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[The Arrival of Tribal Objects in the West] From North America.

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Mask. Eskimo. Kuskokwim River, Alaska. Painted wood, feathers, and leather, 45¼" (115 cm) high. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, purchase, Nelson A. Rockefeller gift

FROM NORTH AMERICA

Christian F. Feest

The history of the collecting and appreciation of objects of North American Indian origin spans the entire period of Indian-White relations from first contact to the present day. It is inextricably connected with other aspects of interethnic relations, with incredulous speechlessness about a new world, and with old prejudices about faraway and foreign folks. Short of going to the New World itself or of gawking at live but often short-lived specimens of the native population brought to Europe, looking at some of the products of the indigenous peoples was still the least dangerous yet most immediate way of keeping in touch with the colonial enterprise (in case you belonged to a colonial power) or with the frontiers of an expanding world (in case you lived elsewhere).

North America, it should be remembered, was a second thought, considered only after Spain and Portugal had helped themselves to the more nutritious lower quarters of the hemisphere: It was fish and furs rather than gold and silver. Yet, the southern experience Europe had first had with the New World helped to shape its image and the expectations connected with it as a whole. The first and most permanent symbol of native Americans had its origin in Brazil before it spread to the north, and it was an artifact: the feather headdress. It appears on Hans Burgkmair's engravings of *The Triumph of Maximilian* (c. 1519, p. 86), where its wearers are still referred to as the "people of Calicut" and it makes those "Indians" more or less easily recognizable iconographically in sixteenth-century European art. Although oil portraits of Indians painted from life by professional artists do not appear until the mid-seventeenth century, Indian images representing a blend of a few facts with many preconceived ideas become important in

European art much earlier as symbols both for plenty and the embodiment of evil.

The first shipment of native products sent by Cortes from Mexico (it was shortly followed by many more, yet only a few dozen of the items then sent have survived until today) included huge quantities of worked precious metals, objects encrusted with turquoise mosaic, native pictographic manuscripts, and above all featherwork of every description. When these objects were being displayed in 1520 in Brussels, they were seen and described by Albrecht Durer, whose words have been consistently but erroneously interpreted as expressing aesthetic judgments when in fact he was being impressed by the sheer value of these things, their sometimes exotic raw materials, and their obvious craftsmanship.

When compared with these esoteric and eye-dazzling items from Mexico, the reputedly oldest surviving objects brought from Indian North America by Jacques Cartier in the 1530s were quite mundane and simple: two pairs of moccasins decorated with dyed porcupine quills. Because of their patently utilitarian nature, North American Indian artifacts never stood much of a chance to be confused with works of art in the European sense, even if their "subtle ingenuity" found just admiration.

Despite the fact that some ideas about Indians developed and spread across national boundaries, different national attitudes toward the people of the New World began to emerge. The enormous appetite for American things documented by the volume of early sixteenth-century publications on the New World in Germany foreshadowed the seemingly compensatory preoccupation with this subject matter by nations excluded for one reason or another from partaking in



Tupinamba Indians, Brazil. *People of Calicut* engraving by Hans Burgkmair, from *The Triumph of Maximilian I*, c. 1519

the colonial spoils. The emerging (at least stereotypic) French attitude of living and feasting with the Indians is equally well illustrated by the Brazilian Indian (Tupinamba) village erected in 1550 in Rouen on the occasion of the entry of King Henri II into that important port-of-entry for brazilwood. Within the limits set by actual power relationships, French royalty did not find it beneath their dignity to associate with Indians. In a similar vein, young Louis XIII when still dauphin befriended the Indian “Canada” brought in 1604 from the country sharing his name.

A less cordial reception was accorded the northern native group most frequently seen in Europe: Eskimos. Kayaks with their occupants, often whole families, were uncereemoniously picked up in open waters by ships of Christian seafaring nations and brought home to be first interviewed about their native land and then displayed as self-confessed man-eaters to a grateful public. Of an Eskimo woman and child brought on a tour to Bavaria in 1566 (after the husband/father had been killed), two handbills announcing their appearance survive; a kayak once in the collection of the Elector of Bavaria, now in the ethnology museum of Munich, can be traced to another such interception in 1577. Live displays of Eskimos remained a common sight in Germany if we may judge from comments by a seventeenth-century German novelist about recurrent showings of “Greenlanders and Samoyeds” and from evidence documenting the practice well into the nineteenth century.

Given the fact that Florida remained the only permanent European colony in North America throughout the sixteenth century, it is not surprising to find the majority of North American objects in sixteenth-century princely or private collections attributed to Florida. Since the Holy Inquisition openly discouraged the collecting of presumably demon-infested native artifacts in the latter part of the sixteenth-century, Spain remains a fairly poor source for such items. Though similarly Catholic, Italy had much less of a problem in this respect; collectors like Giganti or Aldrovandi in Bologna proudly listed Floridian featherwork in their catalogs. The Elector of Bavaria owned a wooden idol from Florida, as did the Spanish collector Lastanosa, whose description of it



Mock battle between two Brazilian tribes held at the Tupinamba village erected for the entry of Henri II into Rouen, 1550

Warhafftige Contrafey einer wilden Frauen mit irē Töchterlein / gefunden in der Landtschafft Noua terra genant / vnd zehn Antorff gebracht / vnd von meniglich also offentlich gesehen worden / vnd noch zusehen ist.

In diesem M.D. LXVI. Jar / ist zu Antorff an-
 kommen zu Schiff auß Teulande ein wilde Frau mit einem
 person / sampt irem Töchterlein / vnd ist gesumirt vnd
 bettet de gewest wie diese figure anzeigt / vnd sind gefunden
 worden in Terra noua / welches ein neue Landtschafft ist / in
 etlichen vergangnen Jarren / von den Frantzösischen vnd Por-
 tugalesen erst erfunden / vnd ist diese Frau mit irem Mann vñ
 Zündlein von den Frantzösischen (die auß dieser Landtschafft
 ire Schiffart gehabe / vnd zu land kommen sind / vnd fremde
 abentheuer gesucht) angetroffen / vnd ist der Mann mit ein-
 pfel durch seinen leib geschossen worden / dannoch wolt er sich
 nicht gefangen geben / sonder stellet sich manlich zur gegenweh /
 vnd ward in diesem scharmügel / von einem andern Frantzösi-
 schen mit einem schlaßschwert in der eyten hant verwundet /
 da nam er sein eygen blut auß der eyten in sein hand / vnd le-
 cket das auß seiner hand / vnd stellet sich noch grimmiger zur
 gegenweh / dann zuvor. Endlich ward er in sein tñble dert

massen gehamen vnd verwundet / das er zu der Erden
 fiel / vnd starb auch an dieser wunden. Dieser Mann war
 zwölf schuch lang / vñ hatt in zwoßfzigen zwoßfz pers-
 sonen umbrachte mit seiner eygen hand / Frantzosen
 vnd Portugalesen / die selbigen zu essen / dann sie kein
 lieber flaisch essen dann Menschen flaisch. Vnd als
 sie die Frauen vberkommen hietten / stellet sie sich als
 ob sie gar rasende / vnd vnfinnig were gewest / vñ ihr
 kind / dñ sie verlassen solt / dieneil die Schifftnecht sie
 hinweg vnd zu schiff fñren wolten / dann sie das kind
 solich hat / das sie lieber ir leben wñle verlieten / dann
 das kind verlassen. Als sie sich nun so vnfinnig stellet /
 ließen sie ir ein wenig nach / da gieng sie an den ort / da
 sie ir Zündlein verstockt hatt / da wart sie besser zu friden
 dann vorher / da namen sie die Frauen mit irem kind /
 vnd fñren sie hinweg / vnd niemande von den Frant-
 zosen kñndt ein einigs wort von ir verstocken / oder auch
 mit ir durch wort reden. Man hat aber sie in 8. Mo-
 naten so vil gelebet / das sie kñndt hat / das sie von
 vilen Menschen geessen. Ir kñndt ist von dñchonta
 seilen gemacht / auß die weß / wie diese figure anzeigt.
 Die maler haben die sie in Antorff gezeichnet hat / sind gang-
 lieue / wie dñmelt laue / vñ die machen die
 Mann irn Weibern / darley sie sie erkennen /
 dann sonst laufen sie vñder einander wie das
 Vihe / vñ man mag die zeichen mit keinerley
 materi wider abethñ. Diese zeichen machen sie
 mit laßte von einerley kraut / das da im Lande
 wachst. Ir leib ist gelb / braun / also die halben
 Moiren / die Frau ist 20. Jar alt gewesen / wie



sie gefangen ist worden im 68. Jar / im Augusto dñs Zünd. Jar. Laßte ena Gott die Almñdigen danken für seine wñthar / dñt ena in seinem
 Wort erlñndet hat / das wir nicht so gar wilde Lñt vñ Menschen freßer seind / wie in dieser Landtschafft seind / da dñf Weib gefangen vñ hert
 auß gebracht worden / dann sie gar nichts von dem rechten Gott wissen / sondern schñt irger daß das Viheleben / Gott wñle sie auch zu sein / in et-
 tendnuß bekennen / Amen.

Gedruckt zu Jusspurg durch Menßkeum Francken.

Eskimo woman and child who were displayed to the public during a tour through Bavaria in 1566. This handbill is the earliest surviving print illustrating Eskimos.

(“so ugly that it cannot be described”) makes it clear that it was not retained for aesthetic reasons. Rarity and curiosity remained the measures of ethnographic collection of the day.

The establishment of English, French, Dutch, and Swedish colonies along the Atlantic coast brought about a drastic increase in European-Indian contacts both in the New World and the Old, as well as a significant growth in the collecting of North American Indian ethnographic specimens. It did not materially alter (and in the long run even reinforced) European preconceptions about America’s aboriginal inhabitants, nor did it change the basic reasons for collecting specimens of native manufacture. If they collected at all, colonial leaders would pay particular attention to potentially useful products or objects received in the course of official proceedings (such as bags made of “silk grass,” shell money, boats, native arms, wampum belts); missionaries would concentrate on native religious paraphernalia and sometimes objects reflecting the Christian devotion of their new parishioners; and there were others who simply collected the wonderful and strange. Artistic quality was still not a major reason for acquiring objects;

the Virginian idol, for instance, brought back by the Reverend Alexander Whitaker (who had baptized Pocahontas) in 1615, was “ill favouredly carved on a toadstool.”

Nor did the ambivalent view of the Indian as noble or ignoble savage change. Pocahontas, Englished in dress and manners, was treated as some kind of tawny nobility and received by the Queen (p. 88); two other native Virginians, yet uncivilized, were almost concurrently being displayed as live zoological specimens at the zoo in St. James’s Park in London (p. 88). While there is evidence of Indian influence on English fashion and tastes, the French nobility delighted in masquerading as “American kings” throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In England, “playing Indians” may have been regarded as rather fit for children, as is indicated by a Virginian fur trader who in 1689 sent a native costume to a friend in England “for your boy to play with.”

In England, the Crown apparently did not take a serious interest in collecting Indian objects. The early collections were all formed by private persons, such as Sir Walter Cope or John Tradescant (father and son). The Tradescant collection



Pocahontas, daughter of Powhatan, dressed for her introduction to the Queen of England as Mrs. Rebecca Rolfe



Eiakintomino, like Pocahontas an Indian from Coastal Virginia, was featured together with domestic and foreign animals at the zoo in St. James's Park while Pocahontas was introduced to the court as an Indian princess. Watercolor by Michael van Meer. University Library, Edinburgh

included "Powhatan's mantle" (surviving today in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and probably neither a mantle nor Powhatan's), which illustrates the growing tendency to collect memorabilia also in savage lands. In France and Scandinavia and later in the German principalities, however, the ruling houses played a prominent role as collectors of Indian artifacts. There were private collections in France, such as that of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (fragments of which survive in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris), but they were apparently dwarfed by those of the Crown. The private natural-history and ethnography collection of Ole Worm in Copenhagen was acquired by the Danish king in 1654, as was at a later date the collection of the Duke of Gottorp (including the early seventeenth-century Dutch collection of the physician Paludanus).

Some of these early and quite miscellaneous collections may not have been too much different from those existing among North American Indians of the same date. There is archaeological evidence at the site of the village of Patowomeke (south of Washington, DC) for the collecting of fossils (making it a logical precursor of the Smithsonian Institution), and all over coastal Virginia and Maryland the treasure houses of the native nobility contained things of value and of exotic and curious interest (such as the bed and washbasin sent to Powhatan by the King of England). And just as European colonial powers began to produce certain goods exclusively to meet native demands in the Indian trade, so did native artisans start to produce items for the incipient tourist trade. While this was apparently not readily recognized by the white customers, a case can be made that European aesthetics influenced the decoration and finish of elaborately carved wooden clubs evidently made for presentation, or of other articles specifically made for exchange. Aesthetics thus remained of secondary importance in the collecting of North American Indian specimens, but began to exert a likewise secondary influence on them.

Especially after the beginning of the eighteenth century, more and more Indian visitors came to Europe not as involuntary curiosities (although they still aroused much curiosity and in all likelihood more public interest than most collections, many of which were not public anyway), but as political emissaries of allied nations. This was particularly true of England, where the visit of the "Four Kings of Canada" (three Mohawks and a Mahican) in 1710 was the first of a series of similar events involving Cherokees, Creeks, and others. The Mohawks apparently made such an impression on the English that they became the name patrons of a "class of aristocratic ruffians who infested the streets of London" (not unlike the "Apache" would two centuries later in Paris). Whether this makes the English "Mohocks" the first precursors of the Italian "indiani metropolitani" (of 1977 vintage) or their kindred German "Stadtindianer" is open to question; it should be noted that the Mohawks in general (though not those visiting London) wore the roached hairstyle that became the model for contemporary "punk" fashion all over Europe.

Despite their dubious reputation, the Mohawks were well received in England, had a meeting with Queen Anne, and had their portraits painted by several artists. More and more professional artists (including Sir Joshua Reynolds) were thus exposed in their studios to live American Indians. Visitors like the "Four Kings" always found people in Europe who were



Burden strap with false moose-hair embroidery. One of the objects collected from the "Four Kings of Canada" who visited London in 1710. Mohawk. New York State. Hemp, quill, and moose hair, 1½" (4 cm) high. The Trustees of the British Museum, London

interested in items of native manufacture they had brought along. For those who were unable to go to America themselves, these were good opportunities to collect. Three items associated with the "Four Kings" in Sir Hans Sloane's collection ended up in the British Museum (just as the Trades-cant collection had gone into Oxford's Ashmolean). In Sloane's collection, ethnography numbered only around four hundred items and was not even cataloged separately but under "Miscellanies." Slightly more than half of these were of North American origin, with an Eskimo attribution for a third of those provided with localities. The Sloane collection is typical for the majority of European collections (including those of scientific institutions such as the Royal Society's, started slightly before Sloane's) in (1) not being primarily a field collection, but being fed by field collectors, and (2) not being exclusively an American Indian collection. These agglomerations were more or less general collections in which specific public sentimental interests such as in Indians are not necessarily reflected.

Such sentimental interests are much more pronounced in field collections of Indian artifacts assembled by British army officers stationed along the frontier. Sir John Caldwell (his collection has recently been dispersed), who had his portrait painted showing himself dressed up in his Indian things, had been stationed in the Great Lakes area, just as was Arent Schuyler de Peyster (his collection, belonging to the King's Regiment, is still to be seen in Liverpool), who wrote a very funny and personal poem about his Indian friends.

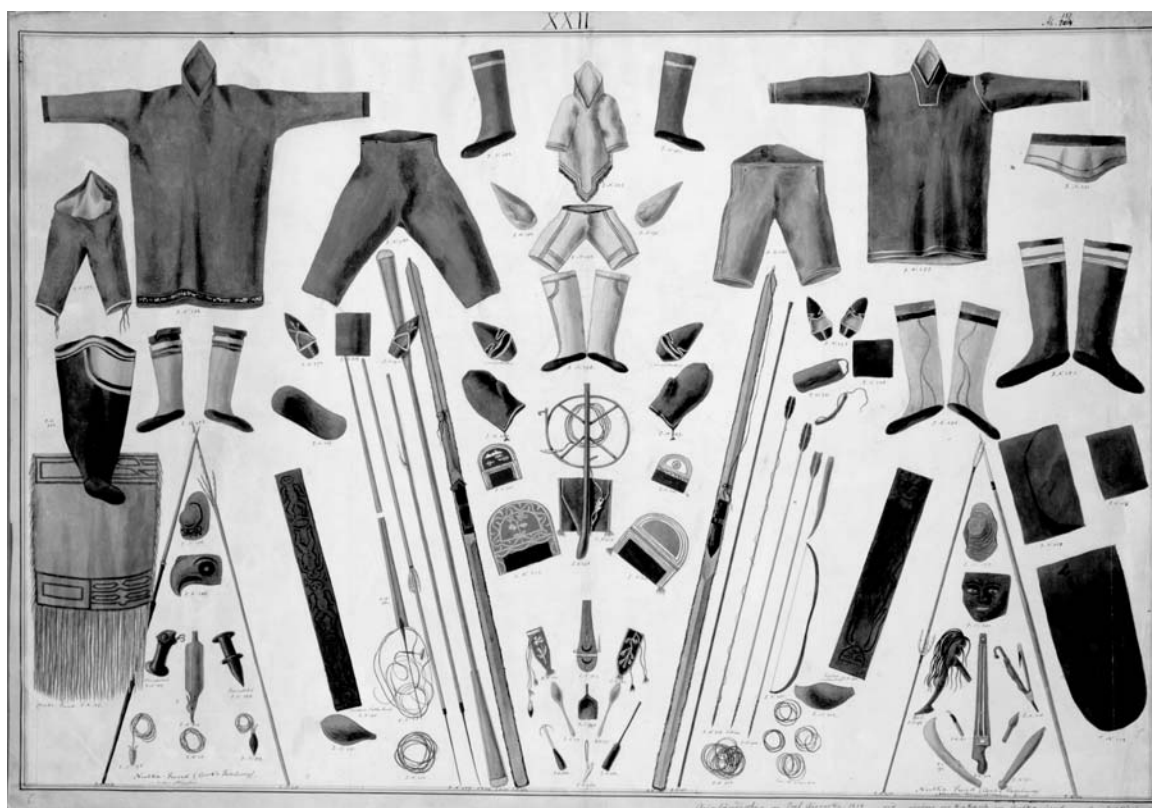
The Indian interests of the French necessarily became more and more sentimental as their colonial possessions dwindled and chances for collecting decreased. But in literature these interests helped to propagate images of the Indians as models of a simpler, better, and happier life, or to portray moral institutions against which the vices and shortcomings of European civilization could be more clearly perceived. This is in basic agreement (but with a significantly different emphasis) with the thinking of British social and economic philosophers of the time, whose evolutionary schemes placed the American Indians at the earliest, primal, but also most primitive level ("In the beginning," it was said, "all the world was America"). That French interest in Indians continued after the loss of its North American possessions is illustrated by an early diorama-type display of Canadian Indian artifacts mounted by the Marquis de Sérent at Versailles for the education of the children of the royal family.

Besides prompting German emigration to America in the eighteenth century, the American Revolution caused a significant increase in the number of North American Indian collections in the German principalities. Hessian or Brunswick mercenaries frequently sent home the basis for future Indian collections in Germany. The attitude toward native Americans was one of friendly fascination. The German poet Seume, himself one of the mercenaries in America, is still quoted with a line from one of his poems dealing with Indians: "We savages," exclaims an indigenous Canadian, "are indeed better human beings." In a more distant perspective, the American Revolution was also responsible for American collections of Indian objects—beginning almost three centuries after the earliest European attempts of that kind.

Meanwhile, a different style of collecting was coming into being. The development of taxonomic systems of nature



Club. Iroquois or Delaware. Northeastern United States. Wood, wampum inlay, 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ " (66 cm) high. The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, Department of Ethnography



Northwest Coast Indian objects collected by Captain Cook in 1778 as displayed with Eskimo material from Greenland in the Imperial Ethnographic Museum in Vienna, 1838. Watercolor attributed to Thomas Ender

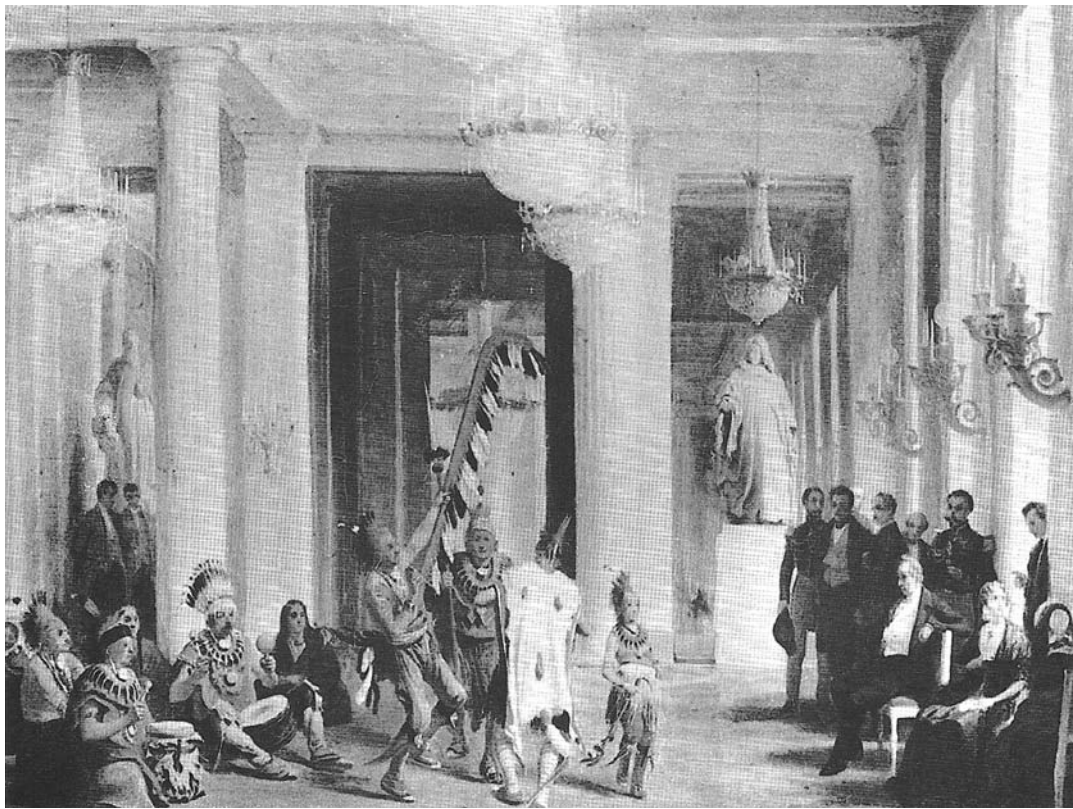
(such as Linnaeus') first paved the way for truly systematic collecting. The great eighteenth-century voyages of exploration created the opportunity to do this on a worldwide scale. The collecting of ethnographic specimens was more and more taken up by naturalists and influenced by their new approach to the problem. With the accompanying rise of the trade in natural-history specimens, the first regular market for ethnographic items developed in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The name most commonly associated with voyages of exploration of this period (which finally turned traveling, formerly an art, into a science) and with the new collecting trends is that of James Cook. On the last of his three voyages, on which he was accompanied by numerous scientists from various European countries, Captain Cook visited the Northwest Coast of North America and caused the first large-scale dispersal of Indian arts and crafts from this area. While the majority of the collections were brought to England, some were given to Russian officers in Kamchatka (to be deposited later in Leningrad), and others were left in Cape Town. Captain King returned with some to his native Ireland; John Webber, the official artist of the last voyage, gave some to his father's native city of Bern. Traders sold material to Germany and Italy. A portion of the artifacts was deposited in the still badly disorganized new British Museum, but the majority went to the private museum of Sir Ashton Lever, which ultimately had to be sold at public auction in 1806. The fame of its Cook Voyage specimens caused great public interest at home and abroad. The Austrian emperor, for example, on this occasion had a sizable collection acquired for his natural-history collection, within which it formed the core for a new

ethnographic collection.

After Cook's explorations and the contemporary French voyages to Oceania, other nations organized their own scientific voyages. In 1791–92, Admiral Alejandro Malaspina visited the Northwest Coast, which since Cook's visit had become a special economic attraction because of the sea-otter trade with China, and which Spain still claimed in extension of its Southwestern possessions. Malaspina's collection (now at the Museo de América in Madrid) was formed when Spain for the first time, in a flash of Enlightenment, also began to show serious interest in Mexican antiquities, and when through its control over the trans-Mississippi West, early Plains Indian material came into Spanish possession.

When the great Russian voyage of discovery led by Adam von Krusenstern (to be followed by others) touched the Pacific Northwest coast of North America in 1805 (a collection made on this occasion by G. H. von Langsdorff survives in Munich, the one by Lisiansky in Leningrad), it touched Russian territory, since after the middle of the eighteenth-century Russian eastward expansion through Siberia had crossed the Bering Strait and the Aleutian chain. Collections such as that of Baron von Asch (now in Göttingen) are approximately contemporaneous with those of Cook's third voyage, but reached Europe overland through Asia.

While the bulk of the Russian material from the Aleuts, Alaskan Eskimos, and Athabaskans ended up in Leningrad, other European collections received their share of it through non-Russians working in Russian service or through dynastic marriage. In the former category belongs the Helsinki collection of Arvid Etholen, Governor General of Russian America;



George Catlin's Iowa troupe performing for Louis Philippe at the Tuileries in 1845. Painting by Karl Girardet. Musée National du Château de Versailles

in the latter the one assembled by his predecessor, Colonel Kouprianoff, and now in Oldenburg. In general, the Russian collections—like the ethnographic reports to which they were related—show careful planning, including the use of questionnaires and checklists.

In its combination of daring feats, political implications, and scholarly endeavor, the transcontinental expedition of Lewis and Clark must be seen as analogous to other nations' voyages of discovery. It not only led to the establishment of one of the first American museums focusing on Indian artifacts, but also became a model for generations of European gentlemen travelers into the American West (whose other major inspiration was Alexander von Humboldt). Certainly one of the best prepared and most experienced in this group was Prince Maximilian of Wied, whose collections are now mainly in Berlin and Stuttgart. German interest in North America (and in Indians) remained pronounced throughout the nineteenth-century, partly because of increased emigration, and certainly was kept alive by an ever-increasing volume of trivial Indian novels influenced by James Fenimore Cooper as well as by French prototypes.

Just a year before Prince Maximilian, accompanied by Swiss painter Karl Bodmer, proceeded up the Missouri into the heart of Plains Indian country, an American lawyer-turned-painter by the name of George Catlin had been in the same area to start his project of documenting with canvas and brush the last days of a "vanishing race." What Catlin lacked in technical skill and quality as a painter he made up by enthusiasm and quantity. When the United States government displayed no interest in purchasing his "Indian Gallery," Catlin

moved to Europe, where he rightly felt his work (and anything relating to Indians) would be more warmly received. Accompanied by varying troupes of Indian performers (Ojibwa, Iowa), Catlin first conquered London and later Paris, where his pictures were shown at the Louvre and where King Louis Philippe commissioned him to paint a series of canvases relating to the French discovery of Louisiana. Like Bodmer and Catlin, many artists (European and American) of the nineteenth century traveled the West and spread (Plains) Indian images by their paintings, and some of them also collected. (Catlin even seems to have "improved" some of the pieces he had brought back from Indian country; as an artist he thought he knew better than the Indians—an attitude shared by bureaucrats, missionaries, and even some anthropologists).

Systematic observations and systematic collecting laid the foundation for the establishment of anthropology as a scholarly discipline during the nineteenth century. While small, specialized ethnographic collections (usually containing American Indian material) existed either as part of universities (Göttingen, since the 1780s) or as separate entities within natural-history cabinets (Vienna, since 1806) or *Kunstammern* (Berlin, since 1829), most European anthropology museums originated in the second half of the nineteenth century as departments of natural-history museums (like that of Paris) or even more general collections (like the British Museum). Berlin, where a separate anthropology museum was established in 1873, is an exception; most other museums separated



Mask for a horse. Cheyenne. Wyoming. Feathers and fiber, 21" (53.3 cm) high. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York

from their parent institutions (if ever) only during the twentieth century. Virtually all of them were public institutions financed and operated by the respective national governments, and many of them created the first jobs for anthropologists in their countries.

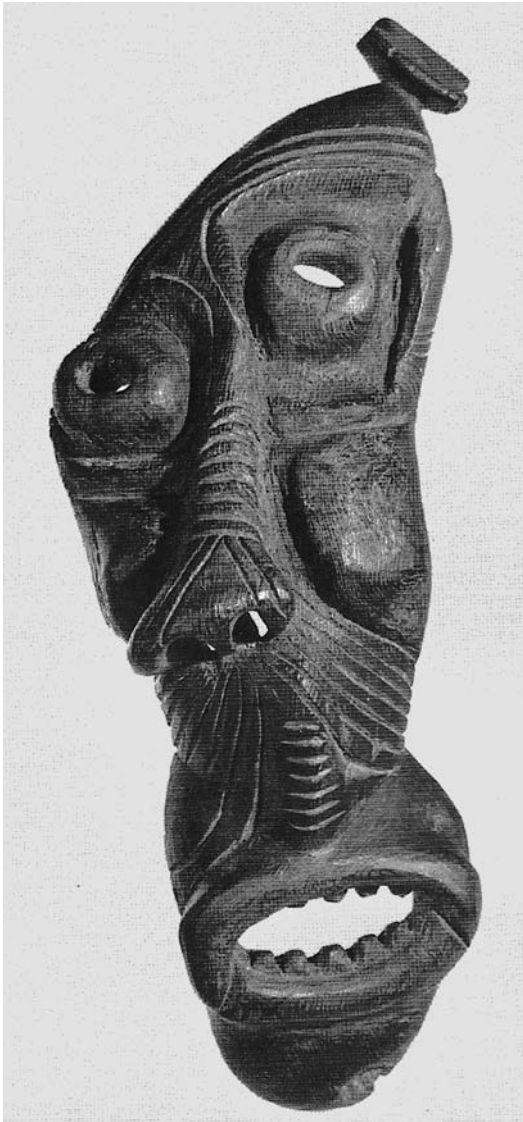
One should not conclude from this that all or even most of the collections acquired by the new museums were of a systematic and scientific nature. Very often, most of the funds had gone into the construction of prestigious-looking buildings and into salaries, and the growth of the collection was thus partly left to private sponsorship. Being frequently unable to raise the money for the purchase of systematic

collections offered them by an increasing number of American field collectors, some museums had to be content with what travelers had found to be of curious interest and were now willing to dispose of free of charge. Such collections, of course, adequately mirror neither native cultures nor native aesthetics, but helped to shape the public's view.

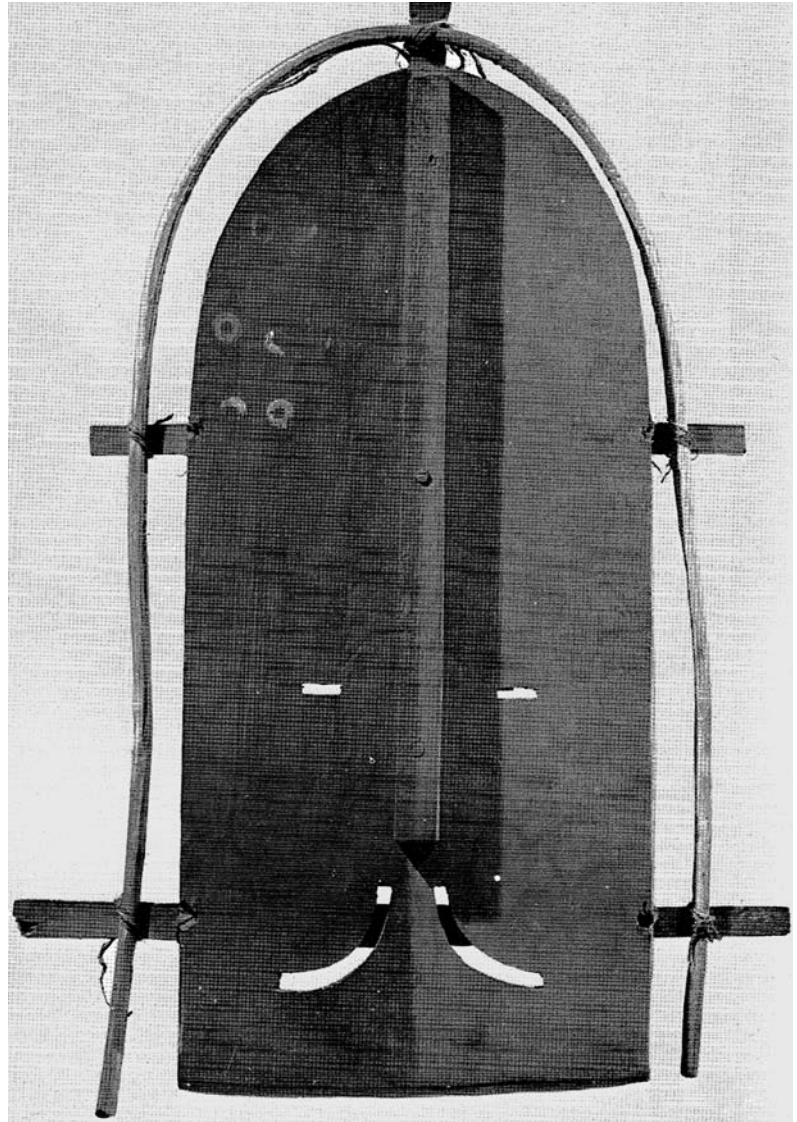
Most European colonial powers were funding scientific expeditions primarily in their own colonial possessions, and even countries without colonies were more often looking into areas where colonies still might be established rather than supporting expeditions in the United States or Canada. Occasionally, a European might join an American expedition, H. F.



Bella Coola Indians, brought to Germany by Captain Jacobsen, performing a dance from the winter ceremonial cycle. Berlin, 1885



Mask, by Inuk Elio of Angmagssalik, East Greenland. 1934. Wood, 15" (38 cm) high. Musée de l'Homme, Paris



Mask. Eskimo. Kodiak Island, Alaska. Wood, 12½" (32.5 cm) high. Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Collection Pinart

C. Ten Kate, a Dutchman, teamed up with the Hemenway Expedition to the Southwest in 1887–88 (collections in Leiden and Rotterdam). Noteworthy among the French investigators of western North America is Alphonse Pinart, whose collection of Aleutian material assembled in 1871 (now in Boulogne-sur-Mer) had a strong impact on French artists, and who later went to southern California with Léon de Cessac (collections in Paris).

Scholarly collections may have helped the increase of knowledge, but they were not always spectacular. Less scholarly but at least fairly well documented and most of all vast were the collections assembled on the Northwest Coast and in the Arctic by the Norwegian ship captain Adrian Jacobsen for various German museums (most notably Berlin, but also Leipzig, Cologne and Lubeck), as well as for his native Oslo. In 1885, Jacobsen brought a Bella Coola troupe (p. 93) for a year-long visit to Germany, where the Indians not only danced but apparently also carved. German-born Franz Boas was attracted through these Bella Coola to the Northwest Coast; he became one of the founding fathers of professional

American anthropology and author of the influential book *Primitive Art*.

Despite the tremendous impact that the Bella Coola had on German audiences (the ladies especially fell for them), German (and European) notions about Indians remained closely linked to Plains Indian images. Museums could do little to set the balance right, but they were able to offer to an interested minority (which included artists) a broad spectrum of Native American tribal arts. By the outbreak of World War I, Berlin, for example, had acquired major collections from all cultural areas, including Southwestern material from Hopi Indian agent Thomas V. Keam, Californian basketry from Samuel Barrett and Wilcomb, or more recent Plains material from Clark Wissler. Berlin, it might be noted, had a zoo in which the compound housing a herd of American bison was carved in the style of Northwest Coast art.

By the turn of the century, however, heavy American field collecting—for the domestic museums recently established from coast to coast among native American societies suffering the shock of transition from independent nations to wards of a

foreign government—placed European museums at a disadvantage when it came to collecting American Indian material. Many museums were unable or thought it unnecessary to continue to purchase field collections or contemporary Indian products. Acquisitions were made from dealers like Webster or Oldman, who regularly published their catalogs, or from the heirs of nineteenth-century travelers. Private collecting of Indian artifacts was a fairly widespread activity everywhere in Europe, and some important collections were being formed especially between the two World Wars. The reasons for specifically collecting Indian material remained largely based on a romantic interest in Indian cultures and ways of life, with aesthetics playing a subordinate role. In the same vein must be seen the establishment of museums concentrating exclusively on Indian cultures. The first such institution in Europe seems to have been the Karl-May-Museum in Radebeul near Dresden, established (by a German squaw-man from Buffalo Bill's Show) in honor of the most popular German author of Indian fiction. Opening in 1928, it was founded just a dozen years after the Museum of the American Indian in New York.

The one area in North America where Europeans continued to collect in the field was the Arctic, especially Greenland, where the Danes had, of course, a stronghold. But the French also established an anthropological field station in East Greenland (active to this day), which also generated museum collections. Among these was a magnificent collection of the grotesquely distorted Angmassalik masks, one of which found admission into Andre Malraux's Imaginary Museum.

The "discovery" of American Indian art apparently occurred independently at about the same time in America and Europe. Just at the time when American painter John Sloan organized the first show of Southwestern Indian painting in New York, several books dealing for the first time with Indian-made objects as art appeared on the trade book market. But while the American approach was based on living arts and focused on the Southwest, the European approach was based on museum specimens and largely focused on the Northwest Coast. Leonhard Adam's *Nordwestamerikanische Indianerkunst* was a pathbreaking study of Northwest Coast art based on the Berlin collection. It was published in the 1920s almost simultaneously with a much less well conceived volume on Northwest Coast art by Fuhrmann, which is, however, noteworthy for its coverage of other European collections and for the fact that it was published by the Folkwang, a school and gallery of art and design in Essen.

At the time when most European anthropology museums had been established, cultural evolutionist theories had dominated the field, and very often the whole concept of displays reflected the idea of progressive development from "primitive" to "civilized." Even as mainstream anthropology turned away from this somewhat simplistic model (and museums generally followed suit a generation or two later), the more or less educated public didn't catch up as quickly with the new trends. Exotic largely remained synonymous with Primitive and/or Archaic. Undeterred by cultural relativism, artists searching for new old roots might find one ready solution in tribal arts and cultures. Still vital tribal cultures of Africa and Oceania clearly received preference over the nostalgic and romantic appeal of North American Indians. Despite the influence that existed, Indians remained a secondary love affair for European artists.

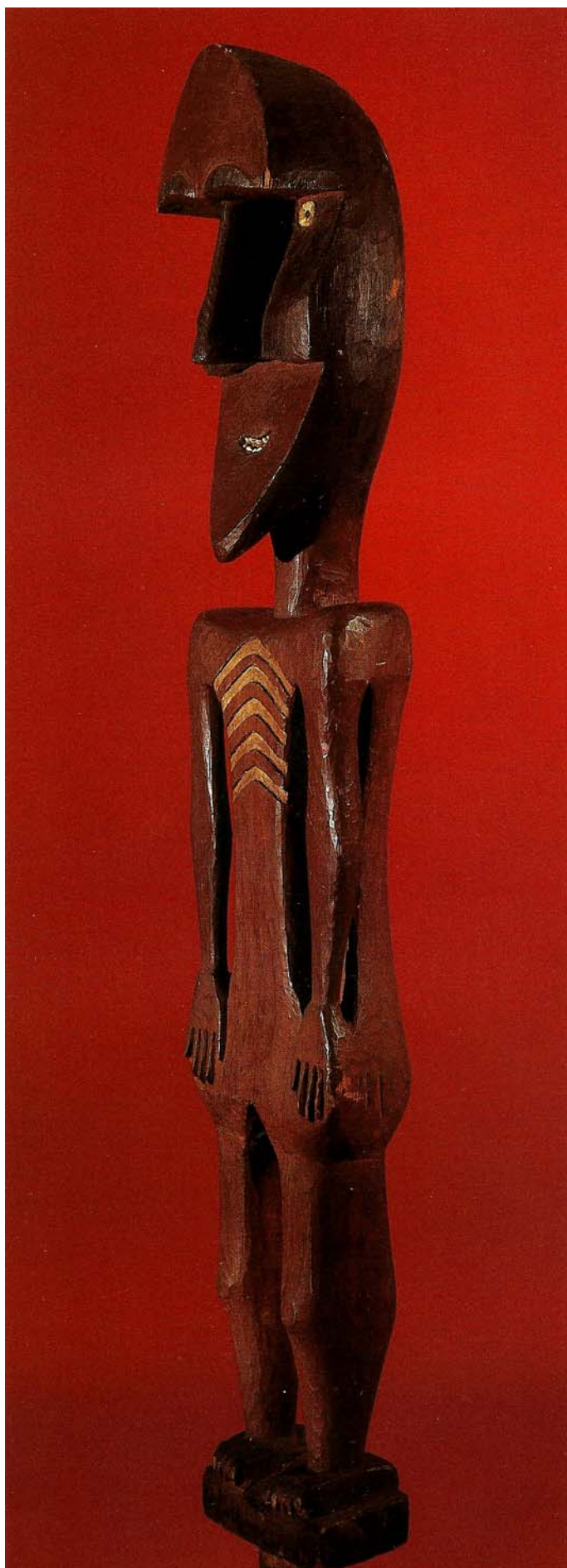


Figure. Salish. Washington. Painted wood, shell, and bone, 36" (91.4 cm) high. American Museum of Natural History, New York, Department of Anthropology



Blanket. Tlingit. Alaska. Dyed wool and cedar-bark fibers, 22" (55.9 cm) high. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York



Mask. Eskimo. Point Hope, Alaska. Wood, 7½" (19.6 cm) high. The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, Department of Ethnography



Mask. Eskimo. Point Hope, Alaska. Wood, 8¼" (20.8 cm) high. The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, Department of Ethnography

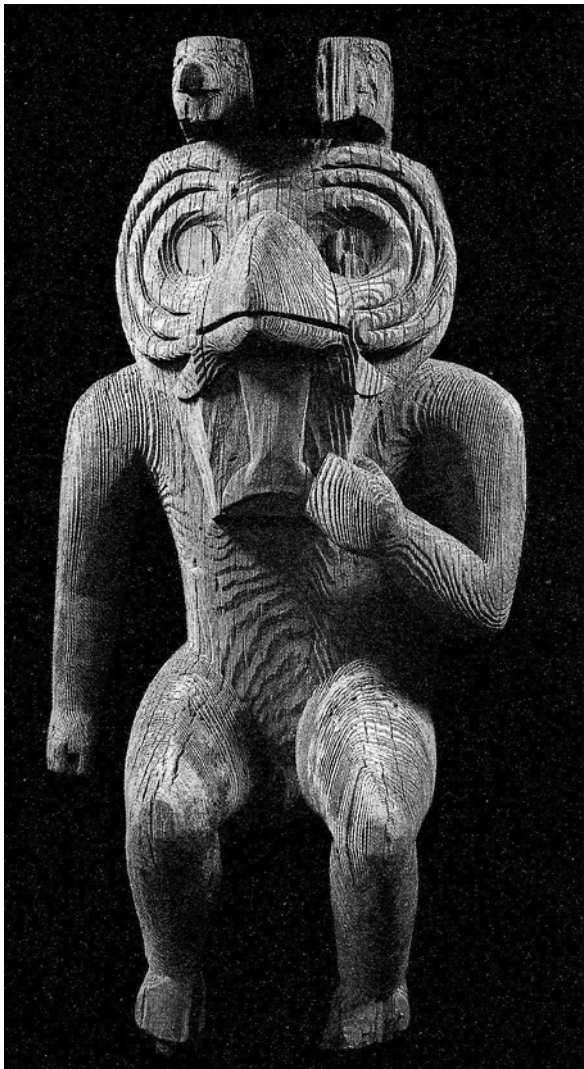
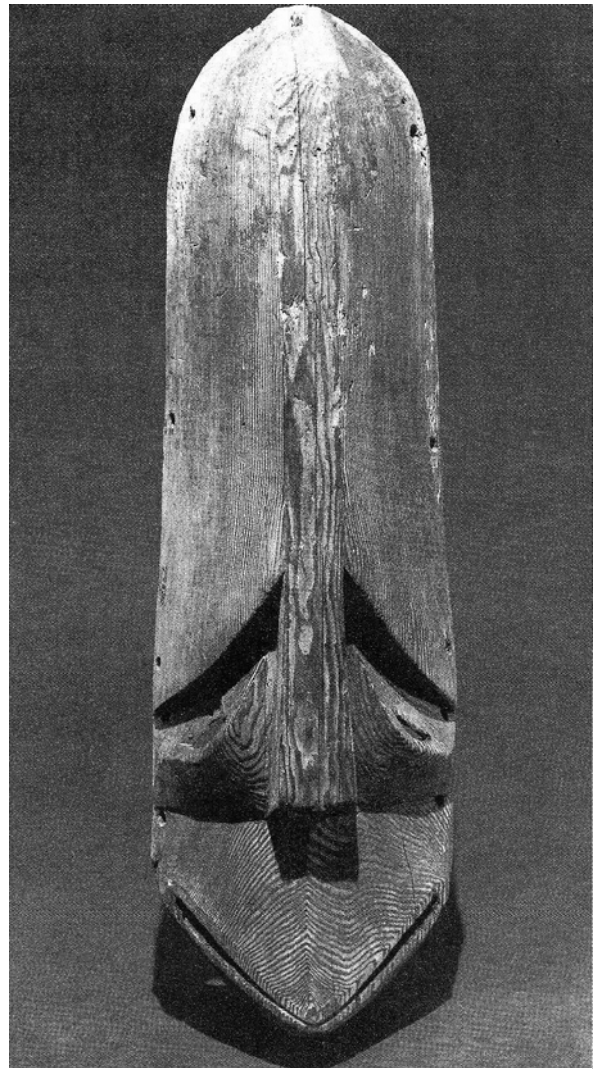


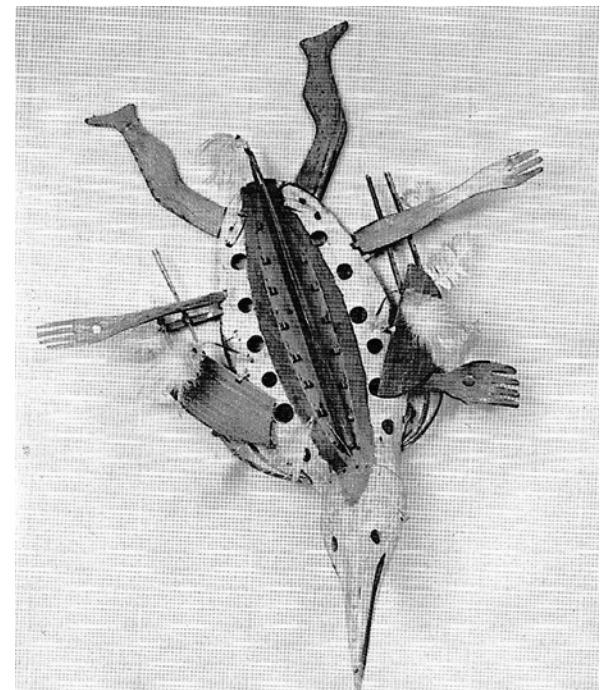
Figure. Northwest Coast, British Columbia. Wood, 46¼" (117.5 cm) high. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin



Mask. Eskimo. Kodiak Island, Alaska. Painted wood, 23¾" (60.3 cm) high. National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



Helmet mask. Zuni. Arizona or New Mexico. Painted wood, feathers, and mixed media, 21" (53.3 cm) high. Collection Elaine Lustig Cohen and Arthur A Cohen, New York



Mask. Eskimo. St. Michael, Alaska. Painted wood, feathers, and mixed media, 31½" (80 cm) long. Sheldon Jackson Museum, Sitka, Alaska