

anthro notes

National Museum of Natural History Newsletter for Teachers

vol. 7 no. 3 fall 1985

WHOSE PAST IS IT ANYWAY? THREE INTERPRETATIONS OF HISTORY

(Editor's Note: For the past 18 years, Loretta Fowler has studied patterns of adjustment and change among three closely related Plains Indian groups: the Arapahoe of the Wyoming Wind River Reservation; the Gros Ventres, or northern division of Arapahoe at Fort Belknap, Montana; and the southern Arapaho of Oklahoma. Dr. Fowler's book Arapahoe Politics; 1851-1978, Symbols in Crises of Authority (University of Nebraska Press) was published in 1982; her book on the Fort Belknap work, Shared Symbols, Conflicted Meanings:

Alternative Views of History Among the Gros Ventres, 1778-1984, will be published this spring by Cornell University Press. She is presently working with the Smithsonian developing the Plains Indian volume for the Handbook of North American Indians. The following article, based on a lecture presented to the participants of the Smithsonian Institution/ University of Wyoming teacher training program, summarizes her newest book.)

(continued on p.2)



Humphrey

My work with Plains Indians began in Wyoming, where I studied the way of life of the Arapahoes on the Wind River Reservation. I went to Fort Belknap, Montana because the Gros Ventres there are a related people. In fact the Gros Ventres and the Arapahoes used to be one people. They speak the same language, though different dialects. But when I got to Fort Belknap, I was amazed to find the Gros Ventres so different culturally from the Arapahoes.

Fort Belknap turned out to be a very complicated community, with two different tribal groups--the Gros Ventres and the Assiniboines--sharing a single reservation. Between these two groups there was a lack of agreement about the meaning of shared cultural symbols and about the interpretation of their common past. In addition, there was a pronounced generation gap between Gros Ventre elders' and youths' views of culture and history.

This cultural complexity within a small, "face-to-face" reservation community forced me to ask some very difficult questions. Should I treat this complexity as factionalism, as many anthropologists have done in their work on the Plains? Should I adopt one particular interpretation, such as one age group's views, and ignore the others'? Should I concentrate exclusively on the Gros Ventres, even though they literally live side by side, interact intensively, and intermarry with the Assiniboines?

My decision to confront the cultural complexity at Fort Belknap led me to some new ways of doing Plains anthropology. I decided to use a variety of methodologies to understand this contemporary Indian society. The three methodologies I used in examining the relationship between past and present were ethnohistory, cohort analysis, and the analysis of folk history.

Ethnohistory

Ethnohistory is a term used differently by many people. I use it to mean interpreting documents from an anthropological perspective. For example, one aspect of the anthropological approach is to try to see interconnections between different aspects of life: how politics is affected by economics; how art work is tied to world view; or how religion is related to economics. For example, in my first Arapahoe study I obtained important information about politics from looking at museum files on art. These documents became, in a sense, my informants, enabling me to learn something about the whole culture from one aspect of it.

For my Gros Ventre work, the first thing I did was study every document written over the past 200 years that I could find about these people. I looked at records of traders in Canada and Montana. I also consulted anthropologists' field notes, including those of Regina Flannery who did an excellent study on the Gros Ventres in the late 1930's and 1940's. Her unpublished notes were a wonderful source of information for people born in the 1820's and 1830's. She had recorded their conversations--what they thought of life, of each other, of particular families and events. Several women, for example, had grown up in polygynous households, where they had been one among several wives. They had tanned buffalo robes and forded the Missouri River to trade their robes at Ft. Benton and elsewhere.

In doing ethnohistory, you have to play detective. You try to put yourself back in time and figure out where people would have left a trace of what they were doing and then try to find that trace. This ethnohistorical approach taught me a lot about Ft. Belknap. For one thing, it demonstrated quite clearly that, contrary to what other writers have

reported, there were real continuities in Gros Ventre culture, in what Clifford Geertz has called "ethos", the kinds of motivations and perceptions people have about things, the style they have in coping with life.

ENEMY-FRIEND RELATIONSHIP

One of the continuities was that the Gros Ventres, as far back as the late 18th century, were very competitive with other Gros Ventres and with other peoples. For example, in the late 18th century through the early 20th century, Gros Ventres had an institution called the enemy-friend relationship. A man would pick another Gros Ventre, and when he went to battle and captured a trophy, perhaps a shield, he would bring it back as a gift to his enemy-friend. The gift meant that the enemy-friend was obligated to do something just as brave and generous in return. Sometimes an enemy-friend would feast widows and orphans and then his enemy-friend would be obligated to do something equally generous. Competition reinforced sharing, establishing a system in which goods, food, and property circulated through the society. In this way people who could not go out and hunt would still eat, and people who could not obtain hides would be able to clothe themselves. Competition for war honors became more intense, escalating inter-tribal fighting, after the introduction of guns by European traders.

There are recurrent references to the Gros Ventres as the most competitive of the northern Plains people in late 18th century and early 19th century traders' accounts. Traders noted that the Gros Ventres always brought in the best prepared robes, and that they took pride in getting a higher price for their robes than other tribes. The Gros Ventres' emphasis on competitiveness and on the pursuit of public recognition of prominence through generosity (as in large public

giveaways of property) is evident. It can still be observed today. By looking at a culture over a long time span, by studying documents as well as living people, I can see continuities that other researchers have missed by looking at only one particular era. I can correct other kinds of misinterpretations as well. Gros Ventre cultural identity was not anchored in particular ceremonies or customs. Rather, it hinged on the Gros Ventres' interpretations of change. The giveaway held at powwows (intertribal celebration, including dancing)-- although a 20th century phenomenon-- expresses the same value on competitive generosity as the enemy-friend relationship, and thus is viewed by the Gros Ventres as "traditional."

Cohort Analysis

The method of cohort analysis comes from the sociologist Karl Mannheim who developed this approach to better understand the relationships between generations. Mannheim argued that people who are born within a particular time span often have shared experiences that significantly distinguish them from other cohorts in their society.

The first step is to identify cohorts and to determine what distinguishes them from each other. I found two cohorts at Fort Belknap, one I called the elder cohort, the other the youth cohort. Members of the elder cohort, today ages 56 to 90, were born between 1895 and 1929. They were all children when Gros Ventre ceremonial life was in its heyday. As children or young adults they were not considered mature enough to hold positions of ritual responsibility, but they attended the ceremonies. They attended secular dances in which they saw elderly warriors acting out what they had done in battles.

The elder cohorts' parents encouraged them to speak English, and their school teachers threatened with

severe punishment those who continued to speak their native language. But although they spoke English in the schools, they spoke Gros Ventre with their grandparents.

Their elders did not encourage them to pursue an interest in native religion. They were told that Gros Ventre religion would not be of use to them in the future. Elders insisted that it was more important for them to learn skills that would enable them to compete successfully with non-Indians. Gros Ventre adults in the early 20th century wanted their children, those born between 1895 and 1929, to compete successfully with non-Indians so that they would not be exploited or abused. In so doing they could continue to compete successfully with other peoples. When elders told one young boy (now 70 years old) that he was not going to be a warrior like his grandfather, but that instead he must get an education to learn to compete successfully with the non-Indian, the boy saw schooling as a kind of warfare. He would not ride into battle against the Piegan or the Sioux, but instead compete against non-Indians. As a child, the elder cohort of today was strongly motivated to go to school, get an education, and find a trade. Nothing was too difficult for the Gros Ventre child who was reared by the old warriors and medicine men.

Members of the youth cohort, today ages 30-55, were born between 1930 and 1955. What sets this group apart is that they were too young to have experienced Gros Ventre ceremonial life in its heyday. They never saw a medicine man cure a patient nor did they attend a religious ritual. They never went to a dance in which warriors acted out their battle exploits. Youths did not speak the Gros Ventre language as children. Many of them had grown up off the reservation with only occasional contact with Ft. Belknap.

On the other hand, they were the right age to take full advantage of new opportunities in the late 1960's and 1970's--the affirmative action programs, the educational grants for Vietnam veterans, and self-determination legislation affecting tribal governments. New jobs opened up to them through minority recruitment. And many moved back to the reservation to accept the new jobs. In school they were exposed to a positive view of Indian culture and history through Native American studies programs. The youth cohorts, then, experienced the 1960's and 1970's differently than the elders who could not take advantage of college or job opportunities to the extent that youths did.

THE GENERATION UNIT

In my cohort analysis, I also found Mannheim's concept of a generation unit useful. Within a single cohort or generation, there are people who experience life differently, who make different choices. At Ft. Belknap there were two generation units that I called the education clique and the militants. The education clique were people who went to college in Montana. Their concept of Indianness developed or was embellished on Montana campuses, at Missoula, Bozeman or Billings. Even though as children they had not been involved with Gros Ventre religion, at college many of them had roommates from other tribes where native religion was more important. The college campuses also had Indian clubs that put on powwows to which they invited singers and dancers from other tribes. This was the first ceremonial experience of this kind for many of the Gros Ventres. They became part of a network of powwow people and made contacts throughout Montana. They also got involved in politics by going to the state legislature and convincing the legislators to make college tuition free for Indians on Montana campuses.

(continued on p.14)

AAA WORKSHOP FOR TEACHERS

Mark your calendars for Saturday and Sunday December 7th and 8th. The Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association will be held at the Washington Hilton Hotel, 1919 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. You are cordially invited! Three years ago a large number of area teachers attended sessions here in Washington and spent time browsing through the extensive book displays.

Below is an abbreviated program schedule for Saturday and Sunday. Local teachers attending only one or two sessions do not need to register for the entire four-day meeting. This generous waiver is a strong invitation for teachers to take advantage of the rich potpourri offered by this once-a-year event.

Saturday, December 7:

*Teacher Workshop, 9-12:00 p.m. The Dupont Room.

"A Culture History Mystery," a hands-on method of teaching based upon evidence collected at archeological sites.

Organized by Karen Ann Holm, Director, Education Program, Kampsville Archeological Center, Kampsville, Illinois.

Ethnographic Film Screenings, 12-7 p.m.
(Sunday 10-3 p.m.)

Teaching Strategies in Biological/Physical Anthropology, 1:30-3:30.

Human Aggression, 1:30-4:00.

A Worm's-Eye View: Doing Anthropology by Doing Archaeology, 1:30-5:00.

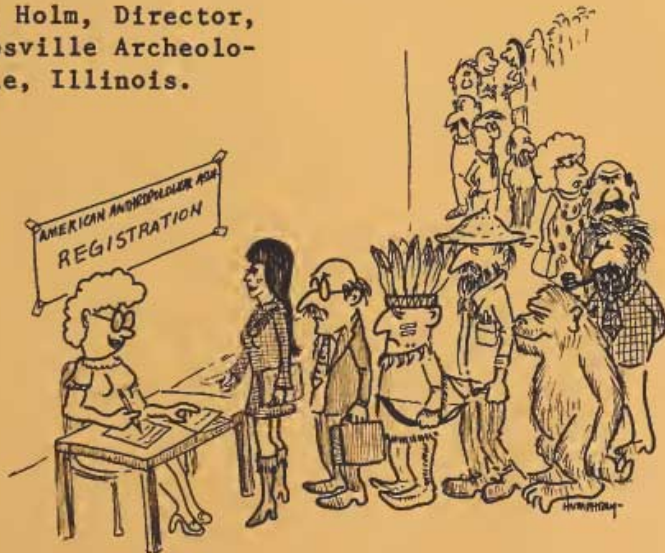
Sunday, December 8:

New Approaches and Problems in the Teaching of Introductory Anthropology, 8-10:15 a.m.

Homo erectus: Is it the Muddle in the Middle? 8:30-12:00 p.m.

Anthropological Study of the United States, 9-12:00 p.m.

From Turtle Backs to Political Centralization: Past, Present and Future of Archaeology in the District of Columbia, Part II, 10-12 p.m.



TEACHER'S CORNER: TEACHING HUMAN ORIGINS

The study of human origins involves places and activities strange to most students. How can a teacher convey the excitement of discovering a human fossil, the painstaking experiments needed to replicate early human lifeways, the beauty and mystery of the cave paintings, or the arduous preparations needed to take a crew of excavators into remote areas of Africa? Films and slides provide a helpful visual dimension. This Teacher's Corner evaluates one excellent film series Making of Mankind and offers an extensive listing of audiovisual resources, games, and curriculum units concerned with human origins.

The seven 55-minute films in the BBC's Making of Mankind series feature Richard Leakey as narrator. These films can be used individually to illustrate topics as diverse as the dawn of art (film 5), the origins of human racial differences (film 4), archaeological field and laboratory techniques (film 3), domesticating plants and animals (film 6) and the origins of war (film 7). The series available for rental or purchase (see below) is the full-length version originally done for British television. The American television version removed much of the educational content.

The first film ("In the Beginning") introduces the overall themes of human origins research: 1) the advantages of bipedalism; 2) the development of tool-making, fire and complex social groups based on sharing; 3) the origins of art, aesthetics and ritual; and 4) the great transformation to settled life, agriculture and "civilization" (state-level societies). Richard Leakey outlines these major topics and discusses how he came to be a fossil hunter. Also included are good visual explanations of dating

techniques, fossilization and evolution, with comments by Stephen J. Gould on punctuated equilibrium. Our primate heritage and possible ancestry are considered, although David Pilbeam's views on the place of Ramapithecus in human evolution have shifted since Pilbeam's appearance in this film to favor the theory that Ramapithecus and Sivapithecus were more closely related to orangutans than to humans.

In the second film ("One Small Step") the focus is on the initial transformation to upright posture. Mary Leakey discusses the discovery of the fossil footprints at Laetoli, and Richard Leakey outlines the controversies about the varieties of early australopithecines and their relationship to later humans. The first two films are most useful in the context of general biology, geology, or human biology courses.

The third film ("A Human Way of Life") excellently illustrates many different techniques used by archaeologists to reconstruct the past. Glynn Isaac discovers an ancient "home base" site on the east side of Lake Turkana in Kenya. Scenes of hunter-gatherers are interspersed with those of experiments in which tools are replicated, used, and examined under high-power microscopes. Here the social transition to human group co-operation and sharing is stressed, which makes this film a useful adjunct to "peace studies" courses, as well as to courses on archaeology or human origins.

Films four and five continue the theme of developing human social adaptations. "Beyond Africa" explores fire, communication and language as a uniquely human set of accomplishments, while "A New Era" highlights emerging ritual, cooperative, symbolic, moral and artistic capabilities of the oldest members of our own species, Homo sapiens. The former segment includes

some good scenes of "talking chimpanzees", while the latter contains beautiful footage of the Lascaux paintings, the first since the closure of this cave in 1963. Since these films consider the nature of language and the nature of artistic behavior, as well as the earliest evidence of these behaviors, they can be used to introduce humanities courses as well as courses on ancient civilization and archaeology.

Films six and seven focus on the transition to complex societies or states. As shown in the films, these societies emerged in the ancient Near East and Peru, among other places, and formed the foundations of today's world. "Settling Down" outlines the process by which plants and animals are brought under domestication, and stresses the role played by environmental opportunity on the coast of Peru and by alluvial fans near Jericho. The adverse consequences of sedentism, such as disease and institutionalized warfare, are discussed here but explored further in "Survival of the Species", a consideration of the theory that human aggression against other humans is innate. Leakey argues that the essential human social adaptation is cooperation, not interpersonal aggression, and illustrates his point with data from the newly sedentary !Kung bushmen as well as from the records of ancient civilizations. The arms race is strongly condemned, but from a third world rather than a first world perspective, as Leakey is a Kenyan, not a British citizen. While both films would be appropriate to a study of ancient civilizations, the sixth segment would also be of interest to a group studying the human effect on the environment, while the final segment would be especially useful in animal behavior, "peace studies", or conflict resolution courses.

See below under Films and Video Cassettes: General Evolutionary Topics

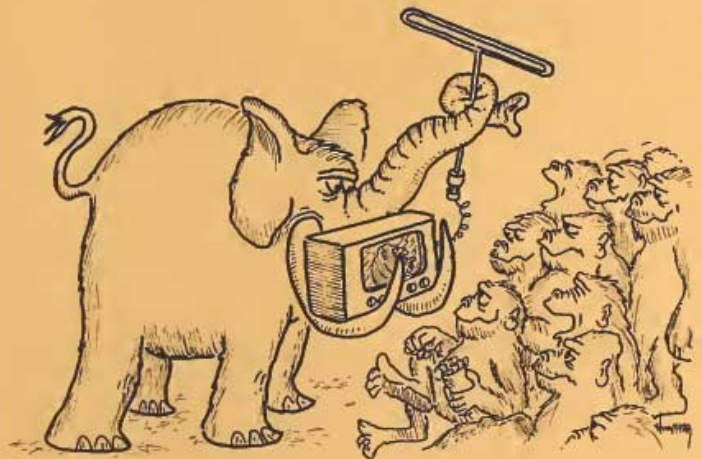
for ordering the Making of Mankind (#7).

FILMS AND VIDEOCASSETTES:

General Evolutionary Topics

1. Evolution. 10 minutes. Humorous cartoon version of evolutionary process and of history of life on earth. Made by National Film Board of Canada. (1972). Available from Learning Corporation of America, 1350 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10019; Tel: (212) 397-9360 or 1-800-323-6301. Sale: 3/4 inch or 1/2 inch videocassette, \$150, 16 mm. film \$200. Rental: \$25.

2. Fossils: Clues to the Past. 23 minutes. Discussion of formation and dating of fossils, featuring Donald Johanson. Visit to a dinosaur dig in Montana. Made by the National Geographic Society (1983). Available from National Geographic Society,



Educational Services, Dept. 84, Washington, DC 20036; Tel: (301) 921-1330. Sale: 3/4 inch or 1/2 inch videocassette, \$330; 16mm. film \$400. Rental: (film only), Karol Media, 625 From Road, Paramus, NJ 07652; Tel: (201) 262-4170. \$30.00 including shipping. Comes with teacher's guide.

3. Archaeological Dating: Retracing Time. 17 minutes. Coverage of dating techniques used for last 30,000 years of archaeological time: typology, stratigraphy, dendrochronology, obsidian hydration, and radiocarbon. (EBEC, 1976) Sale: Encyclopedia Britannica, 45 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL 60611, \$315 16 mm. film; \$250 videocassette. Rental: Encyclopedia Britannica \$31.50, The Pennsylvania State University, Audio-Visual Services, Special Services Building, University Park, PA 16802; Tel: (814) 865-6314. \$14.00. Also available from University of California Extension Media Center, 223 Fulton Street, Berkeley, CA 94720; Tel: (415) 642-0462. \$18.00.

Behavior Comparisons: Apes and Humans

4. Monkeys, Apes and Man, Parts I and II. 50 minutes. Tool use, learning ability, social behavior and other behaviors of our primate relatives. Made by National Geographic Society (1971). Available from the Society (see address above, no. 2). Sale: Videocassette \$495; 16mm. film \$595. Rentals from Karol Media (see no. 2) \$43.00 including shipping, or from Pennsylvania State University, (see no. 3 above), \$25.00.

5. Teaching Sign Language to the Chimpanzee, Washoe. 48 minutes, black and white. Documents Washoe's learning of sign vocabulary and grammar, proper context of sign use, and communication with researchers A. and P. Gardner. Of particular interest are Washoe's apparently spontaneous questions, requests, and comments. Made by the Pennsylvania State University (1973)

and available from them (see no. 3 above). Sale: \$530, rental: \$26.

6. Introduction to Chimpanzee Behavior. 23 minutes. Overview of Jane Goodall's work with wild chimpanzees in Tanzania's Gombe National Park. Shows feeding, tool making, playing, grooming, and courting. Made by National Geographic Society (1977). Available for sale from the Society (see item 2) for \$345 (film) or \$315 (videocassette). Available for rental from Karol Media: \$30 including shipping, or from Pennsylvania State University: \$17.

Other films in the Studies of the Chimpanzee series from the National Geographic Society include: (all are the same length and price as the above, and all include teacher's guides)

Hierarchy and the Alpha Male (1977)

Feeding and Food Sharing (1976)

Tool Using (1976)

Infant Development (1976).

The most recent film on Goodall's work is the television documentary Among the Wild Chimpanzees (59 minutes, 1984), which represents an overview of twenty years of work, together with new information on disease, homicide, and death among wild chimpanzees. Does not come with teacher's guide. Sale: film \$595, video \$495. Rental from Karol Media: (film only) \$43.

Human Evolution: Sequences of events

7. Making of Mankind (see review, p.6). Series of seven 55-minute films available from Time Life Video, 1050 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Suite 850, Washington, DC 20036-5334, Tel: 800-526-4663 or (202) 861-4095. Sale: entire series: 16 mm. film \$5400, videocassettes \$1800. Each program: 16mm. film \$900, videocassette \$300. Rentals (film only) set: \$575, each film \$100.

8. Lucy in Disguise. 58 minutes. Presents Donald Johanson's view of human evolution featuring the discovery and study of "Lucy" in the Hadar area of Ethiopia. Good presentation of methods of excavation, dating, and study at a more detailed level than in the Leakey series. Produced by David Smeltzer and David Price for Smeltzer Films (1981). Available for rental from The Pennsylvania State University (see item 3). \$40.00.

9. The First Family. 55 minutes. Presents story of discovery and study of Ethiopian fossils leading to revised view of human evolution by Donald Johanson. Made for WVIZ, Cleveland (1981). Available from Dr. Harold D. Mahan, Director, Cleveland Museum of Natural History, Wade Oval, University Circle, Cleveland, OH 44106; Tel: (216) 231-4600. Sale: 16 mm. film \$600, videocassette \$200. Rental: film \$60, plus \$10 shipping and handling fee.

10. Early Stone Tools. 20 minutes. François Bordes demonstrates making of stone tools and narrator discusses advance of stone technology from earliest humans to Homo sapiens. Made by University of California Extension Media Center (1967). Available for sale from UCCEMC, (see item 3), 16 mm. film \$285, videocassette \$200. Rentals from UCCEMC \$29, from Pennsylvania State University (see item 3), \$14.50.

11. Lascaux, Cradle of Man's Art. 17 minutes. Close-ups of Lascaux paintings before the cave was closed to the public. Made by International Film Bureau, 332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL 60604, Tel: (312) 427-4545. Sale: 16 mm. film \$350, videocassette \$275. Rental: \$25. Rental from Pennsylvania State University \$17. (see item 3 for address).

Looking for Ancient Humans: The Story of the Fossil Hunters

12. Search for Fossil Man. 24 minutes. Phillip Tobias discusses the discovery

of earliest humans in South Africa. Made by the National Geographic Society (1974). Comes with good teacher's guide. Sale: from the Society (see address, item 2) for \$345 (16 mm. film), and \$315 (videocassette). Available for rental from Karol Media (see item 2), \$30.

13. The Man Hunters. 50 minutes. Reviews the history of discovery of fossil ancestors, and interviews Raymond Dart, Robert Broom, Louis Leakey and Clark Howell about their discoveries. Good insight into the process of discovery; film also gives varying theories about Australopithecus, Homo erectus and Neandertal. Made by Films Incorporated, 144 Wilmette Ave., Wilmette, IL 60091. Available for sale from The Pennsylvania State University (see address item 3), \$700. Rental: \$21.50.

14. Leakey. 22 minutes. Portrait of the life and work of Louis Leakey, from his childhood to his famous discoveries at Olduvai Gorge. Discusses his role in setting up long-term field studies of the great apes (chimpanzees with Jane Goodall, gorillas with Dian Fossey, and orangutans with Birûte Galdikas.) Continuation of his work by wife Mary and son Richard also shown. Made by the National Geographic Society, adapted from a television documentary for classroom use (1983). Available from the Society (see item 2). Sale: 16 mm. film \$400, videocassette: \$330. Rental from Karol Media, \$30.

Filmstrips, cassettes and slides

15. Mammals, Primates and Man. Set of two filmstrips and cassettes, 20 minutes each. Part I, "The Family of Primates", traces major developments in the evolution of animal life and describes characteristics unique to mammals and primates. Also distinguishes lower from higher primates and discusses characteristics unique to humans. Part II, "The Family of Man", focuses on the development of

the mental and physical abilities which distinguish humans from other primates. Recent discoveries by Donald Johanson in Ethiopia also featured. Available from Educational Dimensions Corporation, Box 126, Stanford, CT 06904. Tel: (203) 327-4612 or (800) 243-9020. Sale price (includes both programs): \$73. (cat. number 1227 CC).

16. Perspectives on Human Evolution: East Africa and Palaeoanthropology. 97 slides with written commentary, produced by Glynn Ll. Isaac. Illustrates aspects of his field research on earliest human cultural activity in east Africa. (See also item 7, segment on "A Human Way of Life".) Sale: \$157.50 from Occidental Publishing Co..

Games

17. Extinction: The Game of Ecology. A game for 2-4 players to teach basic concepts of population ecology and causes of extinction. Available for \$18.50 from Carolina Biological Supply Company, Burlington, NC 27215, or Gladstone, OR 97027; Tel: (919) 584-0381.

18. Geologic Time Chart. A game for 2-6 players to teach vocabulary and



sequence of evolution. Winner is first "species" to evolve to the present without becoming extinct. Available for \$18.50 from Carolina Biological Supply Company (see item 17, above).

Other:

19. Casts of early human skulls from the National Museum of Kenya, also casts of early stone tools. Available from Carolina Biological Supply Company (request catalogue) at prices ranging from \$108 to \$396 depending on degree of finishing desired. For address, see item 17 above.

20. Stones and Bones Project. Materials for studying human evolution were originally developed for use in the Los Angeles schools but are now made available for national distribution through grants from the L.S.B. Leakey Foundation and Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History. Includes filmstrip/cassette tape on "What is Anthropology?", a teacher's guide, casts of fossil skulls, large photographic prints of fossil skulls for student use, calipers, laboratory exercises to be done with the project materials, worksheets, and pre- and post-tests. Price of entire set of materials is \$471, of which \$400 is for the fossil casts. All materials are available separately. Available from Matt Matsumoto, Project Disseminator, Los Angeles Unified School District, Physical Anthropology Center, 6625 Balboa Blvd., Van Nuys, CA 91406; Tel.: (818) 997-2389.

Alison S. Brooks

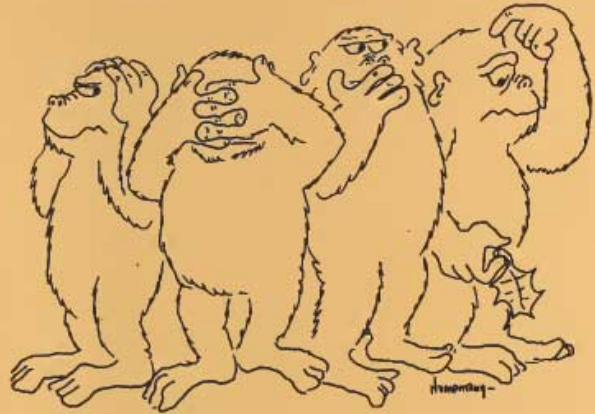
[Note: This resource list was originally developed for an Activities Kit to accompany "An Introduction to Early Man", a minicourse published by the Institute of Lifetime Learning, American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), 1909 K St., N.W., Washington, DC 20049; (202) 662-4895. Free copies of the minicourse and Activities Kit may be obtained from AARP.]

Do You Know?

●that The Johns Hopkins University's Department of Anthropology is commemorating its Tenth Anniversary with a lecture series entitled "Where Science and the Humanities Meet: Anthropology in the Twentieth Century." The monthly lectures given by distinguished anthropologists (David Pilbeam, Dell Hymes, Eric Wolf, William C. Sturtevant, Françoise Heritier-Auge, Robert McC. Adams, and Edmund Leach) began in September; the last lecture is scheduled in April. Lectures will be delivered usually on the first Thursday of each month in the Garrett Room of the Milton S. Eisenhower Library at 8:00 p.m. For information on these free evening lectures, write: Professor Sidney W. Mintz, Tenth Anniversary Program, Department of Anthropology, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland 21218, or call (301) 338-7266.

●that the 1985 Anthropological Society of Washington (ASW) program is titled "The Nature and Origins of Humanness," which will include talks on several subfields of anthropology such as archeology, human ecology, primatology, ethnoarcheology, human paleontology, and behavioral biology. Eric Trinkaus (University of New Mexico) will speak on "Neandertal Lifestyles" November 19 and Margaret W. Conkey (SUNY Binghamton) will speak on cave art and social aggregation, December 10. The meetings will take place in the National Museum of Natural History's Naturalist Center at 8:15.

●that Scientific American has published Human Diversity by Richard Lewontin, 1982 (available from W. H. Freeman). The book, especially suitable for high school students, provides a clear explanation, with over 200 photographs and illustrations, of what scientists know about



human variation, including genetic differences and mental traits, among groups and individuals.

●that secondary school teachers can obtain, at no cost, an archeology curriculum unit "Archeology: Walney" by writing to Museum Education Programs, Fairfax County Park Authority, 4030 Hummer Road, Annandale, VA 22003. This 59 page unit includes 12 lessons of discussions and activities, developed to assist teachers in providing their students with an understanding of archeology and archeological problem solving situations. Though the unit (particularly lessons 8 through 12) was designed to prepare students for a field trip to Walney, an historic site in Fairfax, Virginia, teachers can make the necessary adjustments to prepare for a visit to any historic site in their locality.

●that A Complete Manual of Field Archeology: Tools and Techniques of Fieldwork for Archaeologists by Martha Joukowsky is available from Prentice-Hall, Inc. (paper \$16.95). This impressive manual includes chapters on artifact analysis, field photography, and fieldwork opportunities.

(continued on p.12)

- that a Teacher's Resource Packet in Anthropology, developed for secondary school teachers, is available from the Office of Information, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560. The packet includes teacher and student bibliographies on various anthropological topics; classroom activities; information on archeological and ethnographic fieldwork; interviewing techniques for conducting family folklore; recommended textbooks, periodicals and organizations to join.
- that the oldest known mummies in the world were discovered in northern Chile, providing insights into the early history of human disease, nutrition, and culture, including the practice of mummification which exceeds the Egyptian process in complexity. Read "Chile's Ancient Mummies" by Marvin J. Allison (a paleopathologist) in the October 1985 issue of Natural History.
- that scientific examination of skeletal remains of individuals from Dickson Mound in Illinois, who lived before the development of maize agriculture and after, showed a decrease in health associated with agriculture and possibly with local trade practices of bartering perishable items for luxury goods, thus creating an unhealthy reliance on a single food crop ("Disease and Death at Dr. Dickson's Mounds" by Alan H. Goodman and George J. Armelagos, Natural History, September 1985).
- that Women and International Development: Multidisciplinary Curriculum Guides Available can be obtained from the Office of Women in International Development (WID), 3022 Foreign Languages Bldg., University of Illinois, 707 South Mathews Ave., Urbana, IL 61801; pay only cost of postage and handling.
- that creationists claim that humans and dinosaurs lived together in Texas just before Noah's Flood. "The Paluxy River Footprint Mystery--Solved" (Creation/Evolution, Vol.5, No. 1), edited by anthropologists John R. Cole (Executive Director of the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal) and Laurie Godfrey, consists of the results of an investigation by a team of scientists who discuss the biological/anatomical, geological, cultural, and illogical nature of the claims. For a copy of this issue, or for a subscription to the journal, write to Creation/Evolution, P.O. Box 146, Amherst Branch, Buffalo, NY 14226-0146. (Four issues/\$9.00 in the U.S.; \$2.75 for each back issue.)
- that the exhibit catalogue Ancient Art of the American Woodland Indians by David S. Brose, James A. Brown, and David W. Penny is available from the Detroit Institute of Arts (\$35.00 cloth, \$20.00 paper). A review of this work by anthropologist Nancy Oestreich Lurie can be read in the September issue of Natural History.
- that Robert Finn in "Origins of Speech" (Science Digest, August 1985) reveals why Neandertals would not have had the gift for gab as would have Homo sapiens; instead Neandertals were restricted to very short sentences and very simple thoughts.
- why we are prone to make embarrassing "slips of the tongue?" Read Michael T. Motley's illuminating article in the September issue of Scientific American.
- that independent truck drivers are the subject of anthropological inquiry in "For Many Truckers, Life on the Road is an Uphill Struggle" by Michael Agar (Smithsonian, July 1985). Agar's book on the subject will be published next spring by SI Press.

MAJOR EXHIBIT OPENS!

Teachers of anthropology, history, world cultures, geography, and the natural and life sciences will not want to miss a new exhibit opening November 14 at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History. "Magnificent Voyagers: The U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842" recreates the history of an epic American expedition to the Antarctic, the Pacific, and western United States, six years after Charles Darwin circled the globe on the Beagle. The mid-19th century was a period of important western exploration and expansion when sea voyages and overland expeditions charted island and mapped interiors of unknown continental land masses including the American West.

Led by Lt. Charles Wilkes, a daring and colorful commander, the U.S. Exploring Expedition amassed thousands of bird, mammal, fish, coral and plant specimens, and ethnological artifacts, besides producing significant scientific reports and atlases over the four years and 87,000 miles of the voyage. According to the exhibit's chief curator, Herman Viola, "the work of the scientists and artists of the expedition helped to establish the natural sciences as professions in America, and the numerous specimens collected during the voyage eventually made the young Smithsonian Institution the National Museum of the United States."

In conjunction with the exhibit, the Smithsonian will offer a teacher workshop (see below), public lectures and films, school tours, and a packet of curriculum materials designed for junior high school use, both with the exhibit and as an independent study unit. Following its year-long engagement at the Museum in Washington, the exhibit will travel for three months each to Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Takoma, Anchorage, and New York City.



TEACHER'S WORKSHOP

Area teachers (grades six through eleven) are invited to a free workshop at the National Museum of Natural History on December 7 and 14 from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. The workshop will introduce teachers to curriculum materials corresponding to the exhibition "Magnificent Voyagers: The U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842." For reservations write: Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, A&I 1163, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560, or call (202) 357-2404. To volunteer to test the instructional materials, write or call Laura McKie, Office of Education, NMNH, (202) 357-2066.

(continued from p.4)

This group of Gros Ventres became aware of their potential and, with the encouragement of their parents, they set high goals for themselves. They returned to Ft. Belknap and set out to achieve greater self-determination for the Indian people and to revive ceremonial life.

The militants were people who developed or embellished their concept of Indianness outside of Montana, where they lived in urban areas. Many of them attended colleges such as the University of Washington in Seattle, the University of California at Los Angeles, and Harvard in Boston. They took jobs in urban poverty programs and became involved in social protest movements that were much more active than those in Montana. Many took part in confrontations such as sit-ins or marches.

POWWOWING

What insights were obtained by comparing elders' and youths' interpretations of culture and history? It is clear that the contrasting experiences of these cohorts, and of the educated clique and the militants, have shaped the way Ft. Belknap culture and society are changing today. We sometimes tend to think that change in Indian communities comes only from ideas and customs introduced by non-Indians. But a great deal of change and the way change is made culturally acceptable comes from the interplay and exchange of different interpretations held by cohorts. To youths, reviving Indian ceremonies such as the powwow is an important goal. Thus, they have organized and expanded these dances.

In the powwow, sponsored by the educated clique, one major theme is hospitality to visiting tribes. Much effort is exerted to raise money for dance contest prizes and to purchase groceries to distribute to visitors.

Moreover, the veteran plays a prominent role in the powwow. There are flag raising ceremonies and special dances done by veterans. But to the militants the U.S. Army represents an oppressor, and so they deemphasize flag symbolism or veteran participation in the powwow they sponsor, the Chief Joseph powwow. An aspect of this powwow is the laying of wreathes or other kinds of grave offerings at the site of the Nez Perce's battle with the U.S. army. The battle site is 20 miles west of Ft. Belknap. There Nez Perce were killed by the army while trying to cross the border into Canada. For the militants, Chief Joseph symbolizes resistance to an unjust U.S. government.

Both elders and youths participate in powwows to varying degrees. But the powwow has come to symbolize different things to elders and youths and to the educated clique and the militants. For example, the powwow is for the educated clique a vehicle for expressing Gros Ventre competitive drive. One of their goals is to attract bigger crowds than do other reservations' powwows. Militant youths interpret the powwow as a vehicle for the expression of protest against the U.S. government. These interpretations reflect the youths' contrasting involvements in the Native American pride movement of the 1970's.

FOLK HISTORY

The third method I used was the analysis of the stories that people tell about their past. Gros Ventres and Assiniboines have shared a reservation since 1878, and they have participated in the same events. Their ancestors sat together at the same councils and attended many of the same ceremonies. Although they were participants in the same events, they perceived them very differently. I was interested in looking at folk history as an entry to contemporary symbols and their meanings, not in looking at the stories in terms of whether or not they were

accurate or compatible with the documentary record.

Gros Ventre and Assiniboin versions of the history of the U.S. government's relations with Ft. Belknap peoples are quite different. In stories about events from the late 19th century to the present, the Gros Ventres portray themselves as fully capable of managing their community by themselves and capable of competing successfully with Whites if given a fair chance. Reservation problems are attributed by the Gros Ventres to the Assiniboines' failures--that Assiniboines are not assertive enough with federal officials. Assiniboines portray themselves as expert in living harmoniously with others. In their stories, reservation problems are attributed to the Gros Ventres' obstinate nature. Folk history serves to orient social action. The contrast in Gros Ventre and Assiniboin interpretations of history work to stimulate flexibility, maneuverability, and creativity. Individuals have a wider range of potential strategies and choices. Variant interpretations encourage intertribal competition as well. Each tribe presents the other somewhat negatively. The competitive component of symbols of identity fosters a sense of cultural distinctiveness that is important to Indian people today. As one youth told me, "When the new Indian awareness came, it wasn't enough just to realize you were Indian; it was what kind of Indian [that mattered]."

Each of the three ways of interpreting the past contributed to my understanding of Ft. Belknap. Ethno-history made clear how long term cultural continuities were possible even though the Gros Ventres had to change their way of life to cope with their changing environment. Cohort analysis revealed age groups' different interpretations of their past. Folk history was a good way to learn how images of the past contribute to cultural identity, and how these same

images motivate behavior.

By combining the three approaches, I was able to reach an understanding of the dynamics of culture change: how change actually occurs, and how people accept it or initiate it. At Ft. Belknap innovation has come about as generations and tribes, Indians and Whites, continually adjust and reformulate their notions of the past and the present in order to cope with the conflicting interpretations of one another. By influencing each other, they influence how their society changes. The anthropologist by confronting the complexities of culture can see things about a society that would not otherwise be seen by focusing on one group's perspective or on one point in time.

LORETTA FOWLER
Associate Professor
City College of the City
University of New York



ANTHRO.NOTES, a National Museum of Natural History Newsletter for Teachers, is published free-of-charge three times a year--fall, winter, and spring. Anthro.Notes was originally part of the George Washington University/Smithsonian Institution Anthropology for Teachers Program funded by the National Science Foundation. To be added to the mailing list, write: Ann Kaupp, Department of Anthropology, Stop 112, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560.

ANTHRO.NOTES STAFF: P. Ann Kaupp, Ruth O. Selig, Alison S. Brooks, JoAnne Lanouette, editors; Robert L. Humphrey, artist. Illustrations © Robert L. Humphrey 1984-85.

Kaupp NHB 363
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20560

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE. \$300

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION



FIRST CLASS MAIL