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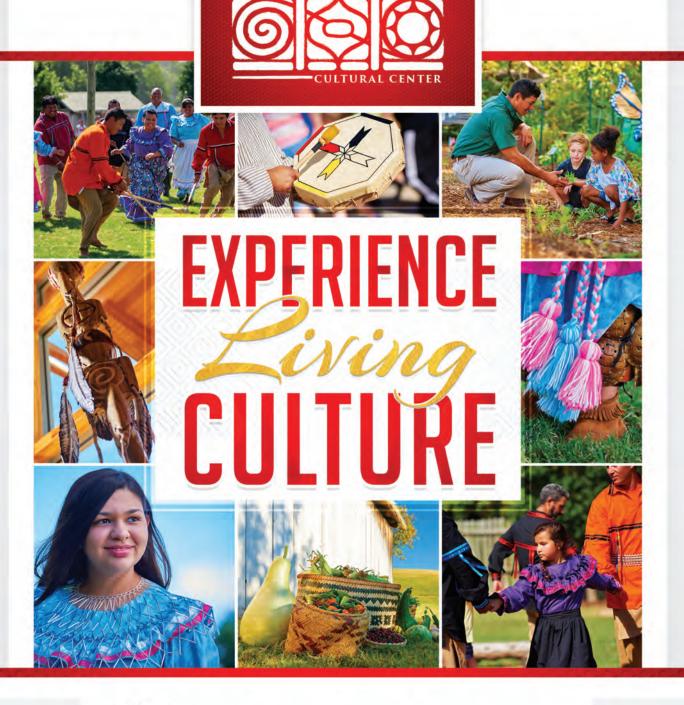
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WINTER 2017



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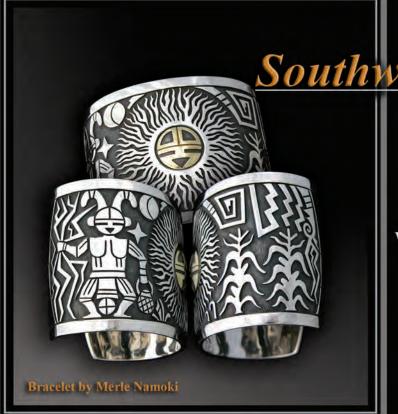




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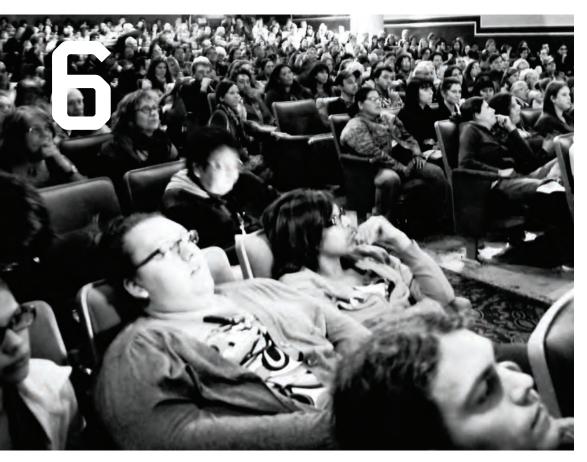
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CONTENTS

WINTER 2017

VOL. 18 NO. 4







ON THE COVER

This bench from Rio Uaupes at the headwaters of the Amazon was collected in the early 1920s by Dr. Herbert S. Dickey (1876–1948), a full-time explorer and ethnologist funded by George Gustav Heye and the Museum of the American Indian (predecessor to the NMAI). Earlier in his medical career, Dickey reported on the corporate atrocities of the Putumayo rubber boom, putting his life in greater danger than he ever felt from unknown territories or tribes. See page 30 for his hair-raising story. Adverse corporate impact on the Indigenous peoples of Amazonia, and elsewhere, is still not a thing of the past.

Tukanoan culture group, Rio Uaupes, Amazonias, Brazil. Wood. Paint. 21.7" x 9.5" x 7.9". 16/360

6

STORYTELLING ON FILM: CONVENING AN INDUSTRY

The burgeoning Indigenous film industry has grown hand in hand with Native film and video festivals, giving the First Nations new ways and forums for telling their stories.

14

TAÍNO SURVIVAL: BACK INTO HISTORY

After largely dropping out of the written record, the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean have returned with a vengeance. From the remote mountains of eastern Cuba to the boroughs of New York, a vibrant Taino movement is proclaiming that they are still here. Ranald Woodaman discusses an upcoming exhibit on the contemporary lives of these peoples, the first to bring their story out of the realm of archaeology and pre-history.





22

INDIGENOUS CUBA: HIDDEN IN PLAIN SIGHT

The real Cuba traditionally starts in the East, in Oriente province, where Indigeneity is now the hallmark. Native families have hung on in isolated villages, preserving traditional customs and traditional agriculture. The return to old food sources helped pull the island through recent times of difficulty.

30

HERBERT DICKEY IN THE DEVIL'S PARADISE

During the rubber boom before World War I, the Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company ruled supreme along the Putumayo River between Peru and Colombia, brutally extorting labor from the Native population. Its atrocities became a worldwide scandal. A young American doctor named Herbert Dickey, later a renowned explorer supported by George Gustav Heye and the Museum of the American Indian, found himself trapped in this "Hell's forest," in great personal danger.

36

INSIDE NMAI: DOWN THE INKA ROAD

The exhibit might be open, but there is still a lot to do, especially on a major project 10 years in the making. Dr. Ramon Matos, co-curator of *The Great Inka Road: Engineering an Empire*, continues to follow up with field research and discussions to bring the exhibit to the Andean homeland.

41EXHIBITIONS

EXHIBITIONS AND EVENTS CALENDAR



MAKING HISTORY, ONE DAY AT A TIME



s is appropriate this time of year, I took some time recently to reflect upon the Museum's accomplishments in 2017. I felt immense pride in our network of staff, board members and supporters and how much we have accomplished together. From releasing our aspirational strategic plan in the spring to hosting a one-of-a-kind event in honor of our nation's Native veterans, the Museum – and those who care about it – continues to make an impact.

We stayed the course on our mission to connect visitors to Indigenous cultures through collections acquisition and interpretation, exhibition, educational products, programming and scholarship. Often these moments of connection come through interaction and conversation; in fact, this year in particular I heard many remarkable personal stories and learned how each individual history affects my own.

This year has been unique in many ways. For example, I devoted much of the past 12 months to talking with and listening to Native veterans of all ages. They eloquently spoke of their experiences and offered guidance on the design and interpretation of the future National Native American Veterans Memorial. On Veterans Day, the Museum marked the opening of the memorial's design competition. We look forward to the design phase of the project in 2018, along with collecting more stories through our partnership with the Veterans History Project of the Library of Congress (loc.gov/vets).

The Museum has always served as a platform for Native peoples, cultures and traditions, especially as they merge with one another in our contemporary experience. For example, the Museum's annual Native Cinema Showcase in New Mexico – co-hosted with the Southwestern Association for Indian Arts – features a vibrant mix of feature and independent films as well as documentaries

that provide a potent commentary on issues of social justice.

This past August, the Museum opened conversations on activism concerning Native peoples through the themes of the showcase, including a screening of the powerful new documentary Dolores. An American labor leader and civil rights activist nearly all of her 87 years, Dolores Huerta has committed her life to social justice and giving voice to the disenfranchised and disrespected. Co-founder with Cesar Chavez of the National Farm Workers Association (later known as the United Farm Workers), Huerta has, as she says, "walked a path of justice" on behalf of fellow Mexican-Americans and she has been awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom and the James Smithson Award, among many others, for her tireless efforts.

Prior to the film screening this August, Huerta said it best herself: "Many of the films in this festival are films that heal the nation... and I think there is no better time than now" to watch and discuss them. I could not agree more. What better way to underscore the Museum's efforts to right the wrongs of racism, raise awareness on issues of social justice and civil rights, and educate new generations? In countless ways, we all benefit from sharing individual histories as well as collective experiences, ultimately, connections that we all share as Americans and global citizens.

As the first residents of the Americas, Native people have a unique understanding of this shared responsibility and stewardship of one's own traditions as well as respect for others. I invite you to visit the Museum in person – perhaps to take in one of our film screenings this winter or online through our many digital offerings – and learn more about what we are doing at the Museum to make (and re-make) history.

Kevin Gover (Pawnee) is Director of the National Museum of the American Indian.

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STORYTELLING IN

CONVENING AN INDUSTRY



The major showcase is now the imagineNATIVE Film + Media Arts Festival in Toronto, Ont. Now in its 18th year, it presented more than 115 film and video works from 16 countries in a five-day run in October. Artistic Director Jason Ryle (Salteaux) says, "These works need to be seen, and oftentimes our festivals are really the only one presenting this work."

Festivals this year are strongly engaged with current issues like the wave of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada and elsewhere. In fact, this season has been called the year of women's empowerment. More than half of the films at this year's Native Cinema Showcase in Santa Fe, N.M., this August were by or about Native women. At the imagineNA-TIVE festival, 72 percent of the works were by Indigenous female directors.

Three stand-out films chronicled the lives of prominent women leaders, *Mankiller*, about Cherokee Principal Chief Wilma Mankiller, 100 Years: One Woman's Fight for Justice, about Eloise Pepion Cobell (Blackfoot), and Dolores, about Dolores Huerta, co-leader with Cesar Chavez of the first farm workers union. Among the long list of prominent and on-therise female directors were Alethea Arnaquq-Baril (Inuk), for Angry Inuk, Razelle Benally (Navajo/Oglala Lakota), for Raven & He Walks with Thunder and Kayla Briët (Prairie Band Potawatomi) for Smoke That Travels.

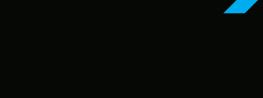
Ryle emphasizes the therapeutic effect of the films. "This work is still a real healing force for us," he said. "To create this work is a healing mechanism for ourselves and certainly for individual artists but also for the community."

Ryle's own showcase has been in the forefront of breaking the festival formula with innovative programming and international outreach. Launched in 2000, the festival grew out of the Aboriginal Film & Video Alliance, founded by Cynthia Lickers-Sage (Mohawk) and Vtape, a not-for-profit distributor of video art, along with other community partners. ImagineNATIVE is now the world's largest presenter of Indigenous screen content.

Ryle says the festival started out as an artistic and cultural drive for Indigenous media in Canada. "imagineNATIVE was born out of a direct need because we didn't have a platform where the [Indigenous] artists can tell their stories and perspectives they wanted to." He adds, "at the time all these others festivals were prescribing...what they believed was a genre, like Indigenous Cinema. Most of the films that were being presented at these places were created by non-Indigenous filmmakers."

But Ryle was building on a quarter century of Native film festivals. The American Indian Film Institute (AIFI) was founded in 1975 by media analyst Michael Smith (Sioux) and actor Will Sampson (Creek). AIFI runs the oldest film festival in North America, the American Indian Film Festival in San Francisco, Calif. The Museum of the American Indian (MAI) followed in 1979 with the Native American Film + Video Festival, which continued under founder Elizabeth Weatherford when the MAI was taken over by the Smithsonian Institution as the National



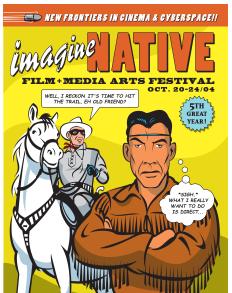


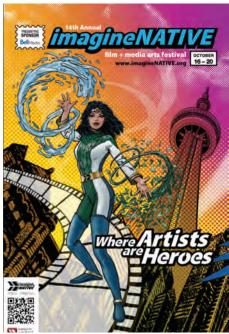


Sometimes called the most influential Indigenous filmmakers of their time, Zacharias Kunuk (Inuk), left, and Alanis Obomsawin (Abenaki), right, host a conversation at the imagineNATIVE Film Festival, 2006. Obomsawin has directed some 50 films with the National Film Board of Canada. Her documentary film *Our People Will Be Healed*, about the Helen Betty Osborne Ininiw Education Resource Centre in Norway House Cree Nation, premiered in the Masters program of the 2017 Toronto International Film Festival. Kunuk's indigenous-language film *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* (2001) was named the number one Canadian film by *Canada's All-Time Top Ten List* (2015, fourth edition).











FACING PAGE: Opening night of the imagineNATIVE Film Festival, 2010. Photo by Victoria Vaughan.

LEFT, TOP TO BOTTOM: imagineNATIVE Film Festival catalogue cover, 2004. Design by David Beyer (Cree); imagineNATIVE Film Festival catalogue cover, 2013. Design by Beehive Design; imagineNATIVE Film Festival catalogue cover, 2016. Design by Beehive Design

Museum of the American Indian in 1986. The Museum presented the Native American Film + Video Festival biennially in New York City until 2011. In 2000, it also founded the annual Native Cinema Showcase, which is still ongoing in New Mexico in conjunction with the Indian Art Market. Weatherford often observed that the festival was older than its Smithsonian affiliation.

In the late 1970s, Weatherford was the anthropology professor at the School of Visual Arts, and the idea for a festival grew out of screenings of ethnographic films. In 1978, she said, the MAI was lobbying for a relocation from its out-of-the-way 155th Street building to the U.S. Customs House in lower Manhattan, current location of the NMAI George Gustav Heye Center. The MAI proposed a film program downtown as the first step. Weatherford expanded the proposal to a fullscale festival, showing both 16-mm films and the then-new medium of video and using the richly appointed Collector's Office of the Customs House as a theater. "We were the first festival that was international and indigenous," she says.

The biggest increase in festivals took place in the 1990s and 2000s. The Sundance Institute added its Native American and Indigenous Program to the annual Sundance Festival in 1994. Each Native film festival has redefined Indigenous cinema storytelling with its own brand of approach; they range globally from Montreal First Peoples Festival in Quebec, to Skabmagovat Film Festival in Inari, Finland, to the L.A. Skins Festival in Los Angeles, Calif. An International Film + Video Festival of Indigenous Peoples rotates across Latin America under the auspices of CLACPI, the Coordinadora, Latinoamericano de Cine y Comunicación de los Pueblos Indigenas (Latin American Council of Indigenous People's Film and Communication).

As new festivals emerge each year, they create an ever-expanding community for Native and Indigenous filmmaking worldwide. To support that initiative many Native festivals have begun to tour their programming content to universities and tribal communities. ImagineNATIVE has its Film + Video Tour











TOP: Kayla Briët (Prairie Band Potawatomi), director of *Smoke That Travels* (2016, 13 min., United States). ABOVE LEFT: Fire Song screening at NMAl-New York, June 2016. From left: Adam Garnet Jones (Cree/Metis/Danish), Andrew Martin (First Nations Mohawk), Harley Legarde (Fort William First Nation), Jason Ryle (Saulteaux). ABOVE RIGHT: *Native America Calling* Live Broadcast at the Native Cinema Showcase, August 2001. From left: Bird Runningwater (Cheyenne/Mescalero Apache), Heather Rae (Cherokee), Chris Eyre (Cheyenne/Arapaho), Irene Bedard (Inupiat/Inuit/Metis), Ben Alex Dupris (Colville). BOTTOM LEFT: *Mayors of Shiprock* (2017, 56 min., United States). Directed by Ramona Emerson (Navajo). BOTTOM RIGHT: Jason Ryle (Saulteaux), imagineNATIVE's artistic director.



Wilma Mankiller (Cherokee Nation) reads to young students.

and American Indian Film Institute its Tribal Touring Program. The National Museum of the American Indian is in talks to tour Native Cinema Showcase to museums and eventually to tribal communities.

Establishing lasting relationships with other organizations can be key for any fledgling festival. When imagineNATIVE was in its beginning stages, it reached out to the NMAI and its Film and Video Center. The relationship has shared new thoughts and formed dialogues as either party invited panelists, guest programmers or co-presenter for films. Ryle called it a "natural bridge" between both institutions. "That was a natural fit really, where we at least got to the position where we were able to build those partnerships a little more concretely."

imagineNATIVE has continued creating partnerships with other festivals and artists, creating a global network for Indigenous cinema. Canada has set up an Indigenous Screen Office to support the development, production and marketing of indigenous content.

In his 16 years at the festival, Ryle has seen a parallel between the growth of Indigenous cinema and Native film festivals. "The more indigenous film festivals there are, the stronger our industry is. I really believe that. And that was the case for the early years. Especially at a time when the level of production wasn't as high as it is now.

"Probably the biggest impact I think that our festivals have," he says, "is that it really presented that perspective and did the work of bridge building, community building, educating, entertaining and enlightening, that really wasn't happening elsewhere."

The growth of an Indigenous cinema has given Native film festivals a scope of programming content that has diversified each year. Topics range from environmentalism and activism to politics and cultural preservation. Audiences have begun to take notice. Where once Native cinema was a niche genre in larger festivals, it is now in the forefront of international cinema. The heightened interest has brought significantly higher audiences to many Native festivals. NMAI's Native Cinema Showcase this year, its 17th annual, drew the largest numbers ever, with more than 2,700 people. In its six days, it featured 50-plus films from seven countries.

So how do Native film festivals like imagineNATIVE maintain their success within an

industry that is continuously growing? imagineNATIVE created its own structure, a sort of DNA that helps continue the success of the festival. "Success as an organization is our adherence to the original mandate that Cynthia and others helped instill within the structure of imagineNATIVE," says Ryle. "An imagineNATIVE DNA, is to be an Indigenous artist focused festival, to present the works of Indigenous artists and their screen culture, their visions and creativity on the screen, rather than one that's programmed solely on content."

As for the future of Native and Indigenous cinema, Ryle says, "Over the past 10 years these artists are creating such a huge body of work that you and I never had growing up. If you look at our nieces and nephews, what this is going to leave them is incredibly profound, not just them too, but non-native kids as well. I mean this is something that just never existed before. And I'm really excited how that will inspire generations of filmmakers and storytellers, but how that will really impact the fabric of our society." \$\\$

Cynthia Benitez is a film curator and scholar specializing in Native and indigenous film. She is currently the Film Programmer for the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian in New York City. Theresa Barbaro also contributed.

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NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE :: AMERICAN INDIAN





Mariano Flores Cananga (Quechua, ca 1850-1949), ca 1925. Ayacucho, Peru. Gourd, pigment; 17 x 18 cm. Egbert P. Lott Collection. 15/9952

Xi´xa´niyus (Bob Harris, Kwakw<u>a</u>ka'wakw, ca. 1870-ca. 1935), <u>K</u>´ umu<u>k</u> w<u>a</u> mł (Chief of the Undersea mask). Vancouver Island, British Columbia, ca. 1900. Wood, paint, glass, string. 14/9624

Shuar Akitiai (Ear Ornaments), Upper Amazon, Ecuador, ca. 1930. Beetle wing covers, toucan feathers, plant fibers, glass beads. 27×11 cm. Collected by Dr. Victor Wolfgang von Hagen. 18/8740

TAÍNO SURVIVAL:

Backinto History By Ranald WOODAMAN

o exhibition has actually addressed the topic of the survival of Native peoples in the Caribbean after 1492. The Native peoples of the region, represented by the durable elements of their material culture, are contained in museums within the pre-colonial moment. To frame an exhibit that emphasizes the survival and contemporary vitality of these indigenous peoples and their legacy is an intimidating task. But such is the upcoming Taíno: Native Heritage and Identity in the Caribbean, now under preparation for the National Museum of the American Indian - Smithsonian in New York City.

The objects that are generally considered to be the most emblematic of the Caribbean's Native heritage are its archeological artifacts. These form a dialogue with the Native sym-

bols and drawings in caverns and on rocks best known by locals across the region. They fill the Caribbean's national museums and private collections. They contribute to regional visual imaginaries (like image banks for tattoos) and provide work for artisans who create crafts for tourists and masterful fakes for unknowing collectors. They have been deployed as symbols of resistance to colonialism and imperialism, but also to consolidate popular understanding of national identities.

For many audiences who consider these artifacts as part of their heritage, they arouse powerful questions about ancestry and invoke a sense of unresolved history regarding the colonial encounter between European, African, Indigenous and other peoples in the Caribbean.

In another lifetime – 2008 – I first approached the archeological Native American collections at the Smithsonian's American

Indian and Natural History museums with an interest in the history of the collections themselves. How were these artifacts first collected, and how did they end up at the Smithsonian? What were the political contexts, the ideologies behind collecting and the market forces at hand? About the time I was poking around collections, I heard someone in the Smithsonian leadership talk about the Taíno movement in Puerto Rico, and I thought to myself, "How's that possible? Indians in Puerto Rico are extinct."

Native communities of eastern Cuba: A Native woman (likely Luisa Gainsa) and child near Baracoa, Cuba, 1919. The story of eastern Cuba's Native communities is increasingly coming to light as researchers uncover historical records and archeological data to document the survival and adaptations of Native peoples over the centuries – and into the present. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (N04469).



TAÍNO SURVIVAL





Caribbean, even in seemingly more culturally homogenous areas like Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, is that despite its size it contains lots of diversity. This variety is complicated by creolization, which is the intricate process of cultural changes and exchanges – in all directions – over time, and by micro-regional differences.

THE TAINO MOVEMENT

didn't imagine that in 2018 I would be opening an exhibit, not only about indigenous legacies in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, but about the Taíno movement. Legacy doesn't raise hackles – it's a palatable topic and doesn't offend the official narrative which holds that Native American survival (*indio* in this context) in the Great Antilles was impossible after colonization.

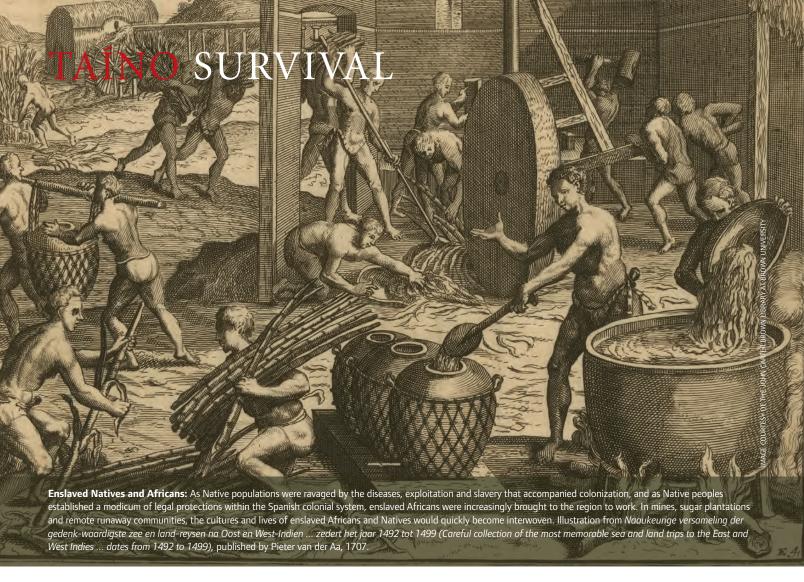
On the other hand, the Taino movement, a declaration of Native survival through mestizaje (genetic and cultural mixing over time), reclamation and revival, was an intimidating topic for me as an exhibit developer and curator to tackle. This movement involves the descendants of Native peoples of the Spanishspeaking Caribbean and its U.S. diaspora, uniting under the label Taíno. It has emerged since the 1970s. Its participants are organized in diverse groups, informed by different, though often overlapping, social agendas and ideologies. They network and exchange information at in-person events including powwows and spiritual retreats and through online platforms such as Facebook. They are also a no-nonsense community that has been the subject of antagonistic scrutiny by some scholars who contest contemporary Taínos' claim on indigenous identity.

With time I realized that despite the sensitivity of this topic, which clashes with the sensibilities and historical frameworks of some people inside and outside this movement, in-

formation for making sense of Native heritage is something for which the public, especially Latino audiences, are hungry.

Indigenous peoples of the Caribbean never have much of historical presence past 1550, by which point, most narratives consider Native peoples to be so few in number, especially in comparison to the increasing enslaved African workforce, that they cease to exist. The paper archives of the countryside and backwoods do not exist. Where Native presence does persist is in the repertoire and archive of popular memory, family histories, folk stories, regional lore and as living spirits in Caribbean religious traditions.

One thing to remember about the Caribbean, even in seemingly more culturally homogenous areas like Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, is that despite its size it contains lots of diversity. This variety is complicated by creolization, which is the intricate process of cultural changes and exchanges - in all directions - over time, and by micro-regional differences. The colonial economies, labor practices and settlement patterns of the islands were varied and changed over time. Spanish control and presence was both real in the force of its genocide, and also symbolic in its capacity to sustain control and effectively settle and exploit. As an example, in Hispaniola (today Haiti and the Dominican Republic), four Native villages were discovered on the northern coast in 1556 during a period in which the island's dwindling Native peoples had presumably all been counted by the official censuses.



SURVIVING 1492

he post-1492 survival of Native people, identity and culture in the region might be understood through overlapping forms of social positioning such as economic integration without too much intermarriage, isolation from the colonial order (going "off the grid") and intermarriage. On the eastern side of Cuba, scholars are increasingly finding evidence in records and archeology of Native peoples and their neighborhoods integrated into the local colonial economy, in occupations such as ranching or pottery-making. Maroon communities formed by Africans and Native peoples escaping slavery were intentionally isolated from colonial authority; the memory of Native ancestors is still alive and honored in surviving Jamaican maroon communities. Similarly, there is evidence for the movement of Native peoples from the Greater Antilles to the Lesser Antilles and to Arawakan-language speaking areas of South America during the violence, epidemics and rampant enslavement of the early colonial period.

Intermarriage, politely put, refers to the genetic and cultural exchanges between Native, African and European peoples. The outcome of intermarriage — mixedness (mestizaje) is traditionally thought of as the end of the road for cultural Indianness. The Taíno movement, not unlike aspects of the Chicano movement, says just the opposite, that mixed race, descendants of indios have a right to reclaim and reconstruct this heritage, and that it is integral to their sense of spiritual and cultural wholeness.

Finding the Native peoples in the archives of the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico requires serious academic inquiry. In the Dominican Republic regions like San Juan de la Maguana contain multi-layered Native histories that have spiritual dimensions like the invocation of the venerated chieftainess Anacaona (hanged by Spanish colonizers in the early colonial period). While some Dominican or Puerto Rican towns or areas are associated with the resettlement of particular

Native communities (like the followers of Enriquillo or Natives from Mona Island), most of the family stories of Taíno movement participants situate their *indio* identity in the countryside. These accounts often describe somewhat isolated family homesteads relying largely on what they farmed or gathered from the surrounding forest for food, housing materials and domestic objects.

It merits restating that the social history of the countryside or back-country was usually only of superficial documentary interest to European travelers. It didn't emerge as a topic in national Caribbean histories in the 20th century or was usually perceived through particular lenses like Marxism, Afrodiasporic Studies or Women's Studies, which generally did not consider indigeneity. In the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, it is difficult to find textual documentation of Native communities or family groups. Despite increasing finds of Taíno genealogists which include church and civil records indicating ancestors' race as india/o, this is still an emerging area of inquiry which requires further mapping

of family groups and which correlates with local histories.

While in eastern Cuba researchers have been increasingly successful in uncovering and presenting the evidence of Native survival within Spanish colonial society into the present, I wonder how much of this history can really be recovered through archival and archeological research. So much of it unfolded outside the realm of documentation. I can only imagine what the Greater Antilles offered socially for the mixed race, Native and African peoples "left behind" on the islands by the bulk of Spanish settlers who moved onto minerally richer lands in Mexico, Peru and elsewhere on the mainland.

For about 200 years the Spanish authorities ignored the hinterlands of the islands (and their people), which had freedom from racialized control and labor/resource exploitations. The added bonus was that new forms of protein, like pigs and cows, offered better odds of survival in the remote interior into which escaping peoples like Natives, enslaved Africans and European outcasts retreated. Unfortunately, this is a critical period in history (perhaps outside of history) for which we have few tantalizing glimpses, such as physician Dr. Hans Sloan's 1725 account of

What's in a Name?

he term Taíno was first recorded in Spanish chronicles in 1493. It probably meant "good people," though the word's original context is difficult interpret. (It was an encounter between Spanish explorers and Natives on the island of Guadeloupe - probably ancestors of today's Kalinago peoples with female captives from other islands). Linguists and then archeologists of the 19th century used Taíno to group together the various Arawak-speaking peoples in the Greater Antilles, Bahamas and Virgin Islands. While archeology and historical texts show important trade, political

and kinship relationships that connected Native communities across these islands, there's a stark limit to understanding the past identities of their ancestral societies.

Does using the term Taíno create a false sense of cultural homogeneity among the linguistically, culturally and ethnically diverse peoples of the pre-Hispanic Caribbean? Today, Taíno has been embraced by many Caribbean people with Native ancestry as a term that unites their historical experiences and cultural identities before and after 1492. In our exhibit, we've been careful to highlight the diversity of today's Taíno movement, and to use Taíno (or simply Native) peoples in plural for discussing the pre-colonial past.

British Jamaica that describes the gardens and plant knowledge of the Natives farmers and hunters who had been integrated into colonial society. It should be noted that Native peoples from neighboring regions of the Caribbean were also enslaved and resettled in the Greater Antilles – such as the indigenous Jamaicans that formed new communities with African maroons, they too are ancestors and are part of the Taíno story.



FRAMING THE EXHIBIT

s the Taíno movement grows in numbers, complexity and public presence, it seemed like a disservice to do another Caribbean archeology exhibit without addressing the contemporary movement. Our public is deeply interested in this topic. It gets to the very origin story of the region and the whole of the Americas. Many outside the movement observe it with mixed emotions; the traditional history of the region makes the movement seem impossible, and yet every family seems to have a *india/o* in the family just a few generations back.

Furthermore, the heritage of the whole Caribbean is contested at several levels; some fear that embracing a contemporary sense of Taíno diminishes the contributions of African ancestors to national culture or personal identity. It is truly a contested heritage, and yet many Latinos of mixed racial/ethnic ancestry (i.e. most of us) are interested in their ancestral cultures as part of an effort to reconcile the violence of colonization. Contextualizing the Taino movement in a way that respected the experiences and understanding of its diverse participants, and that created a space for all visitors to reconsider the meanings of ancestry and the relevance of indigenous knowledge in the present, became the central focus of this exhibit.

What are the exhibition's limitations? For one, due to the small size of our gallery, we contextualize the Taíno movement as emerging primarily from bottom up, representing a claim to indigenous identity rooted in a *campesino*, or rural, Native-mestizo experience and consciousness. Little space is left in the exhibition to explore the use of Native legacy in nation building projects by Caribbean intellectuals and institutions, and the influence of symbolic Indians (e.g. emblems of colonial injustice and anti-colonial resistance, or symbols of the nation) on the world view and political agenda of participants in the Taíno movement.

Another limitation of the exhibition is how we possibly under-emphasize the power of spirituality as a key force spurring the growth of the Taíno movement. For many of its participants, the Taíno movement offers a spiritually rewarding opportunity to reconnect with and honor neglected ancestors, forces from the natural world and supernatural beings/ancestral deities. For Caribbean peoples working with Native spirits (inside, but equally outside the movement), Native



ancestors and spirit guides provide advice and warnings, and can be indispensable for healing or solving problems. A growing strand within the Taíno movement is also trying to reconstruct the religion of the Arawakspeaking peoples of the Greater Antilles prior to Christianization.

This project of spiritual reconstruction involves studying historical texts and comparative ethnographic studies of historic and contemporary Native peoples related to the Taíno peoples of the Caribbean. It also involves revelations through dreams and encounters with nature – phenomena called *alternative ways of knowing* that are difficult for most scholars to analyze. How could an exhibition effectively convey the spiritual dimensions of ethnicity and history, and the spiritual weight of ancestors on the present?

Lastly, initial plans for the exhibit entailed a geographic scope that brought the Spanish-speaking Greater Antilles into conversation with other areas of the Caribbean with important and different indigenous legacies such as Jamaica, Haiti, the Lesser Antilles and areas of the continent like the Garifuna-populated coast of Central America. The size of our gallery, and our desire as exhibition people to tell a comprehensible story, necessitated a tightened geographic and cultural scope.

What are the exhibition's greatest contributions? It is groundbreaking in its treatment of the contemporary Taíno movement for the following reasons. First, its point of departure is Native survival on the Greater Antilles, which we substantiate with the enduring (though not unchanged) presence of Native genes, culture, knowledge and identity among the descendants of the Taíno peoples of the region. Second, it respects and dialogues with the concepts of indigeneity, heritage and identity that are articulated by the participants in the Taíno movement. It also points at the gaps and privileges that exist in the historical archive of the Spanish Caribbean; while most Caribbean peoples lived in a rural context before 1950, the social history of the countryside, often lacking preserved archives and material culture, becomes an area of (intermittent) study only in the 20th century. The history of the region until then is largely an account of early conquest and settlement, pirate attacks, the movement of Spanish fleets, fortress construction and the activities of the Church.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, this exhibition offers a more historically accurate understanding of *mestizaje* that makes the relationship between and legacy of African

Petroglyph with Ancestors: Faces and other designs carved into cave and river rocks are common across the Caribbean, offering a tangible connection to the Native legacies of the region. Native peoples used caves as spiritual spaces for burial and offerings, as well as natural hurricane shelters. The faces on this Puerto Rican petroglyph probably represent ancestors. Native spirits are still consulted in many of the region's spiritual traditions. AD 1000-1500, Puerto Rico, stone. 21.7" x 13" x 7.9". 15/0880

and indigenous peoples more explicit, from the maroon communities of the early colonial period to the contemporary healers of the region's different spiritual traditions.

I feel profoundly fortunate to have been part of a project that is grounded in the intersection of race, history and identity in the Americas. It is embedded in questions of ancestry, multiple identities and ethnic politics that, while representing a specific content – the Spanish Caribbean and its U.S. diaspora – relate to universal quandaries around heritage and framing history. *Taíno: Native Heritage and Identity in the Caribbean* will en-

ergize visitors' conversations around ancestry and history, and it will create new paradigms for understanding Native heritage in the construction of Caribbean identities, and the role of Native people and their knowledge in the survival, history, spirituality and culture of the region's diverse peoples. **

Ranald Woodaman is the Exhibitions and Public Program Director at the Smithsonian Latino Center. He curated the exhibition *Taino: Native Heritage and Identity in the Caribbean* with a research team including co-curator and veteran scholar of Cuban Native Studies, Dr. José Barreiro, University of Texas (Austin), PhD-candidate Christina M. González and former NMAI educator and veteran researcher of the Dominican *campo*, Jorge Estévez.

PHOTO BY FRNEST A

INDIGENOUS CUBA Hidden in Plain Sight

BY JOSÉ BARREIRO







uba is picturesque everywhere, but most visitors trek to the more accessible western end of the island - Havana and the nearby white-sand beaches, the historic bay and its boardwalk (malecón). This is the tourist mecca of colonial architecture and burgeoning arts, old time cars in a modern metropolis.

But Cuba the island – in the popular imagination and poetry - is a long crocodile (caiman). The west – and Havana – is the tail. The head of the caiman, my old people always said, is in the rugged east, the craggy mountain cordilleras of the fabled region called Oriente.

"Tierra soberana," sing the troubadours -"sovereign land."

Cuba begins through the Oriente, where the most settled Indian territories or cacicazgos, held sway. Through here the Spanish arrived in their conquest of Cuba in 1511 and here it was that the early Indian rebellions later evolved into the independence movements and wars of the 19th century. José Martí, the "Cuban Apostle" in the war against Spain was killed in battle near here. Teddy Roosevelt fought Spanish infantry nearby, at San Juan Hill. Even Fidel Castro's revolution of the 1950s emerged in the history of these eastern mountains.

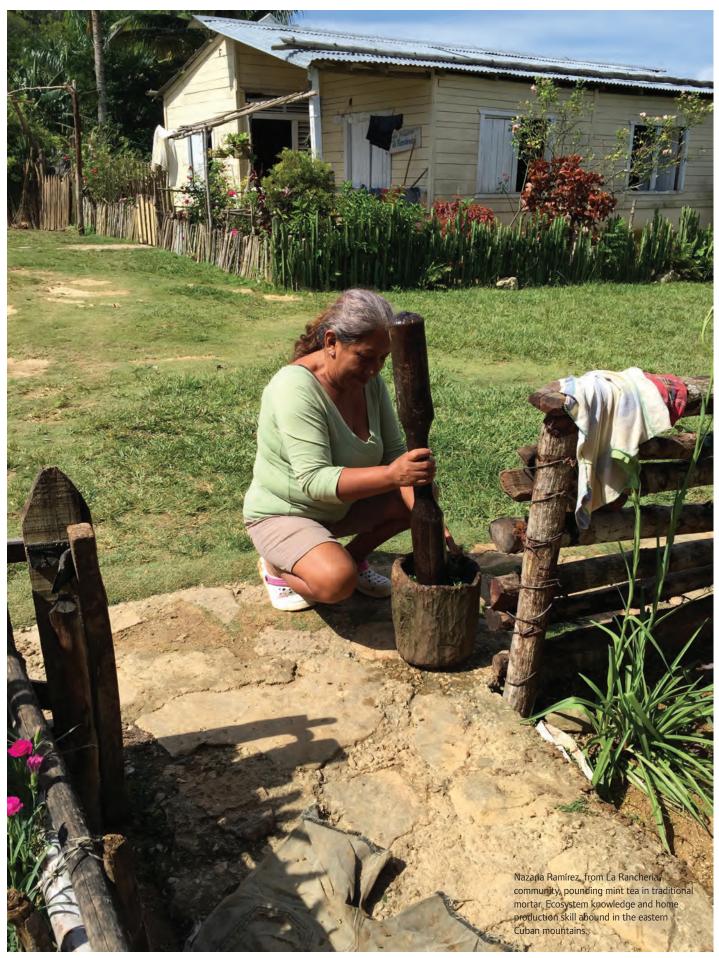
"Cuba profunda," Alejandro Hartmann, calls it, "Deep Cuba." Hartmann is city historian and director of the Matachin Museum, in the town of Baracoa, an ancient Native (Taíno) coastal village that became the first Spanish settlement in Cuba. Baracoa is still considered the gateway to indigenous Cuba. When Hartmann refers to Cuba profunda, he is signaling this reality: despite all the claims of Native people's extinction in the Caribbean, in this region, encompassing the thick mountain chains inland from Baracoa to Guantanamo, and through the wider sierras, a Cuban indigenous presence is still recognizable.

I recently trekked with Hartmann up the coastal hills to the mountain cordilleras and the Indian community of La Rancheria. We went to visit our old friend, cacique Francisco Ramirez Rojas, "Panchito."

La Rancheria is one of numerous small caserios or homesteads of the Native descended clan of Cubans known as the Rojas-Ramírez, called by anthropologists "la Gran Familia," or the largest family in Cuba. The Rojas-Ramírez families are descendants of the Native Caribbean people that today are popularly and academically known as the Taíno. There are numerous caserios of Rojas-Ramírez families in over 20 localities in the Cuban eastern mountains and coasts, a kinship with upwards of 4,000 people.

The particular community of La Rancheria is nestled high up the wooded mountains of a pueblo called Caridad de los Indios. Nearby, about half an hour by horse, is another Native community of La Escondida, or "the hideout." These were the most remote refuge areas called palengues, in Cuba - where numerous Indian families migrated after losing lowland farms and their last Indian jurisdiction, El Caney, as late as 1850.

After four hours of riding up the mountain first in a jeep, then a large open truck, we find Cacique Panchito in good health. At 81, he has taken up using a cane, but has good mobility and is lucid as ever. Healthy and mobile too is the family matriarch and Panchito's wife of 60 years, Reina. They are busy today with a visit







CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: Alejandro Hartmann, Cuban historian, and José Barreiro interviewing a Native family in El Jamal hamlet, near Baracoa, Cuba. Idalis Ramírez shares a funny incident with great-aunt, Adela Romero Ramírez, while discussing traditional birthing stories, in the town of Palenque, Cuba. Panchito Ramírez interviewed by José Barreiro, Camagüey, Cuba, 2013. An auto-ethnographic book will be published in English, February 2018, *Dreaming Mother Earth: The Life and Wisdom of Cuban Cacique, Francisco "Panchito" Ramírez Rojas*, Casa de las Americas, La Habana/Editorial Campana, New York, 2017. Idalis Ramírez, and two nieces, evidence of generations of *la gran familia*, an extended kinship of some 6,000 Native relatives, in the easternmost Cuban mountains. Elders Reina Rojas and Panchito Ramírez, surrounded by daughters Almeida, Idalis, Yeya and Nazaria, core of the Rancherias community. The matrilineal quality of the families impressed American archeologist, Steward Culin in 1901 and sustains among the Native families.

PHOTO BY JOSÉ BARRIERO AND KAWEIRO GROUP/CARIBBEAN INDIGENOUS LEGACIES PROJEC







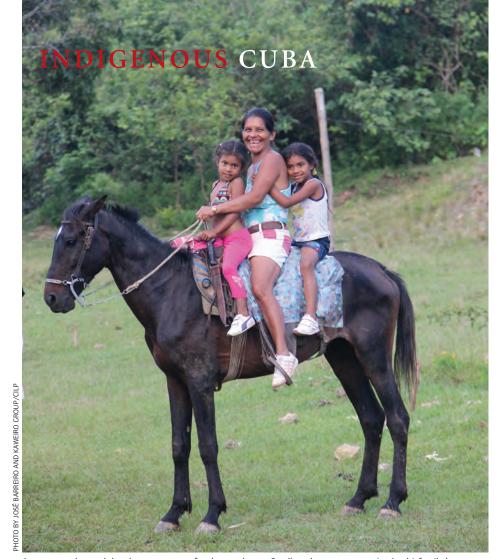


from several related families. A pig has been butchered by sons and grandsons, who are making fire and roasting it in a pit. Several of their daughters and granddaughters chat and cut up tubers such as *malanga*, *boniato* and *yucca* – all original Indian crops – and sort rice, corn and beans to cook for the feast.

Panchito Ramirez is a born and bred *Indio campesino*, whose deep roots in the teachings of his elders singled him out for respect and recognition as main authority – *cacique* – of his community for more than 40 years. Other *caciques* had come before him in these remote mountain communities, but were so marginalized and out of sight that the national society assumed all Cuban Indians extinct. The reality of actual small communities was obscured by the fog of national scholars who predicated a strict Spanish-African origin for the Cuban population, repeatedly denying the indigenous strand in the national braid.

Panchito has pressed the fact of his community's existence for over 30 years, a consistent effort to break through the wall of invisibility built by the adamant and widespread assertion of extinction for Cuban Native peoples. Among other regional historians, Hartmann refers to the fact of many Indian families surviving through colonial times as "something well-known in the eastern region." He added: "This idea of a total Indian extinction was prescribed and cemented by cosmopolitan scholars." The researchers who established the extinction dictum, he said, wrote from limited archival research and kept repeating each other. "Few visited and none of them studied in these mountains."

Panchito touched on the subject during our visit, recounting the long and compelling history of his particular kinship gens, the Rojas-Ramírez families. The ancestry goes back to the last wave of indigenous settlement in Cuba - Taíno - who greeted the Spanish conquest and who, contrary to the popular narrative of their extinction, actually survived, as small groups and through intermarriage, through the centuries. It happened in Cuba that the Spanish colonial encomienda, based on the imposed labor of Indians, gave way to the founding of several pueblos of free Indian families. Among these, San Luis de los Caneyes (El Caney), near Santiago de Cuba, became the origin and survival place for the Rojas-Ramírez families for three centuries. These newly liberated or recently isolated Indian families were granted the names Rojas and Ramirez, en masse, in baptisms under a Spanish governor and a Bishop with those last names.



A young mother and daughters mount up for the way home. Small settlements or *caserios* (multi-family homesteads) of many Rojas Ramírez families communicate by horseback or oxen wagon.

The Spanish Royal grant of Indian jurisdiction over their community lands in El Caney was squelched by the colonial *audiencia* in 1850, but several Indian kinship or extended family groups remained together as they resettled in more remote lands over the mountains. "In my childhood here," Reina explains, "la Rancheria was all Indian families; just in this community we had 30 houses or more. Now we are only 12 houses here. Many moved to the coast and other places looking for better conditions."

As of 2016, dozens of Rojas-Ramírez multifamily homesteads are scattered throughout the eastern mountains and a formal family count of the kinship group, still incomplete, stands at around 4,000. The Indian families as a whole retain considerable traditional ecological knowledge, along with legendary stories and ceremonies of fertility and protection that invoke the Moon, the Sun and the Mother Earth. In their healing traditions, they work with sacred trees, and they make wide use of medicinal herbal plants. They are proud agriculturalists – *campesinos* – who

enjoy and suffer the ups and downs of raising crops on the land.

Along with Hartmann and a research team of community members, we traveled these thin mountain trails and visited with a good range of the Rojas-Ramírez folks. Beyond the bustle of the city and the frenetic salsa-driven cubanía of urban culture, a core of the national soul, the essence of its origin, resides in the Cuban countryside, in the mountains and remote coastal areas, among the people who work the land with the old Indian coa, or digging stick, plow with oxen-driven rigs and still ride horses as their main source of transportation. The high mountain lifestyle incorporates many Spanish and African cultural elements, yet the sense of Native belonging is obvious. This Cuba profunda, as Hartmann deems it, still yields a wonderful oral tradition, of the people and by the people.

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After half a century of socialist revolution, a new Cuban generation seeks to deepen its identity, to see and experience an everwidening vision of society. In Cuba, as in most of the Americas, exploring the deeper layers of a country's cultural origins reveals foundational forces, within which resonates indigeneity, the nexus of the people and the land.

It surprises many people, even many Cuban people, that an indigenous community of substantial documented history and contemporary presence exists. It particularly elates many people that the elders of the Indian families continue to express spiritual and practical messages of respect for the Mother Earth and the productive qualities of mountain-farming techniques.

For a country that experienced severe food shortages, and near-starvation conditions just a generation ago, it is a message that resonates. Many well remember that when the high-input Soviet style farms went defunct with the whole socialist bloc, it was in fact the old Taíno crops and endemic herbal medicines, applied along with new organic farming technologies, that saved the country from starvation.

In Cuba, the discussion goes beyond acknowledging the Indian kinship group of the Rojas-Ramírez people of the Oriente. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, a broader debate on Cuban identity issues has intensified as well. Things ancient and traditional, practical and high-minded constitute a current of discussion. A vigorous urban agriculture, a green or agro-ecological movement grew and has matured in the past 30 years.

As elsewhere, the discussion of indigeneity is impacted by new genetic studies, which for Cuba reveal that 34.5 percent of the general population is inheritor of Native-American mitochondrial DNA. The highest levels are found in the eastern region of Cuba: Holguín (59 percent) and Las Tunas (58 percent). This news has dealt a frontal blow to the historical dictum of early Native extinction.

A current of scholars and, more interestingly, of young activists is finally excavating not only archeological material but intangible cultural elements of *indigenidad en la cubanía*. A new direction is suggested; writes new generation Cuban scholar Robaina Jaramillo: "[Academic thinking] limited... our self-concept in the Cuban cultural identity...by omitting...the first transculturation process in the genesis of the Cuban nation, [that] between Indian and Spanish and Indian and African."

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After years of modest traveling through Cuba rekindling the Native family bonds, the old *campesino* Cacique Panchito, mostly non-literate, formally broke through the historical extinction barrier in 2014, when



his community was acknowledged at a formal national-international conference on Indigenous cultures of the Americas. He got to bring his message there, and to introduce his daughter, Idalis, to help him represent their community.

As always, Panchito's message was about working, loving and dreaming Mother Earth. Very simply, very consistently, he frames his words around the most important issue: invoking the proper farming and forestry techniques, and the spiritual values that underpin such a philosophy, to produce food and other natural gifts for the people. His consistent representation of the spiritual values that can still inform Cuba's strong movement of ecoagriculture has resonated with currents in the new generation ready to engage the issues of people and the land.

Today, one of Panchito and Reina's daughters has requested a community baptism for her newborn granddaughter. The job belongs to Doña Luisa, 94, oldest woman in the community. A circle is formed, outside, and under the midday sun. Doña Luisa bundles herbs with which to bless with water and leads a

long prayer. The baptism has Christian elements but it is not merely so. A signal song and prayer of the community, appreciation to the Sun and the Moon, is intoned.

The grandmother requests a tobacco prayer circle. She asks Panchito and Idalis to lead it. The rolled cigar is lit and smoked to the four directions. Panchito calls on his prayer to the natural potencies of the world. As he ends, the elder woman of the community sanctifies the baby and presents her to her parents, she reminds them, "now no longer just of the *monte*, and as *casi*, or almost-Christian."

I asked Panchito later why the term almost-Christian? "Because we respect everything," he says. "The *nina* belongs to her parents, and she belongs to us, she belongs to the nation, she belongs to nature, and she belongs to God."

Doña Luisa says. "Yes, we have our own way of being ("nuestra manera de ser")." \$\\$

José Barreiro, Smithsonian Scholar Emeritus, retired from the NMAI in 2016. He is a contributor and early curator for the upcoming exhibition, *Taíno: Native Ancestry and Identity in the Caribbean*.

Granma Luisa conducts a baptism and "welcome" for a new baby from the community.

HERBERT DICKEYIN THE DEVIL'S PARADISE

BY JAMES RING ADAMS



haven't had an adventure and don't expect to have," Dr. Herbert Spencer Dickey wrote in 1929 about his full-time career exploring the unknown interior of South America. He criticized many of the much-publicized Amazon expeditions of the early 1900s as "sport," not science. On his own travels on the eastern side of the Andes, he made contact with an unknown tribe, witnessed a Jivaro head-shrinking ceremony and searched for the source of the Orinocco River, all the while minimizing "real danger." Partly sponsored by Gorge Gustav Heye and the Museum of the American Indian, he brought back some of the finest items still on display at the NMAI.

But his "better judgement" was hard-won during his youthful career as a "tropical medico" wandering the headwaters of the Amazon and Orinocco rivers. As a young, fortune-seeking doctor, he faced repeated credible threats to his life, all the more serious because they

came, not from the jungle or Native tribes, but from employees of a major corporation.

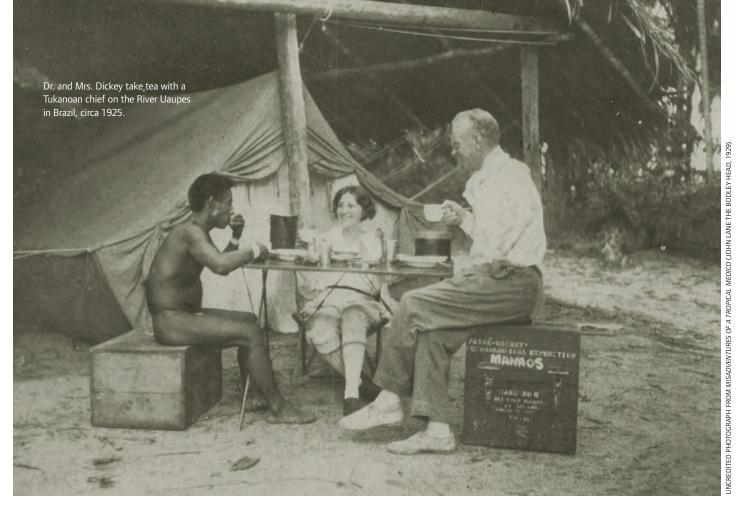
Dickey found himself, not once but twice, at the heart of one of the great atrocities of the early 20th century, the enslavement and systematic brutalization of Amazonian Indians during the Putumayo rubber boom. He was a staff doctor for the principal villain, the Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company. But he also served as source and guide to the British diplomat who did the great work of exposing the crimes, Sir Roger Casement. This naturally put him in a precarious position.

Dickey tells the story in his remarkable memoirs, *Misadventures of a Tropical Medico* (Bodley Head, 1929). This little-known book (still available in an expensive reprint) is not only a great read, it is also a powerful warning about corporate exploitation of indigenous peoples.

As a medical student from Highland Falls, N.Y., Dickey rather naively shipped for







"HE REELS OFF AN AMAZING STRING OF MISADVENTURES, SOME COMIC, SOME HORRIFYING AND MANY BOTH, LANDING AS HE DID IN THE MIDDLE OF A COLOMBIAN CIVIL WAR. BUT THE COMEDY FADES AS HE FOLLOWS HIS FORTUNE DEEPER INTO AMAZONIA, DRAWN BY THE BOOM IN RUBBER. AS HE WAS SOON TO LEARN, SOME OF THE GREATEST CORPORATE CRIMES AGAINST NATIVE PEOPLES IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY WERE FUELED BY DEMAND FOR AUTOMOBILE TIRES."

Colombia in 1899, seeking an exciting way to make a living. He reels off an amazing string of misadventures, some comic, some horrifying and many both, landing as he did in the middle of a Colombian civil war. But the comedy fades as he follows his fortune deeper into Amazonia, drawn by the boom in rubber. As he was soon to learn, some of the greatest corporate crimes against Native peoples in the early 20th century were fueled by demand for automobile tires.

By good chance, so he thought, Dickey found an opening for a staff doctor at El Encanto, a Peruvian Amazon Company station on a tributary of the Putumayo River. It was only gradually that he learned what was going on in that district, a disputed zone between Peru and Colombia, in which the rubber company was the only law. He witnessed the brutal flogging of six Indians with a tapir-hide lash. He learned Weetoto (or Huitoto), the

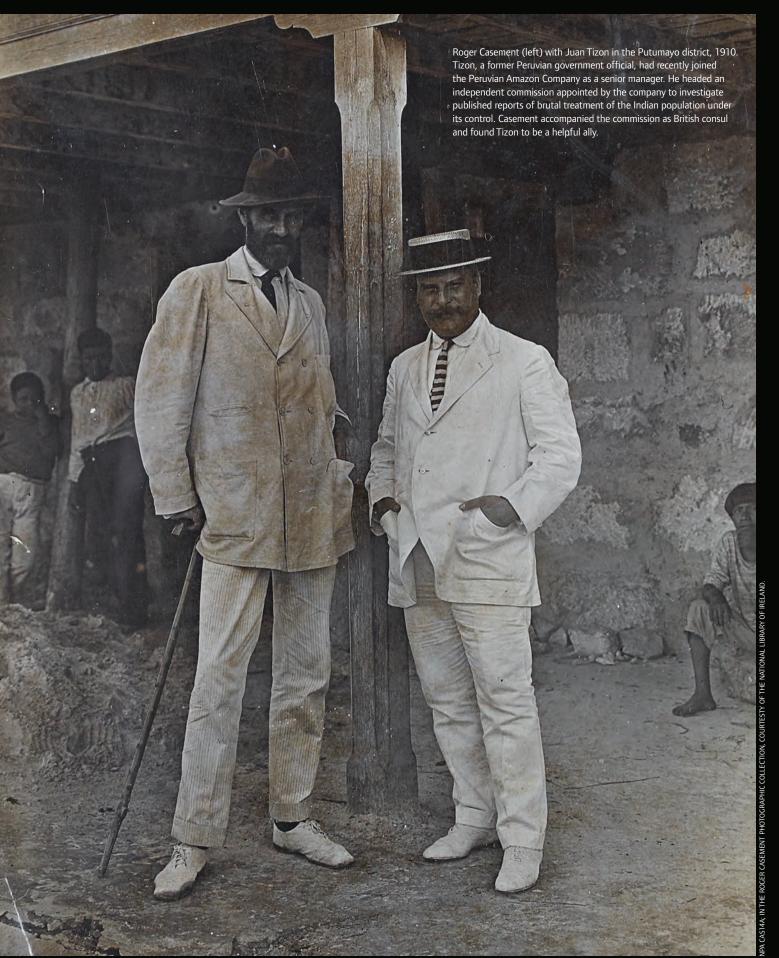
language of the tribe taking the brunt of the rubber exploitation, and Indians at the station whispered to him about casual murders committed by company managers. He also heard the drunken bragging of company minions. An expose had already been published in London by an American journalist who had briefly visited the outpost. But Dickey tried to put it out of his mind. The company steamer called only every three months, and he was living cheek by jowl with people who he was convinced wouldn't hesitate to eliminate a further source of damaging stories.

His escape came at great physical cost. While hunting bird specimens, a hobby that kept him away from the station, he stumbled on a travelling band from an unsubjugated tribe. The group didn't know him and took revenge on a generic white man. They tied him to a tree, his arms raised behind his back, and then slashed the bark above his

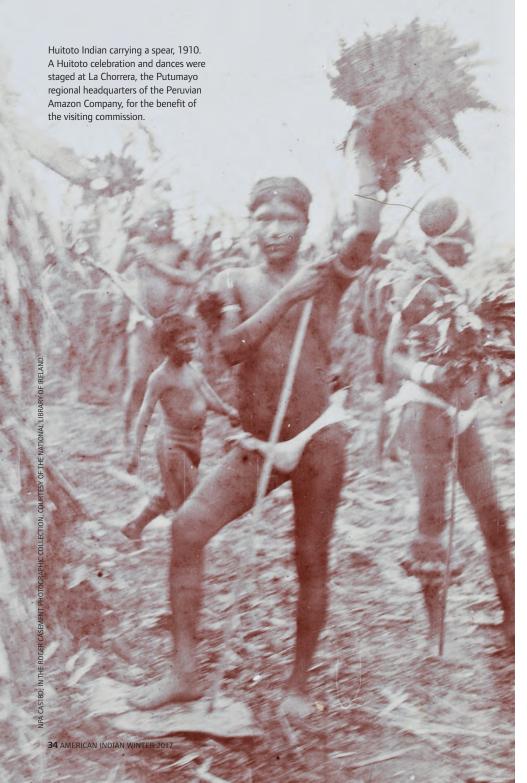
head. The sap attracted an army of ants, which swarmed over him as he hung there for 22 hours. Finally rescued by Huitotos, he was brought back to the station a physical wreck and clearly had to be evacuated.

Dickey said that his mental recovery began the moment the company river boat pushed off from the dock of El Encanto. Leaving the Putumayo, he thought forever, he eventually set up practice in more congenial surroundings, a Brazilian border town on the Javary River named Remate de Males, or "Culmination of Evils." "No town was ever better named," he wrote. Fugitives from Peruvian justice flocked there, while fugitives from Brazilian justice flocked across the Javary River to the sister border town in Peru, less aptly named Nazareth.

At Remate de Males, Dickey finally caught the Yellow Fever he had so long treated, and his convalescence brought him to another fateful encounter. In 1911, he left the continent for a



"ALTHOUGH FIGURES WERE UNCERTAIN,
CASEMENT WROTE, THE INDIAN POPULATION IN
THE PUTUMAYO HAD FALLEN FROM 40,000 (A LOW
ESTIMATE) AT THE BEGINNING OF THE RUBBER
BOOM TO 10,000 TO 12,000 AT ITS PEAK. HIS
COLLECTION OF INCIDENTS, DEPOSITIONS AND
EVEN FREELY GIVEN CONFESSIONS OF MURDERS
AT THE COMPANY'S BEHEST RAN 125,000 WORDS."



break in Barbados. In a bar in Bridgetown, he "stumbled across the one man in all the world who had set himself the task of aiding the unfortunate Weetoto Indians to escape from the abominable overlordship of the Peruvian employees of a British rubber-collecting company." This was Roger Casement.

In the middle of the coming World War, the British government hanged Casement as a traitor in one of the most notorious cases of the century. But at this point he was a hero, the pioneer of human rights investigations. As a career employee of the British consular service he had written a devastating report in 1903 on atrocities in the Congo of Belgium's King Leopold II, also committed for rubber. In the 18 months since Dickey had left El Encanto, Casement had accompanied a commission to the Putumayo that exhaustively documented the crimes and abuses of the Peruvian Amazon Company.

Casement gave the comprehensive account of the system Dickey had only seen in pieces. It was based on two institutions, the stocks (*cepos*) and the tapir-hide lash (*ronzal*). Indians who refused to carry rubber, or who collapsed under their load, or who otherwise offended a company minion, would be seated on the ground with their ankles pinned between two heavy logs, often through holes smaller than the actual size of their legs. There they would stay, said Casement, for days, weeks, even months. Floggings, and worse violations, were frequent, in and out of the stocks.

"Whole families were so imprisoned," wrote Casement, "fathers, mothers and children – and many cases were reported of parents dying thus, either from starvation or from wounds caused by flogging, while their offspring were attached alongside of them."

Although figures were uncertain, Casement wrote, the Indian population in the Putumayo had fallen from 40,000 (a low estimate) at the beginning of the rubber boom to 10,000 to 12,000 at its peak.

His collection of incidents, depositions and even freely given confessions of murders at the company's behest ran 125,000 words. It had not yet been published as a Parliamentary Blue Book when Dickey met Casement. (The U.S. State Department had asked for a delay so that the Peruvian government "could get its house in order," and the report was released in July 1912.) In the meantime, Casement had made somewhat Quixotic plans to arrest some of the worst perpetrators. He asked Dickey to go along, as interpreter and local expert.

The two sailed up the Amazon for weeks, with their quarry always two or three steps

ahead, forewarned, Dickey thought, by government officials. At the end, the pursuers only caught sight of the fugitives in Dickey's stamping ground of Remate de Males. The former minions of the Peruvian Amazon Company were disembarking from a canoe on the Peruvian side of the Javary.

It is on this frustrating hunt that Dickey makes a brief appearance in Mario Vargas-Llosa's historical fiction about Casement, *Dream of the Celt* (2010), which relies heavily, and perhaps mistakenly, on the version of Casement's diaries released by the British government. Vargas-Llosa gives Dickey a speech worthy of *Heart of Darkness*. (Casement befriended Joseph Conrad in the Congo when Conrad was running the errand that inspired his great novel.)

"We carry wickedness in our souls, my friend," Vargas-Llosa has him say. "In the countries of Europe, and in mine, it is more disguised and reveals itself only when there's a war, a revolution, a riot. It needs pretexts to become public and collective. In Amazonia, on the other hand, it can reveal itself openly and perpetrate the worst atrocities without the justifications of patriotism or religion. Only pure, hard greed."

If Dickey did say something like this to Casement, however, his subsequent actions belied his fatalism. After Casement gave up his manhunt and returned to London, Dickey was at loose ends in the river metropolis of Manaos when he encountered none other than Julio Cesar Arana, president of the Peruvian Amazon Company. Arana, who knew exactly what Dickey had been doing, turned on all his considerable charm, promised great reforms and offered a tremendous raise if Dickey would return to Putumayo. The clincher was the news that the district would now be run by Juan Tizon, who had cooperated with Casement and whom Dickey respected.

Dickey accepted and returned to the Putumayo district capital La Chorrera. For the first few months after his return, conditions did improve sharply. But Tizon's health failed. His replacement reverted to the worst of the old brutality. Dickey was trapped again, but with his eyes wide open.

"Had I suggested that I wanted to leave," he wrote, "there was no doubt in my mind that I would have been killed." The going rate for such an assassination, he said, was a tin of sardines. So he began to make plans for his "getaway." An old Weetoto friend named Keysha, who lived an hour's walk away, agreed to keep a small canoe hidden for him. On regular



hikes to the hut, Dickey smuggled provisions for his trip. But plans came to a head when the next arrival of the company steamer brought a calamitous package.

Before Casement had parted company, he had suggested that Dickey write a book about the Putumayo, which Casement would have published in London. Dickey had sent him several explosive chapters, before his encounter with Arana. After rejoining the company's employ, Dickey sent urgent word to Casement to withhold publication. But here, in the packet of letters on the company steamer, was a copy of the *London Daily Mail*, *Overseas Edition*, with Dickey's writings spread across the front page.

Dickey learned he still had the only copy in the district, but he planned to leave that night. He sent his houseboy ahead with a coded message for Keysha, and waited for a reply. And waited. He finally set out, with his heart racing. He passed the clearing with the stocks, and saw that his houseboy was a prisoner. He feared a trap. "Never in my life have I been more frightened," he said, "and I left the boy there." He hurried in the nightfall to Keysha's hut.

No answer came when he softly called for his friend. He lighted a lantern to look around the room. "My hand, as it held the lantern, shook violently with fear, and the shadows in the silent hut quavered as if in sympathy, for there, staring me hideously in the face – silent motionless – ghastly – was Keysha's dead body hanging from the rafters."

Dicky turned to run, but stopped short at the sound of a smothered wail. Keysha's grandson was lying in the dust. He had been taken in months before when his own parents had been murdered. Now, said Dickey, "whoever had hung Keysha had apparently merely kicked the baby into the corner." Dickey retrieved the baby, trying to stifle its cries, and found his hidden canoe. Keysha had kept that secret to the last.

Dickey paddled with his passenger for 11 nights, hiding by day, until he reached the Brazilian Customs Port at the mouth of the Putumayo. A succession of steamers took him down the Amazon, and he quit South America altogether for Barbados. There he found a place for Keysha's grandson, who grew up to become a customs officer for the British West Indies. Casement turned to Irish nationalism and was executed in 1916 for his role in the Easter Rising. After making a fortune with the Peruvian Amazon Company, Julio Cesar Arana was elected Senator in Peru.

Dickey eventually retired from medicine, became a full-time explorer and ethnographer, and launched a number of expeditions that avoided adventures whenever possible. **

James Ring Adams is Senior Historian at the National Museum of the American Indian – Smithsonian and managing editor of *American Indian* magazine.

DOWNTHE INKAROAD

BY AMY VAN ALLEN

he exhibition is open. The book is published. Does that mean the work is complete? Sometimes. But in the case of large projects that encompass more than an exhibition gallery, the work often continues long past the opening date. For the Inka Road project, the exhibition *The Great Inka Road: Engineering an Empire* is but one component of a project at least a decade in its duration.

The exhibition took several years to develop. Since opening in June 2015, additional work has been completed. The spectacular Inka tunic has "rotated," or been changed out, three times. The first three tunics were on loan, first from Dumbarton Oaks, then from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The current tunic is from the collection of the National Museum of the American Indian - Smithsonian. (Now, all objects in the show are from the Museum's vast collection.) Several new panels have been added, including a feature on vertical agriculture and terracing, one of the Inka's great engineering contributions to the world. And from time to time, we perform maintenance, replacing the touchable fur on the llama panels, or installing software upgrades to the immensely popular touch table, the Cusco Experience.

Other additions happen away from the gallery. Part of the suspension bridge, built at the 2015 Folklife Festival by the community members who maintain the Q'eswachaka bridge in Peru, is being readied for its debut in the Museum's imagiNATIONS Activity Center in New York City (coming May 2018), where it is the feature for fiber technology. In addition, a Spanish-language version of the exhibition is beginning to tour in South America. The Ministry of Culture of Bolivia opened the panel exhibition in the museum complex along Lake Titikaka in May 2017, where it will be the feature for one year. Already, thousands of people have seen the exhibition there. The Mayor of Cusco recently visited the NMAI to see the exhibition and the Cusco Experience, in hopes of bringing them to Peru. Discussions are underway with several more of the Inka Road countries. Updates on openings will be posted to the traveling exhibition page on the Museum's website: nmai. si.edu/explore/exhibitions/traveling/.







INSIDE NMAI

ONGOING RESEARCH

In some ways, the Inka Road project is the project of a lifetime. Museum curator Dr. Ramiro Matos (Quechua), an archaeologist from Peru, has spent his entire career researching the legacy of the Inka Empire in the Andes, from his own home in Caja Espíritu, through his tenure at the National University of San Marcos (Peru), to the Smithsonian. The Ministry of Culture of Peru presented Dr. Matos with a lifetime achievement award in 2015. It recognized his 55 years of archaeological research on indigenous societies in the central highlands of Peru, from pre-ceramic times through the Inka. And even though the exhibition is open, Dr. Matos's research continues.

Dr. Matos spent June and July of 2017 in Peru. Part of the time was in the capital city of Lima, meeting with officials at the Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Tourism, and giving lectures at Pontifical Catholic University of Peru and Ricardo Palma University. The majority of the time was in the city of Cusco and in the Cusco Valley, expanding the research done for the exhibition. For example, the "Cusco Experience" mentioned above is based on a 3D reconstruction of the city of Cusco at the height of the Inka Empire. That map was developed by architect-archaeologists Dr. Ricardo Mar and Dr. José Alejandro Beltrán Caballero, of the Universitat Rovira i Virgili (Tarragona, Spain), from the Inka remains still visible throughout the city.

Over the last two field seasons, Dr. Matos has reunited with Drs. Mar and Beltrán Caballero for similar work at the archaeological site of Pisac, northeast of Cusco in the Cusco Valley. This summer, the work included use of a drone in order to capture aerial views, as well as photogrammetry lasers for precise building and wall reconstruction. (The photogrammetry and photography work done by our Museum for the exhibition will soon be available on the Smithsonian's 3D viewer at https://3d.si.edu; search "Models" for "NMAI.")

Eventually the research team hopes to perform similar research across the entire Cusco Valley. Dr. Matos's summer research was made possible by a generous gift from Kenneth and Ruth Wright, whose own work in the Cusco Valley, particularly in Machu Picchu, Tipón and Moray, has been instrumental in highlighting the hydrological acumen and achievements of the Inka.







All throughout the Cusco Valley of Peru one can see the evidence of the Inka, including masonry elements adapted as part of contemporary structures. TOP: The finely cut stones at the bottom of the wall indicate that it was probably once part of a temple complex, and the vibrant murals above suggest that the building is now a school. MIDDLE: The Templo de la Luna (Temple of the Moon) is an exquisite structure carved directly into the large rocks high above an archaeological site near the town of Pisac. BOTTOM: Construction is underway on this structure, but this mural depicting several of the Inka rulers is still visible. Photos by Ramiro Matos, July 2017.















TOP RIGHT: During a field work visit to Peru in July 2017, Matos and his research team trek along the Inka Road toward an archaeological site. The road travels through the town of Pisac and up the mountain, where terraces hug the slope. BOTTOM RIGHT: The Inka road is visible in the lower part of this vista, cutting horizontally across the terraced fields. The dramatic snow-capped sacred peak of Ausangate rises above all. BOTTOM LEFT: A beautiful example of preservation and re-use: the wall of stones is an Inka wall, the base of the column is pre-Inka (probably Wari) and the yellow and orange walls are contemporary. MIDDLE: Matos and author Van Allen at the Qorikancha (the sacred lower Temple of the Sun) in Cusco conducting field work for the Museum's Inka Road project, 2013. TOP LEFT: Matos exploring the Qorikancha in 2014 and right, observing an Inti Raymi Festival at Saqsaywaman, the sacred upper Temple of the Sun in Cusco, 2013.

INSIDE **NMAI**



COMING NEXT

The exhibition in Washington, D.C., is open until June 2020. Programming will continue throughout this time, including celebrating Inti Raymi, the Festival of the Sun, each June. The cultural interpreters are completing an exploration cart with many of the handling objects purchased for the exhibition, such as beautifully woven textiles, various musical instruments and ornamental items used to decorate the llamas in the caravans. Teachers can look forward to lessons on Inka roads and bridges, terraces and water management with the Museum's new educational initiative, Native Knowledge 360° (AmericanIndian.si.edu/ nk360) as well as additional STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) lessons from the Smithsonian.

Matos presented a paper at a conference on Inka engineering held in Cusco in November, concurrent with the listing of the Inka Road as one of the engineering marvels of the world by the American Society of Civil Engineers. The Society is also working on a companion publication about Inka engineering, highlighting some of the research featured in the exhibition. And, of course, Dr. Matos is planning his next research trip and lining up new speaking engagements.

The Inka Empire may have ended nearly 500 years ago, but the Inka legacy and influence continue in contemporary communities all along the Andes. The Museum has plenty of work still to do to highlight this dynamic region and its people. \$

Amy Van Allen is the project manager for the Museum's Inka Road project. She is also a PhD candidate in Geography working on politics in cultural heritage.





OTOS COURTESY OF WRIGHT WATER ENGINEERS



SMITHSONIAN'S NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN ON THE NATIONAL MALL IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

WASHINGTON EXHIBITIONS

OUR UNIVERSES:

TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE SHAPING OUR WORLD

AS WE GROW: TRADITIONS, TOYS AND GAMES

WINDOW ON COLLECTIONS: MANY HANDS, MANY VOICES

RETURN TO A NATIVE PLACE:ALGONQUIAN PEOPLES OF
THE CHESAPEAKE

AMERICANS

OPENING JANUARY 2018

PATRIOT NATIONS:
NATIVE AMERICANS IN OUR
NATION'S ARMED FORCES
THROUGH SPRING 2018

THE GREAT INKA ROAD: ENGINEERING AN EMPIRE THROUGH JUNE 2020

NATION TO NATION:
TREATIES BETWEEN THE
UNITED STATES AND
AMERICAN INDIAN NATIONS
THROUGH DECEMBER 2021

EXHIBITIONS + EVENTS CALENDAR

DECEMBER 2017/JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2018



NATIVE ART MARKET
Saturday, Dec. 2 and Sunday, Dec. 3
10 a.m. – 5:30 p.m.

Visit the annual Native Art Market featuring indigenous artists from throughout the Western Hemisphere. This unique event offers one-of-a-kind, handmade, traditional and contemporary items directly from the artists. Objects include jewelry, beadwork, pottery, prints, baskets, textiles and sculpture.

THROUGH THE REPELLENT FENCE: A LAND ART FILM

Saturday, Jan. 20

3 p.m

Smithsonian American Art Museum, Nan Tucker McEvoy Auditorium

(2017, 74 min.) United States.

Sam Wainwright

Through the Repellent Fence: A Land Art Film follows interdisciplinary arts collective Postcommodity as they develop and construct Repellent Fence/Valla Repelente, a temporary, two-mile-long "ephemeral monument" that straddled the U.S.-Mexico border. Aided by communities on both sides of the border, a series of 26, 10-foot balloons emblazoned with an insignia known as the "open eye" hovered over the border wall between Douglas, Ariz., and Agua Prieta, Sonora, essentially erasing the wall and joining the divided communities. Postcommodity is comprised of members Raven Chacon (Navajo), Cristobal Martinez (Mestizo) and Kade L. Twist (Cherokee), whose works serve to engage and defy colonial strictures by creating forums for indigenous narratives within broader society. Director Sam Wainwright and Douglas and Cristobal Martinez will be in attendance. To learn more about this project, see American Indian magazine Summer Issue 2017, available for download at americanindianmagazine.org.



TO COURTESY OF THE FILMMAKER

EXHIBITIONS + EVENTS CALENDAR

DECEMBER 2017/JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2018



Winter Blast 2017.

WINTER BLAST: A FAMILY WEEKEND OF NATIVE GAMES

Saturday, Jan. 27 and Sunday, Jan. 28 10:30 a.m. – 5 p.m.

Learn to play Native games from across the hemisphere in celebration of winter. Join Jeremy Red Eagle (Sisseton Wahpeton) from the International Traditional Games Society as he shares games of intuition and chance played in his community. Other games include the Miami-style moccasin game, string games and Yupik yo-yos. Play traditional Hawaiian games that include *Pala'ie* (a ball and hoop game), *Konane* (Hawaiian "checkers"), *Hū* (a spinning game with kukui nut tops) and more.

CHOCOLATE: FROM BLOSSOM TO BEVERAGE

Saturday, Feb. 10 and Sunday, Feb. 11 10:30 a.m. – 5 p.m.

From the blossoms of the cacao tree, which grows in Mesoamerica, the Maya culture developed chocolate. Hear the stories of cacao depicted by Maya glyph designs on pottery and learn about the science, art and culture of chocolate with Evelyn Orantes (Quiche Maya). Create an interactive mural telling the story of chocolate with Joaquin Alejandro Newman (Yaqui/ Mexica). Enjoy the music of the marimba with GuateMarimba and join Grupo Los Tecuanes (Mixtec) as they share the process of turning cacao into chocolate. Executive chef Freddie Bitsoie (Diné) of the Museum's award-winning Mitsitam Native Foods Cafe will demonstrate various recipes inspired by chocolate.







MOTHER TONGUE FILM FESTIVAL Wednesday, Feb. 21 - Saturday, Feb. 24 **Smithsonian Institution-wide**

Recovering Voices Mother Tongue Film Festival celebrates linguistic and cultural diversity. Opening every year on the United Nations International Mother Languages Day (February 21), this festival showcases recently produced feature and short-length films that explore global issues about endangered languages, cultural practices and communities' work to sustain and revitalize their languages. Recovering Voices is a collaborative Smithsonian initiative that is a partnership among the National Museum of Natural History, the National Museum of American Indian and the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage.



PHOTO COURTESY OF THE MOTHER TONGUE FILM FESTIVAL

CALENDAR

DECEMBER 2017/JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2018



Black and Native American activists came together with marchers for a concert to mark the end of the Longest Walk, a 1978 protest march from San Francisco to Washington, D.C., in the name of Native rights. From left to right: Muhammad Ali, Buffy Sainte-Marie (Cree), Floyd Red Crow Westerman (Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux), Harold Smith, Stevie Wonder, Marlon Brando, Max Gail, Dick Gregory, Richie Havens and David Amram.

FINDING COMMON GROUND Thursday, Feb. 15 3 p.m. – 5:30 p.m. Rasmuson Theater

The National Museum of the American Indian and the National Museum of African American History and Culture are two national museums reframing our views of American history as more multifaceted than previously depicted. As such, how do we talk about the intersections of various peoples, the shared histories? This program, moderated by Michel Martin, weekend host of NPR's *All Things Considered*, will focus on the complex, sometimes fraught, history of African Americans and Native Americans, and how these intertwined stories have

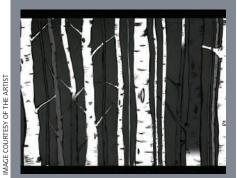
become an essential part of our American identity. Speakers will explore how African Americans and Native peoples have energized each other's movements both historically and in contemporary times. Collective actions have been shaped by cooperation, conflict, accommodation, oppression and resistance. "Finding common ground" is not always easy but it is a vital necessity in the realization of American democracy. Distinguished participants include Lonnie Bunch, Kevin Gover (Pawnee), Tara Houska (Couchiching First Nation), Tiya Miles, and Paul Chaat Smith (Comanche). Co-sponsored with the National Museum of African American History and Culture.



EXHIBITIONS + EVENTS CALENDAR

DECEMBER 2017/JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2018

SMITHSONIAN'S NATIONAL **MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN** IN NEW YORK CITY



TRANSFORMER: NATIVE ART IN LIGHT AND SOUND THROUGH JAN. 6, 2019

AKUNNITTINNI: A KINNGAIT **FAMILY PORTRAIT** THROUGH JAN. 8, 2018

CERAMICA DE LOS ANCESTROS: CENTRAL THROUGH OCTOBER 2018

CIRCLE OF DANCE THROUGH APRIL 2019

INFINITY OF NATIONS:

ART AND HISTORY IN THE **COLLECTIONS OF THE** NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN ONGOING



NATIVE ART MARKET Saturday, Dec. 2 and Sunday, Dec. 3 10 a.m. - 5 p.m.

Visit the annual Native Art Market featuring indigenous artists from throughout the Western Hemisphere. This unique event offers one-of-a-kind, handmade, traditional and contemporary art. Exclusive pieces include jewelry, beadwork, pottery, prints, baskets, textiles and sculpture.

WINTER BLAST: A FAMILY DAY OF **NATIVE GAMES**

Saturday, Jan. 27

12 p.m. - 4 p.m.

Visit the Museum and warm up as you learn to play Native games from across the Western Hemisphere in celebration of winter. Diverse games include Inuit yo-yo, Ring and Pin, the Olympic high kick, hoop throwing and more.



EXHIBITIONS + EVENTS CALENDAR

DECEMBER 2017/JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2018



GALLERY CONVERSATIONS WITH MORRIS MUSKETT

Thursday, Feb. 22 - Saturday, Feb. 24 10 a.m. - 12 p.m. and 1 p.m. - 4 p.m.

Join Morris Muskett (Navajo) for a weaving demonstration in the Infinity of Nations gallery. Learn about the natural dyes and unique patterns that define traditional Navajo weaving.



This program is supported, in part, by public funds from the New York City Department of Cultural Affairs in partnership with the City Council.



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MUSEUMGUIDE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

HOURS: 10 a.m.-5:30 p.m. Free admission.

DINE AND SHOP: Eat in the critically acclaimed Mitsitam Native Foods Cafe, open daily 11 a.m.–3 p.m.; closed Dec. 25. The Mitsitam Espresso Coffee Bar is open daily 10 a.m.–5 p.m. The Roanoke Museum Store is open daily from 10 a.m.to 5:30 p.m.

TOURS: Daily gallery highlights tours led by museum Cultural Interpreters; visit the Welcome Desk the day of your visit for seasonal tour times. The imagiNATIONS Activity Center is open every day except Mondays.

Please note: Groups (e.g., school or home school classes, daycare, camp or scout groups, etc.) are required to schedule an entry time 48 hours in advance and must be preschool to third grade only. Contact Group Reservations at 202-633-6644.

LOCATION: Located on the National Mall between the Smithsonian's National Air & Space Museum and the U.S. Capitol Building (4th Street and Independence Ave, SW, Washington, DC 20013)

NEAREST METRO STATION: L'Enfant Plaza (Blue/Orange/Green/Yellow lines), exit Maryland Avenue/Smithsonian Museums

PARKING: The Museum does not have parking.

PHONE: 202-633-1000 **TTY**: 202-633-5285

GENERAL INQUIRIES: nmai-info@si.edu

GROUP ENTRY: All groups of ten or more are strongly encouraged to reserve entry by contacting the Group Reservations Office via phone (202-633-6644; toll-free 888-618-0572; TTY [non-voice] 202-633-6751) or email nmai-groupreservations@si.edu. Please note that there is no check room for coats or other personal items.



NEW YORK CITY

HOURS: 10 a.m.–5 p.m. daily, Thursdays to 8 p.m. Open 10 a.m.–5 p.m. on Thanksgiving; closed on Dec. 25. Free admission.

SHOP: The Gallery Shop is open daily 10 a.m.-5 p.m.; call 212-514-3767 for more product information.

TOURS: The Museum offers daily public tours and gallery programs by Cultural Interpreters and Museum Ambassadors. For group tours, call 212-514-3794.

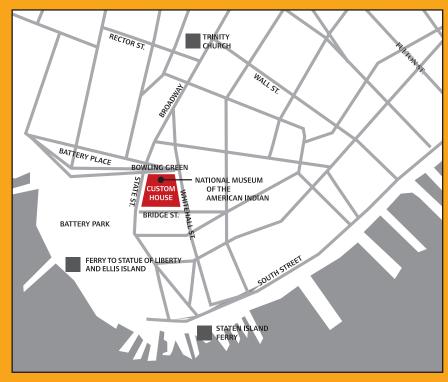
LOCATION: Located on the south side of Bowling Green, in lower Manhattan, adjacent to the northeast corner of Battery Park. (One Bowling Green, New York, NY 10004)

NEAREST SUBWAY STOP and BUS: 4 and 5 trains to Bowling Green; 1 train to Rector Street or South Ferry; R (& W on weekdays) trains to Whitehall Street; J & Z trains to Broad Street; 2 and 3 trains to Wall Street. BUS: M5, M15, M20.

PARKING: The Museum does not have parking.

PHONE: 202-514-3700

GROUP ENTRY: For group tours, call 212-514-3794. For adult group tours only, email nmai-ny@si.edu. Teachers can reserve group entry and guided school tours via an online request (or by contacting nmai-ny-education@si.edu or 212-514-3705).



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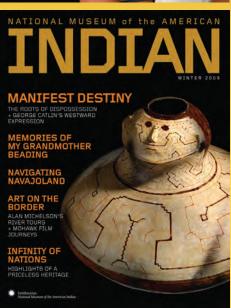












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NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

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Native Americans have participated in every major U.S. military encounter from the Revolutionary War through today's conflicts in the Middle East, yet they remain unrecognized by any prominent landmark in our nation's capital. The Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian will create that landmark: the National Native American Veterans Memorial. The anticipated dedication of this tribute to Native heroes will be on Veterans Day 2020.

"We invite you to participate in this historic moment for our country, for veterans, and for the Native American communities whose loyalty and passion have helped make America what it is today."

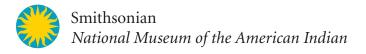
—Kevin Gover, Director

National Museum of the American Indian

The National Museum of the American Indian is depending on your support to honor and recognize these Native American veterans for future generations.

Learn more

AmericanIndian.si.edu/NNAVM





CREDITS:

Left | Passamaquoddy Tribal Governor William Neptune (center) with members of Company I, 106th Infantry, 26th Division, ca. 1918. Pleasant Point Reservation, Maine. Photographer unknown. P18364

Above | War bonnets adorn uniform jackets at a Ton-Kon-Gah (Kiowa Black Leggings Society) ceremonial near Anadarko, Okla., 2006. NMAI