of ancestors. Dancers form a circle around a central fire, which signifies the life force, purity, and the perpetuity of life and the cosmos. This circular arrangement mirrors the cyclical notion of time, and the rhythmic steps of the dance are thought to facilitate communication with the ancestors, reflecting the veneration Indigenous cultures bestow upon their forbears as timeless conduits. The Stomp Dance not only manifests as a potent expression of tenacity and defiance but also as a vessel for transmitting ancestral knowledge and values to the youth. It encapsulates the crux of the cyclical temporal perspective, wherein the past, present, and future are inextricably linked (Conlon 2013).

Beyond traditional practices such as the Mvskoke Stomp Dance, contemporary media have surfaced as formidable channels for disseminating Indigenous values and worldviews. A case in point is the video game *Never Alone* (*Kisima Inŋitchuŋa*), which was developed through a partnership with the Alaska Native community. The game enables players to explore Iñupiaq culture via an enthralling and immersive medium. In tandem with oral traditions that function as dynamic custodians of values, ethics, and worldviews, *Never Alone* pioneers a fresh avenue for the conveyance of cultural identity and ancestral knowledge. It accomplishes this through the incorporation of "Cultural Insights," brief video segments in which Iñupiaq elders impart cultural wisdom, paralleling the role that ancestors fulfill as guardians of knowledge in the cyclical framework of time. Moreover, the game exhibits the heterogeneity of Indigenous languages, narratives, and artistic expressions. A key insight to be gleaned is that Indigenous cyclical time perspectives persist in influencing and molding various cultural expressions, whether through age-old ceremonies like the Mvskoke Stomp Dance or contemporary mediums such as *Never Alone* (Kamen 2014).

These expressions foster a more nuanced comprehension of the human experience, epitomizing the continuity and interdependence at the heart of Indigenous worldviews, and advocating for a sustainable and harmonious coexistence with nature. In amalgamating Indigenous cyclical time conceptions with traditional customs and modern media, there lies an opportunity to engender a more profound reverence for the depth of Indigenous cultures. Moreover, this unification encourages reflective deliberation on how these viewpoints and traditions can play a role in establishing sustainable, inclusive, and synergistic societies anchored in respect for cultural plurality and the environment. This notion is particularly pertinent given the contemporary challenges that Indigenous communities globally grapple with, such as colonization, marginalization, and ecological deterioration.

Beadwork and the Seventh Generation: Interconnectedness across Generations

Karen Ann Hoffman, a renowned artist and member of the Oneida Nation, crafts mesmerizing Iroquois raised beadwork that reflects the Seventh Generation Philosophy. This esteemed principle is fundamental to the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, which includes the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora nations. Both the Seventh Generation Philosophy and Hoffman's art highlight the cyclical nature of time, intergenerational stewardship, and profound respect for the natural world. The Seventh Generation Philosophy emanates from an Indigenous worldview that regards time as cyclical rather than linear. It weaves together past, present, and future generations in an unending continuum. This philosophy steers the governance of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, rooted in the Great Law of Peace. This law fosters communal stewardship and harmony among the nations. Decisions are made by consensus within the Council, with a focus on the long-term effects on both community and environment (Williams 2018).

Hoffman's beadwork is a resplendent expression of this philosophy. For instance, her work *SkyWoman*, a child's chair, embellished with intricate beadwork on velvet, portrays the Iroquois creation myth involving SkyWoman and the Turtle. This piece transcends mere artistry; it is a spiritual odyssey that embodies the cyclical notion of time and an everlasting bond with creation. Through her art, Hoffman venerates ancestral wisdom and presents it as an eternal compass. A further dimension where Hoffman's art and the Seventh Generation Philosophy converge is in their emphasis on environmental stewardship. Hoffman's *Thunderbird Whimsey* (Figure 32) and *Great Bear Hunt Mat* (Figure 33) artistically encapsulate these environmental tenets. These works function as educational instruments in sync with the Seventh Generation Philosophy's dedication to transmitting wisdom through generations (Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts & Letters 2019; Hamilton 2019; Pryor 2020).

FIGURE 30 | *SkyWoman (she/her)* created by Karen Ann Hoffman (Oneida) | Wood, velvet, glass beads, Czechoslovakian crystals, cotton thread, sterling silver beads | Adopted from the artist and living with the Field Museum in 2018 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 360821, Conservation Department Photograph

> As I was walking through an antique store, I saw this child's rocking chair. There were three panels on it, the perfect platform to tell the story of SkyWoman—how we Haudenosaunee, one of the original peoples of the Eastern Great Lakes, came to be. The chair (she) said, "SkyWoman's story needs to be on me," so she's my way to tell our creation story to people I'll never meet.

Additionally, both Hoffman's art and the Seventh Generation Philosophy prompt us to reassess our connection with nature in the context of contemporary environmental challenges. They advocate a harmonious coexistence between human endeavors and the environment. The beadwork of Karen Ann Hoffman and the Seventh Generation Philosophy harmoniously intertwine. They communicate principles of intergenerational stewardship, environmental preservation, and the cyclical understanding of time. They remind us of our collective duty to cultivate a world in tune with nature's cadence and underscore the importance of incorporating Indigenous wisdom in the pursuit of sustainability. Through this vibrant symbiosis, they shepherd us toward a future that pays tribute to the past while nourishing the seeds of generations yet to blossom (Mortillaro 2021).

Molding Heritage: Reuben Ironhorse-Kent's Ancestral Ceramics

Reuben Ironhorse-Kent is a ceramic artist who is part of a larger movement to revive ancestral techniques. His work embodies not only aesthetic beauty but also the ancestral knowledge of the Ioway Tribe. Influenced by ancient pottery techniques, Ironhorse-Kent's methods encapsulate an Indigenous perspective on time and lineage. His artistic expressions serve as poignant symbols of cultural reclamation.

His process for creating ceramics is characterized by meticulous attention to detail and the use of materials sourced from nature, which reflect Indigenous notions of time and cyclical existence. Gathering clay from the banks of the Missouri River, Ironhorse-Kent demonstrates a

deep connection with the land. Furthermore, his commitment to the purity and integrity of materials represents a form of stewardship that is congruent with the Indigenous ethos of maintaining a harmonious relationship with nature. This ethos is evident in the scrupulous care Ironhorse-Kent takes in preparing and purifying the clay, which reflects the broader Indigenous belief in the sacred value of natural resources. In addition, his utilization of ancient Oneota pottery techniques showcases his reverence for ancestral wisdom handed down through generations (Field Museum 2022; Effigy Mounds National Monument 2020).

Ironhorse-Kent's ceramic pots are adorned with designs and motifs that underscore the perpetuity of cultural identity through art. His creations are living vessels imbued with the stories and spirits of his ancestors. Significantly, his ceramics amplify the relevance of Indigenous wisdom beyond Indigenous communities. Through the ancestral knowledge embedded in his work, Ironhorse-Kent's pots stand as tangible embodiments of sustainability and identity. His art serves as a reminder of our responsibility to cherish the Earth as our home and life-source. The ceramics of Reuben Ironhorse-Kent represent an amalgamation of art, cultural preservation, and Indigenous wisdom, mirroring a wider global imperative for sustainability, cross-cultural understanding, and reconnection with ancestral heritage. Through his art, Ironhorse-Kent illustrates the profound value and relevance of Indigenous knowledge systems in contemporary society. His work serves as an exemplar of how art can transcend aesthetic boundaries to become a powerful catalyst for cultural resurgence.

Conclusion

Housed in the Field Museum, *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* is an exhibition that invites visitors to explore Indigenous knowledge and worldviews. The exhibition reveals the cyclical conception of time intrinsic to Indigenous cultures and honors the essential role that ancestors play in shaping their cultural identity and values. "Our Ancestors Connect Us to the Past, Present, and Future" encourages visitors to reflect on the cyclical nature of time. This is further illustrated through various expressions that blend ancestral customs with contemporary mediums. The Mvskoke Stomp Dance, Karen Ann Hoffman's intricate raised beadwork, Reuben Ironhorse-Kent's ceramics, and the immersive video game *Never Alone* serve as examples of the cyclical nature of time and the fundamental interconnectedness inherent in Indigenous thought.

Such expressions are not just demonstrations of cultural richness but also serve as catalysts for introspection and a deeper understanding of our relationship with nature and society. These insights, brimming with wisdom, challenge the prevailing linear and individual-centric paradigms, demonstrating that Indigenous perspectives on time, which emphasize continuity and reverence for nature, are vital for building sustainable and harmonious societies. Moreover, Indigenous cultures offer reservoirs of knowledge that have transformative potential for sustainability and environmental stewardship, especially pertinent in the twenty-first century.

The combination of traditional and contemporary mediums in this exhibition mirrors the deep respect for nature and ancestors inherent in Indigenous cultures while serving as a bridge connecting past, present, and future. The enduring connections Indigenous peoples have with their ancestors are vital to their cultural identity. These bonds foster resilience and provide a sense of purpose, which is especially valuable in navigating the challenges of the contemporary world. The essence of Indigenous cultures lies in the cyclical weaving of the past, present, and future through knowledge and traditions. The exhibition highlights this beautifully. *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* is not merely an exhibition but a journey through time and consciousness. By acknowledging, respecting, and engaging with Indigenous knowledge and practices, we pave the way for a more unified, interdependent, and sustainable global society. Through the legacies of our ancestors and the wisdom they impart, we find the path to an enlightened and sustainable tomorrow.

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PHOTOS, STORIES, AND OBJECTS FROM "OUR ANCESTORS CONNECT US TO THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE"

Karen Ann Hoffman (Oneida)

The beadwork I've inherited stands not for the "me" and "now," but for the "us" and "always"

I'm Karen Ann Hoffman, a Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Raised Beadworker from the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin. I'm the student of Samuel Thomas and the late Lorna Hill. When I'm sewing, I hear whispers, old beaders from long ago, encouraging me, "keep this up, do this well." This work stands not for me, but for all those who came before us and all whose faces we have yet to see.

FIGURE 31 | Karen Ann Hoffman | Photograph courtesy of Wisconsin Public Radio/J. Potter

FIGURE 32 | *Thunderbird Whimsey (he/him)* created by Karen Ann Hoffman (Oneida), 2011 | Velvet, glass beads, Czechoslovakian crystals, calico, satin ribbon, Red Oak sawdust | Adopted from the artist and living with the Field Museum | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 361601, Conservation Department Photograph

Popularized in the late 1800s, whimseys are small items made for non-Native tourists to buy "on a whim." Scholars and collectors for too long overlooked them. To me, whimseys are powerful. I decorated this larger pincushion whimsey with a stanza from the Haudenosaunee prayer "Thanksgiving Address" (The Words Before All the Other Words), which calls for us to be thankful for the Thunderbirds, who come from the West to clear our minds.

FIGURE 33 | *Great Bear Hunt Mat (he/him)* created by Karen Ann Hoffman (Oneida), 2009 | Velvet, glass beads, Czechoslovakian crystals, cotton thread, calico | Adopted from the artist and living with the Field Museum | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 361602, Conservation Department Photograph

Once I heard an archaeologist say, "civilization didn't begin until the written word." That struck me as incomplete. Our Native arts, our oral traditions, have passed our worldview from generation to generation for a very long time. So I began to bead our traditions to show there's more than one way to transmit "civilization"—our culture. Great Bear Hunt—a very old tradition written in the Stars—is the first story I beaded.

FIGURE 34 | Kahná·tale?/Beaded purse made by a Haudenosaunee Ancestor, ca. 1900s | Velvet, glass beads, thread | Acquired by the Field Museum in 2003 from a private collector | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 337637, Conservation Department Photograph

Flowers, birds, the beautifully round shapes tell me this beadwork comes from the Eastern Woodlands. This purse is an example of the brilliance and business acumen of the maker. They were often sold at fairs, Niagara Falls, markets—made to appeal to tourists. But no matter what these women had to do to feed their families, the Haudenosaunee worldview comes through in the beauty of their designs.

Reuben Ironhorse-Kent (Iowa)

I make things as an homage, a head nod to those people that went before us

I'm Reuben Ironhorse-Kent, an enrolled member of the Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska and a member of the Buffalo Clan. I'm an artist—a graduate of the Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA). People kept saying, "Your people didn't do clay; that's not your tradition." All these pottery sherds they dig up, if we didn't do it, who did? I developed a need to revitalize these traditions that have gone unrecognized.

The old people inhabited the Midwest over 1000 years ago—including Iowa, our homeland. Archaeologists describe their style of pottery as "Oneota." The designs on each sherd were so unique. I started to look at the construction. How did they get the walls that thin? Amazing! My respect for those old people went way up. This is a lot of work—the effort not only to survive, but to expand and flourish.

FIGURE 35 | Reuben Ironhorse-Kent | Photograph courtesy of Malissa Ironhorse-Kent

FIGURE 36 | Mahárexe Oneota/Oneota-style vessel created by Reuben Ironhorse-Kent (Iowa), 2021 | Ceramic | Commissioned by the Field Museum in 2020 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 361769, Conservation Department Photograph

> I needed a break from the more complicated ceramic work I was doing, so I started trying to replicate Oneota pattern and design work with a simple stick. I read a lot of archaeology magazines and thought, "Ok, how would you do this?" I'd look at the possibilities and experiment with old techniques. Our people did do clay—trying to reclaim that identity is part of what keeps me going
>
> These pots are made with all natural clay; you can see the "sparkle" from the clam shells. A complete pot with natural clay could take a month and a half to make. To get all the contaminants out, I slake the clay many times by adding water and removing everything that sinks. If you're looking at a simple pot, it's easy to not appreciate the effort, the patience, and the skill that went into that.

FIGURE 37 | Wíñ^e/Dipper with raku glaze created by Reuben Ironhorse-Kent (Iowa), 2021 | Ceramic | Commissioned by the Field Museum in 2020 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 361766, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

> I'm always looking for a different combination of creativity, which you can see in this dipper. I was making clay bowls and one day said, "I think I can make a dipper." I was also doing a lot of raku—a Japanese firing technique. So, I started to mix the traditional and raku techniques together for a different presentation. If you're not innovating, you're stagnating.

FIGURE 38 | *Star Maker* created by Reuben Ironhorse-Kent (Iowa), 2018 | Ceramic, glaze, horsehair, beads, embroidery thread, araucana feathers | Original work lent by Reuben Ironhorse-Kent | Photograph by Michelle Kuo

> At IAIA, my instructor said, "Today we're going to do raku—a Japanese firing technique." When he pulled the piece out to show us the glaze, it was amazing. Most examples I had seen of raku were pots. I thought, why haven't people explored the possibility of applying this technique to a sculptural form? So I started to create these figures, which I call Night Dancers. At the moment, I'm satisfied.

Mvskoke/Muscogee Creek Stompdance

We've been stompdancing for centuries. We're still here dancing, keeping these traditions alive

Missy A zATE/Missy is my name. I am a painter and tattoo artist located in Phoenix, Arizona and a member of the Polecat Ceremonial ground in Kellyville, Oklahoma. I was introduced to our ceremonial dancing as a preteen. Every summer while visiting my father, we'd participate in our EaP AnA/Green Corn Ceremony. Stompdancing every year reminds me: this is where we come from and this is how we heal ourselves.

FIGURE 39 | Missy Mahan | Photograph © Elizabeth Harvey

FIGURE 40 | naKa hEstalA/Ribbon dress made by Missy Mahan (Euchee, Mvskoke/Muscogee Creek, and Tohono O'odham) | Calico cotton, satin ribbon, metal | gOtOTakw@^nE/German silver crown made by Bobby Wildcat | Lent by Missy Mahan | Photograph: Polecat Stomp Grounds, Ribbon Dance

> Before the Ribbon Dance, a women's-only dance during Green Corn, we prepare by lacing turtle shells on our calves and painting red markings on our cheeks. Depending on the family, the markings can vary. We only paint our faces during ceremony or when one passes on. I learned how to sew my own regalia from my grandma. I try to use the same ribbon patterns from her dresses she would sew for us as kids.

FIGURE 41 | chaka yUkw@^nE Enû/Can shakers made by Clifford Little Bear (Euchee) ca. 1986 | Tomato cans, leather, metal | Purchased by an anthropologist in Oklahoma ca. 1986 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 242833a-b, Conservation Department Photograph

FIGURE 42 | ts'onta yUkw@^nEnû/LUCV/Turtle-shell shakers made by a Mvskoke/Muscogee Creek Ancestor before 1893 | Eastern box turtle shells, leather, river rocks, ceramic pieces, metal | Acquired for the Field Museum by a collector in Oklahoma before 1893 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 15155, 15157, Conservation Department Photograph

> For us, July is considered our New Year. That's when our yearly EaP AnA/Green Corn Ceremony happens. Since most of the dancing is at night, the only light we get is from the glow of the fire. This night, we invite family members that have passed to dance with us, to heal, to be blessed and start another year fresh.

FIGURE 43 | KATVPOKV/Hat worn by David Proctor (Mvskoke/Muscogee Creek) | From the family of David Proctor | Photograph by Michelle Kuo

> David Proctor (1955–2021) was a member of the Mvskoke/Muscogee Creek Nation and served as Mekko, or leader, of the Tvlahasse Wvkokaye Ceremonial Grounds for 25 years. This Tribal Town was reestablished in Oklahoma after the Muscogee were forcibly removed from their homelands in Alabama and Georgia. For over 30 years as a Muscogee (Creek) Nation Tribal Government employee, David provided guidance and traditional knowledge to his community, Ceremonial Ground members, and the Field Museum.
>
> Before his passing, David graciously loaned the hat and ribbon vest he often wore during stompdances to the Field Museum. In the video [shown in the exhibition], you'll see him wearing this hat. David's role as Mekko, or ceremonial leader, was to set protocols for the Grounds. During OPVNKV-HACO/stompdance everyone dances around a central fire, which is rekindled every year during the Green Corn Ceremony as a renewal and altar to thank the Creator.

Never Alone (*Kisima Inŋitchuŋa*)

The video game is another way of carrying on the tradition of our storytelling

I'm Paul Ongtooguk, son of Tommy Ongtooguk and grandson of Charlie Ongtooguk. Our family is from Teller, Nome, Wales, and Little Diomede, Alaska. I'm a retired university professor and Director of Alaska Native Studies. To be Native American is not at odds with being modern. The video game *Never Alone* is a perfect example. It's another way of carrying on our stories that express our Iñupiat point of view about the world.

FIGURE 44 | Screenshot from the video game *Never Alone*

FIGURE 45 | Woman's fancy parka made by an Inuit or Yup'ik Ancestor ca. 1960 | Fur, glass beads, sinew, yarn, textile, leather | Collected by government worker in New Stuyahok, Alaska and donated to the Field Museum in 1967 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 257188, Conservation Department Photograph

> In the game, the young girl wears a parka—an essential for life in the Arctic. What most people don't realize is that there are parkas for every kind of weather and occasion. This is an amazing fancy parka. When you're wearing one of those, it's like wearing a formal gown to a formal dance. It's a way to show off—a demonstration of the skill of the person who made it. Today, there's a new generation of parka makers like Mary Lou Sours. People thought this skill was going to disappear, but her work is as good as anything I've seen. She also creates kits for others to make their own fur mukluks, a type of boot. My daughter loves hers. Traditionally, the style of your parka could identify the region—even the village—you were from. Even though the materials have changed, our jackets, like this one, still do the same thing. The idea of the "vanishing Indian" has never had real meaning for us here in Alaska. We adapt.

FIGURE 46 | Ivory pipe made by an Inuit Ancestor | Ivory, pigment | Acquired in Alaska by a collector and donated to the Field Museum in 1894 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 13691, Conservation Department Photograph

> The video game *Never Alone* is a form of story-telling, and this pipe—these images on the side—represent our older version of telling stories. Our Iñupiat language didn't have an alphabet until the Russian missionaries developed it in 1948. Before that, our stories used imagery like on this pipe, which would remind someone learning to tell the story of the key parts.

FIGURE 47 | Owl carved by an Iñupiat artist ca. 1974 | Ivory, pigment | Collected by an anthropologist in Fairbanks, Alaska and donated to the Field Museum in 2002 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 338038, Conservation Department Photograph

> Out on the tundra you'll see where the snowy owls have nested and you don't bother them at all. They are considered pretty powerful. The owl is usually the first piece of ivory you carve—I carved one in high school. You have a responsibility to make the best use of ivory because it's such a gift. I like this piece because it represents so many parts of our culture.

TRUTH

Native People are Everywhere

FIGURE 48 | Installation photo: *Native People are Everywhere*, 2022 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein

5

TRANSCRIPT FROM "NATIVE PEOPLE ARE EVERYWHERE" TOUCHSCREEN INTERACTIVE

Interviews with Felicia Garcia, Tim McCleary, St. Kateri Center of Chicago Youth Circle Members, and Scott Shoemaker

THIS CHAPTER DRAWS on interviews with collaborators who were featured in the digital touchscreen interactive for the second truth: *"Native People Are Everywhere."* The interactive is a media display through which visitors can see and hear a diverse group talking about their work or places where they live. Here, the stories of a scholar working on land acknowledgment, an army veteran, urban youth, and a museum professional involved in language revitalization illustrate the concept that, contrary to stereotype, not all Native Americans live on reservations or are confined to certain occupations. Rather, Native Americans have made significant contributions to all aspects of American life and continue to thrive.

Felicia Garcia on Land Acknowledgments

I am Felicia Garcia; I am Samala Chumash from Santa Ynez, California. I am the Curator of Education at the School for Advanced Research in Ogapoge, which is Tewa territory, also known as Santa Fe, New Mexico.

I am currently really privileged to live as a guest on Tewa lands here in Santa Fe. The land that my community calls home is, you know, incredibly important, and place informs everything about who we are, but my ancestral homeland is what many recognize today as Santa Ynez, California. It's central California, about two hours north of Tongva territory or Los Angeles, California, but we also trace our ancestors back to what many recognize as the Channel Islands, which are off the coast of California, and so my community continues to maintain important connections to the islands as well.

Right now you're standing on Native land, but Chicago and so many other places in what we recognize as the United States and Canada were stolen by colonizers, the US government, the Canadian government. It's no surprise to me that people don't realize that Native people are everywhere. And I think that having that conversation is a really important first step.

As we heal and move toward a more equitable future it's important to acknowledge the past and the dark histories of this place. One important step in that process is a land acknowledgment. It's a statement; it can be a poem, a piece of art. I think a lot of people think that it's just a sentence and you get to move on, but I think that there's a lot of work that needs to go into it.

The first steps are to do some serious research about those people who continue to call that place home, what had to happen in that place to remove those people. When you're saying you're on Native land, it's talking about the continued connection to place. In every land acknowledgment process it's important to recognize this as a first step, or one of a few first steps, in moving forward in building more equitable relationships with Indigenous people. The worst acknowledgment that you can do is no

FIGURE 49 | Screenshot from interactive showing Felicia Garcia

acknowledgment. There's no single wrong way, there's no single right way to do it, and I encourage anyone to just take a step and go for it.

Tim McCleary on Native Marine veteran, Grant Bulltail

My name is Tim McCleary, and I am the Department Head here at Little Big Horn College, which is the Crow tribal college on the Crow Indian Reservation. I am an anthropologist, and I have worked here for about 30 years.

I knew Grant Bulltail because he was a respected elder in the community, and I would often talk to him about various topics concerning Crow culture, Crow history, Crow language, because he was extremely knowledgeable in all aspects of Apsáalooke. He had a really good sense of humor. He liked to laugh, but he was also extremely kind.

He had very fond memories of being a Marine. He said the reason he became interested was because a lot of his friends were traveling to the West Coast. This is a time of a policy called Relocation, where the government was actually paying people to leave the reservation to move to urban areas. He didn't really like the idea of doing the Relocation program. So, he asked some friends, and one of them said, "Well, if you want to see the world," he said, "join the Marines." And so he did.

He was an expert dancer. And he was always being called upon to lead social gatherings. He and his wife became what are called Lodge Erectors, which is the highest position anybody can ever attain in the tobacco society. He relished being a Crow, and was such a distinguished individual and a fine example [of what] human beings should be and how they should live their lives.

St. Kateri Center of Chicago Youth Circle Members

Member #1: To me, "Native people are everywhere" means that our cultures and our traditions have branched out to a bigger audience than it was hundreds of years

FIGURE 50 | Screenshot from interactive showing St. Kateri Center of Chicago Youth Circle members

ago. Not everybody lives on a res, but there are a bunch of urban Native youth, currently in the city. I live in Norwood Park, on the northwest side of Chicago, by Superdawg.

Member #2: Home is here in Chicago, Lincoln Park. My family's been living in Chicago for quite a long time. I've always been proud of my heritage, especially in New Mexico, where the Navajo nation is. I visited there once and really feel at home.

Member #3: I've lived in Arcadia Terrace my whole life, that's like Western and Bryn Mawr.

Member #4: I currently live in Englewood. My favorite thing about living in Chicago is the diversity. Different personalities, races, just overall nice people.

Interviewer: What is it like to be a part of the Chicago Native community?

Member #1: I grew up at the old Indian Center, and now I'm helping rebuild the new one. It means a lot to me because during the period of time there wasn't any resources for anyone, it was a hard time in my life and in a lot of people's lives, and I am happy to be a part of the Indian Center and the Indian community. I'm currently interning there, answering emails, phone calls, doing newsletters, social media. I currently started my own news group. We did a lot of volunteering during the summer with food baskets, Easter events, Christmas events, when people were in COVID, when they really needed the help. You just feel more lively with all the other kids, you get to see lots of people you've grown up with.

Interviewer: What does it mean to you to be Native?

Member #1: A lot of times we're put in like this mythical box. You learn about yourself in school and it's not what you are. I was taught that I was just a tool that the Europeans used and … it was just a bunch of conflicting images of myself that was going through my head at one time, and I was too young to understand it and just be myself.

Member #2: It kind of makes me feel proud that I can educate other people on what our people have gone through. Native Americans live all over the world. We're not trying to be considered as Other, we're trying to be known as Native. We're here, we're in the city, and we're all over the place.

Scott Shoemaker on Native Language Revitalization

Hiya, My name's Scott Shoemaker and I am a citizen of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, and I have been involved in revitalization of the Miami language for well over 25 years.

Native languages are everywhere! There's hundreds of them that are spoken on a daily basis across North America. Our languages have had a big influence on English, like "Chicago" for one, "Moose," "Moccasin," "Kayak," "BarbeQue"—all sorts of words that are Native in Origin that are part of the English Language that you use every day. And this is because languages are so incredibly diverse and the states in which they are within their communities are also equally diverse.

There's some that have a lot of fluent speakers and that their children are learning it as their first language. There's others with just a handful of speakers and many of those

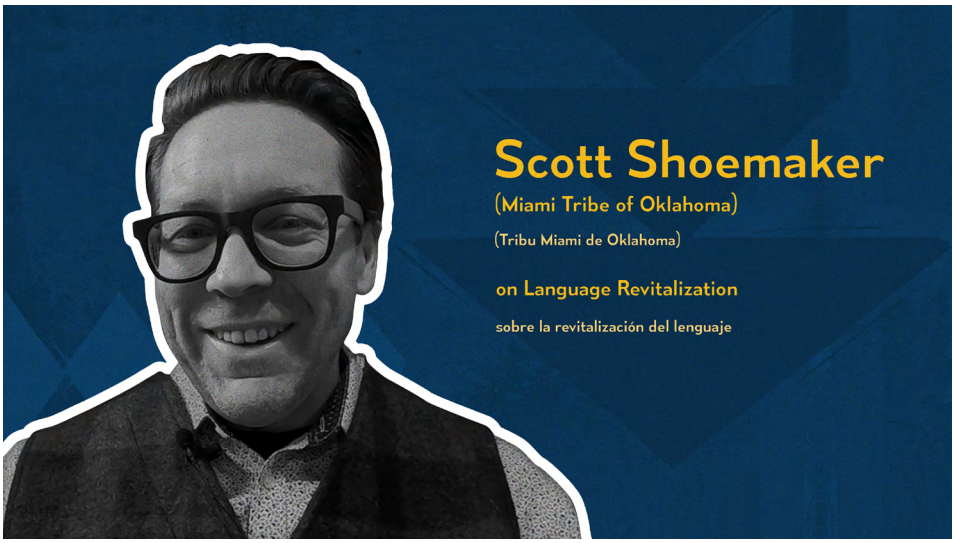

FIGURE 51 | Screenshot from interactive showing Scott Shoemaker

are elders. And there's some that no longer have first-language speakers as well as those whose languages have gone dormant. I'm just one of many people that have been and are involved in revitalization of the Miami language; it's really taken our community to do it together and to really help one another and support one another, and the ways in which I try to do that is using it within my home, with my children, and using it with other Myaamia people at our different events and just making a part of our daily lives once again and to really create a positive environment where the language can really thrive.

So today there's so many different communities and individuals putting in a lot of hard work to ensure that their languages continue well into the future.

TRUTH

The Land Shapes Who We Are

FIGURE 52 | Installation photo: *The Land Shapes Who We Are*, 2022 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein

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NO MATTER WHAT, WE ARE DEEPLY CONNECTED TO THE PLACES WE COME FROM

PATTY LOEW (BAD RIVER BAND OF LAKE SUPERIOR OJIBWE)

Cultural Gravity. It pulls with an insistent force to the land of one's ancestors. It invites people to cherish and steward their homelands. Sometimes it yanks them into frontline battles over mines and pipelines. Cultural gravity connects the natural and ceremonial landscapes and creates kinship ties between the human, plant, and animal orders. It is a weight-bearing essential truth: "No matter what, we are deeply connected to the places we come from." In *God Is Red*, the noted Lakota scholar Vine Deloria described a "sacred center" that enables the people to understand and remember their history. No matter what happens, the sacred lands remain as "permanent fixtures."

That connection is evident in the Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish or Gun Lake Band of Pottawatomi exhibit that emphasizes the Band's place-based historical relationship to land and water. "That's how it was then, and that's how it is now." The Gun Lake people acknowledge that their relationship to the land was "interrupted" by settler colonialism and by ill-conceived assimilation efforts like Indian boarding schools. But now, in an era of self-determination, they are revitalizing their relationships to land and water through culturally inspired education programs and environmental conservation efforts.

The canoe, featured in the exhibition, is one such effort. It is a metaphor for Native resilience and cultural persistence. Prior to European contact, river and lake systems were essential to live *mno bmadzewen*, the "good life." Canoes provided a means to fish, travel, trade, and recreate. However, as dams destroyed fisheries and settlers drained wetlands, bark canoes disappeared from the country's waterways. In 2015, elders helped reconnect Pottawatomi children in Gun Lake's Jijak Youth Camp to their watery lifeways by teaching them how to construct the canoe, push poles, and dip nets.

Canoes were essential to harvesting wild rice, which once was abundant in the region that became southwest Michigan. *Mnomen*, as it's known to the Pottawatomi, is actually an aquatic grass and an indicator species—the proverbial canary in the coal mine. If rice is present, the watershed is healthy. *Mnomen* acts as a purifier to filter the water and feed fish, insects, waterfowl, mammals, and humans. Industrial pollution, dams, shoreline development, and recreational boating have led to the disappearance of wild rice, which all the bands of Potawatomi in southwest Michigan are trying to restore.

The Gun Lake people are also working to restore sturgeon, a clan animal sacred to the Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish. Their exhibit also describes the efforts that have gone into restoring sturgeon in the Kalamazoo River. Since 2009, fisheries managers in the Gun Lake Environmental Department have collected eggs from female sturgeon after they return from Lake Michigan to the river to spawn. After the eggs are incubated, the fry are raised to fingerlings in the tribal hatchery and then released back into the river. Among other items, visitors to the exhibit will see the mats used to collect the eggs and the transponders used to tag the fish. The tags allow the band to monitor the

FIGURE 53 | Two youths holding a sturgeon | Nméyek/Sturgeon can live to be more than 100 years old and grow to be seven feet long | © Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians Environmental Department

health of the hatchery-raised fish and identify them when they return. As the Gun Lake people describe the sturgeon, "they are our relatives … they took care of us in the past and we're taking care of them now."

The Pottawatomi also connect to their past and to each other through traditions like basket making. The black ash basket featured in the Gun Lake exhibit, woven by Kelly Church and entitled *Water Is Life*, makes a powerful statement, both in the environmental message it carries and the contemporary social movement it evokes. Because of climate change and infestations by the emerald ash borer, supplies of black ash are dwindling. But Pottawatomi craftspeople aren't afraid to adapt. It's the culture of weaving—the harvesting, processing, and teaching techniques—that is important. So, weavers are using new materials, including window blinds.

Basket making is also important to the Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana, whose lands once encompassed the entire Atchafalaya Basin, west of present-day New Orleans. The prized weaving material there is piya or river cane, which, according to contemporary weaver John Paul Darden, was gifted to his people by a Holy Woman. The Woman sought out a young girl and gave her unfinished baskets to learn various techniques, then told her to teach others. Today weavers in the community know to look for the thumbprint of the Holy Woman in broken cane as a sign that the cane in that particular patch is ripe for harvesting.

Piya once covered millions of acres across what is now the American South. However, natural and manmade assaults, such as logging and hurricanes, took their toll, and tribal members had to venture farther and farther to

FIGURE 54 | *Water Is Life* made by Kelly Church (Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians), 2018 | Sweetgrass, black ash, silver | Purchased from the artist by the Field Museum in 2018 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 360829, Conservation Department Photograph

harvest the piya they needed. Since 2001, the Chitimacha have been transplanting hundreds of piya plants onto the reservation.

Chitimacha weavers harvest the cane when it is about the diameter of a quarter. They split, peel, and dye the cane traditional colors—red, black, or yellow. In the past, the Chitimacha used black walnut, elm bark, and dock root to dye their baskets. Today they use commercial dyes. For the basket to hold together, the weave must be extremely tight. Some weavers are so skilled that the tightly woven baskets they create can even hold water.

Many weavers handed down "pattern baskets" to their descendants to guide the next generation of weavers. The Chitimacha created more than 50 unique patterns that can be endlessly recombined into new designs. The shapes and sizes vary as well, depending upon the function of the basket. Some were designed for everyday use. Others were woven for ceremonial purposes. All are uniquely Chitimacha. As a result, contemporary baskets are almost indistinguishable from those of an earlier age.

FIGURE 55 | Historic and contemporary Chitimacha baskets | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

In an oral culture, the vision and values of the people are often evident in the art they create. Alligators and snakes beautify the baskets of the Chitimacha people, as do cherished plants and waterways. Some baskets, including the one woven by Melissa Darden, tell origin stories. Hers relates the story of how Chitimacha warriors long ago successfully battled a huge venomous snake miles long. Vanquished, the snake twisted and coiled in the mud, cutting a deep channel that became Bayou Teche.

Melissa and her brother John Paul Darden learned to weave from their grandmothers, Lydia Darden and Ernestine Walls. As children, they helped the elders gather piya and watched as they split and peeled it. It wasn't until they were adults, however, that they began weaving baskets of their own.

Thirty years ago, the Dardens would have had to leave the reservation to harvest river cane. Thanks to the tribe's restoration efforts, today, they can find what they need on their own homelands to carry on their craft.

The decision to pass down the knowledge of how to weave a basket or fashion a canoe is a deliberate one. Someone has to be willing to impart the knowledge, and someone has to be willing to learn it. This was not easy in some communities, where colonizing forces in both the United States and Canada formalized efforts to disrupt the transmission of traditional teachings.

First Nations such as the Pekuakamiulnuatsh remind us that, even as museums like the Field were collecting objects for their exhibits in the 1920s, the Canadian government was collecting children against the wishes of their parents and forcing them into residential schools. The Pekuakamiulnuatsh are Innu–Indigenous people whose ancestral lands extend from the mountainous regions of present-day northeastern Quebec to Labrador. More than 150,000 Innu children were sent to the Pointe-Bleue Indian Residential School, operated by the Roman Catholic Church on the Mashteuiatsh Reserve and paid for by the Canadian government. Children were prohibited from speaking their Native languages, wearing their traditional clothing, or expressing their spiritual or cultural beliefs. Canada acknowledged its genocidal practices during truth and reconciliation hearings begun in 2008 when the world learned that many of the children in these schools were physically and sexually abused. In 2021, the discovery of hundreds of graves at a single residential school in Kamloops, British Columbia led to the horrifying realization that thousands of children died at Indian boarding schools across the US and Canada.

In an act of cleansing, some Indigenous communities have demolished the schools. Others, including the Pekuakamiulnuatsh, very deliberately have left the schools standing, lest anyone forget this painful chapter of First Nations history. In 1995, occupying the same space as the Pointe-Bleue School, the Innu opened Kassinu Mamu, a secondary school that teaches not only the government's secondary school curriculum, but also Pekuakamiulnuatsh culture, an act of decolonization that empowers and enables the community to shape its own knowledge-transfer system.

Inspired by historic needle bags—traditionally used to hold sewing materials—believed to have been created by their ancestors in 1927 or before, and collected by the anthropologist Frank Speck for the Field Museum, contemporary art classes at Kassinu Mamu (meaning "all together") created abstract paintings using acrylic paint on canvas, which were then cut into 4×4-inch pieces and

mounted. In this way, young Innu connect to the artistic expression of the generations that preceded them.

Several times a year, students leave the school for extended periods to reconnect with the land and commune with elders. They engage in important cultural activities, which help them develop strong identities and prepare them to contribute to the Pekuakamiulnuatsh community.

The themes and values represented in the Native North American exhibition hall represent hundreds of culturally diverse communities. However, a unifying thread is that relationship to land and, by extension, the relationship to generations of ancestors who also connected to the land.

That is why a 2017 effort to reduce the protected areas of the Bears Ears National Monument in Utah was met with such fierce opposition from the Native communities for whom Shash Jaa', as it is known to the Diné people, is sacred. Protection of Bears Ears united a diverse community of advocates, including artists, filmmakers, weavers, and food sovereignty proponents. Gilmore Scott, a Diné artist and former firefighter from Montezuma Creek, Utah, uses watercolor, acrylic, and colored pencil to express his deep connection to the Bears Ears landscape. In *Bears Ears Matriarchs* (Figure 62), a contemporary piece commissioned by the Field in 2021, Scott depicts four female elders from the Southern Ute, Zuni, Diné, and Hopi peoples walking toward the Bears Ears buttes. In this way, he introduces the visitor to the concept of matriarchy. In a video produced by Teresa Montoya and Angelo Baca, Scott describes his painting. "As Diné people," he tells them, "we introduce ourselves with our mother's clan name first—it identifies who we are and where we come from."

Baca (Diné and Hopi), a video documentarian, and Montoya (Diné), a social scientist and media maker trained in sociocultural anthropology, use their craft to bring awareness to the monument. In their film about Bears Ears, they also interview Cynthia Wilson, who directs Utah Diné Bikéyah, a Native-led nonprofit focused on traditional foods. She tells them that her job is to promote sheep raising and agriculture, believing that the Diné know how to return to healthy living.

Sheep are integral to one of the most important art forms associated with the Diné—weaving. Scott finds inspiration for his paintings in weavings like the one created by Cecilia Sandman in the Field's collection. "I've learned that each item used to create a rug—from the string to the loom—all have stories associated with them," Scott said. "In this way, I honor my late mother, who was also a weaver."

In his documentary, Baca tells us that he honors his Hopi Corn Clan by growing traditional blue corn. He learned to cultivate it from his father, who learned from his father. He tells us this as he is running through Bears Ears. "It connects me directly to my land and my culture where the past, present, and future are one."

There is a timelessness expressed in this *Native Truths* exhibit, evident in the depth and breadth of the connections between story, storyteller, and the land. The items—both historical and contemporary—that reflect these intimate relationships are not temporal. Here *place* predominates. The sacred centers pull with gravitational force, and the generations past, present, and future who are *of* them remember and tell their stories.

PHOTOS, STORIES, AND OBJECTS FROM "THE LAND SHAPES WHO WE ARE"

Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians

Our way of life is connected to the land and water. That's how it was then, and that's how it is now

We, the Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians, never left Southwest Michigan. Our leaders took a stand, resisting the 1830 Indian Removal Act. Our connection to the land was not broken, but it was interrupted by tools of colonization, like the Mt. Pleasant Indian Industrial Boarding School. Today, we are revitalizing our relationships to the land, water, and jagenagenan/all things from one, and the Tribe leads many environmental conservation efforts.

We've released hundreds of nméyek/lake sturgeon (plural), a threatened species, into the Kalamazoo River since 2009. When nméyek return from Lake Michigan to spawn, we use mats to collect their eggs from the river. We raise the babies in a streamside hatchery. Before they're released, we tag them with transponders so we can identify them when they return. Nméyek are one of our sacred clan animals—an Ancestor.

FIGURE 56 | Egg mat, Passive integrative transponder (PIT) tags and needle, and PIT tag scanner used by the Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians Environmental Department | Lent by the Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians Environmental Department | Photograph by Michelle Kuo

> Each summer, we release the nméyek/baby lake sturgeon as a community. It reminds us that they are our relatives, and in the ways they took care of us in the past, we're taking care of them now. In the past, we used bone hooks to catch nméyek/lake sturgeon. Nméyek were not just food. They are sacred. As Pottawatomi, nméyek are our Ancestors and part of our teachings and connections to place. We still try and catch them, but not to eat. Nméyek are threatened due to settlers overfishing, polluting, and damming the rivers. We catch them to monitor, so we can protect them.
>
> Nméyek are incredible, powerful animals. They can live to be more than 100 years old and grow to be seven feet long. We haven't grown up with them for generations because the river has been so bad for so long. Due to our efforts, our children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren will know our teachings and our relatives, like nméyek.

FIGURE 57 | Kopenagen/Black ash basket made by Mary Jackson (née Alexis) (Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians), ca. 1970 | Black ash and aniline dye | Lent by Franklin Barker | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

> Black ash basketry is a long-standing Pottawatomi tradition. For basket makers, it's a part of who we are and how we identify ourselves. Black ash trees are threatened because of climate change and the invasive emerald ash borer. In order to retain our weaving methods until we can plant and regrow black ash seeds collected by foresters and Tribes, basket makers are teaching weaving techniques using materials like window blinds.

The Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana

Each of our baskets has a story to tell

Our people—the Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana—still occupy a portion of our aboriginal homeland. We've always been here, and today maintain a reservation near the town of Charenton. Our lands once encompassed the entire Atchafalaya Basin, west of New Orleans. Basketry is one of the crown jewels of our culture. It's a living tradition, and the Tribe is working to conserve basket piya/river cane for future generations.

FIGURE 58 | (left to right) Scarlette Darden, Melissa Darden, John Paul Darden | © Tim Mueller

FIGURE 60 | Basket created by Melissa Darden (Chitimacha), 2021 | River cane, dyes | Commissioned by the Field Museum in 2020 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 361806, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

"This basket, created by Melissa Darden, features the alligator entrails pattern. Alligators and snakes are among the many plants and animals of southern Louisiana's swamps and waterways that are part of Chitimacha life, from our foods and basket patterns to our legends. The Bayou Teche is one important waterway that snakes through our aboriginal lands. Today, Bayou Teche marks the northern border of our reservation. Today, even though we occupy only a fraction of our aboriginal lands, places like Bayou Teche are still important to our Tribe and have been for thousands of years.

FIGURE 59 | Basket created by John Paul Darden (Chitimacha), 2021 | River cane, dyes | Commissioned by the Field Museum in 2020 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 361805, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

"This basket was made by John Paul Darden. He and his sister Melissa learned to weave from their grandmothers Lydia Darden and Ernestine Walls. John and Melissa learned the traditional way: by watching and asking questions. For years, they joined their elders gathering piya/river cane and watched their grandmothers split and peel it. It wasn't until they were adults that John and Melissa made baskets of their own. Weaving is also a time to share our stories, good and bad. For example, at this house (Fig. 58), three white men—including the Deputy Sheriff—killed a Chitimacha boy (Oliver Paul) and shot his pregnant aunt (Virginie Paul Darden) in 1901. The killers were never arrested. Our people have been poisoned, beaten, and shot—but we are still here, weaving and thriving on our ancestral land.

The Kassinu Mamu School

We learn about our culture in a building that tried to take it away from us

Gabrielle Paul, Kassinu Mamu student

The Kassinu Mamu school, which means "All together," was created in 1995. Located in Mashteuiatsh, Quebec, it occupies the former Pointe-Bleue Indian Residential School. Open from 1960 to 1991, that school boarded young people from different communities. Despite the negative history, we chose to renovate the building in 1997. We teach the government's secondary school curriculum as well as Pekuakamiulnuatsh culture. Our school welcomes between 75 and 80 students each year.

In the 1920s, Anthropologist Frank Speck collected hundreds of Innu items, including needle bags, used to hold sewing materials. During this time, while museums were taking our belongings, the Canadian government was taking our children. The government separated Indigenous children from their families and forced them into boarding schools to try and erase their culture. Today, our school transmits and values the culture of the Pekuakamiulnuatsh. The Roman Catholic Church opened the Pointe-Bleue Indian Residential School in our community in 1960. It was one of 130 boarding schools funded by the Canadian government. More than 150,000 children were taken to these schools for more than a century. Many faced physical and sexual abuse—thousands died. These schools were a tool of colonization, and an act of genocide.

Inspired by a needle bag collected by Speck at the turn of the twentieth century and believed to have belonged to our ancestors, our students explored abstract painting, stencils, and expressiveness. The only constraint imposed was the choice of colors used. Once the works were completed, they were cut into 4×4-inch pieces and mounted. Each student selected two pieces, and we collectively reconstructed both paintings.

Shash Jaa'/Bears Ears

Shash Jaa'/Bears Ears is a place that embodies our relationships to this land, our intergenerational cultural knowledge, and the matrilineal teachings we carry into the future

My name is Gilmore Scott and I am a Diné artist. I work in the mediums of watercolors, acrylics, and colored pencils, incorporating the landscapes and designs of my Diné culture. I studied Fine Arts in college before becoming a wildland firefighter. After fighting fires for nine years, I decided to return to my original passion for art, doing painting full time.

FIGURE 61 | Paintings inspired by historic needle bags created by Danyka Charlish, Sherylane-Wapikon Niquay, Samuel Paul, Léa Paul-Cleary, Noémie Petiquay-Dominique, Annie-Kim Robertson-Bilodeau, and Mendy Valin (Pekuakamiulnuatsh) | Acrylic paint, canvas | Facilitated in 2021 by Josée Robertson, Art Teacher, Kassinu Mamu School, Mashteuiatsh, Quebec | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

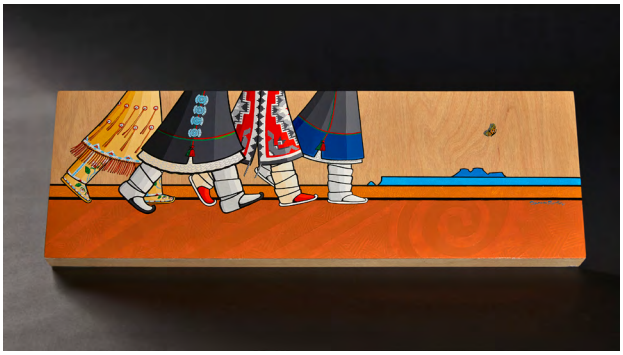


FIGURE 62 | *Bears Ears Matriarchs* made by Gilmore Scott (Diné), 2021 | Acrylic on wood panel | Commissioned by the Field Museum in 2021 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 361780, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

> This piece is inspired by the Indigenous matriarchs of four tribal nations from the Bears Ears region. The women are walking toward the Bears Ears buttes wearing their traditional attire: from left to right, Southern Ute beaded moccasins and buckskin, Zuni skirt and jewelry, Diné rug dress, and the Hopi woven skirt. As Diné people, we introduce ourselves with our mother's clan name first—it identifies who we are and where we come from.

FIGURE 63 | Ketoh/Bow guard made by a Diné Ancestor ca. 1900 | Leather, silver, Barber dimes | Purchased by a collector near Santa Fe, New Mexico in the 1930s | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 268335, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

> My name is Angelo Baca. I am a Diné and Hopi filmmaker, educator, and farmer. I am also a storyteller and runner like my maternal grandfather, Hugh Yellowman. I grew up in southeastern Utah, where I currently do community outreach for sacred lands protection around the region of Bears Ears, or what we call Shash Jaa'.
>
> When my grandfather, Hugh Yellowman, went hunting, he would wear a bow guard similar to this one. He was renowned for his moccasin making and hunting abilities, including running and catching deer for ceremonial use. To carry forward his legacy, I continue to run in Bears Ears where he used to hunt, and am learning our traditions of farming and storytelling. Our intergenerational knowledge is rooted in the land.

7

CULTIVATING DINÉ RELATIONS WITH ANCESTRAL HOMELANDS IN BEARS EARS

TERESA MONTOYA (DINÉ/NAVAJO NATION)

THE MORNING AIR feels cool, a reprieve from the dry warmth of the day. Unzipping the tent door, I lift the flap to greet the morning light beginning to peek over the horizon. Looking beyond our campsite, I follow the sage-filled meadow as my eyes rise to meet the familiar buttes standing prominently to the south. I step outside and breathe in the high desert air, notes of ponderosa pine on the subtle breeze. I hear the stirring of my camping companions, Diné filmmakers Angelo Baca and John Hosteen, emerging from their tents as John begins to boil water on his camp stove. Sharing a cup of freshly brewed gohwéédh (coffee) we strategize our film shoot for the day, documenting Diné perspectives on relationships with homelands and environment to be included in the exhibit. And there was no better place to ground our intentions than here.

This sacred place is known as Bears Ears, or what we call Shash Jaa' named for the iconic buttes reminiscent of our bear relatives. While not currently contained within the geopolitical boundaries of the Navajo Nation, Shash Jaa' is part of our broader Diné ancestral homelands in southeastern Utah. Shash Jaa' is also renowned for being the birthplace of Chief Manuelito, a revered Diné leader who fought against US occupation in our homelands. Thus Shash Jaa' represents a stronghold of Diné endurance—our enduring connection to homelands despite settler occupation as well as an enduring cultivation of knowledge associated with this place. The sacred significance of this region is shared by several other tribal nations across the Colorado Plateau as well: Ute, Hopi, Zuni, Paiute, and many others. Following years of intertribal efforts to protect these sacred lands from further resource extraction and development, the region was designated as Bears Ears National Monument in 2016.

FIGURE 64 | Bears Ears meadow | Photograph by John Hosteen

Developed in tandem with the other Diné-oriented exhibition case on sovereignty, this case builds upon similar themes to show how Shash Jaa' is a place that embodies Indigenous, and specifically Diné, relationships to ancestral land through the sharing of place-based and matrilineal knowledge. The intergenerational aspect of knowledge cultivation was a guiding teaching for my collaborator on this case. Angelo Baca, a Diné and Hopi filmmaker, educator, and farmer, also describes himself as a storyteller and runner. These practices were passed on to him from both his maternal Diné and paternal Hopi families. He explains, "I am Corn Clan on my Hopi father's side. I learned how to cultivate blue corn from my father, who continues to grow it traditionally in our village fields of Moenkopi, Arizona. I join the countless generations of corn growers before me—my Diné and Hopi ancestors—in this tradition. It connects me directly to my land and my culture where the past, present, and future are one." Therefore, learning to grow corn in the region of Bears Ears is a way to carry forward the knowledge of his maternal and paternal cultural practices.

For Angelo, growing ancestral corn in his garden is not at odds with running. What might be understood as separate or distinct activities in non-Diné ontology—agriculture versus athletic practice—is in fact part of a larger continuum of Diné knowledge cultivation for Angelo. Thus, in our planning for this case we wanted to highlight this broader understanding of relationship with land, as a practice of kinship and relationality. In our discussions he shared how "growing corn in my family's garden directly connects me to our land just like running at Bears Ears." He further elaborates, "when my feet are on the land, I'm able to take in the air and understand the landscape and see it in new and interesting ways … Just like growing corn. It's a relationship to be constantly helping the other beings that are with you in the world. So, it makes us humble and respect other beings. I get to have my hands in the dirt and take care of the corn and know that it's also going to take care of me. And when I go run these trails and mountains and canyons, I know that these were the same places that my ancestors were in before me, for countless generations." With the centrality of corn cultivation for Angelo's Diné and Puebloan ancestors, we decided to line the exhibit case with corn brought from the Navajo Nation. Corn provides a literal foundation for understanding land-based relationships in the Indigenous Southwest.

With this guiding framework, Angelo and I selected objects that would highlight Diné relationships to land not only as artistic expressions but also for how they enabled the continued sharing of traditional knowledge.

FIGURE 65 | Angelo Baca holding his grandfather's bow in his family garden | © Teresa Montoya

For instance, a bow guard, or ketoh in Diné language, was selected for its skillful integration of silver design and functional utility (Figure 63). Angelo explains, "When my grandfather, Hugh Yellowman, went hunting, he would wear a bow guard similar to this one. He was renowned for his moccasin making and hunting abilities, including running and catching deer for ceremonial use. To carry forward his legacy, I continue to run in Bears Ears where he used to hunt and now I am learning our traditions of farming and storytelling. Our intergenerational knowledge is rooted in the land." In this way, Angelo shows how his love of running is rooted within traditions of hunting practiced by his grandfather in the very same places Angelo continues to frequent today. An object in the collection, such as this ketoh, thus embodies these broader relationships with land. This relationship is best framed within the concept of k'é, a Diné understanding of kinship with our human and non-human relations.

The significance of kinship, or what we call k'é, and intergenerational knowledge was further highlighted in our collaboration with Cynthia Wilson, co-founder of the Women of Bears Ears and formerly the Traditional Foods Program Director with a Native-led nonprofit called Utah Diné Bikéyah. She was born and raised in Monument

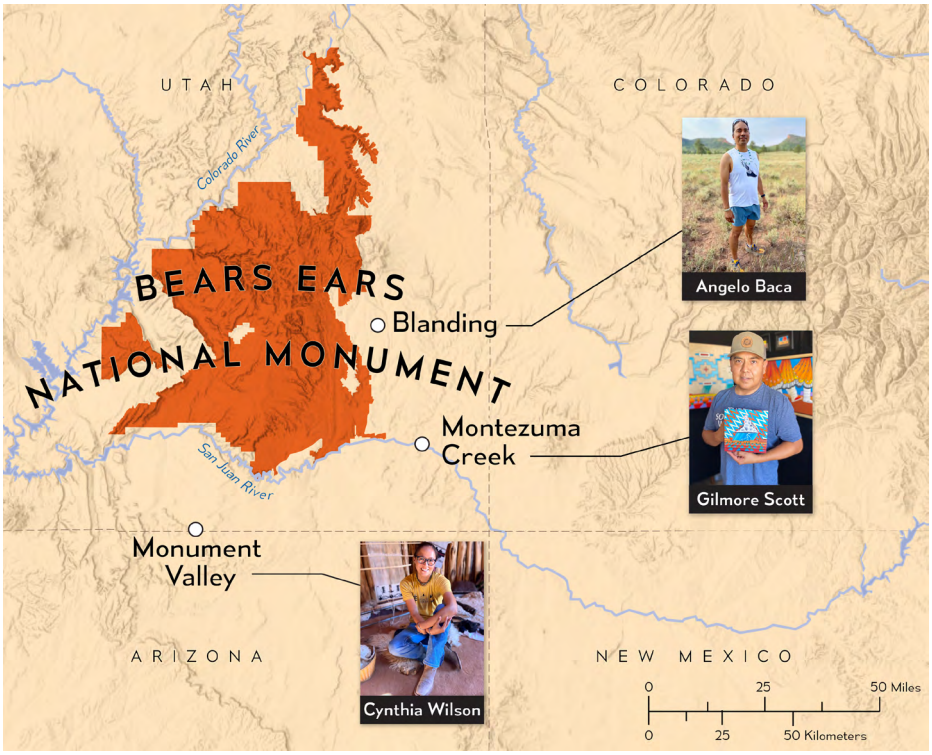


FIGURE 66 | Map of the Bears Ears region | © The Field Museum

Valley, Utah, not far from the campsite where we camped. Like Angelo she cultivates k'é through land-based practice. She summarizes how her work "encompasses the environmental, cultural, nutritional, and spiritual health of our ancestral lands through practices of traditional knowledge. My current projects include promoting Navajo-Churro sheep restoration and Native seed rematriation in our Native communities." In this way Cynthia views a reciprocal relationship with the sheep she cares for and who likewise provide for her family. She shares, "Our elders tell us that sheep connect us to Mother Earth and the universe when we hear their hooves on the ground. When we're weaving, the sound of pounding the wool down is the sound of sheep roaming. Their wool represents the shapes of clouds and the loom represents rain. Raising sheep teaches us where our food comes from and how to sustain our livelihoods through the gifts sheep offer, like wool and meat." Therefore, our selection of a Diné textile for display in the exhibit case is made meaningful not only for its aesthetic qualities, but also for its manifestation of k'é. The geometric design woven with natural undyed wool is an expression of a reciprocal relationship between human caretaker and sheep. The gift of wool is a result of this relationship that is reflective of a broader ontology of k'é that connects each element of this case.

The principles of k'é, central to Angelo's and Cynthia's relationship to Shash Jaa' and the knowledge they continue to cultivate with the land, is also a guiding framework for Diné artist Gilmore (Gil) Scott. Residing in Montezuma Creek, Utah, Gil worked as a wildland firefighter for nearly a decade before deciding to dedicate his energy to full-time art practice. Being on the land has always inspired Gil in his work, whether fighting fires or finding inspiration for his paintings. Today he works in the mediums of watercolors, acrylics, and colored pencils, where he describes finding joy in "incorporating the landscapes and designs of my Diné culture." In a special commission piece for our exhibition case, Gil decided to paint the silhouette of four women walking in the iconic Bears Ears landscape. He explains, "This piece is inspired by the Indigenous matriarchs of four tribal nations from the Bears Ears region. The women are walking toward the Bears Ears buttes wearing their traditional attire (Figure 62): from left to right, Southern Ute beaded moccasins and buckskin, Zuni skirt and jewelry, Diné rug dress, and the Hopi woven skirt. As Diné people, we introduce ourselves with our mother's clan name first—it identifies who we are and where we come from." In depicting representative matriarchs from the region, Gil highlights the enduring connections that multiple tribal nations have with Bears Ears and why its continued protection has garnered national attention. Furthermore, as Gil emphasizes in his painting, the perpetuation of traditional knowledge is also represented in our matrilineal system. His incorporation of the design

in our selected textile from the museum's collection is reminiscent of the designs he saw his mother create in her weavings. He shares, "Diné weavings like this one—what we call diyogí—inspire some of the content in my paintings. When I go to art shows, every now and then I'll meet a weaver who tells me stories about their designs. I've learned that each item used to create a rug—from the string to the loom—all have stories associated with them. In this way, I honor my late mother, who was also a weaver." For Gil, woven textiles like the one we selected for display in this exhibition are a reflection of kin relationships that are embodied in the land. This shared commitment to stewardship and continued knowledge cultivation is what makes Bears Ears such a special place for Diné and our Indigenous neighbors.

In closing, Angelo summarizes his relationship with Shash Jaa' as a sacred place that "holds great medicine" and in that way "it takes care of us, both in practical and ceremonial ways, and sustains us through the generations." He more broadly meditates on the meaning of our homelands when he explains, "Land is very important because it tells us who we are as human beings. We are a part of the land and it's a part of us. We're not above it or not better than it, we're just a portion of it. So, nothing is teaching us quite like the land and nothing is a better teacher than learning how to grow corn. You have to take care of it, cultivate it, water it, make sure that it's protected, and then it grows healthy and well. And so, it's much like getting practice with our own families and our own communities and learning how to be good human beings. So, this land is a great teacher for me." In so doing, Shash Jaa' continues to teach and inspire us how to be in more balanced relation with each other and all our other-than-human relatives.

8

STORIES OF TREATY CESSIONS, FORCED REMOVAL, AND SURVIVAL IN OUR OWN VOICES

Maps by Margaret Pearce, with selections by Diane Hunter and Sunshine Thomas-Bear

TO ACCOMPANY THE images of the maps made by Margaret Pearce telling the story of removal and resistance to removal, we asked her collaborators—Diane Hunter (Myaamia), and Sunshine Thomas-Bear (Winnebago)—to select details from the map texts that highlight the struggles and triumphs of the Myaamia and the Hocąk and Winnebago Nations during the time period of the removal.

Mihtami myaamiaki nipinkonci saakaciweeciki. **At first the Myaamiaki came out of the water.**

> We Myaamiaki—Miami people—have lived in Indiana, Illinois, and surrounding areas since time immemorial. Our stories show that, despite the US government's campaigns of removal aimed at separating us from our ancestral homelands, Myaamiaki continue to live and thrive today as the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma.
>
> —Diane Hunter, Miami Tribe of Oklahoma

Storytellers: Diane Hunter and Scott Shoemaker, Miami Tribe of Oklahoma

Cartographic collaborator: Margaret Pearce, Citizen Potawatomi Nation

Stories from the Map

Removal Day

On September 26, 1846, US troops arrived at Peru and rounded us up at gunpoint. Eyewitnesses say they saw people taking handfuls of dirt from their ancestors' graves to take with them. Because we knew, for many of us, this is the last time we would be here. Our ancestors had lived here since time immemorial. Our ancestors were buried here. And now we were going to have to leave. And as far as we knew, we would never get to return. So we were taking what we could have of our ancestors with us. We were forced to board canal boats at Iihkipihsinonki and left on October 6.

Thomas Godfroy

From the time we left Peru on October 6, until Christmas, at least 30 of us had died. That's 10 percent of those who were removed. On December 24, Toohpia writes to Allen Hamilton back in Indiana. Thomas Godfroy is very sick. His recovery is doubtful. (This is the same Thomas who was exempt from Removal but wanted to accompany those in his family who were forced to leave.) There is a letter from Thomas' mother Seekaahkweeta, writing from the Godfroy home in Indiana on January 31. "I drop you these few lines by my son William to inform you of my present distress. I have received news from the West that my dear son Thomas was about to die, and that there is no hope in his recovery. Which I do assure you is a pang to my heart to be so afflicted in losing my children in the prime of their life. And what I feel so bad is that he died without my seeing him. I blame Mr. Sinclair. He promised that if I would let him go, that he would see that he would come back when he did. It was under that promise that I consented to let him go. God's will be done.

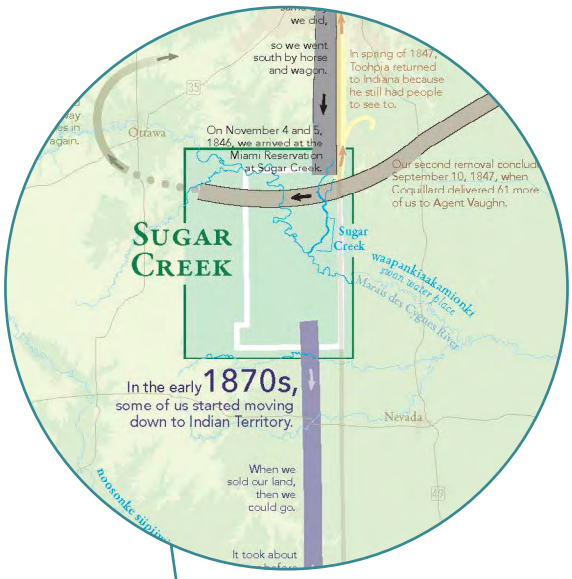


FIGURE 67 | *mihtami myaamiaki nipinkonci saakaciweeciki / At first the Myaamiaki came out of the water* | Storytellers: Diane Hunter and Scott Shoemaker; Cartographic collaborator: Margaret Pearce, 2021

Extract: Example of map detail. Please view the online version of this figure to view the detail: https://doi.org/10.30861/9781407361192-Figure67

I relied on him as a white man of honor and father to us. But he believed me." Seekaahkweeta's anguish is representative of what every Myaamia person must have felt, because every Myaamia person experienced loss at this time. Like the Waawiyaasita woman whose baby died on the boat and was buried at Bloody Island. Like the mothers of other children who remain nameless but who were dear to their parents. "So much for the past … now we are about settling ourselves permanently."

Oklahoma

About 85 of us moved down to Indian Territory. We shared a reservation with the Peoria Tribe but stayed a separate tribe. By 1888, we have 66 people. Our average age was 19.2. And our life expectancy was 39. Our numbers were so low by that time. It's a miracle we have a tribe. We're dealing with a completely new environment. The reservation is informally divided among family groups. For the first time, our men (instead of our women) are becoming farmers. In 1885, the Miami National Council moved to officially allot the reservation. In 1889, the US Congress passed a law to allot the shared Peoria and Miami Reservation. The tribe was pushing for allotment. It's an exercise in sovereignty to choose to do that, as opposed to the government coming in telling us what we have to do. But the allotment became an issue. Because the way the law had it, if you had an allotment, you couldn't sell it. There just were all kinds of complications about selling the land. A lot of people did just want to sell their allotments and get out. And "get out" may not be that far away. People moved just across the border, to Chetopa or to Baxter Springs. I think people thought, if we become citizens, then we'll get all the privileges that our white neighbors who were citizens have. They didn't fully understand racism. They thought much of it was due to tribal sovereignty, language, and culture. But they still see you as an Indian. And they aren't going to hire you for jobs. And, you know, you're not the same. You're not the same. And I think people came to realize that.

Treaties

Their strategy was to starve us and crowd us out, make us want to leave. After the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830, a familiar pattern emerged in the negotiations. *You should go West.* **We will not go**. *Think about it. We need a definite answer.* **We will not go**. *Let's talk about this again tomorrow.* And then the next day would be the same. Now it's September 24, 1832. We're meeting with the US commissioners in Wiipicahkionki, the Forks of the Wabash. Peshewa says, "You point to the West and ask us to go there. There I shall never go, nor will my people. They are all opposed to leaving here. They will not sell their land. I speak not for myself, but for my people." The commissioners ask again. Peshewa says, "You say your laws will be extended over them if they remain. This cannot be done. There is no power to do this. We are governed by our own laws and subject to none other." I think that's an incredibly powerful statement about sovereignty. It is a declaration of our sovereignty and our right to govern ourselves. The commissioners ask again. Peshewa says, "You go about like the fox in the nighttime to gather information, to steal our opinions. We say what we have to say in council. The commissioners ask again. Peshewa says, "We know the value of our soil as well as the white man can tell us. Here the Great Spirit has fixed our homes. Here are our cornfields and cabins. From this soil and these forests we derive our subsistence. And here we will live and die. I repeat, we will not sell an inch of our land. Your children want their annuities. They wish to go home. And so do I. My wife wishes to see me." And so they end the council. I just can't imagine sitting there and listening to this. It's just pressure, pressure, pressure. Peshewa and his other chiefs there are so firm, standing up to them. We've decided this is it. But the mihši-maalhsaki are not giving up. Every year they would come back and say: *"We want you to remove. We want you to leave. We'll give you a land west. We want you to remove."* And we would say: **No. No. No. No.**

Stubborn Women

The village leader Mihtekwahkia was taken to Iihkipihsinonki. When they came to get the rest of the people, they tried to take his wife Mitehkonsehkwa. And she said, "No, I'm not going. Unless my husband comes and tells me. I'm not going. He told me to stay here." That's how Myaamia women are. We are stubborn. Even in the face of soldiers, we're going to do what we think is right and what we know we're supposed to do. In hindsight, it just gives us insight into who we always have been as Myaamia women.

Infant Death

On October 18, two days before we arrived in St. Louis, a piloohaa (an infant) died. The mother of this piloohaa was from Waawiyaasita's band. So, many of her relatives had fled north to escape removal. We don't know why she didn't flee with them. Maybe fleeing with a piloohaa didn't seem like a safe thing. Maybe she thought it would be safer for a piloohaa on the boat. In any case, she's two days sitting on the boat, holding her dead piloohaa. I think a lot about this woman. As a mother, I can't imagine what that would be like, to hold my dead piloohaa for two days. And wonder, why didn't I run? Why did I get on this boat? Maybe if I had run, maybe my piloohaa would still be alive. That's what I imagine she must have thought as she sat there.

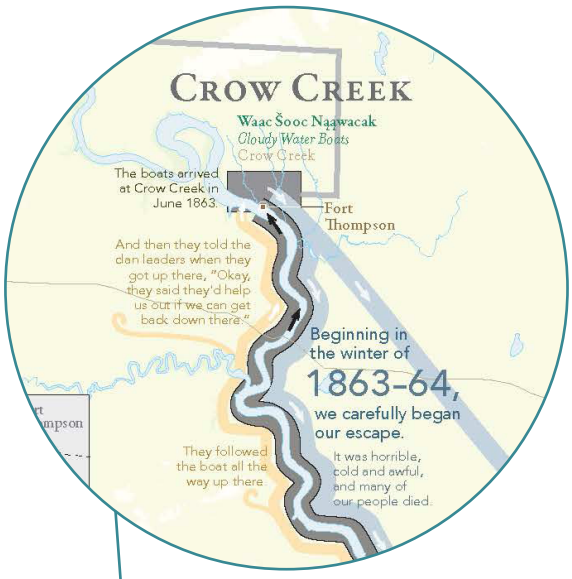
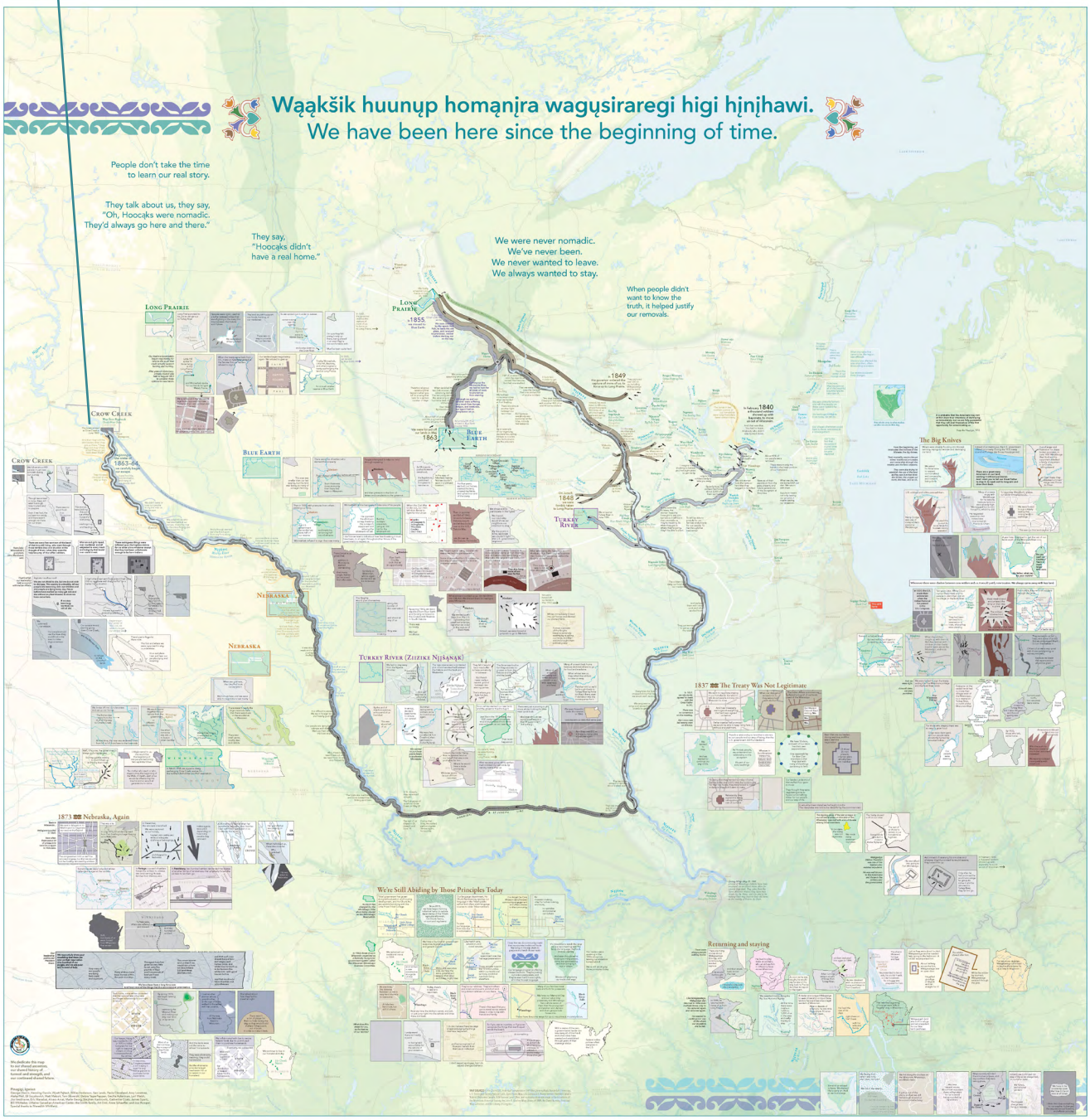


FIGURE 68 | *Wąąkšik huunųp homąnįra waguṣiraregi higi hįnįhawi / We have been here since the beginning of time* | Storytellers: Josie Lee, Bill Quackenbush, Carolyn Fiscus, and Sunshine Thomas-Bear; Cartographic collaborator: Margaret Pearce, 2021

Extract: Example of map detail. Please view the online version of this figure to view the detail: https://doi.org/10.30861/9781407361192-Figure68



Wąąkšik huunųp homąnįra wagųsiraregi higi hįnįhawi. We have been here since the beginning of time

> We Hoocąk—Ho-Chunk people—have always called the area now known as Wisconsin home. This map shows how the US government repeatedly and brutally expelled and removed us from this homeland. But as you will see, the threads of these stories show our tenacity and bravery in protecting our way of life. Hoocąk continue to live and thrive today as the Ho-Chunk Nation of Wisconsin and the Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska.
>
> —Josie Lee, Ho-Chunk Nation

Storytellers: Josie Lee and Bill Quackenbush, Ho-Chunk Nation; Carolyn Fiscus and Sunshine Thomas-Bear, Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska

Cartographic collaborator: Margaret Pearce, Citizen Potawatomi Nation

Stories from the Map

1840

In February 1840, a thousand soldiers showed up with bayonets to move us out of Wisconsin. And that was that. You had to leave. Anybody who didn't was hunted down.

1848: Turkey River

On June 8, 1848, we were forcibly taken to Long Prairie [Minnesota].

1849

In 1849, the governor ordered the capture of more of us, to force us to Long Prairie. They captured over 300 of us, including Wakajaxetega and his band.

1855

In 1855 we moved to Blue Earth. We were ordered by the agent, Red Fish, to leave the old place and received no provisions, neither before starting, nor on the way. This area was smaller than our last reserve, but the land was fertile, so many of us began farming.

1863–64: Minnesota

We were forced off our lands [in Blue Earth] in May 1863. The boats arrived at Crow Creek in June 1863. Beginning in the winter of 1863–64 we carefully began our escape. It was horrible, cold and awful, and many of our people died.

Nebraska

When we got here the Umo^{n}ho^{n} took our people in … We did like it here, it reminded us of home …

Some of our people would run back to our homelands, but many would stay. Well of course the government's always got a better idea. So they got the cavalry to round them up and bring them back. And then more ran, and it went like that back and forth for a while. Unbeknownst to us this would be the beginning of one people becoming two separate tribes. In March 1865, we signed a treaty exchanging Crow Creek reserve for the northern half of the Umo^{n}ho^{n} reservation.

1873 Nebraska Again

Back in Wisconsin … Wakajaxeriga died in 1869. Soon after, there was a lot of pressure to remove us again to Nebraska.

We're Still Abiding by Those Principles Today

So much has changed for the Winnebago Tribe since being placed on the Winnebago Reservation.

In 1963, those of us in Wisconsin organized as a federally recognized system called the Wisconsin Winnebago Business Committee.

TRUTH

We Have the Right to Govern Ourselves

FIGURE 69 | Installation photo: *We Have the Right to Govern Ourselves*, 2022 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein

INTRODUCTION TO ESSAYS ON THE SOVEREIGNTY OF NATIVE NATIONS

THIS SECTION FEATURES three essays and additional commentaries from display collaborators about the sovereignty of Tribal Nations. Tribal Nations have a special jurisdictional relationship to the Unites States Government, forged through treaties and laws from the earliest days of European colonization. Tribes have exercised sovereignty in different ways and fought hard to retain control of land and resources. Teresa Montoya (Diné), Joe Stahlman (Tuscarora), and Rosalyn LaPier (Blackfeet/Métis) provide perspectives on the concept and practice of sovereignty.

9

EMBODYING DINÉ SOVEREIGNTY ON THE NAVAJO NATION AND BEYOND

TERESA MONTOYA (DINÉ/NAVAJO NATION)

HIKING UP THE saguaro-lined embankment in early March 2021, I follow closely behind Nanibaa as she leads us north from the Finger Rock trail head. Her satin broomstick skirt grazes the sandy trail as she carefully navigates the rocky terrain in her leather kelchí, or what we call moccasins in our Diné language. Once we reach the top of the hill, we stop upon a flat area with our camera equipment. The late afternoon sun casts long shadows behind cacti and yucca. "This is the place," as we nod in agreement about our chosen place to shoot. Three Diné gathered—myself, media collaborator Angelo Baca, and artist Nanibaa Beck—on the homelands of the Tohono O'odham Nation and the Pascua Yaqui Tribe in the foothills of what is currently known as Tucson, Arizona. We marked our recognition of these homelands with an offering and a prayer. "OK, let's get started."

In the early stages of exhibition planning, we had initially wanted to shoot a media segment for our exhibition case together on the Navajo Nation. However, elevated COVID rates informed our mutual decision to

FIGURE 70 | Nanibaa Beck in Tucson, Arizona | © Teresa Montoya

shoot near Nanibaa's current home in Tucson, Arizona instead. The Navajo Nation had continued to maintain cautious public health protocols such as masking and restricted travel even as nearby municipalities and states began to relax their mandates. The complexity of navigating these competing public health protocols across overlapping jurisdictions is just one of many examples of how the Navajo Nation expresses its sovereignty to protect our homelands. Sovereignty, in this sense, is the right for tribal nations to govern their territories and citizens. The limits of contemporary federal Indian law have been rightly critiqued by Indigenous scholars and citizens, not only for the many failures of the US government to uphold treaty obligations but also for the trauma of land dispossession that continues to reverberate in tribal communities and nations today. At the same time, upholding sovereignty as a preexisting and ongoing political project, one not confined to the decrees of settler institutions or legal frameworks, is an expansive and emancipatory vision for many Indigenous people. This understanding of sovereignty, we aim to show, is rooted within enduring relationships to our homelands.

In the context of curating this exhibition case, I pondered how to meaningfully represent the dynamic political as well as cultural stakes of sovereignty for Diné people today. What objects could illuminate these multiple understandings of sovereignty?

For many people, flags represent nationhood and political authority. They are, in essence, icons of sovereignty. But these icons reflect only one type of sovereignty, one that is rooted in Western nation-state formations. Nevertheless, a flag is a common and recognizable object through which a deeper understanding of tribal sovereignty could be approached. Thus, we had our first object: the Navajo Nation flag.

FIGURE 71 | Flag of the Navajo Nation

In this exhibit case, we decided to use an image of the Navajo Nation flag as a backdrop. At first glance, it depicts an outline of territory as if a projection of a map. This demarcates the boundaries of our reservation established by treaty in 1868 as well as the current geopolitical boundaries of our nation today. Upon closer inspection, the territorial outline is demarcated by our four sacred mountains, each represented by their corresponding stone color and cardinal direction. Through these selections we endeavored to show how Diné conceptualizations of sovereignty are not limited to political formations but also include our preexisting and ongoing relationships to land and territory. These attachments are rooted in Diné knowledge in all its expressions, from oral tradition to material culture. The iconography of our mountains depicted on the Navajo Nation flag is a fitting example of this expansive and dynamic understanding.

Nanibaa reflected upon this embodied connection between oral tradition and land when she shared, "I think of my childhood growing up in Pinon and around our Western mountain Dook'o'oosłíid near Flagstaff. Whenever we pass by along the roads or when we're approaching it after being away, it is a routine embedded in us to say a prayer to these mountains. In that way, it's necessary for understanding our place in this world and understanding the location that we are all originally from, our homelands." Through our conversations emerged a collective desire to highlight the importance of our sacred mountains not only as a way for traditionally marking our territory but as a way of grounding our kin relationships in the land.

She further elaborates, "The mountains signify, you know, our many journeys of life. They signify the journey that we have throughout the whole day, especially when you begin your prayers with Sisnaajiní [Blanca Peak, the Eastern mountain], for White Shell, and then you go to Tsoodził [Mount Taylor, the Southern mountain] for Turquoise and the Western mountain [Dook'o'oosłíid] for Abalone, and the Northern mountain [Dibé Nitsaa] for Black Jet. They all signify the parts of the day: sunrise, daytime, sunset, and night. They also signify the journey that we have in life, from birth and growth to our maturity into adulthood and beyond. So, as we get older and pass on, it's a cyclical way to think of life and to think of our place among these four sacred mountains. It's definitely foundational to our life and understanding as Diné." This shared knowledge was central to our approach in planning this exhibition case. The next task was to determine which objects from the collection would complement and speak to this expansive understanding of sovereignty.

FIGURE 72 | Squash blossom necklace, by Nanibaa Beck (Diné) | Silver, turquoise, abalone, white shell, and black jet | Cat. No. 361906 | Commissioned by the Field Museum in 2021 | Photograph by Nanibaa Beck

Months after our initial gathering in Tucson, Angelo and Nanibaa came to Chicago so we could finalize our object selections for the exhibition case (Angelo and I worked together on another exhibition case on Diné relationships to land that is described in chapter 7 of this volume).

Nanibaa, as a second-generation jeweler, was particularly interested in the Diné silver jewelry in the collection. Museum staff brought out several "squash blossom" necklaces, a popular design motif in Diné silver jewelry, for us to view. Nanibaa closely inspected the silver beads on each necklace, some more tarnished than others, each one holding unknown stories behind their creation. More than having Nanibaa merely select existing objects from the collection, pieces whose history we cannot fully comprehend, I felt it was especially important to collaborate with living artists who would also be contributing their own work to the exhibition. Following these interactions with the collection, Nanibaa developed an idea for an organic squash blossom design she wanted to create. Drawing upon the significance of our four sacred mountains in our relationship to land and territory, we together decided that she would incorporate our associated four sacred stones into her necklace design. In doing so, the necklace would encompass Diné understandings of our broader ancestral territory and of sovereignty as a concept not limited to confines of our current geopolitical boundaries. Sovereignty, in this way, embodies a lived and storied connection with land.

The importance of highlighting this enduring connection to land was so crucial that I asked Nanibaa if we might find a way to include soil from her family's sheep camp in Piñon, Arizona in the exhibit case. While museum staff

FIGURE 73 | Nanibaa's sheep camp in Piñon, Arizona | © Teresa Montoya

were initially hesitant to grant this request due to conservation concerns, we came to an agreement where soil would be shipped from Arizona and then put into a deep freezer to eradicate any bugs or materials that might pose a threat to the organic objects in the exhibit case. The inclusion of soil from the place where Nanibaa's umbilical cord is buried carries deep significance within Diné epistemology. This practice honors a literal connection to land and place. The inclusion of soil from our homelands was as much a gesture of honoring Nanibaa's connection to home as also to reaffirm a connection for other objects in the case that had been held in collection storage for years.

The enduring connection to homelands and this expansive expression of sovereignty in a material sense is facilitated through the act of walking upon the earth. There were several moccasins in the collection that we considered for inclusion in the exhibit case; however, we were confronted with an ethical and cultural paradox. Poring over pages of inventory notes within the Native North America collections as well as museum archives, I encountered the uncomfortable and violent history of their acquisition. As a significant portion of Native American material culture was collected for the 1893 World's Fair held in Chicago, it was not uncommon for collectors to acquire objects stolen, quite literally, from graves. Therefore, in our discussions over which objects to select for display, we wanted to ensure that any historic objects had not been taken from a funerary site. Through conversations with museum staff, we determined that some of the older items collected for the World's Fair had an unknown provenance. That is, we couldn't determine for certain that those objects were not removed from a gravesite. This was the case for the several pairs of Diné moccasins within the collection. As a remedy to this problem, museum staff offered the possibility of purchasing a pair. Nanibaa and I wholeheartedly agreed that a new pair should be made by a living Diné artist. This was one significant way that the museum could help support Indigenous artists still struggling through a global pandemic. With the cancellation of so many art shows and the necessity to continue supporting communities suffering from multiple forms of loss, I advocated very strongly for the museum to extend support with as many collaborators and artists as possible.

Through mutual Indigenous artist networks, we were able to connect with Diné moccasin maker Brent Toadlena. Less than an hour's drive from my family's residence in Window Rock, I drove along the west side of the Chuska Mountains to meet him at his homesite in Tsaile, Arizona. We sat outside in his family's cha'a'oh, a Diné shade house, as he shared stories of learning moccasin making from his late grandmother. To this day, he is a well-known and sought-after artist for making traditional-style kélchí (moccasins). With the prevalence of commercial-made moccasins for sale in border towns such as Gallup, New Mexico it was an exceptional honor to sit with Brent and observe his creative process over the course of six hours as he completed a pair using my foot tracing. The inclusion of a pair of silver buttons on the moccasins, specially designed by Nanibaa, added another dimension of connection between being present on the earth and embodying an individual expression of sovereignty. She explained, "Oftentimes you will see silver buttons on the side of kélchí that help secure the fit for the moccasin wearer. Inspired by this functional aspect, I decided to create buttons incorporating our Diné language. I wanted to show our enduring connection to land and territory by incorporating the phrase Diné Bikéyah, the name for our ancestral homelands, in my button design."

Therefore, in showing our relationship between our mountains, our land, and cultural practices of knowledge expression, such as through jewelry and moccasin creation, we hope that visitors can appreciate a more dynamic understanding of sovereignty. These manifestations of sovereignty look different for individual tribal nations despite a common desire to uphold an enduring connection and defense of our homelands. Nanibaa summarizes this best when she shares, "When we say Diné, it means the people, it is who we are. Kéyah means land. The phrase Diné Bikéyah encompasses our understanding of our homelands within the four sacred mountains. In fact, after we are born, we literally become connected to the land, as our umbilical cords are traditionally buried in the earth. Sovereignty, then, is about maintaining this connection to land and to our territory despite colonization."

PHOTOS, STORIES, AND OBJECTS FROM "WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO GOVERN OURSELVES"

Standing Rock Sioux

The Standing Rock Sioux are the first Tribe to establish a Paleontology Code to protect and interpret fossils found on our land

People have been looting fossils from Tribal land for decades, but the Standing Rock Paleontology Code puts the fossils under our control. In 2007, the Tribe established the Standing Rock Institute of Natural History, with public displays, a lab, and storage for the fossil collection. The museum closed in 2019 due to lack of funds, but we still maintain the collection for future research.

FIGURE 74 | Christine Martin, Derek Jamerson, and Dale Malinzak gather around a dinosaur horn in the ground during the 2012 field expedition | Photograph courtesy of the Standing Rock Paleontology Institute

FIGURE 75 | Phutéblaska uŋkčeğila/Dinosaur foot bone (*Edmontosaurus annectens*); Thukiha/Ammonite discovered by Joe Monks (*Discoscaphites nebrascensis*); Uŋkčeğila itȟačhaŋ/*T. rex* teeth (*Tyrannosaurus rex*) discovered by Allen Shaw and Benjamin Eagle | 68–66 million years old | Standing Rock Reservation, South Dakota | Loan Courtesy of the Standing Rock Paleontology Institute, SRPD 2380, 2352, 0736 | Photograph by Michelle Kuo

Standing Rock is in the heart of *T. rex* country. Nearly all *T. rex* fossils come from the Hell Creek Formation. These teeth were found during one of the Standing Rock Paleontology Institute's annual summer field expeditions. We collect as many as 1,000 fossils each year.

This foot bone comes from an *Edmontosaurus*, a plant-eating dinosaur. *Edmontosaurus* remains—including bones, teeth, and even skin impressions—are unusually common at Standing Rock. They make up more than half of the Standing Rock Paleontology Institute's growing collection of 12,000 fossils.

10

THE GOOD MIND

JOE STAHLMAN (TUSCARORA)

Introduction

Wampum. I carry a strand with me. It keeps me grounded to stay in a *Good Mind* when I speak. My many roles often require me to initiate, discuss, and even sometimes mitigate for hopeful outcomes in a variety of conversations. I want to be sure that I speak as sincerely, honestly, openly, and clearly as possible. The wampum strand aids me. I will gently roll the beads in my left forefinger and thumb as I speak.

Over the last year I have been thinking about our need for peace. Our human family has grown to 7.9 billion. To support our ever-growing energy needs, we employ a number of energy sources that can potentially destroy (all) life on Earth or, at the very least, pollute her for a length of time that is incomprehensible for most of us. Our family is so large that we see the stresses we place on all beings, including the quahog used for wampum. Within all of this we need to consider methods of working through our many problems. We need universal and tested forms of mediation and diplomacy with this diversity of human expression. As far as I know there are no universals, except for wampum on Turtle Island.

For the last ten years I have maintained a personal interest in wampum, which has matured and become quite serious. The protocols of *Forest Diplomacy* were universally utilized on Turtle Island before and after European arrival. Forest Diplomacy is Indigenous in origin but expanded to include many European symbols and concepts that began with the Dutch and ended with the new United States, but continues with contemporary Hodinöhsö:ni' and scholars. Wampum saved communities from exploding inward and outward. Additionally, Indigenous Peoples incorporated a range of icons, symbols, and motifs from the younger brother—the European—to aid in their acceptance of their ever-increasing number of accords.

Personally, I like talking about wampum. Our understanding of wampum connected to a Hodinöhsö:ni' worldview is priceless. Through this understanding we begin to untangle the confusing culture-laden interpretations of the past. In my exploration, I have encountered numerous topics where wampum continues to be reduced solely to a form of Indigenous currency. I accept some of the reasoning of that interpretation based on its role as an item of exchange. However, wampum uses extend beyond the scope of economics. Wampum does not support the power of economics. Instead, I argue, wampum supports our deep relationships with all aspects of life and our ultimate goal of peace, so we all can enjoy the gift of life.

Aside from its use as a *currency*, wampum carries other attributes: aesthetics, tradition, permanence, form, and meaning. As researchers and scholars, we do ourselves a disservice by relegating relationships to solitary ones. As succinctly as possible I discuss wampum through its interconnected human endeavors using Hodinöhsö:ni' stories, diplomacy, and symbolism. The tools Hodinöhsö:ni' employ in diplomacy mirror how their societies braid those values into every layer of life, and in the ways they engage the world around them.

To engage in these philosophies, it is vital to understand the concept of holism. Fundamentally, holism refers to the elements that make something complete. As a cultural expression, holism means the connection of the community, other beings, and the earth, through a deeply considered view of living life. I regularly encounter two types of dualism. The first type, complementary holism, describes multiple parts that form a harmonious whole in which everything from the universe to the

organs within us function as a single unit. This relationship is easy to spot through numerous macro and micro examples in Hodinöhsö:ni' communities. The second type of dualism is commonly observed throughout the Western world. Philosophies, such as Cartesian dualism, permeate Western thought. Cartesian dualism is found in Christianity, medicine, and philosophy. In terms of the philosophical makeup of Western cultures, Descartes assumes there is a distinctive separation between physical form and mental processes, e.g., the soul and/or the mind. Basically, an immaterial soul is coupled with a physical body, which remain both exclusive of each other, never really joining together (Himma 2005). René Descartes thought there to be a separation of some of the units that most Hodinöhsö:ni' accept as whole. For example, the connection between the body and mind. While Descartes observed the human as two halves of a whole, which only met in the pineal region of the brain (Morris 2007); Hodinöhsö:ni' see human beings in their entirety.

What Is Wampum?

The use of shell beads in eastern North America easily extends back at least 4,500 years. Shell beads were essential to ceremonial and cultural practices through their connection with water and its vitalizing properties. Wampum encompasses two species of white whelk and a purple quahog. Through reductionist techniques, artisans transformed the plentiful whelk and the now much rarer quahog clam shells into beads. The shells were drilled through from opposite ends with awls and woven into strings and belts in a variety of designs (Hamell, n.d.).

Wampum possesses a visual appeal. It is secular and sacred all at once. The term *wampum* was borrowed into English in the early seventeenth century. It is a shortened form of a Narragansett Algonquian word *wampumpeag*, meaning *string of white shell beads*. In English usage it soon also included Indigenous-made dark purple beads, which had their own specific name. Long Island Indigenous communities call the loose white shell beads *sewant*. Maliseet called the strings *wapap*. For a brief time, the newly arrived Dutch used this word for the white shell beads, whereas the French called wampum *porcelaine* because of the resemblance to fine white ceramics. The Hodinöhsö:ni' replaced the Seneca name *oteko-a'* given to earlier strings of white shell beads with wampum. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the exchange of wampum belts and strings characterized agreements and treaties made between Indigenous Peoples and European—and later American—administrators, and Wampum became the standardized term for the colors (Hamell, n.d.).

Following the lead of other studies of shell bead networks around the globe (Scheffler 1965; Sahlins 1972, 282; Linville 2005) it is easier to understand the two main factors contributing to wampum's exoticness: the restricted source of the shells used for the white beads, and the specialized technology required for its manufacture. The white beads derive from *Busycon carica* and *Busycon canaliculatum*. Their current habitat consists of a large area from the eastern Great Lakes up through the St. Lawrence River and down the Atlantic coast to Virginia. The sources for quahog (*Mercenaria mercenaria)* are much smaller and located outside of Hodinöhsö:ni' territory. The greatest concentrations of quahog are in isolated areas in New England (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 2024). The second factor is the need for metal tools which permits the required fine cutting and drilling of wampum. The Hodinöhsö:ni' did not invent wampum; however, there is an obvious increase in Hodinöhsö:ni' use and manufacture of wampum beginning around 1620.

The expansion of the exotic shell trade and incoming Dutch capitalists led to the uniformity of the beads, leading to a deeper construction of interpersonal communication in their applications. Hodinöhsö:ni' peacemakers made belts, or mats, and endowed the belts with meaning. Each belt was employed in ritually sanctioned transactions for which wampum belts served as confirmations of the event. They taught the colonial governors the protocol of treaty making; and as these activities increased, so did the demand for wampum. The ritual symbolism and protocol employed by the Hodinöhsö:ni' in using the belts was much older than the belts themselves. The symbolism was largely derived from the Hodinöhsö:ni' paradigm of condolence, a system to which every colonial officer conducting affairs had to adhere, especially by the middle decades of the eighteenth century, which was the pinnacle of British–Hodinöhsö:ni' treaty making.

Creation of the Hodinöhsö:ni' Confederacy

People often ask: How did wampum become ceremonial for the Confederacy Nations? According to a Hodinöhsö:ni' epic, two men—Hiawatha, a chief, and Deganawidah, a prophet—devised an end to the Mourning Wars. Hiawatha and Deganawidah sought to unite the scattered Hodinöhsö:ni' Nations into a singular unit. *The Great League of Peace* consisted of Five Nations—moieties consisting of the Elder Brothers and the Younger

Brothers—that began regularly exchanging gifts rather than lives. Wampum belts, the most common of these gifts, began to take on a multiplicity of roles during this time. In Hodinöhsö:ni' democracy the use of wampum was designed to bring peace and unity among the Five Nations and to take the place of blood. Gift-giving proved successful, as the chiefs of the Five Nations often met to exchange gifts of wampum and to renew old ones to solidify their social positions within the Confederacy.

The following version of the Creation of the Confederacy is a compacted version of a much longer saga. The story of the Confederacy's beginning is the second Hodinöhsö:ni' epic after Sky Woman's descent to Turtle Island. The Confederacy narrative describes the importance and sacredness of wampum through its role on Turtle Island's oldest democracy. This oral tradition begins near the start of the first millennium of this epoch. It coincides with a number of geological and astronomical occurrences. In approximately 1142 AD, an earthquake was felt throughout the north, a total eclipse darkened the sky, and a large meteor fell into a lake in Hodinöhsö:ni' territory.

At this time, Hodinöhsö:ni' lived in disarray that forced the nations to engage in continuous warfare, practice cannibalism, and live in misery. Tadadaho was the most notorious and unscrupulous wizard-sachem. He was most often the primary instigator of pain and misery across Hodinöhsö:ni' land. From time to time, the other sachems held secretive meetings to end the Tadadaho's reign of terror—yet all endeavors ended in failure.

On the western shores of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, in the lands of the Huron, lived a man named Deganawidah—a name held in high reverence; a name too sacred to pronounce (yet fine in printed form)—who is respectfully referred to as *Peacemaker* by Hodinöhsö:ni'. Early in Peacemaker's life it was foretold that he would become a prophet carrying a message of peace and power of the Great Mystery to all the warring nations on Turtle Island. As a young man, Peacemaker, carrying the words of the Great Law, traveled amongst Hodinöhsö:ni' communities beyond the eastern shores of the Great Lakes. He traveled in a canoe made of white stone. The first people he encountered were the Neutral near Kienuka. The people saw him floating in a stone canoe and they approached him without fear. After he spoke words of peace, they willingly abandoned their weapons of war and adopted his message. Peacemaker encouraged them to spread peace among their people.

Leaving them, he happened upon the stronghold of a powerful woman named Jikonsase, the Maize Maiden or Lynx Woman, of the Neutral. Jikonsase served all the warriors of the forest and made riches from their violence. She provided Peacemaker with food and accepted his message. She became his first adherent to work the Great Law's medicine. In exchange for her acceptance of peace and involvement in spreading the Great Law, Peacemaker declared that Hodinöhsö:ni' women need to have a decisive role as clan mothers to select male leaders and participate in the political and spiritual lives of their respective nations. From that point onward Jikonsase became known as the *Peace Queen*.

Peacemaker did not stay in any place for long. He moved eastward, visiting one village and the next, always spreading his message of hope. Up to this point Peacemaker had been unable to convert a whole nation, only individuals. Upon reaching the Mohawks, he encountered their cruelest and fiercest chief, Hiawatha. His name means *He who combs*. In fits of rage, Hiawatha murdered all who opposed him. When Peacemaker arrived, Hiawatha was not surprised to see him and quickly called together his people to hear the visitor speak. Peacemaker told the Mohawks about his message of peace. After some debate, everyone present accepted Peacemaker's words. Because of this first consensus, the Mohawk are the founding nation of the Confederacy and the first nation to unite under the matriarchal and matrilineal power of women.

After their council, the Mohawks warned Peacemaker about the vile Tadadaho of the Onondaga. He knew the Onondaga would be the last to accept the peace. In the few months after Peacemaker's departure, Hiawatha's three daughters mysteriously died. Unable to stop grieving, Hiawatha abandoned his home to search for Peacemaker

FIGURE 76 | Sanford Plummer (ca. 1930s), *Meeting of Hiawatha and Deganawidah* | The Newark Museum of Art

and found the sage trying to convert Tadadaho. Hiawatha told Peacemaker of his losses. The Peacemaker instructed Hiawatha to console himself with the incantations of condolence prayers, love, and forgiveness while holding wampum strands. The combination of words of condolence and wampum became strong medicine for Hiawatha. Eventually, he overcame his grief and wiped away his tears.

Together, Peacemaker and Hiawatha returned to Tadadaho. Hiawatha was shocked to see that he was more of a monster than a man, with a hideous face and serpents entwined in his hair. As before, Tadadaho refused to listen to their message. They traveled back to the Peace Queen. She taught them a song to sing and made a wampum belt of the Five Nations Confederacy for Tadadaho. When they returned, they talked and sang to Tadadaho for a long time. After many hours of discussion and persuasion, Tadadaho began to smile. Finally, he acquiesced and accepted Peacemaker and Hiawatha's message so long as the Central Fire of Peace would remain in his community and the central sachem of the Confederacy would be named after him. Upon agreement, Tadadaho's face lost all traces of ugliness and Hiawatha combed the serpents from his hair.

Hiawatha and Peacemaker returned from the mountain with Tadadaho. All the nations gathered, and a great meeting ensued. Using the Hiawatha belt, Peacemaker proposed that they should form one union and create the laws by which they would abide. Upon agreement, they became the Hodinöhsö:ni' Confederacy, *The People of the Longhouse*. It is said that their homelands combined would resemble the great longhouses of their clans. The chiefs and warriors buried their weapons of war beneath a white pine tree to sanctify this pact.

FIGURE 77 | *Combing the Hair*, by Fileve Palmer, 2022

FIGURE 78 | The Hiawatha Belt | Reproduced by Richard Hamell, 2022 | Photograph © Hayden Haynes

The Confederacy across Time

In 2022, Richard Hamell made the Hiawatha Belt reproduction shown in Figure 78. The belt is 55 inches long and 10.5 inches top to bottom. The belt has 192 columns by 38 rows with a total of 7,296 beads. Other materials include leather warp and artificial sinew used as weft. The Hiawatha Belt contains a symbolic design in white beads that has been worked in along its length, consisting of two hollow squares on either side of a figure of a White Pine tree in the center. The belt is one of the most important and valuable Hodinöhsö:ni' wampum belts in existence and is considered the original record of the formation of the Hodinöhsö:ni' Confederacy when representatives sat at the great council to ratify the union of the Five Nations.

In Parker's The Council of the Great Peace, The Great Binding Law, Gayanashagowa (1916, 47), reference is made to the interpretation of the designs on this belt:

> The first of the squares on the left represents the Mohawk Nation and its territory; the second square on the left and the one near the heart, represents the Oneida Nation and its territory; the white heart in the middle represents the Onondaga Nation and its territory; and also means that the heart of the Five Nations is single in its loyalty to

> the Great Peace, that the Great Peace is lodged in the heart, which signifies the Onondaga as keepers of the Central Fire, and that the Council Fire is to burn there for The Confederacy. The authority is given to advance the call for which hostile nations out of the Confederacy shall cease warfare; the white square to the right of the heart represents the Cayuga Nation and its territory and the fourth and last square represents the Seneca Nation and its territory. White symbolizes that no evil or jealous thoughts shall creep into the minds of the Chiefs while in council under the Great Peace. As the emblem of peace, love, charity, and equity, white surrounds and guards the Hodinöhsö:ni'. In reversing the belt, the figure of the "heart" in the center assumes the appearance of a tree and at the same time brings the geographical position of the Hodinöhsö:ni' in the correct order on the belt. A figure of a tree might well represent the Onondaga Nation as the Onondagas were designated to keep the Council Fire and it was under the Great Tree of Light that the nations met in council.

Additionally, through the Great Law, we see equality through each community's gender responsibilities. Under "Rights, Duties and Qualifications of Lords":

> A bunch of a certain number of shell (wampum) strings each two spans in length shall be given to each of the female families in which the Lordship titles are vested. The right of bestowing the title shall be hereditary in the family of females legally possessing the bunch of shell strings and the strings shall be the token that the females of the family have the proprietary right to the Lordship title for all time to come, subject to certain restrictions hereinafter mentioned. (Parker 1916, 34)

The Peacemaker established a governing council of clan and town chiefs to preside over the affairs of the Confederacy. In each nation, structured as a matrilineal system of descent and property-holding, power is shared between males and females. Most decisions in council are made by consensus, in which each representative has an equal voice. Most of the Hodinöhsö:ni', as individual nations and as part of the Confederacy, continue to use this governance system represented in the Hiawatha Wampum Belt. Contemporary Hodinöhsö:ni' uses wampum in numerous official and unofficial ways. Wampum belts are honored and revived in commemorative events, and Hiawatha's belt is reproduced as a fabric flag that individual members fly to honor and acknowledge the Confederacy.

The Council of the Great Peace, The Great Binding Law, Gayanashagowa states that

> [a]ny Lord of the Five Nations Confederacy may construct shell strings [or wampum belts] of any size or length as pledges or records of matters of national or international importance. When it is necessary to dispatch a shell string by a War Chief or other messenger as a summons, the messenger shall recite the contents of the string to the party to whom it is sent. That party shall repeat the message and return the shell string and if there has been a summons, he shall make ready for the journey. Any people of the Five Nations may use shells [or wampum] as the record of a pledge, contract or an agreement entered into and the same shall be binding as soon as shell strings shall have been exchanged by both parties. (Parker 1916, 25)

As shown above, wampum beads are primarily used for ceremonial purposes, and to preserve laws and treaties. A full string of wampum is usually three feet long and contains a dozen or more strands. White wampum was the Hodinöhsö:ni' emblem of purity and of faith. Belts arranged in certain ways carry different meanings. For example, all white beads signify a messenger of peace. White wampum is used before the periodic religious festivals for the confession of sins, no confession being regarded as sincere unless recorded with white wampum. In the past, it was the customary offering in condonation of murder, although the purple was sometimes employed. Six strings of wampum were often sent as confession of a murder, and with it a petition for forgiveness from those transgressed against. Purple, meanwhile, denotes instability and possible discord. If a belt was covered in clay, it expressed grief. Wampum strung into belts made of designs can further denote peace or war. In cases of war: "Their belts are mostly black [purple] wampum, painted red when they denote war. They describe castles sometimes upon them as square figures of white wampum, and in alliance, human figures holding a chain of friendship, each figure representing a nation" (Sir William Johnson to Mr. Arthur Lee, 28 February 1771).

Presently, in the Longhouse, wampum is used with the confession of one's sins. These confessions are not considered sincere unless accompanied with white wampum. Frank Speck describes the importance of the wampum. In 1949, in the Cold Springs Longhouse, he relays:

> [T]he speaker explains the confession to the assemblage, the two benches which hold the confessors are centered in the house, and the two confidants are handed the wampum of the Longhouses to be used during the confession … The confidants rise first and confess their sins in public, which usually takes the form of a simple declaration of being sorry for having done wrong. Absolutely essential for confession, however, is the holding of the wampum for it is the wampum which impresses on the individual the sanctity of the occasion, and which helps to convey his contrition to Handsome Lake and the Creator. It is often recounted that the individual will shake involuntarily during confession so that the wampum rattles, bead against bead. Such confessions are adjudged to be most sincere. That there is often much emotion in confession is beyond doubt. Men and women weep, offer lengthy explanations of the cause of sin and resolve with feeling to "go a straight road." (1919, 197–98)

Wampum is intercultural. It allows people to talk to one another. Scholars, like Marc Shell, refer to wampum as Indigenous money (2018). Although well researched, his argument is reductionist and a settler one. We must remember that money is a social construction. Native people traded and bartered with one another without a customary set price for objects. *Money* is a concept that comes from Eurasia. One area that made wampum conducive in being a currency: cost. As a manufactured product and exchange commodity, wampum had a value which may be translated into cost of labor (Cooper 1971, 267). In the *Fifth Annual Report on the New York State Cabinet of Natural History*, Lewis H. Morgan also disagrees with this reduction:

> Wampum has frequently been called the money of the Indian; but there is no sufficient reason for supposing that they ever made it an exclusive currency, or a currency in any sense, more than silver or other ornaments. All personal ornaments, and most other articles of personal property, passed from hand to hand at a fixed value; but they appear to have had no common standard of value until they found it in our currency. If wampum had been their currency, it would have had a settled value, to which all other articles would have been referred. There is no doubt that it came nearer to a currency than any other species of property among them, because its uses were so general, and its transit from hand to hand so easy, that everyone could be said to need it. (1852, 71–73)

I do not deny that wampum was used as money, but it only became used this way upon the Dutch finding a common symbol to represent some form of universal currency. Morgan's point is made, because if wampum was the currency standard, then it would need to have a set rate to which all other articles would comply. Morgan never denies that wampum met these needs, as in other places in the world. At that time, wampum came closer than any other Indigenous employed object because of long-distance trade and how easy it was to transport. Archaeologists have noted an increase of wampum quantities in the archaeological records around AD 1600 in Seneca sites which expanded in post-contact sites. Many theorize this increase in wampum correlates with the surge in the fur trade, which they see in the increase of faunal remains of desired furs excavated from archaeological sites. They posit that this reflects the shift from subsistence hunting to economic hunting (Lenig 1977; Ritchie 1969). What archaeologists do not consider here is a shift in human interactions. We see an explosion in population changes, such as die-off from diseases, migrations, sheltering in new lands, and new peoples encountered. We should better understand those impacts on Native communities.

It should be noted that the Hodinöhsö:ni' traded prepared furs for wampum. Though difficult to calculate, the rates of exchange over the decades point to rising prices from a combination of factors including European competition, devaluation of wampum, and the increasing labor needed to procure beaver as it grew scarce and as hostilities with Native competitors increased. In 1626 a fathom of wampum would buy two and a half beaver pelts; in 1641, six fathoms would purchase only one beaver pelt; by 1662, 16 to 18 fathoms of wampum were needed to obtain the single beaver skin (see Ceci 1977). However, Europeans were slow to understand the totality of wampum. Early on the Dutch saw an economic linkage between wampum beads and trade. In our present we tend to forget why Europeans came here. The European view is primarily an economic one, whereas the Indigenous perspective is humanistic and involves kinship creation and considers the sensitivities of all life (Shell 2018).

Scholars like Shell do his ancestors a disservice by claiming they did not embrace a fuller value for the beads. Aside from records, wampum was used in the form of strings and belts for a variety of purposes; some

FIGURE 79 | Père Joseph François Lafitau (1724), *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains* | The orator (center figure) holds a wampum strand | Courtesy of Smithsonian Libraries

of them were mnemonic, others only partially so, being based upon association with the name of some chief or clan. For instance, white wampum strands summoned councils, cleared the passage for messengers to other nations, served as proof of their role in council, opened and closed councils, and was used to solemnize and dissolve pledges.

Wampum as Condolence

Wampum has a permanent role in Hodinöhsö:ni' life through condolence. Wampum makes its way into Hiawatha's life through a number of origin stories. In one version, Hiawatha rested near a small lake whose surface was covered with ducks. Hiawatha frightened the birds, who carried away the lake water, exposing the bottom white with shells, which Hiawatha collected and strung as the first Hodinöhsö:ni' wampum. In another, more detailed version, a bird coated with a heavy cluster of wampum was seen in the forest and desired by a head chief. He offered his daughter's hand in return for this bird, which apparently had come from another world, and which warriors failed to ground with their arrows. Their shots caused the bird to cast off large numbers of wampum, which multiplied when collected. Finally, a youth from a neighboring, unfriendly Tribe was permitted to try and, successful, he married the chief's daughter and divided the wampum between his own and his wife's nations, thereby establishing peace. Wampum was decreed to be *the price of peace and blood*, which was adopted by all nations, and from this arose the custom of giving belts of wampum to satisfy violated honor, hospitality, or national prestige. Peace follows next; through exogamy, hunter-warriors are dispersed among their in-laws. Matrilocal exogamy, like gift-giving, helps to resolve intra-societal conflict and sets the condition for dependencies and trade alliances that bind kin and village in broader regional networks.

These and other origin myths, seen as metaphors for actual events, suggest possible steps in the process by which wampum achieved its highest value among the Hodinöhsö:ni'. In both versions the shell beads are linked to bird feathers, items with symbolic and spiritual value; wampum arises wondrously from plumage. The birds, like wampum, are exotic to these people, because they come from another natural plane of existence. Individuals within the collective are just as unique. The increased use of wampum further establishes the value we place on it.

In the second epoch of Hodinöhsö:ni' creation, the Peacemaker uses wampum in a unique way. In a deeper look into the story, after wandering in the forest, Hiawatha built a fire at the woods edge of a Mohawk town. He erected two poles and strung three long strands of white wampum he had gathered from the lake bottom. Hiawatha stated, "If I should see anyone in deep grief, I would remove these shells from the pole and console him. The shells would become words and lift away the darkness with which they are covered" (Parker 1916, 20).

He was overheard by a child, who in turn told the chief. The Mohawks invited Hiawatha to stay with them, although they did not understand the meaning of the shells until Deganawidah arrived. He taught them the use of the shells in the condolence ceremony which he performed to relieve Hiawatha of his grief. From this initial use people can contend with their grief and begin to walk in peace together.

The Confederacy continues this tradition. At the installation of a new chief, mourning rituals express themes of death and renewal at the Confederacy level. The purpose of the mourning council is to transfer the symbolic horns of office and wampum to the new chief. The mourning ritual of the council is the Requickening Address which Peacemaker provided to the Hodinöhsö:ni' as a ritualistic mechanism for acquiring the responsibilities of the chieftainship. Also, it is recited on the last day of the reading of Gä·sweñta'. The address contains 15 "words" or metaphors. Each of these is mnemonically pictured on a wampum belt. The organization of the ritual is moiety-like. Mourners who have experienced the loss of a chief are condoled by the opposite moiety, the clearminded. The role of the clearminded's speaker is symbolically important. Hewitt (1944) states that the speaker's duty is to gather the troubled mourners and bring them back to the business of the council fire. The speaker combats death, which has disrupted the council fire. He renews

the mourners by a series of metaphors, such as the wiping of their eyes, so that they may see—thus, the mourners again may become members of society—or removing obstacles in their ears so that they can again hear things taking place on earth (Hewitt, 1944, 71). They find peace within themselves to extend it outward. This continues with family losses.

A scene from a council held in the Ohio Muskingum Valley in 1764:

> An Indian council, on solemn occasions, was always opened with preliminary forms, sufficiently wearisome and tedious, but made indispensable by immemorial custom, for this people are as much bound by their conventional usages as the most artificial children of civilization. The forms were varied, to some extent, according to the imagination of the speaker, but in all essential respects these were closely similar throughout the tribes of the Algonquin and Iroquois lineage.
>
> They run somewhat as follows, each sentence being pronounced with great solemnity, and confirmed by the delivery of a wampum belt: "Brothers, with this belt I open your ears that you may hear; I remove grief and sorrow from our hearts; I draw from your feet the thorns that pierced them as you journeyed thither; I clean the seats of the council-house, that you may sit at ease; I wash your head and body, that your spirits may be refreshed; I condole with you on the loss of the friends who have died since we last met; I wipe out any blood which may have been spilt between us." This ceremony, which, by the delivery of so many belts of wampum, entailed no small expense, was never used except on the most important occasions; and at the councils with Colonel Bouquet the angry warriors seem wholly to have dispensed with it. And his memory was refreshed by belts of wampum, which he delivered after every clause in his harangue, as a pledge of the sincerity and truth of his words.
>
> These belts were carefully preserved by the hearers as a substitute for written records, a use for which they were the better adapted, as they were often worked in hieroglyphics expressing the meaning they were designed to preserve. Thus, at a treaty of peace the principal belt often bore the figure of an Indian and a white man holding a chain between them. (In Fewkes et al., 1883)

The concept of reciprocity is characterized by the interactions of individuals, whether human or other-than-human in nature, and formed coalitions. In Hodinöhsö:ni' societies' reciprocity also takes the form of informal gifts between friends, ritualized gifts upon the death of individuals of another moiety or nation, and exchanges of words and wampum at town, Nation, and inter-Nation councils. The making of social bonds among decision-making bodies are constructed into balanced halves making a whole as defined by protocols: a Hodinöhsö:ni' ideology of balance between autonomous and opposites, from the twins battling in the creation story to the condolence practices conducted at councils. Underneath all of these practices is the notion of a spiritual power at the center nurtured by love of peaceful unity and an ongoing process.

The Hodinöhsö:ni' will gift wampum to the dead, the living, to the spirits who guard waterfalls or make fish plentiful. The act of giving wampum establishes reciprocity as the obligatory force that binds living to nonliving, kin to non-kin, town to town, and nation to nation in the Confederacy. Reciprocity has been identified as the principle operating throughout Hodinöhsö:ni' social structure, moving from lineage to clan, to the moiety, to the tribe or nation, to the Confederacy; reciprocal gift-giving, supported by ritual sanctions having the force of law, cements the ties of support. Behind the transference of wampum belts lies the ever-present concept of reciprocity.

Wampum as Literature

Among the Hodinöhsö:ni' there are a number of wampum stories, everything from wampum being the feathers of a swan to the tears of condolence. I encourage all to read them. For brevity, I return focus to the Hiawatha–Peacemaker–Tadadaho stories. These retellings are about the one person who, endowed with goodness, assuages the pained and afflicted Tadadaho into a state of peace. For this we have given him the honor of having established the Hodinöhsö:ni' Confederacy.

Regarding Deganawidah (and wampum) as an orator and author in our literary traditions, LeAnne Howe (1999, 118) explains, "Native stories are power. They create people. They author tribes. America is a tribal creation story, a tribalography. I suggest that when the American Founding Fathers heard the stories of how the Hodinöhsö:ni' unified five individual tribes into an Indigenous confederacy, they created a document, the U.S. Constitution, that united immigrant Europeans into a symbiotic union called

America." For Howe, tribalography recognizes that traditional narratives are formative (culturally foundational), performative (ceremonially recited), and transformative (spiritually and socially revitalizing). They represent the past in the present: fact and fiction produced into the grand, collective tradition, infused with legendary and mythic elements that are integrated symbolically; mnemonic accounts, where the origin of the universe serves as the origins of their community (Howe 1999). All of this is interwoven in a sacred embrace of the tangible and intangible physical and theoretical knowledge systems indicating epistemology that characterizes Hodinöhsö:ni' perspectives.

For non-Native researchers it is necessary for them to locate the exact time and properly collected evidence to support their hypotheses. In Indigenous communities the story and the messenger are important in the continuous recreation of important community beliefs. However, there is no way to conclusively recollect pre-European history of Turtle Island through the materials present now. Nonetheless, there is a community-based consensus that maintains that the Peacemaker is a historical figure.

The first level of wampum's symbolic value is the material's sacredness; by the simple fact, the shells originate from the waters. Earlier I discussed the importance of color. The white color also denotes the female and peace, the purple male and authority. Hewitt (1917) describes white as "auspicious," a symbol of "peace, health, welfare and prosperity." Purple was "inauspicious" and indicated "hostility, sorrow, death, condolence and mourning." These color generalizations, it should be noted, might vary according to wampum's usage in ceremony and ritual, or in more secular functions. It is finally in its collectivized form, as strings and belts, that wampum achieved its unquestionably highest symbolic value. By size and design, including abstract geometric lines and patterns, letters, numbers, Christian crosses, and human figures, wampum became a most valuable and extraordinary medium of communication, as a mnemonic device and an archival treasure. Assembled in large numbers and complex patterns, wampum functioned on a new symbolic level relating to economic, social, political, and ideational complexity (Cooper 1971, 267). This explanation alone of the color and arrangements creates a body of literature and narrative of held events.

I often discuss the mnemonic uses of wampum. Non-Native scholars frequently remind readers that Indigenous Peoples did not have written language. I disagree somewhat, because all eastern North American Indigenous People practiced several forms of literacy. One of the most remarkable practices of Indigenous Peoples is their mnemonic use of wampum. The custom of reading wampum was definitely a stepping stone to other forms of literacy. This practice was once a prevailing agent in creating memory and carrying messages across nations and time.

Among the Hodinöhsö:ni' Confederacy, an Onondaga chief inherits the responsibility of being the wampum-keeper, who should be thoroughly versed in interpretation. This does not mean knowledge of those accords are confined to the wampum-keepers. Each year the belts are taken from the nation's archives to remind the community, through public recitation of the history and import of each one. This custom is kept up to the present day. Presentation can take shape in a number of forms. For example, in western New York, Peter Jemison (Seneca) and Richard Hamell, an Associate Professor Emeritus of Geology from Monroe Community College, present, teach, remind, and create wampum belts.

The mnemonic use of wampum is one which, I imagine, might readily develop from the practice of gift-giving and the exchange of tokens of friendship. Such symbols are valued and preserved for future reference as reminders of promises of assistance or protection. The use of

FIGURE 80 | Peter Jemison, Seneca Heron Clan, leads a renewal of the Canandaigua Belt from the Treaty of 1794 between the Confederacy and the United States | Unknown date | Photograph courtesy of Joe Stahlman

these elements would develop into a system capable of recording affairs of varied and complicated nature. For example, particular facts or features of treaties would be assigned to specific objects, or portions of objects. With this much accomplished, it becomes necessary to attain a hieroglyphic system—the permanent association of a single symbol or sign with a particular idea. To support this idea, Indigenous communities across Turtle Island also employed those same glyphs on painted trees, tattoos, artwork, personal effects, longhouses, and tools.

Wampum serves as a symbol of peace, invaluable as a spiritual icon, and a mnemonic recorded object. Thus, wampum is a symbol of the heartfelt sincerity pledged intra-community and between communities, as civil and political agreements, in contracts of marriage, and in other moments of togetherness between individuals or groups. It is the sincerity of one's heart that turns these interpersonal moments into one of devotional appreciation of the other. As a recording device of historical compacts between nations, wampum arranged into geometric patterns, figures, and other cultural symbols is the vehicle to allow all parties to recall necessary events at a later date. Wampum belts carry culturally infused and transmitted knowledge that has applications far into the future. These readings remind us of our uniqueness, but also remind all present-day peoples of the unique status of being sovereign, a self-determined people, and how this was reinforced through treaty rights that are preserved within these recordings. These belts established a complex narrative which reinforced the intellectual transmission and narrative representation of the Hodinöhsö:ni'. The events sewn in wampum belts and the efforts of those Hodinöhsö:ni' intellectuals who reclaim, innovate, and comment upon them clearly have significance for the stories that comprise our day-to-day existence.

Wampum use in Hodinöhsö:ni' society has never ceased. Wampum is a symbol of interrelatedness and harmony as illustrated by the events recorded in each belt. Revisiting the belts reaffirms the oneness with all life and restores harmony between people. Wampum belts within concepts of harmony and balance emphasize wholeness, *Coming to One Mind*, and continual renewal of ancient accords. Like annual ceremonies that ensure continued lifeways and wellness for all, wampum renewals maintain lineages and their responsibilities to the present and the future.

Wampum traditions and teachings continue to have political and cultural applications in contemporary settings. These print and visual works have a pragmatic impact in their recounting and reaffirmation of traditions that are tribally specific and pertinent to the international policy formation of the United States and Canada. Wampum has a pivotal role in the Condolence Ceremony and the raising up of chiefs. Wampum holds the knowledge they represent and has inestimable significance for the acts of narrative rearticulation and knowledge recovery via reclamation and reapplication in new contexts created by this new generation of strategists of cultural continuance. These artists' intellectual and aesthetic endeavors affirm wampum's role as a touchstone of Hodinöhsö:ni' experience and ways of being. Wampum is continually adaptable to new settings and historical eras, and the knowledge it carries always has the potential to be requickened, in spite of colonialist projects to diminish its ancient role.

Most importantly, wampum, either as object, written text, photograph, or work of art, carries a body of knowledge capable of being adapted into spoken words that surpass the ability of printed text. Mnemonic readings along with the other recollections create a larger, more detailed narrative of prior engagements. There are moments when the *Two Row Belt* reminds us of our continued travels together down the river of life or a community needs to remind Canada or the United States of their independence to navigate their own course on that river. When I see belts, I see a lengthy line of Indigenous–European relationships. This is not solely a Native art form. It is truly an American art form. I also see contemporary Hodinöhsö:ni' communications working with wampum creators like Richard Hamell who create new belts for new endeavors. In them, we honor women, children, water, stars, foods, medicines, and historical moments – really anything deemed necessary for life. These new wampum belts pull from old knowledge, requicken that knowledge, and amend growing wisdom to contemporary glosses of those traditions. Furthermore, people continue to be innovative and create new traditions in which to speak to the contemporary moment in an ancient art form.

In 1751, in a letter to James Parker, Benjamin Franklin declared why the Hodinöhsö:ni' Confederacy served as a model of good governance:

> It would be a very strange Thing, if six Nations of ignorant Savages should be capable of forming a Scheme for such an Union, and be able to execute it in such a Manner, as that it has subsisted Ages, and appears indissoluble; and yet that a like Union should be impracticable for ten or a Dozen English

> Colonies, to whom it is more necessary, and must be more advantageous; and who cannot be supposed to want an equal Understanding of their Interests. (Franklin 1753, 118–19)

Wampum is inherently part of the story. Both American and Hodinöhsö:ni' stories weave a story with wampum as a primary actor—an actor that continues a prominent role.

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PHOTOS, STORIES, AND OBJECTS FROM "WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO GOVERN OURSELVES"

Lydia Ann Wallace-Chavez (Unkechaug)

Wampum is a bead made from quahog shells. For many Nations in the Northeast, it is used to record history, and make peace between one's human neighbors, but also with oneself, one's clan, and the external world

My name is Lydia Ann Wallace-Chavez, and I'm a wampum artist from the Unkechaug Nation. Unkechaug Nation is located on a small reservation on Long Island, New York called Poospatuck. "Poospatuck" translates to "where the waters meet," and our home is exactly that. Poospatuck Creek connects to the Forge River, which empties into the Great South Bay and into the Atlantic, all in that same area. Our people are located at the source of purple quahog shells like this. Needless to say, we are water people. Fishing is how I would spend my summers. Few places in the world produce the dark, almost black, purple color of our quahog shells. Naturally, anyone who wanted beads had to trade with us or other east coast tribes, like the Wampanoag or Narragansett. Trading wampum connected us to other Nations like the Haudenosaunee, who used wampum to make their belts. The best wampum beads come from the grossest clams—the ones that still have the goop and smell when you find them. The oils in the shell keep it from flaking apart when we work with it. First, we cut parallel lines into the shell and use those cuts to break it into smaller square pieces called "bead banks." We use a machine to grind the bead banks into cylinders. Then we have to drill a hole into each one, turning it into a bead, which we polish.

FIGURE 81 | Lydia Ann Wallace-Chavez | Photograph © Trang Tran

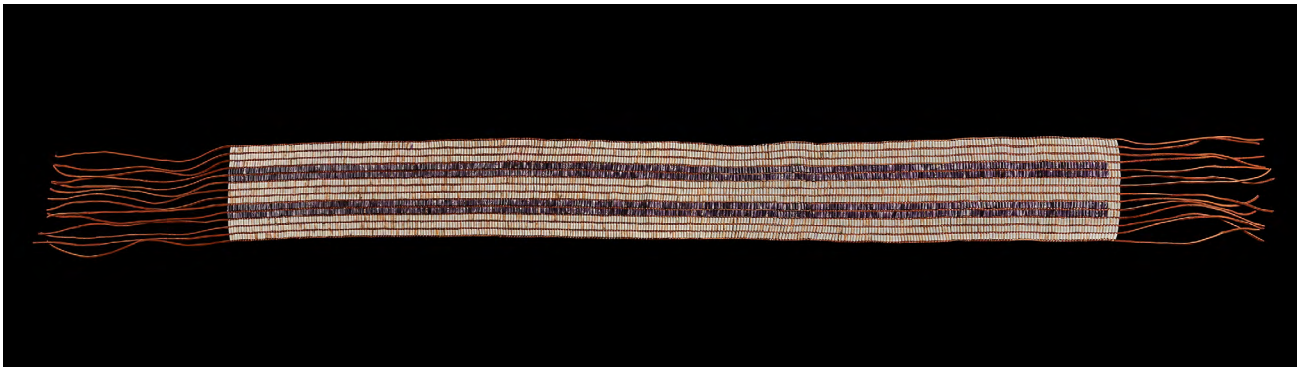

FIGURE 82 | Recreated Haudenosaunee Two Row Wampum Belt, Mohawk Design, made by Lydia Wallace-Chavez (Unkechaug) | Wampum, artificial sinew, deerskin lace | Commissioned by the Field Museum in 2021 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 361779, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

“This wampum belt represents the first treaty made between a Native nation and a European power. In 1613, Dutch settlers entered Haudenosaunee territory. A treaty was made for the two nations to live in friendship and peace as brothers, forever. The Haudenosaunee recorded this treaty by making this wampum belt. The purple rows represent the Haudenosaunee and Dutch ways of life, traveling side by side, not interfering with each other.

FIGURE 83 | Bracelet and necklace made by Allen Hazard (Narragansett); earrings made by Berta Giles-Welch (Aquinnah Wampanoag) | Wampum, nylon | Purchased by the Field Museum in 2020 | © The Field Museum, Cat. Nos. 361778, 361641.1, 361641.2, 361613, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

“This necklace and bracelet are about as close to what our people would have worn pre-European contact. The beads are imperfect, and that’s how you know it was made by hand. It’s a blessing to be able to take a shell and make the things my ancestors made. The quahog is my brother, and I respect it to the max. They are living beings that gave their lives so that we could continue ours. It’s that sacred to me.

—Allen Hazard, Narragansett Indian Tribe

“I’m self-taught in creating wampum jewelry with a distinct contemporary design, like these earrings, using quahogs harvested for sustenance from the Aquinnah Town Pond on Noepe, the Wampanoag name for Martha’s Vineyard. My work is inspired by my parents, my cultural upbringing, and the traditions of the Wampanoag who have inhabited the region for more than 12,000 years. I’m the co-owner of a shop that has been in my family for 80 years.

—Berta Giles-Welch, Aquinnah Wampanoag Tribe

Sovereignty is as much about our artistic and physical connections to ancestral homelands as it is about ideas of nationhood or boundaries on a map

My name is Nanibaa Beck; I am a Diné silversmith and a citizen of the Navajo Nation. When I was in sixth grade, I began learning from my father. I remember picking up a pair of earrings and asking him if I could help him to buff, polish, and clean them. Following my father's path, I decided about six years ago to pursue jewelry as a full-time career.

FIGURE 84 | Squash blossom necklace likely made by Neil Johns, ca. 1975 | Silver, turquoise | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 243067, Conservation Department Photograph

> These are called squash blossom necklaces, but the design is actually based on pomegranate blossoms. It's something we adopted from the Spanish colonizers prior to our area becoming part of the United States in the mid 1800s—around the time we started learning silversmithing. I think it says a lot about our history and how we continued to negotiate our autonomy within our homelands.
>
> I imagined the design for my organic necklace (Figure 72) when I moved to Tucson and became inspired by the pomegranate blossoms I saw—these became the basis for the necklace beads. Being Diné, I chose to incorporate stones that represent the four sacred mountains of our Ancestral lands. In this way, I like to think of our expressions of sovereignty and tradition as continuous as well as innovative. We Diné jewelers take inspiration from all over.

FIGURE 85 | Diichili/Abalone, Baashzhinii/Jet, Dootł'izhii/Turquoise, Yołgai/White shell | Purchased in Gallup, New Mexico, 2021 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

> These stones correspond to the four sacred mountains that mark our Ancestral lands. When we pass by along the roads, it is routine and embedded in us to say a prayer and to think about the way that we want to grow as we travel outside of the boundaries of our mountains. These stones are foundational to our lives—just the stones being present in my work makes it Diné.

Ada Deer (Menominee)

This tree has seen the historical triumph of the Menominee people

My name is Ada E. Deer. I am Menominee, and the first woman to serve as Assistant Secretary, Indian Affairs. Over the last 190 years this white pine (Figure 86) has seen how the US government tried to terminate the Menominee Tribe, and how we rejected this injustice and reclaimed the right to govern ourselves. I am proud to have helped lead this grassroots movement of the Menominee, alongside my American Indian and non-Native colleagues.

From the moment it sprouted in 1831 on our sacred homeland in Wisconsin, this tree was under threat. As non-Native settlers pushed westward, the US government pressured us to sell our land. In 1848 we were offered farm land in Minnesota. Chief Oshkosh told them that Minnesota was poor land, with no deer or resources. We negotiated to remain on the land we've always been on. The Menominee originated within these forests.

FIGURE 86 | In 2021 Menominee Tribal Enterprises gave this cross-section of a 190-year-old white pine tree as a gift to the Field Museum | The tree—as well as the flooring in this exhibition—comes from the forests in our traditional homeland, a place to which we have a deep attachment | © The Field Museum

FIGURE 87 | Ada Deer | Courtesy of University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries

Chief Oshkosh was born in 1795 and was Chief of the Menominee American Indians from 1827 until his death in 1858. The city of Oshkosh, Wisconsin is named in his honor.

In the late nineteenth century new threats to our forest and people emerged. Treaty negotiations included construction of a sawmill, which provided employment. However, outside firms repeatedly encroached on our land. In 1905 a powerful storm knocked down much of our forest. The logs would have brought significant income, but government bureaucracy and fraudulent contractors left the wood to rot in place, or in the river on the way to other sawmills. Despite the 1905 disaster, we were able to rebuild our lumber industry through selective cutting and forestry practices. Today the Menominee forest is internationally recognized as a model for sustainable forest stewardship.

In 1954 the Menominee Termination Act was passed. In 1951 we were awarded $8.5 million ($1,500 per tribal member) for losses related to the timber downed in 1905. But in 1953—before we received the funds—Congress passed House Resolution 108, beginning the

era of Indian Termination, and ending our right to govern ourselves. Our people were told that we would not receive the compensation we were owed until we agreed to termination. The Menominee were one of the first Tribes to be terminated. Termination ended government support for infrastructure, including schools, social services, and hospitals. People died due to substandard healthcare. Our identity was stripped from us, and our people were immobilized and demoralized.

In 1953 The Menominee Tribe awarded me a $3,000 college scholarship. This—along with my $1,500 share of our court settlement—enabled me to attend the University of Wisconsin, Madison. When I was a child my mother told me, "Ada Deer, you were put on this Earth by the Creator to help your people." My Tribe's investment in my education made those words more relevant than ever. I was keenly aware that I had an obligation to repay that investment. After graduating from the University of Wisconsin, I completed a Master's Degree at the Columbia University School of Social Work. In 1960 I began working as a social worker in Minneapolis, advocating for Native families during Relocation.

1968–73 DRUMS and fight for Menominee sovereignty. We started the fight for our land and restoration in 1967 when we found out that large portions of our forest were going to be sold off. In 1968 we formed DRUMS—Determination of Rights and Unity for Menominee Shareholders—and brought our case to the Capitol, and in 1970 I became a lobbyist for the tribe. In 1973 President Richard Nixon signed into law the Menominee Restoration Act. That's me with Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton (Figure 88), signing documents related to the Menominee Restoration Act. Third from the right and far right are Ernest and Jane Neconish, parents of Mavis Neconish, whose story also appears in the exhibition.

The present day. When I was young, my mother told me that I was to fight for my People, and I have spent my career doing just that. Below are some of the positions I've held and awards I've received. I put them here so that young Native women today can see what's possible. I grew up in a log cabin on a reservation in Wisconsin. If I've done things like this, they can too.

- First Menominee Tribal member to graduate from the University of Wisconsin–Madison (1957)
- First Menominee Tribal member to earn a Master's degree; MSW, Columbia University School of Social Work (1961)
- First woman to chair the Menominee Restoration Committee (1974)
- Distinguished Lecturer and Distinguished Alumna, University of Wisconsin, Madison
- Assistant Secretary, Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior in the Clinton administration (1993–97)
- Member, American Indian Policy Review Commission
- Fellow, Harvard Institute of Politics
- National Women's History Month Honoree, 2000
- Inductee, National Native American Hall of Fame, 2019
- National boards—Native American Rights Fund, Girl Scouts USA, Common Cause, among others

FIGURE 88 | Signing of the Menominee Restoration Act in 1973 | Courtesy of the Wisconsin Historical Society

11

THE SLOW VIOLENCE OF NATURAL HISTORY

ROSALYN LAPIER (BLACKFEET/MÉTIS)

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Nitawahsin was a large empire or nation-state of the *Amskapi Piikani* and their sister-states, located almost near the center of North America (Glenbow Museum 2013). Its borders were the Saskatchewan River to the north, Yellowstone River to the south, the Rocky Mountains to the west, and the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers to the east (Grinnell 2004). At least for two thousand years, but perhaps longer, the Amskapi Piikani and their sister nations lived in Nitawahsin, and Nitawahsin was recognized by other nation-states and empires on its borders as its own country (Binnema 2019; Brink 2008). Its citizens had their own cultural practices, they spoke their own language, they had their own religion, and they had another way of seeing and relating to the natural world. Nitawahsin also had conflicts with other Indigenous nation-states whose citizens spoke different languages, practiced different religions, and viewed the world through their own unique lens. Then a new country foreign to the Great Plains and from far away arrived in 1804—it was the United States of America. A vast difference in their interactions began, as the US did not recognize the Nitawahsin as its own country. The US colonial government failed to recognize Nitawahsin borders and erased its existence with their newly created maps in the nineteenth century. This began with the Louisiana Purchase between France and the US in 1803. The act of staking claim to the physical land of Indigenous peoples also came with the act of staking claim to its vast natural resources and Indigenous knowledge. One way the US staked this claim was to collect data and objects for natural history institutions and possess them within their walls.

The first interaction that the Amskapi Piikani had with the US government was with the military and scientific expedition of Captain Meriwether Lewis and William Clark's Corps of Discovery. Lewis and Clark illegally trespassed through Nitawahsin, collecting specimens of plants, animals, ethnography, and other natural history without the permission of the Amskapi Piikani. And they did this with the servitude of enslaved peoples. This American scientific methodology, set forth under instructions by President Thomas Jefferson, would continue throughout the nineteenth century as the US government, private museums, and even individuals collected Indigenous materials without Indigenous nation-states' consent. Their acquisition of tangible and intangible objects for natural history collections over the course of more than a century amounted to a slow violence, "gradually and out of sight," that over time engendered "a delayed destruction" within Indigenous communities (Nixon 2013).

The first interaction of the US government with the Amskapi Piikani on Nitawahsin—that of a military and scientific expedition extracting natural and cultural resources—formed the basis of their intersecting histories for decades and even centuries to come. From that initial contact with the US, the contours of the Amskapi Piikani world have been defined by those who came to Nitawahsin to extract objects and knowledge. American perspectives have so overwhelmed the Amskapi Piikani historical record that the task of deconstructing and reconstructing our history is difficult without also telling the story of the US as the possessor of our stories—as I am doing here.

Scholars argue that "[t]he emergence of the public museum in the 18th and 19th centuries cannot be disentangled from painful histories of colonial subjugation and exploitation," and that this desire to possess and order "speaks to a broader mindset of western dominion over other cultures—and nature" (Sterling and Harrison 2020). That settler-colonial mindset is entangled within the collections themselves, and it is difficult to disentangle it even today. Conducting research today requires Indigenous scholars to use objects and histories from natural history museums that were collected in the eighteenth, nineteenth, or early twentieth centuries. And it requires us to engage with the troubled past of collecting and cultural genocide, which can be difficult, emotional, or even traumatizing.

Although the American practice of collecting as a tool of colonization and conquest by a nation-state was a new concept to the Amskapi Piikani, the concept of taking objects as individual souvenirs of war was not. They have a word for acquiring objects as a souvenir or a trophy from an enemy—it is *inaamaahkaa*. The word is a combination of two others, *namaa*, or "bow," and *i'taki*, or "take," and its meaning becomes "taking an enemy's weapon as a souvenir." Of course, the Amskapi Piikani had a different concept of the English words "enemy" and "war" than Americans. The Amskapi Piikani words for "enemy," *kaahtomáán* or *kaahtomin*, come from words that mean "challenging someone to compete" or "playing against someone in a non-athletic game" (Frantz and Russell 2017). Historically, the Amskapi Piikani thought of "enemies" as opponents in a competition. They embedded the cultural practice of *inaamaahkaa* or "taking souvenirs from an enemy" within their society. Amskapi Piikani society valued individuals with this skill and enjoyed stories of their adventures. I want to share this information to reinforce that Indigenous peoples also have cultural practices that include acquiring objects. But this practice is different from the American concept.

In the summer of 2018, I researched and wrote a short article on the lives of Amskapi Piikani women and the unique headdress that they wear, *kaapoisaamiiksi*. I wanted to highlight the dream of an ancient woman that created the headdress, its connection to the supernatural realm, its unfortunate discontinued use due to cultural genocide and colonial subjugation, and its contemporary revival. The kaapoisaamiiksi is revered by Amskapi Piikani women, and in recent years they revitalized it as an act of decolonization and to use it for healing and community well-being. Working on this kind of historical research—a story with a happy ending—began an interesting chain of events.

Unexpectedly, I was invited to the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago to give a talk, which I titled "Museum Collections: Are They Products of American Settler Colonialism?" The Field Museum was formerly called the Field Columbian Museum of Chicago. It developed during and after the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, which celebrated the 400th anniversary of the arrival of Christopher Columbus (Beck 2019). The fair served as an opportunity for natural history to be collected from Indigenous peoples from all corners of the hemisphere.

While I was at the Field Museum for my talk I asked if they had any kaapoisaamiiksi in the collections, and luckily they had one. At that time they knew little of its history. I was able to view it in their collections, although it remained covered in plastic. I did not write about it or photograph it for my article, because I did not see its accession records. My short piece "Her Dream: Blackfeet Women's Stand-Up Headdress" came out that winter. The curatorial staff at the Field Museum were fascinated by the headdress's history and, knowing its story, wanted to spotlight their kaapoisaamiiksi in a small display within a newly renovated section of the museum that opened in May 2022. They asked me and several kaapoisaamiiksi owners to participate in the multi-year process. The Field Museum staff said they would do further research as to the history of the headdress within their own records. In the winter of 2021, two years after my article came out, they researched their owns accession records and shared them.

They learned that the headdress was purchased in 1905, one hundred years after the Corps of Discovery first came to Nitawahsin. A Canadian federal employee in Alberta, Canada sold the headdress to the Field Museum. He sold it along with a small number of items to the museum for $105.00. The buying and selling of Indigenous cultural objects had become increasingly common after a century of interaction since Lewis and Clark. I wrote about this history in *Invisible Reality: Storytellers, Storytakers and the Supernatural World of the Blackfeet*, and I argued that an "unintended economy" grew that included the selling of objects, stories, or songs to museums and collectors. I called the museum collectors storytakers.

Like other Indigenous scholars, I rely on the records of natural history museums and collections to help tell our stories. These stories often cannot be told outside or separate from the history of dispossession, trauma, and ongoing oppression, even when we want that to be the

case. Our history is intimately intertwined with the colonization, cultural genocide, and violence inflicted by the US government and their agents. Using natural history museums requires Indigenous scholars to acknowledge (but not necessarily accept) the Pandora's box that will be opened by each archival door.

The Field Museum's records told a darker story as well. Along with the kaapoisaamiiksi, the Canadian official also sold to the Field Museum the human remains of 11 people—for a price higher than the price of the kaapoisaamiiksi. The story of the Field Museum headdress found within the accession records was not the happy ending that I had hoped. It was instead a part of the slow violence of natural history collections. And in addition to the sales receipts and transporting documents, the records also held correspondence between the museum and the seller that are perhaps too unsettling, irreverent, and even uncouth to quote from here. Historians will often brush aside these kinds of letters as "a product of their time" in an effort to not address the true violence and white supremacy occurring with the buying and selling of the ancestors of Indigenous people. (See Field Museum of Natural History, Accession Date, August 10, 1905, #940.) And it is just these kinds of documents that remind Indigenous scholars of where we have stood and continue to stand in these histories—as objects. And even as some Indigenous scholars, such as myself, wrestle with these incongruities, others walk away from this system of academia and natural history museums that they view as too tainted to engage.

American natural history museums are "products of their own history," political, and represent a reality that is embedded in over two hundred years of US history (Ashby 2017). As early as 1793, Thomas Jefferson was interested in scientific discovery in the west of Indigenous empires. He initially enlisted the help of the French naturalist Andre Michaux to "survey the Missouri River country." But that fell through. He then commissioned Lewis and Clark as "Linnaean discoverers" who introduced scientific order to Nitawahsin and other Indigenous nation-states (Lang 2004). Jefferson directed his men to impress upon Indigenous people the benign nature of their scientific research and to "satisfy them of its innocence" (Jefferson 1803). But to the people of Nitawahsin, the results of Jefferson's pursuit of science has been anything but harmless. Instead it has ushered in over two centuries a slow violence of extraction and objectification that impacts our community to this day.

I attended the opening of the new Field Museum of Natural History exhibit *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* on May 21, 2022. The museum collaborated with numerous Indigenous communities and individuals to recreate one of their Native American halls. Several museums are now in the process of similar efforts. Within the larger exhibit at the Field Museum, curators included a display of the kaapoisaamiiksi that they collected and purchased in 1905. The Field Museum invited several women from the Stand-Up Headdress Society from both the US and Canada and male singers to do a blessing at the opening. There was a lot of interest by media in the opening, and our statewide Montana newspaper and local reservation newspaper did articles focusing just on the kaapoisaamiiksi display. Every Amskapi Piikani person I spoke with or saw on social media was proud to have part of our people represented in the Field Museum's new exhibit. We are so often erased in these spaces; it felt good to be represented.

Yet, I remained apprehensive. Was this the end of the story? The story of slow violence by collectors, natural history museums, libraries, and archives? Natural history museums and archives still hold a significant number of our "artifacts," the objects of our lifeways, from objects used in daily life to sacred objects used for religious practice. As Indigenous communities, and especially our younger generations, seek to decolonize and revitalize our languages and lifeways that were violently taken from our peoples, why were we celebrating yet another sacred object being possessed behind plexiglass?

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BLACKFOOT WOMEN'S STAND-UP HEADDRESS SOCIETY

Our Women's Kaamipoisaamiiksi/ Stand-Up Headdress Society strengthens and heals communities across the Blackfoot Confederacy

We are the Blackfoot Women's Stand-Up Headdress Society, a group of women from the Blackfoot Confederacy who have been transferred the honor and responsibility of being headdress holders. We share a vision of healthy communities committed to the resurgence of the role of Blackfoot women in our traditional society. We are committed to prevention-related family wellness. We are grounded in the resiliency of Blackfoot women to endure in the face of adversity.

FIGURE 89 | Members of the Blackfoot Women's Stand-Up Headdress Society | © Charlene Plume and Roger Prairie Chicken

FIGURE 90 | Stand-Up Headdress made by a Blackfoot Ancestor | Ermine pelt, eagle feathers, porcupine quills | Taken from the Northern Piegan Reserve (Aapátohsipikáni Nation) by a Canadian government agent ca. 1905 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 71988, Conservation Department Photograph

Rosie Davis was a Stand-Up Headdress holder who lived from 1877 to 1983, to the age of 106—she may have known the owner of the headdress displayed here. The daughter of Double Gun Woman and a white settler, Rosie passed on stories from when outsiders first arrived in present-day Montana and Alberta. Throughout her life, Rosie served as an interpreter for visiting officials and was a recognized leader in her community. Piitaomaahka/Running Eagle was a warrior who wore her Stand-Up Headdress in battle.

These eagle feathers remind us of her courage, leadership, and victories. When she was young, Piitaomaahka snuck with the men to steal horses from a Kootenai camp. When they discovered her, a medicine man counseled that she should be allowed to come along. Piitaomaahka was brave; she snuck into the camp and the men followed, enabling them to steal many horses with no bloodshed.

—As told by Theda New Breast from stories passed on by Piikani elders in our oral tradition

TRUTH

Museum Collecting and Exhibition Practices Have Deeply Harmed Native Communities

FIGURE 92 | Installation photo: *Museum Collecting and Exhibition Practices Have Deeply Harmed Native Communities*, 2022 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein

12

A FIRST STEP TOWARD DECOLONIZATION

Taking Responsibility for Deep Harm

ALAKA WALI

"Museum collecting and exhibition practices have deeply harmed Native Communities. This exhibition marks a new beginning."

The Field Museum's anthropology collection had its origin in the 1893 World Columbian Exposition—a showcase for American imperialism (Rydell 1985). Between then and just after World War II, the accumulation of cultural items from places that had been colonized by Europe and the United States proceeded apace through expeditions funded by Chicago's elites or by the Museum's Administration. By the late 1950s, the collection numbered close to 1 million items, both archaeological and historical. In the early 1960s, funding for expeditions began to diminish and the collections grew more slowly, mostly through donations from private collectors. Currently, the total anthropology collections are comprised of archaeological and historical materials from the Pacific, Africa, Asia, and the Americas, and number close to 2 million. The Native North American collection is the largest regional collection, numbering approximately 250,000, of which approximately 70,000 are historical or contemporary items. The bulk of the collection is made up of objects used in everyday life—baskets, spoons, clothing, fishing and hunting implements, cooking vessels, and more. Many of these are beautifully carved or decorated in ways that imbue them with symbolic meaning or identify them as coming from a specific Tribe. There are also ceremonial items, including masks, containers for medicines, robes, and headdresses. Another category is sacred items such as medicine bundles, shields, and spirit beings. Finally, there are the remains of ancestors and grave goods that were taken from burial mounds or graves, mostly in the early twentieth century. Whether legally purchased, excavated, obtained through exchange with other museums, or obtained through theft and grave robbing, the existence of these collections is a painful reminder of the context of settler colonialism in which they came to the Field Museum and the complicity of the Museum in the project of erasure of Native Americans that was reaching its peak at the time of the Museum's founding.

Criticisms of museum collection practices have been persistent, both by Native community members and scholars. From the early twentieth century onwards, Tribal and First Nations members protested the injurious treatment of their cultural heritage by museum collectors. Native Americans expressed concerns about the wrongful accumulation of material culture and the disregard for their ways of caring for their belongings. Although their voices were not heard by museum practitioners, they continued to actively press for changes in the relationship between museums and Native American communities. Ultimately, after decades of struggle, Native Americans in the United States won a groundbreaking victory with the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990 (Echo-Hawk and Echo-Hawk 1994; Nash and Colwell 2020). Since almost the earliest days of the Field

FIGURE 91 | Admission ticket to the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893 | © Field Museum | Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition celebrated—and justified—expansionism by presenting Indigenous peoples as exotic and primitive | When it closed, many of the items displayed at the fair were acquired by the Field Museum, forming the foundation of its collections.

Museum's founding, there have been Native American scholars, expert knowledge-bearers, and collections staff who made successive efforts to bring Indigenous perspectives and practices into the care of the collections. Thus, for example, William Jones, the first Native American (Sauk and Fox) anthropologist to obtain a doctorate from Harvard University, meticulously documented a significant collection of Meskwaki material culture and seeds from the Tama, Iowa settlement, accessioned into the Museum's collection in the early twentieth century. Cleaver Warden (Arapaho) worked with curator George Dorsey in the late nineteenth century to build a record of lifeways of Plains Indians. James Murie (Pawnee) also worked with Dorsey and carefully recorded songs and descriptions of ceremonies as well as documenting the items he collected for the Museum. These Indigenous scholars and experts were often not given credit for their work (see Bruchac 2018 for a history of Indigenous collaborations with American anthropologists). Native American scholars such as Vine Deloria Jr. (1969) and Beatrice Medicine (1999) were also early critics of museum collecting practices.

It was not until the 1980s that Museum Studies scholars joined the critique of museum practices. Although the focus was on exhibitions and representation, scholars were also documenting how the early history of collecting practices had deeply injured Native Americans (Jones 1993). For example, Duncan Cole's 1985 book *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for the Northwest Coast* documented the brazen theft of cultural items and ancestral remains from the Northwest Coastal Nations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Cole discussed the fervent competition among natural history museums, including the Field Museum, to accumulate material culture from these societies even as they were experiencing waves of death and destruction in their encounter with European settlers and traders (Cole 1995). This "race" to accumulate cultural items impacted and shaped museum practice for decades to come. At the time, natural history museums were changing from being "cabinets of curiosities" to positioning themselves as scientific institutions. The prevailing form of classifying and documenting biological, botanical, and geological specimens was the Linnaean system, and the anthropology curators chose to classify cultural items with a similar system (Greene 2016). This meant that the catalog records did not include details about who made the items or the cultural context in which they were being used at the time they were acquired by the museum. Although sometimes the collectors would submit detailed notes from their fieldwork, these were placed in the archives, separate from the catalog records. The inclusion of field notes in the archives was dependent on the decision of the collector, and so there are substantial gaps in the information about the items. Some collectors did not bother to provide any information at all, and these belongings remained in the collections as "mystery" objects or "found" objects with no attribution even to a Tribe or the place where they were collected.

As critique accumulated, museums began to change their practices in caring for the collections. The passage of NAGPRA in 1990 especially impacted museum staff and how they handled issues of access, care, and record-keeping. The law (discussed in more detail in a subsequent chapter) mandated that museums provide complete inventories of their holdings to each Tribe and enter into discussions around the repatriation of ancestral remains,

funerary objects, and objects of sacred patrimony. The subsequent conversations, visits, and encounters with Native Americans who came to assess the state of their belongings and how to proceed with repatriation opened the pathway to new relationships, some antagonistic and others that laid a foundation for trust, successful returns, and longer-term collaborations. NAGPRA also led to the hiring of Native American staff in anthropology departments and a fairly regular program of providing internships to Native Americans interested in museum careers. As Tribes demanded more access to assess their repatriation claims, museum staff began to rethink old protocols and policies. By the early twenty-first century, the Field Museum anthropology collections staff was opening up to more input from Tribal authorities and knowledge-keepers. The staff started to restrict access to belongings that Tribal members claimed as sacred or culturally sensitive and that should not be viewed unless appropriate permission was given. In some cases, belongings were put in locked cabinets. In other instances, they were put behind linen curtains which obscured views but allowed the belongings to breathe. In one instance, Hopi authorities placed a *paho* (prayer feather) on the outside of the cabinet aisle that contained their sacred cultural items (Richland 2021, 17–19).

As recently as the early 2000s, however, the Museum's leadership and staff were reluctant to publicly discuss the Museum's problematic history of collecting practices. For example, when I curated an exhibition titled *Sounds from the Vaults* in 2000, I was told that we should not use the word "colonial" or "colonization" in the label text as visitors would not understand the concept. As museum leaders started to acknowledge the validity of the critiques of colonial-era practices, however, a gradual shift occurred that opened the door to a greater recognition of museums' obligations to remedy the harm that had been done to Native Americans. At the Field Museum, recognition of harm was first publicly acknowledged in a new exhibition titled *Looking at Ourselves: Rethinking the Sculptures of Malvina Hoffman*, installed in 2016. This exhibition used the collection of bronze sculptures made by Malvina Hoffman in the 1930s for an exhibition titled *The Races of Mankind* to reflect on the Field Museum's promotion of "scientific racism" (a prevalent theory in the 1930s that claimed that physical traits such as skin color could be used to rank different populations into a hierarchy of intelligence—Procopio 2019). Subsequently, a more open attitude toward accepting responsibility for harm and a willingness to change collections care and representational practices took hold. As a result, by the time that efforts were undertaken to plan the renovation of the North American Hall, the Museum leadership welcomed the invitation to include a statement by current President and CEO Julian Siggers. The statement, included in this section of the exhibition, is:

> Working with our Native partners through every part of this process has not only shaped a more powerful exhibition but also established a new way forward for how the Field and other museums work with communities.

In sum, the long trajectory of museums' relationships with Native American communities is finally moving toward efforts at decolonization and greater use of Indigenous methodologies to both care for Native American belongings residing in museums and privilege communities' perspectives on their own histories and contemporary concerns. The paradigm shift this represents is succinctly captured in a quotation in the display by Advisory Committee member Rob Collins:

> The revitalization of the Native North American Hall represents a shift in approach. It enables visitors to not just look at objects, but challenges their assumptions about Native people by learning from the lived experiences and stories of those people and serves as a new model for best practices in museum anthropology.

The exhibition, *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories*, is just the beginning.

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PHOTOS, STORIES, AND OBJECTS FROM "MUSEUMS COLLECTING AND EXHIBITION PRACTICES"

The Field Museum now acknowledges the deep importance of *repatriation*

Returning Native American Ancestral remains and sacred items in its collections

Under the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), museums that receive federal funding must return human remains and funerary and sacred objects when requested by the descendants of the communities they were taken from. However, because the legal, logistical, and financial burdens of repatriation fall mainly on Native people, what "must" be done often becomes only what "should" be done.

When European settlers moved westward in the nineteenth century they tried to remove and erase Indigenous peoples

As Native populations shrank, collectors and enthusiasts rushed to collect objects associated with the people whose cultures needed to be erased in the name of "manifest destiny." While some of the items collected were purchased, most were acquired unethically, and some illegally.

Cecil E. Pavlat Sr.

FIGURE 93 | Cecil Pavlat | Photograph courtesy of Cecil Pavlat

My name is Cecil E. Pavlat Sr. I am Ojibwe/Chippewa, Crane Clan from Baaweting, and worked in Repatriation for over 20 years. I'm now retired, but still assist with repatriation efforts for our Tribe. I believe in respectful treatment for our Ancestors and their resting places. We work to bring our Ancestors' Remains home in an appropriate manner and return them to the womb of our Earth Mother.

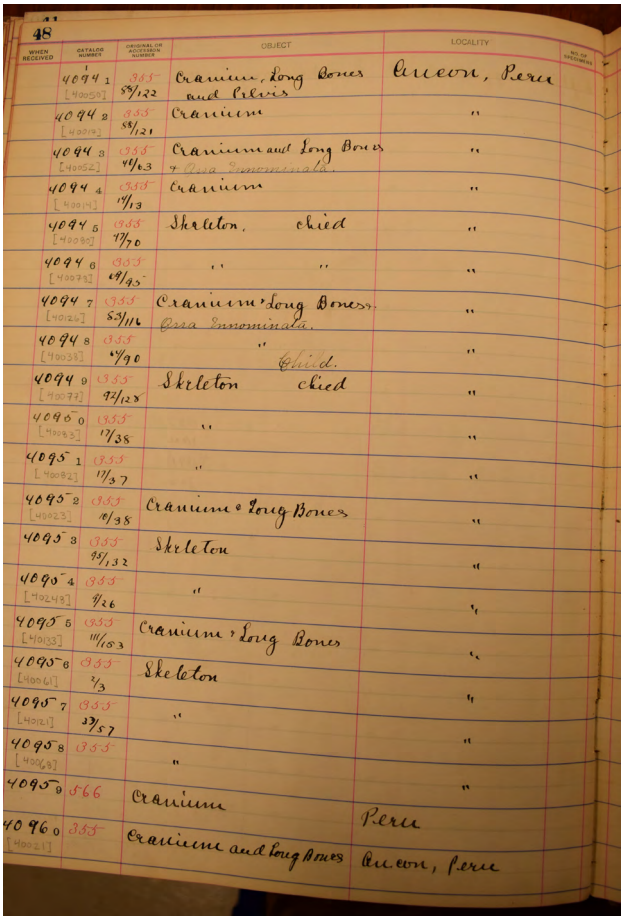

FIGURE 94 | A Field Museum accession ledger cataloging human bones | © The Field Museum Conservation Department

I was once told by an anthropologist that our Ancestors' remains were archaeological objects

I tried to explain that those were real, living people with families. I said to him, "Well, what if that was your grandmother, or your grandfather?" And he, kind of matter of fact, just stated, "They're still archaeological objects." I think when people objectify human beings, it must make it easier for them to … rationalize grave robbing.

If it came from a grave, it belongs in a grave

Some items are considered sacred and not for public view, and yet they're still put on display—without permission from those Tribes. In 2015 our Tribe worked with the Field Museum to repatriate 116 funerary objects. They'd been looted by someone who had found them with a metal detector.

It took a long time for people at museums to learn to adjust to NAGPRA

Early on—in the late 90s/early 2000s, there were many "old school" people who were very hard-line. They would be adamant about the things they would say when we would visit a museum or an institution. Sometimes, to the point of just being downright rude, you know. And telling us what we could or couldn't do.

FIGURE 95 | Cecil Pavlat holding a drum | In English, things are "living" or "non-living." The Anishinaabe language has a third category | "alive without a heartbeat." For a non-living thing like an *adoopowin* (table) we say "**maanda** adoopowin" ("**this** table") | But for things that are imbued with a spirit—such as a *dewe'igan* (drum)—we say "**maaba** dewe'igan" ("**this** drum") | Photograph courtesy of Cecil Pavlat

We were in a collections area at an institution and they were allowing us to view things. Well, we came across this … Ziploc baggie. And it had a small braid in it. Maybe … three inches long. And it still had parts of the skin attached to that braided hair. And there was a handwritten note in the baggie. And it said this was a souvenir from a US cavalry soldier. That's all it said."

Marie Richards

My name is Marie Richards. Mikinaac dodem/I am Turtle Clan. I live in Baaweting, Michigan and am the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for the Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa. Our Ancestors are beings for whom we are responsible. They did not consent to being unearthed, studied, and put on display. I am here to remind people that our Ancestors' remains are still people.

I am Anishinaabe—that centers me in the chaos of this world. I'm currently working on a PhD, to correct an imbalance in which we have been viewed as fodder for intellectual curiosity. As someone with a foot in both worlds, I can tell you that when Native people work with museums, it's not a level playing field. But we will continue to work to serve and protect our Ancestors.

Museums can act unethically and legally at the same time

NAGPRA is good in theory, but puts a huge burden on Native people: to prove which Tribe an item came from; to gather Ancestors who have been scattered across institutions; to prove that an item was stolen from a grave; to safely treat, transport, and return our Ancestors to the Earth. NAGPRA says what museums should do, but doesn't account for the resources needed to do it.

Innu community of Mashteuiatsh, Québec

These items should have never left our community. We are working to bring them home

My name is Bibiane Courtois, and I was born in the Innu community of Mashteuiatsh, Québec. During my career I have been a nurse, the Director of our community museum, and advocated for Indigenous women's rights as the President of Québec Native Women. Now, I'm helping my community repatriate items that belong back home. I'm Kukum/grandmother to eight grandchildren, and enjoy woodcarving, teaching sculpture, embroidery, and hunting.

FIGURE 96 | Marie Richards | Photograph courtesy of Marie Richards

FIGURE 97 | Bibiane Courtois | Photograph courtesy of Bibiane Courtois

FIGURE 98 | Mashkushtikuanikan/Bear skull on a branch hunted by an Innu Ancestor | Bear skull, wood, caribou hide | Taken out of the community by an anthropologist in Lake St. John, Quebec, 1927 | Displayed with permission from the Pekuakamiulnuatsh Takuhikan | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 176441, Conservation Department Photograph

Bears are a sacred animal for us. In our language, we use the term *ishpitelitamun*—something that comes from above and is greater than ourselves. We think of bears as our mushum, our grandfather, or our kukum, our grandmother. When an Innu person attaches a skull to a tree, it stays there to honor the animal and protect us. It should never be moved or taken down. This bear belongs with our community.

In 1927, anthropologist Frank Speck collected many items from our community for the Field Museum. This inventory page lists "2 bear skulls, taken from trees where they have been placed to placate slain bear." It is not clear how he obtained them.

Here you see a bear skull on a broken branch attached with babish, the thick skin of the caribou (Figure 98). The bear's bones are hung in a tree as a sign of respect for the animal. We place the head high up in the tree so other animals won't disturb it, and a birch bark pipe filled with tobacco is placed in his mouth. The hunter smokes with him to thank the bear for giving his life. Our officials must make a repatriation request to bring the bear skulls and ceremonial items home. Because we are in Canada, it's up to the museum to decide whether or not to return these important items. This process could take over five years.

Museums have our medicine, so why wouldn't we go to these places?

I'm Mavis Neconish—my Menominee name is Moneeko—and I'm a member of the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin. After I graduated high school in 1967, I came to Chicago. I worked in the Field Museum's anthropology collections from 1990 until 2010. You have to know about a culture to really understand the work you're doing. It's much more than putting numbers on things and information into a computer.

FIGURE 99 | Mavish Neconish, 2006 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein, GN90902_29d

When I worked at the museum, it was my job to create storage for the items in the collection, including this dress. I paid attention to these items and treated them with the same care I would use with my own Menominee culture's belongings. These objects aren't dead. The spirit still exists in that object.

When I first saw this dress, I started thinking, "I wonder what kind of leggings she wore … what kinds of moccasins she wore …" I couldn't stop looking at the dress. I eventually figured out that we did have the moccasins and leggings for this dress and they all matched! Because of my research, today we know they should be stored as one group.

I started working at the Museum right after the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act was passed in 1990. It felt like it was the first time many of my colleagues heard *any* Native perspective, and I had to explain that there is no *one* Native perspective.

FIGURE 100 | Beaded dress created by Maisie Lone Dog (Fort Peck Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes), ca. 1915 | Buckskin or deerskin, glass beads | Gifted to the Field Museum by Alice H. Gregory in 1961 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 56881, Conservation Department Photograph

"... It can be difficult to work with museums, knowing the history of how our ancestral treasures were obtained"

I'm Chris Pappan, a citizen of the Kaw Nation. We call ourselves Kanza, which is where Kansas gets its name. I've always been an artist, always drawing and painting. When asked to show my work at the Field Museum, I was conflicted, but in the end I felt it was important to have contemporary representations of us and highlight the continuum of our cultures.

FIGURE 101 | Chris Pappan | © Tran Tran

In the museum's old Native exhibit, there were lots of everyday items on display, which I felt was condescending. By showing these utilitarian objects it gave the impression that the use of them was extraordinary. If the museum still collected everyday items from us, what would they collect? I wanted this painting to connect with Native American visitors or people who are familiar with Pow Wows. But I also thought it would be funny if the museum collected an old beat-up chair for their collection, thinking it was a sacred ceremonial object.

In 2016, this painting was displayed in my exhibit *Drawing on Tradition*, which became an intervention in the Field Museum's old Native North American Hall (1950s–2019). Our cultures and our people are always portrayed as living in the past, so we're constantly having to reassert our contemporary existence.

FIGURE 102 | *Pow Wow Chair, ca. 1980* painted by Chris Pappan (Kanza), 2016 | Acrylic on wood panel and map collage | Purchased by a Field Museum curator from Chris Pappan | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 360332, Conservation Department Photograph

FIGURE 103 | Jaalen Edenshaw | © Jason Shafto

My name is Jaalen Edenshaw; my Haida name is G̲andll Gyaag̲ang from K̲ay ahl 'Laanas Eagle Clan. I grew up on Haida Gwaii off the coast of British Columbia. When I was little, my mom would take me to visit elders and listen to stories. My dad would make me trace the old designs. Later, I started going to museums to study the old pieces. That's when the old stories would come back.

Museums literally—through their actions and existence—stole our objects and the songs and stories that went with those pieces. They were a huge part of the de-culturing of our people. If those pieces were still here with us, we would still remember their stories.

Native nations and our relationships with museums are complicated. Much of the "collecting" that was done in the early twentieth century was a symptom of "salvage anthropology," that is "this culture is being lost so we (museums) must save the relics for posterity." While it's true some aspects of our cultures have been lost, we have retained a lot of knowledge, which then begs the question: who is the collection for?

Jaalen: We come from quite a ways away from each other and have different styles, but there are related themes in our work.

Chris: Right, when you get into our work, it's about the culture, the history, and who we are today. So I thought it would be interesting to collaborate on a piece together that reflected that idea of being influenced by the collection.

FIGURE 104 | *Raven Bowl* carved by Jaalen Edenshaw (Haida), 2017 | Wood, pigment | Purchased by a Field Museum curator | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 360464, Conservation Department Photograph

> Raven, one of our main story characters, is connected to the Ulala Society—a secret society completely lost to us. We've been trying to bring it back and find as much information as we can. I carved this bowl based on bowls and rattles in museums that are recorded as Ulala Society. So, this piece represents not only the object, but the Society itself, that has been taken from us.

FIGURE 105 | *It's Complicated!* co-created by Chris Pappan (Kanza) and Jaalen Edenshaw (Haida), 2021 | Pencil/graphite and colored pencil on Evanston municipal ledger dated 1926 | Lent by Chris Pappan and Jaalen Edenshaw

13

REPATRIATION AT THE FIELD MUSEUM

HELEN ROBBINS, JUNE CARPENTER (OSAGE/SHAWNEE), DREW JEPSON

The Field Museum was founded in 1894 following the conclusion of the World's Columbian Exposition as a permanent place to store, curate, and display the collections that had been presented at the Fair. Over the last 125 years, the collection has grown to become one of the largest anthropology collections in the world representing cultures and communities from across the globe.

As within any collection of this size, there are innumerable collecting histories represented by the items currently housed at the Field Museum. While many of these histories show a deep respect and care for other communities, many others, especially those from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, are highly problematic.

Many collectors believed the scientific benefit of collecting certain items and human remains outweighed the harm they were causing communities or were ignorant of the damage left in their wake. Many cultural items were bought or stolen from communities under the assumption that Native peoples were going to disappear and, therefore, their cultures needed to be documented and preserved. This practice was particularly evident in the Museum-sponsored expeditions to the Western United States. Attempting to eclipse other museums, the Field Museum focused its archaeological and ethnographic collecting efforts primarily in the Southwest and Northwest Coast, and funded around 70 expeditions between 1894 and 1914.

Today, the museum stewards about 700,000 items in its North American anthropology and archaeology collections. Many of these items were attained illegally or unethically, and are sacred or of ongoing importance to the communities from which they were taken. These significant cultural items, along with human remains and funerary objects, are eligible for repatriation under United States federal law and the Field Museum's repatriation policy.

Since its first repatriation in 1989, the Field Museum has participated in over 55 repatriations both domestically and internationally. For domestic repatriations, the Museum follows a law called NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act). Established in 1990, this law and its implementing regulations require any institution that receives federal funding to consult with Native American communities to identify items in its collection that may fall under one or more of the four NAGPRA categories: human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony.

The cornerstone of repatriating ancestral human remains and items is consultation and collaboration. The Museum works alongside Native communities and traditional religious leaders as well as historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, and linguists to determine the history of the items as well as their affiliation to descendant communities in order to ensure that these individuals and items can be returned home where they belong. These conversations have also helped the Field Museum develop flexible, culturally informed care procedures for the human remains and cultural items it continues to steward.

The Center for Repatriation intends to continue strengthening and building partnerships on restorative principles of equity, inclusivity, and accessibility, and welcomes consultation with descendant communities. For further information, see the Center for Repatriation's website: https://repatriation.fieldmuseum.org.

FIGURE 106 | Display of baskets | © The Field Museum, CSA 39687

PART III

CHANGING MUSEUM PRACTICE

INTRODUCTION BY ALAKA WALI

IN THE FIRST chapter in this section, "A Brief History of the North American Hall," Alaka Wali discusses the antecedents to the renovation of the Native North American Hall. The old hall was installed in the 1950s and was emblematic of the racism and neglect to which the Native American collection was subjected over the years. Wali addresses the reasons that the Hall stood unchanged while other cultural exhibitions were updated, starting in the 1980s. She also discusses attempts by Indigenous scholars and staff to intervene at the Field Museum to protect the collection and change the perception of Native Americans.

The second chapter is authored by the team of anthropology conservators who deinstalled the old hall and started care of the damaged collections. Titled "Deinstallation and Care for Damaged Collections with Updated Conservation Practice," it is their account of the process of deinstallation, which took over a year and was fraught with risk as many of the items had been treated with arsenic and severely damaged. The process also evoked emotions, particularly for the Native staff newly hired for the Hall, who felt the pain of seeing the neglect and damage that had occurred. The authors will also discuss the types of collaborations they engaged in with co-curators and artists to bring expert knowledge of the cultural items into the process of preparing items for display in the new hall.

In the next chapter, complementing the description of the Conservation team, the team of Anthropology Collections staff will recount the innovations they made in sheltering the collections as they were deinstalled. They built new housing for the deinstalled items. They also describe the steps they took to consult with Tribal Historic Preservation Officers and cultural experts to create appropriate housing and placement in the storage areas. The authors also discuss changes made in procedures for access to the collections by Native community members and plans for future collaborative projects.

The fourth chapter is written by the Director of Exhibition Development, Matt Matcuk. He discusses the paradigm shift that creation of the exhibition entailed for the exhibit developers—those responsible for crafting the label texts and overall narratives of the exhibition. He uses examples of how the team approached collaboration with Native American community members and the Advisory Committee and what sorts of changes this brought about to the exhibition process. He also reflects on the challenges that they faced and how the experiences have led to changes in the way other cultural exhibitions will be developed in the future. In the next chapter of this part, Tom Skwerski describes the collaborative process that informed the design of the exhibition, including the flooring and choice of building materials.

The next sidebar is an extended interview with Debra Yepa-Pappan (Jemez Pueblo/Korean), the community engagement coordinator for the exhibition. She gives a first-hand account of how she approached community

engagement, the challenges she faced working in an institution that had never systematically created protocols for community engagement, and the opinions and perspectives of Native American visitors as they encountered the changes that were happening in the Field Museum.

The final chapter in this section, titled "Native Knowledge and Changing Museum Paradigms," by Advisory Committee member Robert Keith Collins, contextualizes the changing practices at the Field Museum within the broader changes occurring in the museum field overall.

14

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NORTH AMERICAN HALL

ALAKA WALI

FROM ITS EARLIEST days, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Field Museum had displayed Native American heritage in accordance with the prevailing anthropological perspectives on diverse cultures. Between the late nineteenth century and the 1940s, this practice was prevalent across many museums, reflecting their origins as "cabinets of curiosities." The intent in these early days was to impress visitors with the breadth of the collection, the sheer amount of "stuff" that had been acquired. Although some attempt was made to include dioramas or large "life groupings" using mannequins, these also were not necessarily contextualized. Under the direction of George Dorsey, who was Chief Curator, the Museum mounted a number of exhibitions on Native North America. Most of these were large cases filled with collections, lined up in rows in the middle of the exhibition hall, and without much contextual information.

Reflecting on the work of his predecessors, Don Collier, who joined the Field Museum in 1941, wrote:

> The attitudes toward American Indians and their representation in museums changed over the years. Initially the focus had been on the artifacts, not the people. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Indians were all too often viewed, very myopically, as strange and barbaric, and as having no connection with contemporary American society. The natural history and anthropology museums did little to dispel these views at first. The Museum's philosophy of presenting Indian cultures was not concerned with contemporary Indians, who were back on the reservations; the important thing was to save the precious Indian artifacts and put them on display. After all, when the great museums got their start, Custer and the Battle of the Little Bighorn (1876) were only a few years past. (Collier 2003, 212)

The theories underlying this mode of representation posited that non-Western people—people that Europeans encountered as they colonized large parts of Africa and Asia and settled in the Americas—represented manifestations of a European past. In other words, Europeans claimed "civilization" for their societies and posited that, while they had evolved, others had remained "stuck" in the evolutionary past. Anthropologists used a classificatory system to characterize non-Western societies based on criteria such as types of tools used, methods of agriculture, systems of political organization, and codification of laws and written language (see Wolf 1982 for an account and critique of these theories and Fowler 2003 for impact on museum displays). The anthropological theories of social evolution departed from Darwin's theory of natural selection because they implied an inherent hierarchy. Thus "civilization" was the highest attainment of cultural achievement, while other stages were not only part of the human past but were more primitive.

By the end of World War II, the people that anthropologists had classified as "primitive" were fighting wars against colonialism and gaining independence for new nations in Africa and Asia. In the Americas, also, Indigenous people had long resisted the taking of their lands and the breaking of treaties that violated their sovereignty. Anthropologists, doing fieldwork among formerly colonized people and

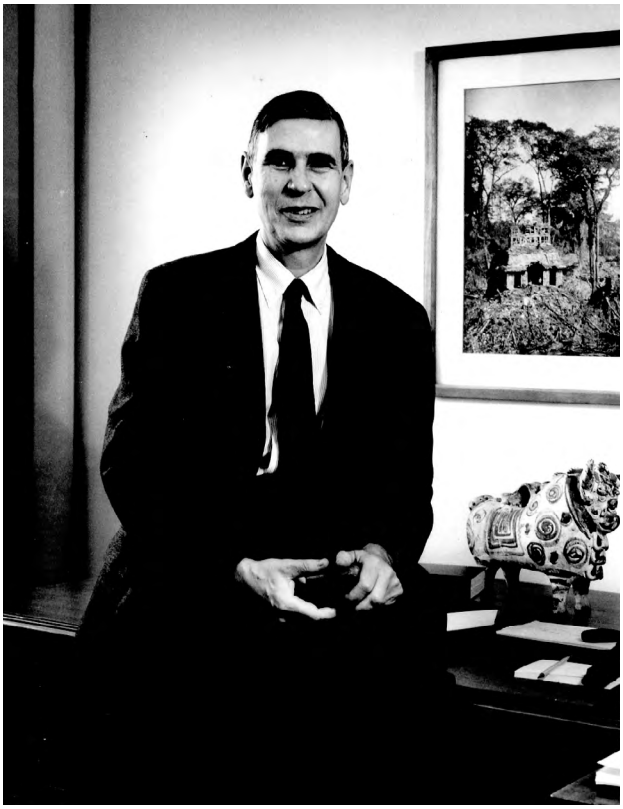

FIGURE 107 | Dr. Donald Collier, Anthropology Curator, 1964 | © The Field Museum, A100580_3

taking note of the social movements, realized the fallacies of the evolutionary theories and started to formulate alternative explanations for human social and cultural diversity. Generally, museum-based anthropologists turned to a focus on using a "culture area" approach to representing cultures. For North America, this led to a classification by geographic region.

The exhibitions installed between 1945 and 1955, under the direction of Paul S. Martin, who was the chief curator in the Anthropology Department, exemplified this approach. They were curated by Donald Collier, George Quimby, and John Rinaldo (Collier 2003). All three curators were doing archaeological and "ethnological" (documenting contemporary cultures) research in South, Central, and North America. The exhibitions spread along the East Wing of the main floor and had titles such as "Indians of the Plains," "California Indians," "Southwest Indians," and "Woodland Indians and Pawnee Earth Lodge." The anthropologists at the Field Museum, cognizant that they could not continue to focus exclusively on artifact displays, attempted to contextualize these with additional materials such as dioramas, maps, and photographs that depicted more historical information and connections to the contemporary lifeways of non-Western people. Nevertheless, the representation of Native Americans (as well as other cultures) remained problematic. It still characterized Native American lifeways as if they had not changed over the centuries, and particularly it did not treat the postcolonial impact of forced removal from homelands, confinement on reservations, and death, destruction, and genocide. Furthermore, ceremonial and sacred objects were on display, mixed in with items of everyday life.

In the mid-twentieth century, as Native Americans were relocated into cities, they advocated for greater voice in representation of their cultural practices and lifeways. At the Field Museum, there were sporadic collaborations, such as for the 1968 Festival of American Indian Arts. This event was organized by Donald Collier working with the American Indian Center of Chicago. The Center and Collier brought contemporary artists and performers to the Museum. In the early 1970s, John White from the Museum's Education Department collaborated with some Pawnee elders in the construction of the Pawnee Earth Lodge (Mercurio et al. 2019, and detailed in Part IV).

While these were well-intentioned attempts to include Native American voices, the fundamental trajectory of the representational strategies did not change. After the passage of NAGPRA in 1990, once again a more concerted effort was made to include Native American expertise—this time through hiring a permanent staff member (Mavis Neconish; see Sidebar, Part II), and creating a program for Native American internships. In other instances, there were smaller collaborations for temporary exhibitions in the Weber Gallery. This 500-square-foot space was dedicated in the 1990s to showcasing contemporary Indigenous art and lifeways. The gallery was host to such exhibitions as *Portraits of Clay: The Potters of Mata Ortiz* (1996), *Sisters of the Great Lakes: Art of American Indian Women* (1997), *With Patience and Good Will: The Art of the Arapaho* (1999), *Travels of the Crow: Journey of an Indian Nation* (2007/08).

The Weber Gallery and the above-mentioned attempts to include Native American perspectives and the interventions of Native American staff in the stewarding of the collections, however, did not lead the Museum's administration to initiate significant changes to the displays of the old Native American exhibitions. Jonathan Haas, then curator of North American Anthropology, had hoped to renovate the entire suite of exhibitions on Native Americans (North and South) to create a comprehensive update on this region. In 1997, he submitted a proposal to the new administration that included ideas for the archaeological components and consultations with Native

FIGURE 108 | *Robert R. McCormick Halls of the Ancient Americas,* 2007 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein, GN90960_002Cd

American artists and community members and using more lively rotating spaces to convey the diversity of Native American experiences after European colonization. But the administration only supported the renovation of the archaeological material from across all the Americas. The new hall, titled *Robert R. McCormick Halls of the Ancient Americas*, opened in 2007.

To make way for the installation of *Ancient Americas*, the old "ethnological" displays of the 1950s were dismantled and the cases placed in another exhibition hall, which did not have a formal name but came to be called the "North American Hall" or "Hall 8," referring to its location on the east side of Stanley Field Hall.

FIGURE 109 | Installation photo of the Native North America Hall, ca. 2015 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein, GN92165_015Ad

The cases were installed in a manner which had little logic in their narrative flow. Additionally, most of the "contextualizing" labels and media, found to be outdated, had been removed, and only a few of the dioramas from the different exhibitions remained. The items in the cases were rarely rotated off display and had been mounted in the 1950s with little care for the damage that would be caused (as detailed in chapter 15).

As a result, Hall 8 stood as evidence of the Museum's lack of investment in the care of this collection and the reluctance to undertake a major renovation of an exhibition purportedly about the contemporary lifeways of Native Americans. Only anecdotal evidence is available as to why these materials relegated to Hall 8 were left in this condition. Some administrators told me that the reluctance to further renovate the North American halls was due to concern about the impact of repatriation post-NAGPRA on the collections. If substantial portions of the collections were to be repatriated, why would the Museum invest in renovating exhibitions that would be impacted? There was also skepticism that donors would fund a major exhibition about contemporary Native American cultures.

The installation of the *Ancient Americas* was followed by the installation of a new permanent hall dedicated to Ancient China. This represented the almost complete renovation of the culture halls that had begun in the 1980s. In this context, Hall 8 began to look more and more anachronistic and embarrassing—a showcase of the historical colonial modes of representation. Native Americans who came to visit the Museum felt hurt and sorrow to see their belongings in dilapidated condition and with inaccurate and offensive labels (Power 2002; YouTube video by Frank Waln—https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ow6OHKe1uA; Debra Yepa-Pappan, personal communication).

When I assumed responsibility for the North American collection in 2010, the renovation of the North American Hall still seemed unattainable. However, by 2011, the Anthropology Department was able to use a newly created accessions fund, and I started to plan on bringing in contemporary material culture. In consultation with colleagues, we determined that working with Tribes who had successfully conducted repatriation efforts would be a good pathway to move beyond the legal transaction to more long-term relationships. The first foray into this strategy for the North American collection was outreach to the Pawnee Tribe. They had successfully completed the return of their sacred bundles and had a historical relationship with the Museum since the creation of the Pawnee Earth Lodge. At the recommendation of Joe Podlasek, then Executive Director of the American Indian Center in Chicago, I reached out to contemporary Pawnee artist Walter "Bunky" Echo-Hawk, Jr. (who had worked with Podlasek). He was interested in working with the Museum and hosted me for a visit to Pawnee in 2012. I made a number of accessions from contemporary artists I met and started to build a relationship with the Pawnee community. Subsequently, I invited Bunky to co-curate a Weber Gallery exhibition (by then located at the front of Hall 8) that would feature cultural items from the collection and his own work. I had used this approach—co-curation with a contemporary artist in the Weber Gallery—first with a well-known Chicago-based fashion designer, Maria Pinto. The exhibition, *Bunky Echo-Hawk: Modern Warrior*,

FIGURE 110 | Installation photo from *Bunky Echo-Hawk: Modern Warrior*, 2013 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein, GN91914_038d

opened in 2013 and was a popular draw. The exhibition staff enjoyed working with Bunky, saw the benefit of collaboration to bring a new perspective on the collections through the lens of contemporary art, and welcomed subsequent exhibitions with this approach (see Wali 2020 for details about these experiences).

In this way, we began to chip away at the barriers to rethinking how to make a livelier and inclusive approach to representation for the North American Hall. Ultimately, however, as mentioned in the Introduction to this book, it took the intervention of a Native American artist (Chris Pappan) directly in Hall 8 to make visible the egregious conditions and the urgent need for a complete renovation.

The renovation provided the opportunity to implement in a more systematic way the incipient changes in practices related to both representation and care of the collection that the small Weber Gallery exhibitions had provoked. The Museum staff (as discussed in the next chapters of Part III) were transformed by the experience of working collaboratively with Native American artists, scholars, and community leaders. Together, we began to see the significance of decolonizing and indigenizing museum representational practices for moving the Field Museum into the twenty-first century. We hoped that this could be the beginning of a new era for the exhibiting of cultural stories.

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15

DEINSTALLATION AND CARE FOR DAMAGED COLLECTIONS WITH UPDATED CONSERVATION PRACTICE

Collaborative Practice Implications for Conservation Care

ERIN E. MURPHY, NICOLE PASSEROTTI (SENECA NATION, BEAR CLAN), STEPHANIE BLACK, J. KAE GOOD BEAR, ELLEN JORDAN, MACKENZIE FAIRCHILD, NICOLE SCHMIDT, KATIE LINDER

Introduction

The Native North American Hall (NNAH) renovation, a multiphase project, was an incredible opportunity for the Field Museum's Conservation Department. The Curatorial Department chooses which objects to display in an exhibit and what to say about them, while conservators are focused on safeguarding objects for future generations by ensuring physical and conceptual preservation. In the 70 years since the installation of the original NNAH, some common older conservation practices have been supplanted by modern ones. Consequently, during the renovation's deinstallation phase, the conservation team was able to study and document the collection while observing the results of past display practices. The installation phase provided many opportunities to include updated conservation care and stewardship practices. The conservation team was assembled with this new perspective in mind; it included individuals enthusiastic about incorporating updated practices and embracing communication-intensive collaborative conservation.

This project exemplifies many of the updated shifts in conservation while focusing on "collaborative conservation," or recent efforts to give authority back to the makers of items by building relationships outside of the museum to incorporate the voices of diverse stakeholders. All decisions about how objects are displayed, handled, and restored have traditionally been made with reference to professional Western museum standards, and without the input of source communities (i.e. individuals representing those who actually made the objects). These newly formed collaborative relationships help increase the collection's accessibility and contribute to a nuanced understanding of what it means to preserve an object and for whom it's preserved. Collaborative conservation emphasizes a holistic and flexible approach that draws on diverse knowledge, values, and priorities. For instance, under community advice, "item" was generally substituted for the traditional term "object." The terminology used to

describe collection materials and source communities are constantly in flux; conservation strives to be responsive and adaptive to these changes. The conservation department was excited by this project's challenges and the opportunity to incorporate updated conservation practice.

Deinstallation: Confronting Past Display Practices

The physical dismantling of 44 cases and deinstallation of approximately 1,500 items took place over 18 months and was a vivid illustration to the conservation team of how much collections care has changed since the 1950s. When the original display cases were installed, there was not the same conservation profession that exists today. Some of the most notable problems encountered during the deinstallation included old display mounting techniques that caused irreversible damage, the use of heavy metal pesticides (poisons) to deter pests, and mislabeling and inaccuracies found in the cases.

One of the most shocking discoveries was the extensive damage caused by mounts such as nails through wooden materials and holes cut into the bottom of leather moccasins. In the old cases there was sometimes no apparent support because finishing nails had been driven through the item to hold it to the display board.

Today, great care goes into deciding what types of materials are used for display and the manner in which they support an item so they do not cause damage. During the 1990s, some new cases had been installed in the hall that incorporated updated mounting practices, thus facilitating viewing without damaging an item's integrity. The photograph in Figure 112 shows two such display cases.

FIGURE 111 | Illustration of old and harmful mounting techniques | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 59384.4, Conservation Department Photograph

Some of the more challenging items to uninstall were layered onto 44 fully dressed mannequins.

The Arikara war shirt shown in Figure 114 was one such item that required extensive work due to damage from mounting and long display. Due to incorrect

FIGURE 112 | Installation photo of the Native North America Hall, ca. 2015 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein

FIGURE 113 | Composite image of 32 of the 44 fully dressed mannequins that were on display in the old Native North America Hall | © The Field Museum, Photographs by Ellen Jordan and J. Kae Good Bear, Conservation Department

interpretation, it was turned 90 degrees on the mannequin, with the shirt's left arm hole positioned at the neck and the right mannequin arm protruding through the shirt's neckline. Structural conservation issues resulted from inadequate internal support, stiffening and distortion of the skin, tears at the arm and neck lines, loss of fur elements, fading of silk components, and extensive breakage and loss of quillwork. Once removed, the shirt was placed flat and padded and has had extensive treatment to relax distortions, repair tears, back holes, and reattach and repair quill strips. Photography, shown in Figure 114, now documents the shirt laid out in the correct orientation.

In 1950 conservation care was a nascent discipline mainly focused on pest control, and it was common practice to use harmful chemicals such as arsenic to keep insects and rodents from damaging organic materials in

FIGURE 114 | (left) Mannequin with Arikara war shirt in the incorrect orientation prior to deinstallation; (right) shirt removed, placed into correct orientation, and padded for better storage | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 63715, Photographs by Ellen Jordan and J. Kae Good Bear, Conservation Department

FIGURE 115 | Conservation, Collections, and Mount Fabricator teams wore PPE during case deinstallations due to the presence of heavy metal pesticides, like arsenic, that were used when the items first came into the Field's collection | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein

the collection. This practice has been replaced by mitigation efforts including close observation, the use of pest traps to detect an insect outbreak, and low-temperature freezing to stop an infestation. The lingering effects of the past use of pesticides are still present today, and are why it was necessary to wear personal protective equipment (PPE) such as lab coats and N-95 masks during this phase of the project.

Over the decades, conservation has evolved into a discipline that attempts to manage most aspects of the museum environment to minimize material degradation. In addition to pest mitigation, museum lighting, temperature, humidity, off-gassing, and airflow are some of the physical factors that are carefully studied and calibrated to preserve objects in the museum collection. Many of the deinstalled items had been on continuous display for over 70 years.

A Menominee shirt, photographed after deinstallation and shown in Figure 116, illustrates the consequences of continuous exposure to light. This fading is cumulative and irreversible. To reduce the impact of light exposure going forward, the team incorporated microfade testing (MFT) as part of the assessment process for items going on display. MFT data provides an accurate sense of how items will be impacted by light exposure and helps inform discussions about how long something can go on display.

Collection Documentation

One of the Conservation Department's major jobs is to carefully document the condition of items in the collection. This is done for multiple reasons. It serves as a record for historic comparison to facilitate discussion of possible treatment recommendations. Documentation

FIGURE 116 | (left) Mannequin with Menominee shirt | (right) Shirt laid flat showing the irreversible effects of 70 years of continuous exposure to light | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 155877, Photographs by Ellen Jordan and J. Kae Good Bear, Conservation Department

FIGURE 117 | Orthophoto of Silver Horn's tipi liner created after deinstallation of the tipi liner from its case | The orthophoto provides accurate documentation of the item's condition upon deinstallation, with realistic color and surface topography—free of the geometric distortion intrinsic to photography from a single camera point | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 96796, Photograph by Mackenzie Fairchild, Conservation Department

consists of detailed high-resolution photographs of items as well as condition assessments and reports. These photographs help document the condition of items, ensure clear communication, can be shared to let community members and researchers know what is in the museum, and help them decide if they need to study an item in person. Another possible step in documentation is testing for the presence of specific insecticides, paints, or other chemicals that will influence treatment, display, storage, or tribal community use decisions.

Emptying the display cases was the perfect opportunity to assess the condition and photograph all aspects of each item. For instance, as seen in Figure 113, all mannequins were photographed in the round before they were undressed and each item was carefully documented after removal. Another notable deinstalled item was a 1904 tipi liner constructed of sewn semi-tanned hide sections and commissioned by the Field Museum from Kiowa artist Silver Horn. (Figure 117). Due to its large size, it presented a challenge to the photographers. The solution was photogrammetry: a very high-quality composite photograph made up of multiple photographs taken from several different vantage points to create a composite, undistorted image.

As mentioned above, before the introduction of non-toxic control methods employed by today's conservators, pesticides containing heavy metals such as arsenic

FIGURE 118 | Mackenzie Fairchild used a full-frame DSLR attached to a mobile mono stand at a 45° angle towards the liner, and an iPad for tethered imaging | A total of 50 images were taken at different camera positions to capture the entire 3.65 m × 2.11 m tipi liner | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 96796, Photograph by John Weinstein

were used on collection materials. There are few records at the Field Museum that document pesticide use prior to the 2000s. At most, there would be a notation of "poisoned" placed on the record card. As interaction with items can often be hands-on, this impacts the ability of community members to reconnect with collection items. This is a significant problem, because arsenic is toxic and impossible to completely remove. Consequently, the conservation team decided to sample all items coming off display and parts of the old cases to better understand the extent of arsenic-based pesticide application. This data will update our records and help us make better informed decisions on health and safety, handling, loans, and repatriation of collection materials.

FIGURE 119 | Samples used by conservators for testing for the presence of arsenic | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Erin Murphy, Conservation Department

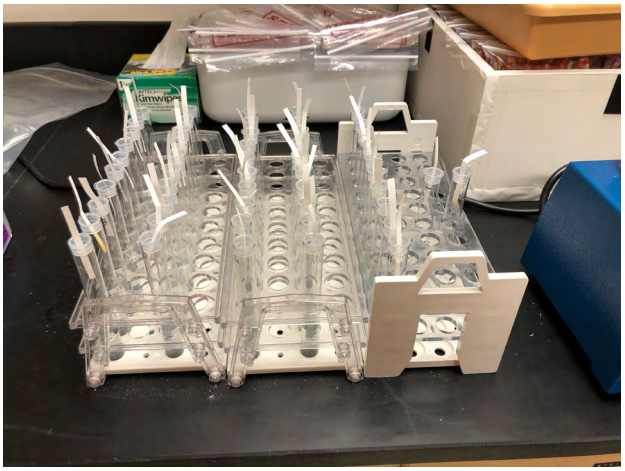

FIGURE 120 | Supplies used by conservators for testing for the presence of arsenic | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Erin Murphy, Conservation Department

FIGURE 121 | From left to right: Brian Vallo and Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa assisted Michelle Brownlee (pictured) and the rest of the Collections and Conservation team with the deinstallation of their communities' cultural heritage | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 65857, Photograph by Ellen Jordan, Conservation Department

Beginning during the deinstallation phase, museum staff met regularly with members of the Native American Advisory Committee to incorporate their views. For example, the deinstallation team worked side by side with committee members to remove Acoma and Hopi items from cases.

Former Governor of Acoma Pueblo Brian Vallo and Hopi Historic Preservation Officer Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa participated in the planning and deinstallation of their communities' cultural heritage (Figure 121). Conservation staff were able to slow down a fast-paced process in order to listen, take note, photograph, and record valuable information about materials, the construction of the items, and storage preferences. When the team observed corn-husk fragments inside a textile, we learned that sometimes offerings were placed in the Acoma woven textiles.

It is rare to be able to assess the consequences of 70 years of uninterrupted display on such a diverse and important museum collection. During the deinstallation phase of this project, the conservation team embraced the opportunity to develop a detailed photographic record, document the presence of chemical contaminants, and assess the condition of items being deinstalled. Beyond updating internal records, an additional objective during this period was to be able to share the information and high-quality images with community members who wanted to learn about the collection.

Updated Conservation Practice during Installation

While deinstallation provides the opportunity for reflection on the history of past practices, installation is when

we can effect change and set new precedents. A recent major shift in conservation centers on efforts to reach out to communities whose items are housed in museum collections and attempt to incorporate traditional knowledge and expertise into their conservation care. This knowledge ranges from concrete details regarding materials and construction techniques to understanding of cultural significance and use, and even to the spiritual care of an item, if required. These collaborative outreach practices emphasize a holistic stewardship practice that draws on diverse knowledge and interests.

Our installation conservation process varied considerably for items in the new hall, with collaboration as a major factor influencing decisions. There are many ways to display items to advantage while simultaneously decreasing long-term harm. As mentioned above, it is essential to minimize deterioration via control of the temperature, humidity, and light levels of our displays. Beyond this, however, conservation's role is to care for the pieces however best suits the piece. There is no one answer to this directive. In order to emphasize the living nature of Native North American cultures, historic items were scheduled for display along with new acquisitions. The large variety of items presented diverse challenges and demanded different styles of outreach. The conservation team felt that definite gains were made toward a more inclusive model of collaborative conservation with communities that will allow for the ongoing incorporation of traditional knowledge and expertise.

Conservation ethics have changed over time. When deciding on a treatment, the Conservation Department must do due diligence, searching out traditional treatments, and making sure that the proper authorities are consulted. The artist or the owner of an object are traditionally considered to be the ultimate authorities on what should be done with them. However, it is not always clear who that is. Usually, we do not know the artist, and sometimes there is not an obvious tribe that can unambiguously claim an item. In these circumstances, extra care is called for, and we prefer to do a less extensive treatment, rather than more. We do not want to be put into the position of arbiter between two groups advocating two different ways of treating an object. However, in some circumstances that may be our role as the stewards of the object. As conservators, our role is to advise on the deterioration and preservation possibilities. In this new hall, we are trying to step back, work as advisors to the traditional owners of the object, and allow our collaborators to make the final decision on treatments. The following are some examples of the diverse ways in which we worked to accommodate the desires of individuals or communities for their objects.

Flexible Treatment Plans

Collaboration may lead in unexpected directions, so treatment plans need to be flexible. One consultation led us to a more extensive treatment than we would have considered. As discussed above, we worked extensively with Brian Vallo to deinstall some Acoma textiles. Later, a fragile Acoma textile was chosen for display in the new exhibit and conservation recommended a slant board display to minimize stress on the textile. We also tested the textile with MFT to determine the best light levels and length of display. We presented our recommendations to Brian, and together we used the MFT data to arrive at display length and light levels. For the actual installation, however, he wanted the textile to be placed on a mannequin, as this would allow "her to be displayed properly." This desire led us to a treatment plan to reinforce the textile, to give extra support and allow her to drape without distortion, so she could present her best self to the world.

In another instance, specialists from the Native community stepped up to manage the proposed treatment

FIGURE 122 | Acoma Cape on a mannequin featured in the gallery exhibition on Chaco Canyon | This illustrates a mounting decision made through collaboration with Brian Vallo | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 45091, Photograph by Katie Linder, Conservation Department

FIGURE 123 | From left to right, Field Museum Conservator Erin Murphy working with Blackfoot Elders Charlene Plume and Annette Bruised Head on the restoration of the Headdress | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 71988, Photograph by Katie Linder, Conservation Department

of a Native headdress. Through outreach efforts, conservation got to know the members of the Blackfoot Stand-Up Headdress Society (see their story in Part II). Charlene Plume, an elder with the authority to create these headdresses, was interested in working with the department for the headdress scheduled to go on display. She expressed interest in personally overseeing the restoration at the museum and made efforts to gather 28 new eagle feathers. In the end, there were not enough feathers to replace those in the headdress as she desired, but almost a full week of work at the museum made sure that the ceremonial headdress presented itself well for the exhibit. Modern conservators do not commonly recommend restoration of items. However, as a unique piece that gets passed down through generations, the headdress needed to properly represent the ancestors who owned it in the past, and the conservation team was honored to help the Headdress Society ensure that it did so. Ms. Plume appreciated that the Conservation Department came together to work on this piece, as this is something that the Blackfoot community also assembles to accomplish.

Bibiane Courtois's Repatriation Display

For the Innu, the bear skull is both a sacred item and ceremonial offering. The offered skulls are placed in a tree and left to deteriorate naturally over time (Figure 98). This is the context that Bibiane wanted for her display, to convey the message of cultural knowledge lost to her community and the hope for its return in the future (see their story in Part II). Through her guidance, the design team created a display with the skulls mounted to the back wall of the case in front of an image of the forest. This simulated how the skulls would have originally been offered and left to deteriorate. Both skulls exhibited dental decay. Only one skull, attached to a branch, exhibited detachment between the bark and the underlying wood. This allowed the skull and bark to shift along the branch. In all, there were several parts that could detach from the skulls, and displaying them without stabilization could create more damage. While this is the necessary outcome in their original context, it was not desirable for parts to detach inside the case or potentially be lost in the museum. This presented a unique challenge both in creating suitable mounts and in stabilizing the skulls. Research was done to find a treatment that would enable the skulls to be displayed on mounts against the wall, while also allowing the skulls to deteriorate if returned to their original context. Conservation materials were selected knowing that they would remain stable while inside the case, but would break down if left to external environmental elements. The choice of materials and method were discussed with Bibiane, and she relayed this to the elders in her community. With her approval, treatment proceeded in an effort to actualize her vision.

Bibiane was very giving of her time, not only as a collaborator on the repatriation story, but as a member of the project's advisory committee. She relayed fascinating stories about the relationship between Innu and the bear; this led to our team learning about unexpected aspects of preservation. When discussing light levels for the display, she requested that they be low and motion-activated, as the skulls needed to "rest" when not being viewed. This added dimension of our understanding may impact items in our collection as we incorporate it into our future collaborative process.

Contemporary Art and Working with the Artist

Ideally, conservation staff would always have the opportunity to work with artists to determine how to approach the conservation of their pieces, as some may want their art to deteriorate as part of the meaning inherent in their work. Realistically, however, such consultation is usually impossible. Because of the special nature of the new Native North America Hall, we did have the opportunity to discuss several artists' visions directly with them. Since part of the purpose of the new Hall was to emphasize that Native American culture has not disappeared, the work of living artists is a significant portion of the exhibit.

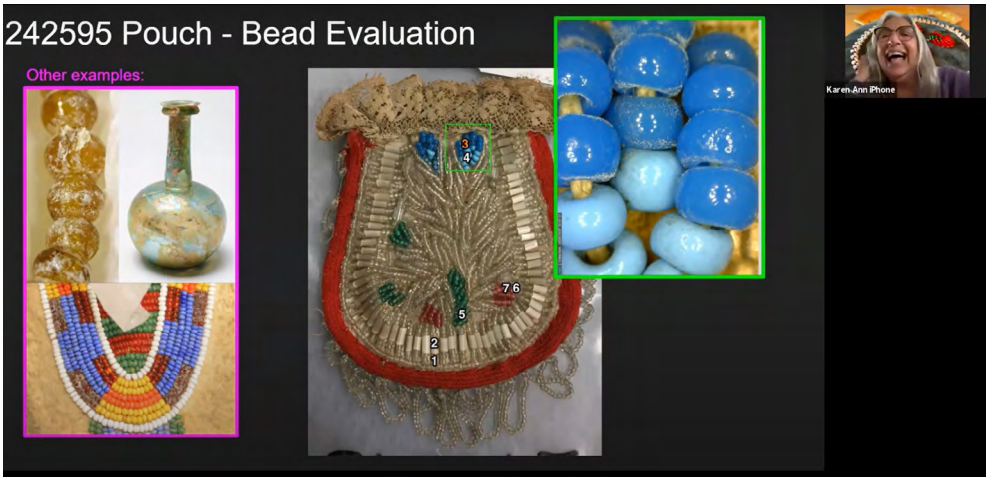

FIGURE 124 | Screenshot from one of the collaborative virtual discussions with Karen Ann Hoffman | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 242595

One artist with pieces in the new exhibit was Karen Ann Hoffman, an Iroquois raised beadworker from the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin. It was a pleasure to work with her directly to determine what she, as the artist, wanted done to conserve her work. During our collegial virtual meetings, we also shared detailed pictures of the pieces that had been chosen from the collection for the exhibit as well as condition maps highlighting the damaged areas.

We outlined treatment possibilities for the pieces, how she takes care of her items, and if she had any recommendations. As one of the first things to break on a piece is the dangles, she tends to use double threads on her work. She recommended that we use this method when securing the beads on a pouch in our collection (Figure 125; Figure 126).

The easy give-and-take facilitated by this type of discussion allowed both Field Museum staff and our collaborators to exchange knowledge on pieces and materials in general. We were able to discuss her work and address the preferred level of intervention as the pieces age. She confirmed that, if still alive, she would like to fix any damage to her work herself. She asserted that her work should "age gracefully," and undergo "proper care" using "simple remedies" and "minor repairs." Natural deterioration is fine. For example, on her piece *SkyWoman* (Figure 30) she approved cleaning, dusting, fixing a thread here and

FIGURE 125 | Before-treatment image of a beaded purse made by a Haudenosaunee Ancestor, ca. 1900s | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 337637, Photograph by Mackenzie Fairchild, Conservation Department

FIGURE 126 | After-treatment image of a beaded purse made by a Haudenosaunee Ancestor, ca. 1900s | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 337637, Photograph by Katie Linder, Conservation Department

there, lubing the joints, polishing the brass, but "if the damage is irreversible 'just let her go.'" It made us feel good that in the end she stated "*SkyWoman* couldn't get any better care than at the Field Museum."

Forging New Relationships and Increasing Accessibility

During this whole project, conservation staff made a conscious effort to be available, accessible, and welcoming. To encourage input from outside sources and a broad array of stakeholders, it was necessary to provide an avenue for that input. Building relationships with Native communities also requires transparency and includes increased communication, flexible scheduling, and a willingness to listen and change. It is important to provide value to all participants and not just have meetings built around obtaining information without providing something in return.

As part of this effort, during the installation phase, procedures were updated to arsenic-test any collections' items selected for display. This was important to them, because their loaned items were often going into the same new display case. This provided an opportunity to give back to our collaborators and their communities by sharing test results with them and Tribal Historic Preservation Officers. There is serious interest in pesticide identification and testing methods, especially in bringing this knowledge and training into Native communities. The Conservation Department plans to continue fostering these relationships through continued onsite sample testing and by providing future workshops.

To ensure that current best practices informed the project, we engaged in a concerted effort both to learn from others and to share our work. Conservation staff routinely visited with colleagues at community centers and museums and traveled to 11 institutions around the country while undertaking this work. We shared our work practices with community collaborators and visiting researchers, university students, colleagues, donors, and trustees during behind-the-scenes tours, and at professional conferences.

To make ourselves more available and encourage a higher degree of comfort working with us, the team planned and participated in many presentations and workshops. Of note were workshops given at the annual conference of the Association of Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums (ATALM), an organization dedicated to preserving and advancing the language, history, culture, and lifeways of Indigenous peoples. This yearly conference draws from 352 tribes across the US, and the hands-on workshops are highly attended. The year before the pandemic our workshop topics included "Caring for Feathers" and "Mold Remediation."

Conclusions

Study of the remodeling and reenvisioning of the NNAH illustrates how much conservation practice in museums has changed over the past 70 years. Modern practice emphasizes community outreach, detailed documentation that increases accessibility, care that preserves items for future study, and maximization of parameters to minimize damage and environmental deterioration.

The deinstallation phase provided insight into the consequences of long-term display of items with minimal conservation input. We took advantage of the flow of items during deinstallation to properly assess and photograph items while expanding arsenic testing within the collection. Throughout the renovation project, we were able to apply current documentation and analytical techniques such as photogrammetry and microfade testing to a broader array of objects. Community outreach and collaboration also led to the successful development of ongoing, mutually beneficial relationships that helped inform conservation work especially during the project's installation phase.

As a practical matter, it is essential to truly foster the relationships necessary for modern collaborative conservation. It is hoped that the relationships we built, and continue to build, over the course of this project will be nourishing for both the Museum and Native communities. Native American community members have expressed interest in continued discussions with conservators, collection managers, and other staff about care of items in the Museum's collections. Drawing on these relationships, conservators will continue to collaborate with descendant community members to incorporate traditional knowledge and preferences for care. We also aim to share current museum conservation practices with our collaborators and provide information and training on topics of interest to community members.

16

COLLECTIONS REFLECTIONS

Continuing toward Collaborative, Community-Guided Collections Management

MICHELLE BROWNLEE (TURTLE MOUNTAIN OJIBWE), KATIE HILLSON (OSAGE NATION), EMILY STARCK

PERHAPS ONE OF the greatest lessons that the collections management team learned from our team of advisors was that collaboration with Native communities can—and should—happen throughout every step of the Native North American Hall renovation process, including the process of deinstalling the old display of Native North American items. For the collections team specifically, collaboration efforts began with reaching out to tribal communities to extend a notification about any deinstallation activities involving the communities' affiliated items. Also, we wanted to use this notification to open the door to communication about community preferences for how these items should ideally be cared for, handled, and stored following the deinstallation process, based on community members' knowledge of the items and their cultural significance. One thing to recognize is that many Native community members believe that these items have a set life cycle and should be left to deteriorate naturally. Contrary to that belief, museum collections staff are typically trained with the mindset of doing everything to preserve collection items for as long as possible in order to extend their educational value for the public. These differing mindsets were yet another reason why efforts toward collaboration are so essential.

Before reaching out to the tribal communities, we first reviewed all of the collection items that were recorded in the collections database as being located on display in the Native North American Hall, in order to determine which communities we should notify. We then organized the items into lists based on their collection provenience information (the chronology of the ownership, custody, or location of a historical item). Unfortunately, collections records from more than a hundred years ago are not always the most reliable, as they were severely limited by the collector's experiences and interpretations at the time of collection. In addition to collectors' records, we relied on maps of tribal reservations and on the knowledge of our advisors, curators, and repatriation staff to figure out which communities to contact. In one instance, we came across several Odawa items on display in the old hall with catalog cards stating that they came from "Queen Sound, Ontario"—a location that does not seem to exist, making

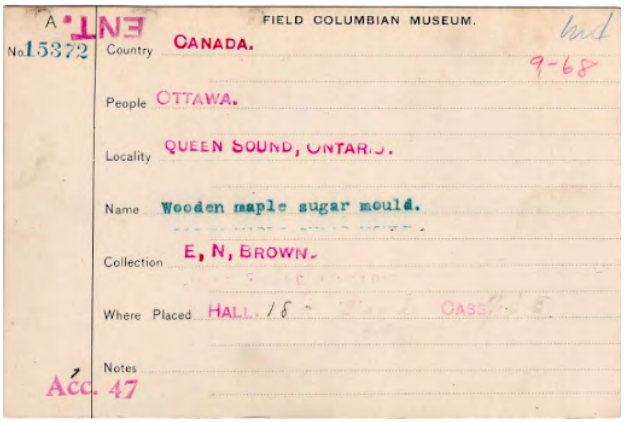

FIGURE 127 | Catalog card for an item with its origin given as "Queen Sound, Ontario" | © The Field Museum, Cat. card for 15372, Photograph by Amanda Keen

it very difficult for us to determine which Odawa community to reach out to. It was only later, after scouring maps of southern Ontario, that we determined that these items may actually have come from Queen *Island*, giving us a clearer image of the items' origins.

Contacting dozens of diverse tribal communities regarding pages of information with affiliated collection items was no small task, and we put a lot of thought into choosing a method of communication that would make the most sense in these circumstances. On the one hand, we wanted to save time for the Tribal Historic Preservation Officers (THPOs) of the relevant tribal communities by providing robust documentation and photographs of the relevant collection items outright. On the other hand, we did not want to add too much to THPOs' already heavy workloads. Thankfully, our advisors provided us with more context into the Tribal Historic Preservation Offices that we might be communicating with, warning us not to send photographs of potentially culturally sensitive items without checking that the recipient was comfortable seeing those images. Our advisors also cautioned that we should allot plenty of time for the tribal representatives to meet and discuss with their own councils before they responded to our communications.

We decided to send out formal letters of notification, followed by an email with a copy of the same letter, to each THPO with a list of the deinstalled items that we believed to be affiliated with their communities (Figure 128). In total, we created 75 letters and lists of affiliated items, and sent them out over the course of a year. Each was sent a few months before we were scheduled to deinstall the sections of the exhibit hall that contained the affiliated items, in hopes of giving tribal authorities time to respond with any requests they might have regarding item storage, handling, and care.

By the end of the deinstallation portion of the exhibit hall renovation project, we had received responses from 28 communities. The responses ranged in content from a simple acknowledgement of the notification letter to an expressed interest in Tribal representatives being present for the physical deinstallation of their affiliated items. The most common request was for more information and photographs of the listed items. Also noteworthy was that the Museum's number of repatriation claims swiftly doubled after the deinstallation notification letters were sent. These communications helped start conversations about the items that could potentially be eligible for return under NAGPRA. We cannot overstate how impactful the responses of THPOs were in shaping our actions throughout the entire deinstallation process.

The physical deinstallation of the Native North American Hall took more than a year to complete. We

[redacted]

November 21, 2018

Dear [redacted],

I hope this letter finds you well. I am writing to you today to let you know that the Field Museum of Natural History is planning a large-scale renovation of the Native North American exhibition hall, which will include the deinstallation of all items currently on display. The installation of this entirely new exhibition is being developed in collaboration with tribal representatives and an advisory committee. The deinstallation process began this fall and will continue the week of December 3, 2018. We have compiled a list of the objects that will soon be placed back into storage in the upcoming months. Attached is the information for cultural items we understand may be affiliated with [redacted]. Please let me know if you are interested in also viewing images of the items, and I can send those as well.

We understand that some communities have protocols for the return of ceremonial items to rest and we would like to honor those, if possible, after the deinstallation. If there are any items in the attached list that require special attention please let me know and we will do our best to accommodate your wishes. Feel free to contact me by phone or email if you have any concerns, questions, or recommendations regarding the care of these items.

Respectfully,

Assistant Collections Manager,
North American Anthropology
[redacted]

Attachment:
Object list (1 page)

Object List: [redacted]

Catalog No.	Description	Provenience
[redacted]	basket cap	North America, U.S., [redacted]
[redacted]	eye shade	North America, U.S., [redacted]
[redacted]	leggings	North America, U.S., [redacted]
[redacted]	necklace	North America, U.S., [redacted]
[redacted]	necklace	North America, U.S., [redacted]
[redacted]	buckskin dress	North America, U.S., [redacted]
[redacted]	necklace	North America, U.S., [redacted]
[redacted]	necklace	North America, U.S., [redacted]
[redacted]	woman's dress	North America, U.S., [redacted]
[redacted]	legging	North America, U.S., [redacted]
[redacted]	shirt	North America, U.S., [redacted]
[redacted]	leggings	North America, U.S., [redacted]
[redacted]	moccasins	North America, U.S., [redacted]

Object List: [redacted]

Catalog No.	Description	Provenience
[redacted]	basket	North America, U.S., [redacted]

FIGURE 128 | Example of the letter sent to Tribal Historic Preservation Offices

divided the work into several different sections and tackled one section at a time every couple of months, usually moving from west to east across the exhibit hall. This allowed most of the hall to stay open to the public throughout the year of deinstallation work. This deinstallation plan also allowed our teams enough time to process and move sets of deinstalled items into storage before beginning another section. During the weeks before each deinstallation section, after sending out letters of notification, the collections team prepared for a deinstallation by counting the items in each exhibit case and trying to identify them while they were still inside of the case, using mainly their catalog numbers and their minimal catalog record descriptions. Taking the extra step of preparing lists for THPO deinstallation notification letters also helped with this process, as it encouraged us to get a head start on identifying each and every item and working to confirm their affiliated communities before they were even removed from the cases.

But inventorying each case before a deinstallation section came with its own set of challenges. Sometimes we would discover an item in the case labeled with an incorrect catalog number, with a number that was too difficult to read after decades of wear and time on display, or sometimes even with no catalog number at all. It became extremely difficult to track down catalog information for an item when we had no catalog number as a reference, especially with over 770,000 items in the North American anthropology collection alone. These situations often required digging deep into the collections database records and accession files to try to figure out what catalog number the item should have, confirm their affiliated tribal community, and decide where the item should be stored.

We also prepared simple boxes or trays constructed from acid-free blue board for items to rest on while they were being transported out of the exhibit cases and into a designated storage space. For larger, unusually shaped, or more delicate items, we worked closely with the dedicated conservation team to pinpoint potential weak spots in the items and prepare temporary mounts for the items before they came off of display. This could take a few hours, days, or even weeks to plan and create, depending on the complexity of the mount or inserts needed to stabilize the item.

The days leading up to the deinstallation of an exhibit section usually also involved more focus on logistics and preparatory work in the physical deinstallation space. The collections and conservation teams prepared the physical space by bringing in work tables and lights and laying

FIGURE 129 | Temporary mounts and trays were prepared to support items as they were removed from display | © The Field Museum

plastic on the floor space, tabletops, and transport carts to protect the surfaces from the arsenic and heavy metal pesticides that we worried would fall off of the items upon their immediate removal from the exhibit cases.

For the collections team, work on the day of the deinstallation began with a final confirmation of the catalog numbers for each item as they came off of display. Then we focused on stabilizing the items using blue board trays or boxes, or sometimes the more intricate prebuilt mounts. Once the items were stabilized, we loaded the prepared carts and transported the items across the exhibit halls and into secure collections storage locations until we were able to prepare custom permanent housing for them. We then updated the location records for all deinstalled items in the collections database, ensuring that they could be properly tracked at all times.

After the third phase of deinstallation, a temporary "swing space" was created in the exhibition hall itself, providing us with a convenient area to store and work with up to 500 items immediately after deinstallation. The swing space was also fitted out with three large windows to provide visitors with a behind-the-scenes look at the work being done on the items after they were removed from their cases. Usually, this next step involved creating a custom storage mount, or housing, that would support each item and stabilize it while in long-term storage. Each item was assessed by the Collections Management team

FIGURE 130 | Transporting deinstalled items through the museum to temporary collections storage | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Nicole Passerotti

FIGURE 131 | The Conservation team at work in the "swing space" | © The Field Museum

to determine the appropriate type of housing. For articles of clothing, pillows were created out of archival material to go inside the garment, ensuring that the fabric or leather would not crease over time. Similarly, soft structured inserts were created for moccasins to maintain their shape. In order to protect the items in storage, most housing included a custom-made archival storage box. We also built box lids with clear mylar "windows," which protected the items from dust and debris while allowing them to remain visible on the storage shelf.

While the mylar windows allowed for easy viewing of some items, a number of deinstalled items were considered by their communities to be culturally sensitive, and in some cases, not appropriate for the general public to view. With the guidance of THPOs and advisors, we were able to isolate items deemed culturally sensitive from public view during the deinstallation process. Most often, these items were funerary, ceremonial, or items of cultural patrimony—meaning that the item has central and ongoing historical, traditional, or cultural importance to the affiliated tribe rather than being property owned by an individual tribal or organizational member. We also kept

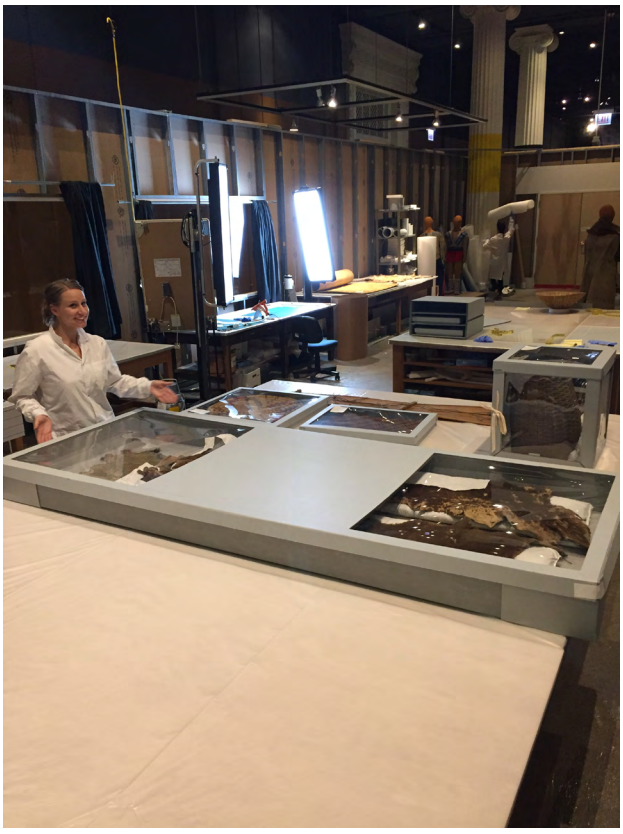

FIGURE 132 | Mylar windows built into the box lids allowed for easy viewing of the items inside | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Emily Starck

FIGURE 133 | Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa and Brian Vallo specifically requested to be present during the deinstallation of two display cases that contained Hopi and Acoma materials | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Erin Murphy

exhibitions and conservation staff informed so that our teams could work together to ensure these items were not in any public viewing spaces while we were working with them. When creating housing for sensitive items, we created boxes with lids, but no mylar windows. In other instances, we learned that some items needed to be allowed to breathe, and should not be placed in lidded boxes. By consulting with community representatives, we worked to ensure that items were housed respectfully and appropriately, according to their individual needs.

Two of the Advisory Committee members, Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa and Brian Vallo, specifically requested to be present during the deinstallation of two display cases that contained Hopi and Acoma materials. These cases remained closed until we were able to schedule a time for both Stewart and Brian to be present, so these display cases were deinstalled inside the walls of the swing space. It was during this deinstallation that we were able to learn about the Hopi and Acoma items that were being taken off display, ask in person about any specific care protocols that should be followed, and adjust our care practices accordingly.

Once all the items were deinstalled, the next challenge was to find space for nearly 2,000 items in permanent collections storage. For the smaller items, this was not much of an issue. The literal largest challenge was to find room for the biggest items. In order to accommodate everything in our collections storage spaces, new shelves and storage furniture are being installed as items are relocated and organized in a way that makes sense for the space and accommodates any special requests from the community.

As we dismantled the old hall, our Collections team was also part of the efforts to envision what would take the place of the exhibit cases we were emptying. Our team of Native collaborators and museum staff were starting to map out which themes they would like to explore in the new exhibition, and attention soon turned to which items in the museum's collections might be able to help tell those stories. However, less than two months after the very last item was deinstalled, our team and the rest of the world ran into an unexpected obstacle: the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. Social distancing and isolation became the order of the day, and we were presented with the unprecedented situation of figuring out how to help select items for a major museum exhibition without being able to physically access those items. While we were fortunate to be able to take much of our work home, we could not simply pack up collections items and examine them in our living rooms.

Like so many other workplaces, we turned to technology. As our collaborators explored their visions for their sections of the new exhibit over video call, we scoured our collections database remotely in search of the items they had expressed interest in. This method was not foolproof: items that had been mislabeled or misattributed in the database would not come up during our purely digital searches. Other items did not yet have photographs uploaded to the database. And while some item accession records had been digitized, the sheer volume of paper documents stored in the museum's records room meant that many of the records describing the history of collections items were initially inaccessible. Still, using the information that we were able to access remotely, our

teams began building item lists: the future exhibit was starting to take shape.

Eventually, we were able to cautiously make our way back into the museum for a few days a week—and quickly got to work locating and photographing the items we had discussed with our collaborators. Since a photograph can only capture so much information about a three-dimensional item, Collections Assistant Michelle Brownlee developed the idea of hosting "virtual collections visits" over video call. While the rest of the team watched live, Michelle used a tablet to pan over items in storage, pausing to give the team a closer look at particular items, or to turn an item to give collaborators a more complete view. With collaborators' permission, these virtual visits were recorded, allowing for much easier documentation of our conversations and the items we had viewed.

Having some time on-site also allowed us to scour our records room in search of more background information on each of the items our collaborators were selecting. The Field Museum accessioned its first items in 1893 and has continued collecting ever since; the documentation accompanying those items ranged from dog-eared nineteenth-century letters written in flowing cursive to printouts of emails from just a few years ago. While the older records often contained few details about who had made an item, where exactly it had come from, and how it had been used, we did uncover some information that shed light on the lives these items had led before they came to the museum. One item, a belt (67520) from South Dakota, had been accessioned by the museum in 1899. A 122-year-old inventory list revealed the name of the artist. Pumpkin Rind, a Dakota or Lakota woman, had spent two years creating the belt and adorning it with beautiful, vibrant quillwork. Another item—a whistle (59463) made by a Pawnee Ancestor—was carved from what we initially assumed was bird bone. However, a museum catalog ledger book from 1901 contained some unexpected information: the whistle had actually been made from the leg bone of a mountain lion.

Such archival discoveries provided important pieces of the puzzle, but it was the conversations with our Native

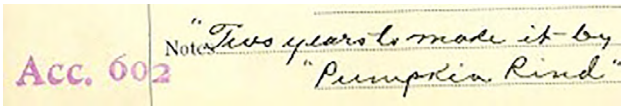

FIGURE 134 | Catalog card for a belt created by Dakota or Lakota artist Pumpkin Rind, featuring intricate quillwork and beaded details | © The Field Museum, Cat. card for 67520, Photograph by J. Kae Good Bear

FIGURE 135 | Detail of belt | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 67520, Photograph by J. Kae Good Bear

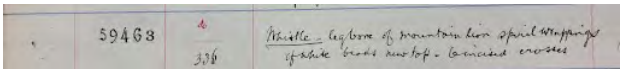

FIGURE 136 | The original catalog ledger-book entry describing a bone whistle (59463) made by a Pawnee Ancestor | © The Field Museum, Cat. Ledger 15, Photograph by Emily Starck

FIGURE 137 | A bone whistle made by a Pawnee Ancestor | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 59463, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

advisors and collaborators that truly illuminated the histories and meanings of the items currently in the Field's collections. For far too long, the descriptions and classifications of (mostly white) museum staff had been considered the most authoritative studies of collections items. Over recent decades, the museum has been honored to welcome more and more Native visitors to the collections, who have shared their knowledge and expertise. As we discussed the items selected for *Native Truths*, our collaborators continued to share invaluable insights and histories. While researching a toy bison (79370.1) being considered for display near the Pawnee Earth Lodge, we came across information in the museum's records indicating that the toy had been collected in Oklahoma sometime before 1907. When we viewed images of the toy over video call with members of the Pawnee Cultural Resource Division, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer Matt Reed noticed that the color of the clay used to make the tiny bison did not seem to match the color of most Oklahoma clay. Rather, the particular shade of grayish brown seemed much more similar to clay found in Nebraska, where Pawnee communities had lived before being forced to move to Oklahoma in 1875. With this new observation, a more complete picture of the toy bison emerged: perhaps this toy had been made in Nebraska before Pawnee communities were forced out, and a Pawnee family had brought the toy along with them to Oklahoma, where it was collected several decades later and then sold to the Field Museum.

Similar questions about an item's origins emerged when a pair of moccasins (155681—see Figure 15) were chosen for a section of the exhibition exploring Chicago's past, present, and future as a Native place. According to the museum's records, the moccasins were collected in Kansas from a Potawatomi community. However, members of the Advisory Committee noted that while the colors used in the ribbonwork adorning the moccasins are typical of Potawatomi moccasins, the overall design is Myaamia. These moccasins may therefore represent the work of a Potawatomi person who married into a Myaamia family, a Myaamia person who married into a Potawatomi family, or a person with both Potawatomi and Myaamia heritage. Since both groups had lived in the Great Lakes region and were then forcibly relocated to states such as Kansas, the moccasins also represent the endurance and resilience of Native peoples and cultural traditions in the face of immense hardship and upheaval. Such nuanced histories are often not reflected in the museum's early records, nor can they easily be entered into many sections of our digital database. With our collaborators' permission, we recorded the information they shared with us in the free text fields of the museum's database, allowing us to continue to share these histories with Native community members who visit the collections in the future.

FIGURE 138 | Toy bison made from clay by a Pawnee Ancestor | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 79370.1, Photograph by Mackenzie Fairchild

Finally, after years of video calls, emails, and even the occasional in-person meeting, the items were carefully placed into their display cases. As *Native Truths* opened to the public, the Collections team continued to reflect on what this entire process means for the future of collections care at the Field Museum. Working as part of such a large team of internal and external partners underscored the need for thorough documentation of collections items, so that future museum staff and community members will be able to see how and why items were chosen for display, and by whom. While the pandemic made caring for and providing access to a physical collection much more difficult in some ways, such an extraordinary situation also highlighted the importance and benefits of digitization in the collections management process. Moving forward, collections photography, physical record scans, virtual video visits, and 3D scanning and printing all hold enormous potential to increase access to collections for community members who may not be able to travel to Chicago. Since some items should not be photographed or replicated, these digitization efforts must be carried out in close collaboration with community representatives. More than anything, that is the enduring lesson *Native Truths* holds for collections management: community collaboration and co-curation must be woven into every aspect of what we do. For far too long, museum collections have been walled off from their communities. We must do everything in our power to continue tearing those walls down, fostering connections not just between communities and the museum, but between communities and those of their belongings that are currently in our care.

17

THE MAKING OF *NATIVE TRUTHS: OUR VOICES, OUR STORIES*

MATT MATCUK

THIS CHAPTER HAS been written from the perspective of a non-Native person who helped create part of a museum exhibition about something more important than any museum exhibition. It's dedicated to the Native community members, activists, artists, elders, scholars, and museum professionals who worked on *Native Truths*. They were, are, and will be the most important people in this story. We are deeply indebted to our Native American colleagues for their insight, guidance, patience, graciousness, and hard work.

To hear the whole story about making the *Native Truths* exhibition, you would need to talk with the 130+ Native people who worked directly on it, and with the uncountable Native American elders, knowledge-keepers, and community members they consulted. Native people advised on scholarly issues of language, culture, and history for this exhibition. They created works—out of beads, stone, glass, video, fabric, metal, digital programming, fiber, shell, wood, paint, and clay—that would appear in the exhibition, sometimes accompanied by items from the museum's collections. They created the hall's flooring and benches from trees grown on Tribal lands. They told stories, animated videos, translated languages, made maps, wrote poetry, composed music. They shared photographs, heirlooms, dance, documents, song, prayer, and insight.

This chapter can't tell the whole story behind *Native Truths* even from an Exhibitions Department perspective, because it discusses mainly the work of the Exhibition Development Division—one of the five divisions that make up our department. Any account of the making of this exhibition should at least give the reader a sense of the range of skill and expertise that contributed to it. At the Field Museum, here is how we divide up the work of creating exhibitions.

Let's start with the *Planning Division:*

- The **Planning Director** works closely with the **Head of Exhibitions** to conceptualize and define projects on the front end.
- Planning was instrumental in bringing to the public several exhibitions co-curated with Native artists that put their contemporary works in dialogue with items from the museum's collections: *Bunky Echo-Hawk: Modern Warrior*, *Drawing on Tradition: Kanza Artist Chris Pappan*, and *Full Circle/Omani Wakan: Lakota Artist Rhonda Holy Bear*. These projects, along with *Apsáalooke Women & Warriors*—a large temporary exhibition that subsequently traveled to other venues—helped us iterate into the personal storytelling approach used in the *Native Truths* exhibition.
- This Division will also lead planning of the slate of exhibitions to be staged in the changing galleries in *Native Truths*. And it is likely that some of those small-gallery exhibitions will find yet another life as traveling exhibitions at some point in the future.

Next is the *Operations Division:*

- **Project Managers** make sure that every Exhibitions project is completed on time, within budget, at its specified scope, to the satisfaction of all stakeholders. They run the team meetings, set (and adjust) the schedule, serve as liaison to all internal and external stakeholders, manage contracts for vendors, pay the

bills, and make sure that the many moving parts of an exhibition project are synchronized.
- **Registrars** record the status, location, and condition of every object, from the moment a potential lender says they might allow us to display it, to the moment that it is returned to its owner, or to our collections. They make shipping arrangements, uncrate and inspect incoming loans, do detailed condition reporting, and oversee each object's movements throughout the institution.

Then there is the *Exhibitions Design and Media Division:*

- **Exhibition Designers** are responsible for the look and feel of an exhibition—how the space configuration, object placement, lighting, cases, immersive environments, sound, and materials and finishes work to achieve the exhibition's goals. But they are also responsible for ensuring that a host of technical and practical issues are addressed—such as meeting ADA (Americans with Disabilities Act) requirements, fire and safety regulations, and object conservation needs.
- **Graphic Designers** frame ideas in ways that will be engaging and rewarding. They design and arrange an exhibition's interpretive text and images so that ideas and objects are easily connected, and so that visitors have a clear sense of where to look for the information most important to them. They are engineers of visual information as much as they are artists.
- **Media Producers** create video and audio elements that have to function not only as freestanding entities, but also as situated elements within the overall visitor experience. In a museum exhibition, media pieces can set a mood, tell a story, provide a backdrop, create context, or immerse visitors in an environment in ways that go beyond the limitations of a traditional screen.

The *Production Division* houses the staff who turn ideas into actual experiences:

- **Exhibition Preparators** build the physical elements of our shows: climate-secure cases, reading rails, walls of various types, scrims, seating elements, platforms, projection surfaces, and immersive environments, to name just a few.
- **Graphics Production Specialists** print in-case and rail-mounted labels, graphic elements, photographs, illustrations, scenic backdrops, interpretive text for mechanical interactives, vinyl graphics, dimensional lettering, and anything else that might be used to carry the written word.
- **Mount Makers** design, build, and install everything that touches an object. They craft brass "spider mounts," acrylic stands, earthquake mounts, cushion mounts, shelves, and monofilament mounts. Their work supports and protects objects—from microfossils to mammoth skulls—while clearly and dramatically displaying them to the visitor.
- **Interactives Specialists** produce the mechanical and digital interactive elements of exhibitions. If you have ever been in an exhibition and played a game, manipulated an element on a digital screen, pulled a lever, or tested an item's weight, flexibility, conductivity, movement, or temperature, then you've experienced the work of an Interactives Specialist.
- **AV Specialists** do the work that supports sound and vision. AV technicians can illuminate the individual bones of a dinosaur, surround you with birdsong, or enable pinpoint delivery of the audio portion of a media piece. And they coordinate, balance, and sequence all this through a centralized digital control system that the visitor remains blissfully unaware of.
- **Replication Specialists** reproduce the natural and manmade worlds. This might include constructing a detailed miniature-scale diorama of an archaeological dig site, building the rock platform a dinosaur stands on, creating the green canopy of leaves overhead, or casting a set of animal skulls to allow a visitor to touch the different types of teeth in each.

This brings us to the last of the five divisions: *Exhibition Development.*

- **Exhibition Developers** work with Academic and Community Content Advisors to create and organize the content of the exhibition: the ideas that will be communicated, the objects that will communicate those ideas, and the arrangement of ideas and objects into the exhibition narrative. Developers work with the other team members to fulfill the exhibition's sensorimotor, affective, and cognitive visitor-experience goals—what we hope the visitor will do, feel, and think. This includes assigning ideas to—and co-creating content for—media pieces, graphic elements, digital and mechanical interactives, touchable objects, dioramas and immersive environments, and any other of the many experiences that exhibitions can offer to visitors.

I'm honored to be able to help tell this story, and to note the Exhibition Developers who gave so much of themselves to make the exhibition what it is: Cecilia Ackerman, Susan Golland, Tori Lee, Ryan Schuessler, and Meredith Whitfield.[1]

Creating this exhibition was challenging for everyone involved, for many different reasons.

For the Developers, the challenge was:

- to transform the nature of their job from creator to facilitator;
- in order to build relationships with over 130 Content Advisors representing members of over 100 Indigenous Tribes and Nations across the continent;
- whose people have suffered incalculable injustice from our institution and others like it …

to do so:

- without having prior knowledge of any Native cultures; and
- with no formal training in consensus-building, conflict resolution, cultural diplomacy, or community-based work …

in order to create an exhibition:

- on a complex, multifaceted, deeply historic, and sensitive topic;
- that blurs the boundaries between anthropology and personal history; and
- that changes the way the museum works with Native Peoples.

Without a plan.

They would probably agree that working on *Native Truths* didn't just change their jobs—it changed them. The demands placed on the Developers were exceptional, and they rose to the challenge. This text is also dedicated to them.

Working on *Native Truths* was challenging and stressful. Yet, to the credit of the staff, throughout this time all of them underscored that—no matter how stressful their position might be—it couldn't be compared to what our Native colleagues endured, successfully challenged, and continued to work to change, every day.

[1] It's worth noting that even those Exhibition Developers not assigned to the project full-time—Monisa Ahmed, Marie Georg, and Ben Miller—worked on *Native Truths* at some point, and were a part of its success. These three jumped in to create elements of the exhibition and worked behind the scenes to support it, while also developing nearly every Field Museum exhibition that was not *Native Truths*, during that four-and-a-half-year period.

Susan Golland, Co-Lead Exhibition Developer

Struggling to define roles at the beginning was stressful. I remember when we first started, someone on the advisory team said, "Get comfortable feeling uncomfortable," and I don't think I ever got comfortable feeling uncomfortable. It was uncomfortable in different ways throughout the whole process.

The typical process of creating exhibitions was really being challenged by this project. How do you effectively challenge a process and still make something at the same time? I don't think anyone knew how we were supposed to do that. Sometimes we felt like we were building the airplane while flying it.

* * *

When we began, we didn't know much about where we would end up. Here's what we did know.

- The project would require the deinstallation of the Native North American cultural exhibition that had been there—only slightly modified over time—for more than 70 years.
- The items it showed and the ideas it presented were poorly organized, poorly interpreted, outdated, inaccurate, or—in some cases—frankly offensive.
- Many of the items should not have been displayed in the first place.
- Most of them had been on display for decades longer than they should have, and were suffering damage from light exposure, vibration, dust, heat, environmental contaminants, humidity fluctuations, and destructive mounting techniques. From a museum perspective, the old hall was an embarrassment.
- We knew we would be working within the footprint of the previous exhibition: about 6,500 square feet, not including the gallery that held the Pawnee Earth Lodge.
- We estimated the work would take three and a half to four years.
- We wanted to work closely with Native people so that the exhibition addressed the visitor from the perspective of individual Native Americans.
- We knew we would want to display items from our collections, but not as many as before; and it was

unlikely that anything that had been in the old exhibition would go back out on display.
- We knew that we wanted at least part of the hall to be easily configured to enable changing temporary exhibitions.

That much we knew—and had known for years—but this didn't mean we were able to start. A permanent exhibition renovation takes more money than any museum has sitting in its bank account. For years the museum had created and presented various fundraising proposals for this project, but with limited success.

In 2017, a major donor came forward, expressing interest in providing lead support for the new Native American hall. That kicked off a flurry of activity which culminated in a meeting to outline a more detailed proposal. And it was at that point that the project faced its first crisis. A fundraising proposal needs to give potential donors an idea of what they might be supporting by describing the project's goals, how it will reach those goals, and what it will look like. When illustrating the outcomes of a project that has not yet started, we face a temptation to present ideas as being more fully formed than they actually are.

Sometimes that desire comes from Executive leadership and Institutional Advancement, who naturally want the grant proposal to appear decisive, concrete, and well thought-out. Sometimes the drive toward specificity comes from researchers who have worked for years in their area of specialty, and who see the exhibition as an opportunity to bring particular ideas or information to the public. No one is immune: exhibition staff sometimes develop early-stage ideas and executions that they fall in love with and feel they *must* put into the proposal. Educators are eager to use the proposal as an opportunity to boost funding for programming. Grant proposals are opportunities that everyone wants to get in on, and no one wants their part of the proposal to appear vague, abstract, or indecisive. All of this pushes us invisibly toward over-specificity.

But this project was radically different. If our goal was to co-create an exhibition in collaboration with Native American people—if we wanted this to be an opportunity for Indigenous Peoples to say what they wanted to say, in the way they wanted to say it—then the fewer decisions we made ahead of time the better. Any such decisions would be fulfilling the museum's agenda, not that of Native people.

Having co-created previous exhibitions with members of cultural communities, many of us felt strongly that presenting a detailed plan before speaking with Native people was exactly what we did *not* want to do. Head of Exhibitions Jaap Hoogstraten and Lead Curator Alaka Wali had met with institutions across the country that had completed similar projects and were convinced—as were many at the staff level—that the biggest mistake we could make was to go too far before including Indigenous people.

Four and a half years later, when *Native Truths* opened, one of the Exhibition Developers would note the incongruity of congratulating ourselves on asking people to talk about their own cultures, rather than trying to do it for them. And yet it almost didn't happen. If not for a few stubborn voices, it might have all gone south.

Everything Started Off Rosy

In the spring of 2018, we were elated to hear that our lead donor had stepped forward to provide the bulk of the funds for project. We were also fortunate that the donor saw the long-term need for an endowment that would provide for regular updating and renewal of the exhibition over time. These funds allowed us to add to our staff two Native Content Advisors ("co-curators"), a Native Community Engagement Coordinator, and four Native American collections and conservation professionals.

Our next step was to form a Native American Advisory Committee. Eventually this committee would include 11 Native scholars, artists, community members, and museum professionals from across the United States and Canada who we thought would act as our primary content advisors.

Knowing that this project would require us to work differently than we had in the past, we had added an extra year to the schedule, for relationship-building, and for challenges that we couldn't anticipate.

What we didn't know was that nothing in this exhibition project would be anything like what we'd done before. We had no idea that our fundamental assumptions were about to be challenged, beginning with our assumption that exhibitions were for visitors. In 2016, when we had conducted a survey about renovating one of our permanent halls, visitors—both Native and non-Native—selected the Native American hall as the one most in need of updating. Survey respondents (the majority of whom were non-Native) expressed a strong desire to know more about Native American cultures—and the history of how European colonizers interacted with them. We were encouraged by these findings, and as we went into our first Advisory Committee, we hoped that the desires of the respondents would resonate with the Native people we would be working with.

We launched that meeting thinking three things: Native people would want visitors to know about their cultures; Native people would want to be frank about postcolonial history, and would want non-Native people to learn about that history; and that the opportunity to do this—and to do it in a way that centralized Native voices—would be enthusiastically embraced.

I—along with many other museum staff—was in for a forceful awakening. It started in the first hour of the first Advisory Committee meeting, when one of the advisors said, "The fact that you want to know something about our Tribe doesn't mean that you deserve to know about it."

I was stunned. It had never entered my mind that curiosity could be anything but positive. But it was clear from the outset that our Native colleagues were not interested in generating curiosity about their cultures. And why would they be? The curiosity of colonizers, settlers, and non-Native scientists, artists, academics, hobbyists, and tourists has rarely led to good things for Native people. Like many lessons I would learn, this one seems obvious in hindsight. So much for our first assumption.[2]

The second assumption—that our Native colleagues would be eager to confront a history of injustice—was equally thickheaded. Our Native colleagues had no interest in perpetuating a historical narrative of victimization. Non-Native visitors may have been eager to know more about it—they knew that the education they'd received in school about Native cultures was biased and inaccurate. But rehearsing a narrative of oppression was not the direction our advisors were looking to go. And yet, that history could also not be ignored. This fundamental tension would create some of our biggest challenges.

The last of these three optimistic assumptions—that Native people would be eager to work with us so that they could tell their part of the story—was both true and false. It's true that the people we worked with were eager to tell their stories, but they were not necessarily eager to tell them to visitors. This sounds contradictory, but makes sense. They wanted to tell their stories mainly so that their communities could be proud of their Tribes, traditions, homelands, ancestors, stories, and beliefs.

[2] It should be pointed out that not every non-Native person who worked on this project was as ignorant as I was. Across the building, people's understanding of Native American cultures varied widely. My misguided assumptions weren't shared by many of our younger staff members; or by the anthropologists working in Research and Collections. If you read this and come across passages that show a face-palming lack of awareness, the ignorance shouldn't be interpreted as anyone's but mine.

Tori Lee, Co-Lead Exhibition Developer

I remember feeling a little bit of foreboding after the first big content planning meeting with our advisors. This was going to be much, much, much harder than everyone thought. There was that moment where we sat down, thinking, "Great. We have all these ideas for topics, now how are we going to fulfill them? Who would be the expert?" Nobody had a clear sense of how or who.

Ben Miller, Exhibition Developer

We were trying to figure out what it was going to be like to say, "Okay, this community member—who we haven't met in person and is several thousand miles away—is going to be in charge of telling this story and we're going to let them say what they want to say, and do what we can to turn that into an exhibit." But when we're turning over that control we, the Developers, don't have the answers to give to the rest of the team that's downstream from us. So there was often some tension along the lines of, "Okay. What's in the display? How much space do you need? When are you going to give us the measurements of these items?" And we just weren't in a position to have those answers because we were still feeling things out with someone who was very new to the process of making an exhibit, and they don't know what they want yet. Nor should they.

It's also true that some Native people might have been eager to share their stories with the public—but weren't necessarily eager to do that by working with us. Can you blame them? Museums like ours have violated their ancestor's graves, resisted giving back to Native people what they took, and—until very recently—helped to reinforce the racist and colonialist narratives that we are now struggling to address.

All of us were aware that Native American people might approach a colonial institution such as ours with caution and hesitation. But we had not yet internalized the degree to which many of our colleagues might be uncomfortable working with us—for political and personal reasons. Within their communities, working with non-Native people at the Field Museum on an exhibition of Native American cultures could just as likely be perceived as collusion as it could collaboration.

Then Things Got Hard

Some challenges were the same ones we have with every show. Organizing a large museum exhibition involves hundreds of people, millions of dollars, and years of work. It's a more complicated process than most people expect, and it's usually difficult to get our collaborators to adhere to a schedule that seems, at first, ridiculous: why, for example, would an exhibition's text need to be complete seven months before it opens? But with *Native Truths* the issue of schedule took on deep significance, and gave rise to significant challenges.

Our difficulty in staying on schedule resulted from a perfect storm of factors.

Although it's self-evident in hindsight, *museum staff had not sufficiently considered that this exhibition may not be at the top of our colleagues' priorities list.* As one of the largest and most respected natural history museums in the country, we were accustomed to working with people who were eager to add the Field Museum to their CV. We count on this prestige to motivate those we work with—as academic professionals—to adhere to the schedule they have agreed to.

However, most of the people who worked on this project were not academic researchers. They were leaders in their communities: busy people who were often asked to participate in many projects. Working on *Native Truths* wasn't their day job. And yet that work could be considerable, going into the hundreds of hours. For Exhibitions staff, these projects *are* our day jobs, and we get paid to make them the center of our attention for months or years at a time. We sometimes have difficulty remembering that the community members we work with are not primarily driven by project schedules, operating budgets, attendance goals, or donor relations.

Another factor: *as a large, bureaucratic institution, our decision-making methods are hierarchical and mechanical.* We know who makes which decisions and when. We work within a system with clearly delineated roles, responsibilities, and levels of authority. Although every Native Tribe or Nation has its own culture and processes for decision-making, most of our Native colleagues took a consensus-based approach. And consensus can be slow and messy. As our colleagues turned to their community members and colleagues to reach that consensus, we fell further and further behind.

Consensus-based decision-making is always slower going than hierarchical methods. But *reaching consensus on decisions related to the Native Truths exhibition took even longer due to the incredible diversity of peoples we were working with.* At times, bridging cultural differences—not just between us and our Native colleagues, but among colleagues from different Tribes—felt like being at a UN summit. As it should have: we were working with people from over 100 sovereign governments across the continental US, Alaska, and Canada, each with their own language, history, traditions, values, and beliefs.

It took 16 drafts—created, reviewed, debated, and revised over a period of 18 months—for us to agree on the five key statements that organized the exhibition's semipermanent components.[3] This wasn't a matter of bickering over details of wording, but came from genuine and significant differences between the Tribes and Nations we worked with. As one example, an earlier version of the "connection to land" statement addressed removal and displacement. While this historic trauma was visited on countless Tribes, it didn't happen to all of them: some managed to stay on the land they have always been on.

How could we communicate to visitors—who may not even stop walking on their way through the exhibition—the deep and long-lasting damage caused by tearing people away from their land, while not giving the impression that Native people were powerless victims who were all eventually displaced?

Ryan Schuessler, Co-Lead Exhibition Developer

When we were in this consensus-based mode of decision-making, we, as Developers, had to step in and play the role of facilitator. And there comes a point where, after four months of discussion about which basket to use, someone needs to say, "This is the basket we're gonna use," in order to move things along. I felt somewhat empowered to make decisions like that, because I felt confident in the sort of relationships I had built with the people I was working with.

But the other part of me felt like I was in no position to be part of the decision-making process. I didn't take any Native American Studies courses in college. Not only am I not a museum curator, this is just completely outside the realm of my own personal lived experience—if not directly contrary to my position in our country and society.

[3] We had begun to refer to these statements, internally, as "Native Truths," taking our inspiration from the title of the groundbreaking *Reclaiming Native Truth* project (https://rnt.firstnations.org), which published its first widely shared report in 2016, shortly before we began working on the *Native Truths* exhibition.

Those statements read:

Our Ancestors connect us to the past, present, and future
The Native people you'll meet here selected these items to show connections to their Ancestors. The displays don't just hold objects: they hold stories that preserve accumulated wisdom for the future.

Native people are everywhere …
Native culture is all around you—influencing science and art, food and language. Native people have overcome acts of genocide, forced removal, and assimilation. And they are still here: over 6.5 million live in the US and Canada alone, a number that grows each day.

The land shapes who we are
The displays nearby show how homelands shape culture and identity. Whether the connection to land has been continuous or interrupted, the relationships have never been broken.

We have the right to govern ourselves
Native governments are sovereign. The stories told here—illustrating land stewardship, traditional leadership roles, and resistance to assimilation—demonstrate how Native sovereignty is enacted every day.

Museum collecting and exhibition practices have deeply harmed Native communities. This exhibition marks a new beginning.

This last headline was followed by quotes from Advisory Committee Member Rob Collins and from the museum's president and CEO Julian Siggers (referenced in Chapter 11). It points to the only section of the exhibition that contains elements written from the Field Museum's perspective.

Then Things Got Harder

As always, money complicated things. We hadn't budgeted enough to fairly pay the number of people we ended up working with. After our first few meetings of the Advisory Committee, it became clear our collaborators would number more than 11. As the stories began to take shape, our advisors recommended various people we should consult with. We estimated that this would take us to 30 or 40 Native colleagues. But we had not counted on the fact that each of those 30 or 40 would in turn recommend several others with particular areas of expertise and cultural knowledge. We ended up working with 130 people directly, and a much higher number indirectly. And we hadn't budgeted for it.

We also had not considered that people might not be satisfied with the small amounts we normally pay to academic consultants. In the nonprofit world in general, and in academia in particular, we avoid asking, directly, "How much will you be paying me?" It's considered bad form because it implies that there is something in your worldview more important than the love of knowledge. We perpetuate that tradition by using a Latinate word for the money we pay to consulting scholars: honorarium.

We cultivate this attitude not just because we consider ourselves to be lovers of knowledge, but also because, as nonprofits, we don't pay people very well. And we'd like to be able to continue to do so. In the past, we persuaded ourselves that it was okay to pay consulting scholars a small honorarium because the work they were doing was just another dimension of the work that they were already being paid to do at the university or museum where they were employed. We reassured ourselves of the ethics of this system by telling ourselves that, although we may not be giving a researcher much money, we were at least helping to advance their career, by allowing them to put the prestige of our name on their vita. In fact, this prestige economy had become so deeply entrenched for us that we came to expect that people would want to work with us, for relatively little money. But that changes when you begin working with people outside of academia.

Reciprocity is an even thornier issue. Our Native colleagues had every reason to expect to be paid for the work they did. But most of them didn't do it for the money. Nor did they do it for the prestige (a few, in fact, turned us down because they felt that their standing in their community would be negatively affected by association with the Field Museum). Most of our Native colleagues worked with us because they wanted to do right by their Tribe. Many said that building long-term relationships with the potential to benefit their Tribe or Nation was a critical factor in their decision to work with us.

During this time, we learned—or at least I did—the word "transactionalism." There is nothing inherently unethical in conducting a business transaction. But over the last five centuries non-Natives have tended to approach their relationships with Native people as nothing more than business transactions: an individual exchange of goods and services that provides a short-term solution to an immediate and pressing need. The relationship between

seller and buyer is competitive and short-lived: it only lasts as long as it takes to complete the transaction. Longer-lived relationships depend on longer-term reciprocity than payment for services rendered.

The way to move past transactionalism, we learned, was to consider ways that we could offer something of long-term benefit to the Tribe: something that would help us build a positive and meaningful relationship. Sometimes the most meaningful thing one can give is one's time. Being prepared to spend the time it takes to build personal relationships is one of the most important lessons we learned. As museum administrators, we tried to be conscious of this by building time into the schedule for relationship-building. However, you can't fix centuries of problematic relationships with one well-intended year.

Then We Came to the Darkest Times

Even in the best of times taking on a project like this one would be a major challenge. But this was not the best of times.

The ongoing impact of COVID-19, protests following the death of George Floyd, a tanking economy, rampant climate change, and the cumulative psychic trauma of the Trump presidency made 2020 a bleak year for many. Becoming sick, seeing friends and family fall ill, losing loved ones, and fearing for one's livelihood were universal. For the Exhibition Developers—as for other white-collar workers—quarantining brought about isolation and depression. Of course, those with jobs that could be done remotely were the lucky ones. Our colleagues in the Production Division did not have the luxury of working from home. They spent a year and a half—wearing masks that they only removed at lunchtime, during which they were required to sit at least six feet away from each other—working on the otherwise largely empty fourth floor, keeping the *Native Truths* exhibition (and all of the other exhibitions we produced during the COVID era) on track. They were like the "essential" workers in the service, manufacturing, and transportation industries. They faced the same trauma and losses as their white-collar counterparts, but had to go on with work as usual, with the added risk of being exposed, every day, to a potentially lethal disease for which there was not yet any vaccination. Millions of people lost their jobs. Everyone faced fatigue, stress, depression, and anxiety, day in and day out.

In December of 2020, as COVID vaccines became available and Joe Biden was elected president, many of us were poised to heave a collective sigh of relief. It seemed as if we were returning to normalcy. But the January 6, 2021, Trump-orchestrated mob attack on the Capitol brought the national mood to a new low point.

Cecilia Ackerman, Exhibition Developer

There was a sense of discontent and sadness among the developers. It came from having to write so many condolence notes to people; from having to apologize to our collaborators for the museum's pushiness, or from being pushy ourselves on behalf of other people; or from struggling with the sheer amount of work and challenging interpersonal dynamics. [These feelings] also came from knowing that, like us, our colleagues were all struggling with their physical or mental health. So there were a lot factors that contributed to that feeling of, "Gosh! We're stuck in this for another … how many years or months?"

For the Exhibition Developers working on the *Native Truths* project, this time was a surreal convergence of the personal, political, and professional. At the very moment that they felt they might be contributing toward positive change, government policies regarding Native American rights reflected a return to one of the most shameful eras in our nation's history, as Republican legislators pushed through with the Dakota Access Pipelines, oil drilling in Arctic wildlife refuges on Native lands, and the decimation of Bears Ears National Monument lands to allow for mining and drilling.

The disproportionate effect of COVID on Indigenous people, in particular, was a profound echo of historical injustices. Due to a host of factors, Native Americans at this time were 2.8 times as likely to die from COVID than were people of European descent.[4]

By the spring of 2021 these looming external crises exacerbated our internal ones. Our collaborative effort was now moving on a single set of rails, but coming from two different directions. From one end of the tracks, the "unstoppable force" of the museum administration pushed forward, driven by their commitment to complete the exhibition on time, on budget. From the other end, the "immovable object"—reinforced by our Native colleagues' determination to take the time that was needed to do right by their Tribe, no matter what—crept slowly forward, stopping frequently. Those of us in the Development Division

[4] "Native American Deaths from COVID-19 Highest Among Racial Groups." *Princeton University School of Public and International Affairs*. December 2, 2021. https://spia.princeton.edu/news/native-american-deaths-covid-19-highest-among-racial-groups#:~:text=After%20adjusting%20their%20data%20for,that%20for%20the%20white%20group.

stood in the middle. We waved every color of flag, we flailed our arms, we shouted, we radioed back and forth to both engineers, imploring our Native colleagues to change tracks and pick up steam, and begging the administration to put on the brakes. I felt as if I was standing beside those tracks, watching the trainwreck happen in slow motion. The Developers must have felt like they were standing on the tracks.

In reality, both parties were striving to do their best. There was no deliberate heel-dragging by our Native colleagues, or artificial schedule pressure from the museum. The Native people who chose to work with us did so because they saw this as an opportunity to do something positive for their Tribe, and for other Native Americans. Forcing members of their community to pick up their pace to meet the museum's schedule ran counter to that goal. The museum administrators who struggled to keep the project on schedule weren't doing so in order to adhere to an arbitrary deadline. They were trying to ensure that the work that they had committed to was completed before the money ran out.[5]

Our collaborators were saying, from the very start, "You haven't given us enough time to do this project. It's going to take longer than you think. We can't open by that date." The museum's administrators were saying, from the very start, "This is how much money we have to make the exhibition, so this is how long we're going to be able to pay people to work on it, so this is when it has to be done." Both parties were acting ethically, but it still felt like we were on a collision course.

Finally, in February of 2021, we received approval to delay our opening date by six months, meaning we would open in May of 2022. This was a great relief, but not greeted by everyone with unreserved happiness. Some of our colleagues felt that they had had to fight too long and too hard for a decision that could have been made earlier. In addition, because the details of what had enabled that decision were not widely distributed, our colleagues were left wondering how we were able to delay the opening, after having said for so long that we couldn't.

Despite the bruised feelings, it was still the right decision to make, and we entered the spring of 2021 with a great burden lifted from our shoulders.

[5] Unlike museums in other countries, most US museums get relatively little federal funding. We depend on ticket sales and philanthropy to carry us through to the next big project. A large percentage of the Field Museum's staff hold term positions: their job is not guaranteed beyond the term of the project they've been hired to work on. The donation that funded the renovation of the Native American Hall was intended to cover four years of salaries and wages—at which point the exhibition needed to be complete.

Tori Lee, Co-Lead Exhibition Developer

It's so hard to convey the combination of the early pandemic terror plus the "We-have-no-idea-what-we're-doing" feeling plus the "There's-no-way-we're-going-to-make-this-exhibit-happen-on-time" feeling.

* * *

Susan and I went to the Pawnee Nation Veterans' Day Powwow. When we got there the Cultural Resources Division gave us wrapped dishes so that we could eat in the traditional style; they made each of us a shawl so that we could dance with them. They drove us everywhere. They saved seats for us. They gave us a shout-out at the powwow and introduced us to family members. It was unbelievable, the level of care that people took with us. They modeled the attention and care we wanted, and needed, to extend in the work that we were doing.

The Climax of the Story Was Not Opening Day

The events surrounding the opening of *Native Truths: Our Voice, Our Stories* will remain, for many of us, the most meaningful and memorable moments of our careers. We were able to gather our colleagues from around the city and around the country for three days of music, dance, prayer, solemnity, celebration, dedications, and thanks. There was plenty of the usual museum speechifying, but many more moments of proud and heartfelt celebration. A mural-sized photograph in the exhibition features a young Meskwaki boy, dancing with serious pride, in full regalia. Before the exhibition opened, members of the Tribe printed up T-shirts with that photo, along with the exhibition's title, and wore them on opening day, gathering for a group selfie beneath a wall graphic reading, "You are on Native land." If this chapter were a movie, it would probably end in that celebratory moment.

But there was no single cinematic climax for this story. Our greatest successes rarely happened in public. They happened in lunches, in Zoom meetings, in collections areas, in the exhibition hall as it was being built, in get-togethers with our colleagues, in community forums, and in the thousands of emails that transpired along the way to opening day.

What Did We Achieve?

We worked with Native people from the very start to make a platform to say what they wanted to say, how they wanted to say it at an institution that had done a great amount of harm to Native people.

We committed ourselves to an approach that would honor and respect Native languages. We created new co-curational tools and methods for explaining processes: gathering, organizing, and sharing information; presenting and reviewing content; and arriving at decisions. And we strove to be adaptable and flexible in working through new modes of collaboration and interaction.

We hired Native vendors and contractors whenever we could. We purchased, commissioned, or borrowed new works to emphasize the continuity and change of Native traditions. We acted as liaisons to bring the concerns and requests of our colleagues to other exhibition team members, to staff in departments throughout the museum, and to museum administrators.

We listened. We built consensus. We did our best.

Where Did We Fall Short?

It's hard to say, in part because it requires identifying what we *should* have known, and that's a judgment call. Going into the project, those of us at the Field Museum who knew the least about Native American cultures might say that there was no way we could have known all the factors that would come into play, and no way that we could have anticipated every eventuality. Those of us who were most knowledgeable about Native American cultures might say that nothing that happened in the making of the exhibition should have been a surprise. Most of us lie somewhere between those ends of the spectrum.

It's hard to say what we should have known. But what we can and should take responsibility for are those instances where our Native colleagues informed us of a problem or concern and we failed to respond appropriately. In my view, that would include the following.

- Many of our Advisory Committee members were offended that the Chairman of our Board of Trustees was the owner of a **professional athletic team with a Native American mascot.** At least one Native American community group in the Chicago area refused to work with us because of this. Our colleagues saw the *Native Truths* project as an opportunity to push forward on this issue. The museum did not give them its full support.

Meredith Whitfield, Exhibition Developer

The thing that brings me the most joy and satisfaction is hearing about the folks who really connect with the exhibition. People who say, "I see myself here," conceptually or literally. [Our community Liaison] told me a story of a woman who couldn't get all the way to Chaco Canyon. So she came to this exhibit. That's a big deal. There are people who bring their families to this show and see somebody that they know in real life. I think that's really powerful.

- We **didn't consider thoroughly enough the level of commitment we could expect** from colleagues for whom this was very much a side project, for which they received little compensation.
- **We did not appreciate the degree of stress** that the project would place on staff. This was especially true of the exhibition developers, who had to fulfill the needs of their Native colleagues, their manager, in-house academic research staff, museum leadership, their team members, and visitors—all of whom had different, and sometimes conflicting, goals.
- We did not take seriously enough **concerns that were raised about the identity and community affiliation of some of our Native collaborators.** This is a complex issue. On the one hand, museums are in no position to make judgments about a Native person's identity. On the other hand, the museum had been given information early enough that we could have addressed these issues in a much more timely way. As this book goes to press, we are continuing to work with the Advisory Committee members to arrive at a policy and process that would ensure that opportunities for Native people are extended only to Native people.
- **We did not adequately address our repatriation record.** I was responsible for developing the display that discussed the museum's repatriation efforts. Of all the challenges in the exhibition, we knew that this one was an unscalable peak. Given the institution's ambivalence (as seen in its budget priorities), the legitimate complexity of the subject, the very mixed record of our success, the view of repatriation, by some museum staff, as an existential threat, and the museum's resulting desire to say as little about it as possible—it was doubtful that we would be able to be forthright on the subject. If there were a part of the exhibition at risk of

failure, this was it, and if that was the case I preferred that that failure be mine.[6]

This would be the only display that spoke—at least in part—from the museum's point of view. All of us wanted it to paint an honest picture of the need for repatriation, but getting the institution to open up about the remains of Native Ancestors and the sacred and funerary items held in our collections—and to provide detailed information on what we had succeeded, to date, in returning—proved beyond me.

The museum has a repatriation director who would like to rightfully return ancestors and sacred and funerary objects to Native people, and has worked hard to do so.[7] But the process of repatriation is enormously complex and time-consuming. One person, working with a single assistant, cannot undertake a task this big. Repatriation is an issue that the museum needs to devote greater resources toward. While I pushed as hard as I could to give visitors a clear picture of our repatriation record, there was little institutional will—at that point—to share this information with the public.[8] But although I failed to give visitors an honest and thought-provoking experience on this topic, the two colleagues from the Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa Tribe that we worked with did not. (See Chapter 12 sidebar stories for more details.)

This chapter has not called out any of our individual collaborators by name, because to do so felt like an injustice to the hundreds who could not be mentioned, and they are all equally deserving of our thanks. But Cecil Pavlat and Marie Richards—former and current Tribal Historic Preservation Officers for the Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa Tribe—took on one of the most difficult topics in the exhibition. They were willing to recount deeply painful personal experiences in the hopes that their words might reach people in ways that the museum's voice could not. If you visit the exhibition you can listen to a recording of Cecil, for example, tell a story about visiting another museum's collections, where he came upon a child's braid of hair, skin still attached, taken, in all likelihood, by a Union soldier, and marked with the single word "souvenir."

Marie—a Ph.D. candidate in anthropology—spoke of what it felt like to have one foot in the Native world and the other in academia; of trying to bridge these worlds for the benefit of Native people. We're fortunate that, following the opening of the exhibition, Marie agreed to act as a member of the Advisory Committee that will continue to give us guidance for years to come.

We're indebted to Marie and Cecil in the way that we are indebted to all of the colleagues who worked with us on this project: for being willing to share with us their very personal experiences and thoughts on issues that are complex and often painful—so that we could share them with the wider public in an effort to bring about change.

- **Our colleagues were looking for a more thorough dialogue about the exhibitions endowment, and we should have responded to this need more actively.** The project budget was distributed to the Advisory Committee several times and was available in the shared drive for participants to review. From the perspective of a museum professional, the purpose of the endowment—to generate income over time that would allow us to continue to create new temporary exhibitions in the gallery—was unambiguous, and our budgeting and planning process was reasonable and successful. However, our Native colleagues—even those who were museum professionals—were not approaching *Native Truths* just from the perspective of museum professionals.

  We felt good that we had an endowment that would cover the costs of new temporary exhibitions. But the scope of change our Native colleagues sought was far deeper and wider than that. It was as if they were pointing to the iceberg of institutional change, and those of us in the exhibitions department were saying, "Hey, we're responsible for this part that sticks up above the water—and we've got that covered!"

What Was Our Biggest Stumbling Block?

Our *understanding* of the changes our Native colleagues were looking for, our *attitude* toward making those changes, and our *ability* to help make those changes happen were three variables that seldom fell into alignment. What pushed them into or out of alignment was the

[6] In addition to the political challenges, and the challenges of helping visitors understand the importance of this complicated subject, there were practical challenges: by its nature, a display about repatriation cannot include cultural items. So we would be talking about things we couldn't show.

[7] For more on the museum's repatriation work, see Chapter 13.

[8] Shortly after the exhibition opened, the museum launched http://repatriation.fieldmuseum.org, where readers may find additional information.

amount of time one had spent interacting on a personal level with Native colleagues.

The Exhibition Developers—who had spent, out of all exhibition staff, the greatest percentage of their time working directly with Native people—tended to understand the needs of those colleagues the most fully, and showed the deepest commitment to making institutional change. The Developers frequently felt like they were the least empowered to make change, but they may have been the most effective change agents—after our Native colleagues.

So, at the heart of things, one of the most important lessons we learned is also the most clichéd, homespun, and predictable one: the more time you spend talking with people the better your outcome will be.

If We Had Known at the Beginning What We Know Now, What Would We Do Differently?

- We would incorporate into our schedule a much longer period of time for building relationships.
- We would hire and retain more Native staff members, in a wider variety of positions.
- We would be more deliberate in estimating how many Native American people we would work with; what their roles, responsibilities, and areas of authority would be; and how we would compensate them for their work.
- We would consider reciprocity more thoughtfully, and work more closely with our collaborators to see how we could help them reach their institution's or community's goals.

Looking Back, and Looking Ahead

For many of us, working on *Native Truths* was the most demanding, stressful, rewarding, and transformative experience of our museum careers. We made a lot of mistakes, but we learned a lot from them. We didn't make as much progress in changing the institution as we may have liked, but we did achieve significant change. We didn't make everyone happy, but most of the Native people we worked with could see how hard we were trying.

Has it changed the museum? More than some of us could have imagined, less than others thought it should.

Our tendency to associate with like-minded people generates a gravitational pull away from the political center. The more passionately those around us hold a particular belief, the easier it is to demonize those who don't share these beliefs, and the more difficult it becomes to express a dissenting opinion without being labelled an apologist. This "If you're not for us, then you're against us" tendency isn't reserved for the political fringes; the pull of polarization can be felt in almost all public discourse.

Passionate belief is a double-edged sword: a necessity for achieving social change, but one that divides us as much as it unites us. Those of us who believe most passionately in the importance of social justice for Native Americans are apt to feel that the exhibition is insufficient, that it makes too many compromises and avoids the most important issues. In this milieu, praising the outcomes of a project like *Native Truths* can be seen as self-congratulatory and as an inhibitor to further progress: anyone who is so self-satisfied with their success must be thinking that the job is done, right?

But I think that, with gratitude and humility, we should celebrate our achievements: not because our work is finished, but because celebrating them inspires us to keep working.

As this was being written in the summer of 2023, our renewed Advisory Committee was in place and work

Susan Golland, Co-Lead Exhibition Developer

I think we needed a little more cultural competency training. We learned a lot of things by trying and failing, and then also getting help from people we were working with. Things like gift-giving, reciprocity, or even expectations and norms in the way that people talk when they're in groups: Is there cooperative overlap, or do you need to give people space, and silence is okay? We had some materials, like things that we found from the School for Advanced Research. But I think we could have spent time doing staff orientation, even before bringing on the advisory team. I think the Developers could have benefited from some basic training, since we were expected to act as diplomats going into all these different communities.

Monisa Ahmed, Exhibition Developer

Some days it feels like this project has done nothing to change the museum. Then other days, it feels like we've done a complete 180 in how we work. I think the biggest changes aren't to our official process: we're still creating the same deliverables, and we're organizing our schedule the same way. But our attitudes have changed. How open-minded we are about exhibitions co-created with communities has definitely changed.

was underway to create the first temporary exhibition rotation—on the diverse practices of Native Peoples that non-Natives refer to as "lacrosse." It will be the first of many such exhibitions, and we hope that over the years we will continue to make connections with Native American communities across the US and Canada, and that we will continue to learn from them and to change.

Post-Script, January 30, 2024

As this book was going to press new legislation was passed to strengthen NAGPRA law. Museums throughout the country had to scramble to remove or cover potentially sensitive items which they did not have Tribal permission to display. We had to scramble, too—cases in older exhibitions throughout the building had to be covered immediately as we made long-term plans for meeting the new repatriation requirements. However, not one display in the *Native Truths* exhibition needed to be touched. In addition, even before the changes to NAGPRA were announced, the museum was already in the process of devoting more resources to this work, and had added two full-time staff positions to our repatriation office. Change can happen.

Cecilia Ackerman, Exhibition Developer

I'm proud of the end result. When I'm 70, I'll probably look back at this period in my life and think about this exhibition. It won't be, "Oh, those were the 3 years I went through COVID." It'll be, "Those were the years that we were building *Native Truths*."

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CELEBRATING THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN NATURE AND CULTURE

Design of the Native Truths *Exhibition*

TOM SKWERSKI

THE CREATION OF the renovated Native North America Hall at the Field Museum was a process of collaboration with Native peoples. While that collaboration is most evident in the exhibition's content, where Native voice and language are apparent, it also manifested itself in the design of the hall itself.

Throughout the two-and-a-half-year development and design phase, the Native American Advisory Committee was an active participant in reviewing and providing feedback at the concept direction, project preview, and project review phases of the project. Additionally, "town hall"-style updates and presentations were given to the local Native community at the American Indian Center and other venues.

The lead exhibition designer, Eric Manabat, noted that our Native collaborators conveyed a strong sense of connection to the natural world to the design team and that we wanted to weave that through the entire exhibition. Even the shapes of the temporary galleries, with their rounded corners, represent feedback from our Native advisors.

Nowhere does that connection manifest itself more than in the materials chosen for the hall. Instead of white limestone or dark carpet, this exhibition has a unique flooring made of maple from Menominee Tribal Enterprises (MTE). MTE is internationally recognized as a model for

FIGURE 139 | Maple flooring provided by the Menominee Tribal Enterprises | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Tom Skwerski

FIGURE 140 | Robert Brown, Oneida Nation of Wisconsin, recites the Thanksgiving Address of the Haudenosaunee and the significance of the white pine as symbol of peace and unity at the dedication ceremony for the Peace Tree, May 21, 2022 | Photograph by Jay Young (Citizen Band of Potawatomi)

sustainable forest stewardship, and the flooring is linked to one of the stories in the hall highlighting Ada Deer and the Menominee tribe's long fight to maintain their political and economic sovereignty.

The connection with Menominee Tribal Enterprises continues outside the museum as well. A white pine tree originating in the Menominee Forests on the Menominee Reservation was gifted to the Museum and was planted on the Museum's northwest terrace. MTE partnered with the National Arbor Day Foundation and the US Forest Service to promote peace and harmony throughout the nation during the trying times of the COVID-19 Pandemic.

The white pine is the symbolic representation of the unity and peace between the six nations of the Haudenosaunee. The white pine was planted as a symbol of the peaceful alliance and represents the Great Binding Law of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. The message of the white pine can be summed up with the idea of making peace with yourself and releasing old grudges that do not serve you or the greater good.

In addition to the wood flooring, the design team used copper, birch bark, and many other organic materials important for Native peoples in the design elements throughout the exhibition. Manabat noted that he originally had divided sections of the exhibition using gabion walls (loose stacked stones tied together with wire), but a member of the Chicago Native community suggested we use birch bark because of its significance to the Great Lakes tribes. The birch bark is laminated onto a plywood that creates columns that divide the five "Native Truths" sections of the exhibition.

As the Field Museum is an institution that prides itself on its global conservation efforts, the sustainability of the materials selected was also an important consideration and matches the institutional efforts to prioritize use of renewable, green materials. *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* represented an opportunity for those considerations to align and manifest themselves in a beautifully designed exhibition.

FIGURE 141 | Natural materials important for Native peoples were included in the gallery, like birchbark and copper | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Tom Skwerski

INTERVIEW WITH DEBRA YEPA-PAPPAN

This interview was recorded in the summer of 2022, shortly after the opening of the exhibition. Curator of North American Anthropology Alaka Wali (AW) interviewed Debra Yepa-Pappan (DYP) to document her experiences as the Community Engagement Coordinator and her efforts to advance Indigenization of museum practices. Her role was instrumental in building relationships with artists, community leaders, and activists throughout the United States. She also provided an artist's perspective on the design aesthetic and contributed to the curation of some of the displays.

AW: Debra, why don't you start by giving us just a little background on how you came to this position as Community Engagement Coordinator, and then we can go from there.

DYP: Okay, thank you, Alaka. Well, I guess I always like to go back to when Chris [Pappan] and I were bringing people in to see his exhibition—we were bringing in other Native artists, family members, Native community members—to share the exhibition with them. Rather than having Chris bring me into the museum to meet with folks since he had access, it made sense to me to volunteer so I could get my own badge. Then I'd have access to come into the museum and do that work. I remember having lunch with you and Monica [Rickert-Bolter], and I encouraged her to come and volunteer with me. I said, "Hey, come on, let's do this thing. Let's open the doors to Native people to come into the museum." And I don't know if that was a conversation that you and I had, maybe at one time, but I know that it had always been your interest to open these doors to Native community, to give access to collections. And so, I felt that I could be helpful in accomplishing that.

AW: With you. And I was very happy.

DYP: Yes, you were! So, by April of 2017, both Monica and I came on, Chris's exhibition was still up. And I started reaching out to community at that point, and just letting people know, "Hey, I'm at the museum, come and visit, come see Chris's exhibition." Jamie Lewis was the collections assistant at the time—and working very closely with her was just as important because she had access to collections. So, working with her to make sure that community was also able to come into collections was a very important part of that job. I think, for me, it was really important that every time Native people came to visit the museum, they always had that opportunity to go into collections. So, whether they asked for it specifically or not, I always offered it and I still do to this day.

AW: As well as going into the exhibit, right?

DYP: Yeah, especially. So, visiting collections and reconnecting with their material culture, and then decompressing by visiting the exhibitions. And at the time, there was Chris's exhibition and Rhonda Holy Bear's. People just loved seeing the contemporary work in the Native Hall. We knew that the museum was interested in renovating the hall, but hadn't gotten there yet with the funding. I remember in 2016 Chris and I were asked to give a presentation to the Board of Trustees, to help make the case for why the hall needed to be renovated. And then, with the visual part of Chris's exhibition, the fact that people could see the types of changes that could be made, I think, really helped to reinforce that need. Once Monica and I started bringing Native people in, we made sure that having conversations around how we would like to see the hall change was part of our routine during our visits. I remember Monica taking notes, and we would talk to our visitors. Bringing life to this hall that had just felt so dead, was part of those discussions, as well as, what would—what should—go in this hall, when Chris's show closes? When Rhonda's show closes? How can this hall change? What are the things that you want to see? We were having those kinds of conversations, which became helpful later on during the process. When we were having conversations with the larger exhibitions team, about what direction the hall should go in, and to actually bring in those opinions and that feedback from Native community was critical as well, I believe.

AW: Because early on, they hadn't done any kind of a survey, or they never did.

DYP: If they did a survey, I want to say that it was with non-Native visitors.

So really, that was the only time when we had that kind of conversation with Native community: when they were visiting during these early visits. I also think what made that easier, or made it easier for those conversations to be had, was the fact that Monica and I are both Native as well. So there's that level of comfort built in.

And, you know, our community members felt comfortable having these conversations with us because, as volunteers, we weren't making excuses for the institution. We agreed with everything that they were saying because we felt the very same way too.

AW: So that was the beginning. And then we got greenlit in 2018. Is that when you started?

DYP: Yes, I remember the job posting going up in the last week of December of 2017. And then by 2018 I was hired. My start date was January 7 or 9 of 2018.

AW: And how did you feel about coming onboard to do that work?

DYP: I was prepared. I knew that this was work that I wanted to do, had to do. And this was how I wanted to contribute. I felt it was really important, and I knew that this was going to be huge. This was something that I needed to be a part of. I needed to contribute to the change that was being made here. I didn't know what was ahead of me, though, or what was ahead of all of us. But I was ready to take it on.

AW: Yes, it was a surprise.

DYP: Right. I mean, I don't think I expected it to be easy. But at the same time, I don't think I realized how challenging it was going to be. I had come from working in a Native program for eight years in the Native community that was centered on Native families, and our entire staff was Native. There was a different way that we worked together. There was camaraderie and not having to explain to each other about ourselves and our cultures, because we all got it in our workspace. So then coming from that kind of a work environment to being the only Native person on staff for this project was really strange for me. That was difficult and definitely a challenge. The way that things were done was not what I was used to. I wasn't used to these quick, "Let's go into a meeting. Okay. We're done. Next meeting." When I worked with the Indian education program, our meetings were very much an all-day kind of thing. We'd sit down, have coffee, we'd start talking and go off on tangents while getting through our agenda, and then five hours later, with lunch in between, we'd finish our meeting. We had a whiteboard that we would fill with all these ideas that grew from those conversations we had. The whole process was very communal. And then I come to the museum where the process is so different, and then to be at tables with no other Natives, it was strange to me. That was just one hurdle, and that was more of a personal thing. But that also made me feel like I didn't have a lot of support, because people didn't understand that experience.

AW: It did take a while after you started, like six or seven months, before we had Meranda [Roberts] and Eli [Suzukovich]. And then it took even longer, I think, for them to hire the folks in collections and conservation who are Native. Right?

DYP: Right. Well, my first task was helping to create the invitation to the advisors, and then sending those invitations out. Once we got the advisors together, and we had our first meeting with them in March of 2018, that was when I thought, "Oh, wow, here come the brigade, the folks that are going to help reinforce the things that I'm trying to say here." And then, Meranda joined staff in June of 2018, Eli right after, and collections and conservation staff came on between June to September.

AW: So, one challenge that you faced was this one of working in an institution that really wasn't used to having Native people working here. What other challenges did you face early on?

DYP: A lot of my work is protecting Native visitors when they come here. That they would have a much different experience, one that is welcoming when they are here. But for me being on the inside and seeing this white supremacy culture, very early on I didn't feel comfortable or safe to talk about that out loud—or even say those words out loud. You know, it is a very hard thing when you're the only Native in a room, and you're sitting around a table with non-Natives, as they're discussing how they're going to represent Native people and cultures. That's why it is important to include Native people in those conversations from the very start. And hearing non-Native people talk about the care of our ancestors that are here, ancestral remains, and our material culture, in the hands of non-Native people, is also a very hard thing. There were many times that I would just sit in my office crying about that. Why aren't these things in our care? Why aren't Native people caring for our things? That's another reason why it's important for me to make sure that Native people have a presence in collections, that we bring our living spirit in there, that we bring our laughter, our tears, and all our emotions into collections.

AW: I think you know that it started having a big impact on the rest of the non-Native collections folks. I'm including myself there. We started to feel differently.

DYP: Right. And the robust engagement and relationship-building with our many collaborators greatly contributed to that. But it definitely took some time and many hurdles to get to this point. Thinking back to challenges in the beginning, one of those is, personally, I felt unheard. The discussions we had with our advisors and the concerns that they brought up were the very same concerns that I had voiced prior to our first meeting with them, but I didn't feel like I was being listened to. I know that you listened. But when we were sitting in the room with the exhibition's team, and I would bring up certain concerns, I felt like no one was listening. It was hard to help people understand that these are not concerns that were coming only from me, these were also concerns expressed in all the conversations that I was having with Native people. I felt that it was hard for this institution to listen to people that don't have the kinds of criteria that they expected experts to have. Because I'm someone who doesn't have a PhD, I'm not an anthropologist, I'm not a curator, and I don't have all those titles attached to my name, doesn't mean that I, or our community collaborators, don't have expertise or knowledge.

AW: Okay, so moving forward, then what?

DYP: I'm glad that my role hadn't been completely defined, because I was able to have the freedom to do what I felt I needed to with this role. I didn't have anyone tell me how to do Native community engagement. If anything, I know how to do community engagement because I know how to engage with my own people. I felt that I was able to define this role and build what this role should be, and how the care of Native people should happen in this institution. That's what it's truly about. The museum puts so much into the care of objects, but we need to put even more into the care of people.

AW: You were often part of the content development conversations for the exhibition. What was your role in those conversations?

DYP: Yeah, and I think my relationship with Frank [Waln] is what helped set that model for how I would participate in these other stories. I feel like I was there to support Frank. Because I know that Frank had his own concerns and challenges with these types of colonial institutions, and he was very critical about the Field Museum, prior to the relationship that we started to build with him here. I wanted to make sure that he was spared any kind of conflict or achiness that could arise. And he requested for me to be present and to help support him throughout. I'm an artist myself as well, and I think our Native collaborators also made space for me to be able to contribute creatively, and offer critique or suggestions. So that was my contribution.

AW: I think that blurring of your role between community engagement and content development helped us so much because you had such a vast network of artists that you brought to the table.

DYP: They were either people that I know, and if a name came up of somebody that I already knew, then I already was connected to that person and I could reach out to that person easily. Other times, it was somebody that I did not know personally, but I would use my network to reach out to that person. So, it was as easy as just going onto Facebook and saying, "Hey, does anyone have contact information for so and so?" And people would message me within seconds, and share their phone numbers with me or their email addresses with me. So I think being connected and having had a reputation in Indian country as a Native artist, and being in those Native circles, was very helpful because people knew me.

AW: Let's talk a little bit now about the perspectives of the Native visitors, as they were seeing the changes. Do you have a couple examples of people who came through towards the latter part of the process, when the stories were starting to be constructed and so on? What did you hear from Native visitors or people you were talking to?

DYP: Everybody was saying, "Finally, it's about time!" Many visitors would express how embarrassing the old hall was. Once the hall started to transform, and I was taking people through, there was excitement and thrill. This is really happening! There had been some disbelief that we would ever make these changes, so to visually see the transformation was really helpful. When the hall was in process of being deinstalled and we temporarily installed the mural that was made by community youth—that was in itself such a meaningful change.

AW: As much as your job was outward-facing, it was also inward-facing. Because that really made a big difference in terms of how community engagement worked.

DYP: Right. Because I could easily have been the person just welcoming Native people and not have been a part of the whole exhibition process. For this, I'm glad my role was based in the exhibitions department, where I was able to help connect us with many of the collaborators, and helped to bring awareness and advocate for better practices.

AW: As you said, you made the role. Nobody had any idea how this was all gonna go down. I didn't.

DYP: I don't think any of us did, and I think a lot of this was just trying to figure that out in the beginning. My priority is always Native people and community, and how they're cared for, and how we are best interacting and engaging with them. It's not just outreach, it's not just inviting people to come into the museum, but it's really understanding what the community needs and what they expect.

AW: What do you see [as] your role now that the exhibit is installed? What do you see yourself doing in the coming years?

DYP: I think that's hard for me, because we were so focused on the exhibition and creating that and getting that open. After it opened, I felt like I was in a little bit of a funk. Because I'm like, "Okay, now what?" But I think Tribal governments are going to expect more from us now. Everyone is now coming to us wanting their stories told, wanting their stories shared, so how do we manage that? I think it needs to start with having really meaningful conversations or just simply building friendships, but you need a Native person to help do that. It can't be just the institution and non-Native people alone. There has to be Native people. But for now, I need to be there for Native communities that all want to come and visit. Since the opening, I've hosted at least one large group a week, and I have many more groups wanting to come through. I want to make sure that these groups are taken care of in the best way possible. I recently hosted a large group. One of the visitors, a Tlingit elder, was singing to the items in the Northwest Coast Hall, which was not included in the renovation. So now we're in conversation about, how can we make this a regular thing? How can we bring in somebody from the Northwest Coast to come in and sing to the items in that hall? There was another visitor in that group who plays flute. As we were standing in Stanley Field Hall, he stated, "I wonder how the acoustics are in here?" I said, "why don't you go play? Go up the steps there." So he did, and he said, "That was so great! I have never been told in a museum that I could make noise and be loud." It made his experience in a museum so different. For Native people to come in now and realize that they can reclaim the space, and that they can Indigenize the space, is so meaningful, and so impactful.

AW: Yeah, so good. Shake stuff up still.

DYP: Yeah, and there's still a lot of shaking up to do. But I hope that it's something that can be an encouragement to the other communities and cultures that are represented here. I would love to see community engagement or community relations folks for the other cultural halls. It's important to think about how we should serve and benefit these communities. These are not transactional relationships where we're expecting something from them. Once we prioritize what their needs are and what they want, and center it on them, that's what would help to make a more fruitful relationship, because then they'll feel like they have something that they can contribute or feel that this is something that they can invest in. But that shouldn't be our initial expectation going into a relationship. We should be asking: "What can we do for you?" as opposed to "We're doing this because we want something out of it." Those days are gone.

19

NATIVE KNOWLEDGE AND CHANGING MUSEUM PARADIGMS

ROBERT KEITH COLLINS (AFRICAN-CHOCTAW DESCENT)

Introduction

What is the relationship between Native knowledge and museum exhibits? To explore this question, this chapter examines how Native knowledge has been used to inform changing paradigms behind museum exhibit creation. In this chapter, I argue that museums, like the Field Museum, must continue to enable greater consultation with Native Americans and source communities, through best practices like advisory committees for exhibits, if holistic and culturally relevant and salient interpretations of objects of cultural patrimony within their collections are to be achieved.

Although this point may seem excessively critical, it has been a perennial issue in anthropology for over one hundred years, and is consistent with earlier anthropological analyses that were informed by Native American anthropologists and source individuals for museums, which explained the need for culturally relevant descriptions of cultural objects. Building off these approaches, the best practices and research presented in this chapter, on the one hand, will show that Native knowledge usage in museum exhibits depends on the paradigm used for creating exhibit content and narratives—on the other hand, however, that Native knowledge is not always used to structure exhibit content and narratives. Understanding and modifying the frameworks that shape museum exhibition creation practices and addressing Native American source-community critiques of museum practices enables movement away from purely academic interpretations of Native American lifeways and stewarded material culture, to the centering of Native American voices, which can enhance empirically sound displays (Haskin, Nash, and Coleman 2003).

It is timely to engage this question, because paradigms at the Field Museum are shifting. During the twentieth century, it was conventional for curators to use Native knowledge to supplement museum anthropological and curatorial interpretations of pre-contact Native American lifeways and objects of cultural patrimony within collections. In the twenty-first century, museum anthropologists and Native American communities are coming closer together to address critical concerns about the limited nature and source of museum exhibit content in order to address critiques of the need for greater Native American representation. These new approaches are guided by the premise that it is important to illustrate to museumgoers the conflicts behind colonization, Native American cultural changes, and the limitations of museum exhibits that lend the illusion of Native Americans having vanished from US society or being part of a past from which US society has moved on. Although Native Americans have contributed as much to the formation of the City of Chicago, past and present, any other population, for museums, like the Field Museum, this public history is a new frontier for exhibit creation. For the Advisory Committee members and historical and contemporary Native American peoples and lives that have informed the

exhibit *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories*, this public history represents the active roles that they have played in the formation of Chicago.

The remainder of this chapter engages with how scholars have understood Native knowledge, how this notion has changed over time, problems in museum exhibition of Native knowledge, how Native knowledge informed *Native Truths*, and implications for future museum anthropological research.

How Have Scholars Understood Native Knowledge?

Defined by Native American scholar Clara Sue Kidwell as the "ways in which the Native peoples of the New World lived in and adapted to the environments around them" (Kidwell 1985, 209), Native American cultural and linguistic knowledge have been crucial resources in anthropological research and museum displays of Native American lifeways. Subsistence strategies, non-food-related cultural practices, kinship systems, political structures, social systems, etc. have all informed the taxonomies that museums have used in the identification of cultural objects within collections. For Kidwell, however, the way that this knowledge has been used over time led to differences between Native American explanations of culture and those of museum practitioners and scholars, due to the lack of desire, to "give New World cultures a place in the history of science." This lack of representation in scientific thought contributed to problems of interpretation, whereby scientific explanations enlightened audiences about US impact on Native Americans and relegated Native Americans to passive recipients of encounters rather than contributors to US cultural formation, as can be seen in agriculture, medicine, trade, etc. (Kidwell 1985, 211).

Examining how anthropologists and museum curators have used Native knowledge over time, one notes this wisdom informing exhibits in ways that center on tribal-specific explanations of cultural objects and practices provided by individuals from sources communities; however, the Native American contributors to museum exhibit creation are illusive. For example, in the Field Museum's original displays in the North American Hall, prior to the creation of the *Native Truths* exhibit, museumgoers would be shown copper tools, mica, and obsidian blades unearthed by archaeologists, like those from ancient American cultures like the Hopewell. Along

FIGURE 142 | An old display of tools illustrating Hopewellian culture | © The Field Museum, A90969c

with these tools of past everyday Hopewellian life would be a caption for the display providing a brief explanation of the tool; however, one was left to divine the origins of this explanation.

In the nineteenth century, the archaeologist would need to rely heavily on the anthropological, archaeological, historical records to shed light on cultural objects and any affiliated sites where similar objects were located, if Native Americans were not consulted. The origins of display captions would consequently be largely based in the academic speculations of the archaeologist or museum curator. In the twentieth century, fieldwork with Native Americans became the benchmark for understanding Native American communities, cultures, and individuals, and while some museum anthropologists and Native Americans worked closely together to enable Native knowledge and oral histories to inform analyses of cultural objects displayed, others only drew from Native knowledge or consulted only for approval of completed exhibits (Fienup-Riordan 1999, 354). Despite these inconsistencies in curatorial and museum anthropological practices, when consulted, Native Americans have had a tremendous impact on museum anthropology and exhibit creation. In a similar vein, the practice of consulting Native Americans on oral histories behind cultural objects, and involving Native Americans in the research behind exhibit creation, has enabled cultural object exhibition that is more salient in Native American cultural practices than pure academic analyses can provide (Krupat and Boas 1988, 105; Turner 2011, 44).

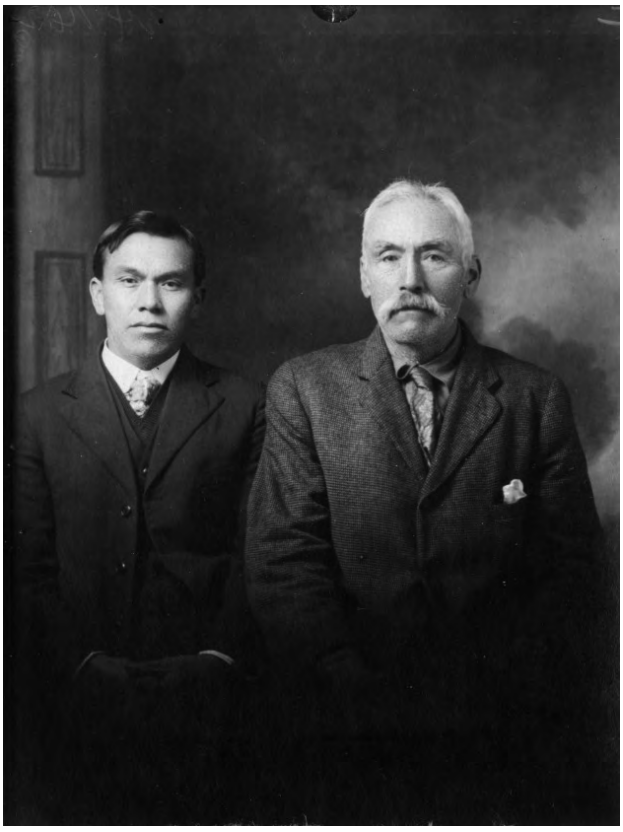

FIGURE 143 | Studio portrait of Jonathan Hunt and George Hunt, 1920 | Wikimedia Commons

For example, it was George Hunt who aided Franz Boas in this understanding of the inconsistencies between museum generalizations based on observation and Native knowledge. Born of English and Tlingit parents, Hunt grew up with Kwakiutl as his first language. His maternal lineage provided him with insights into elements of culture and ceremonial objects that were only for those of his social status. Hunt created the Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl) collection for the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. Central in his approach was thorough documentation of the various roles, perspectives, and purposes that surround cultural objects. This approach ensured that the descriptions given accounted for variations in object usage, especially between Native American nations that shared cultural practices (Jacknis 2019, 233–34). Although Hunt lived in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, his contributions to museum anthropology, particularly the need for collaboration between museum anthropologists and Native Americans, are still relevant today.

A considerable body of twenty-first-century literature has documented this phenomenon and the need for continued expansion of consultative practices in museum anthropology through Native American community and cultural advisors (Turner 2011; Simpson 1994, 37; Sowry and Kerr 2020; Peers 2000, 13). For example, Ann Fienup-Riordan illuminated the ways in which collaboration between Yupik community members provided a model for how museums can move away from chasing "the language of collaboration" in the face of museum structures that limit how collaborations can occur, toward putting it into practice by facilitating and furthering the participation of tribal community members in the processes behind exhibit creation. Fienup-Riordan also observed that collaborations were "much more than a matter of respect" (Fienup-Riordan 1999, 356) for tribal communities and allowed for the embedding of Native knowledge, particularly "a cautionary tale—a neq'ayaraq, literally 'something to remember by' in Yupik—about authoring and ownership, cultural pride and personal responsibility not only between the Native collaborators and non-Native curator, but within the museum community more generally" (Fienup-Riordan 1999, 339). The goal of this approach was the creation of an exhibit that can mean "different things

to different people in Alaska" and still be a focal point of community pride. While conflict over ownership of cultural objects will continue to exist, this approach serves as a model of what can happen when museums and Native communities and individuals come together and turn conflict ownership of cultural objects into holistic and meaningful cultural preservation.

Amy Lonetree illuminated the importance of conversations on the nature of engagements needed to limit the "omissions of certain aspects of Native American history and culture" (Lonetree 2006, 58) at the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI). Although centered on the NMAI, this discourse held implications for all museums, particularly the importance of exhibiting public histories on the treatment of Native Americans and their agency in cultural survival and revitalization over time. While the goals of this discourse in exhibits would not be to focus on the "Native American holocaust," despite this being an area of academic analysis since 1990, most notably Russell Thornton's "Native American Holocaust and Survival: A Population History since 1492," it would encourage a shift away from the "vanishing" presence given to Native Americans in museums and educate museumgoers on the change agents that emerged in the face of that expected disappearance to contribute to their communities, societies, and the US in the present. According to Lonetree, Native American "stories of survival require telling the difficult and shameful episodes that make the very survival so amazing and worthy of celebration" (Lonetree 2006, 59).

Limitations in Exhibiting Native Knowledge

Despite the emergence of new frameworks for promoting more inclusive use of Native American knowledge in museum practices, two major empirical problems are encountered when researching the subject. One, it is difficult to find out how many museums are enabling Native American knowledge to inform contemporary museum practices, specifically exhibit creation, and how many are not. Two, the literature in both anthropology and Native American and Indigenous Studies contains considerable numbers of complaints about the lack of consultation with Native Americans on cultural objects within collections and the manner of their display (Archambault 2011; Ash-Milby and Phillips 2017; King 2017; Lonetree 2012; West 1999).

Current research, while informative about critiques, is beginning to deeply examine the relationship between museums and communities in what Kreps describes as the "Age of Engagement." The importance of examining this relationship will be a perennial task for museums, as Native Americans are becoming more acknowledged for being both practitioners and audience members, and museums are called to play a more active role in society and community education on public histories (Kreps 2020, 13). To fill these explanatory gaps in the literature will require research into best approaches that make it possible for community members, as museumgoers, to find relevant linkages between the past exhibited about their ancestors and the ancestral knowledge that they have inherited from community, family, and their own contemporary understandings of being and culture. In a similar vein, approaches will be needed to assess and improve the ability and relevance of exhibit practices to evolve with the changing nature and concerns of museumgoers that are also community members of the cultures exhibited (Boas 1907; Collier and Tschopik 2003; Kreps 2003; Pandian 1985; Wali 2015, 25).

Native Knowledge and Museum Exhibits

Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories can be seen as an example of a paradigm shift in museum exhibition that builds on past best practices established in Native American source-community consultation, while furthering models of Native American involvement in exhibit creation in the present. During my involvement as an Advisory Committee member for the North American Hall, deinstallation, redesign, and reinstallation from 2018 to 2022, my initial observation was that collaboration with Native American source communities was a work in progress. Past practices of limited Native American consultation and limited outreach had engendered mistrust by local and surrounding Native American communities that saw the Field Museum as a relic of exploitation and not a steward of their ancestors and ancestral objects of cultural patrimony. The latter points were made with great force by members of the diverse local Chicago Native American community during a local town hall meeting in 2018. The resulting challenge for the Advisory Committee, curators, and museum staff was to create a new framework, through a type of "partnered collaboration," that communicated collaboration while simultaneously addressing community and institutional expectations (Duggan 2011, 28–29).

The contributions to the *Native Truths* exhibit made through the tremendous academic and cultural expertise of the Advisory Committee—in collaboration with the Field Museum's indefatigable staff—can only be characterized as a furthering of Fienup-Riordan's notion of "visual repatriation." This approach includes "bringing objects out

FIGURE 144 | Map of Illinois from 1718 | Wikimedia Commons

of museums back into a local context" (Fienup-Riordan 1999, 353). The Advisory Committee furthered this approach by creating a framework that centered Native voices in exhibits, which addressed community concerns about the need for greater Native American representation, illuminated cultural object usage through these voices in tandem with curatorial information from the archaeological and anthropological records, and displayed the meanings that these objects held for communities over time and the revitalization efforts in art, language, and lifeways they inspired.

One reason to link the past to the present was to challenge the illusion of vanishing Native American cultures that the previous exhibits of the North American Hall seemed to suggest and bring attention to the enduring presence of Native Chicago. Centered around the theme of water, specifically rivers like the Chicago River, as highways of past and present art and cultural exchanges, communication, and trade between tribal communities and individuals, and eventually contact populations, each unique display challenges museumgoers to rethink Chicago as always having been a cosmopolitan place. This structure is important because the local Native American communities comprise citizens and descendants from over 50 different Native American nations and continue to contribute to the diversity of the area, as Native Americans have since time immemorial. The theme of a river facilitating interactions also lends to the rotation of the displays over time so that as many Native American communities can be represented in the exhibit as possible.

Native Truths can also be characterized as an example of an exhibit attempting to address "Museum Frictions" (Kreps 2020, 153) and striving to follow a code of "New Museum Ethnics" (Kreps 2020, 21). The centering of Native American voices and perspectives on their own cultures informed exhibit creation through the address of past exclusion by the Field Museum. For the Field Museum, this required further sharing of authorship of

exhibits and relinquishing of control over display content with Native American curators and museum practitioners that were focused on what Native Americans as museumgoers would want to learn in tandem with what Chicagoans at large might want to experience. This new framework was guided by the premise that *Native Truths* should "do some good" for Native American communities within and beyond Chicago, given that Field Museum collections of Native American objects of cultural patrimony are not limited to local population (Mithlo and Robert 2020; Wali and Tudor 2017, 88).

Implications

What implications does this discussion hold for museum anthropological research? Fienup-Riordan reminds us that "Anthropologists working with Native communities may find that it is as difficult for their collaborative constructions to enter majority museums intact as it was for Native Americans to be heard in turn-of-the-century museums when anthropologists were the gatekeepers. Museums in North America today are in the hands of professionals, not generalists" (Fienup-Riordan 1999, 340). If Fienup-Riordan is correct, then this means that collaborations between Native Americans and anthropologists need to critically correspond with—and collectively interrogate—the professional protocols and standards that create barriers to collaboration in museums (Boas 1907; Milner 2005).

New collaborative and Native knowledge-based approaches have emerged over the past 20 years for creating exhibits informed by Native Americans museum practitioners and source communities. For example, Fienup-Riordan's work revealed that collaboration between museums and Yupik elders enabled the development of an exhibit that facilitated both the fulfillment of the museum's mission and the exhibit's ability to hold significant meanings for the Yupik community and non-Native American museumgoers. According to Fienup-Riordan, "At its foundation that Agayuliyaraput exhibit was an attempt to communicate meaning across cultural boundaries and beyond art or artifact" (Fienup-Riordan 1999, 340).

A major implication of this chapter is that researching the nature and sources of Native knowledge inclusion in museum exhibit creation does not always lead to misplaced critiques of museums. Rather, such research can reveal the strengths and limitations of the lens used to create exhibit narratives for audiences. In this chapter, the approach to, and discussion of, the relationship between Native knowledge and museum exhibits aims to stress the fact that while museum anthropologists will ultimately describe a variety of cultural elements and understandings in exhibits, it is important that these interpretations be consistent with—and salient in—both past and present Native American beliefs and understandings of culture. Many model exhibits, like *Native Truths*, contain examples of collaborations with Native American advisory boards or committees and describe how Native knowledge has enhanced the captions and narratives conveyed through exhibits and provide both Native American and non-Native American audiences with culturally relevant information about the past that is indelibly linked to the present. Another implication presented in this chapter is that further research into the relationship between Native knowledge and museum exhibits can initiate the creation of museum mission-based paradigms that elevate Native knowledge to an integral resource in exhibit creation, rather than a supplemental one.

Conclusion

The goals of this chapter are to illustrate how Native knowledge can inform changing paradigms for museum exhibit creation. The intended outcome is to highlight approaches, particularly those created at the Field Museum, demonstrating how curatorial and museum anthropological approaches to exhibit creation can be enhanced by the greater inclusion of Native American voices. These models also illustrate the limitations of museum exhibits that have no salience in the cultural contributions made by Native Americans to museums and US society. The need for acknowledgement of Native American contributions to society and inclusion of Native American voices in museums has been a concern in anthropology, particularly museum anthropology, for over a century. If these new approaches can be assessed for their abilities to enhance content and cultural relevance, then Indigenization of collections will be seen as a strength, rather than a weakness (Wali 2015, 24–25).

The emphasis on Native knowledge placed in this chapter reveals the need for greater anthropological examination of how explanations of Native American cultures and lifeways can be enhanced in museum exhibits through the incorporation of Native knowledge. It is no longer conventional to use westward expansionism as the central focus of analyses and Native American ancestral knowledge merely to supplement explanations of objects of cultural patrimony used in exhibits. This approach is limited for three reasons. First, it suggests linkages between curator and Native American explanations of

cultural object usage without a clear illustration of how the two are connected. Second, the approach allows for ignoring the fact that source communities and individuals from the past may have offered insight into one aspect of cultural object explanation and usage that may have changed due to contact. Consequently, cultural object explanations relevant to the past may not reflect the adaptations made by the people in the face of cultural change and encroachment. Third, individuals from different communities within Native American nations that provided ancestral knowledge for museum collections may not have revealed the breadth of cultural object usage. To enhance the representation of Native knowledge in museum exhibits requires a flexible paradigm that increases consistency between curatorial and source community interpretations of Native American experiences and objects of cultural patrimony; the assertion in this chapter is that *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* can provide a model for such a paradigm shift.

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REMARKS ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF *NATIVE TRUTHS: OUR VOICES, OUR STORIES*

The Field Museum, Chicago, Illinois
May 21, 2022

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National Museum of the American Indian
Smithsonian Institution

President and CEO Emeritus
Ambassador, Native Communities
Autry Museum of the American West

Good afternoon. And many thanks for the extremely gracious introduction.

In reflecting on a career that encompassed more than a quarter-century as a director of two different museums after failed retirement attempts that ended only as age 80 beckoned, I did learn the value of appreciating where important matters now stand by noting where they all began. That minor piece of wisdom is what I would like to apply today in affirming the resounding—dare I say, almost thunderous—success in my view of the Field's exhibit, *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories*.

I begin that inquiry by returning to my roots at the National Museum of the American Indian in a different era. I want to invoke the words of my first boss at the Smithsonian Institution, Secretary Robert McCormick Adams, also an eminently distinguished son of Chicago, the University of Chicago, and its Oriental Institute. Here are his words regarding the National Museum of the American Indian at its incipiency in the early 1990s:

> This is a national museum … [that] takes the permanence … the authenticity … the vitality and the self-determination of Native American voices … as the fundamental reality … it must … represent.
>
> … [W]e move decisively from the older image of the museum as a temple with its superior, self-governing priesthood to … a forum … committed not to the promulgation of received wisdom but to the encouragement of a multi-cultural dialogue.

Note the words and remember them, because they are explicit or implicit in every sentence I will utter in the next 10 minutes.

In the congressional act that created it, the legislative history that informed the legislation, and the policies subsequently adopted by the institution, the guiding paramount principle of the National Museum of the American Indian was the centrality of first-person Native voice. Museum practice rapidly transformed stratagems from the conceptual to the actualized. Long before programming became a reality in any NMAI facilities, a series of consultations, some 25 to 30 of them over a two-and-a-half- to three-year period, conducted throughout the Americas, established important guiding aspirations. The NMAI saw Native peoples and communities not as some ethnographic residuum, in an advanced state of dotage or risk, preparing to fall off the stage of history. To the contrary, Native America maintained, often against great odds, a cultural present and would insist on a future, and hopefully a better one. In addition, the Museum's presentation, interpretation, and representation of these first citizens, as well as their cultures and communities, were premised on a consistent and systematic invocation of the first-person voice of Native peoples.

These aspirations took form early in 1994 at the NMAI's George Gustav Heye Center in New York and were implemented on a far larger scale when the NMAI opened in 2004 on the National Mall in Washington, DC. They infused all aspects of programming, including most specifically exhibits, driven not by collections *per se*, but, instead, by large ideas or themes that were based on those early consultations with Native communities. Native representatives from throughout the Americas were invited to participate in all exhibitions, from the selection of objects to the specific content of individual community installations responding to the larger frame of the transcendent ideas and themes. At the museum on the National Mall, this approach resulted in 24 specific installations organized into three different core exhibitions, representing Native communities from all of the Americas, 8 from Central and South America, 4 from the First Nations of Canada, and 12 from the United States.

The "why" of these changed epistemological practices is important to know and understand. As introduction, we need to step back briefly to the origins of the very nature of museums and their construction of "knowledge systems" that arrived in the United States from Europe. Borne primarily of the Enlightenment and Western rationalism, museums have been driven, in organizing and creating knowledge, by the binary division of "culture" and "nature." That dividing line resulted in the collateral creation of numerous subdivided disciplines and to their

being further split—for example, art and ethnography, art and culture, and history and art, as well as others.

For the National Museum of the American Indian, however, the substance of the "why" was a straightforward interpretive proposition, however complex its implementation might be: as a matter of knowledge systems, Native peoples of the Americas often see things in the world differently from Western knowledge paradigms. Ours is fundamentally, and always has been, a world seen whole and not seen divisible into the material and the non-material, the tangible and the intangible, let alone the subdivisions of disciplines that populate Western rationalism.

Thus, from a Native standpoint, the museum object itself is no more important and, indeed, probably less so, than the processes leading to its creation. It is those aspects of life and culture that speak more completely to the fullness, the totality, and the wholeness of living a Native culture—traditions, songs, spiritual beliefs, and ritual and ceremonial practices.

I know that this conceptual framework was museologically jolting to some, and we heard from a few of them in the art critics' community—in triplicate—when our inaugural exhibitions opened at the NMAI's George Gustav Heye Center in New York City in the fall of 1994. With its characteristic penchant for understatement, the *Wall Street Journal* stated, with respect to label copy that referenced the need to look behind the object to the voices of its creators:

> A note explains: "The different voices that surround some of the objects speak for them, since they cannot speak for themselves." Nonsense. These objects … speak very eloquently for themselves.
>
> Ironically … items [in the museum shop] are more respectfully displayed than the museum's own artifacts. Grouped by tribal affiliation and medium, they are in well-lit cases … with cards listing only the artist's name and nation. The museum's curators would do well to study them.

Even today, almost 30 years later and bathed in the balm of the passage of time, I cannot refer to that quote in public, let alone in the illustrious halls and galleries of the Field Museum, without lapsing into a very "un-director-like" exclamation along the lines of "Really??!! You must be joking!"

But ah, how wonderful, even if belatedly, to bring that errant critic to new truths in twenty-first-century museology and museum practice through the undeniable power and potency of *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories*. I cannot capture in words, let alone 10 minutes' worth, the breadth and depth of this groundbreaking effort.

But what I can do is note the touchstones that buttress my enthusiastic conclusions as one who has pretty much seen it all. The presentations know no limitations in Native time and cultural space—guiding histories and traditions from time immemorial through present and continuing challenges to hip hop artists who pull both past and present to an integrated and more whole future, showcasing the unique role of Native artists as culture-keepers and -bearers. I know the truth of that having been born the son of one.

The exhibit's embrace of the largeness and multidimensionality of Native America is robust and ambitious. The urban Native community in Chicago is front and center—though as an aside that I utter with a twinkle in my eye, the NMAI did that first in one of those opening exhibits on the National Mall in 2004 that I referred to earlier. I admired the effort—meaningful and touching—to address in historical and contemporary terms the place and role of "people of the two spirits." They were a valued and integral part of the Tsis Tsis Tsas community as wisdom-keepers because they were able to "see two directions at the same time."

Candidly, I could go on for the rest of the afternoon. but I am beginning to hear the creaking sounds of the "10-minute-limit trap door" preparing to open beneath me. So let me close now on the gentle wings of poetry and Cheyenne words of well-wishing.

Remember this wisdom of Simon Ortiz, the poet and storyteller from Acoma, as he spoke eloquently about Native cultural continuance and identity—and its value to my Native brothers and sisters, of course, but also to every single person in this room, Native and non-Native. The poem is entitled "It Doesn't End, of Course":

> It doesn't end, of course.
> In all growing from all earths
> to all skies,
>
> in all touching
> all things,
>
> in all soothing
> the aches of all years,
>
> it doesn't end.

I conclude with these words in Cheyenne, dedicated to all of you who hear them, but especially to those who had any role in making possible *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories*. [spoken Cheyenne]

Thank you for your very kind attention. Good luck and Godspeed.

REMARKS AT THE OPENING OF *NATIVE TRUTHS: OUR VOICES, OUR STORIES*

Cynthia Chavez Lamar
Director, National Museum of the American Indian
Smithsonian Institution

Greetings and good afternoon, everyone. Today is a grand day as we celebrate the opening of *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories*. Naitra, thank you, for allowing me to be here to express my congratulations to the Field Museum's president Dr. Julian Siggers, the Field Museum staff, and, of course, the Native American Advisory Committee members, because without your participation this would be a very different exhibition. Together you have achieved a significant milestone in the Field Museum's history, so today we acknowledge your collective accomplishment. Please give them all a round of applause.

I'm humbled to be speaking right after Rick West. As you all know, Rick is the founding director of the National Museum of the American Indian, the organization I now lead, following in his footsteps. Once upon a time, I was a young NMAI curator when Rick was director, and I worked collaboratively with eight Indigenous communities across the western hemisphere, including the Chicago American Indian community, specifically with the American Indian Center—I have fond memories of my times here. This experience helped me understand what is involved in committing to shared authority in exhibition development. Shared authority is tremendously important in the work museums plan and implement as they develop educational content about Indigenous people. It's work we, as museum professionals, must do hand in hand with Indigenous people—it's what I see in *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories*.

Collaborative exhibition development takes time and flexibility, which is sometimes at odds with museum budgets and schedules, but it can be done, as shown here today. I'm amazed and inspired by the renovation of this 10,000-square-foot Native North American Hall. Not only did you have to create new exhibit content; the entire hall had to be physically altered in four years! And you did it while a pandemic was going on. That is quite a feat! As significant is bringing Indigenous perspectives and interpretations to the forefront of audience understandings of Native and Indigenous people. Who better to tell visitors about us than us? Who better to help museums understand and interpret what is in their collections than Native artists and other cultural experts? I've come across the names of many artists who have their creativity on display in *Native Truths*. It's heartening to know these new artworks were inspired by items in the Field Museum collection. Connecting Indigenous people with collections reveals so much about these ancestral items. Museums must do all they can to continue to prioritize Indigenous community engagement around collections.

Exhibitions like *Native Truths* dispel the notion that Indigenous peoples and our histories are part of the past. They help combat stereotypes and correct misinformation and show Indigenous cultures as thriving and tenacious. Our diverse Indigenous communities have powerful stories to tell—stories of our own histories, which are also stories of the history of this country. Exhibitions like this make it clear that Indigenous history is American history, and the Indigenous experience is an American experience.

A lot has been shared this afternoon, and as the last speaker I wish to keep this short as we all want to get on with the celebration, especially my husband Walter Lamar, who is Blackfeet and knows his people are up soon. Again, I offer my sincere congratulations to Dr. Siggers, the Field Museum staff, and the Native American Advisory Committee members for this beautiful exhibition. The thoughtful and deliberate collaborative efforts that went into creating *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* will serve as an example to all of us in the museum community who engage in this work. It will also serve as a catalyst for important conversations to be had in this country about social justice and equity. Naitra, thank you and enjoy the rest of your day!

FIGURE 154 | Flute with crane or goose head | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 15948, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

PART IV

CHANGING STORIES

INTRODUCTION BY ALAKA WALI

THIS SECTION CONTAINS essays on each of the stories contained in the inaugural rotating galleries. These are:

- Frank Waln's Journey Home
- The Revitalization of California Basket Making
- The Pueblo Peoples' Relationship to Chaco Canyon
- The Reclaiming of Food Sovereignty by the Meskwaki of Tama, Iowa

Each gallery was devoted to one specific story that wove together and illustrated the principal messages of the "Truths." As described in the Introduction to the book, the rotating galleries are a feature of the Hall that allow for continuously adding fresh content to the exhibition. This strategy had never been used before in a permanent exhibition at the Field Museum. It facilitates addressing the challenge of keeping permanent exhibitions up to date within budget and time constraints. The endowment for the exhibition safeguards funds for development of the rotating galleries.

In the first chapter, exhibition developer Tori Lee describes the journey of Lakota hip hop artist Frank Waln as he reflects on his relationship with Lakota flute music, his family on the Rosebud Reservation, and his activism with urban youth. Mr. Waln has selected flutes and other items from the Field Museum collection and has incorporated these with items from his own collection. Lee's essay is complemented with quotes from Waln drawn from display texts and interviews.

The second chapter features the story of Cahuilla basket maker Lorene Sisquoc and the efforts to maintain and revitalize weaving practices of the Cahuilla in California. The chapter tells the story of how, despite continued trauma and displacement experienced by Native peoples in California (including the traumas of the residential boarding schools), members of the Cahuilla Tribe maintained and practiced the art of basket weaving and passed it on across the generations. The gallery was based on the dissertation research of Dr. Meranda Roberts (Paiute and Chicana), postdoctoral fellow and a co-curator for the exhibition. Her statement about the gallery is accompanied by selected texts from the gallery displays.

In the third chapter of this section, Advisory Committee members Brian Vallo (Pueblo of Acoma), Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa (Hopi), and Antonio Chavarria (Pueblo of Santa Clara) describe the continuous relationship between the Pueblos of the Southwest and the important ancestral site of Chaco Canyon. The Chaco Canyon site is designated as a National Historic Park (www.nps.gov/chcu/index.htm) and is sacred to all the Pueblos. The site is threatened by nearby extractive activities for fossil fuels and illicit looting. The chapter focuses on the themes of the enduring relationship between the Puebloans and a sacred place, the history of the site as a central place of trade, knowledge production, and innovation, and the contemporary activism by the Pueblos to protect the landscape of Chaco. Included here also are artist statements from Diego Romero (Cochiti), Louie García (Acoma), and Aric Chopito (Zuni), who have all contributed contemporary pieces for the new exhibition (which have been accessioned into the permanent collection).

The fourth part of this section tells the story of the food sovereignty movement in Tama, Iowa, undertaken by the Meskwaki Nation. Following the narrative of the gallery, the chapter illustrates the relationship between efforts to revitalize ancestral food systems and the cultural practices and values that have persisted through generations. There

are two additional essays on William Jones, the first Native American anthropologist to obtain a PhD from Harvard University. Jones (Sauk and Fox) collected seeds and cultural items from the Meskwaki which he meticulously documented as an assistant curator at the Field Museum in the early 1900s. One chapter is by Eli Suzukovich and describes the collections made by William Jones of Meskwaki seeds and cultural materials, and the other chapter is by Elizabeth Vazquez, an undergraduate student at Northwestern University who did extensive research on Jones' biography.

Finally, included in this section are two chapters on the history and significance of the Pawnee Earth Lodge. Although the Lodge is a permanent feature of the new exhibition, like the other rotating galleries, it focuses on a specific community, one with whom the Field Museum has had a long-time collaboration. Susan Golland (museum staff) and Matt Reed (Pawnee cultural resources committee) discuss the renovations made to the Pawnee Earth Lodge and reflect on the historical and contemporary role that the Lodge plays in Pawnee life. The Lodge was installed in the Field Museum in the early 1970s and represented the first collaborative project undertaken by the Field Museum. Elders from Pawnee traveled to the Field Museum to advise on the construction of the Lodge. Over the years, the Lodge had remained the same and did not have a context or connection to present-day life. While the Pawnee Cultural Committee requested no changes to the Lodge itself, there is now new interpretation and displays that connect history to contemporary life. Susan Golland provides a history of the installation of the Lodge, while Matt Reed discusses the importance of the Lodge to contemporary Pawnee efforts to maintain cultural knowledge and practices.

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THE FRANK WALN METHOD

Developing the Lakota Flutes Gallery

TORI LEE

I FIRST MET hip hop artist and music producer Frank Waln over lunch. It was 2018, nearly four years before the exhibition eventually known as *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* would open to the general public. We ate in the Field Museum's bistro and talked about the blues over burgers and grilled cheese. It was not the musician's first time at the museum. As I'd begun to orient myself as an exhibition developer on the project, I'd seen a short YouTube documentary featuring Waln. It'd been filmed four years earlier by Originals First—an Indigenous education network—about the colonial legacy of the Field Museum.

The video begins with a wide shot of Waln walking up the long, stone staircase to the museum's entrance flanked by banners advertising the 1893 World's Fair exhibition. Though not noted in the film, the shot is all the more striking considering the large number of items in the Field's collection that were bought—or taken—from Native communities for the Fair. "Museums tend to perpetuate the stereotype that we're a dead culture of the past," says Waln as he walks through the outdated Native North American Hall, passing yellowing cases full of Lakota hide shirts and saddlebags. "If you portray a people who are underrepresented in the media as a dead

FIGURE 145 | Installation photo of Frank Waln's gallery, 2022 | Photograph by John Weinstein

culture—a culture of the past—to a lot of society, they are not going to exist."

"We are a people *with* a past, not a people *of* the past," Waln states emphatically toward the end of the film. As the exhibition team began having discussions with our Native advisors and various community members, it was clear that this statement perfectly encapsulated the driving force of the exhibit renovation.

The fact that Waln sat in front of me that afternoon in 2018 was not a testament to the Field Museum, but to Frank's relationship with Debra Yepa-Pappan, the Field Museum's Native American Community Engagement Coordinator. Yepa-Pappan and Waln had met years earlier through programming for Native youth in Chicago—a welcoming community for Waln, who'd moved from the Rosebud Reservation in rural South Dakota to attend Columbia College Chicago.

Around the same time as our first meeting, Waln had begun learning the traditional Lakota flute. "I've never taken to an instrument like this. It feels like I played flute in a past life," he said. Frank's initial interest was in viewing the collections, gleaning inspiration from the Lakota instruments held there—and perhaps even playing them. This idea of activating hundred-year-old flutes was an idea that powerfully gripped the exhibition team and advisory group. It felt like a story that could literally breathe new life into the Hall. With the help of collections and conservation staff, Frank selected several possible candidate instruments from collections.

However, logistical difficulties like the heavy presence of arsenic in the collection (a horrific but effective method of pest control in the past), the structural fragility of the instruments, and the COVID-19 pandemic ultimately made playing the instruments impossible. Over the next year or so, Frank's section of the exhibition floundered as we explored other options. In the summer of 2020, Waln released his first flute album, *Olówaŋ Wétu (Spring Songs)*. It was a blend of storytelling and instrumental music—a perfect snapshot of Waln's life at that moment in time. "Why not make the gallery about this album?" I asked.

Frank and the team, a group that included Yepa-Pappan, curators, collections and conservation staff, designers, media producers, and production staff, were on board. Though the sounds wouldn't come from instruments in the collection, Waln had still been inspired by his visits. In addition, he could use the instruments he'd selected alongside other pieces in the collection to help illustrate his stories and provide historical context. In essence, we'd be creating a 3D, visual album in the exhibit space.

Meet Frank Waln

"I want my section to feel like a 'Frank Waln Show,'" said Waln during one of our earliest meetings in 2019. This was not necessarily about lighting effects and fog machines (though I'm in favor), but instead a reference to the carefully crafted flow of a Waln show.

Frank typically opens with a personal introduction, often in Lakota. Then the set moves into something up-tempo, a great beat to get the crowd energized. Between songs, Waln weaves in stories about his childhood growing up on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota and being raised by a single mother and supportive group of aunties. Over the course of his set, the songs grow more serious, more intense, and often deliver hard truths.

> *They took the land, made us sick and gave us alcoholism /*
>
> *They took away your wisdom / they took away your health /*
>
> *We're gonna get it back and we're gonna honor ourselves*
>
> From "My People Come from the Land"

By the end, Waln is asking you to join in. A little call-and-response. You are a collaborator, a participant in building the song together.

FIGURE 146 | Sicangu Lakota hip hop artist, multi-instrumentalist, music producer, and storyteller Frank Waln | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Simon Watson

FIGURE 147 | Visitors to the Lakota Flutes gallery are greeted by an image of Frank as well as a ribbon shirt (pictured here) and moccasins he often wears for performances | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

With Frank's help, we realized that this tonal flow—welcoming and personal to hard-hitting and systemic to collaborative and hopeful—would translate well to an exhibition flow. Affectionately named "The Waln Method" by the team, we had a perfect blueprint for developing a gallery that was engaging, personal, and honest: we simply needed to follow it.

As visitors walk into his gallery, which is a circle with a single entrance and exit, they are met by an image of Waln, with the greeting: "naháŋ iyúha čhaŋté waštéya napéčhi-yuzapelo / Hello, my name is Frank Waln. I welcome you with an open hand and an open heart."

Home

To the left of the gallery entrance, visitors encounter the display case for the album's first song—*Home*. In the song's accompanying story track, Waln explains that he recorded it outside his childhood home on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota "to capture the heaviness in my heart when it comes to home." Somberly he states that "This song is for all those displaced, taken away from, or forced to flee their homelands because of genocide or colonization."

The *Home* display is Waln's tour of Rosebud—horse and ranch culture, longstanding Lakota traditions, and Frank's own musical origins. The items in the case, and in fact every case, are a mixture of historic items in the collection and Frank's personal things. Frank and our team spent many hours over Zoom considering the pairing and layout of items. Despite clear differences in materials, the case is visually cohesive—a testament to the theme of continuity and adaptation pervasive throughout the

FIGURE 148 | The diamond-shaped pattern found on this saddle bag reminded Frank of the center of the Rosebud flag seen on his old license plates (Figure 149) | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 339401, Conservation Department Photograph

FIGURE 149 | The diamond-shaped pattern in the center of the Rosebud flag, seen here on Frank's old license plate, recalls that on the saddlebag pictured in Figure 148 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

Hall. "Some designs are eternal to me; I see them everywhere, you know. Patterns and designs that people came up with—how they've stuck with us even unconsciously throughout time," said Waln.

Waln, who has intimate knowledge of the gaps left by the American education system, often weaves Native history into his performances and talks to help educate his audiences. This carries through in the exhibition content, though Frank was adamant that nothing should feel like the old exhibition. "No 'here's some old time Indians doing old time stuff,'" Waln said. "From the jump I want people to know that Indigenous artists are contemporary, our music is contemporary music. We are always and ever-evolving."

FIGURE 150 | A Lakota hide drum with metal jingles | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 15785, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

FIGURE 151 | Frank's first drum machine | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

In my opinion, nothing strikes this idea harder than the pairing of a hide drum, which was gifted to the museum in 1894 by Edward Ayer, the Field's first president, and Frank's first drum machine. The čháŋčheğa, or drum, is made of animal hide stretched over a wooden frame, which is inset with metal jingles, giving the instrument a tambourine-like sound. Frank has often connected traditional Lakota drums to his own interest in hip hop. "A lot of Lakota music revolves around the drum. That's where I started. This drum machine was my first piece of gear, which my mother got at a pawn shop back home. There was no manual, no internet, but I taught myself how to make beats through trial and error."

Calling Your Spirit Back

In the story track for *Calling Your Spirit Back*, the next song and display featured in the exhibit, Frank explains that he

FIGURE 152 | (top) Frank Waln's hospital bracelet from the University of Chicago Medical Center | (bottom) SXSW music festival bracelet worn by Waln during his performance | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Pam Gaible

suffered a major seizure in 2020. While in the hospital, he was labeled as combative and was physically restrained as a result. Despite protests from loved ones, his ceremonial scars were called into question and doctors considered putting him under psychiatric care. Behind the flute notes of the accompanying song, bird chirping is audible. Frank recorded the song outside of his Chicago apartment, in view of the hospital where he experienced medical racism. Visitors can see the actual medical bracelet Frank wore while hospitalized.

Frank often weaves personal stories into his music and performances. For him, being vulnerable is a form of activism. One story I've heard him retell, a punch to the gut each time I hear it, is an encounter soon after arriving at Columbia College Chicago. While in an elevator, a fellow student compliments his braided hair and asks about his ethnicity. When he says he's Lakota, and then qualifies even further that he's Native American, she responds, "I didn't know you all were still alive." I can't imagine how it must have felt for a college-age Waln who'd just arrived in Chicago. Frank uses this story not to call out an individual, but to show the widespread ignorance and casual brutality

FIGURE 153 | A beaded blanket strip with Medicine Wheel design made by a Dakota or Lakota Ancestor | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 15765, Conservation Department Photograph

regarding Native peoples' current reality and history that's pervasive in American society. Waln knows better than anyone the power of personal stories—how they can snake past defensiveness and land in the heart.

Although *Calling Your Spirit Back* is about pain, it is also about healing, about resilience. The hospital bracelet is surrounded by depictions of the Medicine Wheel—the physical manifestation of Tate Topa, the four directions. "We acknowledge the directions in everything we do, from prayers to social gatherings, even in our songs." Here we also see two of the flutes Frank most connected with from the collection. The first is a flute with a beautifully carved bird's head collected for the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition. Paired with it is a curious flute that looks like a cross between a traditional Lakota flute and a Western-style woodwind. From records we'd known it had come from the Rosebud Reservation, but not much else. For Waln, both flutes symbolize the power of adaptation.

Wóakiktuŋže (Forgiveness) and Thank You

The right side of the gallery holds two cases that serve as tender tributes to people in Waln's life. Tucked into an intimate corner is *Forgiveness*—a song written about Waln's relationship with his mother. "I'm the product of strong Lakota women. The respect I have for my mom and my aunties drove me to write this song to help us work through our relationships."

Mixed in with photos and tributes to this maternal relationship are more general stories that honor Lakota women. Two red belts hang next to each other, a beaded belt gifted by his mother and a belt made over 100 years earlier by another Lakota or Dakota woman named

FIGURE 156 | (top) Belt made by Pumpkin Rind before 1899 and (bottom) a beaded belt gifted by Mary Waln to Frank Waln | On loan from FDW Entertainment | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 67520, Conservation Department Photograph

Pumpkin Rind (a discovery made by the collections team). "Traditionally, all our patterns and designs were created by women. I wanted to focus on the matriarchal influence not only in older Lakota culture, but in my own life."

Directly to the right of the gallery's entrance/exit are two flat cases representing the song *Thank You*, the final track on Frank's album. Though it is intended as the final section of the exhibition, visitors could very easily encounter it first, so we made sure the tone was hopeful and uplifting.

In the accompanying story track, Waln recounts how he wrote this song as an expression of gratitude to a since-passed spiritual leader in his community, Roy Stone, Sr. "I went to him during a time of deep depression and started reconnecting to our culture through his altar and ceremony," said Waln. The display itself expresses the concept of gratitude more generally. Inside the cases are necklaces and art Frank has been gifted by fans and

FIGURE 155 | Tribal Council campaign poster for Mary Waln made by Frank Waln | On loan from FDW Entertainment

FIGURE 157 | One example of the "fan art" that Frank has received, thanking him for his music | On loan from FDW Entertainment

supporters throughout his career. "I also wanted to represent how gratitude and reciprocity is given in Indigenous communities and how I've been shown thanks," said Waln in a meeting in 2021. "That's a very Indigenous thing, the creation of a gift as a thank you."

Let's Make Music Together

On the back center wall of Frank's gallery is a "studio," a curved room and feat of beautiful engineering by the exhibition designers and fabricators. Inspired by Frank's own home set-up, the studio's main wall is lined by a star quilt made by an independent Lakota company to help dampen the sound. The other walls are lined in cedar, both a material with deep meaning for many Indigenous peoples and an effective method of pest control.

Visitors are enticed to approach a large interactive touchscreen where they can create a custom song alongside Frank. In the introduction video Frank says, "Creating music is a collective form of healing that Indigenous people have practiced all around the world and we will do that together now. I cannot wait to see what we create together."

These newly minted music producers are guided through a Garage-Band-like experience, heavily influenced by Frank's own background as a producer, where they are able to layer instrumental and vocal tracks together to form a new song. Each track was created by multi-instrumentalist Waln. The final step is to pick an instrument, like piano or shaker, and jam out to the song you've built. For me, one of the greatest joys of the whole project was watching visitors playing in the space. *Native Truths* is an exhibition filled with many powerful, but often heavy stories. It was important to me, to the team, and especially to Frank to have moments of fun.

In many ways, this music experience is like the process of developing the gallery as a whole. It was highly collaborative, with many, many layers—staff from collections, conservation, curatorial, design, production, graphics, media, and more all coming together over four years of Zoom meetings to build something new with Frank and push our own thinking about what the exhibition development process looks like—what exhibits themselves were capable of and who gets to decide what they say. Typically, exhibition developers work with in-house curators to develop content and write labels in a very established sequence. Yet this process was wholly organic, creative and experimental, where we added a little then subtracted a little, traveling a path where the outcome was not entirely known and the road sometimes bumpy. Each of us on the Field Museum side contributed bits of our own expertise, but the gallery was firmly guided by Frank's vision and, perhaps even more so, by the relationship we'd all built. Even visitors, often passive consumers of exhibits, were challenged to contribute their own voice in a small way to the space, now a site of healing. As Frank often says, "Woplia." Thank you.

FIGURE 158 | Display of the touchscreen interactive where visitors can make music with Frank | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

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REVITALIZING CALIFORNIA BASKET MAKING

Curator Statement

MERANDA ROBERTS (PAIUTE AND CHICANA)

THE STORY TOLD in this gallery is one of love and respect for all Native women basket weavers. In 2013, when I began working with baskets stored in museum collections, I looked past the aesthetic qualities of each basket. Instead, I focused on how this practice encompasses our ancestral stories and lessons. After talking with Lorene Sisquoc at Sherman Indian High School, a former boarding school my great-grandmother attended, I knew that it was my responsibility to speak to all the ways women have maintained basket-weaving traditions despite attempts at forced assimilation by the United States government. Having the opportunity to tell just one story of Native women's resiliency was not only a dream come true but also helped in healing the baskets we chose to have on display in the exhibition.

I believe many of us forget (unintentionally) that some of the items stored in a museum collection are alive with a maker's dreams, hopes, and intentions. These pieces want to be honored, spoken to, laughed with, and reunited with the communities they were taken from (deliberately or for survival). The work we all accomplished in this gallery speaks to what happens when this kind of reunion takes place.

FIGURE 159 | Installation photo for the California Basketry Traditions display | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein

STORIES FROM THE CALIFORNIA BASKETRY TRADITIONS DISPLAY

Paxam. Come in and meet the basket weavers who've kept our traditions alive

I'm Lorene Sisquoc, a member of the Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma and a descendant of the Mountain Cahuilla. I've worked at the Sherman Indian School since 1982 and been blessed to teach Native basketry and caretake our museum. Traditionally weaving is passed down, but in my family it wasn't. So, I'm thankful to all my teachers—the women who kept our traditions alive despite assimilation, boarding schools, and relocation. I was born on Sherman's campus and grew up in Riverside, California. I never got to grow up on the Cahuilla Reservation or our Oklahoma territory where my Apache tribal community is, so Sherman is my home and community.

In Figure 162, weaver Amy Morillo (Cahuilla, Luiseño) and I gather juncus on the Cahuilla Reservation. Our juncus is the best and strongest because it's been continually harvested and tended. We have a responsibility to take care of these plants and utilize them well, because they are gifts that were given to us.

FIGURE 160 | Lorene Sisquoc | © James Jaeger Photography

FIGURE 162 | Gathering juncus | Photograph courtesy of Lorene Sisquoc

FIGURE 161 | Nehat Ennu Seish/Basket with flower design made by a Cahuilla Ancestor | Juncus, sumac, dyed juncus, deergrass | Collected by a Field Museum curator on the Cahuilla Reservation, California, 1904 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 84889, Conservation Department Photograph

> "This is a great example of our Cahuilla baskets because it has all the colors and plants we use. The tan is dried Sayille/juncus—a tall, thin reed. The reddish orange is the plant's natural base. The white color is the inside of Selet, the sumac plant. The black is dyed juncus. Our designs, flowers or plants, come from the land around us. You'll see different flowers all around this space.

Elka Menyille gave Cahuilla people beautiful gifts

Our plants, our designs, our baskets. Everything comes from her

In Figure 163 you can see the red bottoms of our juncus. I was told the full moon is the best time to harvest because the strength of the moon pulls the water up close. The plants you get are strong—that strength comes from our first woman, Elka Menyille. We've always identified the moon as female—like a big sister or grandmother. We have a full moon ceremony where all the women get together, gather materials, and smudge. We'd pray and talk about the moon and women things. The past few years I've learned more about the Moon Maiden from my teachers, and learning about Elka Menyille's stories made that connection to the moon even stronger.

FIGURE 163 | Gathering juncus | Full moon is the best time to harvest juncus | Photograph courtesy of Lorene Sisquoc

FIGURE 164 | Basket starter coils | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

As my friend and weaver Rose Ann says, "The starting of our basket, that coil, is the belly button—the beginning of your life." For our Cahuilla baskets, deergrass forms the inner foundation for our baskets. We use both the red and tan parts of juncus reeds, which can also be dyed black for designs. The white color you'll see in some baskets comes from the sumac bush. I've also seen baskets that use palm and sometimes yucca root for red coloring. To start weaving, we tie the shredded yucca into a knot. Then we coil juncus or sumac around for the first few rows. As we reach the end of the yucca, we add deergrass in to keep the foundation going. Finally, you can see some design and color added in.

FIGURE 165 | Tulik Sayille/Black-dyed juncus gathered by a Cahuilla or Luiseño Ancestor | Collected by a Field Museum curator on the Soboba Reservation, California, 1904 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 84811, Conservation Department Photograph

> "This is a bundle of dark, beautiful black-dyed juncus. See how this weaver wrapped it so nicely and neatly? I've seen that in exceptional weavers—the care they put into their materials. Our materials are like precious gifts. You always say a prayer and talk to that plant—tell it what you're going to pick it for. When I see this bundled so nicely, I think it must have been really important and still should be.

FIGURE 166 | Kavomal/Basket made by a Cahuilla Ancestor | Juncus, dyed juncus, deergrass | Collected by a Field Museum curator on the Cahuilla Reservation, California, 1904 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 84884, Conservation Department Photograph

> Our traditional Cahuilla baskets are made by coiling strips of juncus or other plants around a bundle of suul/deergrass. Every time we end a stitch, we leave a little tail. You can see all the little tails in here. That's a characteristic of our baskets. The red design is the base of our juncus plants. Typically you get 3 to 6 inches of beautiful red, sometimes even a light pink color.

FIGURE 167 | Nehat Ennu Suetem/Basket with constellation design made by a Kumeyaay Ancestor | Juncus, dyed juncus, deergrass | Collected by a Field Museum curator in San Jose, California, 1906 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 91729, Conservation Department Photograph

> This basket reminds me of the story of the Seven Sisters. The pattern looks like the ascending stairs they took to go up to become the stars. The Seven Sisters are associated with the constellation you call Pleiades, but we call it Chexiam. The rocks that form those steps are on the Cahuilla Reservation.

Juana Apapas

Weaving through hard and changing times

FIGURE 168 | Juana Apapas | Photograph courtesy of Lorene Sisquoc

In the late 1800s, Juana Apapas lived on the Soboba Reservation, but was from the Mountain Cahuilla territory. She had powerful meanings in her designs, which represented how hard times were for our great-grandparents here in Southern California. They endured extreme changes and suffered through poverty, removal, and assimilation. Juana saw this suffering and she wove that struggle into her baskets. She continues to be a great inspiration for us.

FIGURE 169 | This is Juana Apapas' granddaughter, Barbara Guanche, splitting juncus | Descendants are still weaving—it just skipped a few generations | Photograph courtesy of Lorene Sisquoc

FIGURE 170 | Nehat Ennu Paplavonka/Basket with lightning design made by a Cahuilla Ancestor | Juncus, deergrass, sumac | Collected by a Field Museum curator on the Cahuilla Reservation, California, 1904 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 84887, Conservation Department Photograph

> This basket looks like it could have been made by Juana. The pattern—maybe lightning—looks similar to her style. She had that feistiness and anger at the way her people were being treated. She would weave prayers into her baskets for white settlers to leave and never come back. We were always taught to have good thoughts when you weave, but she taught me you could be angry sometimes.

FIGURE 171 | Nehat Ennu Seish/Basket with flower design made by a Cahuilla Ancestor | Juncus, dyed juncus, deergrass | Collected by a Field Museum curator on the Cahuilla Reservation, California, 1906 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 91700, Conservation Department Photograph

> This seish/flower- or star-design baskets would have probably been made for tourists or collectors by weavers like Juana. During that time, women had to make baskets for their livelihood—to feed their families. They'd sell them for just a few dollars. These baskets in museum collections, all you see is the name of the tribe or sometimes just the collector, not even who the weaver was.

Rosalie Valencia (1917–1996) and Donna Largo (1945–2009)

Keeping our traditions alive

I wanted to learn our traditional baskets. I knew the plants, but didn't know how to put them together. We'd heard about a weaver, Donna Largo, who taught at Idyllwild Arts. In 1991, four of us with Cahuilla ancestry took Donna and Rosalie Valencia's weeklong class. I'll never forget it. Donna asked that we keep teaching what we learned. That commitment has kept me going.

FIGURE 172 | Round-reed creekside basket made by a Kumeyaay Ancestor | Whole juncus | Collected by a Field Museum curator in Campo Reservation, California, 1906 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 91787, Conservation Department Photograph

"The first basket I learned from Donna looked like this; we call them round-reed creekside baskets. In 1985, I went to a campout where Donna was teaching baskets, but not our traditional coiled ones—this open weave, wicker style. She wasn't available to teach our students that summer, so I became the teacher. That planted the seeds for me to learn our traditional Cahuilla baskets.

FIGURE 173 | Nehat Ennu Sewet/Basket with snake design made by a Cahuilla or Kumeyaay Ancestor | Juncus, dyed juncus, deergrass | San Ysidro, California | Gifted to the Field Museum by collector in 1923 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 103499, Conservation Department Photograph

"My Univash/teacher, Donna Largo, had this story about a rattlesnake who was bothering the weaver. She kept shooing it away and said, "If you don't go away I'll put you in my basket." And now look, there you see it. The snake design became very popular; collectors started requesting it. You can really see the high quality, the craftsmanship of the weavers in these baskets.

I'm just trying to pass on what I was blessed to learn

Over these 30 years of teaching, I started out like a big sister, then an auntie, and then a mom to the students. Now I'm known as grandma, or tutu in Cahuilla. I don't feel I'm a master weaver at all. I just know how it's done and I'm able to pass that on. That's what I was doing after Donna's class, passing on what I was blessed to learn. Basket weaving, now, is a commitment. I know a lot earlier it was their livelihood, but now it's a choice. It's learning all kinds of other things that go along with it—taking care of the land and plants as well as identifying our baskets in museum collections. It means planting the seeds and inspiring the young.

FIGURE 174 | Lorene Sisquoc teaching | Photograph courtesy of Lorene Sisquoc

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CHACO CANYON

A Sacred Landscape under Threat

TONY CHAVARRIA (PUEBLO OF SANTA CLARA), STEWART B. KOYIYUMPTEWA (HOPI), BRIAN VALLO (PUEBLO OF ACOMA)

What Is Chaco and What Is Its Significance for the Pueblos?

In this chapter, we tell the story of Chaco Canyon's relationship to the Pueblos of the Southwest from its earliest beginnings to the present day. In its day, it was a large, thriving metropolis and a center of trade and politics. It was a hub of technological advancement and the heart of traditional and ceremonial life. Today, it continues to be a center place for the Pueblos.

> As Acoma people, deep within our collective memories are the experiences of our ancestors as they embarked on an epic journey into this world. Along this journey to our present-day home at Acoma, Haakú, our ancestors left the footprints and fingerprints that mark our existence. At Chaco Canyon, just as at places like Mesa Verde and countless other Ancestral Puebloan landscapes, the many generations of our Ancestors lived the entirety of their natural lives. In those places, they formed the foundations of the cultural practices, traditions, beliefs, and lifeways that maintain our cultural identity as Acoma people today. Chaco Canyon and its surrounding area, the Greater Chaco Landscape,

FIGURE 175 | Chetro Ketl is an Ancestral Puebloan great house in Chaco Culture National Historical Park | AdobeStock_121717766

are of great importance to the Acoma and many other Pueblos who share a similar understanding and connection to these sacred places. Within the Greater Chaco Landscape are archaeological and natural features (with archaeological traces) that are our cultural resources. Remembered in song and prayer, by place-name in each of our Pueblos' languages, by pilgrimages seen and unseen; Chaco Canyon and the Greater Chaco Landscape are parts of our shared living history.

—Brian Vallo

The Chaco Canyon Cultural Site is a UNESCO world heritage site. It is a network of archaeological sites in northwestern New Mexico which preserves outstanding elements of a vast pre-Columbian cultural complex that dominated much of what is now the southwestern United States from the mid-9th to early 13th centuries. It includes Chaco Culture National Historical Park, the associated sites at Aztec Ruins National Monument, and five additional protected archaeological areas. The Chacoan society reached its height between about 1020 and 1110. These sites were a focus for ceremonies, trade, and political activity and they are remarkable for their monumental public and ceremonial buildings and distinctive multi-story "great houses." The sites were linked by an elaborate system of carefully engineered and constructed roads, many of which can still be traced. These achievements are particularly remarkable given the harsh environment of the region. The highly organized large-scale structures, featuring multi-story construction and sophisticated coursed masonry, illustrate the increasing complexity of Chaco social structure, which distinguished itself within the regional culture of the ancestral Pueblo and dominated the area for more than four centuries. The high incidence of storage areas indicates the probability that the Chacoans played a central economic role, and the great size and unusual features of the ceremonial kivas suggest that complex religious ceremony may have been significant in their lives.

—UNESCO website
(https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/353/)

FIGURE 176 | Installation photo of the Chaco Canyon gallery, 2022 | Photograph by John Weinstein

What We Build—and Who We Are—Is Deeply Tied to the Stars

Chaco Canyon and Its Architectural and Cosmological Significance

The ancestors of present-day Pueblo peoples built Chaco, using technological innovations and feats of engineering that place it on a par with other well-known ancient sites such as Machu Picchu in Peru and Teotihuacan in Mexico. Indeed, the Chacoans created a large network of trade with peoples to the south and north. Surrounding the main buildings, you can still see evidence of roads that extend for miles.

Chaco was known for its design that incorporates cosmological events such as the solstices and the paths of celestial bodies. The Sun Dagger site marks the yearly cycle of the Sun and the 18.6-year cycle of the Moon. The clues came in 1977 with Anna Sofaer's discovery of the Sun Dagger site, which revealed the extensive astronomical observations of the Chacoan people. Carefully placed giant slabs of sandstone channel sunlight onto two spiral rock carvings. As the Sun's position, relative to the Earth, changes through the year, the dagger of light also moves. It rests in the center of the large spiral at summer solstice near noon and then brackets the spirals perimeter with two daggers of light at winter solstice. At equinox, a smaller adjacent spiral also has a dagger of light piercing it.

Current thought holds that great numbers of people came into the canyon periodically, to join in ceremonies and the construction of buildings, and then returned to homes located elsewhere. Excavations of large mounds have revealed layers of fine pottery, intentionally shattered in ritual offerings. The ceremonies probably took place at important ceremonial times over many years. The great number and size of the kivas at Chaco Canyon suggest that thousands of worshippers could gather at one time.

FIGURE 177 | Aaya/Rattle made by a Hopi Ancestor | Gourd, feathers, pigment, wood, cotton yarn | Collected by a Field Museum curator in 1911 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 44414, Conservation Department Photograph

> Every time you see a cross in Hopi, it represents the stars. I view the marks on this rattle as the Milky Way, which holds a significant place in Hopi culture. Hopi people also say the rattling sound it makes is the sound of rain and thunder. Rain is a valuable gift where we live. With less than 12 inches of annual precipitation, every drop helps to nourish the Hopi way of life.
>
> —Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa

FIGURE 178 | T-Shaped doorway at Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon | © kojihirano / Adobe Stock

> Some say the T-shape of the doorway is a symbol of emergence. At Chaco, the T-shape became more refined. It was the time when our Ancestors were refining their understanding of the universe. There was symbolism in the buildings in terms of their placement and how they were utilized. When Pueblo people migrated from Chaco, they continued building stone homes with T-shaped doorways up until the 1900s. T-shaped doorways were never entranceways and were only used in the interiors of buildings.

Chaco Canyon Was a Center Place

FIGURE 179 | Chocolate-drinking vessel replica | Original made by a Puebloan Ancestor, AD 875–1050 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Pam Gaible

> This is a replica of a Red Mesa black-on-white cylinder jar that tested positive for traces of cacao, the main ingredient in chocolate. The form is similar to the elaborate chocolate-drinking vessels of the Maya. This shows that extensive trade occurred at Chaco—of cacao from the humid jungles of Mesoamerica, copper from Mexico, and shells from the Pacific and Gulf of Mexico. It shows that Chaco was a center place, not only of people, of thought, of ideas, but also of trade.
>
> —Tony Chavarria

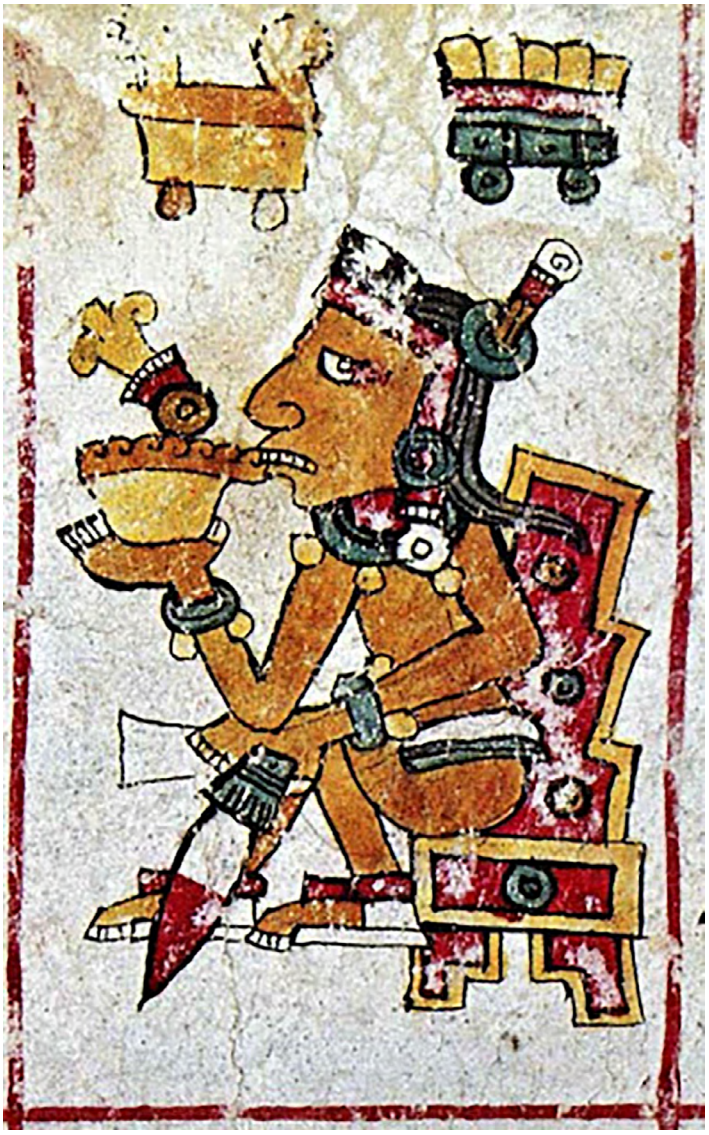
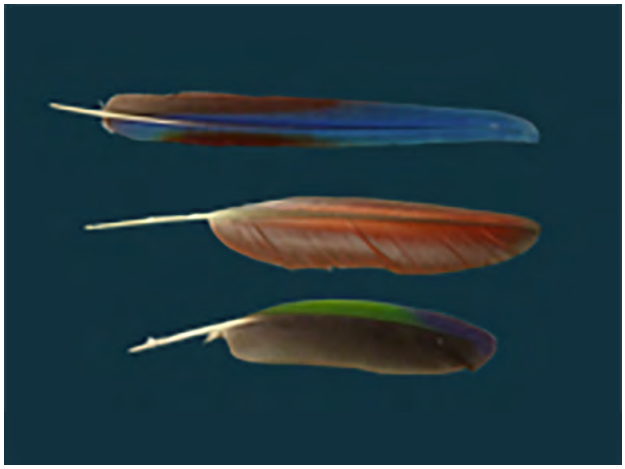


FIGURE 180 | This detail from a sixteenth-century Mesoamerican codex shows an elite drinking cacao | © Vatican Apostolic Library

Cacao was likely used ceremonially in Chaco as it was in Mesoamerica, but there is also some research suggesting its use in Chaco may have been more egalitarian—not restricted to the elites—than it was further south.

FIGURE 181 | Macaw feathers gathered by Brian Vallo (Pueblo of Acoma) | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Pam Gaible



> The feather is the symbol of the parrot and is still used in ceremonies and social dances. Some oral histories in our southwest Tribes speak to the fact that the macaw was brought from the south and introduced to us, and it was at Chaco that the birds were first gifted. For other Tribes, the parrot is part of our emergence story, so the parrot itself is indigenous to our Pueblos.
>
> —Brian Vallo

Agricultural Innovations

Items dating from the Chaco Canyon time period and continuing into the present day demonstrate the depth of ecological knowledge and expertise in managing natural resources in a desert landscape. Our ancestors invented or adopted drought-resistant technologies; constructed irrigation canals; and made tools that remain useful today, as they are eco-friendly and sustainable.

Corn is a sacred food source for us. Pueblo women have used stones for grinding corn since time immemorial, and they're still used today. We use specific stones for different parts of the process: breaking down the kernels, refining them, turning them into flour.

FIGURE 182 | De'le/Corrugated pot made by Zuni ancestor | Ceramic | Given to the Field Museum by a private collector in 1901 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 74532, Conservation Department Photograph

> Our Ancestors made this type of cooking pot at Chaco, and we still make and use them today. I think these simple corrugated pots are beautiful; you can see where the maker pressed their thumb into the clay to create those indentations: they increase the heat absorption. We use these pots to cook everything: beans, acorns, medicinal plants, even just water. From the deterioration around the rim, you can see this one was used quite heavily.
>
> —Brian Vallo

FIGURE 183 | Cactus pickers made by a Zuni Ancestor | Hardwood | Received in an exchange from the Brooklyn Museum of Science and Art in 1907 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 57118, Conservation Department Photograph

> These "pickers" from Zuni are similar to those used at Acoma. They're used to harvest prickly pear cactus fruit. At Acoma, we eat the fruit raw or smush them up into jelly. These sticks get handed down from one generation to the next. A heavily used picker stick will have stains from the red juice of the fruit.
>
> —Brian Vallo

Our Ancestors used the materials from their natural resources to make clothing and tools for hunting and farming. We continue to maintain knowledge of how to make and use these items

FIGURE 184 | Rabbit-fur blanket made by a Hopi Ancestor | Rabbit fur, wool | Collected by a Field Museum curator in 1911 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 45161, Conservation Department Photograph

> To stay warm, one of the things our Ancestors made—and we continue to make—is rabbit-fur blankets from the skins of the rabbits we hunt. You could use the blanket for bedding or hang it at the entrance of a home to keep the cold out. You could also take a strip of rabbit hide and tie it like a ribbon around your shoulders to wear the blanket like a robe. They're heavy and warm.
>
> —Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa

FIGURE 185 | Rabbit stick made by a Hopi Ancestor | Wood | Received in an exchange from Brooklyn Museum of Science and Art in 1907 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 57124, Conservation Department Photograph

> For Pueblo and Hopi people, a rabbit stick is the preferred tool for hunting rabbits. The best way to hunt rabbits is in a group—you surround an area and close in, like fingers making a fist. According to our beliefs, rabbits are our Ancestors who give themselves up so their flesh can sustain the bodies of our people. If you do your prayers and offerings right, when you throw the rabbit stick, it will find its target.

FIGURE 186 | Turkey-feather blanket sample made by Louie García (Piro-Tiwa Pueblo), 2021 | Turkey feathers, yucca twine | Commissioned by the Field Museum | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 361807, Conservation Department Photograph

> My ancestors developed the technology for a lightweight, quick-drying, insulating blanket. The key is having a cushion of warm air around you—they achieved this by twining feathers from turkeys they domesticated with yucca rope they processed by hand. Expensive high-tech coats do this today, but we were doing it hundreds of years ago. And I still make blankets, to carry on this brilliant traditional knowledge.
>
> —Louie García

Strength of Aesthetic Continuity

Our Ancestral designs are also contemporary designs. Each Pueblo uses unique designs, and the designs are symbolic representations of the natural world and the relationship between sacred beings and humans.

FIGURE 187 | Storage pot made by a Puebloan Ancestor | Ceramic | Given to the Field Museum by a private collector in 1902 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 74559, Conservation Department Photograph

> This is a good example of a pot possibly made by a young potter. It looks like they realized they couldn't execute the full Tularosa swirl design and decided to improvise. These types of pots were used to store tea or broth—sometimes corn mush. It's classic Ancestral Pueblo pottery, maybe from even earlier than when Chaco was occupied. These designs are still used today in Acoma and other Pueblos.
>
> —Brian Vallo

FIGURE 188 | Dapaana/Woman's cape made by an Acoma Ancestor | Cotton, wool | Collected by a Field Museum curator in 1911 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 45091, Conservation Department Photograph

> This woman's cape is an extremely rare example of a large-format Acoma textile. The border designs are still used today; however, the floral or leaf-like elements are rare, and no one really knows what the pillars represent. Perhaps this textile was made for a certain Society or ceremony. Capes of this type are worn by women in special social and ceremonial dances at Acoma.
>
> —Brian Vallo

FIGURE 189 | Aric Chopito weaving | © Tony Marinella

> My name is Aric Chopito and I'm a self-taught Zuni weaver and textile artist. I've learned so much from studying my Ancestors' weavings, about the specialized processes and the prayers involved in creating each piece. Myself and my uncle are the only two people that know how to make cloth in Zuni. I strive to pass on the traditions taught by many generations of weavers before me to our children.

FIGURE 190 | Left: Bilanne/Kilt made by Aric Chopito (Zuni Pueblo), 2020 | Cotton, synthetic fiber | Commissioned by the Field Museum in 2020 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 361761, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

We refer to the cloth of the kilt as a Deyatchina:we/cornfield, and whatever we embroider onto it, we hope to bless onto the earth: green for vegetation, white for rain clouds, black for thunder clouds, and candy-striped red for eternal rain to fall. Since we're trying to emulate nature—and nothing in nature is perfect—we always place a mistake into the textile. I'm sure if you look, you can find it.

When commercial fabrics were introduced in the 1920s and 30s, Zuni textiles went into huge decline. Today very few Zuni weavers actually know how to make kilts or do the brocade (embroidery) anymore. So I had to teach myself to do all this. Now we're trying to get young people to carry on this tradition.

Right: Bilanne/Kilt made by a Zuni or Hopi Ancestor | Cotton, synthetic fiber | Given to the museum by a private collector in 1917 | Cat. No. 57718

Textiles were communal projects—some men pounded and spun milkweed (and later cotton) fibers, others wove and embroidered. When a piece was completed, that group of men would all come together. They would bless it and send it off to whatever ceremony it was needed for. The blue panel on this textile is an embellishment appliquéd on for social dances in Zuni starting around 1850.

FIGURE 191 | Pot made by Nampeyo (Hopi) | Clay, slip paint | Given to the museum by a private collector in 1941 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 47821, Conservation Department Photograph

The dots in the middle of this pot are points in time in the moon cycle when rain clouds will arrive. On the left side you see the beak or wing of an eagle. The black at the bottom serves as feathers and rain. We use eagle feathers to send messages to the Cloud People through prayer. So I think the artist is trying to be hopeful that during those moon phases, rain will come.

When you're looking at a Hopi pot like this one, you can't just look at the designs, you have to look at the whole thing—maybe its shape reflects the full moon. Our people are moon-watchers and pinpoint time this way, so the lighter and darker parts of the pot depict a moon at its halfway point.

—Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa

FIGURE 192 | *Polychrome II*, painted by Les Namingha (Hopi), 2010 | Acrylic, canvas | Courtesy of King Galleries

> All these works show connection through generations. Dextra Qoutskuyva (Hopi), my aunt and mentor, shared spiritual context within Tewa-Hopi designs, and this work is dedicated to her. This painting depicts a bird figure that represents power. The arrow and lightning patterns allude to this force. Since some birds are migratory; this "thunderbird" also refers to the journey of my Ancestors. Chaco Canyon is an important and powerful place in that migration story.
>
> —Les Namingha

FIGURE 193 | *The Crying Indian* by Diego Romero (Cochiti Pueblo), 2020 | Ceramic | Commissioned by the Field Museum, Cat. No. 361786, Photograph courtesy of Diego Romero

> In this piece I highlight the urgency of environmental issues at Chaco. US Secretary of the Interior Deb Haaland is at the center, recalling 1970s "Crying Indian" anti-pollution ads. The landscape hangs in fragile balance: Chacoan buildings to her right mirror the fracking station to her left, like the dualities of our Pueblo worldview. I borrow the checkerboard border from Mimbres pottery—it represents corn kernels, a metaphor for the people.
>
> —Diego Romero

Threats to the Sacred Site

Chaco Canyon's buildings, landscapes, and the priceless historic and traditional knowledge they hold are under threat from fracking and mining. The pollution caused by this extraction is poisoning Pueblo people, whose homes are still in this vital landscape.

In June of 2023, Secretary of the Interior Deb Haaland (Laguna Pueblo) issued a ban on oil and gas drilling within a 10-mile radius of the Chaco Canyon Historical Site. As Julia Bernal, Executive Director of the Pueblo Action Alliance, stated:

> We acknowledge the efforts of the Department of Interior's Secretary Haaland as a step forward in future landscape management practices that protect culturally significant places. The Greater Chaco Landscape has endured generations of legacy oil and gas extraction therefore full landscape management to phase out new and existing oil and gas development is a necessary next step. The Greater Chaco coalition will continue to advocate for the end of the fossil fuel economy, and the remediation and cleanup of historic oil and gas infrastructure,

and the implementation of environmental justice principles for future land management practices that center frontline community voices.

Chaco Canyon is one example of ancestral homeplaces that remain vital to Pueblo people and the world. To the outside eye they appear abandoned and left in ruins, but for us Pueblo Indians these places live in memory, pilgrimage, songs, and prayer. They denote the path of our ancestors to our current center places. The journey to and from our ancestral sites is relived through our actions then, today, and tomorrow. These enshrined places of reactivation such as Chaco not only remind the world of our ancient presence and complexity, they keep the connection from the past to generations to come. Thus, they are deserving of protection and reverence.

Reference

Website of the Center for Biological Diversity: https://biologicaldiversity.org/w/news/press-releases/secretary-haaland-protects-chaco-canyon-from-oil-gas-drilling-2023-06-02/.

23

FOOD SOVEREIGNTY FOR THE MESKWAKI NATION

COMPILED FROM THE EXHIBITION TEXT BY JOHNATHAN BUFFALO (MESKWAKI NATION), SHELLEY BUFFALO (MESKWAKI NATION), LUKE KAPAYOU (MESKWAKI NATION)

Feeding Ourselves Helps Make Us Who We Are

We, Meskwaki Nation, have lived around the Great Lakes for thousands of years. Our same seeds have been with us the entire time. Our stories say that they came from the Creator, and we still maintain and express those botanical relationships in different ways. What we grow, cook, and eat would still be recognizable to our ancestors. Through food, we are present in each other's lives, even though we're centuries apart.

The US government forced our ancestors onto a reservation in Kansas when Iowa became a state. A few stayed behind and befriended the new Iowans. These settler allies petitioned the Governor to allow our ancestors to return and, in 1857, purchase the land that became Meskwaki Settlement. Our Tribe owns this land, which makes it different from a reservation.

FIGURE 194 | Installation photo of the Meskwaki gallery, 2022 | Photograph by John Weinstein

FIGURE 195 | Metekwi emekwa, metekwi anakani, Metekwi emekwa/Spoon, bowl, ladle made by Luke Kapayou (Meskwaki) | Wood | Commissioned by the Field Museum in 2020 | © The Field Museum, Cat. Nos. 361765.1, 361765.2, 361765.3, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

> My name is Luke Kapayou, and I was brought up on the Settlement. Carving these took many hours of work. I rub an antler on the wood to give it a shiny surface. We're still here and we still use these things. Our Tribe came back to Iowa quietly, and for the first 20 or 30 years we were invisible to the government. I think that time is why we still have so many of our old ways. My grandfather and uncles were wood carvers. When I was about 18, I carved a spoon on my own, without anyone showing me how to make one. One of my uncles seen that spoon, and he said, in Meskwaki, "You almost are able to make one." I've been carving ever since, and that was 40 years ago.

FIGURE 196 | Metekwi emekwa/Spoon made by Meskwaki Ancestors, ca. 1907 | Wood | Purchased in 1907 by William Jones in Tama, Iowa | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 92029, Conservation Department Photograph

> The animals on the spoons sometimes are clan symbols. When you see this beaver you know that they were most likely made for someone in the Beaver Clan. Every Spring and Fall the different clans have their ceremonies. We use Meskwaki foods at our ceremonies, so each person will take their own spoon and bowl to use.

FIGURE 197 | Luke Kapayou | © Cale Stelken

I got some bowls that my grandparents owned, and some of those were ones that might have been new in the 1920s, 30s, or 40s. But I think some of them were ones that they got from *their* parents or grandparents, that are from the 1800s. They become family heirlooms. There's a lot of old bowls like these that are still in families' kitchens here on the Settlement. They're inherited from moms and dads and grandparents. They go back. These ones in the Field Museum were bought out here in Iowa, and I'm sure whoever sold them needed the money, but they got separated from their family. If they wasn't sold, they might still be with their family or in a clan house. —Luke Kapayou

The relationships we have with these foods are what make us Meskwaki

My name is Shelley Buffalo. I was raised on our Tribal lands and have spent most of my life in rural central Iowa, straddling two very different cultures: Meskwaki and the settler-colonizer. I've spent my lifetime seeking a sense of belonging and deeper understanding of what it means to be Indigenous in the United States' "Heartland."

FIGURE 198 | Shelley Buffalo | © Cale Stelken

FIGURE 199 | Harvesting Tama Flint corn | © Cale Stelken

FIGURE 200 | Harvesting beans | © Cale Stelken

Our variety of corn is called Tama Flint, and we've had a relationship with it for at least 3,000 years. It's not inanimate—it has a spirit, and to the Meskwaki, this corn seed is our Ancestor. Our foods are not just important for our physical health, but our spiritual health, too. We use them in our ceremonies. If we ever stopped growing them, then how could we be Meskwaki anymore? Tama Flint has a really rich, nutty taste. We eat all kinds of food like anyone else, but when my son asks me to make him "Indian food," he means corn soup made with Tama Flint. There's nothing like it in the whole world.

These are two varieties of Meskwaki beans. In Meskwaki, Meskwikwata Ekosia translates to "red-faced climber," and "Wabeskwikweta" translates to "white-faced." Each Spring, the Meskwaki Food Sovereignty program gives out seeds and plants to our community to encourage families to garden and grow traditional foods, like these beans. "Food sovereignty" means that we can grow our own food and feed ourselves, free of intrusion from, or dependency on, the colonizer society.

We hope that returning to our traditional foods will lead to people taking care of each other again. There is so

FIGURE 201 | Drying squash | © Cale Stelken

much trauma in our community, but these seeds have a loving power that overcomes all of that. And the beautiful thing is that they feed us, and that's one of the ultimate forms of love and care for each other.

When I was a kid, I remember seeing people drying squash in sunny spots outside their houses, but I never learned how. A lot of knowledge was kept from my generation—in government boarding schools, our parents and grandparents had been beaten for speaking Meskwaki or practicing their traditions. They thought keeping our language and traditions from us kids would protect us from the colonizer society that hurt them.

Our foods are waiting for us to come back to them. I've only just learned how to dry squash—this was my first try in 2020 (Figure 201). I'm very much interested in renewing my own relationship with these foods as much as I can. It's healing. When I'm with them, my grandmothers are right there with me. There is no language barrier.

Plant patterns are part of our art

FIGURE 202 | Biyaiki biseka/Men's shirt made by Meskwaki Ancestors, ca. 1907 | Cloth, beads | Purchased in 1907 by William Jones in Tama, Iowa | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 111611, Conservation Department Photograph

"The front and back of this shirt are embellished with beautifully beaded abstract floral designs that Meskwaki people are well known for. This man's shirt was beaded with over 11 colors of seed beads, which create a multitude of interwoven floral patterns that connect through beaded floral vining. Meskwaki artists used their beads and sequins to give shirts, skirts, and breechclouts an unmistakable identity among woodland tribes in this region.

FIGURE 203 | Abakwayaki/Cattail mat (and weaving tools) made by Mary Young Bear | Cattail reeds and bone | Commissioned by the Field Museum in 2021 | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 361762, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

"The revitalization of weaving cattails began in 2010 when community members went to Oklahoma to harvest cattails with the Kickapoo tribe. This trip turned into a lesson in weaving mats by a Kickapoo weaver. That experience formed a core group of weavers, who traveled to Michigan to learn weaving from Odawa master weaver Renee Dilliard. The art of weaving plant fibers is slowly returning to the women of the Meskwaki nation. The mat on display here is just a small fragment. Cattail mats can be woven to be more than 20 feet long. Mats this large were used as walls of large structures.

—Mary Young Bear, Registrar/Community Outreach Officer for the Meskwaki Cultural Center and Museum in Tama, Iowa

FIGURE 204 | Wikobimote/Twine Bag made by a Meskwaki ancestor, ca. 1907 | Linden bark | Purchased in 1907 by William Jones in Tama, Iowa | © The Field Museum, Cat. No. 34793, Conservation Department Photograph

> Old Meskwaki Twine Bags make me wonder who wove the bag and what their world was like as they were weaving. What did they talk about? What did they see? What did they feel? Someone once said there are not many of our Twine Bags in history because we were always on the move during the invasion. Each bag I see is precious. It ties us to our ancestors. The first time I learned to weave Twine Bags it came naturally like it was in my blood. When I weave I feel connected to the ancestors and I feel them smiling down on me. There is something calming about weaving. It's birthing something beautiful into this world with my own two hands. Today my bags are used for cellphones and laptops, something our ancestors never could have imagined.
>
> —Oogie Push, Bear Clan from the Meskwaki Nation in Iowa

These are not just utilitarian things we use to make supper with. They are living beings and we are connected to their world

My name is Johnathan L. Buffalo. I am Bear/Fish Clan and was born on the Settlement. My family always had a garden. My earliest memory is being placed on a blanket in the garden by my mother. I could smell the dirt, the corn, the squash and beans. As I grew I would play with my little green army guys in the garden, and big battles would be raging while my mother hoed.

FIGURE 205 | Maryann and Johnathan Buffalo | Photograph courtesy of Dawn Suzanne Wanatee Buffalo

FIGURE 206 | Esiaki/Clam shells collected by Johnathan, Suzanne, Romeo, Nevaeh Buffalo (Meskwaki) | 2020, Meskwaki Settlement, Iowa | Lent by Johnathan and Suzanne Buffalo | Spoon used by Ada Old Bear | Metal | Lent by Charlie Old Bear (Meskwaki) | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Michelle Kuo

FIGURE 207 | Mary Young Bear holds a paddle for stirring food that belonged to her aunt | © Cale Stelken

In the past, we used clam shells from the Iowa River, left behind by otters, to scrape corn kernels off the cob. When I was younger, the river was so polluted that the shells were thin and would just break apart. You would get shell pieces in the corn. We used metal spoons instead—you can see the edge on this one is worn from years of scraping corn. We collected these clam shells with our grandchildren in 2020. For a while, it was really dangerous to eat fish and turtles out of the Iowa River because it was so polluted. But now the river is cleaner, and the otters have returned. We've noticed the clam shells are nice and thick again, and could be used to scrape corn.

FIGURE 208 | Milkweed soup | © Cale Stelken

We use paddles like the one in Figure 207 to cook or stir food, and you tend to have a relationship with them. They are, many times, a gift from someone. Whenever I'm cooking with a paddle, I can't help but be thankful for the people that made it, and the trees it came from. In our paddles, I see trees that have transformed to be a part of our life for a while. I remember where, and who, each of my paddles came from. This one belonged to my aunt. She loved that paddle because it came from her brother. When she passed away, that paddle developed a significance in our family.

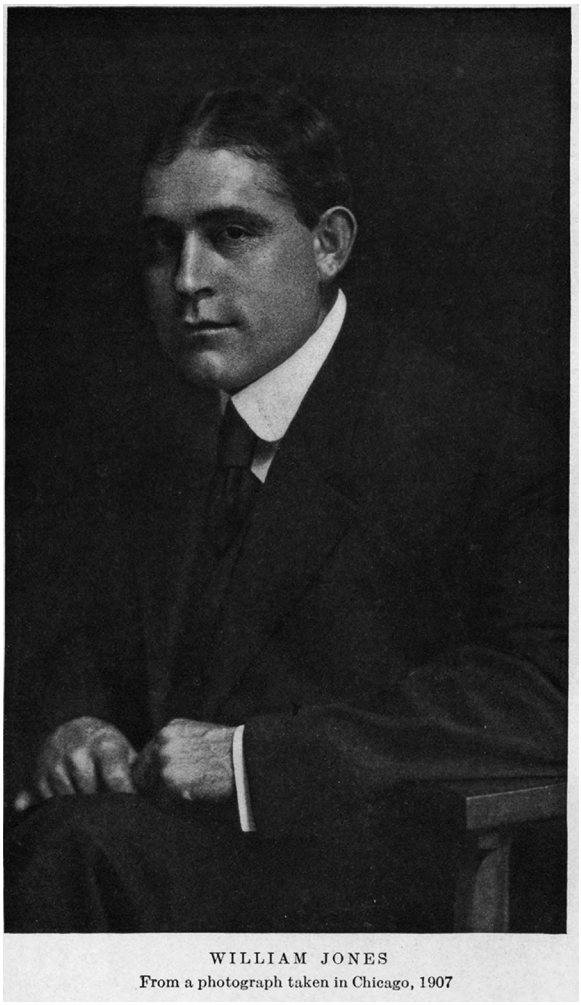
We pick milkweed in the spring—milkweed soup is so good—but it's generally treated as a nuisance by farmers in Iowa. The Tribe had to fight for decades to get the County to stop spraying herbicide on the Settlement's milkweed. Today, eating it won't kill you anymore, but the second you leave the Settlement it's a different story. We have to give cautionary words like this to our kids.

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTERS 24 AND 25

118 Years Later: Revisiting William Jones, PhD

ELI SUZUKOVICH III (LITTLE SHELL TRIBE OF CHIPPEWA/CREE), ELIZABETH VAZQUEZ

On March 28, 1871, a child named Megasiáwa (William Jones), the son of Henry Clay Jones (Meskwaki) and Sarah Penny (English) was born in Stroud, Oklahoma (Indian Territory). What was not known at the time was that he would become the first Native American to receive a PhD in Anthropology, and would make great contributions to the promotion and study of Algonquian Languages, Anthropology, and Ethnobotany. However, after his death in the spring of 1909, Jones' name and work fell into the dusty annals of Anthropology's early history and faded from the textbooks. When Jones does appear, it is usually as the tragic, assimilated "half-breed" in academia who chose the mainstream white society over his own people. There were few forays into his life and story, but mostly the continuations of a narrative set by George Dorsey, Henry Milner Rideout, the Governor Generals of the Philippines, James F. Smith, and William C. Forbes. Most of the works attributed to him were edited and compiled from his notes by Franz Boas, Margaret Welpley Fisher, and Truman Michelson at the Smithsonian Institution posthumously. At the Field Museum in Chicago, the only visible reminder of his presence is a bronze memorial plaque in the mailroom of the Anthropology Collections Office mailroom.



WILLIAM JONES
From a photograph taken in Chicago, 1907

FIGURE 209 | William Jones | © The Field Museum, GN92565d

The following two chapters will revisit the work and life of Dr. William Jones and what can arise from communities looking to rematriate their seeds from a museum, exhibit development, and what happens once a story of someone's work is revisited. The first chapter, "Seeds," will focus on the search for Meskwaki seeds and the resulting exhibit on food sovereignty. Following in the footsteps of the seed and exhibit research, Elizabeth Vazquez's chapter, "William Jones: Recontextualizing the Archive," will examine Jones' life in Chicago but also the issues of how his life has been recorded through time and the narratives about his life that go unnoticed.

24

SEEDS

ELI SUZUKOVICH III (LITTLE SHELL TRIBE OF CHIPPEWA/CREE)

Prior to 2018, I had heard of William Jones, but nothing more than that he was the first Native American to receive a PhD in Anthropology and that he worked briefly at the Field Museum. I would see his memorial plaque daily as I checked my mailbox or retrieved printouts in the Field Museum's Gantz Family Collections Center Office. I remember thinking that this was probably the worst way for anyone to be remembered (if remembered at all). However, through the exhibition process and its associated research, new stories of Jones' life and research would begin to emerge.

Planting

The Meskwaki Food Sovereignty exhibit did begin as such, but grew from a relationship between the Field Museum and the Meskwaki Nation in Tama, Iowa. Through a convergence of one of the exhibition advisors and a group of Meskwaki elders and Food Sovereignty Program staff, the beginnings of a research relationship and an exhibit about Meskwaki Food Sovereignty commenced. The Meskwaki community members were more interested in the botanical materials than developing an exhibit. But from the stories of their 3,000 year old relationship with their beans, squash, corn, and other crops, and of William Jones, the idea of an exhibit began to sprout.

In 2019, Meskwaki elders Rae Jean Lasley and Luke Kapayou and (at the time) Meskwaki Food Sovereignty Program staff Shelley Buffalo and Donetta Wanatee visited the Jones Collection at the Field Museum. The purpose of their visit was to investigate what types of, and how many, beans, corn, and other botanicals Jones had collected (as we originally thought) between 1903 and 1907. Luke, along with Meskwaki Historic Preservation Director Johnathan Buffalo, had already visited the National Museum of the American Indian (New York), Columbia University, and the Field Museum was next. The purpose of the visits was to document Meskwaki and Sauk materials and the institutions that held them. In particular, the Meskwaki Food Sovereignty Program in Tama, Iowa, was interested in documenting the various types of beans, corn, squashes, sunflowers, and other agricultural crops from the past and contemporary periods. For the first visit, collections staff laid out all the botanical specimens, along with cooking and eating implements and woven mats from the Jones

FIGURE 210 | Meskwaki elders Rae Jean Lasley and Luke Kapayou visit the Field Museum | Photograph by Elizabeth Hoover

collection. The botanical collection included all of the beans, corn, dried squash, water-lily roots, bark dyes, and tobacco.

Growing

In 1904, the Field Museum hired Dr. William Jones to lead an expedition to Tama, Iowa. He was chosen by Franz Boas, who was his professor and mentor, and George Dorsey, Curator of Anthropology at the Field Museum of Natural History. Despite having a PhD, Megasiáwa (William Jones) was still a Native American, at a time when Native Peoples were discriminated against in the job market. The Field Museum's Tama Expedition was one of the few opportunities for Jones to find employment as an anthropologist and to further his research on Meskwaki ethnobotany and language preservation. However, looking upon all of the items, Rae Jean Lasley and Luke Kapayou noted that all of the items represented what would have been a typical Sunday dinner. It was something unexpected, in that most items collected from the Meskwaki and Sauk communities during the 1880s–1940s were often related to war, highly decorated clothing, and sacred bundles. These items, on the other hand, represented items of home life. It was at that moment that we all began to think about Jones differently. He was not the typical salvage anthropologist of the era; the botanical and material collections that he gathered and commissioned for the Museum were not intended as the "vestiges of a dying people," but of contemporary Meskwaki life.

As the Meskwaki co-curators and I delved deeper into Jones' time in Tama, Iowa, we found that the materials he collected between 1903 and 1907 were a recreation of his grandmother's home; a reflection of his childhood. It was at this moment that we realized that much of what had been written about Jones was focused little on his early life and the influence of his grandmother. I began to realize that she had a tremendous influence on his medical studies, linguistic work, and his ethnobotanical research.

In Henry Milner Rideout's biography of William Jones, Rideout spends most of the first chapter focusing on Jones' grandmother Katiqua, and the relationship between her and William. With the death of his mother, and his father's various government jobs that took him away from Stroud, Katiqua was, for all intents and purposes, William's mother and father. She taught him everything he needed to know about medicines, ceremonies, and being Meskwaki. Katiqua was the daughter of Meskwaki Chief Washihowa, and lived during the Black Hawk Wars (1829–30). She would eventually marry William Washington Jones, who served in the US Army. He was a soldier and scout during the Black Hawk War, and at the time when the Sauk and Fox were removed to and living in Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. She moved to Oklahoma from Kansas/Nebraska when the Sauk and Fox community gathered in what would become the Kaw Agency (today's Kaw City, Oklahoma) before they established the current community in Stroud. In her time, Katiqua was a gifted healer who was an expert on medicinal plants and produced various medicines and treatments for both internal and external ailments (Rideout 1912, 11). By her side, Megasiáwa (William) would accompany her on her rounds, learning the medical, botanical, and ceremonial traditions as his grandmother's assistant. He would gather plants, assist with ceremonial feasts, and generally learned things that most Meskwaki and Sauk children would not usually learn until they were much older (Rideout 1912, 12). This time with his grandmother would prepare Megasiáwa for his studies in medicine and ethnobotany, and his career as an anthropologist and Meskwaki linguist. Katiqua Jones had a tremendous influence on her grandson's perspective on his identity and his approach to medicine, plants, and culture.

When William was 9 years old, his father, Henry Clay Jones, would remove him from Stroud and send him to live with his mother's family in Newton, Kansas, then off to boarding in Wabash, Indiana (White's Indiana Manual Labor Institute) and then onto the East Coast to the Hampton Institute (VA) and Phillips Academy (Andover, MA) (Rideout, 1912, 17, 24–35). According to Rideout, this period was a traumatic experience for William, and would resonate through his life (Rideout 1912, 15–35). Up until this time, Meskwaki was William's primary language, and he would find adjusting to life along the East Coast to be difficult. This was also the point where tensions between him and his estranged father would begin, though William was always open to spending time with him when he could. In 1889, Henry enrolled William into the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. The Institute was the only historically African American institution to educate Native Americans under the same roof (Davis 2005–18). It was an early model for progressive-education-based boarding schools that would turn the assimilationist gaze toward Native American children, with the goal of civilization through education. After the Hampton Institute, Jones would attend Phillips Andover Academy in Massachusetts and then enroll in Harvard College's medical school, and finally complete his PhD in Anthropology at Columbia University.

1898–1903, Early Work: Ethnobotany and Language Research

Megasiáwa attended Harvard Medical School to become a surgeon and doctor. Like his grandmother, he wanted to pursue a career in medicine and serve his people. Jones had intended to return to Stroud and set up a practice to serve not the Sauk and Meskwaki of Stroud, but also other Native Peoples as well (Keahna 1998, 1). However, he would change his direction from medicine to anthropology, and more specifically the Meskwaki and other Algonquian languages. In 1899, he would translate a traditional Sauk story, "Anoska Nimiwina," about the origins of the ghost feast. It was the first time this Sauk version of the story had been written in both Sauk/Meskwaki orthography and English. The summer of that year, Jones returned to Stroud to visit his siblings and family.

He noted to Rideout that he was not happy to see what Stroud had become (Rideout 1912, 69). He saw the effects of the increasing settler presence and the visible cultural changes among the Sauk and Meskwaki. He noted that the women were still maintaining traditional clothing and manners, but that the youth and men seemed visibly assimilated into the mainstream culture. Rideout portrays Jones' perspective as though he was looking down on his people, but what can be gleaned from Rideout's accounts of Jones was that he was far more traditional in thinking and manner than many at Harvard, Columbia, or the Field Museum thought. This is evident in Jones' final letter to Rideout, where he notes that dying in the Cordillera Highlands in the Philippines would be the closest to dying in the Stroud of his youth (Rideout 1912, 200–01). In this final letter, he was disgusted that the plains of his youth were littered with oil rigs and windmills, that medicines and food were purchased, not grown by families, and that he observed a level of poverty that he never knew as a youth.

Jones was raised in a traditional manner, and those years with his grandmother were special and influential to him. It would make sense for him to write "Anoska Nimiwina" in a Meskwaki/Sauk orthography. In the era of salvage anthropology, Jones was maybe one of the few anthropologists that was trying to preserve Native American language and culture—specifically, using the tools learned from academia. Jones would go on to create bilingual texts, and record stories and histories and ceremonies in Meskwaki, Ojibwe, Kickapoo, Lenape, and other related Algonquian-speaking peoples (many to be published posthumously). Along with recording and writing Meskwaki and Sauk stories, Jones' orthography would become the basis of the contemporary Meskwaki and Sauk orthography.

Along with language, Megasiáwa would also focus on the plants and medicines his grandmother used, along with the greater Meskwaki and Sauk pharmacopeia. His medical training would educate him in modern surgical and pharmaceutical techniques and technology, but the ethnopharmacological knowledge of his grandmother would provide the preservation of cultural knowledge. He would find mentorship within the Meskwaki community of Tama, Iowa. Unlike Stroud, Oklahoma, where settler progress changed the physical and cultural landscape, Tama was still a traditional community and was a place that Jones would find familiar and reminiscent of his youth. He did most of his language work there, and he would get an opportunity to include ethnobotany in his research.

In June of 1901, Jones would receive his Associate Master's degree from Columbia University, New York, and in July he would be appointed as a University Fellow in Anthropology. Working under Franz Boas, Jones was assigned to conduct ethnological and linguistics research in Tama, Iowa for the American Museum of Natural History (Rideout 1912, 72). Despite graduating from Harvard, Jones' being Native American would lead to his abilities being constantly questioned by potential employers. His securing a position at Columbia and the American Museum of Natural History took a monumental effort from Boas. As Sophilia Keahna notes:

> For Jones, this work provided an opportunity for employment but also to reconnect with friends and be amongst his own people. The experience did indeed turn Jones from medicine to anthropology, partly because he had no prospect of financing for continuing in medical school but by doing field research had found wealthy benefactors, primarily museums and folklore societies, who were hungry for cultural items to add to their growing collections of primitive societies on the verge of extinction. (Keahna 1998, 2)

Jones was stuck in between conducting the research that he wanted to do versus what he had to do to make a living. Keahna further observes that:

> Even Jones at the time did not consider the materials or information he collected from the Meskwaki to be either authoritative or even remotely complete. His bits of notes from the Tama expeditions went

> unorganized and unfinished until they were posthumously completed years later by one of his superiors when the "Fox Texts" was put into print and celebrated by his peers as being a significant, scientific achievement. (Keahna 1998, 3)

Unlike his research among the Ojibwe, Kickapoo, Lakota, and other tribal nations of the Great Lakes, where he spoke positively of the experience and he was the driving force behind his own research goals, his work among his own people was a balancing act between what the museum donor class saw as important in terms of art and objects and the salvage anthropology perspectives of Putnam, Boas, and eventually Dorsey, versus his own integrity as a Meskwaki. But he seemed to find a good balance at times. He wrote to Rideout with some joy at being in Tama and excited to be amongst his own (Rideout 1912, 85–90). In the interviews that Huron Smith conducted with William Davenport, John McIntosh, and Charles Keosatok it was noted that Jones was not unknown to them and his family was known to many. Jones himself mentioned to Rideout that he spent much of his time hearing stories about his grandmother and family. For some context, prior to Jones arriving in 1897 (as part of a trip paid for by the Boston Folklore Society), the community in Tama had experienced a smallpox epidemic, with 45 deaths in a community of 400 (Keahna 1998, 5). This is also the time when Frederick Starr was in Tama (1886–87) collecting objects and conducting ethnographic surveys of ceremonies. Johnathan Buffalo also noted that:

> When William Jones arrived it was a confusing situation for the Tribe to know how to receive him, so he was treated as a distant relative whose cultural age was that of a small child, not an adult. And that's how things were explained to him, as one would explain the general basics of life to a young child in very simplistic ways. His chronological age meant nothing here. He might have been a highly educated man to everyone else, but to the tribe he lacked the many years of time that it takes to develop a good command of complex language, a solid understanding of the many overt and subtle social skills needed to navigate within the tribe, and proper religious contexts. (Keahna 1998, 5)

This disconnect was also something that Jones often spoke of as well. The three Tama research trips provided Jones with the ability to reconnect with his own, something that he missed living on the East Coast. Jones was not a fan of white people, or East Coast progressives. His time at the Hampton Institute and Andover was not pleasant for him, especially the customs of the East Coast and the English language (Rideout 1912, 24–35). So, the opportunity to return home to Oklahoma or Tama, Iowa was welcomed, though research grants were the only way to pay for travel. I do wonder if these feelings of disconnectedness were also an impetus for him to focus on the learning and preservation of the language and culture of the Meskwaki, Sauk, Ojibwe, Kickapoo, and other tribes.

In the Smith interviews, William Davenport spoke well of Jones, whom he met in 1900/01. He was a close friend and a primary contact for his work in Tama. It seems that Jones and Davenport knew each other prior to the American Museum expedition, as Jones was engaged to Davenport's sister around this time (Smith 1928, 181–82). This relationship would not last, as Jones would start dating Caroline Andrus, a non-Native woman he knew from the Hampton Institute. He would become engaged to her in 1907, just before he left for the Philippines. Interestingly, Rideout did not know about the Davenport fiancée or her brother William Davenport. It seems that much of what went on in Tama, Jones did not share with all of his friends. The Davenport bride would be learned about much later when Huron Smith would interview Davenport about Jones in 1923–24.

Jones was also known by another Meskwaki name, Wasekonwa (lightning), which may have been a local name for Jones (Smith 1928, 181). It is possible that Jones returned when he could to Tama after the summer of 1897, and was a bit more familiar to folks. During the American Museum research expedition, Davenport would introduce Jones to Kepeosatok (John McIntosh) and Charles Keosatok, two prominent traditional healers and botanists (Smith 1928, 181–82). In particular, Jones would work closely with McIntosh, a Potawatomi healer and ethnobotanist who was renowned for his knowledge of both Potawatomi and Meskwaki plant medicines. McIntosh was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin and moved to Tama when he married a Meskwaki woman. During his time with McIntosh, Megasiáwa collected some 240 known botanical specimens, as noted by Huron Smith (Smith 1928, 182). The focus of this collection were medicinal plants that made up the pharmaceutical repertoire of Kepeosatok. The collection was, and still is, a window into Meskwaki ethnobotany. These specimens are still housed at the American Museum of Natural History.

The Field Museum and the Tama Expedition

On June 8, 1904, Megasiáwa received his doctorate degree in the midst of multiple projects, including research among the Ojibwe in Ontario and Minnesota. He was also contacted by Franz Boas, who knew that he was in need of employment. The Field Museum was planning an expedition to Tama, Iowa, and Boas recommended Jones to the anthropology curator, George A. Dorsey. The Field Museum hired Jones to join an expedition to Tama, Iowa. Because Jones had already collected material for the American Museum of Natural History and because he was Meskwaki and knew many of the people there, Boas felt he was the right candidate for the job. Jones spent the summers in Tama in 1904, 1906, and 1907 (he had a serious illness in 1905 that prevented him from traveling). The Field's Tama Expedition was one of the few opportunities for Jones to find employment as an anthropologist and to further his research on Meskwaki ethnobotany and language preservation.

The Field Museum wanted the vestiges of a traditional culture they felt would disappear. Instead, Jones focused on contemporary Meskwaki material culture (ca. 1904–07). The materials included intricately woven reed and cattail mats, carved spoons and bowls, and basswood cordage bags, and Jones wrote his notes in the Meskwaki language. This was a time when Native American culture was under attack, so by writing in Meskwaki, Jones, whether he intended or not, was leaving something for future generations, and that cultural knowledge and the seeds were preserved.

His handwritten notes in Meskwaki were one of the first things I noticed when examining his botanical collection at the Field Museum. And in a Jonesian way, I translated the notes from Meskwaki into Cree and then into English to find out what the names of the beans, roots, and barks were. I sent the translations to Luke Kapayou for confirmation, and the Cree translation was pretty close. He confirmed the names of the beans and that many of them were still grown in Tama. Unlike the American Museum collection that focused largely on medicinal plants, the Field Museum collection was more agricultural, and as Luke and Rae Jean pointed out, the foods that one would eat for a Sunday meal. The collection consists of 15 varieties of beans, three varieties of Meskwaki flint corn, wabikon (pumpkin), beaver root (*Nymphaea odorata)*, botanical dyes, and tobacco. The barks and the dyes were associated with basket and mat making, and Jones seemed very adamant about collecting the best examples of contemporary Meskwaki weaving. During the course of the exhibit's development, we came across a series of 19 letters between George A. Dorsey and William Jones, that consisted of Dorsey demanding materials be sent immediately to the museum, and Jones responding that no materials would be sent until the museum paid the money to the makers. Jones wanted to make sure that the weavers, carvers, and other makers were paid properly for their work (Dorsey 1907a, b, c). LaPier and Beck summed up this sentiment and ethos that Jones espoused in his work:

> One of the things that Progressive Era Indians increasingly believed to be important was to show Indian culture, lifeways, and history in a positive light. They hoped to end the stereotypical views the non-Indian world held about them and provide a source of personal pride for all Indians. Dr. William Jones's research with his own tribe as well as other indigenous groups helped to show that Indians were not backward peoples but had developed complex cultures worthy of academic study and perpetuation. (LaPier and Beck 2012, 34)

A large part of the collection was devoted to processual pieces, showing the various stages of baskets, cord bags, and reed mats. There was an intention that these pieces would be used as teaching tools. And in that same vein, for the new exhibit in *Native Truths*, the museum commissioned a partial demonstration cattail mat by contemporary weavers Mary and Nina Young Bear. There are also modern basswood bark cord bags and carved feast spoons and bowls. The new exhibit, like the original Meskwaki exhibit that opened in 1907, introduces visitors to the Tama community and its dynamism and cultural integrity. The main difference, though, is that the 1907 exhibit was largely the voice of George A. Dorsey and the Field Museum, whereas the 2022 exhibit was guided and voiced by Meskwaki.

Harvest

At the conclusion of the Tama Expedition, Jones was looking to continue his research on Algonquian languages at the Field Museum, as he was completing his papers on the Ojibwe language. However, Dorsey did not see the need to keep Jones employed at the museum, as, in Dorsey's eyes, the museum had all it needed regarding the salvaging of Native American culture (Rideout 1912, 125). So, Jones continued his Ojibwe work under a Carnegie grant. Dorsey did offer Jones three potential salvage anthropology jobs: Africa, Polynesia, and the Philippines (Rideout

FIGURE 211 | Luke Kapayou and Johnathan Buffalo sitting with the 12 varieties of beans that were returned to the Meskwaki Historical Preservation Department and Meskwaki Food Sovereignty Program | Photograph by Elizabeth Hoover

1912, 125). In particular, the State Department had offered the Field Museum a contract to conduct salvage anthropological work in the newly acquired Philippines. With few options, Jones took the Philippines contract. His work in the Philippines is worthy of its own article or chapter, but he would die from what looks like sepsis from a ritual attack, and his North American ethnographic and linguistic work would come to a halt. Jones' unfinished work would still be used by researchers and Native language revivalists. And he still maintained a presence in studies about the Meskwaki and Sauk. A hundred and fifteen years later, members of the Meskwaki community began tracking down all the botanical and cultural materials in museums and universities, collected by Jones.

In 2019, in the early phase of developing an exhibit on Meskwaki agriculture for the new *Native Truths* exhibition, Meskwaki collaborators visited the Jones materials and inquired about having some of the seeds return home to Tama. Through the "destructive analysis process," the Field Museum returned 15 varieties of beans and three varieties of corn to the Meskwaki Nation. Once home in Tama, the seeds were taken to the Meskwaki Food Sovereignty Program, where some were planted to see if they would awaken in their home soil. After two growing seasons, the beans did not reawaken. Simultaneously at the Field Museum I began experimenting with a way to reawaken the dormant beans and corn kernels. From 2020 to 2022, I was unsuccessful in reawakening the seeds. I did find that several issues may have contributed to this, mainly how the beans and corn were stored and displayed. Though the embryos were intact, light damage and drying out depleted the nutrients that are required for a seed to sprout. But this was not a total loss; as Johnathan Buffalo pointed out, "we still grow these beans and corn varieties."

Through these beans and the exhibit process, we did harvest more information about Jones, and how much of the Meskwaki materials found their way into the museum. Through reading Frederick Starr's Tama field notes, we found that the Field Museum had materials from the 1880s and new inquiries of Jones' collecting among the Ilongot in the Philippines. The seeds have not been abandoned either. While the beans and corn kernel may not grow, they do provide diagnostic features for archaeobotanical surveys to identify potential Meskwaki and Sauk village sites, and there are questions of how climate change has affected the beans and kernels. There are also inquiries about the relationship between Jones and John McIntosh, and even about his grandmother Katiqua. So, there is more work to be done and more questions to investigate.

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WILLIAM JONES

Recontextualizing the Archive

ELIZABETH VAZQUEZ

William Jones (Meskwaki) exists in the archive in fragments, often held firmly in place under the lenses of the white-majority academic world he traversed as an Indigenous intellectual. Because of this, Jones' story is often subject to immense oversimplification, even at the hands of those claiming to know him best. Over the course of this past summer, I read various portraits of Jones both alongside and against each other with a critical gaze in an attempt to find Jones on his own terms, a pioneer in the anthropological field and in museum sciences. These pieces, brought together, attempt to grapple with questions of Jones' relationship with not just the world he inhabited, but also his own sense of self-identity as an Indigenous man.

Born in 1871, Jones grew up with his Meskwaki grandmother in Kansas before attending the White's Institute in Indiana at his father's request. Upon finishing a three-year term, he returned to Kansas, where he worked as a cowboy until he was 18, upon which his father once again enrolled Jones in another residential school, the Hampton Institute in Virginia. Next, he attended the Phillips Andover Academy, before entering Harvard in 1896. During his time there, Jones connected with Anthropology founding father Franz Boas at Columbia University, who became his mentor throughout graduate work and beyond. Twenty years after the beginning of his heyday of cowboy life, in 1904, Jones became the first Indigenous person to receive an Anthropology PhD in the United States at Columbia University. After spending summers doing linguistic fieldwork with Indigenous communities throughout the Great Lakes and the southwest, Jones accepted an offer at the Field Museum of Chicago to take an anthropological expedition to the Philippines. While studying the Ilongot people of Luzon, Jones was murdered in 1909. His body rests there still.

A more fleshed version of this story, riddled with romantic vignettes and excerpts from Jones' personal letters, exists in *William Jones: Indian, Cowboy, American Scholar and Anthropologist in the Field* (1912). Given the reliance on excerpts from letters, diaries, and anecdotes between the author and Jones, the biography is rife with Jones' voice and personality beyond his academic work. However, *William Jones* is not autobiographical. An acclaimed novelist, Jones' close friend Henry Milner Rideout tasked himself with writing the biography as "[Jones] would not have desired any part of this book to be written. His friends … have thought that the story of his short life should be recorded. Let friendship, therefore be the excuse for this account" (1912, 6). Rideout creates a portrait of a private but charming and humble academic, one who loved maple sugar and played pretend with the children of his close friends. Often, throughout his life, he suffered from bouts of malaria that began shortly after his cowboy days. He wanted nothing more than to return to the outdoors, "as it should be," at the end of his life (Rideout 1912, 25).

To stop at Rideout's intention to honor Jones would be reductive of the full portrait he creates and incomplete. Rideout's lens immediately becomes clear when one considers the inclusion of stereotyping to describe Jones, especially Jones' complicated identity as a biracial man. Rideout characterizes Jones as "a noble savage among

the benighted," often seen in the ways Rideout describes Jones' physical attributes and actions as aligning with attributes seen as stereotypically Indian (Vigil 2018, 211). For example, he is described as having an "Indian heart" but a "White man's head" by Rideout, preserving the stereotypical passion of the wild Native but giving Jones credit for his academic progress and a pseudo-white status (Rideout 1912, 46). Even beyond this explicit labeling, Rideout incorporates these concepts of Indigeneity into the vignettes he illustrates as well. For example, on one occasion, Rideout was floored by Jones' ability to spot a cat hiding in a tree on a dark winter's night, owing it to his "prairie training," or rather his upbringing with his Meskwaki grandmother in Indian Territory (Rideout 1912, 63).

With this in mind, *William Jones* betrays Rideout's ignorance not just about his friend, but also about the cruelty of the American government. This can be best highlighted in his description of the White's Institute, the flagship residential school Jones attended as a child. Rideout paints a quaint and romantic image, including the old couple that ran the school ("maw and paw"), the "kind farmer-teachers," and the ideology of "cheerfulness and mutual respect." In addition, he highlights the reconnection of Jones to "civilized life" in his experience there, crediting it for beginning his academic journey and ultimate success (Rideout 1912, 18).

Another written portrait of the White's Institute, this time from the direct point of view of another Indigenous intellectual, Zitkala-Sa (Yankton Dakota), shows an incredibly different picture from that of Rideout. Zitkala-Sa began the year that Jones concluded his three-year term, but her experience stands in direct opposition to the one Rideout describes. In her memoir, *American Indian Stories*, she wrote at length of the trauma of cutting her hair, the beatings she and her playmates received for not knowing English, and the death of a classmate due to negligence.

Highlighting this discrepancy is not an attempt to create a cookie-cutter story of the residential school experience and essentialize Indigenous trauma. The experiences of Indigenous people are not monolithic, and cannot be treated as such. Rather, there is something to note in the fact that the white narrative focuses more on the "Gilded Age racial uplift" side of the White's Institute rather than the horrific execution of its agenda (Vigil 2018, 212). Perhaps this is truly what Rideout believed Jones experienced, as he often mentioned Jones' private nature as he often "felt strongly, thought much, and kept results to himself" (Rideout 1912, 63). If Jones endured anything to the caliber of Zitkala-Sa at White's Institute, there's a possibility it was completely unbeknownst to Rideout.

Despite Jones' supposedly smooth academic experiences, Rideout often reiterates Jones' nostalgia for the plains that he grew up on before his grandmother's death and his residential schooling. While this often plays to the characterization of Jones' love of the outdoors, it also can act as a conduit to begin to reveal Jones' internal conflict between his Indigeneity and his anthropological profession. On more than one occasion, Rideout quotes Jones lamenting over what his home has become in comparison to his foundational memories. Perhaps this nostalgia hardened into a yearning for authenticity that aligns more with the anthropological trend of salvage ethnography in the era of the myth of the Vanishing Indian. Particularly, he often wrote of the decline of the Indigenous people during fieldwork engagements, describing them as "bums" and "tramps" for no longer wearing the form of dress from his childhood (Rideout 1912, 201, 70). Rather than merely accounting for change, this lack of the familiar Indigenous people of his youth upset Jones' idealized image of "the Indians of the old life," the very ones he dedicated his fieldwork to finding (Jones quoted by Rideout (1912, 95)).

The word "conflict" may not be the best term to describe Jones' relationship with his sense of self, as it does not account properly for mobility in his racial identity over the course of his life. Kiara M. Vigil describes it more aptly as a "reinvention" of self when Jones is in new contexts, with Jones sometimes aligning more heavily with his whiteness as a means of "Native self-fashioning along an emergent imperial frontier" (Vigil 2018, 210). She posits that Jones' time in the Philippines was not just a chance for the anthropologist to elevate himself from a marginalized status in his field, but also a chance for him to identify with and perform whiteness in a non-white space. For example, in a letter from the beginning of his expedition in the Philippines, he mentions that "there is one *other* white man in town" (Rideout 1912, 135; added emphasis). This use of the word "other" places Jones as a white man as well, given its denotational nature. To further this, Rideout introduces this letter in *William Jones* by placing Jones at "the fringe of *our* white man's world," including Jones with the use of the first-person plural in the white man's world (Rideout 1912, 135; added emphasis). Given Jones' presence in a non-white and non-Native North American space, he could define his identity without the interference of the white people of his personal and professional sphere.

Even among those close to him, who offer him pseudo-white status, he is a spectacle. Rideout writes once of a run-in with a white man "playing Indian" on a night out with Jones and their larger friend groups. Upon seeing

this, the group begins to egg Jones on to confront him. Jones is reluctant, but gives in under the pressure, making a fool of the fraud by grilling him with questions, but also a spectacle of himself for his friends as authentic in comparison (Rideout 1912, 65).

Given Rideout's fondness for blurring or removing the contexts for Jones' writings altogether, questions arise to find a more genuine Jones on his own terms. Why not cross-reference the correspondences in *William Jones*, and use letters without the crafting of Rideout and his subconscious prejudices? Despite the existence of some primary sources in the archive, such as Jones' diary detailing his expedition at the Field Museum or the labels for his collection of anthropological material, most of his writings no longer exist. According to records at the Peabody Museum, Jones' fiancée, Caroline Andrus, asked that all of Jones' saved letters be burned (Davis 2016). Thus, engagement with Jones is restrained by questions of audience and agenda in the painting of these pictures, as most archival material is secondary or out of its original context, like many of the letters included in *William Jones*.

To look further for Jones' voice without the interjections of Rideout, one can turn to what does remain, particularly those letters saved by the American Philosophical Society. Most of these letters are between Franz Boas and Jones, often concerning Jones' professional progress and role in the field of ethnology, such as the publication of his linguistics and folklore manuscripts. Some are more personal in subject matter, showing the way Jones was welcomed into Boas' family dynamic. One such letter addressed Marie Krackowizer Boas, Boas' wife, and discussed his experience settling into Chicago and his commute home from a visit in New York. By being able to find these personal letters in the archive, it's easier to find a more intimate view of Jones, as he's writing without the bounds of professional convention. He's writing to a friend, someone who has written to him to wish him a speedy recovery when he has a resurgence of malaria.

To diverge quickly, this letter includes the address of Jones' Chicago apartment, 5723 Monroe Avenue. Using a map from 1909, one can place this address exactly where Jones describes, in Hyde Park. Over a hundred years later, however, Monroe Avenue now stands as an alleyway, still running parallel to Kimbark to the west in Hyde Park. Perhaps some street names were changed to accommodate Hyde Park's late incorporation into Chicago to replace duplicate names in the city and to avoid confusion with the downtown Monroe Street. Thus, Monroe Avenue lost its name, becoming the alley it is today. If the building Jones once lived in still stands, it may be one of the carriage houses turned garage, where he could have rented the upstairs loft.

With Jones' place established in Boas' world as someone who knew the Boas family rather intimately, the foreboding letters where Boas expresses concern for Jones ring even clearer. On September 18, 1906, Boas wrote to Jones to ask him to abandon the expedition to the Philippines, as he didn't believe it to be the right professional move for Jones. He also promised Jones he would "do his very best" to improve his current work circumstances. This ending note hints at Jones' consistent concerns about both pay and opportunities throughout his academic career, as shown throughout Rideout's work on Jones and other correspondences between him and Boas. As speculated by Vigil, Jones' marginal place in an already underfunded field may have compounded into a particularly unlivable financial situation.

Jones responded to Boas' letter three days later, at impeccable speed compared to their usual wait time of at least a week. While reiterating that nothing was set in stone with Dorsey's expedition, Jones wrote that "there was no outlook for the kind of work [he] wanted to do" with Indigenous people going forward, and that he'd "misjudged the character of [his] support." He further mentions that the transition away from his linguistic work was for his "personal welfare" first and foremost. If this isn't referring to his financial state, what else could be pushing him to take this pivot abroad? The issue of "personal welfare" is never elaborated on in later correspondences. Perhaps Jones saw, finally, that the "door to which he had been so carefully led" throughout his academic career had finally creaked open, revealing the Philippines on the other side of the threshold (Rideout 1912, 121). Despite Boas' attempt to stop Jones, he stepped through this doorway anyway in 1909, which resulted in his death.

Despite the unfortunate conclusion of his expedition, Jones did achieve one of the main goals of the anthropological agenda at this time—ethnographic material collection. While it is hard to pinpoint the exact total number of objects amassed by Jones, his work ultimately contributed to the 10,000 Filipino objects currently housed at the Field Museum, making it the largest collection of its kind in the Western hemisphere (Field Museum 2012). While these objects, some of which are shown in the Field's virtual collections, aren't on display, Jones' legacy at the Field is not entirely forgotten, nor rendered entirely trapped in the archive. A portrait of him hangs in *Native Truths*, the

newly renovated Native North American Hall exhibit, once infamous for its racist undertones. Alongside it is a short biography that reads:

> William Jones (Sauk & Fox) (1871–1909) was the first Native American to receive a PhD in Anthropology. He collected most of the items on display here. His work was heavily influenced by the time he spent with Meskwaki healer John McIntosh. Though he was an American-trained anthropologist, Jones follows in the footsteps of Meskwakis like McIntosh, who learned, preserved, and passed down our knowledge—scientists in our own way.

While this essay chronicles the search for Jones' voice on his own terms, it feels poignant to highlight a characterization of Jones where his Indigeneity isn't a quirk, a spectacle, a professional setback, a stereotype, or something to hide. Here, Jones is both Indigenous and an academic without conflict, a part of the communal voice labeling his portrait. This voice does a great job at handling Jones' complexity with a certain simplicity that avoids reduction. He is an Indigenous scientist, and nothing less. Considering the public-facing nature of this label, it does more than present Jones as an academic success in unlikely circumstances—it unites, and shows his groundbreaking nature to the white-majority museum space. Although Jones may have demurred at a portrait of him hanging in the halls of the Field Museum in the same way he would've at his biography, it may be the most accurate rendition of them all.

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THE PAWNEE EARTH LODGE AT THE FIELD MUSEUM

SUSAN GOLLAND

On October 15, 1977 a full-size Pawnee Lodge opened to the public in Hall 5 on the Field Museum's main floor. At that time the Field Museum was enjoying a moment in the spotlight; in August the historic blockbuster *Treasures of Tutankhamun* brought record-breaking crowds to the Museum. In the midst of visitors camping out on the front steps queuing up for their turn to see the belongings of the pharaoh, a corps of volunteers was training to guide visitors through a soon-to-be-opened Pawnee Earth Lodge. For five months, volunteers listened to lectures, read books about Pawnee history, and learned from museum staff about the 110 replica items that would be inside the Lodge.

The project originated with museum staff member John White, who read a book about Pawnee history called *The Lost Universe: Pawnee Life and Culture*. White was a staff member hired by the museum to coordinate a Native American program, work that involved both the Exhibitions and Education departments. Like the cross-disciplinary nature of his work at the Museum, White's education reflected a desire to work amongst many disciplines—archaeology, anthropology, and public education. His resume included both academic work, including an Anthropology Master's thesis entitled "Culture, Change, and Persistence," and teaching children's ceramics classes at Chicago's Hyde Park Art Center.

The Earth Lodge was a grant-funded project, and its purpose, written by White in the application, speaks to the collaboration that he envisioned as central to the development process:

> Develop an exhibit and educational program that will serve as a model for cross-cultural education within the museum context. The purpose of this program is to present a way of life on its own terms, within a full-size replica of a Pawnee earth lodge. In the development phase, the project director and exhibit preparator will work closely with members of the Pawnee tribe in Oklahoma …
>
> We expect the Pawnee Earth Lodge to become one of our most popular exhibits among general visitors … In addition we hope to attract greater numbers of visitors from Chicago's large Native American community who will find here a context in which their culture is presented as a living thing.

Did the process in fact reflect the original intentions? In some ways, yes. Even before the grant proposal was written, White solicited permission from Pawnee leadership, the Nasharo Council, and in January of 1975 received signoff by council members from each of the Nation's four bands, Charles Shunatona (Skidi), Lawrence Good Fox (Chaui), Archie Sun Eagle (Pitahawirata), and William Eaves (Kitkehaki). The development process involved researching and creating the plans for the Lodge. This phase included trips to Pawnee, Oklahoma with White and an exhibition designer, Kevin Williams, who spoke with community elders including Sam Osborne, who would become a close collaborator on the project. White, Williams, and Osborne traveled to Anadarko, Oklahoma to look at similar earth lodge structures and walked the grounds of the lodge that Sam Osborne had lived in as a child. Though the lodge no longer existed, Osborne shared many details about the building's construction. Through this time with Pawnee community members, Kevin Williams created a scale model of an earth lodge.

FIGURE 212 | (left to right) Myra Eppler, Effie Osborne, Sam Osborne, John White, Kevin Williams | The model Lodge pictured here is now at the Pawnee Nation Museum in Pawnee, Oklahoma | © The Field Museum

The model was created at the Field Museum and shipped to Pawnee for review and approval by Pawnee collaborators. During this process, several photographs were taken of John White, Kevin Williams, and Pawnee Elders Myra Eppler, Sam Osborne, and Effie Osborne standing around the model. In one of the photographs (Figure 212), Myra appears to be reaching over the model to touch something—long-time volunteers still remember this photograph and say that Myra is commenting that the top of the Lodge should look more "roughed up." We can't be certain exactly what was said, but the photograph speaks to the desire of museum staff to work with community for guidance and approval.

After the model was approved by community members in Pawnee, the Museum worked through the design process, including adding a sprinkler system and audio speakers and acquiring the natural construction materials. Over the course of ten months the Lodge became reality; it was made from cottonwood trees like the lodges of the nineteenth century, and the support beams, eight at the center, had the necessary Y-shaped forks to hold up the horizontal beams. The Lodge had real prairie grasses on the walls and roof, which gave the inside a sweet smell that still lives in the memory of long-time museum docents. The Lodge was furnished with 110 items that reflected Pawnee life in the mid 1800s in the Nebraska homelands, and four tape-recorded seasonal programs aimed to put the lodge into context for visitors. The programs were also created in association with the Pawnee people and narrated by Garland Blaine, Chief of the Pitahawirata band.

But the project had its share of challenges. The original intention was for Pawnee Nation to receive a duplicate set of replica items for their own educational purposes, but this never came to fruition. Some of the replicas were intended to be made by Pawnee citizens, but in the end Kevin Williams, the exhibit designer and fabricator, made most of the items along with John White and his wife Ellanor. And there was debate about who should keep the scale model of the Lodge. John White offered it to the Pawnee Nation during their work together, but Museum administrators argued that he was not authorized to make that decision without approval from higher management. Considering these issues together, there is a sense of the friction that existed as part of the development process—the original aims of the project, the reality of having to deliver work by opening day, and most importantly, the desire of staff to do right by the relationships they formed under the pressure of a bureaucratic organization.

At the opening of the exhibit in 1977 the Earth Lodge was dedicated to Sam Osborne, who passed away before the completion of the project. Pawnee citizens were in attendance, and the opening ceremony was even reported in the local Pawnee, Oklahoma newspaper.

The next phase of the Lodge's story begins after the ribbon was cut, speeches delivered, dedications made, and final details touched up. Laying the groundwork of a strong relationship between the Museum and Pawnee people was critical to the creation of the Lodge, but now that there was no grant to fulfill and no deadline to meet, how would the relationship fare?

In the 45 years since the Lodge opened, a relationship has continued, sometimes stronger, sometimes weaker, but it has persisted. Unlike in the first phase of the project,

FIGURE 213 | Field Museum Pawnee Earth Lodge docents present a handmade quilt to the Pawnee Nation in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the Lodge | The quilt contained symbols representing the Lodge and included ribbons signed by each volunteer | (left to right) Alice Alexander (Pawnee Nation), Docent Karen Ann Sholeen, Docent Judith Sherry, Francis Morris (Pawnee Nation) | © The Field Museum

relationships were nurtured by individuals, both staff and volunteers. To mark the 10th and 25th anniversaries of the Lodge, representatives from the Pawnee Nation traveled to Chicago to celebrate and rededicate the space. When they visited, museum docents organized potluck meals to welcome them. For many, many years, Docent Manager Mary Ann Bloom traveled to Pawnee, Oklahoma, sometimes with volunteers, to the annual Homecoming Powwow in the summertime. Longtime Pawnee friends made sure to save her a folding chair so she didn't have to bring her own. To commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Lodge, docents designed and sewed a quilt that they presented to the Pawnee Nation as a symbol of friendship and the value of their relationship. And likewise, the Pawnee people gifted a Pendleton blanket to the Museum in recognition of this relationship. This Pendleton blanket still sits in the Lodge, and its story remains part of the history of this unique space.

Now we find ourselves at another moment of transition for the Lodge. For the past three years, we worked in an official capacity with the Pawnee Nation Cultural Resources Division. We had the chance to visit Pawnee, Oklahoma and learn from community members. We learned from Herb Adson, Matt Reed, Marti Only A Chief, and Adrian Spottedhorsechief about how they would like to present Pawnee Nation on its own terms. We have worked together to create new exhibit elements, and have transformed half of the Earth Lodge into a space to share contemporary elements of Pawnee culture. In doing this work we've also become friends, and reaffirmed our commitment as Museum staff members to follow the lead of our Pawnee colleagues.

The opening day for the exhibition was May 20, 2022, but never before has the opening of an exhibition felt more like a beginning rather than the closing of a chapter. The exhibit elements have been designed to change regularly, and the first-person format of the labels means that change cannot happen without collaboration from members of the community. We still have ideas for improvements that we can make to the Lodge contents to

FIGURE 214 | The Pawnee Earth Lodge as part of the *Native Truths* exhibition, 2022 | Photograph by John Weinstein

FIGURE 215 | With the creation of *Native Truths*, new displays were added adjacent to the Earth Lodge to give context to the Pawnee people, 2022 | Photograph by John Weinstein

tell better stories, and more complete history. We're writing a new collaboration agreement that will outline the ways that we can work together into the future that will benefit everyone. If we are to succeed, we must recognize this obligation, on the part of the museum as a whole, to commit and recommit, over and over again, year after year, in order to honor the relationship that everyone has carried this far. We should be proud of our relationship with the Pawnee Nation and what we've accomplished together, and should continue to honor it through our ongoing commitments.

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THE PAWNEE EARTH LODGE IN CONTEXT

MATT REED (PAWNEE NATION)

THE LAST 500 years for the Pawnee Nation have been rough to say the least. If Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de La Vérendrye was correct with his estimate of our population in 1743, based on information from our Arikara relatives, the Pawnee Nation numbered nearly 300,000 people. By 1800, and after decades of pandemic after pandemic, the Pawnee Nation had shrunk to an estimated 30,000 people. During the nineteenth century, our homelands in Kansas and Nebraska witnessed tens of thousands of immigrants trekking their way across the plains toward the west coast. Along with them came more disease, murder, rape, theft, and starvation. Eventually, warfare with neighboring tribes and political pressure from Americans led to the coerced decision to sell our remaining lands and move to Oklahoma onto a reservation in 1874. By 1910, our population had shrunk to 633 people.

We were also experiencing, simultaneously, pressures from missionaries and the US government to give up our Pawnee way of life and begin the process of assimilation. A boarding school was among the first buildings constructed in Oklahoma, and it soon began the process of eliminating traditional Pawnee culture and replacing it with a European model. Parents were forced to send their children to the boarding school or surrender the food, clothing, and other materials guaranteed through treaty. The children were uniformed and organized into military-style units based on their age. Every morning they were awakened with a bugle call and reported for morning formation on a parade square between the girls' dormitory and the boys' dormitory. Meals were received and eaten in stages beginning at the door to the meal hall; each stage was signaled by a whistle blown by the Head Matron. When the final whistle was blown, the student was finished regardless of how much they had eaten. Speaking Pawnee was strictly forbidden; punishment was usually whippings, with the lashes doled out by fellow students organized into a belt-line which the offender was obliged to pass along.

Missionaries had been given two plots among our Pawnee agency buildings. These were for the Southern Baptist and Southern Methodist denominations. From there, the missionaries worked hard to convince Pawnees that their religion was idolatry, that they should give up their traditional ways, that they should convert into Baptists and Methodists, and that they should destroy the Sacred Bundles.

Throughout all of this, our culture suffered. Inevitably there was loss of history, songs, ceremonies, and explanations. Death, the prohibition on language and culture, and the influences of Christianity made it ever more difficult for Bundle Keepers, Pawnee Doctors, singers, and traditionalists to pass on the knowledge required to continue many cultural practices. Some Bundle Keepers chose to have their Bundles buried with them because they had no acolyte. The same held true for many of our ceremonies, songs, and traditional knowledge. It's remarkable how much there is, though, that we've held on to. We still retain key ceremonies. We still retain our traditional government. Compared to some of our neighbors, we are fortunate to have kept our identity as Pawnee people with our Pawnee ways.

Into this atmosphere stepped Chicago's Field Museum.

We've had a long relationship with the Field Museum. Beginning in the 1890s, Pawnee amateur anthropologist

James R. Murie, an informer for the Pawnee Indian Agent, began working with Alice Cunningham Fletcher as an informant for her works on Pawnee songs and the Hako Ceremony. In 1899, Murie first began working for George Dorsey, Curator of Anthropology at the Field Museum. Murie's work for Fletcher, Dorsey, and Clark Wissler eventually led to his composition of a two-volume work, *Ceremonies of the Skidi and Ceremonies of the South Bands*. His work as a translator and community informant, and in collecting Pawnee material culture, turned the Field Museum into possibly the largest repository of Pawnee culture in the world. In 1904 at the St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Exposition, Murie and at least ten other Pawnees constructed the best Pawnee Earth Lodge ever recorded through photography. The photographer was an employee of the Field Museum.

At this time as well, James Murie collected numerous Sacred Bundles, ceremonial instruments, toys, games, clothing, and other cultural objects for the Museum. Since that time there has been a peculiar perception of Murie and his activities. Some Pawnees believe that he lied in his writings. Others believe that he stole these artifacts or somehow swindled them away from the rightful owners. The latest recollection that I've heard is that Murie sought the materials as donations and then sold them to the Field Museum for his personal benefit. Regardless, this time of cultural loss witnessed the collection of material culture and the recording of ceremonies, oral histories, and songs by not just the Field Museum but several other institutions as well.

The information gathered from the Pawnee Nation from this relationship also guided the Field in the construction of at least three dioramas in the first decade of the twentieth century. These depicted the Pawnee First Thunder Ceremony, the Doctor Dance, and the Skidi Sacrifice to the Morning Star. The Field also published several manuscripts on Pawnee societies and ceremonies.

Over the years this relationship waned, but in the 1970s, John White and other staff from the Field approached the Nation regarding the construction of a full-size replica Earth Lodge. Part of that new relationship resulted in the construction of a new scale model, community classes on historic ceramics, and the establishment of a consultation relationship between the Field and Pawnee elders and cultural leaders.

In 1977 the result of this relationship led to the creation of a full-size Pawnee Earth Lodge replica within the Field Museum. This relationship and Earth Lodge became a source of pride within the Pawnee community. The last utilized Earth Lodge being built in Oklahoma occurred sometime in the 1930s.

Through the intervening years, Pawnees and Field Museum staff exchanged mutual visits. It was not uncommon to have Mary Ann Bloom and a contingent of her volunteers present at our annual Pawnee Indian Veterans Homecoming around the first of July.

When the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) passed in 1990, the Field Museum and the Pawnee Nation stepped forward into a stronger relationship. The core of 2,000 years of Pawnee culture is held within 35 Sacred Bundles. These Bundles are pivotal to Pawnee ceremonies for the entire Pawnee Nation or to one of the four bands that compose the Pawnee Nation. The Pawnee ethnographer, James Murie, had collected some of these Sacred Bundles and donated or sold them to the Field Museum in the early twentieth century. As objects of cultural patrimony, the Sacred Bundles in the collections of the Field Museum were subject to NAGPRA and repatriation back to the Pawnee Nation.

During the intervening years from Murie to NAGPRA, Pawnee culture had experienced some significant loss. Many of the ceremonies involving the Sacred Bundles had been discontinued. Those Bundles that remained within the Nation either evoked a response of great respect or fear. In the 1990s, tribal leadership and tribal elders felt that we did not have the appropriate facilities to house the repatriated Bundles, and some people felt that we shouldn't ever bring them back home as they were spiritually dangerous. The outcome was the creation of an agreement between the Pawnee Nation and the Field Museum, wherein the Sacred Bundles would be 'repatriated' to us, but these Sacred Bundles would remain in storage at the Field until such time as we could provide adequate and respectful storage facilities.

Since then, Pawnees have periodically visited the Sacred Bundles. Sometimes they were official representatives from the Nation and sometimes they were not. Culturally, this was not normal and was of great concern. In 2018, the Pawnee Nation Cultural Resource Division (CRD) and its associated Cultural Committee established a process to eliminate random access to the Sacred Bundles and other ceremonial objects. Requests for access must be granted by the CRD, which communicates with the staff at the Field Museum on a regular basis. The mutual respect of both had enabled this process to work perfectly.

In 2004, the Field Museum invited a contingent of the Pawnee community to Chicago to witness the rededication of the Earth Lodge after its move into the present gallery from the old "Hall of American Indians." My uncle, Ronnie Goodeagle, came along to say a prayer and to burn some cedar to initiate this new chapter of the relationship

between the Pawnee Nation and the Field Museum. This was done as a part of his practice as a Roadman in the Native American Church.

From that time until 2019, we continued to see this recreation of a Pawnee Earth Lodge as a link not only to our ancient past, but also to elders from the 1960s and 1970s. This was one of the few places where we, as a people, could see and experience the physical manifestation of our past and our ancestors.

In 2018, our Pawnee Nation experienced a downturn in economic revenue resulting in the dismantling of our Cultural Resources Department which houses our language program, Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO), and our NAGPRA Office. This dismantling eliminated our language program and the structure of the Cultural Resources Department. The federal funding of the THPO and NAGPRA offices safeguarded those programs.

During this period, the Field Museum contacted our offices to request a representative to attend a meeting in Chicago to discuss the future of the Pawnee Earth Lodge and an exhibit about our Pawnee People. Considering the importance of the Earth Lodge replica and our relationship with the Field Museum, I traveled to Chicago to meet with museum staff and representatives from the Chicago American Indian Community Collaborative and the Chicago American Indian Center. During that meeting I answered a lot of questions about our culture, our Earth Lodge, and our relationship with the Field Museum. As the questions evolved, it became evident that both the Pawnee Nation and the Field Museum desired not only to showcase Pawnee history and culture, but also offer to a glimpse of contemporary Pawnee cultural continuity.

From that initial meeting, a visit by Field Museum staff to meet with individuals of the Pawnee Nation Cultural Committee was planned. The Cultural Committee is the community interface with our Cultural Resources Division and the various offices it encompasses. Most of the members play pivotal roles within our community regarding ceremonies and other traditional events. This initial series of meetings was to introduce the project to the various members and to gauge their thoughts. Not too long after this, the COVID-19 pandemic began.

In a way, the circumstances of the pandemic assisted in the frequency of communication between the Field Museum and the Pawnee Nation Cultural Resources Division. If we had restricted ourselves to travel and in-person meetings, the volume of communication would have definitely been less than what actually occurred. The growing familiarity of Zoom and video conferencing enabled our Pawnee Nation staff to speak with multiple Field Museum staff biweekly over the intervening three years. During that time, we've endeavored to answer questions from staff and volunteers, to correct years of misinformation from published works, and to tell the story of our Nation from our point of view. Field Museum staff have also traveled to Oklahoma to attend our Veteran's Day Dance, to participate in one of our traditional meals, and to physically meet friends for the first time.

This relationship has grown tremendously over the last few years, and we look forward to continuing our relationship with the Field Museum.

FIGURE 216 | Representatives from the Pawnee Nation Cultural Resources Division (left to right: Matt Reed, Adrian Spottedhorsechief, Marti Only A Chief, Herb Adson, and Zachary Rice) worked with Field Museum staff on developing new content for the Earth Lodge | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Latoya Flowers

FIGURE 218 | Installation photo of the "We Speak for Ourselves" section, 2022 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by John Weinstein

PART V

CONCLUSION

28

WE SPEAK FOR OURSELVES

Challenging Stereotypes in Native Truths

DOUG KIEL (ONEIDA NATION)

MANY RESIDENTS OF the Chicago area are well acquainted with the logo of the NHL's Blackhawks, as well as the statues titled *The Bowman* and *The Spearman* that greet visitors at the entrance of Grant Park downtown. These icons have become widely recognized symbols that connect the city to its Indigenous roots. However, their depictions have stirred controversy for perpetuating stereotypes and misrepresenting Native people. For instance, the Blackhawks' logo portrays the stylized face of a chief adorned in a warbonnet. While said to be inspired by Black Hawk, a revered nineteenth-century Meskwaki leader known for resisting US expansion, the logo caricatures his legacy, neglecting its historical depth and significance. Similarly, *The Bowman* and *The Spearman* are attired in Plains-style headdresses, which are incongruent with the traditional dress of Chicago's original inhabitants, such as the Potawatomi, Myaamia, and Kickapoo people.

FIGURE 217 | *The Bowman* by Ivan Meštrović, 1928 | Wikimedia Commons

Illinois has a long history of grappling with the problematic representation of Native people. In 2007, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign retired Chief Illiniwek, a mascot that performed dances in mock Native regalia during games for over 80 years. However, Chief Illiniwek continues to have an unofficial presence through merchandise, highlighting the enduring issue of cultural insensitivity. Recognizing and respecting Indigenous nations as vibrant, contemporary communities is crucial not just for Illinois, but for the broader United States. Chicago boasts the third-largest urban Indigenous community in the United States, a population whose rich history extends far beyond the reductive representations often showcased.

The Field Museum has developed *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* in part to address the issues of misrepresentation and erasure of Indigenous cultures. This exhibition boasts immersive, multimedia, first-hand narratives, and collaborations with Indigenous people from across North America. It challenges visitors to reevaluate their preconceptions and enrich their understanding through an enlightening experience. In developing this exhibition, the Museum forged partnerships with Indigenous organizations, including the American Indian Center of Chicago and the Chicago American Indian Community Collaborative. These

FIGURE 219 | *The Lakes Convene* from *The Lakes Convene, Sky Advises*, and *The Lakes Speak* created by Monica Rickert-Bolter (Potawatomi), 2021 | Dry pastels, digital graphics | Commissioned by the Field Museum

partnerships have enabled the creation of a benchmark model for celebrating Indigenous cultures. The initiative highlights the diversity of Native America through educational programs, contemporary art exhibits, and cultural engagements, all while promoting accurate and respectful depictions of Indigenous communities and their rich histories. *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* stands as a potent tribute to the fortitude and enduring spirit of Indigenous communities. It exemplifies the power of art, history, and storytelling as catalysts for societal change and narrative transformation.

One highlight of the exhibition is entitled "We Speak for Ourselves," and it presents a kaleidoscope of Indigenous voices, encompassing historical figures, contemporary artists, Native youth, and even fictional characters. Among the contributors, Storme Webber introduces visitors to the Indigenous Northwest Coast. Webber, a two-spirit artist of Sugpiaq (Alutiiq), Black, and Chahta (Choctaw) descent, is a celebrated poet, curator, and educator, and has founded Voices Rising: LGBTQ of Color Arts & Culture in Seattle to uplift marginalized artists. Her work epitomizes the core mission of *Native Truths*: to illuminate the diversity, ingenuity, and resilience that characterize Native American narratives. "We Speak for Ourselves" emerges as an evocative space where history and modernity, reality and imagination, weave together in a tapestry of stories that demand attention, respect, and contemplation.

Monica Rickert-Bolter, a visual artist and journalist of Potawatomi, Black, and German descent, draws inspiration from her ancestry in her work. In "We Speak for Ourselves," she unveils a series of murals depicting the Great Lakes Spirits as personifications of the five Great Lakes: Superior, Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario. These murals are rooted in Rickert-Bolter's own original narrative, wherein the Spirits express concerns over the "human problem" and humanity's indifference to their welfare. She weaves elements of Potawatomi culture and cosmology into her murals, employing colors, symbols, and animals to impart deeper meanings. For instance, she depicts the Spirits with varied skin tones to represent the range of

FIGURE 220 | Detail from the mural chronicling the life of Ralph Kerwineo, by Monica Rickert-Bolter and Kai Pyle

Indigenous people. Another mural features a representation of Turtle Island, a term for the continent embraced by numerous Indigenous groups in eastern North America. Serving a dual purpose, Rickert-Bolter's murals not only showcase her artistic prowess but also educate viewers on Indigenous environmental stewardship. Through her art, Monica Rickert-Bolter engages and challenges audiences to forge a connection with the natural world.

In a brilliant collaboration, Monica Rickert-Bolter and scholar Kai Pyle present an evocative mural, chronicling the remarkable life of Ralph Kerwineo, a transgender man born in 1876 who spent most of his life in Chicago and Milwaukee. Of African American and Potawatomi descent, Kerwineo's audacious journey began as Cora Anderson. His era was marred by limited opportunities and stark discrimination, particularly for individuals of mixed race. Yet Kerwineo's unyielding spirit saw him defy societal norms, embarking on a path that transcended the constraints of gender and race that characterize life under US colonialism. This mural is not just a colorful tableau but a belated recognition celebrating Kerwineo's courage and resilience. It succinctly encapsulates the trials and tribulations he faced, as well as his triumphs in carving out an autonomous existence during an unforgiving period in history. His life serves as a testament to the strength and resolve of transgender people to live their truths. Rickert-Bolter and Pyle's work is a celebration of the countless unsung heroes like Ralph Kerwineo. This mural implores us to embrace, honor, and find inspiration in the stories of those who have fought valiantly against the shackles of discrimination.

FIGURE 221 | *Ge'go ibe jibdebeke'n!!* created by Jason Wesaw (Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians), 2021 | Loaned by Jason Wesaw | Photograph by Michelle Kuo

Jason Wesaw (Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians) is another artist highlighted in "We Speak for Ourselves." He uses various media, such as pottery, sculpture, photography, and installation to explore the complex colonial history and its impact on Native peoples and their cultures. His artwork challenges dominant narratives of colonization and celebrates the vitality of Native people. On display in *Native Truths* is a stool from a Catholic church that he transformed into a powerful commentary on the impact of colonization on Native peoples. The spikes adorning the stool evoke feelings of danger, pain, and violence. Wesaw's work challenges viewers to reexamine their preconceptions about Native peoples and confront the harsh realities of colonization.

Additionally, "We Speak for Ourselves" prominently features a video clip of William Knifeman, a character from the critically acclaimed FX/Hulu series *Reservation Dogs*. Portrayed by Dallas Goldtooth, Knifeman is a whimsical character who deftly challenges Native American stereotypes through sharp wit and humor. He purports to be the spirit of a nineteenth-century warrior guiding Bear, a young character grappling with questions of identity. Contrasting with traditional portrayals, Knifeman's character diverges from the archetypal noble spirit guide. His blend of innocence, bumbling nature, and timidity serves to subvert and refresh age-old tropes. Furthermore, *Reservation Dogs* employs a cinematographic language reminiscent of iconic Western films, with this visual homage being particularly striking in the scenes featuring Knifeman.

Sterlin Harjo and Taika Waititi, the creative minds behind *Reservation Dogs*, forged the series with an unwavering commitment to authenticity. Remarkably, the series boasts an ensemble comprising entirely Indigenous writers, directors, and cast, all hailing from Native North American communities. Through this, *Reservation Dogs* becomes a conduit for Indigenous realism. Knifeman, with his layering of humor and sagacity, mirrors the multifaceted realities of Native communities. He stands as a symbol

of a paradigm shift in Indigenous self-representation. *Reservation Dogs* demonstrates adeptness in deconstructing prevailing myths, while painting a portrait of Native life that brims with honesty and vibrancy.

The "We Speak for Ourselves" segment of *Native Truths* embodies a kindred spirit. Storme Webber's poignant narrative is both powerful and personal, resonating with the moving story of Ralph Kerwineo and inspiring introspection. Meanwhile, William Knifeman's incisive satire employs wit to challenge stereotypes. The captivating artwork of Monica Rickert-Bolter and Jason Wesaw animates the space, marrying ancient artistic traditions with contemporary techniques. Through this, *Native Truths* transcends being a mere passive showcase; it takes visitors on an immersive journey through time, encouraging them to feel the heartbeat of Native America. By elevating Indigenous voices, narratives, and creative talents, *Native Truths* cultivates a profound sense of kinship and underscores our collective humanity. "We Speak for Ourselves" leaves an indelible mark as a pivotal element of the exhibition, demonstrating the indispensability of Indigenous self-representation in forging a society that genuinely embraces diversity. In stark contrast to the reductive and derogatory portrayals of Native people seen in emblems like the Chicago Blackhawks' logo and *The Bowman* and *The Spearman*, "We Speak for Ourselves" illuminates how self-representation can establish bridges of understanding and respect.

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INDIGENIZING FUTURES IN MUSEUM CONTEXTS

BLAIRE MORSEAU (POKAGON BAND OF POTAWATOMI)

AT THE TURN of the twentieth century Americans celebrated their cultural and technological progress by juxtaposing their young, modern society in a festival of worldly exotics for sale and "primitive" cultures on display in what is known as the Chicago World's Fair or Columbian Exhibition of 1893. Drawing millions of spectators, the Fair celebrated the 400th anniversary of the landing of Columbus in the Caribbean. "We have no spirit to celebrate with you," an elderly Potawatomi intellectual named Simon Pokagon countered to this six-month-long event honoring Western—mainly American—modernity in its grand "White City." Much of the artwork, the many "artifacts," and other items Victorian-era contemporaries understood as curiosities at the Fair would become the origination of anthropological collections for one of the largest and most influential museums in the world, the Field Museum—a museum which sits on Pokagon's ancestral homeland or the land of the Potawatomi in the Chicago region.

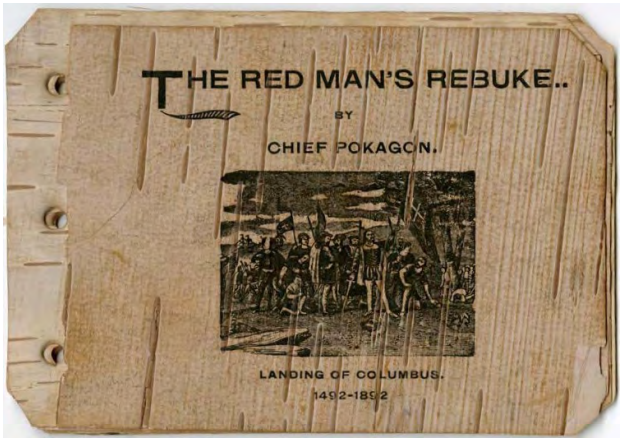

FIGURE 222 | *The Red Man's Rebuke*, written by Chief Simon Pokagon (Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians), 1893 | Birch bark, ink | Loaned by Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians Archive

Indigenous-made art and everyday items on display in museums tell stories about Native peoples to largely non-Native audiences around the world. For the most part, these stories have trapped Indigenous peoples and their cultures in an ahistorical, mythologized past. The items, their arrangements, their interpretive labels, and more define Indigenous peoples, their cultures and worldviews as resting precariously on superstition and mysticism rather than reason and scientific logic, which to white contemporaries explains and justifies Native peoples' looming extinction. The only foothold Westerners have to relate to these unsophisticated and peculiar cultures on display are cherry-picked from their own pasts. Distorted by inaccurate projections of Europeans' own savagery and barbarism, actual or imagined, onto Native cultures, the Western gaze continues to shape what stories are told and by whom about Indigenous pasts, possibly their presences, but most certainly never their futures. Because Indigenous peoples' primitivism is irreconcilable with Western modernity, as the logic goes, the former must be erased.

Anthropologists and museum professionals have always thought about Indigenous peoples in temporalizing ways. Lewis Henry Morgan's (1877) *Ancient Society* posited three stages of cultural evolution from "Savagery," "Barbarism" to "Civilization." By placing human societies on a linear scale, Native peoples in North America

were seen as relics of the past or as contemporary groups of peoples living as one might expect Western peoples to have lived centuries earlier. Of course, this is an inaccurate and racist hierarchy of organizing humanity that anthropologists have long since rejected. As the field of cultural anthropology developed in the US, however, salvage ethnographic projects increased, especially at the turn of the twentieth century. These scholarly and political projects aimed to collect and preserve linguistic and material culture from Indigenous communities with the pervasive assumption that Native Americans would not exist in the future. Despite decades of rigorous scholarship, political activism, and an institutional rejection of understanding human diversity in terms of biological evolutionary principles—ones that conveniently end at the pinnacle of progress resembling white Euro-American society—Indigenous peoples are still affected by these problematic temporalizing theories.

Insolent ideas of "primitive" versus "modern" cultures permeated peoples' understanding of humanity for decades. As such, these fallacies of cultural difference would legitimize policies aimed at "civilizing" Native American peoples. The calamitous effects of policies of cultural and corporeal genocide such as Native American boarding schools and land theft as a result of the Dawes Act of 1887 on Native Americans cannot be overstated. Because much has been published on this topic, the project of this essay is not to add to this important discussion. Rather, from the perspective of an Indigenous anthropologist, I am interested in the ways in which the concept of Indigenous futurisms has departed from projects typically framed by ideas about cultural revitalization that are bound up with salvage anthropology. I am also attentive to the ways that Indigenous storytelling and visual sovereignty have made new spaces for Indigenous peoples in the future.

Some of these spaces have manifested in museums. The concept of Indigenous futurisms at its core is "storytelling about the future" from an Indigenous perspective. It is a conceptual rejection of theoretical, institutional, and political projects which placed Indigenous peoples in the past or framed Indigenous peoples as trying to rectify their place in the modern present. While many anthropologists today do not necessarily work in museums, but instead conduct their intellectual labor on university campuses or use their training to facilitate community outreach for nonprofit organizations, governments, and even the private sector, their work has been shaped by museums. The discipline of anthropology is not only entangled with the institutional and theoretical ties of museums and Museum

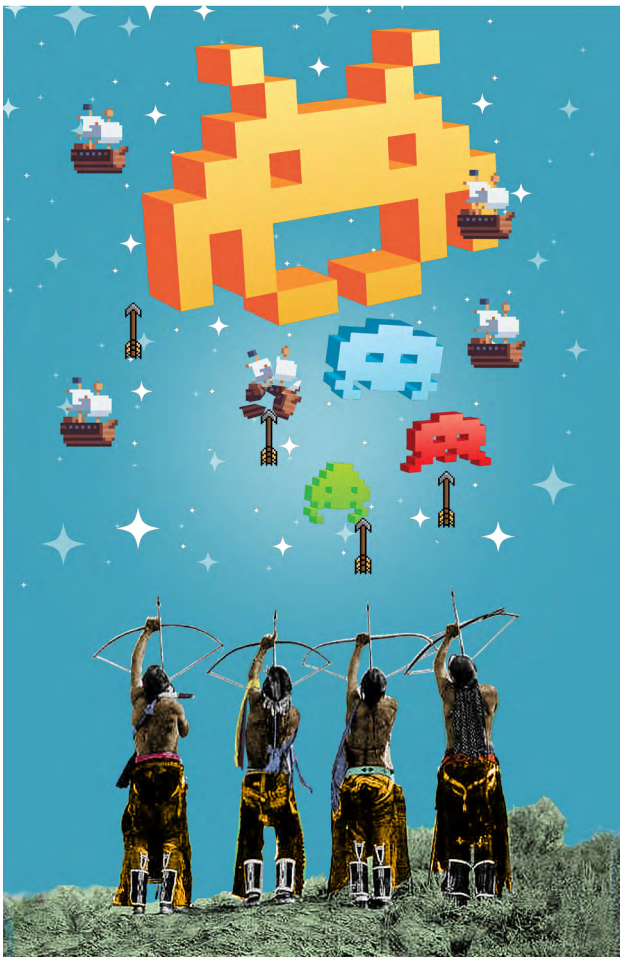

FIGURE 223 | *Invaders* by Steven Paul Judd | © Steven Paul Judd

Studies, but they are mutually reinforcing. They feed off of each other, grow together, and continue to be implicated in each other's work. Anthropology in the United States, where the Field Museum is located, bestowed upon museums knowledge and objects—bought, appropriated, and stolen—from Indigenous communities around the world. Indeed, anthropology has been called "the handmaiden of colonialism." The ways in which Indigenous peoples' lives have been researched, theorized, and displayed have been inherently colonial, extractive, and damaging.

At the center of critical Indigenous frameworks is a crucial insight about the structure of settler colonialism and how it affects Indigenous peoples in every aspect of our lives. Any analysis within a critical Indigenous framework departs from an understanding that settler colonialism is a structure of domination, not an event. This is because Indigeneity occupies a subject position within a settler colonial society. In other words, settler colonialism can be best understood in the ways that is it different from colonialism. Both are oppressive regimes dovetailing with

western imperial expansion; however, they have disentangled goals: colonialism is inherently exploitative, while settler colonialism is inherently eliminatory. Explained differently, a colonial relationship entails the exploitation of labor from subjects by way of slavery, indentured servitude, or other circumstances which reinforce the unequal position of power between the colonizers and the colonized. Settler colonialism, on the other hand, seeks to eliminate Indigenous presence through genocide, assimilation, and overall apathetic attitudes (at best) and aggressive genocidal policies toward Indigenous claims to land and resources in what Patrick Wolfe calls "the logic of elimination" (Wolfe 2006). Another important fixture of settler colonialism is its structural nature. For instance, a lay perspective of settler colonialism is understood in terms of its event-ness: as in the colonial period, a genocidal moment, or even the colonial vernacular of architecture. However, "invasion is a structure not an event." Indeed, it is "an inclusive, land-centered project that coordinates a comprehensive range of agencies, from the metropolitan centre to the frontier encampment, with a view to eliminating Indigenous societies" (Wolfe 2006). What this means is that there is no end point. Settler colonialism did not happen, it is the criterion on which contemporary Indian policy is constructed in addition to the overwhelmingly problematic representations of Indigenous lives, our bodies, politics, and perspectives in museums. As such, any Indigenous "futurisms" are foreclosed.

Indigenous futurisms are developed in concert with Indigenous histories in particular places and politics of refusal to harmful narratives about their lives and communities (Simpson 2014; Tuck and Yang 2012). Indigenous representational authority and speaking against settler colonial nationalisms are both important pillars of Indigenous futurisms. They also center traditional knowledge systems or "Native science" to imagine new forms of social justice in ways that benefit Native communities. Research, especially the anthropological variety from which millions of goods and intellectual products were stolen and siphoned off from Indigenous peoples around the world, has always been constituent of European imperialism. Western institutions from museums to the academy and government have shaped what much of the world sees as legitimate forms of knowledge—oral histories and traditional storytelling not being one of them. It is no coincidence that non-Western traditional knowledge, no matter how rigorous, effective, or sustainable, has been nothing more than a curiosity until very recently. In their unfettered accumulation, Indigenous peoples' ceremonial items, stories, and bodies were not only violently removed from their communities, but also interpreted and deployed in ways that were at best irrelevant to them and at worst destructive to their survival.

How does a museum—the archetype for exploring past-ness and antiquity—move beyond this limiting functionality to not only *represent* Indigenous futurisms, but also facilitate and nourish their growth? Indigenous futurisms in museums means telling Native stories from a Native perspective, of course, but it also means explicitly framing these stories as if they have applicability and value in the future. They not only consult or even just collaborate with Indigenous artists, intellectuals, and storytellers, but leverage the institution's power and resources to compensate and lift up Native voices. Indigenous futurisms in museum contexts means representing Native communities and traditional worldviews in ways that are resilient and strong as opposed to fragile and disappearing or extinct all together. Finally, and most importantly, Indigenous futurisms in museum contexts is not an end point, but a process—one which this Indigenous scholar looks forward to seeing manifest in a multiplicity of beautiful ways.

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COMMUNITY PREVIEW DAY INTERVIEWS

These transcripts are from interviews that were collected on May 15, 2022 for the Native Truths Community Preview Day. A total of five interviews were conducted by videographer Jay Young and Field Museum Learning Center employee Lileas Maier. Attendees of the event were asked if they wanted to be interviewed about their experience inside the exhibit.

Interview with Victoria Mesarina (Mescalero Apache Tribe)

Interviewers: Jay Young (Potawatomi) and Lileas Maier

J: You came out to see the exhibit today, why was that important to you?

V: To me, I think it's important to know Native culture, and not just from what I was taught, or what classrooms teach us. I believe it should be the people telling it for themselves, by themselves.

J: Do you think this exhibit is a good first step in helping Chicago Natives reclaim their identities?

V: Yes. I think it's a good first step.

J: Why is it important for us to tell our own stories?

V: To get it right.

Interview with Felix Avila (Ho-Chunk and Oneida)

Interviewers: Jay Young (Potawatomi) and Lileas Maier

J: How does it make you feel to see that representation at the museum now?

F: I actually had seen the old exhibit, and I had talked with my parents who are involved with the council and the tribe very intimately and discussed how much of an improvement it is. Not only representation but how different peoples are represented.

J: The exhibit is called *Native Truths* and the focus is on telling our stories. I'm Potawatomi myself and I love this exhibit. What was your feeling walking through this exhibit seeing our stories told by our people?

F: My family was very involved with many of the people who were in the drum circles, in the Chi-Town drum pictures, you know, we can see people and point and it's a really surreal feeling to be that involved with something everyone can see.

J: It feels really good!

F: Yeah, it does, it really does.

J: Why is it important for us to reclaim our identity?

F: It's important to be ourselves because we have our own practices, we have our own cultures, we have our own everything. Conforming would take away all of our individuality, all of our purpose, all of the messages we've been trying to live by for our entire existence.

Interview with Helen Harden (Ojibwe and Winnebago)

Interviewers: Jay Young (Potawatomi) and Lileas Maier

J: What do you think about the exhibit?

H: Well, I think this is one of the nicest I've ever seen. And I'm so happy that we have it and I especially of course love the Chicago exhibit because this is where I discovered who I was.

J: The focus of this exhibit is us telling our own stories. What did you feel walking through this space seeing stories told by us, about us?

H: They made us look very bad, what did they call us, savages or something? So, us being able to say, that's not true, we can present ourselves the way that we actually are. It's so needed and meaningful to us.

Interview with Carolina Kessel (Lakota)

Interviewers: Jay Young (Potawatomi) and Lileas Maier

J: What did you think of the museum today?

C: It's really cool to see the history of it. It's amazing how little things can change.

J: What was your favorite part?

C: Probably checking out the video game [*Never Alone*]. It was a Native American person with a fox and they were going on a journey, and I really liked it.

Interview with Amelia Kessel (Lakota)

Interviewers: Jay Young (Potawatomi) and Lileas Maier

J: What did you think about the exhibit today?

A: I thought it was really fun and interactive and it was really cool to see the Native people come together to make this exhibit. It was really touching to see from their perspective, telling the stories that haven't been told that much and the community coming out and sharing together.

J: How does it make you feel to know our voices are being heard?

A: At school, I don't feel there's as much teachings as there could be and seeing this exhibit made me happy to see that everyone's making their voices heard.

J: Why do you think it's important for us to tell our own stories?

A: We were here since the beginning.

J: What do you want people to know?

A: I want people to know that we're still here, still spreading awareness and our stories are still being told.

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THIS EXHIBITION MARKS A NEW BEGINNING

ALAKA WALI, JAAP HOOGSTRATEN

Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories opened on May 22, 2022 with a joyous celebration attended by many of the exhibition collaborators and the Advisory Committee members, as well as Museum staff and the general public.

During the first six months after opening, Debra Yepa-Pappan, the Community Engagement Coordinator, and other staff received numerous requests for walk-throughs, lectures, and guided tours. Community members from local Tribes made trips to see the exhibition. The Museum hosted a special preview for Native American community members a week before the public opening, and several hundred people attended. The Learning Center staff interviewed some of them, and selected comments are included here.

In the months after the opening, work continued to build on the collaborative model we had established. Five members of the Advisory Committee agreed to stay on for another term of two years, and five new members were added. The five new members were added after a nomination process involving the staff and advisors. The first rotation was decided upon by the advisors and staff, from a list of possibilities that had been previously discussed with the original Advisory Committee. The story will be about the Native game of lacrosse and its multiple roles in communities across the country. It opened May 10,

FIGURE 224 | Many of the exhibition's Native collaborators, families, and friends celebrated during the opening weekend in 2022 | © The Field Museum, Photograph by Jay Young (Citizen Band of Potawatomi)

2024, replacing the California Basket Making exhibition. The Advisory Committee members successfully advocated for a more expanded role in guiding the Museum's policies and practices centered on the Native American collections. The Museum's leadership agreed that the broader role was necessary and has placed coordination of the Advisory Committee under the aegis of the Office of Diversity, Equity, Access and Inclusion. The Committee will review and recommend changes to the repatriation policy to make the process more efficient, provide ideas for increased access to the collections for Native Americans, and communicate more directly with Museum leadership.

As we have documented in this book, the process of creating the exhibition also led to efforts to continue to better implement Indigenous methodologies for care and stewardship of the collections. To that end, the anthropology collections and conservation team requested a renewal of the Mellon Foundation grant that had supported some of the initial work on conservation. This time, the grant request focused on collaborations that included a resident fellowship program for Native Americans to work in conservation and collections efforts, workshops with expert knowledge-bearers to advise on proper care, and a loan program for regional Tribal museums. In 2022, the Mellon Foundation awarded a three-year grant of 1 million dollars for these efforts.

The installation of the new exhibition also provided an opportunity to change the K–12 educational materials and programs offered by the Museum's Learning Center. The Center hired Native American staff and formed an advisory council to guide the development of new materials and revise the field trip experience for *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories*. Learning Center staff are also collaborating with educators from the National Museum of the American Indian to develop curriculum materials.

The collaborative process we undertook has also had an impact on both research and environmental conservation programs at the Field Museum. For example, a recent archaeological project in the Midewin Tall Grass Prairie included Native American consultation from regional Tribes with ancestral claims to this landscape. Another effort involves the inclusion of Native American Tribal Historical Preservation Officers (THPOs) in the planning of programs and land management for a proposed Calumet Heritage Area landscape. This region, which spans the southeast side of Chicago and northwest Indiana, has been a focus of community-engaged environmental conservation efforts for the Keller Science Action Center (KSAC). The KSAC anthropologists had been working with a network of organizations in the region to incorporate community concerns for environmental justice and neighborhood quality of life into regional conservation efforts (cf. Calumet National Heritage Area Initiative Feasibility Study), but had not been able to include Native American perspectives in this work.

The Tribes that once lived in Illinois had all been forcibly displaced from the State, yet continued to claim the lands. For example, the two maps made by Margaret Pearce (discussed in Part II) documented the resistance of the Miami (Myaamiaki) and Ho-Chunk (Hocąk) Nations to forced removal and their reclaiming of land in the region. The exhibition also had privileged regional Tribes' stories, and the exhibition design featured regional Native-sourced materials such as copper and birch bark. Several displays featured local Tribal stewardship of the land, such as the Michigan-based Gun Lake Band of Pottawatomi programs to nourish habitats for sturgeon and wild rice, and the Menominee Tribe's sustainable forestry enterprise. All of these aspects of the exhibition inspired the KSAC staff to start building relationships with the THPOs from Tribes who had ancestral ties to the Calumet region. In 2022, the staff convened a gathering of these THPOs, and there is an ongoing process to connect them with environmental and community organizations in Illinois and Indiana.

Finally, the process of making the exhibition and the subsequent efforts by the Museum to adopt Indigenous stewardship methodologies and Indigenizing practices in representation has highlighted the complexities of these efforts and the need to sustain them over the foreseeable future. The exhibition marked a new beginning, but the institutionalization of the changes will take time and effort and sincere commitment on the part of leadership and staff. One of the challenges facing museums is the shallow pipeline of Native American museum professionals. Universities and Tribal Colleges could expand Museum Studies programs for Native American students, and museums should collaborate on these efforts, providing more internships and fellowships. Other challenges were discussed at a conference hosted by the Field Museum team in conjunction with partners from Northwestern University's Center for Native American and Indigenous Research and the Block Museum of Art. Here, contemporary Native artists, senior museum directors, curators, and emerging professionals spoke honestly and forcefully about persisting colonial perspectives and protocols that hamper true collaboration and opportunities for leadership. Participants from Great Lakes regional Tribal museums also spoke of the challenges they face with scarce resources and personnel. The conference participants nevertheless also expressed great hopes for the future of

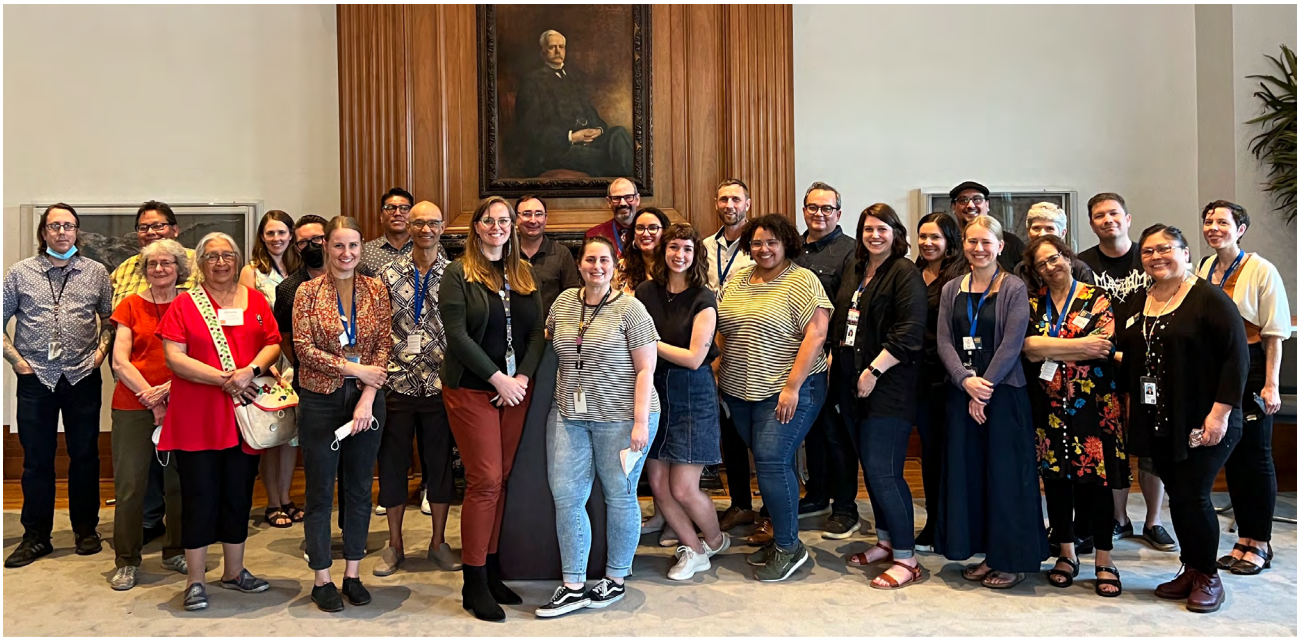

FIGURE 225 | The project team gathered during the opening week of the exhibition | © The Field Museum

Native American representation and inclusion in museum practices.

The Field Museum team benefited immensely from the inclusion of Native American staff and the collaboration of the Advisory Committee. Without them, the non-Native staff who worked on the exhibition could not have accomplished the work at the scale and in the time frame it required. Working together and in partnership with other museums, we can build on the current efforts to innovate, expand, and Indigenize museums.

Reference

Calumet National Heritage Area Initiative Feasibility Study. April 2018: Submission to the National Park Service. Published by the Field Museum and the Calumet Heritage Partnership.

APPENDICES

Biographies of Essay Contributors

Alaka Wali, Ph.D., is curator emerita of North American Anthropology for the Field Museum. She was the lead curator for the *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories* exhibition.

Tom Skwerski serves as the Exhibitions Operations Director at the Field Museum. He has managed a diverse range of exhibitions, including *Native Truths*, *The Cyrus Tang Hall of China*, *Terracotta Warriors*, *Mammoths and Mastodons*, and *Antarctic Dinosaurs*.

Michelle Brownlee (Turtle Mountain Ojibwe), **Katie Hillson** (Osage), **and Emily Starck** made up the Collections Management team dedicated to the collaborative care of items deinstalled from the former Hall of Native North America, as well as the newly installed items on display in *Native Truths*.

June Carpenter, J.D. (Osage/Shawnee), currently works as the Field Museum's NAGPRA Director to lead and coordinate repatriation activities, including consultation, assessment, and physical returns, and contribute to the development of the Museum's repatriation policy and procedures.

Antonio Chavarria (Pueblo of Santa Clara) is the Curator of Ethnology at the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture.

Cynthia Chavez Lamar, Ph.D. (San Felipe Pueblo, Hopi, Tewa, and Navajo) is the director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian. She is the first Native woman to head a Smithsonian museum.

Robert Collins, Ph.D. (African-Choctaw descent) is an Associate Professor of American Indian Studies at San Francisco State University.

Susan Golland has worked for the past 15 years in museum education, programming, and exhibitions at Chicagoland institutions. She was the lead developer on the new interpretation of the Pawnee Earth Lodge.

Jaap Hoogstraten is the Head of Exhibitions at the Field Museum.

Drew Jepson is a Repatriation Specialist at the Field Museum with a background in historical archaeology.

Doug Kiel, Ph.D. (Oneida Nation), is an Assistant Professor in the Department of History and the Alice Kaplan Institute for the Humanities at Northwestern University.

Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa (Hopi) is the Hopi Tribal Cultural Preservation Officer.

Rosalyn LaPier, Ph.D. (Blackfeet/Métis), is an award-winning Indigenous writer, environmental historian, and traditionally trained ethnobotanist.

Tori Lee is a Chicago-based writer, digital content producer, and exhibition curator who cares about telling good stories. She was one of the team of exhibition developers for *Native Truths*.

Patty Loew, Ph.D. (Bad River Band of Lake Superior Ojibwe), is the former Director of Native American and Indigenous Research at Northwestern University, and Professor in the Medill School of Journalism.

Matt Matcuk, Ph.D. has a background in photography, advertising, literature, and rhetoric, and is Exhibitions Development Director at the Field Museum.

Teresa Montoya, Ph.D. (Diné), is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Chicago whose research engages concerns of resource extraction, tribal sovereignty, and environmental justice across the Indigenous Southwest.

Blaire Morseau, Ph.D. (Pokagon Band of Potawatomi), is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Massachusetts-Boston.

Erin E. Murphy, Stephanie Black, Nicole Passerotti (Seneca Nation, Bear Clan), **J. Kae Good Bear, Ellen Jordan, Mackenzie Fairchild, Nicole Schmidt, and Katie Linder** formed the Conservation team dedicated to the collaborative care and treatment of items for this renovation. Their collaborative work encompassed deinstallation of the former Hall of Native North America, as well as the conservation of newly installed items on display in *Native Truths*.

Matt Reed (Pawnee) is Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for the Pawnee Nation.

Helen Robbins, Ph.D., was the Repatriation Director at the Field Museum for over 16 years and coordinated domestic and international repatriation activities.

Meranda Roberts, Ph.D. (Paiute/Chicana), is currently Visiting Professor in Art History at Pomona College, California. She was a postdoctoral research fellow at the Field Museum and co-curated the *Native Truths* exhibition.

Joe Stahlman, Ph.D., an Indigenous Researcher of Tuscarora descent, explores a variety of Indigenous practices that seeks to bring Turtle Island together.

Eli Suzukovich III, Ph.D. (Little Shell Band Chippewa, Cree), is a faculty member in the Program for Environmental Policy and Culture at Northwestern University and an anthropologist who focuses on cultural resource management, ethnobiology, oral history, and ethnohistory. He was a co-curator for the *Native Truths* exhibition.

Brian D. Vallo (Pueblo of Acoma) is the former Governor of Pueblo of Acoma.

Elizabeth A. Vazquez graduated from Northwestern University and is currently a junior museum professional from Chicago, Illinois.

W. Richard West, Jr., Ph.D. (Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma), is Founding Director and Director Emeritus of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian and President and CEO Emeritus, Ambassador, Native Communities of the Autry Museum of the American West.

Debra Yepa-Pappan (Jemez Pueblo/Korean) was the Native American Community Engagement Coordinator for *Native Truths*. She is an artist and currently a founding co-director of the Center for Native Futures.

Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories Advisory Committee

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Curator of Ethnology at the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture

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Associate Professor of American Indian Studies at San Francisco State University

Bibiane Courtois (Innu Nation (Canada))
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Stewart Bruce Koyiyumptewa (Hopi)
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Scott Shoemaker (Myaamia Tribe of Oklahoma)
Program Officer, Native Arts and Cultures at the Margaret A. Cargill Philanthropies

Brian D. Vallo (Pueblo of Acoma)
Former Governor of Pueblo of Acoma

Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories Collaborators

Welcome Back

You Are on Native Land
Joey Montoya (Lipan Apache)
Urban Native Era

Our Return
X (Koasati/CHamoru)
Monica Rickert-Bolter (Prairie Band of Potawatomi)
Virginia Langley Benavente (Koasati)

Our Ancestors Connect Us to the Past, Present, and Future

Stomp Dance
RaeLynn Butler (Muscogee (Creek) Nation)
Tol Foster (Muscogee (Creek) Nation)
Missy Mahan (Euchee Tribe of Indians, Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Tohono O'odham Nation)
David Proctor (Muscogee (Creek) Nation)
Joyce Proctor (Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma)
The Proctor Family

Ioway Pottery
Sky Campbell
Lance Foster (Ioway Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska)
Jimm GoodTracks (Ioway, Otoe-Missouria Tribe)
Malissa Ironhorse-Kent
Reuben Ironhorse-Kent (Ioway Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska)

Haudenosaunee Raised Beadwork
Karen Ann Hoffman (Oneida Nation of Wisconsin)

***Never Alone (Kisima Inŋitchuŋa)* Video Game**
E-line Media and all Alaska Native contributors to *Never Alone*
Amy Fredeen (Iñupiaq)
Paul Ongtooguk (Iñupiaq)

Native People Are Everywhere

News Feed: *Indian Country Today*
Patty Loew (Bad River Band of Lake Superior Ojibwe)
Patty Talahongva (Hopi Tribe)
Mark Trahant (Shoshone-Bannock Tribe)

Videos: Native People Are Everywhere
Grant Bulltail (Apsáalooke)
Chris Cathey, Tiny Wolf LLC
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Kevin Diver (Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa)
Felicia Garcia (Samala Chumash)
Duro Howard Jr. (Tohono O'odham Nation), Tiny Wolf LLC
Tim McCleary
Jody Roy (Atikameksheng Anishnawbek First Nation)
Angelina Serna (Oneida Nation of Wisconsin, Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians)
Josee Starr (Omaha, Wiikwemkoong First Nation, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Nation)
Scott Shoemaker (Myaamia Tribe of Oklahoma)

The Land Shapes Who We Are

Shash Jaa'/Bears Ears
Angelo Baca (Diné/Navajo Nation, Hopi Tribe)
Lorissa Jackson (Diné/Navajo Nation)
Teresa Montoya (Diné/Navajo Nation)
Gilmore Scott (Diné/Navajo Nation)
Cynthia Wilson (Diné/Navajo Nation)

Story Maps
Margaret Pearce (Citizen Band Potawatomi Nation)
Myaamionki
Diane Hunter (Myaamia Tribe of Oklahoma)
Scott Shoemaker (Myaamia Tribe of Oklahoma)
Hoocąk-waaziija-hači
Carolyn Fiscus (Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska)
Henning Garvin (Ho-Chunk Nation of Wisconsin)
Josie Lee (Ho-Chunk Nation of Wisconsin)
Bill Quackenbush (Ho-Chunk Nation of Wisconsin)
Sunshine Thomas Bear (Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska)
Adrienne L. Thunder (Ho-Chunk Nation of Wisconsin)
Shane E. Yellow Thunder (Ho-Chunk Nation of Wisconsin)

Video: Removal, Relocation, Resistance
Chris Cathey, Tiny Wolf LLC
Karen Ann Hoffman (Oneida Nation of Wisconsin)
Duro Howard (Tohono O'odham Nation), Tiny Wolf LLC
Doug Kiel (Oneida Nation of Wisconsin)

Gun Lake Pottawatomi Conservation Efforts
Franklin Barker (Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians)
Melissa Brown (Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians)
Junsun Bush (Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians)
Kelly Church (Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians)
Richard Church (Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians)
Phyllis Davis (Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians)
Lakota Pochedley (Citizen Band Potawatomi)

Chitimacha Baskets
John Paul Darden (Chitimacha)
Melissa Darden (Chitimacha)
Kimberly Walden (Chitimacha)

Kassinu Mamu School
Danyka Charlish (Innu, Pekuakamiulnuatsh First Nation)
Bibiane Courtois (Innu, Pekuakamiulnuatsh First Nation)
Julie Dufour (Innu, Pekuakamiulnuatsh First Nation)
Melissa Launiere (Innu, Pekuakamiulnuatsh First Nation)
Sherylane-Wapikon Niquay (Innu, Pekuakamiulnuatsh First Nation)
Samuel Paul (Innu, Pekuakamiulnuatsh First Nation)
Léa Paul-Cleary (Innu, Pekuakamiulnuatsh First Nation)
Noémie Petiquay-Dominique (Innu, Pekuakamiulnuatsh First Nation)
Josée Robertson (Innu, Pekuakamiulnuatsh First Nation)
Annie-Kim Robertson-Bilodeau (Innu, Pekuakamiulnuatsh First Nation)
Mendy Valin (Innu, Pekuakamiulnuatsh First Nation)

We Have the Right to Govern Ourselves

Menominee Sovereignty
Ada Deer (Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin)
Nels Huse (Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin)

Navajo Sovereignty
Angelo Baca (Diné/Navajo Nation, Hopi Tribe)
Nanibaa Beck (Diné/Navajo Nation)
Lorissa Jackson (Diné/Navajo Nation)
Teresa Montoya (Diné/Navajo Nation)
Brent Toadlena (Diné/Navajo Nation)

Standing Rock Fossils
Ben Eagle (Standing Rock Sioux)
Az Klymiuk (Métis)
Joseph Smith (Standing Rock Sioux)
Standing Rock Tribal Council

Blackfoot Women's Stand-Up Headdress Society
Annette Bruised Head (Blackfoot)
Clark Bruised Head (Blackfoot)
Betty Cooper (Blackfoot)
Rosalyn LaPier (Blackfoot, Métis)
Theda New Breast (Blackfoot)
Deborah Pace (Blackfoot)
Charlene Plume (Blackfoot)
Roger Prairie Chicken (Blackfoot)

Wampum
Berta Giles-Welch (Aquinah Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head)
Allen Hazard (Narragansett Indian Tribe)
Doug Kiel (Oneida Nation of Wisconsin)
Patrick Redeye (Seneca)
Joe Stahlman (Tuscarora, Haudenosaunee Confederacy)
Lydia Wallace-Chavez (Unkechaug)

Museum Collecting and Exhibition Practices Have Deeply Harmed Native Communities

Innu Sacred Items
Bibiane Courtois (Innu, Pekuakamiulnuatsh First Nation)

Repatriation
Cecil Pavlat (Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa-Nishnaabe)
Marie Richards (Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa-Nishnaabe)

Native Artists in Collections
Jaskwaan Bedard (Haida)
Jaalen Edenshaw (Haida)
Chris Pappan (Kaw Nation, Osage, Cheyenne River Lakota)

Caring for Native Collections
Mavis Neconish (Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin)

Inaugural Exhibits in the Rotating Galleries

Frank Waln's Journey Home

Ione Quigley (Sicangu Lakota)
Frank Waln (Sicangu Lakota)

Revitalization of California Basket Making

Weshoyot Alvitre (Tongva)
Rose Ann Hamilton (Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians)
Robert Levi (Torres Martinez Desert Cahuilla Indians)
Will Madrigal (Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians)
Lorene Sisquoc (Ft. Sill Apache, Mountain Cahuilla descent)

Native Chicago

Lisa Bernal (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate Tribe)
Madalene Big Bear (Pokagon Band of Potawatomi)
Robert Collins (African-Choctaw descent)
John Dall (Ho-Chunk Nation of Wisconsin, Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska)
Patrick Del Percio (Cherokee descent)
Gary Greene (Nez Perce)
Tevelee Gudino (Spirit Lake Sioux, Ft. Sill Apache)
Char Keahna (Meskwaki Nation)
Eva Keahna (Ojibwe, Oneida Nation of Wisconsin)
Lorraine Keahna (Meskwaki Nation)
Sean Keahna (Meskwaki Nation, Oneida Nation of Wisconsin)
Barbara O'Rourke (Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska, Ft. Peck Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes)
Warren Perlstein
Rita Pyrillis (Mnicoujou Lakota)
Doreen Reed (Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin)
Norma Robertson (Sisseton Wahpeton Dakota Oyate Tribe)
Scott Shoemaker (Myaamia Tribe of Oklahoma)
Dave Spencer (Diné/Navajo Nation, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians)
Cyndee Starr (Omaha, Wiikwemkoong First Nation)
George Strack (Myaamia Tribe of Oklahoma)
June Thiele (Dena'ina Athabascan, Yup'ik)
Blaire Topash Morseau (Pokagon Band of Potawatomi)
Colin Wesaw (Pokagon Band of Potawatomi)
Dorothy Wesaw (Pokagon Band of Potawatomi)
Kevin Whiteneir, Jr.
Yvonne Whiteneir

Chaco Canyon

Loren Aragon (Pueblo of Acoma)
Tony Chavarria (Pueblo of Santa Clara)
Aric Chopito (Pueblo of Zuni)
Louie Garcia (Piro-Manso-Tiwa Pueblo)
Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa (Hopi Tribe)
Les Namingha (Hopi Tribe, Pueblo of Zuni)
Al Qoyawayma (Hopi Tribe)
Curtis Quam (Pueblo of Zuni)
Diego Romero (Cochiti Pueblo)
Octavius Seowtewa (Pueblo of Zuni)
Brian Vallo (Pueblo of Acoma)
Debra Yepa-Pappan (Pueblo of Jemez)

Food Sovereignty for the Meskwaki Nation

Johnathan Buffalo (Meskwaki Nation)
Shelley Buffalo (Meskwaki Nation)
Suzanne Buffalo (Meskwaki Nation)
Elizabeth Hoover
Rae Jean Lasley (Meskwaki Nation)
Luke Kapayou (Meskwaki Nation)
Lauryn Keahna (Meskwaki Nation)
Lerris Keahna (Meskwaki Nation)
@oogie_push/Oogie Pushetonequa (Meskwaki Nation)
Natasha Smoke Santiago (Diné/Navajo Nation, Akwesasne Mohawk)
Cale Stelken
Donnetta Wanatee (Meskwaki Nation)
Mary Young Bear (Meskwaki Nation)
Nina Young Bear (Meskwaki Nation)

Pawnee Earth Lodge

Herb Adson (Pawnee Nation)
Walter Echo-Hawk (Pawnee Nation)
Pauline Echo-Hawk (Yakama, Wayam, Wanapum, Palouse)
Marti Only A Chief (Pawnee Nation)
Adrian Spottedhorsechief (Pawnee Nation)
Matt Reed (Pawnee Nation)
Zachary Rice (Pawnee Nation)

We Speak for Ourselves

Julie Buffalohead (Ponca Tribe of Oklahoma)
Max Early (Pueblo of Laguna)
Jimma Fuson (Cherokee Nation)
Dallas Goldtooth (Mdewakanton Dakota & Diné/Navajo Nation)
Reagan Hargis (Cherokee Nation)
Sterlin Harjo (Seminole Nation of Oklahoma)
Faith Phillips (Cherokee Nation)
Kai Minosh Pyle (Métis, Sault Ste. Marie Chippewa-Nishnaabe)
Monica Rickert-Bolter (Prairie Band of Potawatomi)
Tyla Sawney (Cherokee Nation)
Preston Singletary (Tlingit)
Michelle Sylliboy (Mi'kmaq)
Blaire Topash Morseau (Pokagon Band of Potawatomi)
Storme Webber (Seldovia Village Tribe, Black, Choctaw descent)
Jason Wesaw (Pokagon Band of Potawatomi)
Gwen Westerman (Sisseton Wahpeton Dakota Oyate Tribe, Cherokee)
Ofelia Zepeda (Tohono O'odham Nation)

Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories Staff

The Negaunee Integrative Research Center

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Meranda Roberts (Northern Paiute and Chicana), Postdoctoral Fellow and Co-curator
Eli Suzukovich (Little Shell Band Chippewa, Cree), Research Scientist and Co-curator

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Mario Avila, Media Services
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Daniel Breems, Production
Reda Brooks, Administration
Gloria Chantell, Graphic Design
Tiffany Charles, Registration
George Chavez, Production
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Lori Walsh, Graphic Design
Greg Walter, Exhibition Design
Simon Watson, Media Production
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Evan Williams, Production
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The Gantz Family Collections Center

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Michelle Brownlee (Turtle Mountain Ojibwe), Collections
Kate Cescon, Collections
Elana C. Dux, Registration
Mackenzie Fairchild, Conservation
Cass Gero, Conservation
Denise González, Collections
J. Kae Good Bear (Navajo/Diné (Kinyaa'áanii), Mandan, Hidatsa), Conservation
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Katie Hillson (Osage Nation), Collections
Stephanie Hornbeck, Conservation
Ellen Jordan, Conservation
Dan Kaping, Conservation
Jamie Kelly, Collections
Jamie Lewis, Collections
Kaitlin Linder, Conservation
Erin Murphy, Conservation
Nicole Passerotti (Seneca Nation, Bear Clan), Conservation
Loran Recchia, Conservation
Helen Robbins, Repatriation
Nicole Schmidt, Conservation
Emily Starck, Collections
Samantha Van Kollenburg, Conservation

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'A major contribution to the fields of anthropology, Indigenous archaeology, museology, and community-based participatory research. It forces the reader to tackle the colonial and imperial history of museums as connected to tribal communities. It asks museums to grapple with their fraught history and give up their power so they may center, elevate, and celebrate Indigenous culture, histories, and knowledge.'
Assistant Professor Emily C. Van Alst, Washington State University

'A highly influential text for the Indigenous community, museum industry, and the broader public. It will help people understand the land they are on, the diverse range of people and cultures connected to that land, and the impact and effects of the history therein.'
Dr Mariko Smith (Manager, First Nations Collections & Engagement), Australian Museum

In 2018, the Field Museum embarked on a four-year renovation of its Native North American Hall. Partnership with the Native American community was a central focus of this project, culminating in the new permanent exhibition, *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories*. This book examines the collaborative journey of the exhibition, presenting perspectives on its major themes and the processes by which it was created. The contributors, including members of the exhibition's Native American Advisory Committee, offer a transformative perspective on museum curation, highlighting the shift towards practice which involves and honors Indigenous communities. The text is enriched by personal accounts from Indigenous artists and community members, and showcases visual highlights from the exhibition installations.

ALAKA WALI is Curator Emerita of North American Anthropology within the Science and Education Division at the Field Museum. She curated the North American collection and led the team that renovated the Native North American Hall.

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